Reading Essentials and Study Guide

Student Workbook
To the Student

The American Republic Since 1877 Reading Essentials and Study Guide is designed to help you use recognized reading strategies to improve your reading-for-information skills. For each section of the student textbook, you are alerted to key terms, asked to draw from prior knowledge, organize your thoughts with a graphic organizer, and then follow a process to read and understand the text. The Reading Essentials and Study Guide was prepared to help you get more from your textbook by reading with a purpose.
# Table of Contents

## Chapter 1: Converging Cultures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section 1: The Migration to America</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2: Europe and Africa</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 3: Europe Encounters America</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 4: Spain and France Build Empires</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter 2: The English Arrive in America

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section 1: England’s First Colonies</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2: The New England Colonies</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 3: The Middle and Southern Colonies</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 4: Colonial Ways of Life</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 5: A Diverse Society</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter 3: The American Revolution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section 1: The Colonies Fight for Their Rights</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2: The Revolution Begins</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 3: The War for Independence</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 4: The Confederation</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 5: A New Constitution</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter 4: Federalists and Republicans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section 1: The Federalist Era</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2: The Republicans Take Power</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 3: The Growth of American Nationalism</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter 5: The Young Republic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section 1: A Growing Nation</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2: The Age of Jackson</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 3: The Reform Spirit</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 4: Manifest Destiny</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter 6: Sectional Conflict Intensifies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section 1: Slavery and Western Expansion</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2: The Crisis Deepens</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 3: The Union Dissolves</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter 7: The Civil War and Reconstruction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section 1: The Opposing Sides</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2: The Early Stages</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 3: The Turning Point</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 4: Reconstruction Begins</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 5: Reconstruction and Republican Rule</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 8: Settling the West
Section 1: Miners and Ranchers ..............................................................144
Section 2: Farming the Plains ...............................................................148
Section 3: Native Americans ...............................................................151

Chapter 9: Industrialization
Section 1: The Rise of Industry ............................................................156
Section 2: The Railroads .................................................................160
Section 3: Big Business .................................................................164
Section 4: Unions ...........................................................................168

Chapter 10: Urban America
Section 1: Immigration ......................................................................173
Section 2: Urbanization ...................................................................176
Section 3: The Gilded Age ...............................................................179
Section 4: The Rebirth of Reform ....................................................182

Chapter 11: Politics and Reform
Section 1: Stalemate in Washington ...................................................186
Section 2: Populism ........................................................................191
Section 3: The Rise of Segregation .....................................................196

Chapter 12: Becoming a World Power
Section 1: The Imperialist Vision .......................................................200
Section 2: The Spanish-American War ............................................204
Section 3: New American Diplomacy ...............................................209

Chapter 13: The Progressive Movement
Section 1: The Roots of Progressivism ................................................213
Section 2: Roosevelt in Office ..........................................................220
Section 3: The Taft Administration ....................................................224
Section 4: The Wilson Years .............................................................227

Chapter 14: World War I and Its Aftermath
Section 1: The United States Enters World War I ..............................231
Section 2: The Home Front .............................................................237
Section 3: A Bloody Conflict ..........................................................242
Section 4: The War’s Impact ............................................................246

Chapter 15: The Jazz Age
Section 1: A Clash of Values .............................................................250
Section 2: Cultural Innovations .........................................................255
Section 3: African American Culture ................................................258
Study Guide

Chapter 1, Section 1

For use with textbook pages 12–16

THE MIGRATION TO AMERICA

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Ice Age  a period of time beginning about 100,000 years ago when the earth's water froze into huge ice sheets (page 13)

glaciers  huge ice sheets (page 13)

nomads  people who continually move from place to place in search of food and water (page 13)

Mesoamerica  area that includes what is now central and southern Mexico and Central America (page 13)

civilization  a highly organized society marked by advanced knowledge of trade, government, the arts, science, and, often, a written language (page 13)

pueblos  large multi-story buildings of adobe and stone (page 15)

Cahokia  one of the largest cities of the Mississippian culture located near present-day St. Louis (page 15)

kachina  a good spirit of the Pueblo people (page 15)

slash-and-burn agriculture  the practice of cutting down forests and then burning the cleared land to use for farming (page 16)

longhouses  rectangular houses used by the Iroquois (page 16)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What styles of homes are built where you live? Are the styles of the homes influenced by the type of environment where you live? If so, in what ways?

In this section, you will learn how and why the first people came to the Americas. You will learn about the cultures of these early Americans, as well as the diverse cultures of the Native Americans in what is today the United States.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the concept web below to help you take notes. A civilization has five characteristics. Name the characteristics.

...
• The Asian Migration to America (page 12)

Scientists are not sure when the first people came to America. Some scientists think that the first people came between 15,000 and 30,000 years ago. Scientists study the skulls, bones, teeth, and DNA of ancient peoples to learn where they came from. Evidence shows that the earliest Americans probably came from Asia.

The earth began to slowly cool about 100,000 years ago. This caused much of the earth’s water to freeze into glaciers, or huge ice sheets. This period is called the Ice Age. Ocean levels dropped, uncovering a land bridge that connected Asia to Alaska. Scientists think that about 15,000 years ago, or even earlier, people from Asia crossed this land bridge as they hunted large animals. These people were probably nomads, or people who continually moved from place to place in search of food.

6. How did the first people come to America?

• Early Civilizations of America (page 13)

Between 9,000 and 10,000 years ago, Native Americans in Mesoamerica learned how to plant and raise crops. The first crops grown included pumpkins, peppers, and beans. The most important crop was maize, known today as corn. The change to agriculture allowed people to end their nomadic way of life. They built permanent villages where they raised crops and stored the harvest. As a result, civilizations grew. A civilization is a highly organized society that is characterized by knowledge of trade, government, the arts, science, and, often, a written language.

The Olmec culture is thought to be the first civilization in America. This culture started between 1500 and 1200 B.C. in present-day Mexico. The Olmec developed societies with large villages, temples, and pyramids. They built large monuments. Olmec ideas spread throughout Mesoamerica, influencing other people. One group built Teotihuacán, the first large city in America. The civilization there set up a trade network and influenced the development of Mesoamerica.

Around A.D. 200, the Mayan civilization developed in the Yucatán Peninsula and Central America. The Maya developed calendars based on the position of the stars, and they built temple pyramids.
The city of Tenochtitlán was built by the Aztec in about 1325. It is located on the site of present-day Mexico City. The Aztec built a great empire by conquering neighboring cities. They controlled trade in the region and demanded gifts from the cities they conquered.

Scientists believe that the farming technology of Mesoamerica spread into the American Southwest. The Hohokam built a civilization in what is now south-central Arizona that lasted from about A.D. 300 to the 1300s. They built a detailed system of irrigation canals, using the Gila and Salt Rivers as their water supply. They grew large crops of corn, cotton, and beans.

Between A.D. 700 and 900, the Anasazi built a civilization in the area where the present-day states of Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico now meet. The Anasazi built networks of basins and ditches to collect water for their crops. Between A.D. 850 and 1100, the Anasazi living in Chaco Canyon in northwest New Mexico began to build large multi-storied buildings of adobe and cut stone called pueblos.

About the same time the Olmec culture began, the people of the eastern woodlands were developing their own culture. The people of the region began to bury their dead under large dome-shaped mounds of earth. Between 200 and 100 B.C., the Hopewell culture rose. These people built huge geometric earthworks.

Between A.D. 700 and 900, the Mississippian culture arose in the Mississippi River valley. The Mississippians were great builders. One of their largest cities, Cahokia, was built near what is today St. Louis, Missouri.

7. What were the achievements of early civilizations in Mesoamerica?

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**Native American Cultural Diversity** *(page 15)*

Two Native American groups of the Far North were the Inuit and the Aleut. The Inuit lived in territory that stretched across the Arctic from Alaska to Greenland. The Aleut lived on Alaska’s Aleutian Islands.

The Inuit and the Aleut hunted seals, walruses, whales, polar bears, and caribou. They invented many things, such as harpoons, kayaks, and dogsleds. They used whale oil and blubber for fuel.
Native Americans along the Pacific Coast fished in the ocean and rivers. They lived in permanent settlements. Native Americans who lived farther inland fished, hunted, and gathered roots and berries. Between the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountains, where the land was much drier, the Native Americans were nomads. In what is today central California, groups such as the Pomo enjoyed abundant wildlife and a mild climate.

The Native American groups of the dry Southwest farmed like their ancestors the Anasazi and the Hohokam. These groups included the Zuni, Hopi, and other Pueblo peoples. They believed in a spirit world. When men married, they joined the kachina cult. A kachina was a good spirit.

Up until 1500, Native Americans of the Great Plains were farmers. About 1500 Native Americans in the western plains left their villages and became nomads. They may have done this because of drought or war. In the 1500s, the Spanish had brought horses to North America. The Sioux and other Native Americans of the Great Plains began to use the horses for hunting or for wars. The Sioux became expert hunters and warriors on horseback.

The Native Americans in the Eastern Woodlands had an environment with many kinds of plant and animal life. These Native Americans combined hunting and fishing with farming. Deer provided food and clothing. Corn, beans, and squash were grown.

Peoples of the Northeast practiced slash-and-burn agriculture. They cut down forests and burned the cleared land. Then they worked the ashes into the soil to make it more fertile. The peoples of the Northeast had many styles of homes. They lived in large rectangular longhouses that housed kinship groups, or extended families headed by the elder women of each clan.

Despite their similarities, the Iroquois groups often fought one another. Five Iroquois nations formed an alliance to keep the peace. It was called the Iroquois League.

Southeast Native Americans lived in towns. The buildings were built around a central plaza. Large, heavy fences surrounded the towns. The women farmed while the men hunted. The houses were made of poles and covered with grass, mud, or thatch.

8. How did their environment influence the ways Native Americans got their food?
Have you ever thought about traveling into outer space to explore other planets? What do you think you might find? Would you be afraid to explore these new places? Why or why not?

This section describes the developments between the 1100s and 1400s that helped unify Europe and that led to European exploration. It also discusses the diverse governments and lifestyles of Africans from West Africa.
ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. There were several reasons the Europeans were able to explore the world. Name these reasons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Europeans Explore the World</th>
<th>Reasons</th>
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READ TO LEARN

- European Society (page 18)

For hundreds of years, the Roman Empire had controlled much of Europe with a stable social and political order. By A.D. 500, however, the empire ended. Western Europe became isolated. Its trade declined. Cities, bridges, and roads were not kept up. Law and order ended. Money was not used. This period, from about A.D. 500 to 1400, is called the **Middle Ages**.

Because the central government was weakened in western Europe, **feudalism** developed as the political system. The king gave large areas of land to nobles in exchange for their loyalty and military support. The economic tie between nobles and their peasants is called **manorialism**. In return for protection, peasants provided various services for the feudal lord on his manor, or land. Most peasants were **serfs**. These people spent most of their time working the land. They could not leave the manor without permission.
Around A.D. 1000, western Europe’s economy began to improve. Many villages were able to produce a food surplus because of new farming inventions, such as a better plow and the horse collar. This revived trade in Europe and encouraged the growth of towns.

After the fall of Rome, the Roman Catholic Church brought stability and order to Europe. The church had its own laws and courts. There were severe penalties for those who disobeyed Church teachings.

In 1095 Pope Urban II called for the Crusades. These military expeditions to regain the Holy Land lasted almost two centuries.

Western European society changed greatly as a result of the Crusades. These series of wars brought western Europeans into contact with Muslims and Byzantine civilizations of the Middle East. Trade increased in the eastern Mediterranean area. Italian cities especially benefited.

As a result of Europe’s expanded trade with Asia, there was an increasing demand for gold from Africa during the 1200s. The gold was used to make gold coins. The rise of the Mongol Empire in the 1200s made trade with Asia easier. The Mongols made roads safer from bandits. This encouraged even more trade between Asia and Europe.

By the 1300s, Europe was importing large amounts of spices and other goods from Asia. The Mongol Empire, however, ended in the 1300s. As a result, Asia became many independent kingdoms and empires. The flow of goods from Asia declined, and the prices of goods went up. Europeans began to look for a sea route to Asia to bypass Muslim traders.

7. Why did Europeans begin to look for a sea route to Asia in the 1300s?

• New States, New Technology (page 20)

Starting in the 1300s, many major changes took place in Europe, enabling Europeans to begin to look for a water route to China. The Crusades and trade with Asia helped weaken feudalism. An increase in towns and merchants gave kings and queens a new source of wealth to tax. Kings and queens used their armies to open and protect trade routes and to enforce trade laws. Merchants, who wanted increased trade, loaned money to kings and queens to search for a water route to China. European rulers relied less on help from nobles. The rulers began to unite their kingdoms with strong central governments. By the mid-1400s, the strong states of Portugal, Spain, England, and France emerged in western Europe.
About A.D. 1350, a rebirth of interest in learning about the cultures of ancient Greece and Rome began. This period of time is known as the Renaissance. The Renaissance lasted until about 1600. It produced great works of art and started a scientific revolution.

By the early 1400s, Europeans had acquired new technologies to make long-distance travel across the ocean possible. Western Europeans learned about the compass—a Chinese invention—and from Arab texts they learned about the astrolabe, a tool that uses the position of the sun to find direction, latitude, and local time. In the 1400s, the Portuguese invented the caravel. This ship had many sails that made it travel much faster than other ships.

In 1419 Prince Henry of Portugal, known as Henry the Navigator, set up a center in Portugal for the study of astronomy and geography. Mapmakers, astronomers, and shipbuilders from throughout the Mediterranean region came to study and plan explorations. Starting in 1420, Portuguese captains began mapping and exploring Africa’s west coast. In 1488 a Portuguese ship commanded by Bartolomeu Dias reached the southern tip of Africa. A little over nine years later, four Portuguese ships commanded by Vasco da Gama found a water route to eastern Asia. The route went from Portugal, rounded Africa, and ended on the southwest coast of India.

8. Why was Portugal the leader in exploration?

8. West African Civilization (page 21)

Between the 400s and 1400s, the West African empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai rose and fell. They grew wealthy by trading in gold and salt.

West Africa is a large area. It is bordered by the Mediterranean Sea to the north. The Atlantic Ocean lies to the west and south. The northern and southern edges of West Africa are wet and fertile. The Sahara, a vast desert, takes up much of the interior of West Africa.

The Niger River, which cuts through West Africa, was a major route for east-west migration and trade. Camels, brought to the area between the 200s and 400s by Arabs, opened up long-distance trade routes through the Sahara. Camels could go for a week without water. They could easily withstand the desert’s hot days and cold nights.

Ideas and goods traveled along the African trade routes. The religious ideas of Islam, whose followers are known as Muslims, spread into West Africa.
West Africa grew and became wealthy mostly because of the gold trade. The demand for gold increased as the Muslim states of North Africa and the countries of Europe used gold coins.

The African peoples on the southern edge of the Sahara gained control of the gold trade. Since they were in the middle of the trade, they had access both to the gold from the south and the salt and other goods from the north.

Ghana, the first West African empire, began in the A.D. 400s. The Soninke people of Ghana controlled the region’s trade. After the Muslims conquered North Africa and the Sahara in the 600s and 700s, Ghana’s merchants and rulers grew wealthy from the gold and salt trade. New gold mines opened in Bure. Trade routes to these mines did not go through Ghana. By the early 1200s, Ghana’s empire ended.

The Malinke people controlled the upper Niger valley and the gold trade from Bure. This allowed them to conquer Ghana and build the Mali empire. By the mid-1300s, the empire of Mali had spread east past Timbuktu and west to the Atlantic Ocean. It reached its peak in the 1300s under the rule of Mansa Musa and his brother Mansa Sulayman. New gold mines opened in the Akan region, moving the trade routes further east. As a result, Timbuktu became a center of trade and Muslim learning.

By the 800s, the Sorko people of the Niger River east of Mali had built the Songhai empire. The Sorko used their fishing vessels to control the trade along the river. In 1468 the Songhai ruler, Sonni Ali, and his army gained control of Timbuktu. Ali conquered land along the Niger River. The Songhai ruler Askia Muhammad restored Timbuktu as a great center of learning. He also encouraged more trade across the Sahara. The Songhai empire began to decline by 1591, after Moroccan troops defeated Songhai’s armies.

The sprawling empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai arose on West Africa’s expansive savannah, a kind of rolling grassland. Guinea was located on West Africa’s southern coast. Small states and kingdoms formed in Guinea because the area was made up of thick, dense forests.

The Edo people of Benin were hunters, farmers, and traders. They lived in small villages. Benin developed city-states in the 1000s and 1100s. By the mid-1400s, Benin was an empire. The Edo traded with the Portuguese.

9. Why did the West African empires become wealthy?
African society had slavery. Most enslaved people had been captured in war. Most African societies would either sell back the enslaved Africans to their people or the enslaved Africans would become part of their new African society. African slavery changed when Arabs began to trade goods for enslaved Africans. In the early 1400s, the Akan people acquired enslaved Africans from Mali traders. The enslaved Africans were used to clear land and mine gold.

In the 1400s, Spain and Portugal set up plantations off the west coast of Africa. The growing and processing of sugarcane required heavy manual labor and a large labor force. Europeans used enslaved workers on their plantations. Europeans also entered into the slave trade.

10. Why did the use of enslaved Africans increase during the 1400s?
What do you usually have for breakfast? Did you know that many of the foods that make up the average American breakfast, such as bananas, oranges, and grains, were brought to this country by Europeans hundreds of years ago?

The last section described civilizations in Europe and Africa, examining changes that enabled Europeans to explore the world as well as incentives for their explorations. This section discusses European explorations of the Americas.
ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the time line below to help you take notes. List the major events in European exploration of the Americas.

1. A.D. 1000
2. 1492
3. 1493
4. 1499
5. 1507
6. 1513
7. 1520

READ TO LEARN

• The Vikings Arrive in America (page 24)

Archaeologists have found evidence that the first Europeans to arrive in the Americas were the Vikings from Scandinavia. Around A.D. 1000 Leif Ericsson and other Vikings explored the coast of Labrador and may have stayed the winter in Newfoundland. Vikings later tried to settle permanently in the Americas, but failed. Native Americans fought against the Viking settlements.

8. What part of the Americas did the Vikings explore?

• Columbus’s Plan (page 25)

During the Renaissance, the works of scientists like Claudius Ptolemy were rediscovered. He had drawn a map of a round world in the A.D. 100s. His maps included latitude and longitude markings, but he seriously underestimated the distance represented by each degree of longitude.

In the mid-1400s, Christopher Columbus, an Italian navigator, used Ptolemy’s calculations to help him estimate the distance between Spain and Japan. But Ptolemy’s calculations made the earth seem much smaller than it actually was. As a result, Christopher Columbus miscalculated the distance from Spain to Japan.
Columbus tried, but failed, to get the rulers of Portugal, England, and France to pay for an expedition. Finally, in 1492 Spain’s King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella agreed to pay for Columbus’s expedition.

Columbus and his three ships left Spain in August 1492. The trip across the Atlantic Ocean was long and dangerous. The expedition finally landed in the Bahamas, on what is today San Salvador. Columbus called the local people he met Indians because he thought he had reached the Indies. Columbus also found the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola. He mistakenly thought that Cuba was China and that Hispaniola was Japan.

In March 1493 Columbus returned to Spain with gold, parrots, spices, and Native Americans. King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella were pleased. Columbus convinced them to pay for another trip by promising them as much gold as they wanted.

Before Spain was able to colonize the Americas, Ferdinand and Isabella had to establish their claim to the new lands. Portugal claimed the right to control the Atlantic route to Asia. The two nations asked the pope to help solve this problem peacefully.

In 1493 the Catholic Church’s Pope Alexander VI set up a line of demarcation. This was an imaginary north-to-south line running down the middle of the Atlantic. It gave Spain control of everything west of the line. It gave Portugal control of everything east of the line. In 1494 Spain and Portugal signed the Treaty of Tordesillas. This gave Portugal the right to control the route around Africa to India. Spain claimed most of the new lands of the Americas.

Columbus made three more voyages from Spain in 1493, 1498, and 1502. He explored several Caribbean islands and sailed along the coasts of Central America and northern South America, claiming new lands for Spain and establishing settlements.

9. What were Columbus’s accomplishments on his four voyages to the Americas?

• Continuing Expeditions (page 26)

The Americas were named after Amerigo Vespucci, an Italian who repeated Columbus’s attempt to sail west to Asia. In 1499 Vespucci sailed for Spain. He explored the coast of South America. He thought he had reached Asia. His voyage in 1501 was for Portugal. Vespucci again explored the coastline of South America, but this time he discovered that this large landmass could not be part of Asia. In 1507 a German scholar proposed that the new continent be named America for Amerigo Vespucci.
In 1513 Juan Ponce de Leon, the Spanish governor of Puerto Rico, sailed north and discovered Florida. In 1513 Vasco de Balboa became the first European known to see the Pacific Ocean. In 1520 Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese sailor working for Spain, discovered the strait at the southernmost tip of South America. Magellan died in the Philippines, but his crew became the first known people to circumnavigate, or sail around, the globe.

10. Who were the leaders of later expeditions and what areas did they explore or discover?

- The Columbian Exchange (page 27)

The Columbian Exchange was a series of exchanges between Native Americans and Europeans. These exchanges changed the world’s environments and changed most cultures around the world.

Native Americans taught the Europeans local farming methods. They introduced the Europeans to new crops and foods. These included corn, squash, pumpkins, beans, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, and potatoes. Europeans also adopted many Native American inventions, such as the canoe, the snowshoe, and the poncho.

The Europeans introduced the Native Americans to many crops, such as wheat, oats, barley, rice, coffee, bananas, oranges, and onions. The Europeans also brought livestock, such as chickens, cattle, pigs, sheep, and horses. The Europeans introduced the Native Americans to technologies, such as metalworking, new methods of shipbuilding, and new types of weapons. Europeans brought diseases that killed millions of Native Americans because they lacked immunity to the diseases. Native American illnesses infected Europeans, but were not nearly as deadly.

11. What technologies did the Native Americans and the Europeans exchange?
Study Guide

Chapter 1, Section 4

For use with textbook pages 30–35

SPANISH AND FRANCE BUILD EMPIRES

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Hernán Cortés  Spanish explorer who led his troops into the Aztec Empire (page 30)

conquistador    a Spanish explorer in the Americas (page 32)

Francisco Pizarro  Spanish explorer in South America who found the Inca Empire in Peru (page 32)

Hernando de Soto  Spanish explorer in the area north of Florida (page 32)

presidio    a Spanish fort (page 32)

hacienda    a huge cattle ranch in New Spain (page 33)

vaquero    Spanish cowhand (page 33)

tenencia    a system of rewarding conquistadors by giving them control of Native American villages (page 33)

Quebec    a trading post established by Champlain which became the capital of New France (page 34)

Northwest Passage    a northern route through North America to the Pacific Ocean (page 34)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Do you know people who have moved to your community from other parts of the country or world? What reasons did they have for moving? What do you think are some positive aspects of moving? What are some negative aspects?

In this section, you will learn about Spanish and French exploration and settlement of the Americas. You will also learn about the kind of society each nation established.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the chart below to help you take notes. The Spanish and French explored the Americas and started colonies here. Explain the effects of colonization by each of the explorers listed in the chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Explorer</th>
<th>Effects of Colonization</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hernán Cortés</td>
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<td>Francisco Pizarro</td>
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<tr>
<td>Francisco Vásquez de Coronado</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hernando de Soto</td>
<td>4.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jacques Cartier</td>
<td>5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle</td>
<td>6.</td>
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</tbody>
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READ TO LEARN

- The Conquest of Mexico (page 30)

Hernán Cortés was asked by the government of Spain to lead an expedition to the Yucatán Peninsula in Mexico. He was to find people to work for the Spanish and to investigate reports of a wealthy civilization there.

When Cortés and his troops landed in the Yucatán Peninsula, they were attacked by thousands of warriors from a nearby city. The Spanish with their swords, guns, and cannons had a technological advantage over the local people. They quickly killed more than 200 warriors. After talking with local rulers, Cortés learned that the Aztec were at war with many people in the region, including the powerful Tlaxcalans. After several displays of Spanish power, he convinced the Tlaxcalans to join the Spanish against the Aztec.

Montezuma, the Aztec ruler, decided to attack the advancing Spanish-Tlaxcalan forces. However, Cortés was warned of the upcoming attack and attacked the Aztec first, killing thousands. Montezuma now believed that Cortés could not be stopped, and in 1519 the Spanish peacefully entered the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán. When thousands of Aztec surrounded Cortés, he decided to take Montezuma hostage. He then ordered the statues of Aztec gods to be replaced by Christian images. This angered the Aztec priests, who organized a rebellion against the Spanish in 1520 and forced them out of the city. However, Cortés did not give up, and in May 1521 the Spanish again attacked the Aztec. By August they had conquered them.

7. Why did the Spanish easily conquer the people in the Yucatán Peninsula?

- New Spain Expands (page 32)

After defeating the Aztec, the Spanish built a new city, Mexico, where Tenochtitlán had been. Mexico became the capital of the Spanish colony of New Spain. Cortés sent expeditions to conquer what is present-day Mexico and Central America. The men who led these expeditions were known as conquistadors.

At the same time, Francisco Pizarro, a conquistador, began to explore the Inca Empire, on the western coast of South America. In 1532 he took the powerful Inca emperor prisoner and executed him a year later. Pizarro appointed other Inca emperors, who were forced to follow his orders. Many Incas did not accept the new system and continued to fight the Spanish until 1572.
Rumors about wealthy cities in the Americas led to expeditions by other conquistadors. In 1528 Pánfilo de Narváez searched northern Florida to find a rumored city of gold. In 1540 the Spanish sent an expedition led by Francisco Vásquez de Coronado to find the Seven Golden Cities of Cibola that were rumored to exist north of New Spain. He did not find these cities, but he did explore much of what is the present-day southwestern United States. Hernando de Soto explored parts of a region north of present-day Florida. His expedition killed many Native Americans and raided their villages for supplies.

The Spanish gave the name New Mexico to the area north of New Spain. They built forts called **presidios** throughout the area to protect the Spanish settlers and to serve as trading posts. Few Spaniards, however, were interested in settling the territory.

The Catholic Church became important in colonizing the area. Spanish priests built missions and spread Christianity to the Native Americans living there. Father Junipero Serra took control of California by establishing missions there. The Spanish priests tried to end traditional Native American practices that were in conflict with Catholic beliefs. As a result, in 1680 thousands of Native American warriors destroyed most of the missions in New Mexico.

8. Why did many conquistadors explore different parts of the present-day United States?

---

**Spanish American Society (page 33)**

Most of the conquistadors were adventurers who came to the Americas in search of wealth. They set up a society that reflected their goals.

Although the Spanish did not find gold, they did find silver and set up silver mines all across northern Mexico. They used the Native Americans to work the mines. To feed the miners, the Spanish set up large cattle ranches, called **haciendas**, in northern Mexico. The men who herded the cattle were called **vaqueros**. Cowhands in the United States later adopted the lifestyles of the vaqueros.

Another feature of Spanish colonial society was the **encomienda**, a system that gave control of Native American villages to conquistadors. The Native Americans were forced to pay the men part of the products they farmed or made. In exchange, the men were to protect the Native Americans and convert them to Christianity. However, many of the Spaniards abused their power and mistreated the Native Americans.

The Spanish in the Americas built a highly structured society. At the top were **peninsulares**—people who had been born in Spain. Below them were the
criollos—those born in the colonies of Spanish parents. Next were the mestizos—those born of Spanish and Native American parents. The lowest level included Native Americans, Africans, and people of mixed Spanish and African or African and Native American ancestry.

The Spanish king created a council to advise him and watch over colonial activities. The king divided the empire into regions called viceroyalties and appointed a viceroy to rule each region.

9. Who made up the highest social class in New Spain?

--

• The French Empire in America (page 34)

In 1524 King Francis I of France sent Giovanni da Verrazano to explore North America to find a **Northwest Passage**—a northern route through North America to the Pacific Ocean. Verrazano explored from what is now North Carolina to Newfoundland but never found such a passage. In 1534 France sent Jacques Cartier to explore North America. He discovered the St. Lawrence River.

In 1602 King Henry IV of France authorized some French merchants to create colonies in North America. The French hired Samuel de Champlain to help them colonize the area. He founded Quebec, which became the capital of the French colony of New France.

New France grew slowly because few people came to build farms and settle there. The colony was made up mostly of fur traders who lived among the Native Americans with whom they traded.

In 1663 France’s King Louis XIV was concerned about the slow growth of New France. He saw how the Spanish and English colonies to the south had prospered. His government created several projects to increase the colony’s population. It sent several thousand immigrants to the colony and rewarded parents who had many children. The French also began to explore North America. Louis Joliet, Jacques Marquette, and René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle explored the Mississippi River. La Salle claimed the region for France and named it Louisiana in honor of the French king.

10. Why did New France grow slowly?
The geography and climate of the lower Mississippi hindered settlement. The French did not permanently settle the region until 1698. Several settlements were established in Louisiana over the next few decades. The French soon realized that crops that were suitable for the region, such as sugarcane, rice, tobacco, and indigo, required hard manual labor, which few settlers were willing to do. The French in Louisiana began importing enslaved Africans and forced them to work the plantations.

The Spanish had established the town of St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565 to protect their claim to the region after the French tried to settle north of the region. The town became the first permanent settlement established by Europeans in the present-day United States. After the French arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi River, the Spanish established a mission in eastern Texas to attempt to block French expansion into that region.

11. Why did the French begin importing enslaved Africans to Louisiana?
The United States Constitution guarantees freedom of religion. What does that freedom mean? Why is having this freedom important to a democracy?

The last chapter discussed Spanish and French settlement of the Americas. This section discusses the English exploration and settlement of North America.

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The English people had religious and economic reasons for coming to America. List the reasons below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Go to America</th>
<th>1. Religious Reasons</th>
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<th>English Go to America</th>
<th>2. Economic Reasons</th>
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READ TO LEARN

- **England Takes Interest in America** *(page 42)*

In 1497 England sent John Cabot to find a western route to Asia. He landed in present-day Nova Scotia and sailed southward along the Atlantic coast. Although Cabot had arrived in America only a few years after Columbus had, the English government did not attempt to establish colonies there for another 80 years. However, in the late 1500s, changes in England occurred that led to English colonization in America.

One change had to do with religion. In the early 1500s, western Europe was Catholic. However, in 1517 a German monk named Martin Luther accused the Church of corruption. This started the Protestant Reformation. Luther founded the German Protestant Church, which became the Lutheran Church. The Reformation spread to other parts of Europe. In England the Reformation occurred when the pope refused to annul King Henry VIII’s marriage. The king broke with the Church and declared himself the head of England’s church, which became known as the Anglican Church. Some people wanted the Anglican Church to keep the organization of the Catholic Church. Others wanted to “purify” the Church of all Catholic elements. These people were known as **Puritans.** They wanted every congregation to appoint its own leaders, rather than having the king appoint them. In 1603 King James I refused to let the Puritans change the organization of the Church. As a result, many Puritans left England for America in order to practice their religion in their own way.

England also experienced economic changes. Much of England was divided into large estates. The nobles rented their land to tenant farmers. Then in the 1500s, Europeans began to buy English wool. English landowners realized that they could make more money by raising sheep than by renting their land. They enclosed their land for sheep farming and forced the tenant farmers to leave the land. This **enclosure movement** caused some poor people to leave England for a better life in America.

When England began producing more wool than Europe would buy, merchants began to look for new markets. They began to organize **joint-stock companies,** in which many investors pooled their money to use for large projects. Doing so allowed English merchants to trade with and colonize other parts of the world without financial support from the government.

3. What caused some English tenant farmers to leave England for America?
• England Returns to America (page 44)

England needed new markets for its wool, so it again became interested in America. At the same time, the Reformation had changed Europe’s balance of power. England had become the leading Protestant power while Spain was the leading Catholic power. The two countries became enemies. By the 1560s, most Dutch people, who were part of the Spanish Empire, had become Protestants. When the Spanish tried to stop Protestantism in the Netherlands, the Dutch rebelled. England came to the aid of the Dutch. Queen Elizabeth allowed privateers to attack Spanish ships. Privateers are privately owned ships licensed by the government to attack merchant ships of other countries.

English privateers had a difficult time against the Spanish in the Caribbean because they had no bases in the area. Queen Elizabeth’s advisers urged her to establish bases in America. As a result, the queen gave Walter Raleigh a charter to explore the American coastline. His ships landed on Roanoke, an island off the North Carolina coast. He named the land Virginia.

4. Why did England and Spain become enemies in the mid-1500s?

• Jamestown Is Founded (page 45)

In 1606 King James I granted the Virginia Company, a group of investors, a charter to start colonies in Virginia. The company sent 144 colonists to Virginia, and they founded the settlement of Jamestown in 1607. However, the settlement faced many problems. Many of the colonists knew nothing about farming. The upper-class colonists were not used to manual labor and refused to do it. They also argued with one another and were not able to make decisions. As a result, lawlessness, sickness, and food shortages killed many of the settlers.

Captain John Smith, the leader of the settlement, began trading with the Powhatan Confederacy, the local Native Americans. Their leader, Chief Powhatan, helped the colony survive. To increase the population of Jamestown, the Virginia Company offered free land to people who worked for the colony for seven years. About 400 new settlers arrived in 1609. However, there was not enough food for these settlers, and by winter they began to steal food from the Native Americans. As a result, the Native Americans attacked the settlers. By 1610 only 60 settlers were still alive. By 1614 the colony still had not found something it could produce that could be sold in England for a profit. It looked to growing tobacco.

The Jamestown colonists tried growing tobacco, but the crop grown there was too bitter. John Rolfe, a Jamestown colonist, experimented with seeds from Trinidad, a Caribbean nation. His tobacco sold for a good price, and the Jamestown settlers began planting large amounts of it.
In 1618 the head of the Virginia Company gave Jamestown the right to elect its own legislative assembly. The new government included 20 representatives, called **burgesses**. The assembly was called the House of Burgesses. To attract new settlers to Virginia, the company also started the system of **headrights**. New settlers who bought a share in the company or who paid for their passage were given 50 acres of land and 50 more acres for additional family members. In 1619 the Virginia Company brought 90 women to the colony to provide for marriage opportunities. That same year, the settlers purchased 20 Africans as servants.

The changes introduced by the Virginia Company attracted many new settlers to Virginia. This increase upset the Native Americans, and they attacked the settlers. Hundreds of settlers died. The king, upset about the colony’s high death rate, took back the Virginia Company’s charter. He made Virginia a royal colony and appointed a governor to run the colony.

5. What changes made by the Virginia Company attracted settlers to Virginia?

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- **Maryland is Founded** *(page 47)*

In England, Catholics did not accept the king as head of the Church. As a result, many were persecuted. **Lord Baltimore**, who had been a member of the English Parliament until he converted to Catholicism, decided to found a colony in America where Catholics could practice their faith without persecution. In 1632 King Charles granted Baltimore an area of land northeast of Virginia, which he named Maryland. Baltimore owned Maryland, making it a **proprietary colony**. The proprietor, or owner, could govern the colony as he saw fit.

Lord Baltimore’s son Cecil became the head of the colony when Lord Baltimore died. Although Lord Baltimore hoped that Maryland would become a refuge for Catholics, most of the settlers were Protestant.

6. What kind of colony was Maryland?
The New England Colonies

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Separatists  Puritans who broke away from the Anglican Church to form their own congregations *(page 48)*
Pilgrims  a group of Separatists who fled to America to escape persecution *(page 49)*
Squanto  a Native American who helped the Pilgrims survive *(page 49)*
Great Migration  the movement of large numbers of people from England *(page 50)*
heretics  people whose religious beliefs differ from those accepted by the majority *(page 50)*
Anne Hutchinson  founder of the town of Portsmouth *(page 51)*

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What images come to mind when you think of New England? What major cities are found there?

In the last section you learned about English exploration and settlement of North America. This section describes the founding of the New England colonies.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

The English established several colonies in New England. In the diagram below, identify the people who were important in establishing each of the colonies.
READ TO LEARN

• The Pilgrims Found Plymouth Colony (page 48)

When some Puritans, called Separatists, broke away from the Anglican Church, they were persecuted by the English government. To escape persecution, they fled to Holland in 1608. However, some of these Separatists, known as Pilgrims, found it difficult to live in Holland and decided to immigrate to America. They left on the Mayflower in 1620. After a storm blew the ship off course, they landed at a place across Massachusetts Bay called Plymouth.

Under the leadership of William Bradford, the Pilgrims went to work as soon as they arrived at Plymouth. They also received help from a Native American named Squanto. He taught the Pilgrims how to farm and fish. He also helped them work out a treaty with the Native Americans who lived nearby. The following autumn, the Pilgrims joined the Native Americans in a festival to celebrate the harvest. The festival became the basis for Thanksgiving Day.

7. Why did the Pilgrims immigrate to America?

• The Puritans Found Massachusetts (page 49)

Most Puritans stayed in England and tried to reform the Anglican Church. However, persecution of the Puritans increased in the mid-1620s, when King Charles took the throne. At the same time, a depression hit England’s wool industry. It hit especially hard in southeastern England, where many Puritans lived. John Winthrop, a Puritan and wealthy attorney, wanted to help the Puritans leave England. He was one of the stockholders in the Massachusetts Bay Company, which had received a charter from the king to create a colony in New England. Winthrop used the charter to find a refuge in America for the Puritans. In 1630 about 900 settlers set sail for America. They arrived in Massachusetts.

More settlers followed, and Massachusetts quickly expanded. Several towns were founded, including Boston. As conditions in England worsened, more people left in what became known as the Great Migration.

The government of Massachusetts was based on the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Those who owned stock in the company were called “freemen,” and all of the freemen made up the General Court. The General Court made the laws and elected the governor. John Winthrop was
chosen the first governor. The General Court eventually became a representative assembly. Every year the freemen of each town elected up to three deputies to send to the General Court. Laws required everyone in the colony to attend church services. The government collected taxes to support the Church. The government also regulated behavior. The leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony did not tolerate differences in religious beliefs. Heretics, or people whose religious beliefs differed from those of the majority, were considered a threat to the colony.

8. Why did many Puritans leave England in 1630?

- The Founding of Rhode Island (page 50)

Roger Williams was a strict Separatist who believed that the Puritans should not have remained a part of the Anglican Church. However, his criticism of the Puritan churches angered many Puritans, and he decided to move to Plymouth Colony. When Williams returned to Massachusetts in 1633, he continued to challenge Puritan authority. Finally, in 1635 the General Court ordered him to leave Massachusetts. Williams headed south, where he bought land from the Native Americans and founded the town of Providence. There the government did not involve itself in religious matters.

Anne Hutchinson also lived in Massachusetts. A devout Puritan, she began holding prayer meetings in her home and soon developed a wide following. However, when she began challenging the authority of Puritan ministers, the General Court charged her with heresy and banished her for it. She and some of her followers headed south and founded the town of Portsmouth.

Over the years, other Puritans were banished from Massachusetts. They headed south and founded the towns of Newport and Warwick. In 1644 these two towns joined with Providence and Portsmouth to become the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

9. How was the colony of Rhode Island different from Massachusetts?
• The River Towns of Connecticut *(page 51)*

In 1636 the Reverend Thomas Hooker moved his entire congregation to the Connecticut River valley. Hooker was frustrated with the government in Massachusetts because he thought that everyone, not just church members, should be allowed to vote. Hooker and his followers left Massachusetts and founded the town of Hartford. In 1637 Hartford and two other towns joined together and created their own General Court. They adopted a constitution known as the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut. This was the first written constitution of the American colonies. It provided for all adult men, not just church members, to elect the governor and the General Court.

The Pequot were a Native American group who lived in the Connecticut River valley. When two Massachusetts traders were killed in Pequot territory, Massachusetts sent troops to punish the Pequot. A war started, and the Pequot began raiding towns along the river. The Connecticut settlers organized an army under Captain John Mason. Other Native American groups, enemies of the Pequot, fought alongside Mason’s army. Hundreds of Pequot were killed. Those who were captured were sold into slavery or given to other Native Americans groups as war prizes. The Connecticut government resettled some Pequot in two villages.

10. Why did Thomas Hooker move his congregation to the Connecticut River valley?

• New Hampshire and Maine *(page 52)*

Some people who disagreed with Puritan authority in Massachusetts moved north of the colony. Massachusetts granted this northern area to two men, who split their grant in two. The southern part was named New Hampshire and the northern part was named Maine. Massachusetts claimed both parts, but the two men challenged the claims in court. An English court ruled against Massachusetts in 1677. In 1679 New Hampshire became a royal colony. Massachusetts bought back Maine, which remained a part of Massachusetts until 1820.

11. What two colonies were started north of Massachusetts?
King Philip’s War (page 52)

After the Pequot War, the Native Americans and New England settlers enjoyed peaceful relations. However, by the 1670s, colonial governments began demanding that the Native Americans follow English law. This demand angered Native Americans, who believed that the English were trying to destroy their way of life.

In 1675 the Plymouth Colony tried and executed three Wampanoag for a murder. The Wampanoag warriors then attacked the settlers. This attack marked the beginning of King Philip’s War, named after the Wampanoag leader. The settlers won the war in 1678. After the war, few Native Americans were left in New England. New England now belonged to the English settlers.

12. Why did Native Americans living in New England become angry with the English settlers?
**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

What factors do you think are most important for people in deciding where to live? What factors would be important to you?

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. England continued to establish colonies in America throughout the late 1600s and early 1700s. Identify an effect for each of the causes listed in the diagram.

**Cause**

1. After the Civil War, the English government decided that colonies were not a business risk.

2. England wanted the area of New Netherland as a link between Virginia and Maryland.

3. William Penn established a colony with readily available land and religious freedom.

**Effect**

1. 

2. 

3. 

---

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **English Civil War**: a war between the armies of the English Parliament and those of the English King (*page 54*)
- **William Penn**: a Quaker who founded the colony of Pennsylvania (*page 55*)
- **pacifism**: opposition to war or violence as a means to settle disputes (*page 55*)
- **James Oglethorpe**: founder of the colony of Georgia (*page 56*)
- **debtors**: people who could not pay their debts (*page 56*)
**READ TO LEARN**

- **The English Civil War and the Colonies** *(page 53)*

  In 1642 King Charles I sent troops into the English Parliament to arrest some Puritan leaders. Parliament then organized its own army, and the **English Civil War** began. Parliament’s army was victorious and the king was put to death in 1649. Oliver Cromwell, the head of Parliament’s army, seized power and became dictator of England.

  In 1660 Parliament asked King Charles’s son, Charles II, to take the throne. After the king was back on the throne, colonization began again. The English government now believed that colonies were no longer a risky business venture. Rather, the government believed that colonies were a good source of raw materials and a good market for manufactured goods.

  4. Which side do you think the New England colonies supported in the English Civil War?

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- **New York and New Jersey** *(page 54)*

  In 1609 Henry Hudson explored the Hudson River valley for a group of Dutch merchants. The Dutch claimed the region and called it New Netherland. Their major settlement was called New Amsterdam, located on Manhattan Island. Because fur trade was the major activity in New Netherland, the colony grew slowly. To increase the population, the Dutch allowed anyone to buy land in the colony. Settlers came from all parts of the world.

  King Charles II wanted New Netherland. Having this territory would link Virginia and Maryland to New England. In 1664 King Charles decided to take the land. He granted the land to his brother James, who sent warships to seize New Netherland from the Dutch. After taking the land, which he named New York, James later gave a large part of it to two of the king’s closest advisers and named the new colony New Jersey. To attract people to New Jersey, proprietors gave generous land grants, religious freedom, and the right to elect a legislative body.

  5. How did the proprietors of New Jersey attract settlers to the colony?
• Pennsylvania and Delaware (page 55)

Charles II also gave a land grant to William Penn. Penn was a wealthy Quaker who used the grant to create a colony in America for Quakers. Quakers believed that religion was a personal experience. They believed that there was no need for a church or ministers. Quakers were against political or religious authority. They believed in pacifism, which is opposition to war or violence as a way of settling conflicts. The English government and others often persecuted Quakers for their beliefs.

Penn used the land grant and started a colony across the Delaware River from New Jersey. He named the colony Pennsylvania. He wanted the colony to be a place where people had complete political and religious freedom. He signed a treaty with the local Native Americans, who gave the land to the colonists. This action started a time of peace between the European settlers and the Native Americans that lasted many years. Penn built the capital of Pennsylvania and named it Philadelphia, or the “city of brotherly love.”

Pennsylvania had a lawmaking body that was elected directly by voters. All colonists who owned land and believed in Christianity had the right to vote. All Pennsylvanians had the right to practice their religion with no interference. Land was readily available. In addition to English Quakers, many Germans and Scotch-Irish immigrated to Pennsylvania. By 1684 Pennsylvania had more than 7,000 colonists and Philadelphia became a center for trade. In 1682 Penn bought more land south of Pennsylvania. This land later became the colony of Delaware.

6. What rights did Pennsylvanians have?

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• New Southern Colonies (page 55)

King Charles granted a territory south of Virginia to several friends. The land was named Carolina. It developed into two separate regions: North Carolina and South Carolina. Most people who came to North Carolina were farmers from Virginia. North Carolina did not have a good harbor. As a result, it grew slowly.
The proprietors were more interested in South Carolina. They believed that the land there was good for growing sugarcane. However, sugarcane did not grow well there. Eventually, the colony began to capture Native Americans and ship them to the Caribbean as enslaved workers. The first settlers in South Carolina arrived in 1670 and named their settlement Charles Town, which is known today as Charleston.

In the 1720s James Oglethorpe, a member of Parliament, began investigating English prisons and was shocked to find out that many were debtors—people sent to prison because they could not pay their debts. He asked King George II for a colony where people who owed debts could start over. England was eager to give Oglethorpe the land. Not only would it help England’s poor, but it would also give England a buffer between South Carolina and Spanish Florida. The new colony was named Georgia. It established strict laws. Settlers from many other countries came to Georgia. Eventually, they began to object to the strict laws of the colony. The owners of the colony eventually lifted some of the laws. They also set up an elected lawmaking body. In 1751 the owners gave control of the colony back to the king. Georgia became a royal colony.

7. Why did James Oglethorpe start the Georgia colony?


**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **cash crop** crop grown primarily for market (page 59)
- **indentured servant** person who agreed to work for an employer in the colonies in exchange for passage to America (page 59)
- **subsistence farming** system of farming in which farmers produce only enough crops to feed themselves and their families (page 59)
- **Nathaniel Bacon** leader of a militia who attacked threatening Native Americans and battled for control of Jamestown (page 60)
- **slave code** a set of laws that formally regulated slavery and defined the relationship between enslaved Africans and free people (page 61)
- **entrepreneurs** business people who risk their money for a profit (page 63)
- **capitalists** people who invest their money in new businesses (page 63)
- **triangular trade** a three-way trade established by New England merchants (page 64)

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

What images come to mind when you hear the word *plantation*? Where did these images come from?

In this section, you will learn about the economies that developed in the Southern colonies. You will also learn how slavery developed there.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Acquiring land was an important issue in the Southern colonies in the 1600s. Bacon’s Rebellion was one such conflict. List the effects of Bacon’s Rebellion in the spaces provided.

**Effects**

1.  
2.
The economy of the Southern Colonies depended on commercial agriculture. Tobacco became the South's first successful cash crop, or crop grown primarily for market. Rice and indigo were also important cash crops. They needed the right kind of climate and techniques to be grown. This need resulted in the start of plantations, or large commercial estates where many workers lived on the land and cultivated the crops for the landowner.

The Southern Colonies had plenty of land for growing tobacco, but not enough workers. England had many poor tenant farmers without work. Many of these people were willing to sell their labor for a chance to come to America and obtain land. To pay for their journey, these people agreed to become indentured servants. The American colonists agreed to pay the cost of the passage and to provide food, shelter, and clothing for the servants until their labor contracts ended. The servants agreed to work for the owners for a certain number of years. About half of the indentured servants who came to Virginia and Maryland in the 1600s died before receiving their freedom. Even those who became free were rarely able to purchase their own land.

At first, farmers in South Carolina were unable to grow rice because they did not know how to harvest it properly. Then planters began to grow a new type of rice and decided to import enslaved Africans to raise it. Rice soon became a major cash crop.

In the early 1740s, Eliza Lucas discovered that indigo, a plant used to make blue dye, could grow on high ground and sandy soil. Indigo could be grown on land unsuitable for rice. It quickly became a good second cash crop.

Very few planters actually became wealthy. However, planters who could afford a large labor force and many acres of land could produce a large crop and extend their estates. This resulted in a wealthy elite who controlled most of the land and needed workers to work the land. These wealthy landowners were referred to as the Southern gentry. They influenced much of the economy and politics of the region.

Because of the few towns and roads in the region, the Southern plantations were self-contained communities. A large plantation included the planter’s house, the workers’ houses, a school, a chapel, and workshops. Tenant farmers worked lands that they rented from the planter elite.
The majority of landowners in the South were small farmers. They generally bought land in the “backcountry” farther inland. The farmers in the backcountry worked small plots of land and lived in small houses. They practiced **subsistence farming**, or growing only enough crops to feed their own families. By the late 1600s, Southern society was divided into a wealthy elite at the top and poor backcountry farmers, tenant farmers, indentured servants, and enslaved Africans at the bottom.

3. How was Southern society divided by the late 1600s?

- **Bacon’s Rebellion** *(page 59)*

  By the 1660s, Sir William Berkeley controlled the House of Burgesses—Virginia’s legislative assembly. He arranged for the House to limit the vote to people who owned property. This act cut the number of voters in Virginia by half. This angered the backcountry and tenant farmers.

  Backcountry farmers also wanted to expand their landholdings. By the 1670s, the only land left was that claimed by Native Americans. Most wealthy planters lived near the coast in the region known as the Tidewater. They did not want to risk war with the Native Americans, so they opposed expanding the colony. This angered the backcountry farmers.

  In 1675 war broke out between backcountry farmers and the Native Americans of the region. Governor Berkeley did not authorize military action. His lack of response angered the backcountry farmers. In April 1676, a group of backcountry farmers led by a wealthy planter named **Nathaniel Bacon** took action. Bacon organized a militia and attacked the Native Americans. He ran for office and won a seat in the House of Burgesses. The assembly authorized another attack on the Native Americans. The House also restored the vote to all free men.

  Bacon was not satisfied with the changes. In July 1676, he and several hundred armed men returned to Jamestown and took power from Berkeley, charging him with corruption. Berkeley raised his own army and the two sides fought for control of Jamestown. Jamestown was burned down. Bacon’s Rebellion ended when Bacon became sick and died.
Bacon’s Rebellion showed many wealthy planters that they needed to have land available for backcountry farmers in order to keep Virginia society stable. It also resulted in the planters using enslaved Africans more than indentured servants. They used enslaved Africans because they never had to be freed and therefore would never need land. The policies of the English government also encouraged slavery. In 1672 King Charles II granted a charter to the Royal African Company to start a slave trade. The English colonists no longer had to purchase enslaved Africans from the Dutch or the Portuguese.

4. How did the policies of the English government help increase slave labor in Virginia?

________________________________________________________________________

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• Slavery in the Colonies (page 60)

By 1870 between 10 and 12 million Africans had been transported by force to the Americas from West Africa. They endured horrible conditions on crowded ships. The passage across the Atlantic Ocean was known as the Middle Passage.

When the first Africans arrived in Virginia in 1619, English law did not recognize slavery. As a result, these Africans were treated like indentured servants. However, as the number of Africans increased in Virginia and Maryland, their status began to change. In 1705 Virginia enacted a slave code, a set of laws that formally regulated slavery and defined the relationship between enslaved Africans and free people. Other colonies also enacted slave codes. Under these laws, Africans could not own property and could not meet in large numbers. By the early 1700s, slavery had become an accepted institution, especially in the Southern Colonies where the work of enslaved Africans was important to the plantation economy.

5. How were the first Africans to arrive in Virginia treated?

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________________________________________________________________________
• Life in New England (page 61)

Unlike in the Southern Colonies, the climate and soil in New England was unsuitable for the development of large plantations. New England farmers practiced subsistence farming. The main crop grown in New England was corn, which was suitable for the region’s short growing season and rocky soil. New England farmers also raised livestock.

Because of New England’s geography, fishing became a major industry in the region. The Grand Banks lay northeast of New England in the Atlantic Ocean, and it teemed with a large number and variety of fish. New England had good harbors and plenty of timber for building fishing boats. Whaling was also an important industry. The whale’s blubber, intestines, and bones were used to make a variety of products.

New England also developed a large timber industry. Forests covered much of New England. Maine and New Hampshire had many waterfalls, which were used to power sawmills. The lumber was then transported downriver to the coast and then shipped to other colonies and to England. The lumber was used to make goods such as furniture and barrels. It was also used to build ships. Shipbuilding became another important industry in New England.

The town was the center of New England society. It determined how the land was settled and how the people were governed. The residents of towns met to discuss local problems and issues. These town meetings eventually became the local town government. Anyone could attend a town meeting, but only men who were granted land by the town could vote.

The men who were chosen to run the town’s affairs were called selectmen. They appointed other officials the town needed. Town meetings led people to believe that they had a right to govern themselves. They helped set the stage for democratic government in the colonies.

New England Puritans were expected to attend Sunday worship. They were expected to obey strict rules that regulated most activities of daily life. Puritans also felt that they had a duty to watch over the moral behavior of others. Although Puritans appeared to be intolerant and rigid, they did enjoy activities that were fun.

6. Why were town meetings important?
• Life in the Middle Colonies (page 63)

Unlike the New England Colonies, the Middle Colonies had abundant rich soil and a long growing season suitable for farming. Farmers grew a variety of crops, but wheat became the main cash crop. The Middle Colonies had three wide rivers that ran deep into the region’s interior. The rivers allowed farmers to move their goods to the Atlantic coast to ship to other markets.

In the early 1700s, Europe experienced a population explosion. The increased number of people in Europe created a big demand for wheat to feed these people. As a result, wheat prices in the Middle Colonies soared, making these colonies very profitable. Also at that time, many Europeans immigrated to America, particularly to the Middle Colonies.

The wheat trade and the increase of new settlers changed society in the Middle Colonies. Some farmers became very wealthy by hiring immigrants to work their land and grow large amounts of wheat for sale. Other colonists grew wealthy by becoming entrepreneurs. These were businesspeople who risked their money buying land and equipment and selling them to the new immigrants for a profit. The wheat boom also created a new group of capitalists, people who had money to invest in new businesses. Most farmers in the Middle Colonies, however, did not become wealthy.

7. How did the geography of the Middle Colonies help make the colonies prosperous?

• Trade and the Rise of Cities (page 63)

New England produced few products that England wanted. However, England produced many goods that New England colonists wanted. To get these goods, New England merchants had to sell products from New England somewhere else in exchange for goods that England wanted. The sugar plantations in the Caribbean wanted to buy New England’s food and lumber. The planters would pay for the goods by trading sugar or by giving the New England merchants bills of exchange. These were credit slips that English merchants had given to the planters earlier in exchange for sugar. The New England merchants would take the bills back to New England and trade them to English merchants for their manufactured goods. The three-way trade New England merchants developed with the Caribbean colonies is an example of triangular trade.
The development of trade in the colonies led to the growth of America’s first cities, such as Philadelphia and Charles Town. Distinct social classes developed in these cities. Wealthy merchants made up the top social class. This class made up a minority of the urban population. Artisans, or skilled workers who manufactured goods, made up about half of the urban population. Artisans included carpenters, masons, silversmiths, and glassmakers. Innkeepers and people who owned their own businesses were part of the same social class as artisans. Below the artisan class were the people without skills or property. They included people who loaded ships, servants, and street sweepers. Below this social class were indentured servants and enslaved Africans.

The rapid growth of cities created problems such as overcrowding, pollution, and crime. City governments created specific departments to deal with these problems. Various charities tried to help the growing number of poor people in the cities.

8. How did New Englanders get the manufactured goods they wanted from England?
Chapter 2, Section 5

For use with textbook pages 65–69

A DIVERSE SOCIETY

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

mercantilism  a set of ideas about the world economy and how it works (page 65)
John Locke  a political philosopher who wrote about individuals’ natural rights and the role of
government (page 67)
Enlightenment  a movement that promoted the idea that people should use reason and natural
law to shape society (page 68)
revivals  large public meetings for preaching and prayer (page 69)
Great Awakening  a religious movement that stressed emotionally uniting with God and gained
appeal among farmers, workers, and slaves (page 69)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What rights do you think all people have? What rights do you have as a student in your school? As a member of your community?

The last section described the economy of New England and the Middle Colonies. This section discusses the measures that England adopted to make the American colonies more profitable and how with wealth, a new spirit of independence began to emerge.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Mercantilism was a popular idea in the 1600s and 1700s. List some of the major ideas of mercantilism.
READ TO LEARN

• Mercantilism (page 65)

Mercantilism, a set of ideas about the world economy and how it works, was very popular in the 1600s and 1700s. Mercantilists believed that a country could become wealthy by accumulating gold and silver. It could do this by selling more goods to other countries than it bought from them. By doing so, more gold and silver would flow into the country than would flow out. Mercantilists also believed that a country should establish colonies in order to buy raw materials from the colonies and, in turn, sell them manufactured goods. Mercantilism benefited colonies by giving them a ready market for their raw materials. The drawback, however, was that it prevented colonies from selling their goods to other nations. Also, if a colony did not make goods that the home country needed, then that colony could not accumulate the gold and silver it needed to buy manufactured goods. The New England colonies had that problem, which made them turn to triangular trade and smuggling.

When King Charles II came to the throne, he decided to regulate trade with the colonies in order to bring wealth to England. In 1660 he asked Parliament to pass the Navigation Act. The act said that all goods coming in and out of the colonies had to be carried on English ships. The act also listed specific raw materials that could be sold only to England or to other English colonies. The list included the major goods that earned money for the colonies. Another navigation act said that all merchants bringing European goods to the colonies had to stop in England, pay taxes, and then ship the goods on English ships.

Colonial merchants were angry, and many broke the new laws. Massachusetts in particular defied the Navigation Acts. King Charles responded by taking away the colony’s charter and making it a royal colony.

James II, who succeeded Charles as king, went even further in punishing the colonies. Under his authority, England merged the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode Island to create a new royal province called the Dominion of New England. Later, England added Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey to the Dominion.

The king appointed Sir Edmond Andros the first governor-general. His harsh rule made nearly everyone in New England angry.

5. Why did England pass the Navigation Acts?
The Glorious Revolution of 1688 (page 66)

The English people were growing suspicious of King James II. He rejected the advice of Parliament and offended many of them by openly practicing Catholicism.

The birth of James’s son triggered protests against a Catholic heir. Not willing to risk a Catholic dynasty, Parliament asked William and Mary to take the throne. When William arrived, James fled the country. This bloodless change of power became known as the Glorious Revolution.

In 1689 Parliament enacted the English Bill of Rights. It outlined the powers the king did not have and the rights that Parliament and citizens did have, such as the right to a fair jury in legal cases.

As soon as the Massachusetts colonists learned about the English Bill of Rights, an uprising occurred in Boston, and the colonists ousted Andros. The new monarchs permitted Rhode Island and Connecticut to resume their previous form of government, but they issued a new charter for Massachusetts. This charter combined Massachusetts Bay Colony, Plymouth Colony, and Maine into the royal colony of Massachusetts. The new charter allowed the people in the colony to elect an assembly, but the governor was to be appointed by the king. Voters did not have to be members of a Puritan congregation.

During the Glorious Revolution, a political philosopher named John Locke wrote a book entitled Two Treatises of Government. In the book, Locke argued that a monarch’s right to rule had to come from the people. He said that all people were born with certain natural rights. These included the right to life, liberty, and property. He said that people came together to create a government to protect their rights. In return, the people agreed to obey the government’s laws. He also said that if a government violated the people’s rights, the people were justified in changing their system of government. Locke’s ideas influenced American colonists, who would use these ideas to start a revolution against Great Britain.

6. According to John Locke, why did people create a government?

America’s Population Grows (page 67)

The population of the American colonies increased dramatically by the mid-1700s. People in the colonies were having large families and many immigrants were arriving in America.
Many immigrants arrived in the colonies in the 1700s. German immigrants came to Pennsylvania in search of religious freedom and as a way to escape the religious wars in Germany. By 1775 Germans, known as the Pennsylvania Dutch, made up about one-third of the population. They became some of Pennsylvania’s most prosperous farmers.

The Scotch-Irish also flocked to Pennsylvania. Many left Ireland for the American colonies to escape rising taxes, poor harvests, and religious discrimination.

Jews first arrived in the colonies in the Dutch colony of New Netherland in the mid-1600s. They came to the colonies to practice their religion without persecution. Most Jews lived in colonial cities.

Women in the American colonies had few legal rights, particularly married women. A married woman could not own property. Single women and widows had more rights. They could own property, file lawsuits, and run businesses. By the 1700s, however, the status of married women in the colonies improved.

No group in the American colonies endured more hardship than enslaved Africans. Africans arrived in the colonies from many parts of West Africa. Most lived on Southern plantations, where they worked long days and were subject to harsh and cruel means to control them. Although slaveholders tried to force enslaved Africans to obey, Africans developed many ways to fight back against slavery. Some ran away, others would refuse to work hard or staged work slowdowns. Sometimes groups of enslaved people banded together to resist slaveholders. In 1739 a group of Africans gathered near the Stono River, attacked their white overseers, and fled toward Spanish Florida. The local militia ended the Stono Rebellion, which took the lives of 21 whites and 44 Africans.

7. What reasons did immigrants have for coming to the American colonies?
The Enlightenment and the Great Awakening

Two European cultural movements influenced American colonies. The Enlightenment championed human reason. The Enlightenment thinkers believed that people could apply natural laws to social, political, and economic relationships, and that people could figure out these laws if they used reason. John Locke was an influential Enlightenment writer. He argued that people were not born sinful, as the Church claimed. Instead, he believed that experience and education could make people better. This thinking influenced beliefs in American society.

Many Americans followed a religious movement that stressed an individual's devoutness and union with God. Ministers spread pietism through revivals, which were large public meetings for preaching and prayer. This rebirth of religious feelings became known as the Great Awakening. Two preachers of the Great Awakening were Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield. Both preachers led religious revivals throughout the colonies. A central idea of the Great Awakening was that people had to be "born again," or have an emotional experience that brings a person to God. Churches that accepted the new ideas, such as the Baptists and Methodists, saw an increase in their membership.

The Great Awakening had a great impact on the South, particularly among backcountry and tenant farmers. Baptist preachers condemned slavery and welcomed Africans at their revivals. As a result, thousands of enslaved Africans joined Baptist congregations. This angered the white planters, who feared that they would lose control of their workforce.

8. Why did many enslaved Africans join Baptist congregations?
The Colonies Fight for Their Rights

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **Albany Plan of Union** a proposal for the colonies to unite to form a federal government *(page 75)*
- **French and Indian War** the war between France and Britain in America *(page 75)*
- **Royal Proclamation of 1763** royal decree prohibiting settlement west of the Appalachian mountains *(page 76)*
- **customs duty** a tax on imports and exports *(page 77)*
- **Sons of Liberty** organization of colonists opposed to British rule *(page 77)*
- **Stamp Act Congress** representatives from nine colonies that drafted the Declaration of Rights and Grievances in 1765 *(page 77)*
- **nonimportation agreement** an agreement by New York merchants not to buy any British goods until Parliament repealed the Stamp Act *(page 78)*
- **writs of assistance** general search warrants *(page 78)*

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

Look at the title of this section. What kinds of rights do you think the colonists will be fighting for?

In this section, you will learn about the increasing tensions between Britain and the American colonies. You will also learn about the effect of the Stamp Act on Britain and the colonies.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Several laws and declarations passed by the British Parliament led to tensions between the colonists and Britain. List these acts in the diagram.
The French and English had fought three major wars in Europe between 1689 and 1748. The conflict spilled over into America. In the 1740s, both the British and the French became interested in the Ohio River valley. The French found that they could cross from Lake Ontario to the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and, thus, to Louisiana. British fur traders also came to the region, and British land speculators hoped to sell the land to settlers for profit. To block British claims, France ordered forts to be built from Lake Ontario to the Ohio River. Then the British ordered a fort to be built in western Pennsylvania. However, the French seized it before it could be completed and built a French fort, Fort Duquesne, at the site. George Washington, an officer in the Virginia militia, was asked to raise a force and get rid of the French. In the spring of 1754, Washington’s troops came upon a French force and a small battle occurred. Washington retreated, but the fighting that began there would grow into a war involving several European powers.

The British government had told the colonies to work together to prepare for the coming war. The government also told the colonies to negotiate an alliance with the Iroquois, who controlled western New York. This was territory that the French had to go through to reach the Ohio River. Seven colonies sent delegates to meet with Iroquois leaders at Albany, New York, in June 1754. This meeting became known as the Albany Conference.

The Iroquois refused an alliance with the British, but did agree to remain neutral. The colonies agreed to appoint one commander of all British troops in the colonies. Finally, the conference issued the Albany Plan of Union, which proposed that the colonies unite to form a federal government. Many colonies rejected the plan, but it showed that many leaders were beginning to think about the colonies coming together for defense.

In 1755 Edward Braddock, the British commander in chief, arrived in Virginia with British troops. He connected with local militia troops and made Lieutenant Colonel George Washington his aide. Braddock was not worried about Native American allies of the French. He believed that the British would be able to defend against the Native Americans. However, Native American and French forces did ambush the British troops near Fort Duquesne. Braddock was killed. Washington rallied the British troops and organized a retreat. The Native Americans of western Pennsylvania now realized that they could beat the British. As a result, they began attacking British settlers in their territory.

The French and Indian War took place along the frontier. Both sides raided each other’s territory. In 1756 the fighting between England and France then spread to Europe, where it became known as the Seven Years’ War. The British cut off French supplies to North America. Knowing that the British were gaining the upper hand, the Iroquois pressured the Native Americans in Pennsyl-
vania to end their attacks on the British. The French were now outnumbered. The British defeated the French at a battle at Quebec City. Spain entered the war on the side of the French.

The Treaty of Paris finally ended the war in 1763. It also ended French power in North America. New France and all of Louisiana east of the Mississippi became part of the British Empire. Spain lost Florida to Britain but kept Cuba and the Philippines. Spain also gained New Orleans and the land west of the Mississippi.

7. What was the purpose of the Albany Plan of Union?

• The Colonies Grow Discontented (page 76)
The French and Indian War caused the British government to borrow a large amount of money to pay for the war. Many British officials believed that the colonies should pay for part of the war.

In the spring of 1763, Pontiac, the Ottawa chief, united several Native American groups and convinced them to attack forts along the frontier. The Native Americans were upset about British settlers moving into western Pennsylvania. The British did not want to pay for another war. So in October 1763, Britain issued the Royal Proclamation of 1763. It declared that colonists could not settle west of the Appalachian Mountains without the British government’s permission. The proclamation upset many farmers who wanted more land.

Merchants in the east were upset about new British tax policies. In 1763 George Grenville became the prime minister and first Lord of the Treasury. He had to find a way to lower the British debt and to pay for thousands of troops stationed in North America. As a result, he set up new tax policies. Grenville discovered that British custom agents in America were collecting very little money. Merchants were smuggling goods in and out of the colonies without paying customs duties, or taxes on imports and exports. Britain passed a law that said those accused of smuggling would be tried at a British court in Nova Scotia instead of colonial courts. Colonial courts were more sympathetic to smugglers, however.

Grenville also introduced the Sugar Act in 1764. It changed the tax rates for sugar and molasses imported from foreign colonies. Colonial merchants complained to Parliament that the Sugar Act hurt trade. The act also went against
English rights because merchants accused of smuggling were presumed guilty until proven innocent. The act also allowed British officials to seize goods without due process, or proper court procedures. Parliament did not pay attention to the merchants’ concerns.

Many pamphlets began circulating in colonial cities. They condemned the Sugar Act. One pamphlet argued that because the colonists had no representatives in Parliament, they could not be taxed. The Sugar Act, however, remained in force. Grenville introduced new policies. The Currency Act of 1764 banned the use of paper money because it tended to lose its value quickly. This angered colonial farmers and artisans. They liked paper money because it could be used to pay back loans. Since the money was not worth as much as when they borrowed it, the loans were easy to pay back.

8. Why did some colonists believe that they should not be taxed?

• The Stamp Act Crisis (page 77)

In March 1765, Parliament passed the Stamp Act to raise more money. It called for stamps to be placed on most printed materials, such as newspapers, pamphlets, wills, dice, and playing cards. The Stamp Act was the first direct tax that Britain had placed on the colonists. Parliament then passed the Quartering Act. It called for colonies to provide shelter for British troops. Protests to the Stamp Act spread throughout the colonies. In Virginia, the House of Burgesses passed resolutions declaring that Virginians should be granted the rights of British people and could only be taxed by their own representatives. Other assemblies passed similar resolutions, and groups called the Sons of Liberty were organized. The Sons of Liberty organized meetings and demonstrations.

In October 1765, representatives from nine colonies met for the Stamp Act Congress and issued the Declaration of Rights and Grievances. It said that only colonial political representatives and not Parliament had the right to tax the colonists. When the Stamp Act took effect in November 1765, the colonists ignored it. Colonists boycotted British goods. In New York, 200 merchants signed a nonimportation agreement. They promised not to buy British goods until Parliament repealed the Stamp Act.

The boycott had an effect on Britain. Thousands of British workers lost their jobs. The British could not collect money that the colonists owed them. The British repealed the Stamp Act in 1766. However, Parliament then passed the Declaratory Act. It said that Parliament had the power to make laws for the colonies.
9. How did the colonists respond to the Stamp Act?

- **The Townshend Acts** *(page 78)*

  Britain continued to have financial problems. In 1767 Charles Townshend, a new minister in charge of British finances, set up new laws and taxes. They were called the Townshend Acts. One of the acts was the Revenue Act of 1767. It placed taxes on glass, lead, paper, and tea imported into the colonies. The Revenue Act legalized the use of writs of assistance. Writs were general search warrants. They were used to help customs officers arrest smugglers.

  The Townshend Acts angered many colonists. The Massachusetts assembly started organizing resistance against Britain. One of the leaders of the resistance was Sam Adams. He and James Otis wrote a letter for the assembly to pass and to send to other colonies expressing opposition to the Townshend Acts. The British government ordered the Massachusetts assembly to withdraw the letter. When the assembly refused, the government ordered the assembly to dissolve. The merchants of Boston and New York and then those in Philadelphia signed nonimportation agreements.

  In May 1769, the Virginia House of Burgesses passed the Virginia Resolves, which said that only the House of Burgesses had the right to tax Virginians. Britain ordered the Virginia governor to dissolve the House of Burgesses. The leaders of the House called members to a convention. This convention passed a law that blocked the sale of British goods in Virginia.

  The boycott spread through the colonies. Americans stopped drinking British tea and stopped buying British cloth. The Sons of Liberty encouraged people to support the boycott. In the fall of 1768, violence against customs officers in Boston increased. The British sent 1,000 troops to keep order. Colonists began harassing the troops. On March 5, 1770, colonists began throwing snowballs at a British soldier guarding a customs house. In the commotion that followed, the British troops began firing into the crowd. Five people were killed and six were wounded. The shootings became known as the Boston Massacre. News of the violence raced throughout the colonies. A few weeks later, news arrived that the British had repealed almost all of the Townshend Acts. Parliament, however, kept a tax on tea to show it had a right to tax the colonies. The repeal of the Townshend Acts brought a temporary peace to the colonies.

10. How did Britain respond to the Boston Massacre?
Chapter 3, Section 2

For use with textbook pages 82–89

THE REVOLUTION BEGINS

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

**committee of correspondence** committee designed to communicate with other colonies about British activities (page 83)

**Boston Tea Party** a raid by colonists on British tea ships (page 83)

**Intolerable Acts** a group of laws that led the colonists to believe that the British were trying to seize control of the colonial governments (page 84)

**Suffolk Resolves** resolutions urging colonists not to obey the Coercive Acts and to arm themselves against the British (page 85)

**minutemen** a special unit of the militia trained to fight at a minute’s notice (page 85)

**Loyalist** Americans who backed Britain (page 85)

**Patriot** Americans who believed the British had become tyrants (page 85)

**Olive Branch Petition** document sent to King George declaring the colonists’ loyalty to the king (page 87)

**Common Sense** Thomas Paine’s pamphlet attacking the monarchy and urging independence (page 89)

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

Who was Paul Revere? What was the purpose of Paul Revere’s ride?

The last section described the growing tensions between the British Parliament and the colonists. This section discusses the first battles between Britain and the colonies.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the chart below to help you take notes. Several battles between the British and the colonists occurred before the colonies declared their independence. List the battles and their results in the chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Battle</th>
<th>Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Battle at Lexington</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battle at Concord</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battle of Bunker Hill</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Massachusetts Defies Britain (page 82)**

In 1772 the British introduced new policies that again angered the American colonies. The British sent customs ships to patrol North American shores to stop smugglers. One such ship was the Gaspee. It was stationed off Rhode Island. Rhode Islanders were upset about the ship because it often searched ships without a warrant. As a result, when the Gaspee ran aground in June 1772, colonists seized and burned the ship.

The British were furious. They sent a commission to investigate and to bring suspects to Britain for trial. Colonists were furious because they believed that it took away their right to a trial by a jury of their peers. Rhode Island’s assembly sent a letter to other colonial assemblies for help. When the Virginia House of Burgesses received the letter, Thomas Jefferson suggested that each colony set up a committee of correspondence to communicate with the other colonies about British activities. The committees helped unify the colonies. They also helped colonial leaders coordinate their plans to resist the British.

In May 1773, England’s new prime minister, Lord North, decided to help the British East India Company, which was almost bankrupt. British taxes on tea had caused colonists to smuggle in cheaper Dutch tea. To help the company sell its tea, Parliament passed the Tea Act of 1773. The act allowed East India Company tea to be sold at lower prices than smuggled Dutch tea. Colonists were angered. In October 1773, the East India Company shipped 1,253 chests to several colonial cities, including Boston. The committees of correspondence decided the tea must not be allowed to land. Colonists in some colonies forced the ships to turn back. The tea ships arrived in Boston Harbor in December 1773. On the night before the customs officials were planning to take the tea ashore, about 150 men boarded the ships and dumped 342 chests of tea into the harbor. The raid became known as the Boston Tea Party.

The Boston Tea Party led Parliament to pass four new laws that were known as the Coercive Acts. The acts violated the colonists’ right to trial by a jury of one’s peers and the right not to have troops quartered in one’s home. Then in July 1774, the British introduced the Quebec Act. It said that a governor and council appointed by the king would run Quebec. The Quebec Act and the Coercive Acts seemed to show that the British were trying to get control of the colonial governments. The two acts became known as the Intolerable Acts.
The colonies responded by calling the first Continental Congress on September 5, 1774. Fifty-five delegates met in Philadelphia. Although they all opposed the Intolerable Acts, their response to it varied. Moderates believed a compromise was possible. Radicals believed it was time for the colonies to fight for their rights. The delegates approved the **Suffolk Resolves**, which urged the colonists not to obey the Coercive Acts and to arm themselves against the British. The delegates also approved the Continental Association, which was a plan for every county and town to form committees to enforce a boycott of British goods. The delegates also agreed to hold a second Continental Congress if things were not resolved.

4. What led to the first Continental Congress?

   • The Revolution Begins (page 85)

   While the Continental Congress was meeting, the Massachusetts assembly organized the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. They formed the Committee of Safety, chose John Hancock to lead it, and gave him the power to call up the militia. Militias began to drill and practice shooting. The town of Concord set up a special unit of men called **minutemen**. They were trained to be ready at a minute’s notice. The British were angered over what they considered rebellious acts.

   Many colonists were angry, too. They still felt loyal to the king and believed that the colonists should uphold British laws. Those who backed Britain became known as **Loyalists**, or Tories. On the other side were the **Patriots**, or Whigs, who believed that the British had become tyrants. Both groups represented a cross section of colonial society. The Patriots were strong in New England and Virginia. Most Loyalists lived in Georgia, the Carolinas, and New York. Many Americans did not support either the Loyalists or the Patriots.

   The British government ordered British General Gage to arrest the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. As a result, on April 18, 1775, British troops set out for Concord past the town of Lexington. Patriot leaders heard about the plan and sent Paul Revere and William Dawes to warn the colonists in Lexington. They then set out for Concord.

   On April 19, British troops arrived in Lexington, where 70 minutemen were waiting on the village green. The British ordered them to leave. As the minutemen began to back away, a shot was fired. No one is sure who fired it. The
Study Guide

Chapter 3, Section 2 (continued)

British soldiers then fired at the minutemen. When the British arrived in Concord, they found most of the military supplies gone. When they tried to cross the bridge on the north side of town, they ran into about 400 minutemen. A fight broke out, and the British were forced to retreat. News of the fighting spread across the colonies. Militia from all over New England came to help fight the British. By May 1775, militia troops had surrounded Boston and had trapped the British inside.

After the battles at Lexington and Concord, the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia. The Congress voted to name the militia surrounding Boston the Continental Army. It appointed George Washington as general and commander in chief of the army. In the meantime, the British sent in reinforcements and decided to gain control of the area around Boston. They decided to take the hills north of Boston. When the militia heard of these plans, they started building earthen forts at the top of Breed’s Hill near Bunker Hill. General Gage sent 2,200 troops to the top of the hill. The soldiers, wearing heavy pack and woolen uniforms, began an uphill attack in sweltering heat. When the British came close to the minutemen, the Americans fired. They turned back two British advances. The Battle of Bunker Hill gave Americans confidence. It showed that the colonists could stand up to the British armies.

5. What effect did the Battle of Bunker Hill have on the colonists?

The Decision for Independence (page 87)

In July 1775, the Continental Congress sent a document known as the Olive Branch Petition to the British king. The document said that the colonists were still loyal to the king and wanted to work things out peacefully. King George III refused to consider the petition. Instead, he issued a statement that said the colonists were now enemies.

A compromise did not seem likely, so the Continental Congress began to act like a government. In December 1775, the king ordered trade with the colonies to be shut down. It ordered the navy to blockade the coast. The British also recruited German mercenaries, or soldiers for hire, from Germany. Most mercenaries were Hessians, from the German region of Hesse.

As the fighting continued, more and more Patriots began to think that it was time for the colonies to declare independence. By January 1776, the public...
opinion also began to change because of a pamphlet called *Common Sense*, published by Thomas Paine. In *Common Sense*, Paine said that the British king was the enemy, not just Parliament. He said that the king was responsible for British actions against the colonies. The pamphlet sold over 150,000 copies within three months. It helped to convince many Patriots and other colonists that it was time to declare independence. On July 4, 1776, a committee approved a document Thomas Jefferson had drafted on independence. The Continental Congress issued the Declaration of Independence, and the American Revolution had begun.

6. What effect did the pamphlet *Common Sense* have on the colonies?
Who said, “I have not yet begun to fight”? Why were these words spoken? The last section described the first battles between the colonies and the British troops. This section discusses the campaigns in the War for Independence.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The British army and the Continental Army faced certain conditions at the beginning of the war. List these conditions in the diagram.

**Conditions Facing Continental Army**

1. 
2. 
3. 

**Conditions Facing British Army**

4. 
5. 
6.
• The Opposing Sides (page 94)

The British troops were well equipped and well trained. The Continental Army was not experienced and poorly equipped. The army rarely had more than 20,000 at any one time. Many soldiers deserted or refused to reenlist. Others returned home for planting or harvest time.

The Continental Congress had trouble paying for the war, so it issued paper money. These “Continents” were not backed by gold or silver so they quickly became worthless. Robert Morris, a wealthy merchant in Pennsylvania, contributed large amounts of money for the war. He also arranged for foreign loans.

Besides the Continental Army, the British had to worry about local militias. Although the militias were poorly trained, they fought in a different way. They used guerrilla warfare. They hid among trees and walls and ambushed the British. This kind of fighting was difficult for the British to defeat. Another problem for the British was that they were not united at home. Many merchants and members of Parliament opposed the war. The French, Dutch, and Spanish were all eager to exploit Britain’s problems. As a result, Britain had to station much of its military in other places of the world to defend its empire.

7. Why did colonial militias pose a problem for the British?

• The Northern Campaign (page 95)

The British knew that to be successful, they had to win several battles and to convince the Americans that the cause was hopeless. General Howe’s strategy had two parts. The first part was military. He began a big buildup in New York, hoping to intimidate the Americans. He also wanted to capture New York City.

The second part of the strategy was a diplomatic one. He invited delegates from the Continental Congress to a peace conference. Howe told the delegates that those that put down their arms and swore loyalty to the king would be pardoned. The delegates refused to talk further, and the first major battle was about to start.

Washington was unable to prevent the British from capturing New York City. He moved his troops to northern Manhattan, and then further north to White Plains.

Then the British troops headed toward Philadelphia, where the Continental Congress was meeting. The American troops managed to get there ahead of the British. By the time the troops reached Pennsylvania, winter had begun. The British scattered into winter quarters. At that time, armies did not usually fight
in the winter because of the weather and the limited food supplies. Washington decided to do something unexpected. He decided on a winter attack. On December 25, 1776, Washington led his troops across the Delaware River from Pennsylvania to New Jersey. The troops attacked Hessian mercenaries at Trenton and then overcame three British regiments at Princeton. With the two small victories, Washington headed into northern New Jersey for the winter.

British General John Burgoyne approved a plan to isolate New England from the other American states. The plan, however, was not coordinated properly. As a result, British General Howe made his own plans. He launched a surprise attack on Philadelphia from the south. He thought that capturing the city and the Continental Congress would cripple the Revolution. Howe defeated the Americans at the Battle of Brandywine Creek and captured Philadelphia, but the Continental Congress escaped.

General Burgoyne’s troops were not able to defeat the Americans defending upper New York. As a result, Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga. The victory there was a turning point in the war. It improved American morale, and it convinced France to help the Americans. The French and Spanish had been helping the United States with supplies before Saratoga, but neither country had sent troops. The French had not been willing to risk war until they believed that the Americans could win. The victory at Saratoga gave them that assurance. The French then began negotiations with the United States. In two treaties the French recognized the United States as an independent nation and committed France to fight alongside the United States.

8. How did General Burgoyne plan to defeat the Americans?

• Other Fronts (page 97)

Not all of the fighting in the American Revolution occurred in the East. George Rogers Clark and his troops captured several towns along the Ohio River. After the British surrendered to Clark, the United States took control of the West. In the summer of 1779, American troops defeated the British and Iroquois in western New York. These battles destroyed the power of the Iroquois.

Americans also fought the British at sea. They attacked British merchant ships. To disrupt trade even further, the Congress issued letters of marque, or licenses, to private ship owners to authorize them to attack British merchant ships. These attacks harmed Britain’s trade and economy.

The most famous naval battle involved naval officer John Paul Jones. He commanded the Bonhomme Richard. His ship encountered a group of British merchant ships near Britain. They were surrounded by British warships. After a three-hour battle, the British surrendered.
After being defeated at Saratoga, the British decided to start a campaign in the Southern states, where they had greater Loyalist support. In December 1778, British troops captured Savannah, Georgia. Then British forces, led by General Henry Clinton, surrounded Charles Town, South Carolina, capturing American forces there. Nearly 5,500 American troops surrendered.

The British continued taking over the Carolina backcountry. Many Loyalists agreed to fight for Britain. British troops tried to subdue the people living in the Appalachian Mountains. The people there pulled together and formed a militia. They intercepted British troops at the Battle of Kings Mountain and destroyed the army. The battle was a turning point in the South. General Nathaniel Greene, the new American commander in the region, wanted to wear down the British and destroy their supplies. Attacks by small guerrilla units, such as the one commanded by Francis Marion, known as the “Swamp Fox,” furthered the plan. The plan worked, and by late 1781, the British controlled very little territory in the South.

9. How did American attacks on British merchant ships affect Britain?

• The War Is Won (page 98)

The British realized that to keep control of the South, they had to get Virginia. As a result, in May 1781, the British, under General Charles Cornwallis, marched into Virginia. There they linked up with forces under the command of Benedict Arnold, who had been an American commander early in the war. Arnold later sold military information to the British. When this was discovered, Arnold fled to British-controlled New York City.

When Arnold joined Cornwallis, the British began to conquer Virginia. American troops led by the Marquis de Lafayette and General Anthony Wayne rushed to defend Virginia. Cornwallis was ordered to secure a naval base on the coast, so he headed to the town of Yorktown, Virginia. This retreat helped the Americans and their French allies. Washington decided to move the American and French troops to Yorktown. With a French fleet nearby, the British could not escape by sea. On September 28, 1781, American and French troops surrounded Yorktown and bombarded the town. On October 19, 1781, the British surrendered. Parliament voted to start negotiations with the colonists in Paris. The Treaty of Paris was signed on September 3, 1783. The treaty recognized the United States as a new nation and set the Mississippi River as the nation’s western border. In a separate treaty, Florida was returned to Spain.

10. Why did the British troops retreat to Yorktown in June 1781?
The last section discussed the War for Independence and the treaty that ended it. This section describes how the war affected American society.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. After the Revolutionary War, American leaders created a new political system. Describe these features in the diagram.

- **Features of New Political System**
  - 1.
  - 2.
  - 3.
  - 4.
  - 5.
After the war, American leaders created a republic. This is a form of government in which power resides with a body of citizens who vote. The citizens elect representatives who are responsible to them. Americans believed that a republican society could be better than other societies. Such ideas were in conflict with traditional beliefs.

American leaders believed that the best form of government was a constitutional republic. They wanted each state’s constitution to be written down. They wanted constitutions to limit the government’s power. They believed that government needed a system of checks and balances to prevent any one group from getting too strong. American leaders, including John Adams, argued that the best government was made up of three separate branches: executive, legislative, and judicial. Adams also argued that the legislature should be made up of two houses. These ideas influenced many state constitutions.

In addition to writing new constitutions, many new states added a list of rights to them. Virginia’s Declaration of Rights guaranteed Virginians freedom of speech and religion. They also had the right to bear arms and to a trial by jury.

The Revolution led to an expansion of voting rights. Fighting the war together showed many farmers and artisans that they were equal to the rich planters and merchants. In most states, the new constitutions made it easier to gain voting rights. However, people still had to own a certain amount of property to hold elective office.

The war led to changes in the relationship between church and the state. Many American leaders opposed the power of a church to make people worship in a certain way. In 1786 the Virginia legislature passed the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom. It said that Virginia no longer had an official church. It also said that the state could not collect taxes for churches.

6. What freedoms did Virginia guarantee its citizens?

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The ideas of greater freedom applied mainly to white men. These freedoms did not apply to most women and African Americans. Women played an important role in the Revolutionary War. Some women ran businesses and
farms at home. Others served on the battlefront. One such woman was Molly Pitcher who carried water to Patriots during a battle in 1778. Margaret Corbin replaced her dead husband at his cannon and remained there until the battle ended.

Women made some advances after the Revolutionary War. They could more easily obtain a divorce and get an education.

Many enslaved African Americans gained their freedom during the Revolution and more gained their freedom after the Revolution. After the war began, many Northern states took steps to end slavery. As a result, slavery ended slowly in the North over the course of several years.

The South relied heavily on enslaved labor. As a result, Southerners had no interest in abolishing slavery. Virginia was the only state to attempt to do so. In 1782 the state passed a law encouraging manumission, or the voluntarily freeing enslaved persons, particularly those who had fought in the war. Although about 10,000 enslaved people obtained their freedom this way, most remained enslaved.

The end of the war changed the life of Loyalists. They were often shunned by former friends, and their property was often taken by state governments. About 100,000 fled the United States. Some went to England or the British West Indies, but many went to what is now Canada.

The Revolutionary War led to nationalist feelings in Americans. The war brought Americans from all walks of life together against a common enemy. The war also led to patriotic symbols and stories of heroes.

American painters such as John Trumbull and Charles Willson Peale showed the heroic deeds and leaders of the Revolution in their paintings. Trumbull is best known for his paintings of battles and important events in the Revolution. Peale is best known for his portraits of Washington and other Patriot leaders.

American elementary schools tossed out British textbooks and began teaching republican ideas.

7. What gains did women make after the Revolutionary War?

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- **The Achievements of the Confederation** *(page 103)*

The Continental Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union in November 1777. This was a plan for a loose union of the states under the authority of Congress. This plan needed the **ratification**, or
approval, of all the States. The states did not want to give up their independence to a strong central government. As a result, the Articles set up a very weak central government. The Articles called for each state to send a delegation to the Confederation Congress. This was the entire government. The Congress had the right to declare war, raise armies, and sign treaties. However, it could not set taxes and could not regulate trade.

The Confederation Congress had some successes. Because the Confederation Congress could not set taxes, it raised money by selling the land it controlled west of the Appalachian Mountains. In 1785 Congress set up a system of surveying the lands. The land was arranged into townships, and then subdivided into smaller sections and sold at auction. Congress passed the **Northwest Ordinance** in 1787. It provided the basis for governing much of the western territory. It created a new territory that could later be divided into three to five states. When 5,000 adult male citizens had settled in a territory, they could elect a territorial lawmaking body. When the territory had 60,000 people, it could apply for statehood. The ordinance also guaranteed certain rights, such as freedom of religion and property rights, to people living in the territory.

The Confederation Congress worked to promote trade with foreign nations. It negotiated several trade treaties with other countries.

8. Why did the Articles of Confederation set up a weak central government?

**Weaknesses of the Congress (page 105)**

Although the Confederation Congress had some successes, it also had some problems. After the war ended, British merchants flooded the United States with British goods. This drove many American artisans out of business. Many Americans states fought back by restricting British imports. However, the states did not charge the same taxes on imported goods. So the British would land their ships at the states that had the lowest taxes.

In addition to the taxes on foreign imports, states began placing taxes on each other’s goods to raise money. Each state began acting as an independent country.

Before the war, many American merchants had borrowed money from British lenders. Under the peace treaty, the states were to pay back their debts. However, the Confederation Congress had no power to force the states to pay their debts. Many states made it difficult for Britain to collect its debts. To retaliate, Britain refused to leave some of the forts that they had inside American territory. The Congress had no way of solving the problem.
Congress had no power to solve the nation’s problems with Spain. One problem had to do with the boundary between Spanish territory and Georgia. To pressure the United States on the border issue, the Spanish stopped the Americans from depositing their goods at the mouth of the Mississippi River. By doing so, Spain actually closed the Mississippi to American farmers.

The Confederation Congress did not have the power to solve the nation’s economic problems. After the war, the nation fell into a severe recession, or economic slowdown. The Revolutionary War left the Congress and many states in debt. Many states had issued bonds as a way to borrow money from the wealthy colonists. When the war was over, these colonists wanted their bonds redeemed. Many people urged the states to issue paper money to pay off their debts. Due to inflation, paper money was worth less than its face value. So debtors would be able to pay off their debts more easily. However, people who were owed money would not receive the true amount that they were owed.

The paper money eventually became so worthless that merchants in some states refused to accept it. Rhode Island passed a law that forced people to accept paper money at its face value. Those who refused to do so could be arrested and fined.

A rebellion, known as Shays’s Rebellion, broke out in Massachusetts. It started when Massachusetts decided to raise taxes to pay off its debts rather than issue paper money. Farmers, especially those in the western part of Massachusetts, paid most of the taxes. Many farmers faced the possibility of losing their farms. As a result, farmers in western Massachusetts rebelled. They closed down some courthouses to stop the courts from foreclosing on their farms. Their leader was Daniel Shays, a bankrupt farmer. In January 1787, Shays and other farmers raided a state arsenal to take weapons. The governor responded by sending a militia, which quickly crushed the uprising.

People with money and power saw the rebellion and the unstable currency as a sign that the country was in trouble. Many began to argue for a stronger central government.

9. Why did some states begin issuing paper money?
The United States Constitution has lasted for more than 200 years. Why do you think the Constitution has lasted this long?

The last section described the United States government under the Articles of Confederation. This section discusses the creation of the United States Constitution.
**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The Constitution set up several systems to prevent the national government from becoming too powerful. List these systems in the diagram.

**Preventing the National Government from Becoming Too Strong**

1. 
2. 
3.

**READ TO LEARN**

- **The Constitutional Convention** *(page 108)*

  Many American leaders believed that in order to survive, the United States needed a strong central government. These people became known as nationalists.

  In 1786 James Madison, an influential nationalist, convinced Virginia’s assembly to call a convention of all the states. He wanted the states to discuss the problem they had with trade and taxation. However, too few states came to the convention to be able to solve any problems. In 1787 Alexander Hamilton called for the Confederation Congress to call a convention in Philadelphia. Congress called for a convention to discuss revising the Articles. Every state except Rhode Island came to the Constitutional Convention in May 1787.

  Fifty-five delegates attended convention. They included some of the most prominent leaders of the United States. Most of the delegates had experience in colonial, state, or national government. George Washington was chosen as the presiding officer. James Madison kept a record of the debates. His record is the best source of information of what went on at the convention. The meetings were closed to the public to make sure that the delegates were free to discuss issues without political pressure.

  The Virginia delegation arrived with a plan for a new national government. It was called the **Virginia Plan.** The plan called for scrapping the Articles of Confederation and creating a new national government. It proposed a national government made up of legislative, executive, and judicial branches. The Virginia Plan called for a two-house legislature. Voters would elect members of the first house. Members of the second house would be nominated by state governments and elected by the first house. The number of representatives for each house would depend on the number of people in each state. In this way, the larger states would benefit. Smaller states opposed a plan based on population.
The New Jersey Plan called for modifying the Articles of Confederation to make the central government stronger. The plan called for a single-house Congress in which each state was equally represented. Congress would also have the power to raise taxes and regulate trade.

After much debate, the Constitutional Convention decided to use the Virginia Plan. It decided not to revise the Articles of Confederation but to work on a new constitution for the nation.

4. Why were small states opposed to the Virginia Plan?

• A Union Built on Compromise (page 110)

As they worked on the constitution, the delegates had differences that they could only solve through compromise. One difference had to do with the Virginia Plan. The small states wanted each state to have an equal vote in Congress. Delegates from the larger states wanted representation to be based on population. Roger Sherman of Connecticut proposed a compromise known as the Connecticut Compromise. It is also referred to as the Great Compromise. The compromise proposed two houses of Congress: the House of Representatives and the Senate. Representation in the House of Representatives would be based on the states’ population. Each state in the Senate would have equal representation.

Another difference among the delegates had to do with slavery. A conflict developed between the Northern and Southern states. Southern delegates wanted to count enslaved people as part of the population. Northern delegates opposed this because enslaved people were considered property, not people. Northern delegates also said that if slaves were to be counted for representation, they should also be counted for taxation as well. The committee proposed the Three-Fifths Compromise. Under this compromise, every five enslaved people in a state would count as three free persons.

The Southern delegates also wanted a limit on Congress’s power to regulate trade. Northern delegates wanted a government that could control foreign imports into the United States. A new compromise was worked out. It said that Congress could not tax exports. It also said that Congress would not ban the slave trade until 1808.

5. How did the delegates to the Constitutional Convention solve the problem of how states would be represented in Congress?
The new constitution was based on the principle of popular sovereignty, which is rule by the people. It set up a representative system of government in which elected officials represented the people. The Constitution created a system of government known as federalism. The power of the government is divided between the federal, or national, government and the state governments. The Constitution provided for a separation of powers among the three branches of the federal government. Congress made up the legislative branch. It made the laws. The president headed the executive branch. It enforced the laws. The federal courts made up the judicial branch. It interpreted the laws.

In addition to separating the powers, the Constitution also set up a system of checks and balances to stop any one branch of government from becoming too powerful.

The president was given several powers. Among them was the power to veto, or reject, acts of Congress. However, Congress had the power to override the veto with a two-thirds vote in both houses. Congress also had the power to impeach, or formally accuse of misconduct, and then remove the president or other official in the executive or judicial branch.

The judicial branch was balanced by the legislative and executive branches. The president could nominate members to the judiciary, but Congress had to approve the appointments.

To provide for a way of making changes to the Constitution, the Constitution set up a system of making amendments, or changes to the Constitution. The system made it difficult to make changes, however. An amendment could be proposed by two-thirds of the members of both houses of Congress. Also, two-thirds of the states could call a constitutional convention to propose an amendment. The proposed amendment then had to be ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures or by conventions in three-fourths of the states.

6. Why did the Constitution provide for a system of checks and balances?

• Debating the Constitution (page 112)

After the Constitution was written, each state had to elect a convention to vote on the new Constitution. Those who supported the Constitution called themselves Federalists. They chose the name to indicate that they supported the federal system of government. They hoped that people who feared that the
central government would become too powerful would be reminded that the states would keep many of their powers. Those who supported the Federalists included large landowners, merchants, and artisans. They believed that a strong central government would levy taxes on imports, which would help American businesses. Farmers who lived near the coast or along rivers and farmers who shipped goods across state borders also supported the Federalists.

Those who opposed the Constitution were called Antifederalists. They supported the need for a national government, but they questioned whether the national government or the state governments should be dominant. Antifederalists included prominent Americans such as John Hancock and Patrick Henry. Many Antifederalists were western farmers who lived far from the coast. They were generally self-sufficient and were suspicious of the wealthy.

The Antifederalists conducted a negative campaign. Whereas the Federalists presented a definite program for solving the nation’s problems, the Antifederalists did not. The Antifederalists complained that the Constitution did not protect people’s rights, but they did not present their own plan for protecting rights. The Federalists were better organized than the Antifederalists. Most newspapers supported the Federalists. They presented their program in speeches, pamphlets, and debates. The Federalists explained why the Constitution should be ratified in a collection of essays known as The Federalist. The essays were written by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay under the pen name of Publius. The essays explained how the new Constitution worked. The essays were very influential.

7. What group of people tended to support the Antifederalists?

• The Fight for Ratification (page 114)

The ratifying conventions started in December 1787. Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut quickly ratified it. In Massachusetts, Antifederalists held a majority at the convention. They included Samuel Adams, who objected to the Constitution because he believed it endangered the independence of the states. The Federalists worked to meet his objections. They promised to attach a bill of rights once the Constitution was ratified. They also promised to add an amendment that would reserve for the states all the powers not specifically given to the federal government. This persuaded Adams to vote for ratification, and Massachusetts ratified it. By June 1788, Maryland, South Carolina, and New Hampshire had also ratified the Constitution. Virginia and New York, however, had not yet ratified it. The Federalists believed that without the support of the two large states, the new government would not succeed.
Federalists, including George Washington and James Madison, presented strong arguments for ratification to the Virginia convention. Finally, the promise to add a bill of rights won Virginia’s support. A close vote in New York resulted in a Federalist victory there. By July 1788, all states except Rhode Island and North Carolina had ratified the Constitution. Because nine states were all that was necessary for ratification, the new government could start without those two states. By 1790 both states finally ratified the Constitution.

8. How did Federalists manage to convince the Massachusetts convention to ratify the Constitution?
KEY TERMS AND NAMES

cabinet a group of advisers to the president (page 153)
enumerated powers powers specifically mentioned in the Constitution (page 154)
implied powers powers not explicitly listed in the Constitution but necessary for the government to do its job (page 154)
excise tax tax paid by the manufacturer of a product and passed on to those who buy the product (page 155)
most-favored nation status given to a nation that guarantees no discrimination in trade with that nation (page 156)
XYZ Affair incident in which French officials asked for a bribe from American diplomats (page 157)
alien person living in a country who is not a citizen (page 157)
interposition the theory that said a state could step in between the federal government and the people to stop the federal government from doing something unconstitutional (page 158)
nullification the theory that said the states had the right to declare a federal law invalid if they considered the law unconstitutional (page 158)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

How does the government of your community raise the money it needs to pay for community services? How does the government of the United States raise the money?

In this section, you will learn how the new government of the United States addressed the challenges it faced. You will also learn why tensions grew between the two political parties in the nation.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Alexander Hamilton developed a plan to finance the new national government. Describe four parts of Hamilton’s plan.

1.  
2.  
3.  
4.  

Hamilton’s Financial Plan
The first task facing the new government was to organize the government itself. The government set up departments to handle different responsibilities. It created the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, and the Department of War. It also created the Office of the Attorney General. To head the departments, President Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson as secretary of state, Alexander Hamilton as secretary of the treasury, General Henry Knox as secretary of war, and Edmund Randolph as attorney general. This group of advisers to the president became known as the cabinet. Through the Judiciary Act of 1789, Congress established district courts and courts of appeal. It also established six justices for the Supreme Court. Washington chose John Jay as the first chief justice of the United States.

In 1789 Congress sent to the states for ratification 12 constitutional amendments. The states approved 10 amendments, and they became the Bill of Rights. The first 8 provided safeguards for the rights of individuals.

5. Why did Congress create various departments?

• Hamilton’s Financial Program (page 153)

After the government was organized, it needed to find ways to raise money to operate. Alexander Hamilton believed that the government needed the ability to borrow money. To pay for the Revolutionary War, the Continental Congress issued bonds, or paper notes promising to repay money after a certain length of time with interest. By 1789 the United States owed about $40 million to American citizens and about $12 million to several foreign countries. These bonds had fallen in value. However, Hamilton believed that the government should pay these debts in full. He believed that doing so would give people confidence in the ability of the government to pay back its loans.

Critics argued that Hamilton’s plan was unfair to the people who first purchased the bonds. Many of these people were farmers and Revolutionary War veterans. These people feared that they would never be paid, so they sold their bonds to speculators, or people willing to take a risk in hopes of a future financial gain. Many of these speculators paid very little for the bonds but would now receive full value. Southerners were upset because most of the
people who owned the bonds were Northerners, but much of the tax money used to pay off the bonds would come from the South.

Congress debated Hamilton’s plans for months but finally agreed on a compromise. Madison and Jefferson would convince Southerners to vote for Hamilton’s plan. In exchange, the capital of the United States would be moved from New York to the Potomac River, which was located in the South.

Hamilton also asked Congress to establish the Bank of the United States. Hamilton argued that the bank was needed to manage the country’s debts and interest payments. The bank would also make loans and issue paper money.

Southerners opposed the bank because they believed that Northern merchants would own most of the bank’s stock. Madison argued that Congress could not establish a bank because it was not among the federal government’s enumerated powers—powers specifically mentioned in the Constitution. Hamilton argued that the Constitution gave the federal government the power to make laws that were necessary for it to execute its responsibilities. He argued that this created implied powers—powers not explicitly listed in the Constitution but necessary for the government to do its job. After studying both sides of the debate, President Washington agreed to sign the bill, which created the Bank of the United States.

Hamilton also believed that the government had the right to impose direct taxes on the people. In 1791 Congress passed Hamilton’s proposal for an excise tax on the making of American whiskey. This tax angered Western farmers, whose whiskey was used as a medium of exchange. In western Pennsylvania, farmers rebelled against the tax. Determined to establish the authority of the federal government to collect taxes, President Washington sent troops to crush the Whiskey Rebellion. The rebels stopped without a fight.

6. Why did Hamilton want to establish a national bank?

- The Rise of Political Parties (page 155)

The debate over Hamilton’s financial plans split Congress into two sides. These sides became the nation’s first political parties. Those who supported Hamilton were called Federalists. Those who opposed him took the name Democratic-Republicans. Most people called them Republicans.

Hamilton supported a strong national government and favored putting the government into the hands of the wealthy. He believed that manufacturing and trade were important for a nation’s healthy economy. Thomas Jefferson opposed Hamilton and was the leader of the Democratic-Republicans. He believed that a nation’s strength was in its independent farmers. Democratic-Republicans supported agriculture over manufacturing and trade as important for a healthy national economy.
Study Guide

Chapter 4, Section 1 (continued)

In time, the Democratic-Republican Party stood for the rights of states against the power of the federal government. The South and the West supported it. The Federalists gained their support from the Northeast.

7. From what regions of the country did the Democratic-Republicans and the Federalists gain support?

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Washington’s Foreign Policy (page 155)

The French Revolution began shortly after George Washington was inaugurated president in 1789. Americans were divided over the French Revolution. The Federalists opposed it, while the Republicans supported it. At first, most Americans supported the French. Then in 1793, the French declared war on Britain. This put the United States in a difficult position. The Treaty of 1778 with France required that the United States help defend France’s colonies in the Caribbean, which meant war with Great Britain. President Washington then declared the United States to be neutral toward both Britain and France.

Although Washington declared neutrality, the British navy seized American ships carrying goods to France. Britain still occupied forts on U.S. territory from which they stirred up Native Americans to attack western settlers.

To avoid war with Britain, Washington sent John Jay to Britain to find a solution. The British did not want to fight a war with the United States. It knew that the United States depended on trade with Britain, so Britain agreed to sign Jay’s Treaty. Under the treaty, the United States agreed that Britain had the right to seize merchandise that was bound for France. In return, the British agreed to give the United States most-favored nation status. This meant that the United States would not be discriminated against when they traded with Britain. Although people were upset with the provisions of the treaty and accused the Federalists of being pro-British, the treaty was ratified. The treaty prevented war with Britain and protected the U.S. economy.

Spain joined France in its war against Britain. Spain was afraid that the British and Americans would seize its landholdings in North America. As a result, in 1795 the Spanish signed Pinckney’s Treaty. The treaty granted the United States the right to navigate the Mississippi River and to deposit goods at the port of New Orleans.

8. Why did many people oppose the provisions of Jay’s Treaty?

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• A New Administration (page 157)

President Washington decided to retire at the end of his second term as president. Before he left office, he wrote a letter to the American people. Washington’s Farewell Address warned Americans against sectionalism and against political parties. He also warned against the United States becoming too attached to any foreign nation.

In the election of 1796, the Federalists supported John Adams for president. The Republicans nominated Thomas Jefferson. John Adams became the second president of the United States.

The French were upset with Jay’s Treaty and began seizing American ships bound for Britain. Many Federalists called for war against France. However, President Adams did not want to involve the United States in a major war. Instead, he sent representatives to negotiate with France. The French demanded bribes for negotiations to begin, an event that became known as the XYZ Affair. Americans were furious and called for war with France. In June 1798 Congress stopped trade with France. It directed the navy to capture French armed ships. Soon the two countries were fighting an undeclared war at sea that became known as the Quasi-War. After negotiations, France and the United States signed the Convention of 1800. Under this agreement, the United States gave up all claims against France for damages to U.S. shipping. In return, France released the United States from the Treaty of 1778.

Many Federalists were upset about criticisms from the Republicans. When the American people were angry with France, the Federalists decided to strike back at the Republicans. In 1798 they pushed four laws through Congress that became known as the Alien and Sedition Acts. The first three laws were aimed against aliens, or people living in the country who were not citizens. These immigrants tended to vote for the Republican Party once they became citizens. One law required that immigrants wait 14 years before they could become citizens. The next two laws gave the president the power to deport any alien believed dangerous to the United States. The fourth law made it a crime to say or print anything against the federal government.

In 1798 and 1799, the Republican-controlled legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia passed resolutions criticizing the Alien and Sedition Acts. The resolutions said that since the states created the Constitution, they had the right to declare a federal law unconstitutional. The Virginia Resolutions introduced the theory of interposition. This stated that if the federal government did something unconstitutional, the states could step in between the federal government and the people and stop the illegal action. The Kentucky Resolutions introduced the theory of nullification. According to this theory, if the federal government passed an unconstitutional law, the states had the right to declare the law invalid.
9. What did President Washington warn the American people about when he left office?

• The Election of 1800 (page 159)

Many people were upset with the Alien and Sedition Acts that the Federalists supported. In the presidential election of 1800, the Republican nominees—Thomas Jefferson for president and Aaron Burr for vice president—campaigned against the Federalists and their laws.

The election was close and had an unexpected outcome. The Constitution called for each state to choose the same number of electors as it had senators and representatives. The group of electors, known as the Electoral College, then votes for the president. Each elector was to vote for two people—one for the presidential candidate and one for the vice presidential candidate.

When the vote was counted in the 1800 election, Jefferson and Burr had the same number of votes. This meant that the Federalist-controlled House of Representatives had to choose a president from among the top five vote getters. Hamilton urged his fellow Federalists to support Jefferson. This still led to a tie between Jefferson and Burr. Then Jefferson convinced one Federalist that if elected, Jefferson would not get rid of Hamilton’s financial system. The Federalist cast a blank vote, breaking the tie, and Jefferson became the new president. The election of 1800 showed that power in the United States could be transferred peacefully despite strong disagreements between the parties.

10. What did the election of 1800 show?
Chapter 4, Section 2

For use with textbook pages 161–167

THE REPUBLICANS TAKE POWER

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

**judicial review**  the power of the Supreme Court to decide whether laws passed by Congress were constitutional and to strike down those laws that were not (page 162)

**Louisiana Purchase**  land purchased from France in 1803 that more than doubled the size of the United States and gained U.S. control of the entire Mississippi River (page 163)

**contraband**  smuggled goods (page 164)

**impressment**  a legalized form of kidnapping (page 164)

**embargo**  a government ban on trade with other countries (page 164)

**War Hawks**  those who supported war against Britain (page 165)

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

Have you ever traveled through the Rocky Mountains? How would you describe the area there?

The last section described the challenges facing the new government at home and abroad. This section discusses President Jefferson’s efforts to limit the powers of the federal government. It also discusses the expansion of U.S. territory and growing tensions with Great Britain.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The United States purchased the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803. Explain the reasons that France wanted to sell the territory and the effect of the purchase on the United States.

**Reasons for Selling**

1. 

2. 

3. 

**Effects on U.S.**

4. 

5.
READ TO LEARN

• Thomas Jefferson Takes Office (page 161)

Thomas Jefferson tried to create a less formal style of presidency. He tried to bring Republican ideas into the policies that the Federalists had already put in place. Jefferson wanted to limit the power of the federal government. He began to pay off the federal debt and to limit federal spending. Federalists worried that Jefferson would get rid of the national bank and do away with Hamilton’s financial plan. However, Jefferson appointed a supporter of Hamilton’s plan to head the Department of the Treasury.

Before Adams’s presidency ended, Congress passed the Judiciary Act of 1801, which created 16 new federal judges. Adams appointed Federalists to these positions. After Jefferson took office, Congress repealed the Judiciary Act, thereby removing the newly appointed judges. The Republicans then tried to remove other Federalists from the judiciary by impeaching them. The attempt to remove judges showed that judges could only be removed for crimes committed and not because Congress disagreed with their decisions.

President Adams appointed John Marshall as chief justice of the Supreme Court. Marshall helped to make the Supreme Court a powerful independent branch of the federal government. He established this in the Marbury v. Madison case. President Adams had appointed William Marbury as a judge before Adams left office. Adams signed the appointment, but the documents were not delivered before Adams left office. The new secretary of state, James Madison, was to deliver them, but Jefferson told him to hold them. Marbury then asked the Supreme Court to order Madison to deliver the documents. He based the request on the Judiciary Act of 1789, which stated that requests for federal court orders go to the Supreme Court.

John Marshall ruled that the Supreme Court could not issue the order because it had no jurisdiction to do so. He said that the Constitution specified the kinds of cases that the Supreme Court could hear, but a request for a court order was not one of them. He said that that part of the Judiciary Act was unconstitutional. This decision gave the Supreme Court the right of judicial review, the power to decide whether laws passed by Congress were constitutional and to strike down those laws that were not.

6. What was the significance of the Marbury v. Madison case?
The United States Expands West (page 163)

In 1800 the French leader Napoleon Bonaparte convinced Spain to give Louisiana back to France. This worried President Jefferson because having France back in North America might force the United States to side with the British. As a result, Jefferson sent the ambassador to France, Robert Livingston, to stop the deal.

By 1803 Napoleon had begun plans to conquer Europe. If France resumed its war with Great Britain, Napoleon did not want to deal with an alliance between Britain and the United States. In addition, France was short on money. As a result, Napoleon offered to sell the Louisiana Territory to the United States. Livingston accepted the offer. The United States bought Louisiana for about $15 million. The Senate ratified the Louisiana Purchase, and the United States more than doubled its size. The United States also gained control of the Mississippi River.

President Jefferson chose Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to lead an expedition to explore the Louisiana Territory. The expedition met Sacagawea, a Shoshone woman, who joined the expedition as an interpreter and guide. The expedition found a path through the Rocky Mountains. It increased knowledge of the Louisiana Territory. Zebulon Pike mapped much of the upper Mississippi River, charted the mountain that became known as Pikes Peak, and mapped part of the Rio Grande.

Federalists opposed the Louisiana Purchase. They believed that New England would lose its influence in the nation’s affairs, while the South and the West would gain influence. Some Federalists, known as the Essex Junto, drafted a plan to take New England out of the Union.

7. Why was France willing to sell Louisiana to the United States?

Rising International Tensions (page 164)

In 1803 war resumed between Britain and France. Both countries left American ships alone because the United States had declared neutrality. By 1806, however, both Britain and France stopped merchant ships from going to the enemy. Americans were caught in the middle. Americans became upset by the British practice of stopping American ships to search for contraband, or smuggled goods, and to seize sailors. The British navy was short of sailors, so Britain tried to solve the problem by impressment, a legalized form of kidnapping. They stopped American ships to search for British deserters, and often forced Americans citizens into service.
In 1807 the British warship *Leopard* stopped the American warship *Chesapeake* to search for British deserters. When the American ship refused, the British ship opened fire, killing three Americans. The British also seized four sailors. Americans were outraged. President Jefferson, however, did not want to involve the United States in a war. Instead, he asked Congress to pass the Embargo Act of 1807, which stopped all trade between the United States and Europe. The *embargo*, a government ban on trade with other countries, hurt the United States more than Britain or France. As a result, Congress repealed the act in 1809.

James Madison, a Republican, won the presidential election in 1808. Like Jefferson, he wanted to avoid war with Britain. To force Britain to stop seizing American ships, he asked Congress to pass the Non-Intercourse Act. The act forbade trade with Great Britain and France. The president could reopen trade with whichever country removed its trade restrictions first. Napoleon announced that France would no longer restrict trade, but he did not mention that France would stop the seizure of American ships. Madison accepted the announcement, hoping that this would pressure Britain to stop its trade restrictions. When the British refused, Congress passed a bill to stop imports from Britain.

By 1812 the U.S. refusal to buy British goods was hurting the British economy. In June 1812, Britain agreed to end restrictions on trade. However, the decision came too late, because Congress had already declared war on Great Britain.

Most members of Congress who voted for war came from the South and the West. They were nicknamed the *War Hawks*. Southern planters and Western farmers made much of their money by shipping their products overseas. Eastern merchants made a profit despite British restrictions because they passed the cost of losing ships and goods onto the farmers. Western farmers also blamed the British for their conflicts with Native Americans.

Native Americans were upset about the increased number of settlers on their lands. Tecumseh, a Shawnee leader, believed that they needed to unite to protect their lands. The governor of the Indiana Territory, William Henry Harrison, was determined to stop Native American resistance. His troops clashed with the Native Americans near Tippecanoe River, in the Battle of Tippecanoe. Although there was no clear winner, many Native Americans fled to Canada, which was held by the British. This led many Americans to believe that the British were helping the Native Americans.

Many Americans believed that going to war with Britain would help the United States gain Canada and end Native American attacks. President Madison yielded to the pressure and asked Congress to declare war. The South and the West voted for war, and the Northeast did not.

8. What regions supported war with Great Britain?
The War of 1812 (page 165)

Although the United States had declared war, it was not ready to fight. The country did not have enough troops or equipment. It also did not have the money necessary to fight a war. Despite these problems, President Madison ordered the military to invade Canada. However, the plan to invade from three directions failed.

The United States had more success on the sea. Under the command of Commodore Oliver Perry, the U.S. fleet attacked the British fleet on Lake Erie in September 1813. After a four-hour battle, the British surrendered. This victory gave the United States control of Lake Erie, but by the end of 1813, the United States had still not conquered Canada.

In 1814 the war between Britain and France ended. Britain now turned its attention on the United States. The British attacked Washington, D.C. They set fire to the White House and the Capitol. They then moved to Baltimore, but the militia there was ready for them and the British abandoned their plan to attack the city. The British plan to cut New England off from the rest of the country also failed.

The British offensive against the United States made New England even more opposed to the war. Some New England Federalists met in Hartford, Connecticut, to talk about what the region could do independently of the United States. The Hartford Convention called for several amendments to the constitution to increase the region’s political power.

Then in January 1815, the United States army under the command of General Andrew Jackson defeated the British in the Battle of New Orleans. The victory made Jackson a national hero and strengthened nationalism, or feelings of strong patriotism. The Federalists lost popularity, and within a few years the party dissolved.

In 1814 the Treaty of Ghent ended the War of 1812. It did not change most existing conditions, but it did increase the nation’s prestige overseas and started a wave of patriotism and national unity.

9. Why was the Battle of New Orleans important?
Study Guide
Chapter 4, Section 3

For use with textbook pages 170–173

THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN NATIONALISM

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- **revenue tariff**: tax on goods that provides income for the federal government (page 171)
- **protective tariff**: tax on goods to help domestic manufacturers by taxing imports to drive up their prices (page 171)
- **McCulloch v. Maryland**: Supreme Court case that upheld the national bank and the power of Congress to be flexible in making laws (page 171)
- **Seminole**: a Native American group in Florida (page 173)
- **Monroe Doctrine**: President Monroe’s declaration that the American continents were no longer open to colonization (page 173)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Do you think Americans today are patriotic? If so, how do Americans show their patriotism? If not, why do you think Americans lack patriotism?

In this section, you will learn about the feelings of patriotism and national unity developed by Americans after the War of 1812.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the outline below to help you take notes. Many actions that strengthened the federal government occurred as a result of American nationalism after the War of 1812. Outline the main actions.

I. Economic Nationalism
   A.
   B.
   C.

II. Judicial Nationalism
   A.
   B.

III. Diplomatic Nationalism
   A.
   B.
READ TO LEARN

• Political Unity (page 170)

After the War of 1812, Americans had national pride. Americans had a greater feeling of loyalty toward the United States than toward their state or region.

The Monroe presidency is described by the phrase an Era of Good Feelings. It was a time of political harmony in the country. One reason for this was because the Republican Party was the only major political party that had any power. The Federalist Party had lost political influence and popularity because of their actions at the Hartford Convention.

4. Why did the Federalist Party lose political influence and popularity?

• Economic Nationalism (page 171)

American leaders planned a program to bring the nation together. Their program had three main goals. These included creating a new national bank, protecting American manufacturers from foreign competition, and linking the country together through improvements in transportation.

In 1811 Republicans blocked the rechartering of the First Bank of the United States. State-chartered banks and other private banks loaned bank notes that were used as money. During the War of 1812, prices rose rapidly. The U.S. government had to pay high interest rates on the money it borrowed to pay for the war. In 1816 John C. Calhoun proposed the bill that was passed by Congress to create the Second Bank of the United States.

During the War of 1812, an embargo stopped Americans from buying British goods. When the war ended, low-priced British goods flooded American markets. This threatened to put American companies out of business. Congress passed the Tariff of 1816 to protect manufacturers from foreign competition. Earlier revenue tariffs provided income for the federal government. The Tariff of 1816 was a protective tariff. It helped American manufacturers by taxing imports to drive up their prices.

In 1816 Republican John C. Calhoun sponsored a federal plan to improve the transportation system in the United States. President Madison vetoed it. He said that spending money to improve transportation was not granted by the Constitution. Instead, private businesses and state and local governments paid for road and canal construction.
5. What were the three main goals of the program to bring the nation together?


• Judicial Nationalism (page 171)

Between 1816 and 1824, chief justice of the United States, John Marshall, helped unify the nation. He ruled in three cases that established the power of the federal government over the states.

In 1819 the Court decided in *McCulloch v. Maryland* that the Second Bank of the United States was constitutional. The decision said that the “necessary and proper” clause meant that the federal government could use any method to carry out its powers, as long as the method was not expressly forbidden in the Constitution. Marshall also ruled that state governments could not interfere with an agency of the federal government exercising its specific constitutional powers within a state.

In 1824 the Court decided in *Gibbons v. Ogden* that the Constitution granted the federal government control over interstate commerce. The Court said that interstate commerce included all trade along the coast or on waterways dividing states. The state could regulate commerce within its own borders. This ruling made it clear that federal law had priority over state law in interstate transportation.

6. What was the effect of the Supreme Court rulings under Chief Justice John Marshall?


• Nationalist Diplomacy (page 172)

Nationalism in Congress and among voters in the United States influenced the nation’s foreign affairs. Under President Monroe, the United States expanded its borders and became involved in world affairs.

In the early 1800s, many Southerners were angry with Spanish-held Florida. Runaway slaves hid there. Also, the *Seminoles* in Florida, led by Kinache, raided American settlements in Georgia. Spain could not control its border, so many Americans wanted the United States to step in. In 1818
General Andrew Jackson captured Spanish settlements in Florida. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams pressured Spain to make a border treaty with the U.S. In the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819, Spain ceded all of Florida to the United States.

Spain’s colonies began to rebel in 1809. Several European monarchies discussed the possibility of helping Spain regain control of its overseas colonies. In response to this threat, President Monroe issued the **Monroe Doctrine**. This foreign policy said that the United States would prevent other countries from becoming involved in the political affairs of Latin American countries. The Monroe Doctrine became a long-term foreign policy of the United States.

7. What were the outcomes of the Adams-Onís Treaty and the Monroe Doctrine?
Study Guide

Chapter 5, Section 1

For use with textbook pages 178–185

A GROWING NATION

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Robert Fulton  American inventor who designed and built the Clermont, the steamboat that traveled upstream on the Hudson River in 1807 (page 179)

Peter Cooper  wealthy industrialist who built the Tom Thumb, a tiny but powerful locomotive (page 179)

Industrial Revolution  time of change in business and industry in which manufacturing shifted from hand tools to large, complex machines; goods were made in factories instead of workshops in homes (page 179)

Francis C. Lowell  opened a series of textile mills in Massachusetts; introduced mass production of cotton cloth to the U.S. (page 180)

Eli Whitney  American inventor and developer of interchangeable parts (page 180)

interchangeable parts  uniform pieces that can be made in large quantities to replace other identical pieces (page 180)

nativism  prejudice or hostility toward foreigners (page 181)

Know-Nothings  a political party centered around anti-foreign and anti-Catholic feelings (page 181)

labor union  organization of workers who press for better wages and working conditions (page 181)

strike  work stoppage (page 181)

cotton gin  machine for removing cotton seeds from cotton bolls (page 182)

yeoman farmer  ordinary Southern farmer who made up the vast majority of the white population (page 183)

driver  director of a work gang on large plantations (page 184)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

How do you get from place to place? Do you ride a bicycle, a bus, a train, in an automobile? What is the transportation system like where you live?
Could you continue with your lifestyle without it?

The last chapter described the way the United States became more nationalistic after the War of 1812. This section discusses the effects of transportation advances and the Industrial Revolution on the United States in the early 1800s.
ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the chart below to help you take notes. Industrialists and inventors brought the Industrial Revolution to the United States. Describe what the people listed in the chart developed or invented.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrialists and Inventors</th>
<th>Development or Invention</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert Fulton</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Slater</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis C. Lowell</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eli Whitney</td>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel F.B. Morse</td>
<td>5.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

READ TO LEARN

• A Revolution in Transportation (page 178)

The Erie Canal was completed in 1825. This was part of the transportation revolution that happened in the Northern states in the early 1800s. As a result, great social and economic changes occurred in the United States.

In 1806 Congress funded the building of the National Road. This was a major east-west highway that started in Cumberland, Maryland, and ended in Vandalia, Illinois. Conestoga wagons carried pioneers west on this road. Farmers traveled east on this road to bring their livestock and farm products to markets in the East. The National Road was the largest federally funded highway. Most highway improvements were funded by state and local governments and by private businesses.

Rivers were a faster, easier, and cheaper way to move goods than roads. The only problem was that loaded boats and barges could travel only downstream or with the current. In 1807 the steamboat called the Clermont, developed by Robert Fulton and promoted by Robert R. Livingston, traveled upstream on the Hudson River. This transportation advance made river travel speedier and upstream travel possible.

Railroads were built in America in the early 1800s. Trains were faster than stagecoaches or wagons, and they could go more places than steamboats could. The Tom Thumb, a tiny but powerful locomotive built by Peter Cooper, pulled the nation’s first train passengers in 1830. Railroads helped settle the West and expand trade among the nation’s regions.

6. Why was the steamboat an important advance in transportation?
Study Guide

Chapter 5, Section 1 (continued)

• Industrialization Sweeps the North (page 179)

The Industrial Revolution began in Britain in the 1700s. The revolution consisted of several developments in business and industry. Manufacturing went from hand tools to large, complex machines. Workers went from skilled artisans to workers given specific jobs. The workers were often unskilled. Home-based workshops were replaced by factories. Manufactured goods were sold nationwide and overseas.

Industrialization began in the Northeast. The swift-flowing streams provided waterpower for the factories. The Northeast had entrepreneurs and merchants who had money to invest in industry.

Importing British technology was difficult because it was illegal to pass on British technology to foreigners. In 1789 British textile worker Samuel Slater built from memory a water frame to spin cotton thread in Rhode Island. In 1814 Francis C. Lowell opened many textile mills in northeastern Massachusetts. He started mass production of cotton cloth in the United States.

Inventions and technological advances helped industry grow in the United States. Eli Whitney made the idea of interchangeable parts popular in the gun-making industry. Machines were able to produce large amounts of identical pieces that workers assembled into finished goods. During the 1820s, the practice of canning food in airtight tin containers allowed people to store or transport many foods. In 1832 Samuel F.B. Morse perfected the telegraph. He developed the Morse code for sending messages. Newspapers used the telegraph to quickly collect and share news stories over wires.

Industrialization caused the rise of large cities. Many people moved to urban areas in search of factory jobs and better pay. By 1860 eight cities in the U.S. had populations of over 100,000. Immigrants also contributed to city growth. Many Americans had feelings of nativism, preference for native-born people and a desire to limit immigration. A political party known as the Know-Nothings arose to keep foreigners and Catholics out of politics.

By 1860 there were 1.3 million factory workers in the United States. During the late 1820s and early 1830s, many factory workers joined labor unions to improve working conditions. The unions, however, had little power or money. They could not support strikes, or work stoppages. Courts often ruled against early unions.

Although early labor unions had little success, there were some gains. In 1840 President Martin Van Buren lowered the workday for federal employees to 10 hours. In 1842 the Supreme Court ruled that labor strikes were legal.

7. How did industrialization affect cities in the United States?
The American Republic Since 1877

8. What were the major cash crops of the South?

- Enslaved and Free African Americans (page 183)

The demand for cotton created a huge demand for slave labor. Between 1820 and 1860, the number of enslaved people in the South rose from about 1.5 million to nearly 3.2 million. Most enslaved African Americans worked in the fields. Some worked as factory workers, as skilled workers, or as house servants.

There were two basic labor systems for enslaved African Americans who worked in the fields. The task system was used on farms and small planta-
tions. Under this system, workers were given certain jobs to finish every day. They worked until their work was done. Once they were done, they were allowed to do other things. Some enslaved people earned money as artisans. Others gardened or hunted for extra food. Large plantations, however, used the gang system. Under this system, enslaved persons were put in work gangs that labored in the fields the entire day. The director of the work gang was called the driver.

Enslaved persons had few legal rights. State slave codes forbade enslaved persons from owning property or from leaving their owner’s land without permission. They could not own guns or testify in court against a white person. They were not allowed to learn to read or write.

Field workers often used song to pass the long workday and to enjoy their leisure time. Some songs expressed the despair of enslaved African Americans. Other songs expressed hope for freedom. Songs played an important role in African American religion. Many African Americans believed in Christianity. Their beliefs sometimes included African religious traditions.

Many enslaved persons resisted and rebelled against their enslavement. They held work slowdowns, broke tools, set fires, or ran away.

In 1822 Denmark Vesey, a free African American in Charleston, South Carolina, was accused of planning a revolt to free the slaves in the area. Before the revolt, however, Vesey was arrested and hanged.

In 1831 Nat Turner, an enslaved minister who believed that God chose him to free his people, led a group of African Americans in an uprising in Virginia. Turner and his group killed more than 50 white people before he was arrested and hanged.

Some African Americans living in the South were free. Most of them lived in towns and cities of the upper Southern states. Some were descendants of Africans brought to the United States as indentured servants in the 1700s. Others earned their freedom by fighting in the American Revolution. Some were half-white children of slaveholders, who had given them freedom. Others had bought their freedom or had been freed by their slaveholders. Free African Americans also lived in the North where slavery had been outlawed.

9. What two labor systems were used in the plantation fields?
DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Have you ever had a disagreement with someone and just could not seem to resolve your differences? Did you try to compromise, or give up something in order to get something else in return? Compromise has been an important problem-solving tool in our country’s history.

The last section described the economy and society of the South during the 1800s. This section discusses the growing differences between the North and the South.


**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the chart below to help you take notes. Each candidate in the election of 1824 was a “favorite son” and had certain issues that certain regions favored. Name the candidates and the region that supported them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election of 1824</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Candidates</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**READ TO LEARN**

- **The Resurgence of Sectionalism** *(page 187)*

  In 1819 the Union had 11 free states and 11 slave states. Missouri applied for statehood as a slave state. This set off the divisive issue as to whether slavery should expand westward. Admitting any new state, either slave or free, would upset the balance of political power in the Senate and start a struggle for political power.

  While trying to settle the question of slavery in Missouri, Maine applied for statehood. The Senate decided to combine Maine’s request with Missouri’s. The result was the **Missouri Compromise**. It called for admitting Maine as a free state and Missouri as a slave state. An amendment was added to the compromise that prohibited slavery in the Louisiana Purchase territory north of Missouri’s southern border. Henry Clay of Kentucky steered the vote through the House of Representatives, which accepted the compromise.

  A new problem developed that threatened the compromise. The Missouri constitutional convention added a clause to the proposed state constitution prohibiting free African Americans from entering the state. This threatened the final approval of Missouri’s admission to the Union. Henry Clay again engineered a solution.

  Sectional differences over beliefs and policies were part of the election of 1824. All four candidates in the presidential election of 1824 were from the Republican Party. They all were “favorite sons,” or men who were popular and had political support in their own state and region. Henry Clay of
Kentucky and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee represented the West. John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts was the favorite son of New England. William Crawford of Georgia was the favorite son of the South.

Jackson won the popular vote and led in the Electoral College. No candidate, however, won a majority in the Electoral College. The House of Representatives had to vote to select the president out of the three candidates with the highest number of electoral votes. Clay had the least electoral votes, so he was eliminated. Clay, who was Speaker of the House, had great influence there. He threw his support to John Quincy Adams, hoping that Adams would support Clay’s American System—a program favoring the national bank, the protective tariff, and new roads and canals. Adams won the House vote.

Jackson’s supporters accused Clay of winning votes for Adams in return for a cabinet post. Adams and Clay were accused of making a “corrupt bargain.” Adams and Clay said they had done nothing wrong. Jackson’s supporters took the name Democratic Republicans to point out their differences with Adams’s party, the National Republicans. The Democratic Republicans later shortened their name to Democrats.

9. What were the provisions of the Missouri Compromise?

• A New Era in Politics (page 189)

In his first message to Congress, President John Quincy Adams proposed a program that included internal improvements, a national university, astronomical observatories, and funding for scientific research. The legislators thought his ideas were extravagant. When he ran for re-election in 1828, he could cite few accomplishments for his first term.

Starting in the early 1800s, the United States saw a growth of democracy. Hundreds of thousands of males gained voting rights. This was because many states eliminated property ownership as a voting qualification. Also, the number of people who owned property had increased. Many of them lived on the frontiers of the West and South.

John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson were the presidential candidates in the election of 1828. The campaign resorted to mudslinging. The candidates criticized each other’s personalities and principles. Adams claimed that
Jackson was not fit to be president. Jackson said he was the candidate of the common man. He said that Adams was an out-of-touch aristocrat.

Jackson won the popular vote and the electoral vote in the election of 1828. Many voters who supported him were from the West and South. They were rural and small-town men who thought Jackson would represent their interests.

President Jackson believed in the capability and intelligence of average Americans. He believed that ordinary citizens should play an active role in government. As a result, Jackson supported the spoils system, the practice of appointing people to government jobs on the basis of party loyalty and support. Jackson replaced large numbers of government employees with his own supporters. He believed that opening government offices to ordinary citizens increased democracy.

Jackson and his supporters also wanted to make the way presidential candidates were chosen more democratic. At that time, political parties chose presidential candidates through the caucus system, in which party members who served in Congress would meet to choose the nominee for president. Jackson believed that this method gave only the well connected the opportunity to hold office. He and his supporters replaced the caucus with the national nominating convention. Delegates from the states met to decide on the party’s presidential nominee.

10. Why did President Andrew Jackson support the spoils system?

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- **The Nullification Crisis** *(page 190)*

The economy of South Carolina was weakening throughout the early 1800s. Many people blamed the nation’s tariffs. South Carolina had to purchase many manufactured goods from Europe. Tariffs placed on these goods made them very expensive. In 1828 Congress added a new tariff, which people called the Tariff of Abominations. Many South Carolinians threatened to secede, or withdraw, from the union.

**John C. Calhoun**, the vice president, was torn between following the country’s policies and helping his fellow South Carolinians. Calhoun proposed the idea of nullification, which said that states had the right to declare a federal law null, or not valid. He said that states had this right because they had created the union. The issue came up again in 1830 when two senators—Robert Hayne of South Carolina and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts—debated each other on the Senate floor. Hayne supported the right of states to do what they wanted. Webster defended the Union.
President Jackson also defended the Union. When Congress passed another tariff law in 1832, South Carolina was upset and called for secession, while a special state convention voted to nullify the tariffs. Jackson considered this an act of treason. He sent a warship to Charleston, South Carolina, and tensions increased. Senator Henry Clay pushed through a bill that would lower the tariffs gradually until 1842. South Carolina repealed its nullification decision.

11. Why was South Carolina upset about the nation’s tariffs?

• Other Domestic Matters (page 191)

Like many other people, President Jackson believed that conflicts with Native Americans would end if they were moved to the uninhabited regions west of the Mississippi River. In 1830 Jackson pushed through Congress the Indian Removal Act, which provided money to relocate Native Americans.

Most Native Americans gave in and resettled in the West. However, the Cherokee of Georgia refused. They sued the state of Georgia, and their case reached the Supreme Court. Chief Justice John Marshall sided with the Cherokee and ordered the state to honor their property rights. President Jackson, however, did not support the Court’s decision.

Eventually, the army was sent to resolve the conflict with the Cherokee. The army forced them out of their homes and marched them west to what is now Oklahoma. Thousands of Cherokee died on the journey, which became known as the Trail of Tears. By 1838 the government had moved the majority of Native Americans east of the Mississippi to reservations. Although most Americans supported the removal policy, some, such as a few National Republicans and some religious denominations, denounced it.

President Jackson opposed the Second Bank of the United States. He believed that it benefited only the wealthy, and he disliked the Bank’s president Nicholas Biddle. The Bank played an important role in keeping the money supply and interest rates stable by regulating how state banks loaned money. Many Western settlers who needed easy credit to run their farms were unhappy with the Bank’s policies for lending money. President Jackson also believed that the Bank was unconstitutional, even though the Supreme Court ruled otherwise.

Jackson’s opponents in Congress introduced a bill that would extend the Bank’s charter. Congress passed it, but Jackson vetoed it. Many Americans
supported Jackson. He removed the government’s deposits from the Bank and placed them in state banks. This forced the Bank to call in its loans and stop lending. Many people later claimed that Jackson’s action contributed to the nation’s future financial problems.

12. What was the purpose of the Indian Removal Act?

• A New Party Emerges (page 192)

In the mid-1830s, the Whig Party formed to oppose President Jackson. They wanted to expand the federal government and to develop industry and trade. The Whig’s ideas were very different from those of Jackson’s Democrats, who wanted a limited government.

In the presidential election of 1836, Democrat Martin Van Buren easily defeated the Whigs, who had three candidates. Shortly after he became president, an economic crisis hit the United States. Many banks and businesses failed, and thousands of farmers lost their land. The crisis had been set off by Jackson, who had issued the Specie Circular before leaving office. It ordered that payments for public land must be made in gold or silver, not paper currency.

The Whigs hoped that the economic crisis would lead to an easy victory over the Democrats in the 1840 presidential election. The Whigs nominated William Henry Harrison for president and John Tyler for vice president. Harrison won, but he died one month after his inauguration, and John Tyler became president.

Tyler had been nominated by the Whigs mainly to attract the Southern voters. He actually opposed many Whig policies. As a result, he sided with the Democrats and refused to support a third Bank and a higher tariff. President Tyler also had to deal with foreign relations, particularly with Great Britain. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty established a firm boundary between the United States and Canada.

13. What helped the Whigs defeat President Van Buren in the 1840 election?
The Reform Spirit

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- **Second Great Awakening**  
  a movement in the early 1800s to revive Americans’ commitment to religion (page 195)

- **benevolent society**  
  organization that focused on spreading God’s word and solving social problems (page 195)

- **transcendentalism**  
  a philosophy that urged people to overcome the limits of their minds and to embrace the natural world (page 195)

- **utopia**  
  an ideal society (196)

- **temperance**  
  abstinence from alcohol (page 196)

- **Elizabeth Cady Stanton**  
  prominent advocate of women’s rights (page 199)

- **abolition**  
  an immediate end to slavery (page 199)

- **emancipation**  
  freeing enslaved persons (page 199)

- **Frederick Douglass**  
  an African American abolitionist (page 200)

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

What aspects of your school or community do you think need improvement? In what ways can you work for these improvements?

The last section discussed the issues that faced President Jackson’s administration. This section discusses the social and cultural changes the nation experienced during the early and mid-1800s.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the chart below to help you take notes. In the early 1800s, many people worked to reform different aspects of society. List the reform that each person listed below worked for.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reformer</th>
<th>Type of Reform</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dorothea Dix</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horace Mann</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma Willard</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Lyon</td>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucretia Mott</td>
<td>5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Cady Stanton</td>
<td>6.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
READ TO LEARN

• A Religious Revival  (page 194)

Dorothea Dix worked to improve conditions for the mentally ill, who were often locked up in prisons. Many people in the mid-1800s worked to reform various aspects of American society.

The United States experienced a change in religious life. In the 1800s, religious leaders organized a movement to revive Americans’ commitment to religion. This movement came to be known as the Second Great Awakening. Ministers attracted thousands of followers in revival meetings, where people sang and prayed. Charles G. Finney, a Presbyterian minister, was an important promoter of the Second Great Awakening. His revivals attracted many followers.

A number of new religions flourished during the mid-1800s. Among these were Unitarianism and Universalism. New Englander Joseph Smith founded the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, whose followers are commonly known as the Mormons. After being harassed in New England for their beliefs, the Mormons moved west. Brigham Young became the leader of the Mormon Church after Joseph Smith’s murder.

Lyman Beecher, a revivalist minister, preached the idea of individuals rather than government working to build a better society. He and other religious leaders helped start organizations known as benevolent societies. These organizations focused on spreading God’s word and on solving social problems.

Many women participated in the reform movements in the United States. They focused on aspects of American society that they believed needed change.

7. What new religions started in the United States in the mid-1800s?

• A Literary Renaissance  (page 195)

One group of New England writers and philosophers followed the philosophy of transcendentalism. It urged people to transcend, or overcome, the limits of their minds and to enjoy the natural world.

The most influential transcendentalist was Ralph Waldo Emerson. Other transcendentalist writers included Henry David Thoreau and Margaret Fuller.

Writers also created uniquely American works about the people, history, and natural beauty of the United States. These writers included James Fenimore Cooper, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, and Edgar Allan Poe. Walt Whitman pioneered a new kind of poetry, free verse, which celebrated nature, the common people, democracy, and the human spirit.
During the early 1800s, more Americans learned to read and more men gained voting rights. Publishers began producing inexpensive newspapers, which reported on crime, gossip, politics and local news—the kind of news most people liked. These newspapers became very successful. General interest magazines, such as the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper’s Weekly*, also started around this time.

8. **What movement influenced many writers in the 1800s?**

   - **Social Reform** (page 196)
   
   The movements that influenced religion and art in the mid-1800s—optimism about human nature—led to the creation of new communities. The people who started these communities believed that society corrupted human nature, and the best way to prevent this from happening was to separate people from society. These people formed their own utopia, or ideal society. These communities promoted cooperative living and no private property. Several utopian communities started during the mid-1800s. These included Brook Farm in Massachusetts and several small utopian communities established by a religious group known as the Shakers.

   Many believed that excessive use of alcohol caused many social problems, such as crime and poverty. Alcoholism was widespread during the early 1800s. Reformers stepped up their campaign for temperance, or abstinence from alcohol. Temperance groups formed all across the country. Several groups joined together to form the American Temperance Union. Temperance groups also worked for laws to prohibit the sale of liquor.

   Some reformers worked to improve prison conditions. In the 1800s, criminals of all kinds and the mentally ill were often crowded together in prisons that were often literally holes in the ground. Many states began building new facilities to provide better conditions for prisoners. Some people also worked for programs to help prisoners rehabilitate themselves rather than simply locking them up.

9. **What reforms did the temperance movement work toward?**
• Educational Reform  (page 197)

Many reformers began to push for public education, in which government-funded schools were open to all citizens. These reformers believed that a democracy could survive only if the people who voted were educated and informed. One of the leaders of the public education movement was Horace Mann. As a Massachusetts legislator, he pushed for more public education and a bill that created a state board of education in Massachusetts. Mann became secretary of the new board. He opened more high schools and started schools for teacher training. Massachusetts passed the first mandatory school attendance law. By the 1850s, many Northeastern states included tax-supported elementary schools. Tax-supported schools soon spread to the rest of the country.

When most people talked about educating voters, they were talking about educating men. Some women worked to create educational opportunities for women. Emma Willard opened a girls’ boarding school that taught subjects such as math and literature, which were rarely taught to girls. Mary Lyon opened the first institution of higher education for women.

10. How did reformers feel public schools would benefit the country?

• The Women’s Movement  (page 198)

In the 1800s, people began dividing their lives into two activities—the home and the workplace. Men now often left home to go to work, while women took care of the house and children. Many people believed that the home was the proper place for women. Many women believed that as wives, they were partners with their husbands.

In 1848 Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized the Seneca Falls Convention. This was a gathering of women and the start of an organized woman’s movement. The convention declared that all men and women are created equal. Stanton also proposed that women focus on gaining the right to vote, and the proposal narrowly passed.

11. Why was the Seneca Falls Convention significant?
The Abolitionist Movement (page 199)

Throughout American history, many Americans had opposed slavery. The first organizations formed to end slavery started in the early 1800s. In 1816 the American Colonization Society (ACS) was formed. The society bought land in West Africa and began shipping free African Americans to a colony they established there. The colony eventually became the country of Liberia. However, most African Americans regarded the United States as their home and did not want to move to another continent.

In the 1830s, the idea of abolition, or the immediate end to slavery, took hold. William Lloyd Garrison was most influential in the development of a national abolitionist movement in the 1830s. He founded Boston’s antislavery newspaper, the Liberator. In his newspaper, Garrison called for complete emancipation, or freeing, of enslaved persons. Garrison founded the American Antislavery Society in 1833. By 1838 the society had more than 250,000 members. Many other men and women carried on Garrison’s abolitionist work.

Free African Americans also took on significant roles in the abolitionist movement. Frederick Douglass, who escaped from slavery in Maryland, was the most famous. He published his own antislavery newspaper, the North Star. Another important abolitionist was Sojourner Truth. Her antislavery speeches drew huge crowds.

Many Northerners disapproved of slavery. However, many thought the abolitionist movement was a threat to the existing social system. Some believed that it would create conflict between the North and the South. Others were afraid that it would lead to the influx of freed African Americans to the North, causing housing and job shortages.

Southerners viewed slavery as a necessity to the Southern way of life and to its economy. They defended it by claiming that most slaves did not want freedom because they benefited from their relationship with the slaveholders.

In 1831, shortly after Garrison printed his newspaper, Nat Turner, an enslaved preacher, led a revolt that killed more than 50 Virginians. Southerners were furious and demanded that abolitionist material not be circulated in the South. Southern postal workers refused to deliver abolitionist newspapers. The House of Representatives refused to debate all abolitionist petitions.

12. How did Southerners respond to the abolitionist movement?
**Study Guide**

Chapter 5, Section 4

For use with textbook pages 202–209

**MANIFEST DESTINY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KEY TERMS AND NAMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manifest Destiny</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>squatters</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pre-emption Act</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tejanos</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>empresarios</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Antonio López de Santa Anna</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sam Houston</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>annexation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bear Flag Republic</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

Have you ever gone on an extended trip? What methods of transportation did you take? What obstacles did you face? Were you limited in the amount of things you could pack to take with you? If so, how did you decide what you would take?

In this section, you will learn about the problems facing Americans as they migrated West.
OROrganizing Your Thoughts

Use the outline below to help you take notes. Describe the events that led to independence for Texas.

A. Opening Texas to Americans
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
   4. 
   5. 
   6. 
   7. 

B. Texas Goes to War
   3. 
   4. 
   5. 
   6. 
   7. 

Read To Learn

- The Western Pioneers (page 202)

In 1800 few settlers lived west of the Appalachian Mountains. By 1850 there were more than 4 million settlers. The population continued to quickly increase. Americans moved west for many reasons, including to find religious freedom and to own their own farms. Many Americans believed in Manifest Destiny, the idea that the nation was meant to expand to the Pacific.

Some of the first settlers to establish farms west of the Appalachians were called squatters because they settled on lands they did not own. The Pre-emption Act of 1841 guaranteed squatters the right to buy up to 160 acres.

People who came later to the Midwest pushed on toward California and Oregon. Other nations had already claimed parts of these lands. The U.S. and Great Britain competed to own Oregon. In the late 1830s, American missionaries came to the Oregon Territory and wrote enthusiastic reports that attracted settlers.

Mexico controlled California. Its distance from Mexico made it difficult to govern. The local California government could not attract enough emigrants from Mexico, so it welcomed foreign settlers.

Much of the land that pioneers crossed to the Pacific was difficult terrain. Adventurers like Kit Carson were trail blazers. By the 1840s, they had made several east-west passages, such as the Oregon Trail, California Trail, and the Santa Fe Trail.
At first Native Americans often gave emigrants food and helpful information about routes, edible plants, and sources of water. As overland traffic increased, however, Native Americans on the Great Plains were afraid and angry over the fear that immigration might change their way of life. The Native Americans in this region relied on buffalo to meet their needs for food, shelter, and clothing. They feared that the increasing number of settlers moving across their hunting grounds would disrupt the wanderings of the buffalo herds.

The federal government wanted peace, so in 1851 the U.S. government and eight Native American groups negotiated the Treaty of Fort Laramie. The Native American groups agreed to live in certain territories. In return, the U.S. government promised that these territories would always belong to the Native Americans.

8. Why did the U.S. government and the Native Americans negotiate the Treaty of Fort Laramie?

• Americans Settle in Texas (page 204)

In 1821 Texas came under Mexican control after Mexico won its independence from Spain. Tejanos—the Spanish-speaking people of the area—had set up settlements in the southern part of the region. Few Tejanos lived in the northern part of the region where Native American groups lived. So Mexico invited Americans and other foreigners to settle there. The Americans were able to buy cheap land. In return, they had to become Mexican citizens, live under Mexican law, and become Roman Catholic.

Most American emigrants came to Texas at the encouragement of empresarios—or agents. The empresarios promised to bring in a certain number of settlers for the land. Stephen Austin, the first and most successful empresario, persuaded about 1,500 American families to settle there.

At first the Americans agreed to Mexican citizenship. The Americans did not adopt Mexican customs, however. Very few thought of Mexico as their country.

In 1826 empresario Haden Edwards’s brother Benjamin led a rebellion against the Mexican government. Edwards declared that the American settlements in Texas were the independent nation of Fredonia. Stephen Austin led
some troops that helped Mexico stop Edwards’s revolt. The Mexican government feared that Edwards’s revolt might be an American plot to take over Texas. In 1830 Mexico closed its borders to immigration by Americans. This new law angered settlers. Their settlements could not grow without immigration. Worst of all, the Americans resented the Mexican government telling them what to do.

9. How did Edwards’s revolt against the Mexican government affect Americans in Texas?

• Texas Fights for Independence (page 205)

In 1832 American settlers in Texas held a convention. Members of the convention asked Mexico to reopen Texas to American immigrants. They also asked Mexico to decrease taxes on imports. Another convention was held in 1833. At that time, Texas was part of the Mexican state of Coahuila. The convention members asked Mexico to separate Texas from Coahuila and create a new Mexican state. They sent Austin to Mexico City to talk with the Mexican government. The talks failed, so in a letter Austin suggested that Texas organize its own state government.

After sending his letter, Stephen Austin persuaded Mexican President Antonio López de Santa Anna to agree to lift the immigration ban and other demands. Mexican officials intercepted the letter. In January 1834, Austin was arrested by Mexican officials and jailed for treason on the basis of the letter. In April 1834, Santa Anna denounced the Mexican Constitution and made himself dictator. When Austin was granted amnesty in 1835, he urged Texans to organize an army. He thought that war with Mexico was certain to happen.

The Texas army’s first victory against Mexico was in October 1835, at the military post of Gonzales, about 75 miles east of San Antonio. In February 1836, Santa Anna and his forces came to San Antonio. About 150 Texas rebels were at the Alamo. The small force, commanded by William B. Travis, was joined by 32 settlers. They held off Santa Anna’s army for 13 days. At this time, the new Texas government declared independence from Mexico. On March 6, 1836, Santa Anna’s army defeated the Texans at the Alamo.

Two weeks later, the Mexican army forced the Texas troops to surrender at Goliad, a town southeast of San Antonio. Santa Anna had the Texas troops executed. The losses at the Alamo and Goliad united Texans behind their new country.
At the Battle of San Jacinto, Sam Houston and his Texas troops launched a surprise attack on the Mexican army. During the attack, Houston’s men yelled, “Remember the Alamo” and “Remember Goliad.” The Texans easily beat the Mexican army. They captured Santa Anna. He signed a treaty recognizing the independence of the Republic of Texas.

In September 1836, voters elected Sam Houston president of the Republic of Texas. They also voted for annexation—to become part of the United States. Many northern members of Congress, however, were against admitting Texas to the Union. They thought Texas, with its many enslaved persons, would become a slave state.

10. Why were the losses at the Alamo and Goliad important to the Texans?

• Texas and Oregon Enter the Union (page 207)

President John Tyler wanted to annex Texas. Texas, however, was certain to be a slave state because enslaved African Americans were already a large population in Texas. Therefore, antislavery leaders in Congress opposed the annexation of Texas. Also, Mexico never recognized Texas’s independence. Mexico considered Texas a Mexican territory.

In 1844 Congress voted against annexation of Texas. Many Northerners thought that annexation was a pro-slavery plot.

James K. Polk of Tennessee was the Democratic candidate in the 1844 election. Polk promised to annex Texas and the Oregon Territory. He also promised to buy California from Mexico. His platform appealed to both Northerners and Southerners because it expanded the country and kept a balance between free and slave states. Polk won the election against the Whig candidate Henry Clay.

In 1845 Congress passed a joint resolution to annex Texas.

President Polk stated that the United States had a right to Oregon. Those who supported this stand on Oregon used the slogan “Fifty-four Forty or Fight.” This meant that supporters wanted all of Oregon to the line of 54° 40’ north latitude. In June 1846, Great Britain and the United States divided Oregon along 49° north latitude.

11. How did the United States gain Oregon and Texas?
War With Mexico (page 208)

The entry of Texas into the Union angered Mexico, which then broke diplomatic relations with the United States. Matters between the two countries got worse when Mexico and the U.S. could not agree on the location of Texas’s southwestern border. Mexico said it was the Nueces River. Texas said it was the Rio Grande.

In November 1845, Polk sent John Slidell to Mexico City as a special representative. Slidell was to try and purchase California. Mexico’s president refused to meet with Slidell.

After Mexico’s president refused to discuss the U.S. purchase of California, President Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor and his troops to cross the Nueces River into territory claimed by both the United States and Mexico. Polk wanted Mexico to attack the U.S. troops so he could win popular support for the war. Finally a force of Mexicans attacked Taylor’s men. Polk declared war with Mexico. Many Whigs were against the war because they saw it as another plan to extend slavery, but Congress voted for the war.

Polk and his advisers developed a military strategy that required the U.S. to expand its army. The president asked for 50,000 volunteers.

Before Polk had signed the declaration of war, Taylor’s troops defeated Mexican troops at Palo Alto and at Resaca de la Palma. Taylor and his troops continued south and defeated the Mexican forces at Matamoros and then captured Monterrey.

Settlers in northern California, led by American general John C. Frémont began an uprising. They easily defeated the Mexican presence there. On June 14, 1846, the settlers declared California independent from Mexico. They called the region the Bear Flag Republic. A few weeks later, American naval forces took possession of California for the United States.

Mexico refused to surrender. Polk sent General Winfield Scott to capture Mexico City. The city was captured in September 1846. On February 2, 1848, Mexico and the U.S. signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In this agreement, Mexico gave the United States territory that included what are now the states of California, Utah, and Nevada, as well as most of New Mexico and Arizona and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. Mexico agreed to the Rio Grande as the southern border of Texas. The United States agreed to pay Mexico $15 million and to take over $3.5 million in debt that the Mexican government owed American citizens.

12. What did the United States gain from the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo?
Study Guide

Chapter 6, Section 1

For use with textbook pages 218–224

SLAVERY AND WESTERN EXPANSION

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- **Wilmot Proviso**: A part of a bill that proposed that slavery not be allowed in any territory gained from Mexico (page 219)
- **popular sovereignty**: The idea that people living in a territory had the right to decide by voting whether to allow slavery in the territory (page 219)
- **secession**: The process of leaving the Union that Southern states threatened (page 220)
- **Underground Railroad**: An organized system for helping enslaved persons escape (page 221)
- **Harriet Tubman**: A conductor of the Underground Railroad (page 221)
- **transcontinental railroad**: Railroad that connected the West Coast to the rest of the country (page 223)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Why did Southern states support slavery? Why did Northerners oppose it? What steps do you think the government could have taken to solve the issue?

In this section, you will learn how the government dealt with slavery in the new territories that were organized after the Mexican War. You will also learn how the Compromise of 1850 attempted to ease tensions over the slavery issue.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the chart below to help you take notes. In the mid-1800s, the government attempted to deal with the issue of slavery in new territories. Explain how each of the items listed in the chart dealt with the slavery issue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action or Event</th>
<th>How It Dealt With the Slavery Issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wilmot Proviso</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California applies for statehood</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compromise of 1850</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• The Impact of the War With Mexico (page 218)

Although many enslaved people escaped slavery, they were not safe. Many Southerners believed that they had the right to get an enslaved person back. However, Northerners believed otherwise and helped enslaved people escape.

The lands acquired after the Mexican War raised the issue of extending slavery westward. In August 1846, Representative David Wilmot proposed an amendment to a bill, which became known as the Wilmot Proviso. It proposed that slavery not be allowed in any territory gained from Mexico. This proposal angered Southerners, who believed that the states owned the territories of the United States in common, and therefore Congress had no right to ban slavery in the territories. Although the House of Representatives passed the proposal, the Senate refused to vote on it.

The issue of expanding slavery had divided along sectional lines—the North against the South. Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan proposed an idea that became known as popular sovereignty. The idea stated that the citizens of each new territory should decide for themselves if they wanted to permit slavery or not. This idea appealed to many politicians because it removed the issue of expanding slavery from the national government.

In the 1848 presidential election, the Whig Party chose General Zachary Taylor as their candidate. The party split over this nomination. Many Whigs quit the party and joined with antislavery Democrats from New York. These two groups then joined with members of the abolitionist Liberty Party to form the Free-Soil Party. This party opposed the spread of slavery into western territories. They believed that slavery would harm the livelihood of free workers by driving down labor costs, making it difficult for free men to find work.

Three candidates ran for president in 1848. Democrat Lewis Cass supported popular sovereignty. Martin Van Buren was the Free-Soil Party candidate and opposed slavery in the territories. Whig candidate Zachary Taylor avoided the slavery issue and instead ran on his experience in the Mexican War. Taylor won the election.

4. How did the land acquired from Mexico bring out the issue of slavery?
If California came in as a free state, then the slaveholding states would be in the minority in Congress. Southerners feared losing power in Congress. Many began talking of secession, or taking their states out of the Union. In 1850 Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky proposed eight resolutions to solve the crisis. The resolutions offered concessions to both sides. They included admitting California as a free state, but not placing restrictions on slavery in the rest of the territory from Mexico. Many supporters of Southern rights opposed the compromise. Congress debated the resolutions. In the end, Congress passed several separate bills that became known as the Compromise of 1850. Tensions over slavery had eased.

5. What problem arose when California asked to be admitted as a free state?

- The Fugitive Slave Act (page 221)

Under the Fugitive Slave Act, an individual needed to only point out a person as a runaway slave for that person to be taken into custody. The law required that any Northerner had to help catch African Americans. If they refused, they could be jailed. Northerners reacted angrily to the law, and anti-slavery activists disobeyed it. The Northern opposition to slavery increased.

Whites and free African Americans continued helping runaway slaves by working with the Underground Railroad. This was an organized system in which runaways were transported north and given shelter and food along the way. They were moved to freedom in the Northern states or Canada. Many people, particularly Harriet Tubman, acted as conductors. They made dangerous journeys into the South to guide enslaved persons along the Underground Railroad.

Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote Uncle Tom’s Cabin to show the horrors of slavery. The book stirred people’s feelings about slavery. Southerners were outraged at Stowe’s novel. They attacked Stowe’s portrayal of slavery. Despite their efforts, the book sold millions of copies. The book greatly influenced public opinion regarding slavery.

6. What was the purpose of the Underground Railroad?

- New Territorial Troubles (page 223)

By the early 1850s, many people were interested in the lands west of Missouri and Iowa. At about the same time, Oregon was opened for settlement and California was admitted to the Union. Many Americans believed that they needed a transcontinental railroad to connect the West Coast to the rest of the country. The railroad would decrease the time it took to travel overland or
by sea around the tip of South America. The railroad would also lead to further settlement along its route.

Southerners wanted the railroad to start from New Orleans. However, this would require the railroad to pass through northern Mexico. As a result, the government sent James Gadsden to buy land from Mexico. The Mexicans sold a strip of land that today is part of southern Arizona and New Mexico. The Gadsden Purchase cost the United States $10 million.

Senator Stephen A. Douglas wanted the railroad to start in Chicago. However, this northern route would require Congress to organize the territory west of Missouri and Iowa. He suggested organizing the region into a new territory to be called Nebraska. Southern Senators responded that to form the new territory, he needed to repeal the Missouri Compromise and allow slavery in the new territory.

Douglas responded by saying that any states organized in the Nebraska territory would be allowed to use popular sovereignty on slavery. He then proposed undoing the Missouri Compromise and allowing slavery in the region. He also proposed dividing the territory into two territories: Nebraska in the north and Kansas in the south. Northerner Democrats and Whigs charged that this proposal broke a promise to limit the spread of slavery. Despite the opposition, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act in May 1854.

The conflict over slavery intensified in Kansas. Settlers moving there from the slave state of Missouri wanted to bring enslaved persons with them and claim Kansas for the South. Northerners wanted to make the territory a free territory. Northern settlers armed with rifles headed for the new territory. In the spring of 1855, thousands of Missourians voted illegally in Kansas and created a pro-slavery legislature. Antislavery settlers held a convention in Kansas and created their own constitution that prohibited slavery. Kansas now had two governments.

In the spring of 1856, pro-slavery settlers attacked a stronghold of anti-slavery settlers. They wrecked property and looted stores and homes. “Bleeding Kansas,” as one newspaper called it, became involved in a civil war between pro-slavery and antislavery settlers.

Conflict over the slavery issue spread to the Senate floor. In May 1856, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts gave a fiery abolitionist speech. He accused Senator Andrew P. Butler of being important in trying to force Kansas into becoming a slave state. A few days later, Butler’s cousin, Representative Preston Brooks, beat Sumner with a cane, leaving him seriously injured on the Senate floor.

7. Why did violence break out in the territory of Kansas?
The American Republic Since 1877

Chapter 6, Section 2

For use with textbook pages 226-231

THE CRISIS DEEPENS

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Republican Party a political party formed in 1854 as an antislavery party (page 227)

Dred Scott an enslaved man who argued that he should be free because he was taken to a free territory; his case went to the Supreme Court (page 228)

referendum popular vote on an issue (page 229)

insurrection a rebellion (page 231)

Harpers Ferry site of federal arsenal in Virginia that John Brown tried to raid (page 231)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What are the major political parties in the United States today? How are their views about issues facing the country different? How are they the same?

The last section discussed the events that contributed to continuing sectional conflicts. This section describes the breakdown of political parties and the increasing tensions over the slavery issue.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the chart below to help you take notes. Several events helped sectional divisions in the 1850s to grow. Explain how each of the events listed in the chart contributed to the growth of sectionalism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>How It Contributed to the Growth of Sectionalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dred Scott decision</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lecompton constitution</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Brown’s raid</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Kansas-Nebraska Act contributed to the end of the Whig Party, with Northern Whigs voting against the bill and Southern Whigs supporting it. A few Northern Whigs joined antislavery Democrats as well as other antislavery political parties to form a new party called the Republican Party. The Republicans wanted to prevent the Southern planters from controlling the federal government. Although Republicans did not agree on whether slavery should be abolished, they did agree that it should be kept out of the territories.

At about the same time, the American Party, known as the Know-Nothings, gained popularity in the Northeast. This nativist party hoped to prolong the naturalization process, weakening immigrant influence. Nativist fears helped the party gain seats in Congress and in state legislatures. However, like the Whigs, the Know-Nothings Party split over the issue of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Eventually it dissolved.

In the 1856 presidential election, the Republicans nominated John C. Frémont, an explorer who helped make California a free state and wanted to make Kansas a free state. The Democrats nominated James Buchanan, whose record in Congress showed that he believed the best way to save the Union was to make concessions to the South. The American Party nominated Millard Fillmore, hoping to get the votes of former Whigs. With solid support from the South, Buchanan won the election.

4. Why did the South support James Buchanan in the presidential election of 1856?

- Sectional Divisions Grow (page 228)

James Buchanan believed that the Supreme Court should decide the issue of slavery in the territories. The Court did rule in the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. The case centered on *Dred Scott*, an enslaved man whose Missouri slaveholder had taken him to live in free territory before returning to Missouri. Scott sued to end his slavery, saying that the time spent in free territory meant he was free. The case went to the Supreme Court. The Court decided against Scott, ruling that African Americans were not citizens and could not sue in federal courts. The Court ruled that the federal government could not prohibit slavery in the territories. Northerners opposed the decision. Southerners called on Northerners to obey it if they wanted the South to remain in the Union.
Conflicts continued between pro-slavery and antislavery forces in Kansas. The pro-slavery legislature drafted a constitution in the town of Lecompton in 1857 that would legalize slavery. Antislavery forces voted down the constitution in a territory-wide referendum, but pro-slavery forces approved it. President Buchanan asked Congress to admit Kansas as a slave state. The Senate voted to accept the Lecompton constitution, but the House of Representatives blocked it. Buchanan and Southern congressional leaders agreed to allow another vote in Kansas on the constitution. Again, settlers in Kansas voted overwhelmingly against the Lecompton constitution and against allowing slavery in their state. As a result, Kansas did not become a state until 1861.

5. What ruling did the Supreme Court make in the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*?

- Lincoln and Douglas (page 229)

In 1858 Illinois Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln to run for the Senate against the Democratic incumbent, Stephen A. Douglas. Douglas was popular and drew large crowds along the campaign trail. To overcome Douglas’s popularity, Lincoln asked Douglas to participate in a series of debates. Lincoln believed slavery was wrong, and he opposed its spread into the territories. Douglas supported popular sovereignty. In a debate in Freeport, Lincoln asked Douglas if the people of a territory could ban slavery before becoming a state. If Douglas said yes, then he would be supporting popular sovereignty and opposing the *Dred Scott* decision. This would cost him Southern support. However, if he said no, that would mean that he no longer supported popular sovereignty. He had built his national following on this principle.

To overcome the dilemma he was in, Douglas gave an answer that became known as the Freeport Doctrine. He said that he supported the *Dred Scott* ruling. However, he believed that people could still keep slavery out by not passing or enforcing laws that were needed to regulate slavery. Douglas won the election. However, Lincoln had established a national reputation for himself.

6. How were Douglas’s and Lincoln’s views regarding slavery different?
• John Brown’s Raid (page 231)

John Brown was an abolitionist. In 1859 he developed a plan to take over the federal arsenal in Harpers Ferry, Virginia. He wanted to free and arm the enslaved people of the area and begin an insurrection, or rebellion, against slaveholders. Brown and his followers seized the arsenal, but soon a force of U.S. Marines, under the command of Robert E. Lee, stopped the attempted insurrection. Brown was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. Many Northerners viewed Brown as a hero. Most Southerners, however, believed that his plan was proof that Northerners were plotting the murder of slaveholders.

7. Why did John Brown seize the arsenal at Harpers Ferry?
Chapter 6, Section 3

For use with textbook pages 232–236

THE UNION DISSOLVES

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- **Crittenden’s Compromise** compromise proposed to stop the secession of Southern states (page 234)
- **Confederacy** the new nation declared by the seceding Southern states (page 235)
- **Jefferson Davis** president of the Confederacy (page 235)
- **Fort Sumter** site of the first military action of the Civil War (page 235)
- **martial law** the situation in which the military takes control of an area, replacing civilian authorities and suspending certain civil rights (page 236)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Have you ever had to compromise with someone? What kinds of conflicts do you think can be solved through compromise? Do you think the conflict between the North and the South could have been resolved through compromise? Why or why not?

The last section described the breakdown of political parties over the issue of slavery. This section discusses the events that led to the start of the Civil War.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the cause-and-effect diagram below to help you take notes. Several events caused the Civil War to begin. List the causes in the diagram.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>Effect</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Civil War begins</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
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<td>4.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
• The Election of 1860  

The issue of slavery dominated the presidential election of 1860. The Southern Democrats wanted the party to uphold the *Dred Scott* decision and support slaveholders’ rights in the territories. Northern Democrats wanted the party to support popular sovereignty. The two groups could not agree on a candidate. As a result, they met again in Baltimore in June 1860 to select their candidate. Northern Democrats endorsed Stephen Douglas as their candidate. The Southern Democrats then walked out and organized their own convention. They nominated John C. Breckinridge, the current vice president, who supported the *Dred Scott* decision. Other people who feared the Union was in danger, including many former Whigs, formed the Constitutional Union Party. They nominated John Bell, who supported the Union.

The Republicans, who knew they would not be able to get any electoral votes in the South, needed to nominate a candidate who would be able to get the electoral votes in the North. The Republicans turned to Lincoln. During the campaign, the Republicans continued to run on the idea of banning slavery in new territories. They also supported the right of the Southern states to keep slavery in their borders. They supported higher tariffs and a transcontinental railroad.

With the Democrat votes split, the Republicans won the election without Southern support. For many Southerners, having a Republican president meant the end of Southern society and culture. They believed there was no choice but to secede.

South Carolina was the first to secede. By February 1, 1861, six more states in the Lower South—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had voted to secede.

**5.** Why did many Southerners believe secession was the only answer to the election of a Republican president?
• Compromise Fails (page 234)

As the Southern states seceded, Congress tried to find a compromise to save the Union. Senator John J. Crittenden presented a compromise that received the most support. Crittenden's Compromise proposed several amendments to the Constitution. The amendments would guarantee slavery where it existed. Slavery would be prohibited north of the Missouri Compromise line and allowed south of it. The compromise did not pass Congress. A peace conference also produced no results.

At the same time that some people were working toward compromise, the seceded states called a convention in Alabama and declared themselves to be a new nation—the Confederate States of America, or the Confederacy. They drafted their own constitution, which guaranteed slavery in Confederate territory. The convention chose former Mississippi senator Jefferson Davis to be president, who called on the rest of the South to join the Confederacy.

6. What were the results of the convention that the seceded states called?

• The Civil War Begins (page 235)

In his inaugural address, President Lincoln again repeated his promise not to interfere with slavery where it existed. He insisted that the Union could not be dissolved, and he announced his intentions to take back the federal property seized by the seceded states.

In April 1861, Lincoln announced that the federal government intended to send supplies to Fort Sumter. The Confederacy faced a dilemma. To let federal troops in to the South’s harbor would be unacceptable for an independent nation, as the South now saw itself. However, to fire on the supply ship would most likely lead to war. Davis decided to take Fort Sumter before the supply ship arrived there. The Confederates demanded that Major Robert Anderson surrender Fort Sumter. Anderson refused, and Confederate forces bombarded the fort until Anderson and his men surrendered. The Civil War had started.

After Fort Sumter fell, President Lincoln called for volunteers to serve in the military. Many people in the Upper South did not want to secede. However, with a civil war at hand, they believed they had no choice but to secede. Virginia seceded first, and the capital of the Confederacy moved to Richmond, Virginia. By the end of May 1861, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee had also seceded.
Lincoln tried to keep the slaveholding border states—Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri—from seceding. Delaware seemed safe. However, if Maryland seceded, Washington, D.C., would be surrounded by Confederate territory. To prevent secession, Lincoln placed Baltimore under martial law. Under martial law, the military takes control of an area and replaces civilian authorities, and it suspends certain civil rights. At first, Kentucky declared itself neutral. However, in September 1861, Confederate troops occupied the southwest corner of the state. Union troops then moved in. After a struggle between anti-secession and pro-secession forces, Missouri decided against secession.

7. Why did President Lincoln want to prevent Maryland from seceding?

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Chapter 7, Section 1

For use with textbook pages 244–248

THE OPPOSING SIDES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KEY TERMS AND NAMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert E. Lee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal Tender Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>greenback</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War Democrats</td>
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<tr>
<td>Copperheads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conscription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habeas corpus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trent Affair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attrition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anaconda Plan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Robert E. Lee  senior officer in the United States Army, who joined the Confederacy as a military leader (page 244)

Legal Tender Act  created a national currency and allowed the government to issue paper money (page 245)

greenback  green-colored paper money that was created as a national currency in 1862 (page 245)

War Democrats  Democrats who supported a war to restore the Union but opposed ending slavery (page 246)

Copperheads  a group of Northern Democrats, known as Peace Democrats, who opposed the war (page 246)

conscription  the drafting of people for military service (page 246)

habeas corpus  a person’s right not to be imprisoned unless charged with a crime and given a trial (page 246)

Trent Affair  situation in which a Union warship intercepted the British ship Trent and arrested two Confederate diplomats (page 247)

attrition  the wearing down of one side by the other through exhaustion of soldiers and resources (page 247)

Anaconda Plan  Union strategy that included a blockade of Confederate ports and sending gunboats on the Mississippi River to divide the Confederacy (page 248)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Have you seen the movie or read the book Gone With the Wind? What was it about? Did you enjoy it? What did it tell you about the Civil War?

In this section, you will learn about the advantages and disadvantages the South and the North had at the beginning of the Civil War.
ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. At the start of the Civil War, the North had several advantages over the South. List these advantages in the diagram.

Advantages of the North

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 

READ TO LEARN

• Choosing Sides (page 244)

On the day that Virginia seceded from the Union, General Winfield Scott asked Robert E. Lee, one of the best senior officers in the United States Army, to command the Union’s troops. However, Lee was from Virginia, and so he chose to serve the Confederacy.

Lee was one of hundreds of military officers who chose to support the Confederacy. In fact, about one third of the total number of officers in the United States joined the Confederacy. These officers helped the Confederacy to quickly organize a fighting force. In 1860 the South had seven out of the eight military colleges in the United States, which provided the South with a large number of trained officers. The North had a strong navy. More than three-quarters of the nation’s naval officers came from the North. The crews of merchant ships were almost all from the north. They provided the navy with experienced sailors for the Union navy.

6. Why did the North have a stronger navy than the South?
• The Opposing Economies (page 245)

The North had several advantages over the South. The North had more people, which made it easier to raise an army and support the war effort.

The North had an economic advantage over the South. It had almost 90 percent of the nation’s factories. Thus, the North could provide its troops with ammunition and other supplies.

The South had only one railroad line from the eastern to the western part of the Confederacy. As a result, the Union troops could easily disrupt the South’s railroad system and stop the South from moving supplies and troops by rail.

The North had financial advantages over the South. The Union controlled the national treasury. It also continued to get money from tariffs. Northern banks had large reserves of cash. They loaned the cash to the government by buying bonds. In February 1862, Congress passed the Legal Tender Act. It created a national currency and allowed the government to print green-colored paper money known as greenbacks.

The finances of the Confederacy, which were never very good, grew worse over time. Southern planters were in debt and could not buy bonds. Southern banks were small and did not have enough cash reserves to buy bonds. The Union’s blockade of Southern ports reduced trade in the South and, therefore, reduced the amount of money the South could raise by taxing trade. As a result, the South tried to raise money by taxing the people. Many refused to pay taxes. The South was forced to print paper money, which caused a huge rise in inflation.

7. Why did the North have financial advantages over the South?

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• The Political Situation (page 246)

President Lincoln faced conflict from members of the Republican Party. Many were abolitionists. However, Lincoln’s goal in the Civil War was to preserve the Union.

The President also had to deal with the Democrats who challenged his policies. The War Democrats supported the war and wanted to restore the Union to the way it was before. The Peace Democrats, called Copperheads by the Republicans, opposed the war and called for restoring the Union through negotiations.
Some disagreements between Republicans and Democrats had to do with civil rights. In 1862 Congress introduced a militia law that required states to use conscription, which is the drafting of people for military service. Many Democrats opposed the law, and riots started in several pro-Democratic cities.

To enforce the militia law, Lincoln suspended writs of habeas corpus. This refers to a person’s right not to be imprisoned unless charged with a crime and given a trial. Lincoln suspended writs for those who supported the Confederacy or encouraged others to resist the draft.

The Confederate constitution stressed states’ rights. As a result, the power of the central government was limited. Many Southern leaders opposed Jefferson Davis’s policies. They opposed forcing people to join the Confederate army and Davis’s suspending of writs of habeas corpus.

8. How did the Democrats react to the militia law introduced by Congress in 1862?

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9. What did the Confederates want from the British?

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• The Diplomatic Challenge (page 247)

The United States did not want European nations to interfere in the war. They did not want them to recognize the Confederacy as an independent country.

The Confederates wanted the exact opposite. They wanted Britain to recognize the South and provide it with military assistance against the Union. The Confederates knew that Britain and France depended on Southern cotton for their textile factories. To pressure these countries, many planters stopped selling cotton to them. In autumn of 1861, the Confederacy decided to send two diplomats to Britain and France. The two boarded the British ship Trent for Europe. The captain of a Union warship stopped the Trent and arrested the two men. The Trent Affair gained worldwide interest, but it did not give the South the support it wanted.

9. What did the Confederates want from the British?
• The First Modern War (page 247)

The Civil War was the first modern war. It involved large armies made up mostly of civilian volunteers. It needed large amounts of supplies and equipment. By the 1850s, armies began using a new kind of cone-shaped bullet for rifles. With these bullets, rifles could be loaded and fired faster than before. Instead of standing in a line, troops defending their positions began to use trenches and barricades to protect themselves. This method led to high casualties for the forces that were attacking. This meant that armies had to keep replacing their soldiers. Attrition—the wearing down of one side by the other through the using up of soldiers and resources—played an important role as the war dragged on.

The South ran a defensive war of attrition. Davis wanted to force the Union to use its resources until it became tired of the war and agreed to negotiate. Many Southerners disliked this strategy. Instead, Southern troops often went on the offensive. They charged enemy lines and suffered huge casualties.

Union generals proposed their own strategy for defeating the South. It included blockading Confederate ports and sending gunboats down the Mississippi to divide the Confederacy. They believed that this would force the South to run out of resources and surrender. Many Northerners rejected this Anaconda Plan. They believed it was too slow to guarantee victory. They preferred a strong, quick invasion of the South.

10. What strategy did Union generals develop to defeat the South?
Do you think the government should draft its citizens into military duty? Why or why not? Would you be willing to serve in the military and possibly go to war? Why or why not?

The last section discussed the advantages of the North and the South at the beginning of the Civil War. This section discusses the progress of the war in the East and the West.

Use the chart below to help you take notes. In the early stages of the war, Union and Confederate leaders led their troops in many battles. Identify the leaders and their successes in the chart below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Military Leader</th>
<th>Side Fought On</th>
<th>Success</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stonewall Jackson</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David G. Farragut</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulysses S. Grant</td>
<td>5.</td>
<td>6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert E. Lee</td>
<td>7.</td>
<td>8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George B. McClellan</td>
<td>9.</td>
<td>10.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Mobilizing the Troops (page 249)

The Union hoped for a quick victory against the South by striking Confederate forces at Bull Run. At first, the attack went well for the Union. Then Confederate reinforcements, led by Thomas J. Jackson, "Stonewall" Jackson, arrived. When they arrived, the Union commander decided to retreat.

The Union defeat made it clear that the North would need a large, well-trained army to defeat the South. The North tried to enlist men by offering a bounty, or a sum of money given as a bonus, to people who agreed to military service for three years. Eventually, however, both the Union and the Confederacy instituted the draft.

11. What caused the Union forces to retreat at Bull Run?

• The Naval War (page 250)

President Lincoln wanted to blockade all Confederate ports. Union ships, however, found it difficult to stop all of the blockade runners, or small, fast ships, that the South used to smuggle goods past the blockade. By doing so, the South could at least get some of its cotton to Europe in exchange for goods that it needed.

At the same time that Union ships were blockading Atlantic ports, the Union navy began to prepare to take over New Orleans and gain control of the lower Mississippi River. In April 1862, David G. Farragut led Union forces and bombarded Confederate forts along the lower Mississippi River. He then captured New Orleans.

12. Why were blockade runners important to the South?

• The War in the West (page 251)

General Ulysses S. Grant began a campaign to seize control of the Cumberland River and the Tennessee River. Control of these two rivers would cut Tennessee in two and give the Union a river route deep into Confederate territory. Grant first gained control of Fort Henry, the Confederate's main fort on the Tennessee River, and then Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River.
Control of these two forts placed all of Kentucky and most of western Tennessee under Union military control.

Grant then continued down the Tennessee River. On April 6, 1862, Confederate troops attacked Grant’s forces at Shiloh. The Battle of Shiloh resulted in twenty thousand casualties, more than in any other battle up to that point.

13. Why did Grant want to gain control of the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers?

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**The War in the East** *(page 251)*

President Lincoln appointed General George B. McClellan to lead the Union army in the East. On his way to Richmond, McClellan allowed his troops to be divided by the nearby river. This gave the Confederate commander General Joseph E. Johnston the opportunity to attack McClellan’s troops.

When Johnston was wounded, General Robert E. Lee took command. He began a series of attacks on the Union army in the Seven Days’ Battle. He inflicted heavy casualties on McClellan’s army and forced it to retreat. Lincoln ordered McClellan to withdraw and bring the troops back to Washington.

Lee’s forces then attacked the Union forces defending Washington. This led to another battle at Bull Run, with the North retreating. Lee then decided to invade Maryland. Both he and Jefferson Davis believed that invading the North would force the North to accept the South’s independence. They also thought that the invasion would help gain recognition from Britain. In addition, they hoped the invasion would help Peace Democrats gain control of Congress in the next election.

When Lee invaded Maryland, McClellan and his troops took positions along Antietam Creek, east of Lee’s location. The Battle of Antietam was the bloodiest one-day battle in the war. McClellan inflicted so many casualties on Lee’s troops that Lee was forced to retreat to Virginia. Lee’s defeat prevented Britain from giving the Confederacy recognition and support. The defeat also convinced Lincoln that it was time to end slavery.

14. Why did General Lee believe it was necessary to invade the North?
The Emancipation Proclamation (page 253)

Democrats opposed ending slavery. Republicans were split on the issue. Some were abolitionists. Others did not want to lose the support of slaveholding border states that remained in the Union. They believed the main purpose of the war was to preserve the Union. As Northern casualties increased, however, many began to agree that slavery had to end.

On September 22, 1862, Lincoln announced that he would issue the Emancipation Proclamation—a decree freeing all enslaved persons in states still in rebellion after January 1, 1863. The Proclamation changed the purpose of the war from preserving the Union to ending slavery.

15. Why did many Northerners begin to believe that it was time to end slavery?

Life During the Civil War (page 253)

By the end of 1862, the South’s transportation system was destroyed. Union troops were located in several agricultural regions. As a result, the South experienced severe food shortages. People began to question the purpose of the sacrifices they were making. Many Confederate soldiers deserted and returned home to help their families. The food shortages led to riots in several places in the South.

At the same time, the North was experiencing an economic boom. Northern factories supplied troops with ammunition, clothes, and other necessities. Northern farmers, many of whom were women, used mechanized reapers and mowers. This made farming possible with fewer workers. Women also worked in industries to fill the labor shortages there.

16. Why did Northern factories profit during the Civil War?

Military Life (page 254)

Both Union and Confederate soldiers suffered hardships during the war. Food was scarce and tasteless. Soldiers’ meals were often made up of potatoes, beans, and hardtack, which was a hard biscuit made of wheat flour.
The Civil War saw huge numbers of casualties. At that time, doctors did not know about infectious germs. They used unsterilized instruments on their patients. As a result, infection spread quickly in the field hospitals. Often regiments lost about half their men to illness before going into battle. Soldiers were exposed to diseases such as smallpox, dysentery, and pneumonia.

Life for prisoners of war was equally horrible. As the number of prisoners increased, it became more difficult to take care of them. The South particularly had a hard time. It was not able to feed its prisoners because of the food shortages. The prison in Andersonville, Georgia, had horrible conditions. During the hot summer of 1864, sometimes more than 100 men per day died there from diseases, lack of food, or overcrowding. After the war, Henry Wirz, the head of the Andersonville prison, became the only person executed for war crimes during the Civil War.

17. Why did so many soldiers die from diseases?

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• African Americans and Women (page 254)

The Emancipation Proclamation officially allowed African Americans to enlist in the Union army and navy. Thousands of African Americans enlisted in the military. The 54th Massachusetts was the first African American regiment officially organized in the North.

Women helped in the war effort at home by managing family farms and businesses. Many women also served as nurses and doctors to soldiers on the battlefields. Clara Barton and many other Southern women nursed soldiers on the battlefield. This was a turning point for the American nursing profession.

18. Why did thousands of African Americans enlist in the Union army and navy after the Emancipation Proclamation?
Study Guide

Chapter 7, Section 3

For use with textbook pages 257–263

THE TURNING POINT

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

foraging  searching and raiding for food (page 258)
siege  to cut food and supplies and bombard a city until its defenders give up (page 258)
Pickett’s Charge  Confederate attack on Union troops in Gettysburg (page 259)
Gettysburg Address  Lincoln’s speech at Gettysburg’s dedication as a cemetery (page 259)
William Tecumseh Sherman  Union general (page 261)
torpedo  an underwater mine (page 261)
mandate  a clear sign from voters that they support a certain policy (page 262)
Thirteenth Amendment  amendment to the Constitution that banned slavery in the United States (page 263)
Appomattox Courthouse  place of General Lee’s surrender to General Grant (page 263)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Do you know the words to the Gettysburg Address? What was the purpose of the speech? Why do you think the speech is so famous?

The last section discussed the effect of the Civil War on soldiers and civilians. This section describes the events that led to a turning point in the Civil War.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The Union and Confederacy continued to fight in the east and the west. List the victories for the Union and the Confederacy discussed in the section and indicate the significance of the victory.

Confederate Victories

1.  
2.

Union Victories

3.  
4.  
5.
The Union wanted to capture Vicksburg, Mississippi, the last major Confederate stronghold on the river. Doing so would cut the South in two. General Grant planned to attack Vicksburg from the south. To distract the Confederates while he carried out his plan, Grant ordered Benjamin Grierson to take troops on a cavalry raid through Mississippi. The raid distracted the Confederate forces defending Vicksburg. This helped Grant to lead his troops south of the city.

As Grant and his troops marched toward Vicksburg, he ordered the troops to live off the country by foraging, or searching and raiding for food. Grant began two attacks on Vicksburg, but both times the Confederates stopped the attacks and caused high casualties for the Union troops. Grant then decided to put Vicksburg under siege—cut off its food and supplies and bombard the city until the Confederates gave up. The Confederates surrendered on July 4, 1863. The Union victory cut the Confederacy in two.

6. Why did General Grant order a siege of Vicksburg?

Gettysburg (page 258)

President Lincoln was frustrated with General McClellan’s performance at Antietam. As a result, he fired McClellan and gave command of the Union army to General Ambrose Burnside, then to General Joseph Hooker.

Lee’s troops attacked Hooker’s troops near the town of Chancellorsville, Virginia. Although the Confederates were outnumbered, they defeated the Union troops. Lincoln removed Hooker and placed General George Meade in command.

Meade led his troops north to stop Lee. Some of Lee’s troops headed into the town of Gettysburg. There they met the Union cavalry. On July 1, 1863, the Confederates pushed the Union troops out of the town and into the hills to the south. The main troops of both armies moved to the scene of the fighting.

Lee attacked on July 2, but the Union forces held their ground. On July 3, Lee ordered General George E. Pickett and General A. P. Hill to lead 15,000 men in an attack on the Union forces. The attack became known as Pickett’s Charge. The Union forces opened fire on the Confederates, killing more than 7,000. Pickett’s Charge did not break the Union lines. Lee withdrew his troops.
from Gettysburg and retreated to Virginia. At Gettysburg, the Union had 23,000 casualties. The Confederacy had 28,000 casualties, more than a third of Lee’s forces.

The Battle of Gettysburg was a turning point of the war in the east. For the rest of the war, the Confederate forces would stay on the defensive and the Union army would continue to advance.

In November 1863, President Lincoln came to Gettysburg to dedicate a part of the battlefield as a military cemetery. The speech, known as the Gettysburg Address, became one of the best-known speeches in American history.

7. What was the result of the Battle of Gettysburg?

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• Grant Secures Tennessee (page 260)

The Union wanted to take Chattanooga to control a major railroad running south to Atlanta. This would allow the Union to advance into Georgia. In December 1863, Union General William Rosecrans forced the Confederates under General Bragg to evacuate Chattanooga. However, when Rosecrans advanced into Georgia, Bragg’s forces attacked him at Chickamauga Creek. Rosecrans retreated to Chattanooga, where he was completely surrounded by Bragg’s forces. Lincoln sent some of Meade’s forces to help Rosecrans.

General Grant also hurried to Chattanooga and took charge. Union troops defeated the Confederates on Lookout Mountain. The retreating Confederates then joined the Southern forces at Missionary Ridge east of Chattanooga. Grant ordered General William Tecumseh Sherman to attack Confederate troops north of the ridge. When Sherman’s troops failed to break through, Grant ordered General George Thomas to attack the Confederates in front of Missionary Ridge. Thomas’s troops surprised the Confederates. They retreated and left Missionary Ridge and Chattanooga to the Union forces. Lincoln rewarded Grant’s victories in Chattanooga and in Vicksburg by appointing him general in chief of the Union forces.

8. Why did Lincoln appoint Grant the general in chief of the Union forces?
• Grant Versus Lee (page 261)

General Grant placed Union forces in the West under the command of General William Sherman. Then in the spring of 1864, Grant headed to Washington, D.C., to lead the Union troops against General Lee. He was determined to continue fighting the Confederates until they surrendered. He fought the Confederates near Fredericksburg, Virginia, and then near Spotsylvania. Grant could not break Confederate lines there, so he headed toward Cold Harbor. This was an important crossroads northeast of Richmond. Grant launched an all-out attack on Lee’s forces, but failed. The Union suffered heavy casualties.

General Grant ordered General Philip Sheridan to lead the cavalry in a raid north and west of Richmond. Grant wanted the raid to distract Lee’s troops while he headed south past Richmond. When Grant reached Petersburg, he ordered his troops to put the city under siege.

9. What was the result of Grant’s attack on the Confederates in Cold Harbor?

• Union Victories in the South (page 261)

While Grant fought Lee, the Union navy led by David Farragut closed the port of Mobile, Alabama. A torpedo had stopped the Union fleet briefly before Farragut’s ships destroyed a Confederate fleet defending Mobile Bay. Mobile was the last major Confederate port on the Gulf of Mexico.

General Sherman’s forces worked to encircle Atlanta. Confederate troops evacuated Atlanta, and Sherman and his troops occupied it.

On November 15, 1864, Sherman began the March to the Sea, cutting a path of destruction through Georgia that was in places 60 miles wide. His troops looted houses, burned crops, and killed cattle. By December 21, 1864, the troops reached the coast and seized the city of Savannah. Sherman then headed north into South Carolina. The troops burned and pillaged, or looted, everything in front of them. Many towns were set on fire.

10. What was Sherman’s March to the Sea?
The capture of Atlanta had come just in time to revitalize Northern support for the war and for Lincoln, who won another term in the election of 1864. Lincoln believed that his re-election was a mandate, a clear sign from the voters, to end slavery permanently by amending the Constitution. On January 31, 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment, which banned slavery in the United States, passed the House of Representatives and was sent to the states for ratification.

At the same time, General Lee withdrew from Petersburg and tried to escape Grant’s forces. However, General Sheridan’s cavalry got ahead of Lee’s troops and blocked the road at Appomattox Courthouse. With his troops surrounded and outnumbered, Lee surrendered to Grant on April 9, 1865. As part of the terms for surrender, Grant guaranteed that the United States would not prosecute Confederate soldiers for treason.

After the end of the war, Lincoln’s advisers warned him not to appear unescorted in public. However, Lincoln went to Ford’s Theater with his wife on April 14, 1865. During the play, John Wilkes Booth slipped behind him and shot the president. Lincoln’s assassination shocked the nation.

The North’s victory saved the Union. It strengthened the power of the federal government over the states. It changed American society by ending the enslavement of millions of African Americans. The war devastated the society and the economy of the South.

11. How did President Lincoln view his re-election in 1865?
KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Reconstruction  the rebuilding of the nation after the Civil War (page 266)
amnesty  pardon (page 267)
pocket veto  the rejection of a bill by the president by leaving the bill unsigned until after Congress adjourns (page 268)
freedmen  freed African Americans (page 268)
Freedmen’s Bureau  agency established by Congress to help freed African Americans adjust to their new freedom (page 268)
black codes  a series of laws passed by Southern legislatures, which severely limited African Americans’ rights in the South (page 269)
Fourteenth Amendment  amendment to the Constitution that granted citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States (page 270)
Military Reconstruction Act  divided the former Confederate states into five military districts, each led by a Union general (page 270)
impeach  to bring charges of a crime against a government official (page 271)
Fifteenth Amendment  amendment to the Constitution that granted the vote to all citizens (page 271)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What do you think life was like for Southern planters after the Civil War? For African Americans?

In this section, you will learn about Lincoln’s plan to reunite the nation. You will also learn what life was like in the South after the Civil War.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. President Lincoln and the Republicans in Congress differed on how the Confederate states were to be readmitted to the Union. List the goals of the Republicans in the diagram.
READ TO LEARN

- Reconstruction Battle Begins (page 266)

The South was destroyed after the Civil War. Its economy was in shambles. The value of land had fallen. Confederate money was worthless. The railroad lines were destroyed. When the enslaved Africans were freed, the Southern planters lost their workforce. As a result, agricultural output in the South came to a stop.

The president and Congress had to deal with Reconstruction, or rebuilding the nation after the war. They had to decide how the former Confederate states would come back into the Union.

President Lincoln wanted a plan that would bring the South into the Union without punishing it for treason. His plan offered a general amnesty, or pardon, to all Southerners who took an oath of loyalty to the United States and accepted the Union’s stand on slavery. When 10 percent of a state’s voters took the oath, the state could set up a new government.

A group of Republicans, led by Thaddeus Stevens, opposed Lincoln’s plan. They did not want to reconcile with the South. This group became known as the Radical Republicans. They had three goals. They wanted to prevent Confederate leaders from returning to power after the war. They wanted the Republican Party to become powerful in the South. They wanted the federal government to help African Americans gain political equality by guaranteeing their right to vote in the South.

The Republicans knew that after the South came back to the Union, they would gain more seats in Congress. They feared that they would lose control of Congress unless they found a way to guarantee voting rights to African Americans. Because African Americans generally supported the Republicans, giving African Americans voting rights would benefit the Republicans.

Moderate Republicans thought Lincoln’s plan was too easy on the South, but they thought the Radical Republicans were going too far. As a result, the moderates and radicals came up with a plan that they both could support as an alternative to Lincoln’s plan. They introduced the Wade-Davis Bill to Congress. The bill called for a majority of the adult white men in a former Confederate state to take an oath of loyalty to the Union. The state could then hold a convention to create a new state government. The state would have to abolish slavery, reject all debts the state had taken on as part of the Confederacy, and not allow former government and military officials the right to vote or to hold public office.

Congress passed the Wade-Davis Bill, but Lincoln blocked it with a pocket veto. He let the session of Congress come to an end without signing it into law. Lincoln believed that a harsh treatment of the South would not be productive.
4. How was Lincoln’s plan for Reconstruction different from that of the Radical Republicans?

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**The Freedmen’s Bureau (page 268)**

After the war, hundreds of thousands of people in the South were left unemployed, homeless, and hungry. Thousands of freed African Americans, or freedmen, were looking for food and shelter. To help feed and clothe these people, Congress established the **Freedmen’s Bureau**. The bureau also helped freed African Americans find work on plantations.

Some Northerners believed that the federal government should take lands of Confederates and give it to freed African Americans. Others, however, believed that taking land from plantation owners was against the idea of individual property rights. Congress refused to support the idea of taking land away.

Although the Freedmen’s Bureau was not able to provide African Americans with land to make a new start, it did provide education for African Americans. It paid teachers and helped to start colleges for training African American teachers.

Many freed African Americans served in the U.S. Cavalry. Those stationed in the Southwest became known as buffalo soldiers.

5. Why did Congress establish the Freedmen’s Bureau?

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**Johnson Takes Office (page 269)**

Andrew Johnson became president after Lincoln was assassinated. His plan for Reconstruction was similar to that of Lincoln’s. In May 1865, he issued a new Proclamation of Amnesty. It offered to pardon all former citizens of the Confederacy who took an oath of loyalty to the Union and to return their property. Confederate officers and officials were not eligible for the pardon. To return to the Union, each state had to call a convention to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment.

For the most part, the Confederate states met these conditions. They began electing people to Congress, and Johnson began granting pardons to thousands of Southerners.
When Congress met in December 1865, many members became angry when they realized that Southern voters had elected many former Confederate officers and political leaders. Many Republicans voted to reject the new Southern members of Congress.

Republicans were also angry about a series of laws that Southern legislatures had passed. Known as black codes, these laws limited African Americans’ rights in the South. The codes were intended to keep African Americans in a condition similar to slavery.

6. Why did some Southern legislatures pass the black codes?

Congressional Reconstruction (page 269)

Many moderate Republicans were upset that many former Confederates were members of Congress. They were also upset about the black codes. As a result, they joined the radicals. In late 1865, House and Senate Republicans created a Joint Committee on Reconstruction to set up their own plan for Reconstruction.

In March 1866, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866. It gave citizenship to all persons born in the United States except Native Americans. It allowed African Americans to own property and to be treated equally in court. The Republicans also introduced the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. It granted citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States. It also said that no state could deny any person equal protection of the laws.

President Johnson hoped the Northern voters would turn against the Radical Republicans in the 1866 election and support his Reconstruction plan. However, the Republicans won, and they had a three-to-one majority in Congress. They now could override any presidential veto. They also believed they had a mandate from the people to pass their own Reconstruction program.

In March 1867, Congress passed the Military Reconstruction Act. It divided the Confederacy into five military districts. A Union general was placed in charge of each district. Each former Confederate state had to hold a convention to set up a constitution that Congress accepted. These constitutions had to give the right to vote to all male citizens, regardless of race. Once the constitution was ratified, the state had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment before it could send representatives to Congress.
The Republicans knew that President Johnson would interfere with their plans. However, they also knew that Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton agreed with their plans and would enforce them. To prevent Johnson from firing Stanton, Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act. It required the Senate to approve the removal of any government official whose appointment had required the Senate’s consent.

Johnson responded by firing Stanton. A few days later, the House of Representatives voted to **impeach** Johnson, charging him with “high crimes and misdemeanors” in office. The main charge was that Johnson had broken the law by not upholding the Tenure of Office Act. The Senate then put the president on trial. The Senate voted in May 1868. It was just one vote short of convicting Johnson.

Although Johnson remained in office, he had very little power left. He did not run for re-election in the 1868 presidential election. The Republicans nominated General Ulysses S. Grant. He won, and the Republicans kept their majorities in both houses of Congress.

Congress continued with its Reconstruction program. It passed the **Fifteenth Amendment** to the Constitution. The amendment guaranteed African Americans the right to vote.

7. Why was the victory of the Republicans in the 1866 congressional elections significant?
RECONSTRUCTION AND REPUBLICAN RULE

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

**carpetbagger** name given to Northern whites who moved South after the war and supported Republicans (page 273)

**scalawag** name given by former Confederates to Southern whites who supported Republican Reconstruction of the South (page 273)

**graft** gaining money illegally through politics (page 273)

**Panic of 1873** an economic crisis (page 275)

**Compromise of 1877** the method used to reach an outcome in the 1876 presidential election (page 276)

**tenant farmers** farmers who paid rent for the land they farmed (page 277)

**sharecroppers** farmers who paid a share of their crops to cover their rent and the equipment they needed (page 277)

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

Have you heard of the Ku Klux Klan? With what kinds of activities is this group usually associated? How do you think the group got its start?

The last section discussed the presidential and congressional Reconstruction plans. This section describes Republican rule in the South and the ways that African Americans tried to improve their lives after the Civil War.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. During Reconstruction, African Americans in the South tried to improve their lives in several ways. List these ways in the diagram.

1. Ways that African Americans Improved Their Lives
2. 
3. 
4. 

READ TO LEARN

• Republican Rule in the South (page 272)

By the late 1870s, all the Southern states had rejoined the Union. Many Northerners moved to the South as Reconstruction began. Some were elected to the South’s new state governments. Some Southerners referred to these Northerners as carpetbaggers. Many looked at the carpetbaggers as intruders who were trying to take advantage of the South’s condition. Some carpetbaggers did try to take advantage, but many moved to the South to help educate whites and African Americans.

Southerners also disliked the white Southerners who worked with the Republicans and supported Reconstruction. These people were referred to as scalawags.

Thousands of African Americans took part in governing the South. Hundreds of African Americans served as delegates to the state constitutional conventions. They won election to many local offices and to the state legislatures.

Although African Americans participated in the government, they did not control it. The Republican Party took power in the South because poor white Southerners supported it. They resented the planters and the Democratic Party that had ruled the South before the Civil War.

Republican governments in the South repealed the black codes. They set up state hospitals and institutions for orphans and the mentally ill. They rebuilt roads, railroads, and bridges. They paid for these improvements by borrowing money and setting high property taxes. Those property owners who could not afford the taxes lost their property. Although many Republicans wanted to help the South, some were corrupt and accepted thousands of dollars in bribes. Graft, or gaining money illegally through politics, was common in both the South and the North at that time.

5. Why was the Republican Party able to gain power in the South?

• African American Communities (page 274)

In addition to gaining political rights, many African Americans also tried to improve their lives in other ways. They wanted to get an education. The Freedmen’s Bureau established schools for African Americans across the South. Reconstruction governments built a public school system in the South. By 1876 about 40 percent of all African American children attended school.
African Americans in the South also worked to establish their own churches. Religion had always played an important role in their lives. African Americans used the churches to house schools and to host social events and political meetings.

6. Why were churches important in African American communities?

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• Southern Resistance (page 274)

Many Southern whites resented African Americans. Some organized secret societies such as the Ku Klux Klan. The goal of the Ku Klux Klan was to drive out the Union troops and carpetbaggers and to have the Democratic Party control the South. Ku Klux Klan members terrorized African Americans, Republican supporters, teachers in African American schools, and others.

As violence between the Klan and Republicans and African American militias increased, Grant and Congress took action. Congress passed three Enforcement Acts in 1870 and 1871. One outlawed the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. Under this law, thousands of Ku Klux Klan members were arrested. However, only a few hundred were actually convicted or served any time in prison.

7. What was the goal of the Ku Klux Klan?

---

• The Troubled Grant Administration (page 274)

President Grant had little experience in politics. He believed that the president’s job was to carry out the laws and Congress’s job to develop them. His political inexperience helped divide the Republican Party and helped undermine political support for Reconstruction.

Scandals hurt Grant’s second administration. One scandal, the “Whiskey Ring,” broke in 1875. It involved government officials and distillers in St. Louis who cheated the government out of millions of dollars by filing false tax reports. Grant’s private secretary was one of the officials involved.

Grant’s administration also experienced an economic crisis. The crisis started in 1873 when bad railroad investments forced a powerful bank to declare bankruptcy. A wave of fear known as the Panic of 1873 spread through the nation. Smaller banks closed and the stock market tumbled. Businesses shut down and thousands of people were unemployed.
The scandals and the economic troubles hurt the Republicans in the congressional elections of 1874. The Democrats won control of the House and gained seats in the Senate.

8. Why did the Republicans lose seats in the congressional elections of 1874?

- Reconstruction Ends (page 275)

With more Democrats in Congress, Republicans had difficulty enforcing Reconstruction. Many Northerners were also focusing more on government scandals and their own economic problems than with the situation in the South.

Southern Democrats had worked to regain control of their state and local governments. They often intimidated African American and white Republican voters and used election fraud to make political gains. Democrats saw the elections as a struggle between African Americans and whites. They received the support of white owners of small farms by promising to lower high taxes passed during Republican rule. By 1876 the Democrats had taken control of most of the state legislatures in the South.

For the election of 1876, the Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, who wanted to end Reconstruction. The Democrats nominated Samuel Tilden. On election day, neither candidate won the majority of the electoral votes. Twenty votes were in dispute. Congressional leaders worked out an agreement, which became known as the Compromise of 1877. Although no one is sure if a deal was actually made, the terms of the compromise most likely included a promise by the Republicans to pull federal troops out of the South if Hayes was elected. In April 1877, Hayes did pull the troops out, and Reconstruction came to an end.

9. Why did it become difficult for Republicans to enforce Reconstruction?
• A “New South” Arises (page 276)

President Hayes called for an end to the nation’s regional conflicts. Many Southern leaders realized that the South could not return to the kind of agricultural economy it had before the Civil War. These Southerners called for a “New South.”

Powerful white Southerners joined forces with Northern financiers to bring about economic changes to some parts of the South. Money from the North helped build railroads and industries across the South. However, the South remained mostly agricultural. By 1900 Southern manufacturing establishments equaled only 4 percent of its number of farms.

The end of Reconstruction brought an end to African Americans’ hopes for gaining land in the South. Many African Americans returned to plantations, where they became tenant farmers, paying rent for the land they farmed. Most of these farmers eventually became sharecroppers. Sharecroppers paid their rent with a share of their crops rather than with cash. In addition to rent, their payment included the cost of seeds, tools, and the animals they needed. Although sharecropping allowed African American farmers to control their own work schedule and working conditions, it also trapped sharecroppers on the land because they could not make enough money to pay off their debts and leave the land. This situation took away many of the new freedoms African Americans had gained after the Civil War.

10. After Reconstruction, why were many African Americans trapped on the land they farmed?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
MINERS AND RANCHERS

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- **placer mining**: the process of removing mineral ore by hand (page 287)
- **quartz mining**: the process of removing ore by digging deep beneath the surface (page 287)
- **Henry Comstock**: prospector who found huge silver strike in Nevada (page 287)
- **vigilance committee**: self-appointed volunteers who tracked down and punished wrongdoers (page 287)
- **open range**: vast areas of grassland owned by the federal government (page 288)
- **long drive**: cattle run in which herds were moved great distances to a rail line, where they were shipped to market (page 289)
- **Chisholm Trail**: a major trail on the long drive (page 289)
- **maverick**: stray calf with no identifying symbols (page 290)
- **barbed wire**: wire used to fence off the range (page 291)

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

What images come to mind when you hear the word *cowboys*? What kind of life do you think they had? What kind of work did they do? Where do most of your ideas about cowboys come from?

In this section, you will learn about the start of the mining industry in the West. You will also learn how ranchers helped to settle large areas of the West.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the cause-and-effect diagram below to help you take notes. The long drive helped to develop the cattle industry on the Great Plains, but it did not last long. List the reasons why the long drive came to an end in the diagram.

**Causes**

1. 
2. 
3. 

**Effect**

Long Drive Comes to an End
READ TO LEARN

- Growth of the Mining Industry (page 286)

The discovery of minerals in the West led to a flood of people hoping to strike it rich. At first, the prospectors would try to remove the mineral ore by hand. This process was called **placer mining**. After these deposits diminished, corporations would move in to dig beneath the surface. This process was called **quartz mining**.

In 1859 a prospector named **Henry Comstock** staked a claim in Six-Mile Canyon, Nevada. There he found nearly pure silver ore. News of the strike brought huge numbers of miners to Virginia City, Nevada. The town soon became a boomtown with thousands of people, shops, newspapers, and a hotel. When the silver deposits ran out and the mines closed, the once booming towns became ghost towns.

During boom times, crime was a problem in the mining towns. Prospectors fought over claims, and thieves roamed the streets. There was little law enforcement. As a result, volunteers sometimes formed **vigilance committees** to find and punish wrongdoers.

Men were usually the first settlers in mining towns. However, the towns soon attracted women. Some owned property and were leaders of the community. Others worked as cooks. Some women worked at places called hurdy-gurdy houses, where they danced with men for the price of a drink.

Mining also led to the development of towns in Colorado, the Dakota Territory, and Montana. Although there was plenty of gold and silver in the mountains in Colorado, much of it was below the surface and difficult to get out. A big strike happened in the late 1870s in Leadville, where deep deposits of lead contained large amounts of silver. By 1879 thousands of people were pouring into Leadville, which became a well-known boomtown.

The gold and silver found in Colorado were worth more than one billion dollars. This led to the building of railroads through the Rocky Mountains. The railroad helped change Denver into the second largest city in the West.

Gold was discovered in the Black Hills of the Dakota Territory in the 1870s. Copper was discovered in Montana in the 1880s. The discoveries led to a rush of settlers and the development of boomtowns. Although many individuals benefited, corporations made the greatest profits from mining. It became big business in the West.

4. Who made the greatest profits from mining in the West?
• Ranching and Cattle Drives (page 288)

After the Civil War, many Americans headed west to build cattle ranches on the Great Plains. In the early 1800s, Americans believed that the Great Plains had too little water and tough prairie grasses for cattle from the East. However, Texas had a breed of cattle, the longhorn, that was adapted to living on the Great Plains. This breed had descended from a breed of Spanish cattle that had been brought to Mexico two hundred years earlier.

Mexicans had begun cattle ranching in New Mexico, California, and Texas before these places were part of the United States. Cattle ranching grew in part because of the open range—a vast area of grassland owned by the federal government. The open range made up a large part of the Great Plains. This provided land for ranchers to graze their herds free of charge. Mexican cowhands developed the tools and equipment used for rounding up and driving cattle.

Before the Civil War, there was little reason for ranchers to round up the cattle. Beef prices were low, and it was not practical to move the cattle to eastern markets. However, the Civil War and the building of railroads changed this situation. During the Civil War, eastern cattle were slaughtered to provide food for the armies. After the war, beef prices rose sharply. This made it worthwhile to round up the longhorns and move them east.

By the end of the Civil War, railroad lines reached to the Great Plains. They ended at Abilene and Dodge City in Kansas and in Sedalia, Missouri. Cattle ranchers realized that they could make a profit if they rounded up and drove their cattle north to the railroad. There they could be sold for profit and shipped east. In 1866 ranchers rounded up thousands of longhorns and drove them to Sedalia, Missouri. This first long drive was a success. The cattle sold for 10 times the price they could have gotten in Texas. Several long drive trails soon opened. The Chisholm Trail, the route to Abilene, Kansas, became the major trail north. Cowhands drove nearly 1.5 million head of cattle up that trail. Other trails also connected Texas to towns further north.

The long drive started in the spring when cowhands collected cattle from the open range. These herds included cattle from many different owners. The brands on the cattle showed to whom they belonged. Life on the trails was dangerous. Those cowhands who survived collected their pay in the towns at the end of the trail.

Some of the cattle that were driven north went straight to slaughterhouses. Many were sold to ranchers who were building up their herds in Wyoming, Montana, and other territories. When farmers settled in this area and when sheepherders moved their sheep onto the open range, they blocked the cattle trails and caused “range wars” among these groups. Eventually the range was fenced off with barbed wire. The fencing of the open range led to the end of the long cattle drives.
The long drive ended for other reasons as well. Investors had put a great deal of money in the cattle business. This led to an oversupply of animals on the market, causing prices to drop sharply in the mid-1880s. Then in the winter of 1886–1887, blizzards covered the Great Plains. The snow was so deep the cattle could not get to the grass. Also, a cold spell set in. The cattle industry was able to survive these events, but the open range ended, and herds were raised on fenced-in ranches.

5. How did the Civil War contribute to the long drive?

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
FARMING THE PLAINS

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Great Plains  the region that extends westward to the Rocky Mountains from around the 100th meridian (page 292)

Stephen Long  the major who explored the region of the Great Plains and concluded that it was a desert, unfit for farming (page 293)

Homestead Act  a law that helped support settlement in the Great Plains (page 293)

homestead  a tract of public land available for settlement (page 293)

dry farming  a method of farming in which seeds were planted deep in the ground where there was enough moisture to grow (page 294)

sodbuster  those who plowed the soil on the Great Plains (page 294)

Wheat Belt  the wheat-growing region that started at the eastern edge of the Great Plains and included much of the Dakotas and the western parts of Nebraska and Kansas (page 294)

bonanza farm  large, profitable wheat farms (page 294)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Have you read books by Laura Ingalls Wilder? What kinds of situations did people living and working on the prairies of the United States face in the 1800s?

The last section described the growth of the mining and ranching industries in the West. This section discusses the beginning of farming on the Great Plains.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The Great Plains was at first thought of as a desert. List the reasons that helped to change that image of the Great Plains and encourage settlement there.

1. 
2. 
3. Things That Encouraged Settlement of the Great Plains
4. 

The American Republic Since 1877
READ TO LEARN

• Geography of the Plains (page 292)

The Great Plains is the region that stretches from the 100th meridian to the Rocky Mountains. The region receives less than 20 inches of rain per year, and few trees grow there. In 1819 Major Stephen Long led an expedition through the region and declared it to be a desert and not fit for settlement.

5. Why did Stephen Long declare the Great Plains a desert?

• The Beginnings of Settlement (page 293)

In the late 1800s, several things changed the image of the Great Plains as being a desert. Railroad companies sold land along the rail lines that they built through the Plains. They sold the land at low prices, attracting settlers there. Railroads opened offices throughout the United States and Europe. They advertised the Plains as being a ticket to prosperity. A Nebraskan encouraged settlement by claiming that farming the Plains would increase rainfall there. In the 1870s, the weather seemed to support that claim. Starting then, rainfall on the Plains was well above average. This helped to change the popular belief that the region was a desert.

The government supported settlement of the Great Plains by passing the Homestead Act in 1862. An individual could file for a homestead, or a tract of public land available for settlement, for a $10 registration fee. People could claim up to 160 acres of public land. They could receive title to that land after living there for five years.

The environment was harsh for the settlers on the Plains. Summer temperatures soared above 100°F, and winters brought blizzards. Prairie fires were a danger, and sometimes grasshoppers destroyed crops.

6. How did the government encourage settlement of the Great Plains?

• The Wheat Belt (page 294)

New farming methods and inventions helped to make farming on the Great Plains profitable. One method was called dry farming. It involved planting seeds deep in the ground where there was enough moisture for them to grow. By the 1860s, farmers were using newly designed steel plows, reapers, and threshing machines. The new machines made it possible to work large areas of land quickly. However, dry prairie soil was often blown away, especially in...
a dry season. Many sodbusters, or those who plowed the soil on the Plains, eventually lost their homesteads because of drought or wind erosion.

New technology helped large landholders make quick profits. Mechanical reapers speeded the harvest. Wheat could stand drought better than some other crops. As a result, wheat became an important crop to the Great Plains. More and more people moved to the Great Plains to take advantage of the inexpensive land and the new technology. The Wheat Belt eventually included much of the Dakotas and the western parts of Nebraska and Kansas.

The new technology allowed some farms to become very large. These bonanza farms brought huge profits to their owners. By the 1880s, the Wheat Belt helped to make the United States the world’s leading exporter of wheat. However, the nation faced competition from other wheat-producing countries. In the 1890s, an oversupply of wheat on the market caused prices to drop.

To make it through bad times, some farmers took out loans based on the value of their property. If they did not meet their payments, they had to forfeit the land to the bank and give up their farms. Many worked as tenant farmers for the new owner.

In addition to the decrease in prices, Plains farmers faced a long drought that began in the late 1880s. The drought destroyed the crops and forced many farmers back east. Although many farmers gave up and headed back, many more arrived to take their place.

7. What forced many Plains farmers in the late 1880s to give up their farms and head back east?

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8. Why did the Census Bureau report that the frontier was closed?
**Study Guide**

**Chapter 8, Section 3**

For use with textbook pages 297–302

**NATIVE AMERICANS**

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- *nomads*  people who roam great distances (page 297)
- *annuity*  payment to reservation dwellers (page 298)
- *Little Crow*  a chief of the Dakota (page 298)
- *Indian Peace Commission*  a commission formed by Congress in 1867, which created two reservations on the Great Plains (page 300)
- *George A. Custer*  United States military leader in the Battle of the Little Bighorn (page 301)
- *Ghost Dance*  a ritual performed by the Lakota Sioux (page 302)
- *assimilate*  to be absorbed into (page 302)
- *allotment*  parcel of land (page 302)
- *Dawes Act*  a law passed by Congress in 1887 as an attempt to assimilate Native Americans into American society (page 302)

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

How would you feel if someone forced you and your family to move from where you are living and settle in a place that he or she chose for you? How would you feel if you were forced to change your way of life?

The last section discussed the development of farming on the Great Plains. This section discusses the effect of settlement on the Great Plains on Native Americans in the region.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the cause-and-effect diagram below to help you take notes. In the 1880s, the government passed the Dawes Act as an attempt to absorb Native Americans into American society. List the reasons the Dawes Act failed.

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<table>
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<th>Causes</th>
<th>Effect</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>The Dawes Act Fails</td>
</tr>
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<td>3.</td>
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**Study Guide**

*Chapter 8, Section 3 (continued)*

**READ TO LEARN**

- **Culture of the Plains Indians** *(page 297)*
  
  Most of the Native Americans who lived on the Great Plains were **nomads** who roamed great distances. They followed the buffalo—their main source of food.

  The groups of Native Americans on the Great Plains had differences, but they were similar in many ways. They lived in extended family networks. Plains Indian nations were divided into bands of up to 500 people each. A governing council headed each band. Most members of the band participated in making decisions for the group. Gender determined the tasks an individual had to do. Most Plains Indians practiced a religion that was based on a belief in the spiritual power of the natural world.

  4. What was the main source of food for the Plains Indians?

- **Cultures Under Pressure** *(page 298)*

  Native Americans resisted the advance of settlers on their lands. They resented the broken treaties of the government and their forced movement from their lands. They resisted by attacking wagon trains and ranches. Eventually the resistance turned into a war.

  The Dakota Sioux had agreed to live on a small reservation in Minnesota. In exchange for moving there, the U.S. government issued **annuities**, or payments to the Native Americans at least once per year. The money did not amount to much, and much of it ended up in the hands of American traders. These traders often made up fake debts owed them by the Dakota and took the annuities as payments.

  In August 1862, the government was a month late in paying the annuities. As a result, some of the Dakota were starving. Chief **Little Crow** asked the traders to give the Dakota food on credit. When they refused, he led an uprising. Angry Dakota slaughtered soldiers and civilians in the area. U.S. troops then put down the uprising. The military sentenced 307 Dakota to death for taking part in the uprising. President Lincoln reduced the number to 38.

  After the uprising, the army sent patrols far into the northern Great Plains to prevent further trouble with the Sioux there. This caused more conflict. The soldiers came into contact with the Lakota, a branch of the Sioux. The Lakota hunting grounds extended from the Black Hills westward to the Bighorn Mountains. They intended to fight to keep their lands. Their chiefs included Red Cloud, Crazy Horse, and Sitting Bull.

  In 1866 Red Cloud’s forces defeated the U.S. army in a battle in Montana that became known as Fetterman’s Massacre. Tensions also arose in Colorado,
where thousands of settlers were moving in. Native Americans began raiding wagon trains, and many settlers were killed. The governor of the territory ordered the Native Americans to surrender at Fort Lyon. He said they would be given protection and food. Those that did not surrender would be attacked. Although several hundred surrendered, many did not. In November 1864, Chief Black Kettle brought several hundred Cheyenne to negotiate a peace deal. The fort’s commander did not have the authority to negotiate, so he told the Chief to wait at Sand Creek while he waited for orders. Then Colonel John Chivington was ordered to attack the Cheyenne there. When he stopped at Fort Lyon, Chivington was told that the Native Americans were waiting at Sand Creek to negotiate a peace deal. Chivington claimed there would be no peace. No one knows how events actually happened. However, reports said the Chivington’s troops attacked the Cheyenne, killing hundreds of women and children. Chivington was investigated by a Senate committee, which decided not to charge him.

Conflicts such as the Fetterman’s and the Sand Creek Massacres convinced Congress that something had to be done. In 1867 Congress formed an Indian Peace Commission. It proposed to create two large reservations—one for the Sioux and another for southern Plains Indians. Agents from the Bureau of Indian Affairs would run the reservations. However, many Native Americans refused to move to the reservations. Those who did move faced miserable conditions.

5. Why did Congress form the Indian Peace Commission?

The Last Native American Wars (page 301)

By the 1870s, many Native Americans had left the reservations. They hated their life there and joined those who did not move there to hunt buffalo on the open Plains. However, the buffalo were quickly disappearing. People crossing the Plains had killed off thousands. After the Civil War, professional buffalo hunters killed buffalo for their hides to ship to markets in the East. Other hunters killed merely for the sport. Railroad companies hired people to kill large numbers of buffalo that were blocking rail lines. The government encouraged this killing because it forced Native Americans onto reservations.
In 1876 miners overran the Lakota Sioux reservation to mine gold in the Black Hills. Seeing that the whites were violating the treaty, many Lakota left the reservation to hunt near the Bighorn Mountains in southeastern Montana. The government sent an expedition that included Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer. On June 25, 1876, he attacked one of the largest groups of Native American warriors to ever come together on the Great Plains. It was made up of 2,500 Lakota and Cheyenne warriors camped along the Little Bighorn River. The warriors responded to the attack by Custer and about 210 soldiers by killing all of them. The army then stepped up its campaign against the Native Americans. Some Native Americans, led by Sitting Bull, fled to Canada. Other Lakota were forced back on the reservation.

In 1877 members of the Nez Perce, led by Chief Joseph, refused to move from their lands to a reservation in Idaho. When the army came to force them to move, they fled for more than 1,300 miles. However, in October 1877, after losing many of his followers in battles, Chief Joseph surrendered. His followers were moved to Oklahoma.

The Lakota continued to perform the **Ghost Dance**, a ritual that was important to them, on the Lakota Sioux Reservation. They did so against the orders of the government agent at the reservation. The ritual celebrated a hoped-for day when settlers would disappear and the buffalo would return. The government agent thought the ritual was threatening. He blamed the refusal to stop the Ghost Dance on Sitting Bull. When police came to arrest him, Sitting Bull resisted. He died in an exchange of gunfire. The Native Americans who participated in the Ghost Dance then fled the reservation. The troops went after them. On December 29, 1890, a battle broke out at Wounded Knee Creek. About 25 soldiers and 200 Lakota were killed.

6. Why did the United States government support the killing of the buffalo on the Great Plains?

- **Assimilation** (page 302)

  Some Americans had opposed the government’s treatment of Native Americans. Helen Hunt Jackson’s book, *A Century of Dishonor*, described the government’s broken promises and attacks on Native Americans. Her descriptions led to discussions, even in Congress, of better treatment of Native Americans. Some people believed that the Native Americans’ situation would improve if they could **assimilate**, or be absorbed, into American culture as citizens and landowners. This meant breaking up the reservations into individual **allotments**, or pieces of land, where families could support themselves.
In 1887 Congress passed the **Dawes Act**. It gave each head of a household 160 acres of reservation land for farming. Although some Native Americans succeeded as farmers, many did not want to be farmers. Many found that the size of the land they received was too small to be profitable.

In the end, the idea of assimilation failed. There was no satisfactory solution to the problem of the Native Americans. The Plains Indians were doomed because they depended on the buffalo for food, shelter, and clothing. Once the herds were wiped out, the Native Americans could not keep up their way of life. Few were willing to adopt the settlers’ way of life.

7. What did some people in the late 1800s believe was necessary to improve the situation of Native Americans?
The American Republic Since 1877

NAME ________________________________________ DATE ____________________________ CLASS __________________________

Study Guide

Chapter 9, Section 1

For use with textbook pages 308–312

THE RISE OF INDUSTRY

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

gross national product  the total value of all goods and services produced by a country (page 308)
Edwin Drake drilled first oil well in Pennsylvania in 1859 (page 309)
laissez-faire  belief that government should not interfere in a nation’s economy (page 310)
entrepreneurs  people who risk their capital in organizing and running a business (page 310)
Morrill Tariff  a tariff passed by the Republican Congress after the Civil War (page 310)
Alexander Graham Bell  inventor of the telephone (page 311)
Thomas Alva Edison  inventor of many devices, including the phonograph and the light bulb (page 312)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What invention do you think is the most important to your way of life? How would your life be different without it?

In this section, you will learn how an increase in population led to a rapid increase in industry. You will also learn how inventions contributed to industrial growth.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Several factors contributed to the growth of industries in the United States in the late 1800s. Describe seven of these factors.
READ TO LEARN

• The United States Industrializes (page 308)

After the Civil War, industry grew rapidly. Many people left their farms to find work in factories. By the early 1900s, the United States had become one of the world’s leading industrial nations. By 1914 the gross national product (GNP), or the total value of all goods and services produced by a country—was eight times greater than it had been at the end of the Civil War.

One reason that industries expanded was that the United States had many natural resources that industries needed. Factories could get these resources cheaply without having to import them. Many resources were located in the West. The transcontinental railroad brought settlers to the region and moved the resources to the factories in the East.

At the same time, a new resource—petroleum—was being developed. This resource was in demand even before the automobile was invented. Petroleum could be turned into kerosene, which was used in lanterns and stoves. In 1859 Edwin Drake drilled the first oil well near Titusville, Pennsylvania. Soon more oil fields were developed across the country. Oil production helped to expand the nation’s economy.

In addition to natural resources, a population increase provided factories with a larger workforce. It also provided a demand for the goods that these factories produced. The population increase was the result of large families and an increase in immigrants. Between 1870 and 1910, about 20 million immigrants came to the United States.

8. What one resource helped to expand the nation’s economy?

• Free Enterprise (page 310)

The United States’s industries also expanded because of the free enterprise system. In the late 1800s, Americans took on a laissez-faire policy toward the economy. Those who supported it believed that the government should not interfere in the economy. Laissez-faire relies on supply and demand, not the government, to set prices and wages. The theory states that a free market, in which companies compete, leads to more wealth for everyone. It also proposes that taxes should be low and the government’s debt should be kept limited. The idea of gaining wealth attracted people into businesses. Entrepreneurs, or people who risk their capital in organizing and running a business, began developing businesses in hopes of making profits for themselves.

By the late 1800s, New Englanders had saved a great deal of money from trade, fishing, and manufacturing. Many invested the money in setting up factories and in building railroads. Europeans, particularly from Great Britain, also invested in American industries.
9. In what did many entrepreneurs invest their money?

- **Government’s Role in Industrialism** *(page 310)*

In the late 1800s, the United States government practiced laissez-faire. It kept taxes and spending low. It did not pass laws to regulate industries, and it did not control prices.

In some ways, however, the government introduced policies that were intended to help industry. Congress passed the **Morrill Tariff**. This increased tariffs dramatically, which meant that imports became more expensive than American goods. It also provided land grants to western railroads. The government also sold public lands with mineral resources for much less than their value.

High tariffs opposed laissez-faire policies. Tariffs also hurt many Americans. When the United States raised tariffs on foreign goods, foreign countries then raised their tariffs against American goods. This hurt Americans who were trying to sell their goods overseas, particularly farmers. Many farmers left their farms to take jobs in the new factories.

Before the early 1900s, many business leaders and Congress believed that tariffs were necessary to help the new American industries compete with the large established European industries. By the early 1900s, however, many Americans were large and competitive. Many business leaders now believed that they could compete internationally and do well. As a result, they began to push for free trade.

10. What policies did the federal government introduce to help industry?

- **New Inventions** *(page 311)*

Inventions also contributed to the growth of industries. In 1876 Alexander Graham Bell developed the telephone. This invention changed both business and personal communication.

Thomas Alva Edison created many inventions. Two major inventions were the phonograph and the light bulb. In 1882 the Edison Electric Illuminating Company began to supply electric power to customers in New York City. Electric power changed American society.

Technology affected other parts of American society. In 1877 Gustavus Swift shipped the first refrigerated load of fresh meat. The widespread use of refrigeration kept food fresh longer.
New machines helped the textile industry produce cloth faster. Standard sizes were used to make ready-made clothes. The clothing business moved from small shops to large factories.

New methods and inventions increased production in the shoe industry. Large factories now mass-produced shoes more cheaply and efficiently than small shops could. These changes resulted in lower prices for American consumers.

11. How did the invention of the telephone change American society?
Study Guide

Chapter 9, Section 2

For use with textbook pages 314–318

THE RAILROADS

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

**Pacific Railway Act**  the law that provided for the construction of a transcontinental railroad (page 315)

**Grenville Dodge**  engineer that helped direct the building of the Union Pacific Railroad (page 315)

**Leland Stanford**  one of the “Big Four” who made a huge fortune by investing in the Central Pacific Railroad Company (page 315)

**Cornelius Vanderbilt**  consolidated three railroads to form the New York Central (page 316)

**time zone**  the division of the United States into regions where the same time was kept (page 316)

**land grant**  portions of land given by the federal government to railroad companies (page 317)

**Jay Gould**  entrepreneur who used information he received as a railroad owner to manipulate stock prices for his benefit (page 318)

**Crédit Mobilier**  scandal involving the Union Pacific (page 318)

**James J. Hill**  entrepreneur who built the Great Northern Railroad (page 318)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What is the main form of transportation you use when you travel long distances? Have you ever traveled long distances by train? What was your experience like?

The last section discussed the reasons for industrial growth in the United States. This section discusses the effects of the railroad on the nation’s economy.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Railroads grew in the United States in the 1800s. List three causes for this growth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>Effect</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Railroads Grew</td>
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**READ TO LEARN**

- **Linking the Nation** *(page 314)*

  In 1862 President Lincoln signed the **Pacific Railway Act**. This law called for the building of a transcontinental railroad by the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific railroad companies. To encourage the companies, the government gave each company land along the route of the tracks.

  **Grenville Dodge**, a former Union general, directed the building of the Union Pacific. It started in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1865. At one time the Union Pacific employed about 10,000 workers. They included Civil War veterans, immigrants, miners, farmers, and ex-convicts.

  A Connecticut engineer sold stock in the Central Pacific Railroad Company to four merchants in California. One of the investors was **Leland Stanford**, who made a huge fortune, founded Stanford University, and later became a U.S. Senator. The Central Pacific Railroad Company hired about 10,000 workers from China, because there was a labor shortage in California.

  4. What two companies were involved in building the first transcontinental railroad?

- **Railroads Spur Growth** *(page 316)*

  By 1860 the United States had hundreds of unconnected railroad lines. Many capitalists in the East saw this as an opportunity to create a single rail transportation system from all these unconnected lines. In the 1880s, large rail lines combined hundreds of small ones. One of the most famous consolidators was **Cornelius Vanderbilt**. By 1869 he had merged three short New York railroads to form the New York Central. He then extended his control over lines all the way to Chicago.

  Before the 1880s, each community set their clocks by the sun’s position at high noon. For example, when it was 12:50 P.M. in Chicago, it was 11:41 A.M. in St. Paul, Minnesota. This created a problem for train scheduling and for passenger safety. To make rail service more reliable, in 1883 the American Railway Association divided the country into four **time zones** in regions where the same time was kept.

  The large railroad systems benefited the nation in many ways. They could shift rail cars from one section of the country to another. Long-distance transportation was faster. New technology allowed railroads to put longer and heavier trains on their lines. More powerful locomotives helped make railroad operations more efficient and less expensive. Railroads also united people from different regions of the country.
5. How did large railroad systems benefit the nation?

- The Land Grant System (page 317)
  The government helped encourage railroad building by giving many railroad companies land grants. Railroads would then sell the land to settlers and businesses to raise the money they needed to build the railroad. By the 1860s, the railroads owned an area of land larger than New England, New York, and Pennsylvania combined. Some railroad companies earned enough money from the land grants to pay for the entire cost of building their lines.

6. What did railroad companies do with the land grants they received from the government?

- Robber Barons (page 317)
  Some railroad entrepreneurs in the late 1800s got their wealth by cheating investors, bribing government officials, and cheating on their contracts. Jay Gould was famous for these actions. He used information he received as a railroad owner to manipulate stock prices for his benefit.

  Bribery occurred often with federal and state governments. Railroad investors knew that they could make more money by getting government land grants than by operating the railroad. As a result, investors bribed members of Congress and state legislatures to vote for more land grants.

  The Crédit Mobilier was a construction company that several stockholders in the Union Pacific set up. The investors set up contracts with themselves. Crédit Mobilier greatly overcharged the Union Pacific for the work it did. Because the investors owned both companies, the railroad agreed to pay. The investors had made several million dollars by the time the Union Pacific was completed. However, the railroad had used up its land grants and was almost bankrupt. To convince Congress to give the railroad more grants, one of the
investors gave some members of Congress shares in the Union Pacific at a price well below what the shares were worth. In the 1872 election campaign, a letter to a New York newspaper listed the members of Congress who had accepted the shares. A further investigation into the scandal showed that the vice president at the time also had accepted money from the railroad.

Not all railroad entrepreneurs were robber barons, or people who loot an industry and give nothing back. **James J. Hill,** an entrepreneur, built the Great Northern Railroad without federal land grants. He planned the route to pass by towns in the region. To increase business, he promised settlers low fares if they settled along his route. He transported American-made products that were in demand in China to Washington State, where they were shipped to Asia. In this way the railroad made money by transporting goods both east and west. The Great Northern became the most successful transcontinental railroad and one that did not eventually go bankrupt.

7. Why did railroad owners bribe members of Congress and state legislatures to vote for more land grants?
BIG BUSINESS

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- corporation: an organization owned by many people but treated by law as though it were a single person (page 320)
- stockholders: people who own a corporation through shares of ownership (page 320)
- stock: shares of ownership (page 320)
- economies of scale: ability of large manufacturing facilities to produce more goods more cheaply (page 320)
- fixed costs: costs a company has to pay whether it is operating or not (page 320)
- operating costs: costs that occur when running a company (page 320)
- pool: agreement among companies to maintain prices at a certain level (page 320)
- Andrew Carnegie: made the steel industry a large business (page 320)
- Bessemer process: process for making high quality steel efficiently and cheaply (page 321)
- vertical integration: the joining of different types of businesses that are involved in the operation of a particular company (page 321)
- horizontal integration: the joining of many firms involved in the same type of business into one large corporation (page 321)
- monopoly: a single company that controls an entire market (page 321)
- trust: a legal concept that allows a person to manage another person’s property (page 322)
- holding company: a company that owns the stocks of companies that produce goods (page 322)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Where do you shop for things such as clothes? Do you shop in large stores? Do you shop on the Internet? How does advertising influence what and where you buy things?

The last section described the impact that railroads had on the nation’s economy. This section discusses the development of large corporations in the United States.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram on the next page to help you take notes. The ways that retailers marketed and sold their goods changed in the late 1800s. In the diagram, list four ways that retailing changed.
1. What advantage did issuing stocks offer corporations?
Many corporate leaders did not like the competition that they were facing. Lower prices helped consumers, but they also cut into the corporation’s profits. To stop prices from falling, many corporations organized pools, which are agreements to keep prices at a certain level. Companies that formed pools did not get legal protection. The nation’s courts believed that pools went against competition and property rights. Pools generally did not last long. They fell apart whenever one company lowered prices to take the market share away from another company. By the 1870s, competition left only a few large corporations.

Andrew Carnegie was a poor immigrant who rose to become a leader in business. After a variety of jobs, Carnegie became a railroad supervisor. He soon realized that he could make more money by investing in companies that served the railroad industry. On a trip to Europe, Carnegie met Henry Bessemer, who had invented the Bessemer process—a new way of making steel cheaply and efficiently. Carnegie then decided to invest his money in the steel industry. He opened a steel company in Pittsburgh in 1875 and quickly adapted his steel mills to use the Bessemer process.

To make his business even bigger, Carnegie began the vertical integration of the steel industry. A vertically integrated company owns all the different businesses that it depends on to run. Carnegie’s company bought coal mines and iron ore fields. Owning these companies saved Carnegie money and made his company bigger.

Business leaders also looked to horizontal integration, which involved combining many companies involved in the same business into one large corporation. When a single company gains control of an entire market, it becomes a monopoly. Many people opposed monopolies because they believed that a monopoly could charge whatever price it wanted for its products. Some people, however, believed that monopolies helped to keep prices low because raising prices would cause the competition to reappear.

Many states made it illegal for a company to own stock in another company without getting permission from the state legislature. As a result, in 1882 the Standard Oil Company formed the first trust. This was a new way of combining companies that did not go against the laws that made owning other companies illegal. A trust is a legal concept that allows a person to manage another person’s property. The person who manages another person’s property is called a trustee.

Instead of buying other companies, Standard Oil had stockholders give their stocks to a few Standard Oil trustees. These stockholders received shares in a trust. They were able to get a part of the trust’s profits. The trustees did not own the stock, but were just managing it for someone else. Therefore, they were not violating the law. In this way, the trustees controlled a group of companies as if they were one large company.
In 1889 New Jersey passed a law that helped increase big business. The law allowed corporations in New Jersey to own stock in other businesses without getting permission from the state legislature. Many companies reacted to the law by creating a new organization called a **holding company**. A holding company does not produce anything itself. Instead, it owns the stock of companies that do produce goods. The holding company controls all the companies, combining them into one large corporation.

6. In what two ways did Andrew Carnegie and other business leaders try to make their businesses larger?

- Selling the Product *(page 323)*

By the late 1800s, the United States was producing a wide variety of products. Companies needed to find ways to market and sell these goods. The way of advertising began to change. Large display ads replaced the small ads in newspapers.

Department stores changed the idea of shopping by bringing together a variety of products in a large, elegant building. Chain stores, which were a group of similar stores owned by the same company, also changed the way people shopped. Chain stores offered low prices instead of special services and elegant surroundings. To reach people who lived in rural areas far from department and chain stores, retailers began to use mail-order catalogs.

7. How did the way retailers advertise goods change in the 1800s?
UNIONS

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

deflation       a rise in the value of money (page 327)
trade unions    unions that were limited to people with specific skills (page 327)
industrial union unions that represented all craft workers and common laborers in a particular industry (page 327)
blacklist        a list of people who tried to organize a union or strike and were considered trouble-makers by employers (page 328)
lockout          a method used by employers to prevent unions from forming (page 328)
Marxism          the ideas of Karl Marx (page 328)
Knights of Labor the first nationwide industrial union (page 329)
arbitration      a process in which an impartial third party helps workers and management reach an agreement (page 330)
closed shop      a system in which companies could only hire union members (page 330)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What are unions? Why do people join unions? Do you think unions are important for workers? Why or why not?

The last section discussed the rise of big business in the United States. This section discusses the reaction of workers to big businesses—the rise of unions.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Employers in the late 1800s tried to stop unions from forming. Describe four of these actions in the chart.

Ways Employers Stopped Unions From Forming

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
READ TO LEARN

• **Working in the United States** (page 326)
  
  Conditions for workers in industries were difficult. Work was monotonous and repetitive. Workers often worked in unhealthy and unsafe environments. However, industrialization brought people a higher standard of living.

  The difference in the standard of living between the wealthy owners and the working class was great. For this reason, workers often resented the wealthy. Relations between workers and the employers grew worse in the late 1800s because of deflation. This is a rise in the value of money. This caused prices to fall and it increased what workers could buy with their wages. As a result, companies began cutting workers’ wages. Workers were upset because they were getting less money for the same work. Many workers decided that the best way to improve their conditions was to organize into unions.

  5. Why did employers cut workers’ wages in the late 1800s?

• **Early Unions** (page 327)
  
  There were two kinds of workers in industries in the 1800s. Craft workers had special skills and training. They included machinists, shoemakers, and carpenters. Common laborers had few skills. Craft workers generally received higher wages for their work than common laborers did. In the 1830s, craft workers began to form trade unions. These were unions that were limited to people with specific skills. By the early 1870s, there were over 30 national trade unions in the United States.

  Employers had to deal with trade unions because they needed the skills the workers in the unions had. However, they thought unions interfered with property rights. Employers of large corporations particularly opposed industrial unions. These unions represented all craft workers and common laborers in a particular industry.

  Employers tried to stop unions from forming in their companies in several ways. They required workers to sign contracts promising not to join unions. They hired detectives to point out union organizers. Those who tried to start a union or strike were fired and placed on a blacklist—a list of “troublemakers.” Once a worker was blacklisted, a person found it almost impossible to get hired. If workers did form a union, companies often used a lockout to break it. The employers locked workers out of the factory and refused to pay them. If the union called a strike, employers would hire replacement workers.
Workers who wanted to organize unions faced several problems. No laws gave them the right to organize. Some people thought that unions threatened American institutions. Others believed that unions were influenced by Marxism—the ideas of Karl Marx. Marx believed the basic force that shaped society was the conflict between workers and owners. He believed that eventually workers would revolt, take control of the factories, and overthrow the government. He believed that then the government would take all private property and distribute wealth evenly among everyone. Marxism greatly influenced European unions.

Some workers supported anarchism. They believed that government was not necessary. They believed a few violent acts could start a revolution and get rid of governments. As Marxist ideas spread in Europe, thousands of European immigrants began arriving in the United States. Some Americans began associating European immigrants with anarchism. Because many workers were European immigrants, these Americans also became suspicious of unions.

6. Why were some Americans suspicious of unions?

• The Struggle to Organize (page 328)

Although many workers tried to organize unions, they were not often successful. In 1873 a severe economic recession hit the nation. This forced many companies to cut wages. In July 1877, several railroads cut wages again. This started a nationwide workers’ protest. Railroad workers across the nation walked off their jobs. Some workers turned to violence. Several state militias were called out to stop the violence. Gun battles sometimes broke out between the militia and the striking workers. President Hayes finally ordered the army to open the railroads.

Many labor organizers now believed that workers across the nation needed to be better organized. They organized the first nationwide industrial union, the Knights of Labor. The Knights called for an eight-hour workday. They supported equal pay for women, the end of child labor, and worker-owned factories. At first, they opposed the use of strikes. The Knights’ leaders supported the use of arbitration. This is a process in which an impartial third party helps workers and management reach an agreement. However, in the early 1880s, they began to use strikes. They were successful at first, and membership in the union soared.
In 1886 union organizers called for a nationwide strike on May 1 to show support for the eight-hour workday. On May 3, a clash between strikers and police at Haymarket Square in Chicago left a striker dead. The next day an anarchist group organized a meeting to protest the killing. About 3,000 people showed up. Someone threw a bomb, the police opened fire, and workers shot back. Seven police officers and four workers died. The police arrested eight men, who were German immigrants and supported anarchism. Many people were upset about the arrest. Even though no one knew who threw the bomb, the men were convicted and four of them were executed. One of the men who was arrested was a member of the Knights of Labor. This hurt the union’s reputation, and the union quickly lost members.

Another industrial union formed during the late 1800s was the American Railway Union (ARU). Its leader was Eugene V. Debs. One company the ARU unionized was the Pullman Palace Car Company in Illinois. The company had built a town, named Pullman, near its factory. Workers in the company were required to live there and to buy goods from the company stores. In 1893, when a recession hit the United States, the Pullman Company cut wages. Workers were unable to pay their rent or the high prices at the stores. In 1894 the company fired three workers who complained. A strike began in protest. The strike tied up the railroads and threatened the nation’s economy. Railroad managers attached U.S. mail cars to the Pullman cars. If the strikers refused to go back to work now, they would be violating a federal law. President Grover Cleveland sent in troops to keep the mail running. A federal court ordered the union to stop the strike. Both the strike and the union ended.

7. Why did the Knights of Labor lose members after the Haymarket Riot?

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- **The American Federation of Labor** *(page 330)*

Although industrial unions were not very successful in the late 1800s, trade unions were. Over twenty of the nation’s trade unions organized the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Samuel Gompers was the union’s first leader. He believed that unions should stay out of politics. He believed that they should fight for things such as higher wages and better working conditions. He preferred negotiation over strikes. The AFL had three goals. It tried to convince companies to recognize unions and to agree to negotiations. It pushed for **closed shops**, in which companies hired only union members. It pushed for an eight-hour workday.
By 1900 the AFL was the largest union in the country. However, by 1900 most workers in the nation were still not union members.

8. What were three goals of the American Federation of Labor?

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• Working Women (page 331)

After the Civil War, the number of women who earned wages increased. About one-third of these women worked as servants. Another third worked as teachers, nurses, or secretaries. The final third were industrial workers. Many of these women worked in clothing and food processing factories. Women were paid less than men, and most unions did not include women. As a result, in 1903 two women founded the Women’s Trade Union League (WTUL). This was the first union organized to address women’s labor issues.

9. Why was the Women’s Trade Union League formed?

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Study Guide

Chapter 10, Section 1
For use with textbook pages 336–340

IMMIGRATION

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

steerage the most basic and cheapest accommodations on a steamship (page 337)
Ellis Island a tiny island in New York Harbor and a processing center for immigrants in the late 1800s (page 338)
Jacob Riis Danish-born journalist who wrote about the urban poor (page 339)
Angel Island a processing center in California for Asian immigrants in the late 1800s (page 339)
nativism an extreme dislike for foreigners by native-born people and a desire to limit immigration (page 340)
Chinese Exclusion Act a law that barred Chinese immigration for 10 years and prevented the Chinese already in the country from becoming citizens (page 340)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Have you ever visited New York City? Have you visited the Statue of Liberty? What importance does this statue have for many people?

In this section, you will learn about immigration to the United States in the late 1800s. You will also learn about the reaction of Americans toward this immigration.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. In the late 1800s, people from eastern and southern Europe and from Asia came to the United States for several reasons. List these reasons in the diagram.

Reasons for European Immigration

1. 
2. 
3. 

Reasons for Chinese Immigration

4. 
5. 
6.
Europeans Flood Into the United States (page 336)

More than half of all immigrants who came to the United States by 1900 were from eastern and southern Europe. They immigrated for a variety of reasons. Some came for jobs. Some came to avoid forced military service in their countries. Others, particularly Jews, came to avoid religious persecution.

Most immigrants who came to the United States booked passage in steerage, which was the most basic and cheapest accommodations on a steamship. After about two weeks, they arrived at Ellis Island. This was a tiny island in New York Harbor. Immigrants were required to pass a medical exam. They would generally pass through Ellis Island in about a day.

Many immigrants who passed inspection settled in cities such as New York, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit. Immigrants in cities generally lived in neighborhoods that were separated into ethnic groups. Journalist Jacob Riis observed that New York City was filled with ethnic communities. There they spoke their native languages, worshiped in their churches or synagogues, and published their own newspapers.

Some immigrants did not stay in America. Some came just to make money and then return home. Some could not make enough money. Others became homesick. Those who adjusted well generally learned English quickly and adapted to the American culture. Those immigrants who had marketable skills or who settled among members of their own ethnic group also adjusted more easily to life in the United States.

7. Where did many immigrants who arrived at Ellis Island in the late 1800s settle?

Asian Immigration to America (page 339)

In the mid-1800s, many Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States. Many came to escape the poverty and famine in their country. The discovery of gold in California in 1848 brought many Chinese immigrants there. A rebellion in China also led many Chinese to come to the United States. In addition, the demand for railroad workers on the transcontinental railroad increased Chinese immigration.

Chinese immigrants settled in western cities. They often worked as laborers, servants, or in skilled trades. Some worked as merchants.
In 1910 California opened a barracks on Angel Island to accommodate Asian immigrants, who were mostly young men. There, immigrants waited for their immigration to be processed. Their wait, in crowded conditions, sometimes lasted months.

8. What kinds of jobs did many Chinese immigrants to the United States generally take on?

9. Why did some nativists fear immigration from Europe?

• The Resurgence of Nativism (page 340)

The increase of immigration to the United States in the late 1800s led to increased feelings of nativism. This is a preference for native-born people and a desire to limit immigration. In the late 1800s, these feelings focused on eastern Europeans, Jews, and Asians.

Some nativists feared that the number of Catholics from Europe would take over the mostly Protestant United States. They feared that the Catholic Church would have too much power in the nation’s government. Labor unions were against immigration because they believed that immigrants would work for low wages or work as strikebreakers.

Some nativists formed anti-immigrant organizations. The American Protective Association worked to stop Catholic immigration. In the West, the Workingman’s Party of California worked to stop Chinese immigration.

Concerns over unchecked immigration pushed Congress to create immigration limits. In 1882 a law banned convicts and the mentally disabled from coming to the United States. It placed a 50-cent head tax on each immigrant arriving in the United States. Congress also passed the Chinese Exclusion Act. This law banned Chinese immigration for 10 years. It also prevented the Chinese already in the country from becoming citizens. The Chinese in the United States protested the law. They pointed to the fact that laws did not ban European immigration. However, Congress renewed the law in 1892 and made it permanent in 1902. It did not repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act until 1943.
**URBANIZATION**

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **skyscraper**  tall steel frame buildings *(page 342)*
- **Louis Sullivan**  architect who designed skyscrapers *(page 342)*
- **tenement**  dark and crowded multi-family apartments in cities *(page 343)*
- **political machine**  an informal political group designed to gain and keep power *(page 345)*
- **party boss**  individual who ran a political machine *(page 345)*
- **George Plunkitt**  a powerful party boss in New York City *(page 345)*
- **graft**  getting money through dishonest or questionable means *(page 345)*
- **William M. Tweed**  corrupt political boss of Tammany Hall, a New York Democratic political machine *(page 345)*

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

Do you live in or have you visited a large city? What are some positive aspects of a city? What are some negative aspects?

The last section discussed immigration to the United States in the late 1800s. This section describes how the United States changed from a rural to an urban nation.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. A new kind of political system developed in cities to deal with problems there. Show how this system worked in the diagram below.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Bosses</th>
<th>Provided</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City Dwellers</th>
<th>Provided</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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*The American Republic Since 1877*
**READ TO LEARN**

- **Americans Migrate to the Cities (page 341)**
  By the 1890s, the urban population of the United States increased greatly. Most of the immigrants who arrived did not have the money to buy farms or the education to get high-paying jobs. They settled in the cities, where they worked for low wages in the factories. Even though the wages were low, the standard of living for most immigrants had improved. Farmers also moved to the cities looking for better-paying jobs. Cities offered running water and modern plumbing. It also had things to do, including museums and theaters.

  3. Why did many immigrants work in low-paying factory jobs in the cities?

- **The New Urban Environment (page 342)**
  As city populations increased, the demand for land increased its price. As a result, people began building upward rather than outward. Tall, steel frame buildings called skyscrapers were constructed in the nation’s cities. Louis Sullivan was famous for his skyscraper designs.

  Different kinds of transportation developed in the late 1800s to move the large numbers of people around the cities. At first cities used horsecars for transportation. These were railroad cars pulled by horses. Some cities, such as San Francisco, began using cable cars. They were pulled along tracks by underground cables. Some cities began using the electric trolley car. In large cities, congestion on streets became a problem. As a result, some cities built elevated railroads or subway systems.

  4. Why did some cities begin using elevated railroads and subway systems for their transportation needs?

- **Separation by Class (page 343)**
  Wealthy people, the middle class, and the working class lived in different parts of the cities. The wealthy lived in fashionable districts in the heart of the city, where they built large, beautiful homes.

  Industrialization contributed to a growing middle class in the nation. The middle class included doctors, lawyers, engineers, and teachers. Many middle-class people moved from the heart of the cities to suburbs. Commuter rail lines helped to connect the suburbs to the cities.
The working class generally lived in tenements, or dark and crowded multi-family apartments, in the cities.

5. Where did wealthy people generally live in the nation’s cities?

• Urban Problems (page 344)

People living in cities in the late 1800s faced several problems. They faced the threat of crime, violence, disease, and pollution. Native-born Americans often blamed immigrants for the increase in crime and violence in the cities. Alcohol did contribute to the increase in violent crimes.

Improper ways of getting rid of sewage contaminated drinking water and caused diseases. Smoke from factory chimneys and soot from coal fires caused pollution.

6. What caused diseases in the nation’s urban areas?

• Urban Politics (page 344)

A new kind of political system started in cities to deal with urban problems. The political machine, an informal political group that was designed to gain and keep power, became popular. People moving into cities needed jobs, housing, food, and police protection. Political machines led by party bosses provided these things in exchange for votes. George Plunkitt became one of New York City’s most powerful party bosses.

Party bosses controlled the cities’ money. Machine politicians grew rich through fraud or graft. They got money through dishonest or questionable ways. For example, they accepted bribes from contractors in exchange for awarding the contractors with city contracts.

One of the most famous political machines was Tammany Hall in New York City. William M. Tweed was its famous corrupt party boss. City machines often controlled city services. For example, Thomas and James Pendergast, the political bosses in St. Louis, controlled the city’s police department. Although political machines were corrupt, they did provide necessary services to people living in the nation’s cities.

7. How did the cities’ political bosses grow wealthy?
The American Republic Since 1877

Chapter 10, Section 3

For use with textbook pages 348–352

THE GILDED AGE

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Gilded Age  the time period between 1870 and 1900 (page 349)
Social Darwinism  the idea that society progresses and becomes better because only the fittest people survive (page 349)
Gospel of Wealth  the philosophy that wealthy people who profited from society owed something in return (page 350)
philanthropy  the using of one’s wealth to further social progress (page 350)
realism  a movement in art and literature that attempted to portray people realistically (page 350)
vaudeville  a theater show that included animal acts, acrobats, gymnasts, and dancers (page 352)
ragtime  music with syncopated rhythms that grew out of riverside honkey-tonks, saloon pianists, and banjo players (page 352)
Scott Joplin  An African American ragtime composer (page 352)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

How do you and your family enjoy spending your leisure time? Does your community provide the activities that you enjoy participating in?

The last section described the growth of cities in the United States in the late 1800s. This section discusses changes in thinking and leisure activities in the United States in the late 1800s.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Several philosophies and movements became popular in the United States in the late 1800s. List and describe them in the diagram.
The time in American history that begins about 1870 and ends around 1900 is often referred to as the **Gilded Age**. The term was the title of a novel by Mark Twain and Charles Warner. The time was one of new inventions, rapid industrial growth, growing cities, and wealthy people building huge mansions. The word *gilded* refers to something that is covered in gold only on the outside. Twain and Warner tried to point out that although things looked good on the outside, beneath the surface lay corruption, poverty, crime, and a huge difference in wealth between the rich and the poor.

The Gilded Age was a time of cultural change. One of the strongest beliefs of the time was the idea of individualism. Many people believed that no matter where they started in life, they could go as far as they were willing to go. Horatio Alger, an author, expressed the idea of individualism in his “rags-to-riches” novels. In these novels, a poor person generally arrived in a big city and became successful. The novels led many people to believe that they could overcome obstacles and become successful, too.

**4.** What was a strong belief of the Gilded Age?

**Social Darwinism** *(page 349)*

Another important idea of the Gilded Age was proposed by the philosopher Herbert Spencer. He applied the work of Charles Darwin to human society. Darwin said that plants and animals evolved through a process called natural selection. In this process, the species that cannot adapt to the environment in which they live gradually die out. Those that adapt survive. Spencer applied this idea to society. He said that society progressed because only the fittest people survived. His views became known as **Social Darwinism**. Those that shared these views were known as Social Darwinists. Industrial leaders quickly agreed with the theory. They believed themselves to be the fittest people, and therefore deserving of the wealth they had.

Andrew Carnegie also agreed with the ideas of Social Darwinism. However, he also believed in a philosophy called the **Gospel of Wealth**. This philosophy said that wealthy people who profited from society owed it something in return. They should take part in **philanthropy**—using their wealth to further social progress. Carnegie donated millions of dollars to social causes.
5. According to Herbert Spencer, why did society progress?

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- **Realism (page 350)**

  A new movement known as realism became popular during the late 1800s. Realism attempted to show people realistically. Thomas Eakins and other realist painters often showed day-to-day activities, such as people swimming or surgeons operating.

  Realist writers tried to show the world as it is. Mark Twain is one of the most famous of these writers. His novel *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* included a setting, subject matter, characters, and style that were totally American. Writers such as Henry James and Edith Wharton realistically showed the lives of the upper class.

6. What did realist writers try to show?

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- **Popular Culture (page 351)**

  With industrialization, many urban Americans in the late 1800s divided their lives into time at home and time at work. Industrialization also provided people with more money to spend on entertainment.

  In many big cities, saloons played an important role in the life of male workers. They also served as political centers. Families in the late 1800s enjoyed their leisure time in amusement parks. Many people enjoyed watching professional boxing and baseball. Football also gained popularity. Many people enjoyed activities that involved physical exercise. Tennis, golf, and basketball became popular.

  The theater provided other kinds of entertainment. *Vaudeville*, which was based on French theater, included animal acts, acrobats, gymnasts, and dancers. *Ragtime* music also became popular in the fast-paced cities. Its rhythms were based on the patterns of African American music. *Scott Joplin* was one of the most important African American ragtime composers.

7. What sports became popular in the United States in the late 1800s?
Chapter 10, Section 4

For use with textbook pages 353–358

THE REBIRTH OF REFORM

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- **Henry George** a journalist who criticized the effects of industrialization (page 354)
- **Lester Frank Ward** a writer who challenged the ideas of Social Darwinism (page 354)
- **Edward Bellamy** a writer whose ideas were a form of socialism (page 355)
- **naturalism** a new style of writing that suggested that some people failed in life because of circumstances beyond their control (page 355)
- **Jane Addams** reformer who established settlement houses (page 357)
- **settlement house** residences in poor neighborhoods in which middle-class people lived and helped poor people (page 357)
- **Americanization** the process of becoming knowledgeable about American culture (page 357)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What kinds of services does your community provide to help people in need? In what ways can you help needy people in your community?

The last section discussed the changes in thinking and leisure activities that took place in the United States in the late 1800s. This section discusses the reforms that some people worked for to solve the problems of the urban poor.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. In the late 1800s, many people attempted to improve the lives of the poor living in the nation’s cities. List the movements and the organizations that tried to improve urban society.

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 

Ways of Helping Urban Poor
Many people in the United States in the late 1800s began to disagree with the ideas of individualism. They believed that many of the nation’s problems could be solved only if Americans and the government had a role in regulating the economy and helping people who were needy.

In 1879 Henry George, a journalist, published Progress and Poverty. In it he wrote about the widening gap between the wealthy and the poor. He believed that the answer to the problem was land. George argued that people could become wealthy by waiting for land prices to increase. He believed that a tax on the land should replace all other taxes. He believed that it would help make society more equal. It would also give the government more money to help the poor. Although most people did not agree with George’s economic theory, he was one of the first to challenge the ideas of Social Darwinism and laissez-faire economics.

Lester Frank Ward also challenged the ideas of Social Darwinism. He argued that human beings were not like animals in that they had the ability to think ahead and make plans to get what they wanted. His ideas became known as Reform Darwinism. He believed people succeeded because they were able to cooperate, not because they were able to compete. He believed competition was wasteful. Ward believed that government and not competition in the marketplace could regulate the economy and cure poverty. Many people came to believe that the government should be more active in trying to solve society’s problems.

Edward Bellamy published a book in 1888 that described life in the year 2000 as a perfect society. His ideas were a form of socialism and helped to shape reformers’ beliefs.

5. What did Lester Ward believe could solve society’s problems?

A new style of writing known as naturalism became popular as a result of many of the criticisms of industrial society. Naturalists challenged the ideas of Social Darwinism that people controlled their lives and made the choices to improve it. Naturalists believed that some people were not successful because they had circumstances they could not control. Among the most famous naturalist writers were Stephen Crane, Frank Norris, Jack London, and Theodore Dreiser.
6. According to naturalists, why were some people not successful in life?

• Helping the Urban Poor (page 355)

   Many people who criticized industrial society worked for reform. The Social Gospel movement tried to improve conditions in cities based on ideas in the Bible regarding charity and justice. Many supporters of the Social Gospel movement believed that competition caused many people to behave badly. The movement resulted in many churches providing social programs to help people.

   The Salvation Army provided help and religious counseling to poor people in the cities. The Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) tried to help the urban poor by setting up Bible studies, citizenship activities, and group activities. YMCAs quickly spread throughout the country. The facilities included gyms, swimming pools, and low-cost hotel rooms that were available on a temporary basis for those who needed them.

   Some reformers believed it was their duty as Christians to improve conditions for the poor. One such reformer was Jane Addams. She started settlement houses in poor city neighborhoods. Middle-class residents lived there and helped poor people, who were mostly immigrants. Addams started Hull House in Chicago. She inspired other people, such as Lillian Wald, to establish settlement houses across the country.

7. How did the YMCA try to help poor people in the cities?

• Public Education (page 357)

   The new industries that developed in the late 1800s needed workers who were trained and educated. As a result, the United States began to focus more on building schools in the late 1800s.
The number of public schools increased greatly after the Civil War. Public schools were especially important for immigrant children. It was there that they became Americanized, or knowledgeable about American culture. This Americanization, however, sometimes caused problems for immigrant children. Many parents worried that their children would forget their own cultural traditions. Some parents took their children out of the public schools. Other parents took their children out because they needed them to work to help the family survive.

Many people still did not have educational opportunities. Rural areas did not receive the same funds as urban schools. Many African Americans did not have equal educational opportunities. As a result, some started their own schools. Booker T. Washington was an important leader in this movement. He started the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama in 1881.

Schools helped prepare future workers for jobs that would get them out of poverty. Grammar schools stressed attendance, neatness, and efficiency. Vocational and technical schools taught skills that were needed in specific trades.

Colleges also increased in the late 1800s. This was partly due to the Morrill Land Grant Act. This law gave states federal land grants to start agricultural and mechanical colleges. Between 1870 and 1890, the number of students attending these colleges tripled.

Educational opportunities for women also expanded in the late 1800s. The start of private women’s colleges resulted in an increase in the number of women attending colleges.

Free libraries also made education available to people living in cities. Andrew Carnegie was a major supporter of public libraries, donating millions of dollars to building them.

8. Why did attending public schools sometimes create problems for immigrant children?
Key Terms and Names

- **Patronage**: system in which government jobs went to supporters of the winning party in an election (page 364)
- **Stalwarts**: politicians who opposed Hayes’s plan of ending patronage (page 365)
- **Pendleton Act**: a law which set up a system for filling government jobs based on passing an examination (page 365)
- **Rebates**: partial refunds (page 367)
- **Interstate Commerce Commission**: a commission created to regulate interstate trade (page 368)

Drawing from Experience

What problems are facing the president of the United States today? How is the president addressing these problems?

In this section, you will learn about the political conflicts between Democrats and Republicans in the 1880s. You will also learn about the economic problems facing the nation at that time.

Organizing Your Thoughts

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. President Grover Cleveland faced several problems during his administration. Identify the problems in the diagram.
READ TO LEARN

- **A Campaign to Clean Up Politics** *(page 364)*

  Under the spoils system, or *patronage*, government jobs were given to those who supported the winning party in an election. When Rutherford B. Hayes became president, he tried to stop patronage. He appointed reformers to his cabinet and got rid of people who received their jobs through party bosses. Some Republicans, called *Stalwarts*, opposed Hayes’s actions. They were angry with him because he ended Reconstruction, thereby letting Democrats regain control of the South. They called Hayes and other Republican reformers “Halfbreeds.”

  In the 1880 presidential election, the Republicans nominated James Garfield, a Halfbreed, for president and Chester Arthur, a Stalwart, for vice president. They won, but President Garfield was assassinated a few months into his presidency. He was killed by Charles Guiteau, a patronage job seeker, who was upset with Garfield’s policy against patronage.

  In response, Congress passed the *Pendleton Act* in 1883. This law allowed the president to decide which federal jobs would be filled according to rules set up by a Civil Service Commission. People applying for these jobs had to pass an exam. Once a person received the job, he or she could not be removed for political reasons. Although President Arthur was a Stalwart, he supported the Pendleton Act.

  6. How did Congress react to President Garfield’s assassination?

- **Two Parties, Neck and Neck** *(page 365)*

  In the 1870s and 1880s the Republican Party had support from the North and the Midwest. Former Union soldiers, Americans who were strongly patriotic, big business, and farmers on the Great Plains supported it. Because of its support for abolition, temperance, and other issues, the Republican Party was considered the party of reform.

  The Democrats gained support from the South, where white voters were anti-Republican because of the Civil War and Reconstruction. They also had support from big cities, where large numbers of Catholics and immigrants lived.
Between 1877 and 1896, the Democrats generally had more members in the House of Representatives, where each congressional district elected members directly. Republicans had more members in the Senate, because state legislatures chose senators and Republicans controlled a majority of state governments.

Most presidential elections during that time were very close. Twice during this time, a candidate lost the popular vote but won the election. Republicans won four of the six presidential elections between 1876 and 1896. However, the president had to deal with a House controlled by Democrats and a Senate controlled by Republicans who did not always agree with the president. In addition, at this time, local political bosses controlled the parties. With power divided almost equally between the two parties, Congress experienced deadlock on many issues.

7. Why did Republicans generally have more members in the Senate than the Democrats did?

8. Who were the Mugwumps?

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• Democrats Reclaim the White House (page 366)

In the 1884 presidential elections, Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland of New York. He had opposed Tammany Hall, the corrupt Democratic machine in New York City. The Republicans nominated James G. Blaine, a chairman of the Maine committee of the Republican Party. The campaigns focused on the moral character of the candidates.

Some Republican reformers were unhappy with Blaine as the Republican candidate. They left the party and supported Cleveland. These reformers became known as Mugwumps. Cleveland won the election.
A President Besieged by Problems (page 367)

President Cleveland faced many problems. When he was elected, he faced crowds of supporters who wanted to be rewarded with government jobs for their support. Mugwumps, on the other hand, expected him to increase the number of federal jobs to be covered under the civil service system. Cleveland chose a middle ground.

Unrest among the nation’s workers grew. Many strikes occurred, sometimes resulting in violence between the strikers and police. Americans were upset with the power of big business, particularly with the railroads. Some large corporations, such as Standard Oil, were able to negotiate rebates, or partial refunds, and lower their rates because of the large volume of goods they shipped. Those who did not ship large volumes had to pay much higher rates.

Many Americans, particularly farmers and owners of small businesses, believed railroads were gouging their customers. Many states had passed laws that regulated railroad freight rates. However, in 1886 the Supreme Court ruled that the state of Illinois could not regulate the rates that the Wabash Railroad charged. It ruled that only the federal government could regulate interstate trade. Congress responded in 1887 by passing the Interstate Commerce Act, which created the Interstate Commerce Commission. The law was the first to regulate interstate trade. It limited railroad rates, forbade rebates to high-volume users, and made it illegal to charge higher rates for shorter hauls. The commission, however, was not effective in regulating the railroads because it had to rely on the courts to enforce the rulings.

Tariffs were another issue facing the president. Many Democrats thought that Congress should cut tariffs because the taxes raised the cost of manufactured goods. Many people believed that tariffs were no longer necessary to protect the nation’s manufacturing because large American companies were now able to compete internationally. Democrats in the House passed tariff reductions. The Senate, however, rejected the bill in support of a high protective tariff.

9. How did Democrats and Republicans differ on the issue of tariffs?
• Republicans Regain Power (page 368)

The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison for president in 1888. He received large contributions from big businesses, which benefited from higher tariffs. Cleveland and the Democrats campaigned against high tariffs. Harrison lost the popular vote but won the electoral vote. After the election, Republicans controlled both the House and the Senate.

The Republicans addressed the tariff issue by passing the McKinley Tariff. This bill cut tobacco taxes and tariff rates on raw sugar while increasing rates on items such as textiles. The bill lowered federal revenue. The nation’s budget surplus became a deficit.

To curb the power of trusts, Congress passed the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. However, the courts saw nothing in the law that would require big companies to change the way they did business. By the election of 1890, many people began to believe that the two political parties could not solve the nation’s problems.

10. What was the effect of the Sherman Antitrust Act?
Study Guide

Chapter 11, Section 2

For use with textbook pages 372–379

POPULISM

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- **populism** the movement to increase farmers’ political power and to work for legislation in their interest (page 372)
- **greenback** paper currency that could not be exchanged for gold or silver coins (page 373)
- **inflation** a decline in the value of money (page 373)
- **deflation** an increase in the value of money and a decrease in the level of prices (page 373)
- **Grange** the first national farmers’ organization (page 374)
- **cooperatives** marketing organizations that worked for the benefit of their members (page 374)
- **People’s Party** party formed by members of the Farmers’ Alliance (page 375)
- **graduated income tax** a tax that taxed higher earnings more heavily (page 376)
- **goldbugs** Democrats who believed that the American currency should be based only on gold (page 378)
- **silverites** Democrats who believed coining silver in unlimited quantities would solve the nation’s economic crisis (page 378)
- **William Jennings Bryan** Democratic candidate in 1896 and a strong supporter of silver (page 378)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Have you ever visited a farm or know someone who owns one? What kind of work is done on a farm? What kind of problems do you think farmers face?

The last section described the conflicts between the Democrats and the Republicans. This section discusses why a new political party started in the 1890s.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram on the next page to help you take notes. Many farmers, frustrated with the lack of support for their issues from the two major political parties, supported the new People’s Party. List the issues the People’s Party ran on in the 1892 election.
Unrest in Rural America (page 372)

Populism was the movement to increase farmers’ political power and to work to pass laws in their interest. Shortly after the Civil War, technology helped farmers produce more crops. The increase in crops led to lower prices. At the same time, high tariffs increased the price of manufactured goods farmers needed. This made it harder for farmers to sell their products overseas. Farmers also felt that they were being treated unfairly by both the banks from which they obtained their loans and from the railroads.

The farmers were concerned about the nation’s money supply. To pay for the war, the United States had increased its money supply by issuing millions of dollars in greenbacks—paper currency that could not be exchanged for gold or silver coins. This increase in money supply without an increase in goods for sale led to inflation—a decline in the value of money. As the paper money lost its value, the prices of goods soared.

After the war, the United States had three types of currency—greenbacks, gold and silver coins, and bank notes backed by government bonds. The government stopped printing greenbacks to get inflation under control. It began paying off its bonds. Congress also decided to stop making silver into coins. As a result, the government did not have a large enough money supply to meet the needs of the economy. As the economy grew, deflation—or an increase in the value of money and a decrease in prices—began.

The farmers were particularly affected by deflation. They had to borrow money for seeds and supplies. With money in short supply, interest rates increased. This increased the amount of money that farmers owed. The falling prices due to deflation meant that farmers sold their crops for less. However, they still had to make the same loan payments. Farmers blamed the Eastern bankers for their condition. They believed that the bankers pressured Congress to reduce the money supply. Some farmers wanted the government to print more greenbacks to increase the money supply. Those who lived in the West, where silver mines were located, wanted the government to mint silver coins. Many farmers believed that the only way they could convince the government was to organize.
The first national farm organization was the Patrons of Husbandry. It was better known as the Grange. In 1873 the nation faced a recession and farm income fell drastically. Many farmers joined the Grange to get help.

The Grangers pressured state legislatures to regulate the railroads to reduce rates. Others joined the Greenback Party, which wanted the government to print more greenbacks to increase the money supply. Grangers also pooled their resources and created cooperatives, which were marketing organizations that worked for the benefit of their members. Farmers could not charge more for their crops because there were so many farmers in competition. So when they joined a cooperative, farmers pooled their crops and held them off the market in order to force the price up. A cooperative could also work for better shipping rates from railroads.

The Grangers’ strategies were not successful. The Greenback Party failed to get much support because many Americans did not believe that paper money could hold its value. The Grange’s cooperatives failed because they were too small to influence prices. Also, Eastern businesses refused to deal with them because they believed that they were too much like unions.

4. Why did farmers organize the Grange?

The Farmers’ Alliance (page 374)

By the late 1880s, a new organization known as the Farmers’ Alliance began to form. The Alliance was strong in the South and on the Great Plains. The Alliance organized large cooperatives called exchanges in hopes of increasing farm prices while making loans to farmers at low interest rates. These exchanges had some success.

However, overall the cooperatives failed. Many loaned too much money that was never repaid. They also were too small to affect world prices for farm goods. Soon, conflict started among members of the Alliance. Alliance members in the West wanted to form a new party and push for political reforms. They formed the People’s Party, also known as the Populists. The party nominated candidates to run for Congress and the state legislature.

Most Southern members of the Alliance did not want to form a third party. They wanted the Democrats to keep control of the South. Instead, they wanted to produce a list of demands and promise to vote for candidates who supported the demands. They also introduced the subtreasury plan.
the plan, the government would set up warehouses called subtreasuries. Farmers would store their crops there, and the government would provide loans to the farmers at low interest rates. The members believed that storing the crops would allow farmers to keep their crops off the market in large enough quantities to force prices up.

5. What was the purpose of the subtreasury plan?

• The Rise of Populism (page 375)

In 1890 the Farmers’ Alliance met in Ocala, Florida, and set up the Ocala Demands. The demands were to help farmers decide whom to vote for in 1890. The demands called for the adoption of the subtreasury plan, the free coinage of silver, an end to tariffs and the national bank, regulation of the railroads, and direct election of senators instead of by state legislatures.

Both the Southern and Western plans of the Alliance had worked. In the South, many Democratic governors and state legislators who were elected promised to support the demands of the Alliance. In the West, the People’s Party took control of some state legislatures and some were elected to the House of Representatives and to the Senate.

Many southern members of the Alliance soon realized that they could not count on Democrats to work for their programs. Many broke with the Democrats and joined the People’s Party. The party held its first national convention in Omaha, Nebraska, in July 1892. It nominated James B. Weaver to run for president. The Populists wanted the government to coin silver to increase the money supply. It wanted a graduated income tax, one that taxed higher earnings more heavily. The Populists also believed that the government should take a greater role in regulating big business. Although the Populists supported many of the positions that labor unions had, most urban workers continued to support the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party nominated Grover Cleveland as their presidential candidate. He won easily. However, James Weaver did very well, winning four states and 22 electoral votes.

In 1893 the United States entered a serious economic crisis. Many railroad companies had expanded too quickly and were unable to repay their loans. They declared bankruptcy. The stock market crashed, and banks closed. By 1894 the economy was in a depression. As the nation’s economy worsened, many foreign investors started cashing in their U.S. government bonds for gold. This left the government with a very small gold reserve. Gold was also
being lost every time people exchanged silver for gold under the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. As a result, in 1893, President Cleveland asked Congress to repeal that law. His actions split the Democrats into two groups. The gold-bugs believed the American currency should be based only on gold. The silverites believed coining silver in unlimited quantities would solve the nation’s economic problems.

6. Why did many members of the Southern Farmers’ Alliance break with the Democratic Party?

**The Election of 1896 (page 378)**

In the 1896 presidential election, the Republicans supported a gold standard. The Populists hoped that pro-silver Democrats would vote for Populists. However, the Democrats nominated William Jennings Bryan, a supporter of silver, as their candidate. As a result, the Populists decided to support Bryan instead of nominating their own candidate.

Bryan was a forceful speaker. He ran an energetic campaign, traveling thousands of miles and making hundreds of speeches. Republicans knew that Bryan would be difficult to beat in the West and the South. They knew that they had to win in the Northeast and in the Midwest. They nominated William McKinley. Most urban workers and business leaders supported the Republicans. McKinley won the election.

In 1896 gold was discovered in Alaska and in Canada’s Yukon Territory. This helped to increase the money supply without turning to silver. Credit became easier to get and the farmers’ situation improved. In 1900 the United States officially adopted a gold-based currency when it passed the Gold Standard Act.

When the silver issue died out, the Populists lost much of their energy. They had not been successful in helping the farmers or in regulating big business. However, some of the reforms that they wanted, such as the graduated income tax, came later.

7. From what parts of the country did Bryan and McKinley gain support during the 1896 presidential election?
**THE RISE OF SEGREGATION**

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **sharecroppers** landless farmers who had to give landlords large portions of their crops to cover rent and supplies (*page 381*)
- **poll tax** a fee required to register to vote (*page 382*)
- **grandfather clause** a clause that allowed people to vote if their ancestors had voted in 1867 (*page 382*)
- **segregation** separation of the races (*page 382*)
- **Jim Crow laws** laws that enforced segregation (*page 382*)
- **lynching** an execution without proper court proceedings (*page 383*)
- **Ida B. Wells** African American woman who started a crusade against lynching (*page 383*)
- **W.E.B. Du Bois** African American leader who believed that African Americans could obtain full equality only by demanding their rights (*page 384*)

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

What is racism? Can you name prominent Americans who have spoken out against racism? What was their message?

The last section discussed the organization of farmers into a new political party. This section discusses the discrimination that African Americans faced in the late 1800s.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Southern states went around the Fifteenth Amendment to prevent African Americans from voting. List and describe the methods they used.

1. **Ways of Denying Voting Rights**
2. 
3. 

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*The American Republic Since 1877*
READ TO LEARN

**Resistance and Repression** *(page 380)*

After Reconstruction, many African Americans in the South lived in conditions that were similar to slavery. Although they were technically free, many could not escape poverty. Most African Americans were **sharecroppers**, or landless farmers who had to hand over a large part of their crops to the landlord to pay for rent and supplies. Because they were always in debt, many African Americans left farming to look for jobs or to claim homesteads in the West.

In 1879 thousands of African Americans migrated from the South to Kansas. They became known as Exodusters. Some African Americans did not move but joined with poor white farmers in the Farmers’ Alliance. In 1886 a group of African Americans formed their own organization called the Colored Farmers’ National Alliance. This organization worked to help its members set up cooperatives. Many members joined the Populist Party when it formed in 1891. They hoped that by joining poor whites with poor African Americans, they could challenge the Democrats in the South.

The Democrats feared that if enough poor whites left the party and joined the African American Populists, that combination might become unbeatable. As a result, the Democrats began to appeal to racism. They warned whites that joining African Americans in the Populist Party would bring back “Black Republican” rule like that during Reconstruction. Democrats were also making it more difficult for African Americans to vote.

4. How did Democrats try to prevent poor whites from joining the African American Populists?

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**Disfranchising African Americans** *(page 382)*

The Fifteenth Amendment said that states could not deny people the right to vote because of race or color. It did not, however, say that states could not require that citizens had to know how to read and write or had to own property in order to vote. Southern states began to use this loophole to prevent African Americans from voting.

Some Southern states began requiring that all citizens pay a $2 poll tax. Most poor African Americans could not afford to do so and were, therefore, not allowed to vote. Some states required that voters had to prove that they could read and write. Because the literacy rate for those who had grown up
under slavery was less than 20 percent, many failed the test. Some African Americans who did know how to read and write failed because they were deliberately given complicated passages that few could understand. As a result of these restrictions, the number of African Americans registered to vote fell dramatically between 1890 and 1900.

Election officials did not apply these laws as strictly to poor whites. Some states gave whites a break by introducing a **grandfather clause**. This allowed any man to vote if he had an ancestor who voted in 1867. The clause made almost all former enslaved Africans ineligible to vote.

5. What was the effect of the voting restrictions that were placed on African Americans in the South?

• Legalizing Segregation (page 382)

African Americans faced discrimination in the North as well as in the South. They were often not allowed in public places used by whites. In the South, laws enforced **segregation**, or separation of the races. These laws were known as **Jim Crow laws**. The Civil Rights Act of 1875 prohibited keeping people out of public places and prohibited racial discrimination when selecting jurors. Whites challenged the law in both the North and the South. In 1883 the Supreme Court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment said that no **state** could deny people equal protection under the laws. The Court said that private places and organizations could practice segregation.

After the ruling, Southern states passed laws that enforced segregation in all public places. Southern whites and African Americans could no longer ride in the same railroad cars or drink from the same drinking fountains. Restrooms and hotels were segregated. In 1892 an African American named Homer Plessy was arrested for riding in a railroad car that was designated for whites only. He challenged the law as being unconstitutional. Judge John H. Ferguson rejected that argument. In 1896 the Supreme Court ruled in **Plessy v. Ferguson** that the Louisiana law was constitutional. The ruling supported the idea of “separate but equal” facilities for African Americans. However, although facilities for African Americans were separate, they were almost always inferior to those for whites.
In addition to the Jim Crow laws, African Americans faced mob violence from whites. The incidences of lynchings—executions without proper court proceedings—by mobs increased. More than 80 percent of the lynchings happened in the South and most of the victims were African Americans.

6. What was the effect of the Supreme Court’s ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*?

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• The African American Response *(page 383)*

In the 1890s, **Ida B. Wells**, an African American woman from Tennessee, started a campaign against lynching. She worked to get courts to bring those accused of violence against African Americans to trial and to punish them after they were convicted.

Booker T. Washington believed that the way to stop discrimination was for African Americans to concentrate on economic goals rather than on political ones. He believed that African Americans should postpone the fight for civil rights and focus on education and vocations to prepare themselves economically for equality.

Other African Americans, such as **W.E.B. Du Bois**, challenged Washington’s ideas. Du Bois pointed out that the civil rights of African Americans continued to be taken away even after they had educational and vocational training. He believed that the only way African Americans could achieve full equality was by demanding their rights, particularly voting rights.

European nations began overseas expansion.

1. 
2. 
3.

European nations began overseas expansion.
• Building Support for Imperialism (page 392)

In the 1880s, many Americans wanted to make the United States a world power. At the time, several European nations were expanding overseas. This expansion became known as imperialism. It is the economic and political domination of a strong nation over other weaker nations.

The Europeans began expanding for several reasons. By the late 1800s, high tariffs had helped to reduce trade between industrial countries. This led these countries to look overseas for markets for their products. The possibilities for investment in Europe had slowed. Most of the industries that needed to be built already had been. As a result, Europeans began investing in industries in other countries, especially in Africa and Asia. To protect their investments in these territories, the European countries began exercising control there. Some areas became colonies, while other areas became protectorates. In a protectorate, the imperial power allowed the local rulers to stay in control and protected them against rebellion or invasion. However, in exchange for the protection, the local rulers had to follow advice from Europeans on how to govern.

The United States also became interested in expanding overseas. Before the late 1800s, the United States expanded by settling more territory in North America. With most of the frontier settled by the late 1800s, many Americans looked to develop overseas markets.

Many Americans used the ideas of Social Darwinism—that the strongest nations would survive—to defend overseas expansion. Some took the idea even further, stating that English-speaking nations had superior character and systems of government and were therefore destined to control other nations. This idea became known as Anglo-Saxonism.

4. Why did Americans become interested in expanding overseas in the late 1800s?

• Expansion in the Pacific (page 394)

In the 1800s, many Americans began looking to expand across the Pacific Ocean. Business leaders wanted to trade with Japan and China. Japan’s leaders believed that contact with the West would destroy Japanese culture. As a result, they allowed their nation to trade only with the Chinese and the Dutch.
In 1852 President Franklin Pierce decided to force Japan to trade with the United States. He sent Commodore Matthew C. Perry to take a naval expedition to negotiate a treaty with Japan. Perry entered the Japanese waters with four American warships. The Japanese were impressed by American technology and power. They realized that they could not compete against modern Western technology. As a result, the Japanese opened two ports to American trade. They also decided to Westernize their country by starting their own industrial revolution. By the 1890s, the Japanese set out to build their own empire in Asia.

In addition to being interested in China and Japan, Americans became interested in Hawaii. At first, missionaries settled there. Then American whaling ships operating in the North Pacific began using Hawaii as a base. Americans soon discovered that the soil and climate of Hawaii were suitable for growing sugarcane. By the mid-1800s, many sugarcane plantations had been started there. In 1875 the United States signed a treaty that exempted Hawaiian sugar from tariffs. This led to a boom in the Hawaiian sugar industry and wealth for the planters. In 1887 the planters pressured the Hawaiian king into signing a constitution that would limit the king’s power but increase the planters’ power. This angered the Hawaiian people.

When Congress passed the McKinley Tariff in 1890, it eliminated all taxes on sugar. However, it also gave subsidies to sugar producers in the United States. This meant that Hawaiian sugar was now more expensive than American sugar. This caused the sales of Hawaiian sugar to decrease and the Hawaiian economy to weaken.

In 1891 Queen Liliuokalani became the Hawaiian queen. She disliked the influence that Americans were gaining in Hawaii, and tried to create a new constitution that reestablished her authority as a ruler of the Hawaiian people. The planters responded by overthrowing the government and forcing the queen to give up her power. They then set up their own government and asked the United States to annex the islands.

5. How did American planters react to Queen Liliuokalani’s attempt to reestablish her authority?
Trade and Diplomacy in Latin America (page 395)

The United States also wanted to increase the sale of its products to Latin America. They wanted Europeans to see the United States as the dominant power in Latin America. In 1889 the United States invited the Latin American nations to a conference in Washington, D.C., to discuss ways in which the nations could work together to increase trade. The idea of working together became known as **Pan-Americanism.** The nations in the conference agreed to create an organization that worked to promote cooperation among the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

6. Why did the United States invite Latin American nations to a conference?

Building a Modern Navy (page 396)

In the late 1800s, the United States began taking a more assertive role in foreign affairs. The nation was more willing to risk war to defend its interests overseas. Many people, particularly Captain **Alfred T. Mahan,** believed that the United States needed a powerful navy. Mahan believed that a nation needed a large navy to protect its merchant ships and to defend its right to trade with other countries. Mahan also believed that building a large navy made it necessary for the United States to get territory for naval bases overseas.

In Congress, two senators, including **Henry Cabot Lodge,** pushed to build a strong navy. By the late 1890s, the United States was on its way to becoming one of the world’s big naval powers.

7. What did Captain Alfred T. Mahan believe?
THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

José Martí    leader of Cuban rebels fighting for independence from Spain (page 400)

William Randolph Hearst    publisher of the New York Journal, whose sensational reporting led to U.S. support of Cuba (page 400)

Joseph Pulitzer    publisher of the New York World, whose sensational reporting led to U.S. support of Cuba (page 400)

yellow journalism    sensationalist reporting in which writers often exaggerate or make up stories to attract readers (page 400)

jingoism    an attitude of aggressive nationalism (page 401)

Theodore Roosevelt    one of the leaders of the Rough Riders (page 401)

Platt Amendment    an amendment added to the Cuban constitution that ensured that Cuba would remain tied to the United States (page 405)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What do you know about Cuba? What relationship does the United States have with Cuba today?

The last section explained the reasons the United States began expanding overseas. This section discusses the Spanish-American War and the results of the war.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. After the Spanish-American War, the U.S. had to decide what to do with the Philippines. Describe the arguments for and against annexing the Philippines.

Arguments for Annexing the Philippines

1.  2.  3.

Arguments Against Annexing the Philippines

4.  5.  6.  7.  8.
On February 1898 the U.S.S. Maine blew up in the harbor in Havana, Cuba. No one is sure why it happened. Some experts believe that the ship’s ammunition supply accidentally blew up. Others think a mine had exploded near the ship and had set off the ammunition. Many Americans blamed the explosion on Spain.

At the time, Cuba was fighting for independence from Spain. In 1878 the rebellion collapsed. Many rebels, including José Martí, fled to the United States. Martí lived in New York City and brought together many other Cuban exiles living in the United States. They raised money to buy weapons. They also trained their troops to prepare an invasion of Cuba.

By the 1890s, the United States and Cuba had become linked economically. The United States imported sugar from Cuba. Americans had invested millions of dollars in Cuba’s railroads and sugar plantations. However, when the United States placed a tariff on imported sugar, the sale of Cuban sugar in the United States fell. The Cuban economy was devastated. Martí and his followers started a rebellion in February 1895. They took control of eastern Cuba and declared Cuba independent.

At first the United States government stayed neutral. However, many Americans supported the Cuban rebels. Americans were especially influenced by the gruesome stories of Spanish brutality that they read about in the newspapers. The New York Journal, published by William Randolph Hearst, and the New York World, published by Joseph Pulitzer, reported outrageous stories of how the Spanish were treating the Cubans. This sensational reporting of exaggerated and sometimes untrue stories written to attract readers became known as yellow journalism.

Although many stories were exaggerated, the Cubans did suffer under the Spanish. Cuban rebels carried out raids, burning plantations and sugar mills and destroying railroads. They knew that many Americans invested in the plantations and the railroads. They hoped that destroying this property would lead the United States to intervene in the war. The governor of Cuba, who was appointed by Spain, wanted to prevent Cuban villagers from helping the rebels. So he placed hundreds of thousands of villagers—men, women, and children—into reconcentration camps. Thousands died of starvation and disease in these camps. When Americans heard about this brutality, they called for American intervention on behalf of the Cubans.

President McKinley did not want the United States to get involved. He asked Spain if the United States could help negotiate an end to the problem. The Spanish government responded by removing the Spanish governor. They offered Cuba self-rule but only if it remained part of the Spanish empire. The Cubans refused, because they wanted full independence.
In January 1898, people loyal to Spain rioted in Havana. President McKinley was worried that American citizens there might be attacked, so he sent the battleship Maine to Havana in case the Americans had to be evacuated. In February 1898, the New York Journal published a private letter that the Spanish ambassador to the United States had sent. The letter described McKinley as being weak. Many Americans were angry about the insult. Then the Maine exploded, and Americans quickly blamed Spain. Many young members of the president’s political party held attitudes of aggressive nationalism, or jingoism. They pressured the president to declare war on Spain, which he did on April 11, 1898. On April 19, Congress declared Cuba independent. It demanded that Spain withdraw from Cuba and gave the president the authority to use armed forces. Spain then declared war on the United States.

9. How did American newspapers contribute to Americans’ feelings against Spain?

• A War on Two Fronts (pages 401–403)

Spain was not prepared for war. However, the United States Navy was ready for war. A navy fleet blockaded Cuba. Another fleet in the Pacific was ordered to attack the Spanish fleet in the Philippines to prevent the fleet from attacking the United States. Under the command of Commodore George Dewey, the navy quickly overwhelmed the Spanish warships. Surprised by the quick victory, the U.S. army sent about 20,000 troops to the Philippines.

In the meantime, Filipinos were staging a rebellion against Spanish rule in the Philippines. The rebellion was led by Emilio Aguinaldo. At first Aguinaldo believed that the American troops would help him. However, he soon became suspicious of the Americans. The Americans quickly took Manila, the capital of the Philippines, from the Spanish. However, they refused to let the rebel troops into the city. They also refused to recognize Aguinaldo’s rebel government. Hostility between the rebels and the Americans grew.

The U.S. army was not as ready for war as the navy was. The army did not have the resources necessary to train the volunteers. Training camps had unsanitary conditions, and many Americans died from disease. On June 14, 1898, about 17,000 soldiers landed in Cuba, in the city of Santiago. In addition to the troops, a volunteer cavalry regiment from the United States advanced into Santiago. They were a group of cowboys, miners, and law officers known as the “Rough Riders.” Their commander was Leonard Wood, and the second
in command was Theodore Roosevelt. He had resigned from the government to join the cavalry.

The Rough Riders and the army troops defeated the Spanish in two battles. The victories panicked the Spanish commander in Santiago, who ordered the Spanish fleet in the harbor to leave. As the ships left the harbor, the American warships attacked them and sank every ship. The Spanish occupying Santiago surrendered. Soon American troops occupied the Spanish colony of Puerto Rico. On August 12, 1898, Spain and the United States agreed to a cease-fire.

10. Why did hostilities develop between Emilio Aguinaldo and the United States?

• An American Empire is Born (page 403)

After the war, Cuba obtained its freedom, and the United States annexed Guam and Puerto Rico. The question that remained was what to do with the Philippines. Some Americans pushed for annexing the Philippines. They believed that the Philippines would have economic and military benefits. They would also give the United States a naval base in Asia and a market for American goods. Some people believed it was America’s duty to teach “less civilized” people how to live properly.

Some Americans opposed annexation. Some thought it would be too expensive to keep an empire. Others believed that cheap Filipino labor would drive down wages. Some believed that imperialism went against American principles.

The United States and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898. Under the treaty, Cuba became independent and the United States got Puerto Rico and Guam. The United States also agreed to pay $20 million to annex the Philippines. The United States now became an imperial power.

Aguinaldo viewed the annexation of the Philippines as an aggressive act. He ordered his troops to attack the American soldiers stationed in the Philippines. To fight the guerrillas, the United States army did some of the same things that the Spanish did in Cuba. They set up reconcentration camps to separate the guerrillas from the people who supported them. Thousands of Filipinos died in these camps.

In the meantime, William Howard Taft, the first U.S. civilian governor of the islands, tried to win over the people by introducing reforms. New bridges, railroads, and telegraph lines helped the economy. The United States helped
set up a public school system. New health care policies helped eliminate certain diseases. These reforms helped to decrease the Filipino hostility towards the United States. Filipino resistance ended by April 1902. Over the years, the United States gave the Filipinos more control in governing their own country. It finally granted independence to the Philippines in 1946.

The United States had to figure out how to govern Puerto Rico. At first Congress made Puerto Rico an unincorporated territory. This meant that Puerto Ricans were not citizens and had no constitutional rights. It also meant that Congress could pass whatever laws it wanted for Puerto Rico.

Congress gradually gave Puerto Rico some self-government. Puerto Ricans were made citizens of the United States in 1917. In 1947 the island was given the right to elect its own governor. The debate over whether Puerto Rico should become a state, an independent country, or remain a Commonwealth of the United States continues today.

After the Spanish-American War, the United States set up a military government in Cuba. Many Americans did not support giving Cuba its independence. They believed that Cubans would not be able to govern themselves. Others believed that if it became independent, Cuba would be taken over by some other imperial power. President McKinley supported Cuban independence. However, he made sure that Cuba would remain tied to the United States. He allowed the Cubans to set up a new constitution, but he set up conditions. These conditions became known as the Platt Amendment. It said that Cuba could not make any treaty with another nation that would weaken its independence. Cuba could not allow a foreign power to get territory in Cuba. Cuba had to let the United States lease naval stations in Cuba. Cuba’s debts had to stay low so that foreign countries would not try to invade it to get their payments. The United States had the right to intervene to protect Cuban independence.

The Cubans opposed the Platt Amendment. However, they did not want the United States to keep its military government there. So they added the amendment to their constitution. The Platt Amendment had in actuality made Cuba a protectorate of the United States.

11. Why did the Cubans agree to include the Platt Amendment in their constitution?
NEW AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

sphere of influence an area in a country where a foreign nation controlled economic development (page 410)

Open Door policy a policy in which all countries were allowed to trade in China (page 410)

Boxer Rebellion a rebellion led by a Chinese secret society to rid China of foreign control (page 411)

“Great White Fleet” battleships of the United States Navy sent around the world to show America’s military power (page 411)

Hay-Pauncefote Treaty the treaty that gave the United States the exclusive right to build and control a canal through Central America (page 412)

Roosevelt Corollary an addition to the Monroe Doctrine, in which President Roosevelt stated that the United States would intervene in Latin American affairs when necessary to maintain economic and political stability in the Western Hemisphere (page 413)

dollar diplomacy President Taft’s policy of influencing Latin American and Asian nations through American businesses rather than military force (page 413)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What countries today are considered world powers? What do you think helps to make the United States a world power?

The last section discussed the lands acquired by the United States after the Spanish-American War. This section discusses the role of President Theodore Roosevelt’s administration in foreign affairs.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the chart below to help you take notes. President Roosevelt wanted to make the United States a world power. List the ways in which he attempted to do so.

Ways Roosevelt Helped Make the U.S. a World Power

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 

The American Republic Since 1877

209
READ TO LEARN

• Theodore Roosevelt’s Rise to Power (page 408)

In the election of 1900, President McKinley once again ran against William Jennings Bryan. He asked Theodore Roosevelt to run as his vice president. McKinley won the election by a wide margin. On September 6, 1901, as President McKinley was making a public appearance in Buffalo, New York, he was shot by Leon Czolgosz, an anarchist who opposed all forms of government. McKinley died a few days later of his wounds. Theodore Roosevelt, just 42 years of age, became the youngest person ever to become president. Many Republicans chose Roosevelt to be McKinley’s running mate because they hoped that the powerless position would quiet him down. Now they were worried about having a headstrong person in the White House.

Roosevelt was an energetic president. Although often sick as a child, Roosevelt pushed himself to overcome his frailties. He became a marksman and an excellent horseback rider. He also boxed and wrestled. As president, Roosevelt believed in making the United States a world power.

5. What event made Theodore Roosevelt president of the United States?

• American Diplomacy in Asia (page 409)

By 1899 the United States had bases all across the Pacific Ocean and was a major power in Asia. The United States was very interested in developing trade in Asia. By 1900 American exports to China had quadrupled.

In 1894 China and Japan went to war over Korea, which was part of the Chinese empire. The United States expected China to win easily, but Japan easily defeated China. The peace treaty that ended the war gave Korea its independence. It also gave Japan a part of Manchuria. The defeat of China showed other nations that it was weaker than everyone thought.

Japan’s increasing power worried Russia. They did not want Japan to have territory in Manchuria because it bordered Russia. The Russians forced Japan to return the part of Manchuria it got from China. Then Russia demanded that China lease that part of Manchuria to Russia instead. Leasing the territory meant that it would still belong to China but it would be under Russia’s control. Then Germany, France, and Britain also wanted China to lease territory to them. Each part that was leased became the center of a sphere of influence. This is an area where a foreign nation controlled economic development such as mining and railroad building.
The United States supported an **Open Door policy**, in which all countries would be allowed to trade with China. The United States Secretary of State John Hay called on all nations who had leaseholds in China to keep the Chinese ports open to ships of all nations.

In the meantime, secret Chinese societies were working to rid China of foreign control. One of these groups was the Boxers. In 1900 in the **Boxer Rebellion**, members of the organization seized foreign embassies in Beijing and killed more than 200 foreigners. An international force, including U.S. soldiers, crushed the rebellion. Some nations wanted to use the rebellion as an excuse to divide China among themselves. However, the country was never broken up into colonies, and the United States continued its trade with China.

President Roosevelt supported the Open Door policy. He did not want any single nation to monopolize trade there. For this reason, Roosevelt stepped in to negotiate a peace treaty between Japan and Russia in 1905 in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He persuaded Russia to recognize the territories that Japan had gained. He persuaded Japan to stop fighting and to not try and gain more territory.

After the treaty, relations between Japan and the United States worsened. The two nations both looked to gain influence in Asia. Through several agreements, they agreed to respect each other’s possessions and to uphold the Open Door policy in China. In 1907 President Roosevelt sent 16 battleships of the United States Navy, known as the **“Great White Fleet,”** on a trip around the world to show the military power of the United States. The fleet made a stop in Japan, which increased the tensions between the two countries.

6. Why did President Roosevelt send the “Great White Fleet” on a trip around the world?

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- **A Growing Presence in the Caribbean** *(page 412)*

Roosevelt believed that if the United States displayed its power, it would make other nations think twice about fighting. He believed in the West African saying, “Speak softly and carry a big stick.” He applied the “big stick” policy in the Caribbean. In 1903 Roosevelt purchased the Panama Canal Zone. He believed that a canal through Central America was important to American power in the world. It would save time and money in shipping.
In 1901 the United States and Great Britain signed the **Hay-Pauncefote Treaty.** The treaty gave the United States the exclusive right to build and control a canal through Central America. The United States decided to build a canal through Panama. In 1903 Panama was still a part of Colombia. Secretary of State Hay offered Colombia $10 million and a yearly rent for the right to build a canal and control a strip of land on either side of it. The Colombian government refused the offer.

The Panamanians wanted the benefits of having a canal. They also did not want to be under Colombian control. As a result, Panamanian officials decided that the only way to get the canal was to declare independence from Colombia and make its own deal with the United States. A small army staged an uprising in Panama against Colombia. President Roosevelt sent ships to Panama to prevent Colombia from interfering. The United States recognized Panama’s independence, and the two nations signed a treaty allowing the canal to be built. Protesters in the United States and in Latin America condemned the nation’s actions. Roosevelt justified U.S. actions by stating that the canal shortened the distance from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean by about 8,000 nautical miles.

In 1904 President Roosevelt expanded his “big stick” diplomacy. In an address to Congress he declared the **Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine.** In it, he said that the United States would intervene in Latin American affairs when necessary to help keep the Western Hemisphere economically and politically stable.

The United States applied the Roosevelt Corollary in the Dominican Republic. The nation had fallen behind in paying its debts to European nations. In 1905 the United States took on the responsibility of collecting tariffs in the Dominican Republican. Latin American nations resented the extent of American involvement in the Caribbean. President William Howard Taft, Roosevelt’s successor, continued Roosevelt’s policies. Taft focused more on helping the region’s industries than on military force. He believed that helping the industries would increase U.S. trade, increase American businesses’ profits, and help get Latin American countries out of poverty. Taft’s policy became known as **dollar diplomacy.**

7. Why did President Roosevelt want to build a canal across Panama?
Study Guide
Chapter 13, Section 1
For use with textbook pages 418–425

THE ROOTS OF PROGRESSIVISM

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

**progressivism** reform movement that believed the solution to social problems lay in a more active role on the part of government (page 419)

**muckrakers** journalists who investigated social conditions and political corruption (page 419)

**Jacob Riis** muckraker who wrote about the poor conditions facing many immigrant neighborhoods in New York City (page 419)

**commission plan** a system of city government in which a board of commissioners with expertise in city services hires specialists to run city departments (page 420)

**Robert La Follette** Republican governor of Wisconsin who attacked the way political parties ran their conventions and introduced the direct primary (page 421)

**direct primary** a party election in which all party members could vote for a candidate to run in the general election (page 421)

**initiative** a reform that allowed a group of citizens to introduce legislation and required the legislature to vote on it (page 421)

**referendum** a reform that allowed proposed legislation to be submitted to the voters for approval (page 421)

**recall** a reform that allowed voters to demand a special election to remove an elected official from office before his or her term had expired (page 421)

**suffrage** the right to vote (page 421)

**Alice Paul** suffragist who formed the National Woman’s Party (page 422)

**temperance** the moderation or elimination of alcohol (page 425)

**prohibition** laws banning the manufacture, sale, and consumption of alcohol (page 425)

**socialism** the idea that the government should own and operate industry for the community as a whole (page 425)

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

Imagine that you are a reporter for a newspaper. What issues do you think would be important for you to report on? Why would these issues be important for people in your community to be aware of?

In this section, you will learn about the development of the Progressive movement. You will also learn how progressives attempted to solve the nation’s social problems.
ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Progressives worked to reform several aspects of American society. Explain the reforms they made in each of the four areas listed.

PROGRESSIVE REFORMS

- Government Efficiency
  1. __________
  2. __________
  3. __________

- Extending Democracy
  4. __________
  5. __________
  6. __________
  7. __________
  8. __________

- Social Problems
  9. __________
  10. __________

- Big Business

READ TO LEARN

• The Rise of Progressivism (page 418)

The time in American history from about 1890 to 1920 is known as the Progressive Era. Progressivism was not a single political movement. It was a collection of ideas and views about how to fix the nation’s problems.

Most progressives believed that industrialism and urbanization had caused many social problems. Although progressives focused on a variety of issues, they all believed that a more active role on the part of government was the solution to most of society’s problems. Progressives belonged to both major political parties. Most were urban, educated middle-class Americans. Many worked as journalists, educators, and politicians.

Many progressives believed people could improve society because they had a strong faith in science and expertise. They believed that society could fix its problems by applying scientific principles to society.

Several journalists were the first to express Progressive ideas. These journalists, known as muckrakers, investigated social conditions and political corruption. They uncovered corruption in many areas. Some investigated the unfair practices of large American corporations. Ida Tarbell published articles about the practices of the Standard Oil Company. Some muckrakers investigated the
government. Lincoln Steffens reported on vote stealing and other corrupt practices of political machines. Other muckrakers focused on social problems. Jacob Riis wrote about the poverty and disease that were part of many immigrant neighborhoods in New York City. The work of the muckrakers put pressure on politicians to start reforms.

11. What did most progressives believe was the cause of the nation’s social problems?

• Making Government Efficient (page 420)

One group of progressives focused on making the government more efficient. These progressives took their ideas from business. They believed that businesses became efficient by applying the ideas of scientific management. Efficiency progressives believed that governing a modern city required experts, not politicians. In most cities, the mayor or city council chose the heads of the city’s departments. These jobs generally went to political supporters and friends. These people often knew nothing about managing these departments.

Efficiency progressives wanted to replace this system with a commission plan or council-manager system of government. A board of commissioners or a city manager who had a background in city services would hire specialists to run city departments. Galveston, Texas, took on the commission system in 1901. Other cities soon followed.

12. From where did efficiency progressives get their ideas on how to run city government?

• Democracy and Progressivism (page 421)

Some progressives did not agree with efficiency progressives. They believed that society needed more democracy. They believed that elected officials should be more open to voters’ concerns. Robert La Follette was the governor of Wisconsin. He used his office to oppose the way that political parties ran their conventions. At this time, party bosses controlled which candidates were chosen to run for office. La Follette pushed the state legislature to require each
party to hold a **direct primary.** This is a party election in which all party members could vote for a candidate to run in the general election.

Progressives in other states pushed for similar changes. Three reforms were introduced. The **initiative** allowed a group of citizens to introduce laws and require the legislature to vote on them. The **referendum** allowed proposed laws to be submitted to the voters for approval. The **recall** allowed voters to demand a special election to remove an elected official from office before his or her term had expired.

Another reform affected the federal government. This was the direct election of senators. The United States Constitution provided for each state legislature to elect two senators from that state. Often, political machines or trusts influenced the election of senators. The senators repaid them by awarding federal contracts and jobs. To stop this corruption, some progressives called for the direct election of senators by state voters. In 1913 Congress passed the Seventeenth Amendment, which provided for the direct election of senators.

13. What election reform did Robert La Follette introduce?

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- **The Suffrage Movement (page 421)**

  The first women’s rights convention met in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. It was organized by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. They believed that the top priority of the convention should be getting women the right to vote. The movement for gaining voting rights became known as the suffrage movement. **Suffrage** is the right to vote. Many progressives joined the woman suffrage movement.

  When Congress introduced the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution to protect voting rights of African Americans, some suffragists wanted the amendments worded to also give women the right to vote. The Republicans refused to do so. The debate over the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments split the suffrage movement. One group, the National Woman Suffrage Association, was led by Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. This group wanted Congress to pass a constitutional amendment to guarantee woman suffrage. The other group, the American Woman Suffrage Association, was led by Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe. This group wanted state governments to give women the right to vote. The split made the movement less effective.

  In 1890 the two groups joined to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). The organization had a slow start, partly
because it was difficult to convince many women to become politically active. However, many women realized that they needed to have the right to vote to push for social reforms that they wanted passed. Many working-class women wanted the vote to push for labor laws that would protect women.

The suffrage movement began lobbying lawmakers and organizing marches. Alice Paul, who headed NAWSA’s congressional committee, had organized a march in Washington, D.C. She wanted the march to push President Wilson to act on behalf of suffrage. Some people in NAWSA who wanted to work with the president opposed Paul’s actions. Paul then left NAWSA and formed the National Woman’s Party.

Carrie Chapman Catt became NAWSA’s leader in 1915. She threw the organization’s support behind Wilson in the 1916 presidential election. Although Wilson did not support a suffrage amendment, he supported the call for states to grant women the right to vote. As more people pushed for woman suffrage, Congress began to support a constitutional amendment. Finally, in June 1919, the Senate passed the Nineteenth Amendment. It was ratified by the states in 1920.

14. How did the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association differ regarding gaining suffrage for women?

Social Welfare Progressivism (page 423)

Many progressives focused on social problems. One problem involved child labor. In 1900 more than 1.7 million children under the age of 16 worked outside the home, often in unhealthy and unsafe conditions. Muckrakers described the harsh conditions for children working in coal mines. These reports convinced many states to pass laws that set a minimum age for employment. It set limits on child labor, such as maximum hours children could work. By the early 1900s, the number of child workers had decreased.

Working conditions were also difficult for adults. During the early 1900s, thousands of workers were injured or died on the job. They and their families received little compensation. Progressives and union leaders pushed states for workers’ compensation laws. These laws set up insurance funds that were paid for by employers. Workers who were hurt on the job received payments from these funds.
Some progressives pushed for zoning laws. These laws divided a city into zones for specific uses. They regulated how land and buildings could be used. Building codes set minimum requirements for air, fire escapes, room size, and sanitation in tenements. Health codes required that restaurants keep a clean environment for their customers.

Some progressives believed that alcohol was responsible for many problems in society. Some employers believed that drinking hurt workers’ effectiveness. Many Christians opposed drinking on moral grounds. All these concerns led to the start of the temperance movement. It called for the moderation or elimination of alcohol.

Women were the main leaders of the temperance movement. In 1874 they formed the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). At first the movement worked to reduce alcohol consumption. Soon, however, it pushed for prohibition, or laws banning the making, sale, and consumption of alcohol.

15. What reforms did progressives work for regarding labor?

- Progressives Versus Big Business (page 425)

Some progressives focused on regulating big business. They believed that too much wealth was owned by too few people. They were especially concerned about large trusts and holding companies. Progressives did not agree on how big business should be regulated. Some wanted the government to break up large corporations to restore competition. This led to the passage of the Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890. Other progressives pushed for the creation of agencies to regulate big companies and to prevent them from abusing their power. This led to the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1887.

Some progressives pushed for socialism. This is the idea that the government should own and operate industry for the community as a whole. They wanted the government to buy up companies that affected everyone, such as railroads and utilities. Many cities began to own and manage the local gas and water companies and set the price the consumers had to pay.

Socialism had gained some support at the national level. Eugene Debs, the leader of the American Socialist Party, won almost 1 million votes as the party’s presidential candidate in the 1912 election. However, socialism never gained the support of more than a minority of the progressives. Most believed in America’s free enterprise system.
16. In what two ways did progressives believe big business should be regulated?
**Study Guide**

**Chapter 13, Section 2**

*For use with textbook pages 427–431*

**ROOSEVELT IN OFFICE**

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **Square Deal** the reform programs of President Roosevelt *(page 428)*
- **Northern Securities** a giant holding company broken up by Theodore Roosevelt *(page 428)*
- **United Mine Workers** a union for mine workers *(page 428)*
- **arbitration** a settlement imposed by an outside party *(page 429)*
- **Hepburn Act** a law intended to strengthen the Interstate Commerce Commission *(page 429)*
- **Upton Sinclair** author of *The Jungle*, which described horrible conditions in the meatpacking industry *(page 430)*

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

How do you and your family know that the food you eat is safe? How does the government help to ensure that food is safe?

The last section discussed the development of the Progressive movement. This section discusses the administration of President Roosevelt and the Progressive programs he started.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the chart below to help you take notes. Under President Roosevelt, the role of the federal government in solving social and economic problems expanded. Describe the federal government’s role in each of the items listed in the chart.

| Labor and business | 1. |
| Consumer protection | 2. |
| Conservation | 3. |
• **Roosevelt Revives the Presidency** *(page 427)*

President Theodore Roosevelt was a progressive. He believed that the government should become involved in the competing needs of various groups in American society. Roosevelt’s reform programs became known as the *Square Deal*.

Roosevelt believed that large corporations were important and part of the reason for the nation’s prosperity. However, he also believed that these corporations were hurting the public interest. During his first year in office, a fight began over the control of the Burlington Railroad. It involved the owners of two other railroad companies. The conflict almost caused a financial crisis. Then the owners agreed to form a new holding company called Northern Securities.

Many Americans and President Roosevelt became concerned about the formation of this company. Roosevelt decided that the holding company went against the Sherman Antitrust Act. He filed a lawsuit against Northern Securities. In 1904 the Supreme Court ruled that Northern Securities violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. This was a victory for Roosevelt, who was labeled as a “trustbuster” by newspapers.

President Roosevelt believed it was his job to stop conflicts between different groups in the nation. In 1902 the *United Mine Workers (UMW)* union had called a strike of miners who dug anthracite, or hard coal. The workers were demanding higher wages, fewer work hours, and recognition of their union. As the strike continued, coal prices increased. If the strike continued too long, the nation might have had a coal shortage that could shut down factories and keep people cold in the winter.

Roosevelt wanted the union and the owners to agree to *arbitration*, or a settlement imposed by an outside party. The union agreed, but the owners did not. The owners’ refusal made Roosevelt and many Americans angry. Roosevelt threatened to have the army run the mines. The owners finally agreed to arbitration by a commission appointed by Roosevelt. By intervening in the dispute, Roosevelt had used presidential power in a new way.

Roosevelt believed that most trusts benefited the nation’s economy. He did not want to break them up, but he did want to investigate them. In 1903 he convinced Congress to create the Department of Commerce and Labor. The department would include a special division called the Bureau of Corporations. Its job was to investigate corporations and report on them. Many corporations that were worried about antitrust lawsuits agreed to be investigated by the Bureau. However, they made a deal that if the bureau found anything wrong, the companies would be allowed to correct the problem without going to court. Only companies that refused to cooperate would be subject to antitrust lawsuits.
In 1906 Roosevelt pushed Congress to pass the **Hepburn Act**. It was designed to strengthen the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), which did not have enough authority to be effective. The Hepburn Act gave the ICC the power to set railroad rates to make sure that companies did not compete unfairly with each other. At first the railroads were suspicious of the ICC. However, by 1920 the ICC became a supporter of the railroads’ interests and had started raising rates to ensure the railroads’ profits.

4. What was President Roosevelt’s view of big corporations?

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**Social Welfare Action** *(page 430)*

In the early 1900s, consumer protection had become an important issue. Some journalists had published articles that exposed the harmful practices of some industries. One journalist reported on the pharmaceutical industry. Many companies marketed medicines as cures for a variety of illnesses. These medicines were often little more than alcohol, colored water, and sugar. Consumers had no way of knowing what they were taking.

Many Americans became concerned about the food they ate. In 1906 **Upton Sinclair** published *The Jungle*. The book described the unsanitary conditions in the meatpacking industry. The book made consumers angry. President Roosevelt pushed for federal laws. Congress passed the Meat Inspection Act. It required federal inspection of meat and the Agriculture Department to set standards of cleanliness in meatpacking plants. The Pure Food and Drug Act banned the sale of impure or falsely labeled food and drugs.

5. What was the subject of Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle*?
Study Guide

Chapter 13, Section 2 (continued)

- Conservation (page 430)

President Roosevelt was especially influential in environmental conservation. Roosevelt saw that the nation’s abundant natural resources were being used up. He urged people to conserve resources.

In 1902 Roosevelt supported the passage of the Newlands Reclamation Act. This law allowed the use of federal funds from the sale of public lands to be used to pay for irrigation and land development projects in the West.

Roosevelt also worked to preserve the nation’s forests. He appointed Gifford Pinchot to head the United States Forest Service. Pinchot, like Roosevelt, believed in managing natural resources. He drew up regulations to control lumbering on federal lands. Roosevelt also helped to conserve natural resources by adding millions of acres of land as protected national forests. He established new national parks and federal wildlife reservations.

Roosevelt changed the role of the federal government. Americans came to believe that the federal government should help solve the nation’s social and economic problems. Roosevelt also increased the power of the executive branch. More departments in the executive branch became involved in regulating different parts of the nation’s life.

6. How did Americans’ view of the federal government change during the Roosevelt administration?
The last section discussed the domestic policies of President Roosevelt. This section discusses the policies of the Taft administration.

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

Have you ever visited a national park? What park was it? How would you describe your experiences there?

The last section discussed the domestic policies of President Roosevelt. This section discusses the policies of the Taft administration.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. President Taft faced several controversies with progressives during his administration. In the diagram, list the three major conflicts.

---

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **Joseph G. Cannon** Speaker of the House under President Taft (page 436)
- **Payne-Aldrich Tariff** a law passed during the Taft administration that did not effectively lower tariffs (page 436)
- **Richard Ballinger** Taft’s secretary of the interior who was a conservative corporate lawyer (page 436)
- **syndicate** a business group (page 436)
- **insubordination** disobedience (page 437)
President Roosevelt supported Howard Taft as the Republican candidate in the 1908 presidential election. Taft and Roosevelt were very different people. Roosevelt was very dynamic and loved to be in the spotlight. Although Taft was a skilled administrator, he preferred to avoid conflict with others. Roosevelt acted quickly and decisively on issues. Taft preferred to respond slowly. His approach led to conflicts between him and other progressives.

One conflict had to do with tariffs. President Taft believed that high tariffs limited competition. He called Congress into special session to lower tariffs. To pass a new tariff, Taft needed the help of the Speaker of the House, Joseph G. Cannon. Progressives wanted to get rid of Cannon because he often blocked the laws they wanted. Taft disagreed. He pressured progressives to stop trying to unseat Cannon. In return, Cannon quickly pushed the tariff bill through the House of Representatives. However, the following year progressives joined with the Democrats and removed Cannon from power.

The progressives were also angry when the tariff bill went to the Senate. Republican Senator Aldrich, along with other conservative senators, wanted to keep high tariffs. The resulting bill was the Payne-Aldrich Tariff. The law hardly cut tariffs at all, and even raised them on some goods. Taft decided to accept the new tariff.

Taft’s relationship with progressives grew worse after a controversy in 1909. Progressives had been unhappy with Taft’s replacement of James Garfield, a conservationist, with Richard A. Ballinger as secretary of the interior. Ballinger was a conservative corporate lawyer. He tried to remove nearly a million acres of forests and mineral reserves from public lands and make them available for private development. Gifford Pinchot charged Ballinger with having plotted to turn over public lands in Alaska to a private syndicate, or business group, for profit. Taft dismissed the charges as groundless. Pinchot then leaked the story to the press. He asked Congress to investigate. Taft fired Pinchot for insubordination, or disobedience. Congress cleared Ballinger.

Taft’s actions resulted in an easy Democratic victory in the 1910 congressional elections.

4. What were President Taft’s views on tariffs?
• Taft’s Progressive Reforms (page 437)
  
  Despite many of his problems, Taft had several successes. He was a big supporter of competition and brought more antitrust cases than did Roosevelt. Taft also set up the Children’s Bureau. This was a federal agency that investigated and publicized child labor problems.

  Taft was a conservationist. His contributions in the area of conservation were at least equal to those of Roosevelt. Taft set up the Bureau of Mines to oversee the activities of mining companies. He expanded the national forests.

  When Taft brought an antitrust suit against U.S. Steel, Roosevelt was upset. He believed that doing so would disturb the system of cooperation and regulation that he had arranged with big business. Roosevelt criticized Taft for his dealings with big business. After he broke with Taft, progressives convinced Roosevelt to run against Taft as the progressive candidate in the 1912 presidential election.

  5. What led to the break between Roosevelt and President Taft?
Study Guide

Chapter 13, Section 4

For use with textbook pages 438–442

THE WILSON YEARS

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

**Progressive Party**  
newly formed political party, nicknamed the Bull Moose Party (page 439)

**New Nationalism**  
suggested reform programs of Theodore Roosevelt in the 1912 election (page 439)

**New Freedom**  
suggested reform programs of Woodrow Wilson in the 1912 election (page 439)

**income tax**  
direct tax on the earnings of individuals and corporations (page 440)

**Federal Reserve Act**  
law that set up a central banking system in 1913 (page 441)

**Federal Trade Commission**  
agency created by Congress to monitor American business (page 441)

**unfair trade practices**  
business practices that unfairly limited competition (page 441)

**National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)**  
association formed in 1909 to bring an end to lynching and racial discrimination (page 442)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What are income taxes? Who pays them? How are they paid?

The last section described Progressive reforms and problems during the Taft administration. This section discusses Progressive reforms under President Wilson.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Several Progressive reforms under President Wilson helped to regulate the economy. List these reforms in the diagram.

![Diagram](image_url)
READ TO LEARN

• The Election of 1912 (page 438)

Theodore Roosevelt was displeased with President Taft’s performance. He did not believe that Taft lived up to Progressive ideals. So Roosevelt declared that he was willing to accept the Republican nomination for president in the 1912 election. At the Republican convention, conservative Republicans supported Taft. Progressives supported Roosevelt. Roosevelt decided to leave the party and run as an independent candidate. He became the candidate for the newly formed Progressive Party, which was nicknamed the Bull Moose party. The election actually became a contest between Roosevelt and the Democratic candidate Woodrow Wilson.

Wilson was a progressive. As governor of New Jersey, he pushed through one Progressive law after another. Although Wilson and Roosevelt were both progressives, they approached reform differently. Roosevelt’s programs became known as the New Nationalism. He favored regulating trusts, setting up laws to protect women and children in labor. He also wanted a federal trade commission to regulate industry.

Wilson’s programs became known as the New Freedom. He believed that trusts were “regulated monopolies.” He believed that Roosevelt’s approach toward businesses gave the federal government too much power in the nation’s economy. He believed that freedom in the economy was more important than efficiency.

Roosevelt and Taft split the Republican vote in the election, giving the presidency to Woodrow Wilson.

5. How did Roosevelt’s and Wilson’s views of trusts differ?

• Regulating the Economy (page 439)

Shortly after becoming president, Wilson worked to get Congress to reduce tariffs. He believed that lowering tariffs would lead manufacturers to produce better products and to lower prices in order to be competitive with foreign goods. In 1913 Congress passed the Underwood Tariff. It lowered the average tariff on imported goods. Part of the Underwood Tariff Act included levying an income tax, or a direct tax on the earnings of individuals and corporations.
Since the 1800s, economic depressions had hit the United States. During those times many people lost their savings when small banks collapsed. The most recent economic crisis had occurred in 1907. To restore people’s confidence in banks, Wilson proposed the creation of a Federal Reserve system. Under this system, banks would keep a portion of their deposits in a regional reserve bank. This would provide a cushion for these banks during an economic crisis. The president would appoint a Board of Governors. The Board could set interest rates that the reserve banks charged other banks. It would control the amount of money in circulation. Congress approved this system by passing the **Federal Reserve Act** in 1913.

Wilson wanted to restore competition in the economy. He wanted to break up monopolies. However, once he became president, Wilson realized that it would be unrealistic to try and break up large companies. In 1914 Wilson asked Congress to create the **Federal Trade Commission (FTC)** to regulate American businesses. The commission could order companies to stop *unfair trade practices*, or business practices that unfairly limited competition. Progressives in Congress were not satisfied. They passed the **Clayton Antitrust Act**. The law banned businesses from charging different customers different prices for the same product. Manufacturers could no longer give discounts to those who bought a large volume of goods.

6. Why did President Wilson support the Federal Reserve system?

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- **Federal Aid and Social Welfare (page 441)**

  By 1914 Wilson believed that his reforms were complete. However, when Democrats suffered losses in the House of Representatives during the 1914 congressional elections, Wilson decided to support further reforms. He signed the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act, which banned the employment of children under the age of 14 in factories that made goods for interstate trade. He supported the Adamson Act, which set up an eight-hour workday for railroad workers. He supported the Federal Farm Loan Act to make long-term loans available to farmers.
7. What program did President Wilson support to help farmers?

• The Legacy of Progressivism (page 442)

Like Roosevelt, Wilson expanded the role of the president and the federal government. Before the Progressive era, most Americans did not expect the government to pass laws to protect workers or to regulate businesses. By the end of the Progressive era, most Americans expected the government to play an active role. Through the passage of various programs, progressives did improve the quality of life of many people.

The Progressive movement, however, did not address issues facing African Americans. As a result, in 1905 W.E.B. Du Bois and other African American leaders met to demand full political rights for African Americans. The meeting eventually resulted in the beginning of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. African American leaders believed that voting was absolutely necessary to bring about an end to racial discrimination.

8. What group of people failed to benefit from Progressive reforms?
DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Do you think the United States should ever become involved in conflicts between foreign nations? Why or why not?

In this section, you will learn about American intervention in Mexico and the Caribbean. You will also learn what caused the United States to enter World War I.
ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the cause-and-effect diagram below to help you take notes. Several factors caused conflicts among European nations by 1914. List these causes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Conflicts develop among European nations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

READ TO LEARN

- **Woodrow Wilson’s Diplomacy** (page 448)

  President Wilson opposed imperialism. He did, however, believe that the United States should promote democracy. He believed that was important to keep peace in the world. His beliefs were put to the test soon after he took office.

  Mexico was ruled by dictator Porfirio Díaz from 1884 to 1911. He encouraged foreign investment to help build Mexico’s industries. A few wealthy landowners controlled Mexican society. Most Mexicans were poor and landless. Eventually these people revolted against Díaz, who fled the country.

  Francisco Madero replaced Díaz, but he proved to be an ineffective administrator. He was replaced by General Victoriano Huerta, who had Madero murdered. President Wilson was disgusted with Huerta’s actions and refused to recognize the new government. He hoped that Huerta would be overthrown, so he allowed Americans to arm the groups within Mexico who opposed Huerta.

  In April 1914, some American sailors visiting a Mexican city were arrested for entering a restricted area. Although they were released, their commander demanded an apology. The Mexicans refused. Wilson used this as an opportunity to overthrow Huerta and sent marines to take over the port of Veracruz. Anti-American riots followed this action. Venustiano Carranza, whose forces obtained arms from the United States, became the Mexican president.

  Mexican forces opposed to Carranza were angry. They carried out raids into the United States. **Pancho Villa** led a group of **guerrillas**, or an armed band that carries out surprise attacks rather than open warfare, who burned the town of Columbus, New Mexico. They killed a number of Americans. Wilson sent troops into Mexico to find and capture Villa. They were unable to do so.
Many nations were critical of Wilson’s actions in Mexico, which damaged U.S. foreign relations. However, in his first term Wilson sent the marines into Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic to try and set up governments that he hoped would be more democratic and stable than those that were there.

4. Why did President Wilson send marines into Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic?

• The Outbreak of World War I (page 449)

By 1914 conflicts among European nations led to the outbreak of war. In 1864 the German kingdom of Prussia started wars to unite the various German states into one nation. By 1871 Prussia succeeded in uniting Germany and setting up the German Empire. The Prussians attacked and defeated France and took a part of French territory along the German border. This action made France and Germany enemies. To protect itself, Germany signed an alliance with Austria-Hungary, an empire that controlled much of southeastern Europe, and with Italy. This alliance became known as the Triple Alliance.

The rise of Germany also upset Russia. It was afraid that Germany might expand into Russia. At the same time, Russia was a rival of Austria-Hungary. Many people living in Austria-Hungary were Slavs, who were the same ethnic group as the Russians. Russia and France found that they both opposed Germany and Austria-Hungary. So they signed the Franco-Russian Alliance.

In 1898 Germany began to build a navy. Great Britain, which had remained neutral up to this time, also started building up its navy. This naval race led to tensions between Germany and Britain. Britain then joined into an alliance with France and Russia, which became known as the Triple Entente.

Nationalism, or an intense pride in one’s homeland, became a powerful idea in Europe by the late 1800s. It was one of the reasons for the conflicts among European countries. Each nation viewed the other nations as competitors. Many people were willing to go to war to expand their own nation. An important idea of nationalism is the right to self-determination. This is the idea that people who belong to a nation should have their own country and government. This idea led to problems in the Balkans, a region in southeastern Europe. The Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire ruled the region. These empires were made up of different nations. In the 1800s, the different nations wanted their independence.
Among the groups wanting independence were the Serbs, Bosnians, Croats, and Slovenes. They all spoke similar languages. They called themselves the South Slavs, or Yugoslavs. The Serbs were the first to gain independence. They formed a nation between the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires and wanted to unite the South Slavs. Russia supported the Serbs. Austria-Hungary wanted to limit Serbia’s growth. So it annexed Bosnia, which had been part of the Ottoman Empire. The Serbs were angry because they believed that Austria-Hungary did not want to let the Slavic people in its empire become independent.

In June 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, visited Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. While there, he was assassinated by a Bosnian, who was a member of a Serbian nationalist group. Austria-Hungary blamed Serbia and wanted to attack it. However, the Austro-Hungarian government knew that attacking Serbia might trigger a war with its ally, Russia. So the Austrians asked its ally Germany for support. At the same time, the Serbs counted on Russian support, who in turn counted on French support. On July 28, 1914, Austria declared war on Serbia. A few days later, Germany declared war on Russia and then on France. World War I had begun.

Germany planned on invading France and then on concentrating its efforts against Russia. However, it had to cross Belgium, which was neutral. The British promised to protect Belgium’s neutrality. So when Germany crossed Belgium, Britain declared war on Germany. Those who were part of the Triple Entente were the Allies. It included France, Russia, Great Britain, and Italy. The Triple Alliance became the Central Powers and included Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria.

The German troops advanced into France. However, they were surprised by the Russian invasion of Germany. As a result, the Germans had to pull some of their forces away from France to stop the Russians. The Allies took advantage of the situation by stopping the German advance at the Battle of the Marne, near Paris. Both sides became locked in a stalemate. The Germans and Austrians were more successful against the Russians. They swept across hundreds of miles of territory and took hundreds of thousands of prisoners.

5. What was Germany’s early plan in fighting the war?
American Neutrality (page 452)

At the beginning of the war, President Wilson declared the United States neutral. However, many Americans supported one side or the other. Most Americans favored the Allies. Most of President Wilson’s cabinet also supported the Allies. They believed that an Allied victory was necessary to keep the international balance of power.

The British worked to win U.S. support. They used propaganda, which is information designed to influence opinion. Britain also cut the transatlantic telegraph cable from Europe to the United States. This limited the news about the war mainly to British communications. Although many reports were exaggerated, enough Americans believed them to sway American support for the Allies.

Businesses also supported the Allies because they had ties with businesses in the Allied countries. American banks began to loan money to the Allies, investing in an Allied victory. If the Allies won, the money would be paid back. If the Allies lost, the money would be lost.

6. What method did Britain use to gain American support?

Moving Toward War (page 453)

Although most Americans did not want to be involved in the war, several events drew the United States into it. After the war began, the British navy blockaded Germany. The British stopped neutral ships to inspect them for contraband, or prohibited materials. The contraband included food.

To get around the blockade, Germany used submarines known as U-boats. In February 1915, it announced that it would sink without warning any ship located in the waters around Britain. People in the United States and in other countries were angry. Attacking civilian ships without warning was against international rules. The Germans said that many civilian ships were actually warships in disguise and that the U-boats would be at risk if they gave warning. In May 1915, the British passenger ship Lusitania entered the war zone after being warned by Germany. A German submarine fired on the ship, killing nearly 1,200 people. About 128 people were Americans.

President Wilson tried to stay out of the war. However, he did send notes to Germany insisting that it safeguard the lives of civilians in the war zones. After a U-boat shot at the French passenger ship Sussex, Wilson warned
Germany to stop its submarine warfare or risk war with the United States. Germany was not interested in having the United States join the Allies in the war. In the Sussex Pledge, Germany promised to not sink any merchant ships without warning.

In January 1917, Arthur Zimmermann, a German official, instructed the German ambassador to Mexico to propose to Mexico that it ally itself with Germany in case of war between Germany and the United States. In return, Mexico would get back the territory that it once had in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. The British intercepted the Zimmermann telegram, which was leaked to American newspapers. Many Americans now believed that war with Germany was necessary. Then in February 1917, Germany again began unrestricted submarine warfare. Finally, after Germany sank six American merchant ships, Wilson asked Congress to declare war on Germany, which it did on April 6, 1917.

7. What event led many Americans to call for war against Germany?
What do you think freedom of speech means? Do you think people should be allowed to say whatever they want whenever they want to? Explain your opinion.

The last section explained the reasons the United States entered World War I. This section describes the war effort at home.

Use the chart below to help you take notes. The United States government had to prepare for war in several areas. Identify the ways it prepared in each of the areas listed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Building Up the Military</th>
<th>1.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organizing the Economy</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting Up a Workforce</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting Public Support</td>
<td>4.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
READ TO LEARN

• Building Up the Military (page 456)

When the United States entered the war, it did not have enough soldiers. Although many people volunteered, most officials believed that they would have to turn to conscription, or forced military service. Many progressives believed that conscription was against democratic principles.

Congress, however, believed conscription was necessary. It set up a new system of conscription called selective service. It required all men between 21 and 30 to register for the draft. A lottery then randomly decided the order they were called to military service. Eventually about 2.8 million men were drafted. About 42,000 of the 400,000 African Americans who were drafted served in the war overseas. African American soldiers faced discrimination and prejudice in the army. They often served in racially segregated units that were almost always under the control of white officers. Despite this, many African Americans fought with distinction in the war. Two African American divisions fought in battles along the Western Front.

Women officially served in the armed forces for the first time in World War I. They served in non-combat positions. Women nurses served in both the army and the navy. With men serving in combat, the armed forces faced a shortage of clerical workers. The navy enlisted women to serve as clerical workers, radio operators, electricians, torpedo assemblers, and other occupations. The army, however, refused to enlist women. It hired women as temporary employees to fill clerical jobs. The only women to actually serve in the army were the army nurses.

5. Why did the United States use conscription during World War I?

• Organizing Industry (page 457)

To get the economy ready for the war, Congress created special agencies. One of the first agencies was the War Industries Board (WIB). Its job was to coordinate the production of war materials. Bernard Baruch was in charge of the board. The WIB worked with business leaders. It told industries what they could and could not make.
The Food Administration was responsible for increasing the amount of food available for the armed forces, while decreasing the amount of food available for civilians. The government encouraged Americans to save food on their own such as by having Wheatless Mondays or Meatless Tuesdays. The government encouraged people to plant victory gardens to raise their own vegetables. This would leave more food for the troops. The government set high prices on wheat and other grains to increase farm production.

The Fuel Administration managed the use of coal and oil. To conserve energy, the government introduced daylight savings time. It also shortened workweeks for factories that did not make war materials.

To raise money to pay for the war, Congress raised income tax rates. It placed new taxes on company profits and on the profits of arms factories. The government also borrowed money from the American people through Liberty Bonds and Victory Bonds. The government agreed to pay back the money with interest in a certain number of years.

6. How did the government attempt to get the money to pay for World War I?

- Mobilizing the Workforce (page 459)

To prevent workers from striking, the government set up the National War Labor Board (NWLB). This agency mediated labor disputes that might otherwise lead to strikes. The NWLB pushed industry to give workers wage increases, an 8-hour workday, and the right to organize unions. In return, labor leaders agreed not to disrupt war production through strikes. Union membership increased.

Women’s opportunities in the workforce increased during the war. Women took over jobs in industries that the men who were serving in the military had left. After the war, however, most women returned to their previous jobs or stopped working.

Many African Americans started working in factories that produced war materials. Many left the South and moved to factories in the North. This movement became known as the “Great Migration.” It changed the racial makeup of cities such as Chicago, New York, Cleveland, and Detroit.
Many Mexicans left Mexico and headed north. Some worked as farmers and ranchers in the Southwest. Others moved north to get wartime factory jobs. Mexican Americans often faced discrimination. They often settled in their own separate neighborhoods, where they could support each other.

7. Why did the government set up the National War Labor Board?

- Ensuring Public Support (page 459)

The government wanted to make sure that the public supported the war. It set up an agency called the Committee on Public Information (CPI) to do so. George Creel was the head of the agency. He hired advertisers, artists, authors, songwriters, entertainers, and others to sway public opinion in favor of the war. The CPI arranged for short patriotic talks at movie theaters and public gatherings. It hired thousands of “Four-Minute Men” to urge audiences to support the war in various ways.

The government passed laws to fight antiwar activities. The Espionage Act of 1917 provided for penalties and prison terms for anyone convicted of espionage, or spying to acquire secret government information. The law also provided for penalties for interfering with the war effort. The Sedition Act of 1918 made illegal any public expression of opposition to the war. In reality, it let officials prosecute anyone who criticized the government.

The fear of spies led to the mistreatment and persecution of German Americans. Things that were German came under suspicion. Some schools dropped the German language from its curriculums. Orchestras stopped playing music by German composers.

Other people also came under suspicion. They included radical labor activists and socialists. Newspaper ads urged people to report on any people who might be harming the war effort. Many people became concerned about the intolerance that was occurring in the country.

The courts, however, generally upheld the government’s tactics. In Schenck v. the United States, the Supreme Court ruled that a person’s freedom of speech could be curbed if the speech presented a danger. The Court said that many things that could be said in peace time could be considered dangerous during war.
8. How did the Sedition Act of 1918 affect freedom of speech?
Study Guide

Chapter 14, Section 3

For use with textbook pages 464–469

A BLOODY CONFLICT

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

“no man’s land”  the space between opposing trenches (page 465)

convoys  groups of merchant ships and troop transports (page 466)

Vladimir Lenin  leader of the Bolshevik Party (page 467)

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk  treaty between Germany and Russia that ended Russia’s involvement in World War I (page 467)

armistice  a cease-fire (page 468)

Fourteen Points  President Wilson’s plan for peace after World War I (page 468)

League of Nations  an association of nations organized to help keep peace and prevent future wars (page 468)

Treaty of Versailles  treaty that ended World War I (page 468)

reparations  payments for war damages (page 468)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

You have probably heard of the United Nations. Do you know what it does? Its forerunner was the League of Nations set up after World War I. The last section discussed the war effort at home during World War I. This section discusses the new technology used during the war and the treaty that ended the war.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

The treaty ending World War I involved the Big Four. In the diagram, describe the major people involved and the major provisions of the treaty.

World War I Peace Talks

People Involved  (Big Four)

1. __________________________
2. __________________________
3. __________________________
4. __________________________

Provisions of Treaty

5. __________________________
6. __________________________
7. __________________________
READ TO LEARN

• Combat in World War I (page 464)

The ways used to fight wars changed during World War I. Troops began using the rapid-fire machine gun. They dug trenches to defend their lines against enemy attacks. On the Western Front, troops dug a network of trenches that stretched from the English Channel to the Swiss border. The space between the opposing trenches became known as "no man's land." Soldiers from either side would race across no man’s land and throw grenades into the opposing trenches. As they ran across, many were shot. In major battles, both sides sometimes lost hundreds of thousands of men.

Both sides developed new technologies. The Germans began using poison gas. The fumes caused vomiting, blindness, and suffocation. The Allies also began using poison gas, and gas masks became necessary equipment. The British introduced the tank, which could roll over barbed wire and trenches. Airplanes were first used in World War I. They were used at first to observe enemy activities. Then they were used to drop bombs. Later, machine guns were attached to airplanes, which took part in air battles.

8. What technology did the British introduce in World War I?

• The Americans and Victory (page 466)

About 2 million American soldiers fought in World War I. Although they were mostly inexperienced, they boosted the morale of the Allied forces. The commander of the U.S. army was General John J. Pershing.

To avoid having troop ships sunk on their way to Europe, the admiral of the U.S. navy suggested that merchant ships and troop transports be gathered in groups, called convoys. Warships escorted the convoys. This system reduced the number of ships that were lost and made sure that American troops reached Europe safely.

In February 1917, riots broke out in Russia over the government’s involvement in the war. Food and fuel was scarce. Russia’s leader, Czar Nicholas II, stepped down from the throne. A temporary government took over. The government, however, was unable to deal with the major problems, such as a lack of food, that the country faced.
The Bolsheviks, a group of Communists, soon wanted power in Russia. In November 1917, Vladimir Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Party, overthrew the Russian government and set up a Communist one. Lenin immediately pulled Russia out of the war. He signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany in March 1918. Under the treaty, Russia lost a great deal of land. The treaty also removed the German army from the remaining Russian lands. This helped Germany, which now was free to concentrate its troops on the Western Front.

German troops now launched a massive attack and pushed deeply into Allied lines and almost reached Paris. American troops helped to stop the offensive by launching their own attack. American and French troops blocked the German drive on Paris. Germans tried to launch one last attack to take Paris, but American and French troops once again blocked the drive.

On September 16, 1918, American troops under General Pershing started a huge offensive against the Germans. By November, the Americans had destroyed the German defenses and pushed a hole in the German lines. Finally, on November 11, 1918, Germany signed an armistice, or cease-fire, that ended the war.

9. How did the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk affect Germany?

- A Flawed Peace (page 468)

The peace conference started in January 1919, in Paris, France. The main people involved were known as the Big Four, made up of the leaders of the Allied nations. They included President Wilson of the United States, Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Britain, Premier Georges Clemenceau of France, and Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando of Italy. Germany was not included.

President Wilson’s plan for peace was known as the Fourteen Points. The fourteenth point called for the formation of an association of nations known as the League of Nations. The purpose of the League would be to help keep peace and prevent future wars. The other Allied governments did not support Wilson’s plan. They believed that it was too easy on the Germans. The Treaty of Versailles weakened many of Wilson’s proposals. Under the treaty, Germany had to disband its armed forces. It was forced to pay reparations, or war damages to the Allies, that amounted to $33 billion. That amount was more than Germany could afford to pay. Germany also had to accept blame for the outbreak of World War I and the destruction it caused.
The war led to the end of four empires: the Russian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, the German Empire, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Austria-Hungary was split into separate countries. In addition, nine new countries were established in Europe. The treaty did include Wilson’s plan for the League of Nations.

Many members of Congress opposed the Treaty of Versailles, particularly the League of Nations. They believed that it would force the United States to fight in many conflicts. Some senators, led by Henry Cabot Lodge, supported the League of Nations. However, they agreed to ratify the treaty only if some amendments were added to ensure that the United States could always act independently. Wilson wanted the Senate to ratify the treaty without any changes. So he took his case directly to the American people. The 8,000 miles of travel cost Wilson his health. He suffered a stroke, was bedridden, and isolated from his closest advisers.

The U.S. Senate refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. Instead, it signed treaties with each of the Central Powers. The League of Nations started without the United States.

10. Why did many Allied powers oppose President Wilson’s plan for peace?
THE WAR’S IMPACT

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **cost of living**: the cost of food, clothing, shelter, and other essentials that people need to survive (page 471)
- **general strike**: a strike that involves all workers in a certain location, not just workers in a particular industry (page 472)
- **Red Scare**: a panic in the United States caused by the fear that Communists would seize power in the United States (page 474)
- **A. Mitchell Palmer**: Attorney General of the United States in 1919 (page 474)
- **J. Edgar Hoover**: head of the General Intelligence Division, which became the FBI (page 474)
- **deported**: to be expelled from a country (page 474)

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

What do you think of when you hear the word “Communist”? What countries today have a Communist government? How do Americans today feel about communism?

The last section discussed the provisions of the treaty that ended World War I. This section discusses the effects of the war on the United States.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The United States faced several problems after World War I. Identify these problems in the diagram.

![Diagram of Problems After World War I]

1. 
2. 
3. 
4.
READ TO LEARN

• An Economy in Turmoil (page 471)

After the war ended, the United States government removed the controls it had placed on the economy during the war. People quickly bought goods that they were not able to buy during the war. Businesses increased their prices, which they could not do during the war. The result was inflation. It increased the cost of living, or the cost of food, clothing, shelter, and other items people need to survive.

Many businesses raised wages during the war. However, after the war the inflation wiped out most of the gains that workers had made. Workers wanted an increase in wages. Business owners, however, wanted to hold down wages to hold down their operating costs.

During the war, the number of workers in unions increased. After the war, unions were better organized than they were before the war and more ready to organize strikes. Business leaders were determined to break the unions. The situation resulted in a huge increase in strikes in 1919.

The first big strike took place in Seattle. It involved shipyard workers who wanted higher wages and shorter hours. Soon other workers joined the shipyard workers and organized a general strike. This is a strike that involves all workers living in a certain location, not just workers in a particular industry. The strike paralyzed the city for several days. In the end, the strikers made no gains. The strike did worry many Americans because the general strike was a technique used by Communists and radical groups in Europe.

The Seattle strike was followed by a strike by police officers in Boston. Riots soon broke out in the city. Calvin Coolidge, the governor of Massachusetts, was forced to send in the National Guard. When the strikers returned to work, they were fired. The police commissioner hired a new police force instead.

One of the largest strikes was held by steelworkers. They went on strike against U.S. Steel for higher pay, shorter hours, and a recognition of their union. The company was determined to break the union. Many steelworkers were immigrants. The company blamed the strike on foreign radicals. It hired African Americans and Mexicans as replacement workers. The company was able to keep the steel mills operating. The strike failed and so did the union.

5. What did many workers in the United States in 1919 strike for?
• Racial Unrest (page 473)

After the war, many soldiers returned to the United States looking for work. Many African Americans who moved north during the war were also looking for jobs and housing. Racism and frustration led to violence. In the summer of 1919, riots broke out in many Northern cities. The worst violence occurred in Chicago.

6. What led to race riots in many American cities in the United States in 1919?

• The Red Scare (page 473)

The strikes in 1919 led many people to believe that Communists were trying to start a revolution in the United States. Many Americans were very angry with Russia when it withdrew from the war. Since the late 1800s, many Americans blamed immigrants for bringing Communist ideas into the United States. They also blamed immigrants for labor problems and violence. When Communists took control of Russia, Americans feared they would try to start revolutions in other places. Americans became especially fearful when the Soviet Union formed the Communist International. This was an organization that coordinated the activities of Communist parties in other countries.

As strikes started across the United States in 1919, the fear of Americans that Communists, or “Reds,” would seize power led to a panic known as the Red Scare. Several incidents supported the panic. In June 1919, eight bombs in eight cities exploded within minutes of one another. One of these bombs damaged the home of United States Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer. Although no one was ever caught, most people believed the bombings were the work of Communists trying to destroy the American way of life.

Attorney General Palmer set up a special division within the Justice Department. The General Intelligence Division was headed by J. Edgar Hoover, and it later became the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). In the next few months, Palmer organized raids on several radical organizations, although no evidence pointed to any one group as the bombers. Palmer rounded up many immigrants and had them deported, or expelled from the country.

The Palmer raids were carried out without concern for people’s civil rights. Homes were entered without search warrants. People were jailed indefinitely and not allowed to talk to their attorneys. Palmer was first praised for his
work. However, when he failed to find any real evidence of a revolutionary conspiracy, his popularity faded. The Red Scare led to anti-immigrant feelings and a call for Congress to limit immigration.

7. How did the Palmer raids violate people’s civil rights?

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An End to Progressivism (page 475)

By 1920 most Americans wanted an end to the unrest that overcame the country. In the 1920 election, the Democrats ran James M. Cox and Franklin D. Roosevelt. They ran on the ideals of progressivism. The Republicans ran Warren G. Harding. He called for a return to “normalcy.” He wanted the United States to return to the simpler days before Progressive Era reforms. Many voters agreed with Harding, and he won by a landslide.

8. Why did Warren G. Harding win the presidential election in 1920?
KEY TERMS AND NAMES

anarchist  individual who opposes all forms of government (page 483)
eugenics  a false science that deals with the improvement of hereditary traits (page 483)
Ku Klux Klan  a society set up to restore white Protestant America by terrorizing African Americans and other minorities (page 483)
Emergency Quota Act  law that established a temporary quota system and limited immigration (page 484)
flapper  a young, dramatic, stylish, and unconventional woman (page 485)
Fundamentalism  religious movement that focused on the authority of the Bible (page 486)
evolution  theory that suggests that human beings had developed from lower forms of life over the course of millions of years (page 486)
creationism  Fundamentalist belief that God created the world as described in the Bible (page 486)
police powers  government’s power to control people and property in the interest of public safety, health, welfare, and morals (page 487)
speakeasy  bar where people illegally purchased alcohol (page 487)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

How would you describe today’s fashion style? What kinds of features make up this style?

In this section, you will learn about the increase in racism and nativism in the 1920s. You will also learn about the conflicts between traditional and modern values that shook the country.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The 1920s saw the development of the new morality. List the ways the new morality showed itself.
During the 1920s, anti-immigrant feelings increased in the United States, leading to increased feelings of racism and nativism. Many Americans viewed immigrants as a threat to the traditional American society. They believed that immigrants were taking jobs away from the millions of Americans who returned from the war.

In the 1920s, the majority of immigrants arrived from southern and eastern Europe. They faced ethnic and religious prejudices. The Sacco-Vanzetti case is an example of this discrimination. On April 15, 1920, two armed men killed two employees of a factory in Massachusetts and robbed the company of its payroll. Two Italian immigrants—Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti—were arrested for the crime. Newspapers closely covered the case. They reported that the two immigrants were anarchists, those who opposed all forms of government. They also reported that Sacco owned a gun similar to the murder weapon. Although no one at the time knew whether the two men were guilty, many people concluded that they were guilty because they were Italian immigrants and anarchists. Other people believed that the case was an example of prejudice against people based on their ethnic origin. In July 1921, Sacco and Vanzetti were found guilty and sentenced to death. They were executed six years later, maintaining their innocence to the end.

Nativists used the idea of eugenics to boost their arguments against immigration. Eugenics is a false science that deals with the improvement of hereditary traits. It stressed that human inequalities were inherited. Eugenics boosted the nativists’ idea that white Protestants from northern Europe who first came to America were the superior stock. People such as Woodrow Wilson supported this idea and lent support to racist theories.

One of the biggest movements to restrict immigration came from the Ku Klux Klan. After the Civil War, the Ku Klux Klan used violence to intimidate freed African Americans. After World War I, the Klan targeted immigrants, Catholics, Jews and other groups they believed did not represent traditional American values. Because of a large public campaign, Klan membership skyrocketed in the 1920s, spreading beyond the South and into Northern cities.

7. Why did nativist feelings increase in the 1920s?
• Controlling Immigration (page 484)

In 1921 Congress responded to the nativist demands to limit immigration with the Emergency Quota Act. The law set up a temporary quota system. The law limited the number of people admitted in a single year to 3 percent of the total number of people in any ethnic group already living in the United States as determined in the 1910 census. The provision discriminated against people from southern and eastern Europe. The National Origins Act, passed in 1924, made immigration restriction permanent. The law also changed the year residing to 1890. By moving the year back to 1890, it basically allowed immigration from northwestern Europe.

The reduction in immigration caused a shortage of workers for agriculture, mining, and railroad work. Mexican immigrants filled some of these jobs. Mexican immigration started after the passage of the Newlands Reclamation Act. This law provided money for irrigation projects in the dry Southwest. The factory farms that started there needed large numbers of laborers. The quotas set up by the National Origins Act did not include natives of the Western Hemisphere. More than 600,000 Mexicans arrived in the United States between 1914 and the end of the 1920s.

8. How did the Emergency Quota Act and the National Origins Act affect immigration?

• The New Morality (page 484)

During the 1920s, a “new morality” took over the nation. The new morality challenged traditional ways of thinking. It stressed youth and personal freedom. In the family, the new morality focused on the ideas of romance, pleasure, and friendship for a successful marriage. Work changed the relationships between men and women. In the 1920s, young single women began to work not just for wages for themselves and their family, but also as a way to break from parental authority and to establish their own personal identities.

The automobile also played a part in the new morality. It gave America’s young people more independence and made it easier for them to escape parental control and find new forms of entertainment with their friends.
A new fashion look started in the 1920s. Women shortened their hair and wore silk stockings. Glamorous stage and screen stars became popular. A flapper was a young, dramatic, stylish, and unconventional woman. She smoked cigarettes and drank liquor. She also dressed in clothes considered too revealing at that time.

Many women in the 1920s looked for financial independence. They entered the workforce as salesclerks and secretaries. They made contributions in fields such as science, medicine, and literature.

9. What things did the new morality stress?

- The Fundamentalist Movement (page 486)

Many Americans feared that the new morality threatened traditional values and beliefs. These Americans believed that the nation was going through a moral decline. Many joined a religious movement known as Fundamentalism. This movement stressed the teachings of the Bible. Fundamentalists rejected the theory of evolution, which suggested that human beings had developed from lower forms of life over millions of years. Fundamentalists believed in creationism, that God created the world as described in the Bible.

Evolutionists and creationists eventually clashed. In 1925 Tennessee passed a law that prohibited the teaching of evolution. When John T. Scopes, a biology teacher, taught evolution in his high school in Dayton, Tennessee, he was arrested and put on trial. In the Scopes trial, William Jennings Bryan, a Fundamentalist, was the prosecutor. Clarence Darrow defended John Scopes. Scopes was found guilty and fined $100. The conviction was later overturned.

10. On what two theories did the Scopes trial focus?
Prohibition (page 487)

Throughout the early 1900s, many people began supporting prohibition. Many believed that prohibition would reduce unemployment, domestic violence, and poverty. The Eighteenth Amendment, which took effect in January 1920, provided for prohibition. To enforce the amendment, Congress passed the National Prohibition Act, also known as the Volstead Act. Enforcing Prohibition became the job of the U.S. Treasury Department, which greatly expanded the federal government’s police powers. This is a government’s power to control people and property in the interest of public safety, health, welfare, and morals. The Treasury Department set up the Prohibition Unit to enforce Prohibition. It made hundreds of thousands of arrests. However, Americans ignored the law. They went to secret bars called speakeasies, where they could buy alcohol. Organized crime supplied and often ran these speakeasies, which were located all over the country.

The huge profits that could be made from illegally selling liquor led to smuggling. Smugglers brought liquor into the United States from Canada and the Caribbean. Smuggling and the buying of liquor led to an illegal billion-dollar industry. Violence broke out in the streets as gangs fought to control the liquor trade. Crime became big business. Some gangsters made enough money and had enough power to corrupt local politicians. The Eighteenth Amendment was eventually repealed by the Twenty-first Amendment in 1933.

11. What was the purpose of the Eighteenth Amendment?
DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What do you think is the most popular form of entertainment in the United States today? What is the most popular form of entertainment among your classmates and friends?

The last section discussed the conflicts that developed in the 1920s between traditional and modern values. This section discusses the cultural trends of the 1920s.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. New forms of entertainment became popular in the United States in the 1920s. List these forms in the diagram.

**New Forms of Entertainment**

1.  
2.  
3.  

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **Bohemian** an artistic and unconventional lifestyle *(page 493)*
- **Carl Sandburg** a poet who used common speech to glorify the Midwest *(page 493)*
- **Eugene O’Neil** an innovative playwright whose plays showed realistic characters and situations *(page 493)*
- **Ernest Hemingway** a novelist who presented a new literary style characterized by direct, simple, and concise prose *(page 493)*
- **F. Scott Fitzgerald** famous writer of the 1920s who created colorful, glamorous characters that chased futile dreams *(page 494)*
- **mass media** radio, movies, newspapers, and magazines aimed at a broad, popular audience *(page 495)*

**The American Republic Since 1877**

255
READ TO LEARN

• Art and Literature (page 492)

During the 1920s, American writers and artists searched for meaning in the modern world. Many artists, writers, and intellectuals gathered in Greenwich Village in Manhattan and Chicago’s South Side. There they lived a Bohemian, or artistic and unconventional, way of life. The places helped free them from conforming to old ideas.

European art movements influenced American art. The modernist artists tried to express the individual, modern experience. They included painters John Marin, whose subjects included nature and New York City, and Edward Hopper, whose paintings used Realism and often showed isolated individuals.

Poets and writers of the 1920s used a variety of styles and subject matter. Carl Sandburg used common speech to glorify the Midwest. Edna St. Vincent Millay wrote about women’s freedom and equality. Some poets, such as T.S. Eliot, wrote about the negative effects of modernism. Other writers of the 1920s included Ezra Pound, Amy Lowell, and William Carlos Williams. One of the most creative playwrights was Eugene O’Neill. He wrote about realistic characters in realistic, sometimes tragic, situations.

World War I affected many American novelists. They wrote about disillusionment with war and the myths of American heroes. Ernest Hemingway was one such writer. John Dos Passos criticized the capitalist culture. F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote about the emptiness of modern society.

4. What was the subject matter of many artists and writers in the 1920s?

• Popular Culture (page 494)

Many Americans in the 1920s had more money and more leisure time than they ever had before. Many used their leisure time to watch sports such as baseball and boxing. Some sport stars, such as baseball star Babe Ruth and boxing champion Jack Dempsey, became national celebrities. Newspaper coverage of sports helped Americans follow their favorite sports and sports figures.

Motion pictures became even more popular than sports. Feature-length films became popular. Although sound was still not possible, theaters provided music during the movie and subtitles told the movie’s story line. Actors such as Mary Pickford, Charlie Chaplin, Douglas Fairbanks, and Gloria Swanson became very famous.
Radio shows and music also became popular. Most radio stations in the 1920s played the popular music of the day. Radio shows also included classical music and comedy shows. In addition to entertaining, the mass media—radio, movies, newspapers, and magazines aimed at a broad, popular audience—helped to expand people’s view of the world. It helped unify the nation and spread the new ideas of the time.

5. How did the mass media change American society?
What kinds of music do you enjoy listening to? How would you describe the music?

The last section described some cultural trends in the United States in the 1920s. This section describes some aspects of African American culture in the United States in the 1920s.

Use the chart below to help you take notes. The Harlem Renaissance produced many African American writers, musicians, and actors. Identify them in the space available.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Writers</th>
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READ TO LEARN

• The Harlem Renaissance (page 498)

Many African Americans were part of the Great Migration, the movement from the rural South to the industrial North. They hoped to escape segregation and to find opportunities to better their lives. As African American population increased in the large northern cities, so did nightclubs and music. This was particularly true in the New York City neighborhood of Harlem, which was the center for artistic development, racial pride, and a feeling of community. This flourishing of African American arts became known as the Harlem Renaissance.

One of the most important writers of the Harlem Renaissance was Claude McKay. His writing reflected defiance and a hatred of racism, two major characteristics of Harlem Renaissance writing. Another important writer of the Harlem Renaissance was Langston Hughes. He became a leading voice of the African American experience in the United States. Zora Neale Hurston wrote the first major stories about female African American characters.

Louis Armstrong introduced an improvisational form of jazz. This was a style of music influenced by Dixieland music and ragtime. Armstrong broke away from the New Orleans tradition of group playing to imaginative solo playing. He became the first great cornet and trumpet soloist in jazz music. Duke Ellington was also influenced by ragtime. He created his own sound using different combinations of instruments. Like other African American musicians, Ellington got his start at the Cotton Club. This was one of the most famous Harlem nightspots. Bessie Smith was famous for singing the blues, a soulful style of music that evolved from African American spirituals. Smith performed with many of the greatest jazz bands.

The theater also thrived during the Harlem Renaissance. Paul Robeson and Josephine Baker were two of the most famous theater performers of the time.

8. What was Harlem?

• African American Politics (page 501)

African Americans’ political goals changed after World War I. As the number of African Americans increased in the North, they became an important voting bloc. Most African Americans voted for Republicans. African Americans in Chicago elected Oscar De Priest, the first African American representative in Congress from a Northern state.
The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) worked against segregation and discrimination. It did so mainly by lobbying politicians and working through the courts. The NAACP lobbied against lynching throughout the 1920s and 1930s. It worked with organized labor and was successful in defeating the nomination of Judge John J. Parker to the U.S. Supreme Court. Parker was known for his racist and anti-labor positions.

While some people were fighting for integration, others were calling for African American separation from white society. One such person was Marcus Garvey. He founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). It was an organization that worked to promote black pride and unity. Garvey believed that African Americans could gain economic and political power through education. He also believed African Americans should separate themselves from whites. Garvey told his followers that they would never find justice in the United States. He urged them to settle in Liberia, in Africa. Many African Americans distanced themselves from Garvey and his push for separation. Although Garvey was not successful in getting support for his movement, he did instill millions of African Americans with pride in their heritage. This feeling would eventually inspire the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

9. Why did Marcus Garvey call for African Americans to settle in Africa?

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Study Guide

Chapter 16, Section 1

For use with textbook pages 510–513

PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

normalcy  a reference to returning to a normal time (page 511)
Ohio Gang  a group of friends President Harding appointed to cabinet positions and other high-level positions (page 511)
Albert B. Fall  secretary of the interior under President Harding (page 512)
Teapot Dome scandal  scandal involving Harding’s secretary of the interior (page 512)
immunity  freedom from prosecution (page 512)
Progressive Party  political party formed during the 1924 election by those who would not support either the Republican or Democratic candidate (page 513)
Robert M. La Follette  presidential candidate for the Progressive Party in the 1924 election (page 513)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

How would you describe the current president of the United States? What style of leadership does the president have? Do you think his style appeals to most Americans?

In this section, you will learn about the administration of President Harding. You will also learn about Calvin Coolidge’s presidency.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the chart below to help you take notes. President Harding’s and President Coolidge’s presidencies differed greatly. Describe some aspects of each in the chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Harding’s Presidency</th>
<th>Coolidge’s Presidency</th>
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READ TO LEARN

• The Harding Administration (page 510)

Warren G. Harding was elected president in 1920. He ran on the campaign slogan to return to normalcy, or a return to “normal” life after the war. Harding was charming and well-liked. Although Harding appointed some distinguished people to cabinet posts, he also appointed many friends to cabinet positions and high-level jobs. These people became known as the Ohio Gang. Some members used their offices to sell government jobs or immunity from prosecution. They were involved in several scandals. One scandal broke in July 1923. At that time, President Harding was touring the West. During his trip, he became ill and died.

One of the scandals involved Harding’s secretary of the interior, Albert B. Fall. He secretly allowed private companies to lease lands containing U.S. Navy oil reserves at Teapot Dome, Wyoming, and Elk Hills, California. He received bribes from these companies. The Senate investigated the Teapot Dome scandal, and Secretary Fall became the first cabinet member to go to prison.

Another scandal involved Attorney General Harry Daugherty, Harding’s former campaign manager. This scandal involved a German-owned American company that the Americans took over during World War I. To buy the company, a German agent bribed a politician. A part of the bribe ended up in a bank account that Daugherty controlled. Daugherty refused to turn over bank files and testify under oath. He claimed immunity, or freedom from prosecution, because he said he had had confidential dealings with the president. Daugherty’s attitude disgusted the new president, Calvin Coolidge. He demanded Daugherty’s resignation.

7. What problems did President Harding face in his administration?

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• The Coolidge Administration (page 512)

President Coolidge tried to distance himself from the corruption of Harding’s administration. He asked only the most capable cabinet members to stay on. Coolidge believed that the country would prosper if businesses prospered. He was determined that the government should interfere as little as possible with business. Coolidge restored integrity to the presidency. The nation prospered during his administration, and he easily won the Republican Party’s nomination for president in 1924.

The Democrats were divided between supporters from the urban East and those from the rural South and West. As a result, they had a difficult time choosing a candidate. They finally agreed on John W. Davis of West Virginia.

Many people who did not want to choose between the Republican and the Democratic candidates left their parties to form a new Progressive Party. They nominated Robert M. La Follette as their presidential candidate. Coolidge won easily.

8. Why did some people form a new Progressive Party?
How important is the automobile today to American life? How important is it to your life?

The last section described the administrations of Presidents Harding and Coolidge. This section discusses the nation’s economy in the 1920s.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The automobile greatly changed American life in the 1920s. Explain how it did so in the diagram.
The Rise of New Industries (page 514)

During the 1920s, the automobile became an important part of American life. During that time, Americans earned more money than ever before. The number of work hours decreased. The use of mass production, or large-scale product manufacturing usually done by machinery, made more products available. It also lowered the costs of the products. It helped to change the American economy.

Carmaker Henry Ford used the assembly line to make cars. This system divided operations into simple tasks that unskilled workers could do. After Ford started using this system, the time it took to build a car decreased dramatically. Whereas in 1913, workers built a car in about 12 hours, by 1925 the assembly line built a car every 10 seconds. Ford’s assembly-line product was the Model T. Using mass production to build cars helped to decrease the price of cars. In 1908 a Model T sold for about $850. By 1924 Model Ts sold for about $295.

The low prices for cars created a huge demand. By the mid-1920s, other corporations, such as General Motors and Chrysler, were competing with Ford. The automobile industry also led to the growth of other industries, such as plate glass, rubber, and steel.

Just as the automobile changed the way manufacturing was done, it also changed American life. The automobile created an increase in small businesses such as garages and gas stations. It brought people in rural areas closer to cities and city people closer to the country. It allowed people to live farther away from work. A new kind of worker, the auto commuter, developed. Many commuters lived in the suburbs and drove to work in the city.

With an increased income, consumers were also able to buy the many new products that came on the market. They bought items such as electric razors and frozen foods. They also bought labor-saving appliances such as electric irons, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, and washing machines. Industries that made personal care items—such as mouthwash, deodorants, and cosmetics—became major industries in the 1920s.

The airline industry began to develop rapidly after the successful flight of the Wright brothers in 1903. Leading the way was Glenn Curtiss, an American who invented ailerons, which can be tilted to steer the plane.

By the 1920s, airplanes were used by the Post Office to deliver mail. In 1926 Congress passed the Air Commerce Act. The law provided federal aid for building airports. The idea of using airplanes for commercial flights received a boost in 1927, when former airmail pilot Charles Lindbergh made a solo flight across the Atlantic Ocean. Commercial flying became popular among American business executives in the 1920s.
Commercial radio also became popular in the 1920s. In 1926 the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) established a permanent network of stations to distribute daily programs. There were almost 700 stations across the country by 1927. The Federal Radio Commission had been set up to regulate these stations. Sales of radio sets soared. In 1928 the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) set up a coast-to-coast network of stations to compete with NBC. The two networks sold advertising time. They hired musicians, actors, and comedians to appear on their shows. In 1928 the stations provided complete coverage of the presidential election for the first time.

6. What was the effect of using mass production in making goods?

- The Consumer Society (page 518)

The higher wages Americans earned in the 1920s allowed them to increase their buying power. The prosperity of the 1920s gave many Americans the confidence to go into debt to buy new goods. Before the 1920s, most Americans considered debt shameful. However, this attitude changed in the 1920s. Americans began believing that they could pay what they owed at a later time. Americans began buying items such as cars and furniture on credit.

One problem that many inventors faced was getting people to become aware of the invention. To get people to buy the new products, manufacturers turned to advertising. It became an important industry in the 1920s.

Unions in the 1920s lost membership and were not influential. This was due in large part because of anti-union activities of the employers. Employers supported the open shop—a workplace where employees were not required to join a union. Many companies also set up welfare capitalism. They allowed employees to buy stock, participate in profit sharing, and receive benefits such as medical care. These measures made unions seem unnecessary to many workers.

7. How did manufacturers make people aware of their new products?
Farmers did not prosper in the 1920s. New technology allowed them to produce more. However, demand for the products did not increase, so farmers received lower prices for their goods. During the war, the government encouraged farmers to produce more to fill the need for food in Europe. Many farmers went into debt to buy more land and machinery in order to grow more crops. The sales and prices were high, and farmers made money. After the war, Europeans began producing more farm products on their own. They no longer had the need for American products. Then in 1922, Congress passed the Fordney-McCumber Act. The law raised tariffs to protect American industries from foreign competition. However, Europeans reacted by not buying American agricultural products. American farmers could not sell their products overseas, and prices dropped. Some members of Congress tried to help the American farmers sell their surplus products. They proposed that the government buy the crop surpluses and sell them abroad. They believed this would help farmers. Although Congress passed the bill, President Coolidge vetoed it. He believed that the bill would encourage farmers to produce even greater surpluses that the government would not be able to sell. As a result, American farmers stayed in recession throughout the 1920s.

8. Why did American farmers have difficulty selling their products overseas after World War I?
The Policies of Prosperity

Key Terms and Names

**Supply-side economics** the idea that the economy would grow by lowering taxes, which would increase spending and investing (page 522)

**Cooperative individualism** an idea promoted by Herbert Hoover that encouraged manufacturers and distributors to form trade associations and voluntarily share information with the federal government (page 522)

**Isolationism** philosophy that a nation should limit its involvement in international affairs (page 523)

**Charles G. Dawes** American banker and diplomat who negotiated a loan repayment plan with France, Britain, and Germany (page 523)

**Charles Evans Hughes** secretary of state who proposed a 10-year moratorium on construction of new warships (page 524)

**Moratorium** a pause (page 524)

**Kellogg-Briand Pact** a treaty in which signing nations agreed to outlaw war and to negotiate disputes peacefully (page 524)

Drawing from Experience

How is the United States involved in the affairs of other nations? Do you think the United States could avoid being involved? Why do you think so?

The last section described the economic growth in the United States in the 1920s. This section discusses the economic policies of the government that contributed to the economic prosperity.

Organizing Your Thoughts

Use the chart below to help you take notes. The United States continued to be involved in world affairs during the 1920s, signing several treaties. Explain the conditions of each of the treaties listed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treaty</th>
<th>Conditions of Treaty</th>
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<tr>
<td>Five-Power Naval Limitation Treaty</td>
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<td>Four-Power Treaty</td>
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<td>Nine-Power Treaty</td>
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<td>Kellogg-Briand Pact</td>
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Presidents Harding and Coolidge opposed government regulation of business. Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon was important in developing much of the economic policy of the United States during the 1920s. He reduced government spending and cut the federal budget. A major expense of the United States at that time was the interest on the national debt. The national debt had increased by 1920 because of World War I costs. Mellon refinanced the debt to lower the interest. He also persuaded the Federal Reserve to lower interest rates as well. These steps helped reduce the debt.

Mellon also worked to reduce tax rates. He believed that lowering taxes would allow businesses and consumers to spend and invest their extra money. This would cause the economy to grow. He believed that as the economy grew, Americans would earn more money and the government would actually collect more taxes at the lower rate than it would if the tax rates were kept high. This idea is known as **supply-side economics**. By 1928 Congress drastically lowered the tax rates.

In addition to Mellon’s policies, other government programs also helped business. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover tried to balance government regulation with his idea of **cooperative individualism**. This idea encouraged manufacturers and distributors to form trade associations, which would voluntarily share information with the government.

5. What were two important policies of Andrew Mellon’s economic program?
• Trade and Arms Control *(page 522)*

Before World War I, the United States owed more money to foreign investors than foreigners owed the United States. This situation was reversed by the end of the war. By the 1920s, the United States was the world’s dominant economic power.

After World War I, most Americans favored *isolationism*. They did not want the United States to become involved in foreign affairs. The nation, however, was too interconnected with other countries, both politically and economically, to go back to isolationism.

After the war, the U.S. allies had a difficult time repaying their war debts. They claimed that the tariffs the American government placed on European goods closed the United States to European imports, which slowed down Europe’s economic recovery. The United States argued that American taxpayers should not have to assume the debts of others. They argued that European nations received extra territory as a result of the war, whereas the United States had gained nothing. They also pointed out that European nations were receiving *reparations*, or huge cash payments that Germany was required to pay as punishment for causing the war. The payments, however, were crippling the German economy.

The United States wanted the European economies to be stable. It wanted Europeans to be able to buy American exports and to repay their debts. In 1924 Charles G. Dawes, an American banker, negotiated an agreement with France, Britain, and Germany. Under the agreement, American banks would loan money to Germany to help it meet their reparation payments. At the same time, Britain and France would accept less in reparations while paying more on their war debts. The plan, however, actually put Britain, France, and Germany deeper into debt to American banks.

After the war, the major powers became involved in a naval arms race. To stop the arms race, the United States asked the representatives of eight nations to Washington to discuss disarmament. Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes proposed a 10-year *moratorium*, or pause, on the building of major new warships. He also proposed a list of warships for each country to destroy.

The conference resulted in three agreements. In the Five-Power Naval Limitation Treaty, Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States basically agreed to Secretary Hughes’s proposals. Under the Four-Power Treaty, the United States, Japan, France, and Britain recognized each country’s island possessions in the Pacific. In the Nine-Power Treaty, all participating countries guaranteed China’s independence.

The conference, however, did not place a limit on land forces. It angered Japan because it required the Japanese to keep a smaller navy than the United States or Great Britain.
The success of the Washington Conference led to the belief that nations could work together to negotiate agreements to end war altogether. U.S. Secretary of State Frank Kellogg and French Foreign Minister Aristide Briand proposed a treaty that banned war. The United States and 14 other nations signed the **Kellogg-Briand Pact** on August 27, 1928. The treaty stated that all signing nations agreed to abandon war and negotiate disputes peacefully.

6. Why was it not possible for the United States to go back to a policy of isolationism after World War I?
DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

How important is the stock market to the U.S. economy today? How do Americans participate in the stock market?

In this section, you will about the stock market in the 1920s. You will also learn about the causes of the Great Depression.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the cause-and-effect diagram below to help you take notes. Several situations led to the stock market crash. List these causes below.

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Study Guide

Chapter 17, Section 1

For use with textbook pages 530–534

CAUSES OF THE DEPRESSION

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Alfred E. Smith  the Democratic nominee in the 1928 presidential election (page 531)
stock market  a system for buying and selling shares of companies (page 531)
bull market  a long period of rising stock prices (page 531)
margin  a way of buying stocks by paying only a small percent of the price of the stock and taking a loan from a stockbroker to pay the rest (page 531)
margin call  a demand by a broker for the investor to repay the loan at once (page 531)
speculation  buying shares, betting that the stock market will continue to climb, and then selling the stock to make money quickly (page 531)
Black Tuesday  the day, October 29, 1929, that the stock market experienced its steepest dive (page 533)
installment  monthly payment made on a high-cost item (page 534)
Hawley-Smoot Tariff  high tariff that damaged American sales abroad (page 534)
READ TO LEARN

• The Election of 1928 (page 530)

In the 1928 presidential election, Herbert Hoover ran as the Republican nominee. The Democrats nominated Alfred E. Smith. Several issues determined the election results. Hoover supported Prohibition. Smith opposed the ban. Hoover was a Quaker, and Smith was a Roman Catholic, the first one ever to be nominated for president. Many Protestants believed that if a Catholic were elected president, the Pope would rule the White House. This belief damaged Smith’s candidacy. Hoover and the Republicans were also given credit for the nation’s prosperity during the 1920s. As a result, Hoover won in a landslide victory.

7. How did religion play a part in the 1928 presidential election?

• The Long Bull Market (page 531)

After the election, stock prices continued to increase. The stock market was started as a system for buying and selling shares of companies. The late 1920s saw a bull market, or a long period of rising stock prices. As a result, many Americans began investing heavily in stocks. As the bull market continued, many investors began buying stocks on margin. They made a small cash down payment on the stock, and took out a loan from a stockbroker to pay for the rest of the stock. The stockbroker earned a commission on the sale and interest on the loan. Buying on margin was safe as long as the stock prices kept rising. However, a decrease in prices became a problem. To protect the loan, the stockbroker could issue a margin call. This was a demand for the investor to repay the loan. If prices started falling, many investors had to sell their stock quickly in order to be able to repay their loans.

Before the late 1920s, the prices that investors paid for stocks had to do with the company’s profits. If the company’s profits rose, the stock price rose. If earnings decreased, the value of the stock decreased. However, in the late 1920s, new investors would buy a company’s stock without regard to a company’s earnings. Buyers hoped to make a quick profit and practiced speculation. Instead of investing in the future of the companies whose stock they bought, they were betting that the stock market would continue to climb and then sell the stock quickly to make money.
8. Why did many investors buy stocks on speculation in the late 1920s?

• The Great Crash (page 532)

By mid-1929 the stock market was running out of new customers, and stock prices stopped rising. Investors began selling off their holdings and prices decreased. Other investors sold their shares to pay the interest on the loans they took out from brokers, and prices decreased even more. On October 29, 1929, which became known as Black Tuesday, stock prices took their steepest dive. By mid-November stock prices had dropped by over one-third. The stock market crash did not cause the Great Depression, but it prevented the economy from surviving other weaknesses.

Banks also suffered as a result of the stock market crash. Many banks had lent money to stock speculators. They also had invested depositors’ money in the stock market in hopes of getting higher returns. When stock prices fell, many banks lost money on their investments, and speculators could not repay their loans. The banks had to cut back on the number of loans they made. As a result, many people were not able to borrow as much money as they once did.

Many banks were forced to close because of their losses. People who had deposits in these banks lost all their savings. Many Americans began withdrawing their deposits from banks because they feared that the banks would collapse. This run on the banks caused many banks to collapse.

9. Why did many banks collapse in 1929?

• The Roots of the Great Depression (page 533)

The stock market crash alone did not cause the Great Depression. Other reasons also contributed to it. One major reason was overproduction of manufactured goods. Most Americans did not have enough money to buy all the
goods that were made. During the 1920s, many Americans bought high-cost items, such as refrigerators, on the installment plan. People made a down payment and paid the rest of the price in monthly installments. Some people reached a point where they had to reduce their purchases in order to pay their debts. When sales slowed, manufacturers cut production and laid off employees. The slowdown in one industry affected other industries, putting more and more Americans out of work.

Another reason for the Great Depression was the fact that Americans were not selling many goods to foreign countries. During the 1920s, banks earned more money by making loans to speculators than by lending to foreign companies so that they could buy American goods. As a result, foreign companies bought less from the United States. In 1930 Congress passed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff. It raised the tax on many imports. Although it protected American manufacturers from foreign competition, it also damaged American sales to foreign countries. Americans began buying fewer imports, which led foreign countries to buy fewer American goods. American companies and farmers were hurt by this situation. The high tariff deepened the Great Depression.

The actions of the Federal Reserve also contributed to the Great Depression. Instead of raising interest rates to stop speculation buying, the Federal Reserve lowered rates. These lower rates encouraged banks to make risky loans. Lower interest rates generally mean the economy is growing. By lowering interest rates, the Federal Reserve misled many business leaders. They believed the economy was still growing, so they borrowed more money to expand their production. This led to overproduction at a time when sales were decreasing. When the Depression finally came, the companies had to cut their costs and lay off their workers. The increased unemployment damaged the economy even more.

10. How did the Hawley-Smoot Tariff contribute to the Great Depression?
DIRECTIONS FROM EXPERIENCE

What images come to mind when you hear the words Great Depression? Where do you think these images come from?

The last section explained the causes of the Great Depression. This section describes how the Great Depression affected Americans.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Art during the 1930s reflected the Depression. Describe how it did so in the diagram.
The Depression Worsens (page 535)

The Depression grew worse during President Hoover’s administration. Thousands of banks failed. Thousands of companies went out of business. Millions of Americans were unemployed. Many of the unemployed went hungry. They joined bread lines to receive a free handout of food. They lined up outside soup kitchens. These were private charities set up to give poor people a meal.

Many people could not afford to pay their rent or mortgage and lost their homes. Those who could not or would not move were given an eviction notice. Court officials called bailiffs threw them and their belongings in the street. Many of these homeless people put up shacks on unused or public lands, forming communities called shantytowns throughout the country. Many called the shantytowns Hoovervilles, because they blamed President Hoover for their problems.

Many homeless and unemployed people began to wander around the country. Known as hobos, they often sneaked rides on railroad cars to get from place to place.

In addition to the Depression, farmers soon faced a new problem. For a long time, farmers on the Great Plains had plowed the soil. They uprooted the grasses that held the soil’s moisture and planted wheat. When crop prices decreased in the 1920s, however, Midwestern farmers left many of their fields unplanted. In 1932 the Great Plains experienced a severe drought. The unplanted soil turned to dust. Much of the Plains became a Dust Bowl. The winds blew the dry soil, blackening the sky for hundreds of miles. As the drought continued, the number of dust storms increased. Many families packed their belongings into old cars or trucks and headed west to California, to find better opportunities. There most remained homeless and in poverty.

5. Why did many farmers in the Great Plains leave their land in the 1930s and head west?
people with a way to escape their daily fears. Many European actors, such as Marlene Dietrich and Greta Garbo, became superstars. Americans also enjoyed cartoons. Walt Disney produced the first feature-length animated film. Even films that focused on the serious side of life were generally optimistic.

Americans also listened to the radio. They listened to the news broadcasts. They also enjoyed different kinds of programs. One of the most popular heroes on the radio shows was the Lone Ranger. Short daytime dramas were also popular and provided people with escapes. Some of these dramas were sponsored by the makers of laundry soaps and were nicknamed soap operas. Talking about the lives of radio characters provided Americans with a common ground.

6. What part did movies and radio shows play in Americans’ lives during the Great Depression?

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The Depression in Art (page 538)

Art and literature in the 1930s showed what life was like in the Depression. Painters such as Grant Wood showed traditional American values, particularly those of rural Americans in the Midwest and the South.

Novelists such as John Steinbeck wrote about the lives of people in the Depression. In The Grapes of Wrath, Steinbeck told the story of an Oklahoma farm family who fled the Dust Bowl to find a better life in California.

Some writers during the Depression influenced literary style. In a technique known as stream of consciousness, William Faulkner showed what his characters were thinking and feeling even before they spoke.

Magazines became popular during the Depression. Magazine photographers traveled throughout the nation taking pictures of life around them. Many of these photographs were printed in magazines, which became very successful.

7. What was the subject of John Steinbeck’s The Grapes of Wrath?
For what issues have groups of people in the United States held demonstrations or protests in recent years? What issues do you think are important enough to demonstrate for?

The last section described how the Great Depression affected Americans. This section explains how President Hoover attempted to end the Depression.

Use the chart below to help you take notes. During the 1930s, the government proposed several programs to help end the Depression. Explain what each listed program was designed to do.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programs</th>
<th>How They Attempted to End the Depression</th>
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<tr>
<td>public works</td>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>National Credit Corporation</td>
<td>2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reconstruction Finance Corporation</td>
<td>3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emergency Relief and Construction Act</td>
<td>4.</td>
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</table>
Although President Hoover tried to persuade Americans that things would improve quickly, he was very worried about the economy. He held conferences with the heads of banks and other businesses, government officials, and labor.

At first Hoover received a pledge from business to keep factories open and to stop cutting wages. However, by 1931 they did not keep their pledges. Hoover then tried to increase public works, which are government-financed building projects. He hoped that the jobs these government projects would create would make up for the construction jobs lost in private business. The jobs made up for only a small part of the jobs that were lost in the private sector. The only way the public works would have created many new jobs would have been to increase government spending for the public works projects. If the government raised taxes to get the money, it would take money away from consumers and it would hurt the struggling businesses. If the government kept taxes low and spent more money than it collected in taxes, it would have to borrow the money it needed from banks. This would leave less money for businesses and consumers who needed loans. Hoover believed that this deficit spending would delay an economic recovery.

In the 1930 congressional elections, Americans blamed the Republican Party for the economic problems. As a result, the Republicans lost their majority in the House of Representatives and narrowly held on to it in the Senate.

5. Why did President Hoover propose the creation of public works projects?

• Pumping Money Into the Economy (page 544)

Hoover wanted to make sure that banks could make loans to businesses so that they could start producing and rehire workers. He tried to persuade the Federal Reserve Board to put more money into circulation, but the board refused. Hoover then set up the National Credit Corporation (NCC) in 1931. This was a voluntary lending organization. Hoover persuaded a number of New York bankers to contribute to the organization to create a pool of money. Troubled banks could draw from this pool so they could continue lending money in their communities. The contributions made to the pool were not enough to help the nation.
By 1932 Hoover decided that the only way to provide money for borrowers was for the government to lend it. He asked Congress to set up the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) to make loans to banks, railroads, and farming institutions. The RFC made millions of dollars worth of loans. However, it did not loan enough money to meet the needs. As a result, the economy continued to decline.

Hoover did not want the government to participate in relief—money that went directly to poor families. He believed that that was the job of state and local governments. These governments, however, were running out of money. By 1932 Congress passed the Emergency Relief and Construction Act, which provided loans to states for direct relief. This program was also too late to stop the continuing decline of the economy.

6. What was the purpose of the National Credit Corporation?

• In an Angry Mood (page 544)

By 1931 Americans were getting increasingly upset about the bad economy. In December 1932, crowds began to form rallies and “hunger marches.” One such group marched in Washington, D.C., demanding that the government feed the hungry and tax the wealthy.

Farmers also protested. Farm prices sank so low that most farmers could not pay their mortgages. Between 1930 and 1934, creditors foreclosed on almost one million farms. They took over the farms and forced the families off the farms. Some farmers began to destroy their crops, hoping that reducing the supply of crops would help raise prices.

To thank American soldiers for serving in World War I, Congress set up a $1,000 bonus for each veteran to be distributed in 1945. However, in 1931 Congress debated a bill that would authorize early payment of the bonuses. By 1932 the veterans, many of whom were homeless, were in need of the bonuses. About 1,000 veterans, named the Bonus Army, set off on a march to Washington to lobby Congress to pass the bill. They lived in Hoovervilles around the capital. The number of veterans grew in a few weeks to almost 15,000. President Hoover refused to meet with them. The Senate voted the new bonus bill down. Many veterans began to leave to return home. Some of the marchers, however, stayed on since they had no jobs. Some moved to unoccupied buildings.
President Hoover ordered the police to clear the buildings. One police officer panicked and fired into a crowd. Two veterans were killed. The government of Washington, D.C., then called in the army. The soldiers were told to enforce the order to clear the veterans from the buildings. The soldiers used tear gas on the veterans and burned down their shacks. The press covered these events, and the pictures upset the public. These images and the Depression affected Americans’ opinion of President Hoover.

7. Why did veterans march on Washington, D.C., in 1932?
DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What do you know about President Franklin Roosevelt? What do you think he is most known for?

In this section, you will learn about the characteristics of Franklin Roosevelt. You will also learn why the banking situation worsened during the early 1930s.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s background prepared him for becoming the president. List the aspects of Roosevelt’s background and positions that he held that led to his election as president.

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

New Deal  President Franklin Roosevelt’s programs for ending the Depression (page 553)

polio  a paralyzing disease (page 554)

gold standard  a situation in which one ounce of gold equaled a set number of dollars

bank holiday  the closing of banks before bank runs could put them out of business
In the 1932 presidential election, many voters were against President Hoover, who was the Republican nominee. Democrats chose New York Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Roosevelt’s programs for ending the Depression became known as the New Deal.

Franklin Roosevelt was a distant cousin of President Theodore Roosevelt. He was born into a wealthy New York family. He was educated at Harvard University and Columbia Law School. After leaving law school, Roosevelt went into politics. He started as a senator in the New York legislature. He was the assistant secretary of the navy under President Wilson. He ran as the vice-presidential candidate in the 1920 election, which he lost. A year later, Roosevelt came down with polio, a paralyzing disease. While recovering from the disease, Roosevelt depended on his wife Eleanor to keep his name in the forefront in the New York Democratic Party. By the mid-1920s, Roosevelt returned to politics and became governor of New York. His policies made him a very popular governor. He cut taxes for farmers. He reduced rates charged by public utilities. In 1931 Roosevelt convinced the New York legislature to create an agency that would help unemployed New Yorkers. Roosevelt’s popularity led to his nomination for president in the 1932 election. Roosevelt’s optimism gave Americans hope during hard times. He was elected in November 1932.

7. What policies made Franklin Roosevelt a popular New York governor?

- Roosevelt Is Inaugurated (page 554)

Between Roosevelt’s election and his inauguration, unemployment continued to rise. Bank runs increased. Some of the bank runs happened because people were afraid that Roosevelt would get rid of the gold standard and lower the value of the dollar to fight the Depression. At that time, one ounce of gold was equal to a set number of dollars. To lower the value of the dollar, the United States would have to stop exchanging dollars for gold. Investors who had deposits in American banks decided to take their money out of the banks and exchange it for gold before it lost its value. By March 1933, more than 4,000 banks had collapsed. In 38 states, governors declared bank holidays.
They closed the remaining banks before people could make a run on them and put them out of business.

8. Why did many states declare bank holidays in 1933?
The First New Deal

Key Terms and Names

Hundred Days  the time between March 9 and June 16, 1933, when Congress passed 15 laws to deal with the nation’s economy (page 556)

fireside chats  radio talks that President Roosevelt held with the American people to let them know what he hoped to accomplish (page 558)

Securities and Exchange Commission  a government agency set up to regulate the stock market and prevent fraud (page 558)

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation  provided government insurance for bank deposits up to a certain amount (page 558)

Agricultural Adjustment Administration  the agency that administered Roosevelt’s farm program (page 559)

Civilian Conservation Corps  a New Deal relief program (page 561)

Drawing From Experience

What do you think was the most important thing President Roosevelt had to do to help end the Depression? Why do you think so?

The last section described the background of President Franklin Roosevelt. This section discusses the programs he initiated in his first 100 days in office.

Organizing Your Thoughts

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Congress passed several laws and set up programs to help various aspects of the U.S. economy. Identify the laws and programs that were to help each of the areas listed in the diagram.

New Deal

- Banks and Stock Market
  - 1.
  - 2.
  - 3.

- Farms and Industry
  - 4.
  - 5.

- Debt Relief
  - 6.
  - 7.

- Spending and Relief Programs
  - 8.
  - 9.
READ TO LEARN

• The Hundred Days Begins (page 556)

Once Roosevelt came into office, he began sending bill after bill to Congress. Between March 9 and June 16, 1933, which came to be known as the Hundred Days, Congress passed 15 major laws to deal with the economy. All these programs became known as the First New Deal.

Roosevelt was willing to experiment and try several approaches to solve the economic problems. He asked for advice from people from a variety of backgrounds. He chose advisers who disagreed with each other so that he could hear several different viewpoints. Roosevelt alone made the final decision.

Roosevelt’s advisers made up three major groups. One group favored the policies of Theodore Roosevelt. They believed that government and business should work together to manage the economy. A second group distrusted big business. They blamed business leaders for causing the Depression. They wanted the government to run important parts of the economy. A third group supported President Wilson’s policies. They believed that large trusts were to blame for the Depression. They also believed that the government had to bring back competition to the economy. These advisers wanted Roosevelt to break up big companies to allow competition.

10. What did the advisers who blamed business leaders for causing the Depression want the government to do?

• Fixing the Banks and the Stock Market (page 557)

President Roosevelt realized that one of the first things he had to do was restore people’s confidence in the banks. He declared a national bank holiday and then called a special session of Congress. On the day that Congress met, the House of Representatives passed the Emergency Banking Relief Act. The Senate approved it the same evening and Roosevelt signed it into law. It said that federal officials would check the nation’s banks and give licenses to those that were financially sound.

On March 12, President Roosevelt addressed the American public by radio. This was the first of many fireside chats. He used them to let the American people know what he was trying to accomplish. In his first chat, Roosevelt told the people that it would be safe for them to put their money back into the banks. The next day there were more bank deposits than bank withdrawals.
Roosevelt’s advisers pushed for regulations for the banks and the stock market. Roosevelt agreed and supported the Securities Act of 1933 and the Glass-Steagall Banking Act. The Securities Act required that companies that sold stocks and bonds had to provide complete and truthful information to their investors. The next year, Congress set up the Securities and Exchange Commission. The agency was to regulate the stock market and prevent fraud.

The Glass-Steagall Act separated commercial banking from investment banking. Commercial banks handle everyday transactions, such as taking deposits and cashing checks. Under the Glass-Steagall Act, these banks could not risk depositors’ money by speculating on the stock market. The act also created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC). It provided government insurance on bank deposits up to a certain amount.

11. How did President Roosevelt communicate with the American people about what he was trying to accomplish?

Managing Farms and Industry (page 559)

President Roosevelt believed that farmers and businesses were suffering because prices were too low and production was too high. Several of Roosevelt’s advisers wanted to set up federal agencies to manage the economy.

Farmers had been hurt badly by the Depression. To help them, Roosevelt announced plans for a new farm program. He asked Congress to pass the Agricultural Adjustment Act. It was based on the idea that prices for farm products were low because farmers grew too much food. Under this act, the government would pay farmers not to grow certain crops and certain livestock. This program was administered by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA).

Over the next two years, farmers took out millions of acres of land from production. They received more than $1 billion in support payments. The program reached its goal. Surpluses fell by 1936, and food prices rose. Farm income also rose. However, not all farmers benefited. The large commercial farmers who grew one crop benefited more than small farmers who grew several crops. In addition, thousands of poor tenant farmers became homeless when landlords took fields out of production.

In June 1933, Roosevelt and Congress enacted the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). The law suspended antitrust laws. It allowed business, labor, and government to cooperate in setting up voluntary rules for each industry. The rules were known as codes of fair competition. They set prices, set up minimum wages, and limited factories to two shifts per day. This was done to spread production to as many firms as possible. Some codes shortened hours in the hope of creating more jobs. Another code guaranteed
workers the right to form unions. The National Recovery Administration (NRA) ran the program. Those business owners who signed code agreements received signs displaying the NRA’s symbol. People were urged to buy goods only from companies that displayed the signs.

The NRA had few successes. Small companies complained that large companies wrote codes that favored themselves. Many companies disliked price fixing, which limited competition. Employers disliked the idea of workers’ rights to form unions. The codes were also difficult to enforce, and many companies ignored them. Industrial production actually fell after the organization was set up. The Supreme Court ruled that the NRA was unconstitutional in 1935. However, public support for it was lost before that.

12. What were the effects of the Agricultural Adjustment Act?

13. What programs did Congress set up to help Americans pay their debts?

• Providing Debt Relief (page 560)

Some people believed that debt was standing in the way of an economic recovery. Income was falling, so people had to use much of their money to pay their debts. They had little left over to buy goods. Many people cut back on their spending in order to pay their mortgages. As a result, President Roosevelt introduced several programs to help Americans with their debts.

Roosevelt asked Congress to set up the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC). It bought the mortgages from many homeowners who were behind in their payments. It then restructured the payments with lower interest rates. The HOLC only helped those people who still had jobs. It foreclosed on the property of those who did not have jobs and could no longer pay their mortgages. However, the HOLC did help refinance one out of every five mortgages on private homes in the United States.

Congress also set up the Farm Credit Administration (FCA) to help farmers refinance their mortgages. The loans helped many farmers keep their land. However, giving loans to poor farmers meant that little money was left to loan to more efficient businesses in the economy.
• Spending and Relief Programs (page 560)

Although some of Roosevelt’s advisers believed that low prices and debt caused the Great Depression, others believed that the major cause was not buying enough to get the economy going. These advisers believed that the best way to get out of the Depression was to find a way to provide money for people. To do this, Roosevelt asked Congress to set up government agencies that would organize work programs for the unemployed.

One such relief program was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Starting in 1933, it employed young men 18 to 25 years of age to work under the supervision of the national forestry service. They planted trees, fought fires, and built reservoirs. Men lived in camps near their work areas and earned about $30 a month. By the time the CCC closed down in 1942, it had provided outdoor work to about three million men.

Congress set up the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). This agency provided federal money to state and local agencies to pay for their relief projects. The Public Works Administration (PWA), set up in June 1933, was a federal relief agency. To put the many unemployed construction workers back to work, the PWA set up a series of construction projects. The projects included building and improving highways, dams, sewer systems, and waterworks. The PWA did not hire workers directly. Instead, it gave contracts to construction companies. The PWA did insist that contractors hire African Americans, thereby breaking down racial barriers in the construction industry.

The Civil Works Administration (CWA) hired workers directly and put them on the federal government’s payroll. In the winter of 1933, the CWA had employed four million people. They built airports, roads, schools, and playgrounds. The CWA spent nearly $1 billion in just five months. Although the CWA helped many people get through the winter, President Roosevelt was concerned about how quickly it spent money. He did not want people to get used to the federal government providing them with jobs. As a result, he ordered the CWA to shut down and to fire the four million workers it had hired.

The programs of the New Deal did not restore the economy. However, they did inspire Americans with hope and restored their faith in the country.

14. How did the PWA hire workers?
When you get your paycheck, some of the money you earn has been taken out for income tax. An additional amount has been removed for Social Security. President Roosevelt initiated the Social Security program. The last section discussed the programs set up under the First New Deal. This section discusses President Roosevelt’s programs in the Second New Deal.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. In 1935 President Roosevelt set up the Second New Deal—a series of new programs to help the economy recover. In the diagram, list the laws and programs in the Second New Deal and explain the purpose of each.
After his first two years in office, Roosevelt had not been able to end the Depression. Opposition to his policies began to grow. People from both the right and the left of the political spectrum opposed them. The right opposed them because Roosevelt had begun **deficit spending** to pay for his programs. He ended the balanced budget and began borrowing money to pay for his programs. In 1934 anti-New Deal politicians and business leaders joined together to form the **American Liberty League**. They organized to oppose the New Deal.

Challenges also came from the left, where people believed that Roosevelt had not gone far enough. They wanted the government to be involved even more in shifting wealth from the rich to middle-income and poor Americans. One of Roosevelt’s biggest opponents was Huey Long, a senator from Louisiana. As governor of Louisiana, he had fought for the poor. He established a reputation for attacking the rich. Long’s popularity increased. Many people believed that if Long ran for president, he would win several million votes. This would be enough to give Republicans the win.

Another New Deal opponent from the left was Father Charles Coughlin, a Catholic priest in Detroit. He called for huge taxes on the wealthy. He established an organization that supported Huey Long.

Dr. Francis Townsend was also an opponent from the left. He proposed that the federal government pay every citizen over age 60 a pension of $200 per month. Those who received the pension would have to spend their entire pension check each month. Townsend believed the plan would increase spending, remove people from the labor force, and free up jobs for the unemployed. Townsend’s plan had many supporters, particularly the elderly. If his supporters joined the supporters of Long and Coughlin, there was a possibility that they would draw enough votes away from Roosevelt to stop him from being re-elected in 1936.

4. Why did the left oppose President Roosevelt’s policies?
President Roosevelt knew that he might lose political support from both the left and the right. He also knew that the New Deal had not improved the nation’s economy. As a result, in 1935 he began a series of programs called the Second New Deal, which he hoped would provide an economic recovery.

In January 1935, Roosevelt asked Congress for funds to provide work relief and to increase jobs. Much of the money would be given to the Works Progress Administration (WPA), a new federal agency. Under the WPA, 8.5 million workers built miles of highways, roads, public buildings, and parks. The WPA also provided jobs to artists and writers. They created murals and sculptures to decorate the walls and halls of public buildings. Musicians set up city symphonies.

Because of opposition to Roosevelt’s programs, the bill that created the WPA did not pass in Congress until April 1935. Then in May 1935, the Supreme Court struck down the National Industrial Recovery Act. It ruled that the NIRA codes were unconstitutional. The President now knew that he had to introduce a new set of programs to get the voters’ support. He called congressional leaders to the White House and told them they could not go home until Congress passed his new programs.

5. Why did the Supreme Court strike down the National Industrial Recovery Act?

The Rise of Industrial Unions (page 567)

When the Supreme Court ruled against the NIRA, it also struck down the part of the law that protected the right to form unions. President Roosevelt and others knew that the labor vote was important in the 1936 election. They also believed that unions could help end the Depression. They believed that higher union wages would let workers spend more money and that this would help the economy. Opponents believed that high wages forced companies to charge higher prices and to hire fewer workers.

In July 1935, Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act, also called the Wagner Act. It guaranteed workers the right to form unions and to collective bargaining. The law set up the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). It organized factory elections by secret ballot to determine whether workers wanted a union. It also certified successful unions. The law set up a way that dissatisfied union members could take their complaints to binding arbitration.
In this process, a neutral party would listen to both sides and decide the issues.

By the mid-1930s, union activity increased. The United Mine Workers union began working with other unions to organize workers in industries where there were no unions. They formed the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) in 1935. The union set out to organize industrial unions. These unions included all workers in a particular industry—both skilled and unskilled. The CIO started by focusing on the steel and automobile industries, where workers were not yet organized.

When two union men were demoted at a General Motors (GM) plant in Cleveland, Ohio, 135 workers sat down and started a strike. They stopped working but refused to leave the factory. Then four days later the workers in the Flint, Michigan, plant started their own sit-down strike. Workers at other GM plants also went on strike.

Violence broke out in Flint between the police and striking workers. In the end, however, the company gave in and recognized the CIO’s United Auto Workers (UAW). The UAW became one of the most powerful unions in the nation.

The United States Steel Corporation did not want to have the same experiences that GM had. It recognized the CIO’s United Steelworkers of America. The union won a 40-hour workweek and a 10-percent pay raise.

By 1939 total union membership tripled. In 1938 the CIO changed its name to the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It became a federation of industrial unions.

6. What kind of union was the Committee for Industrial Organization?

• The Social Security Act (page 569)

In August 1935, Congress passed the Social Security Act. Its goal was to provide some security for the elderly and for unemployed workers. Under this act, workers received benefits because they paid premiums. It also provided welfare payments to other needy people. The main part of Social Security was the monthly retirement benefit. People collected this benefit when they stopped working at age 65. Another part of Social Security was unemployment insurance, in which unemployed workers would receive a temporary income while looking for new jobs.
Although Social Security helped many people, it left out farm and domestic workers. About 65 percent of all African American workers in the 1930s fell into these two groups of workers. However, Social Security set the principle that the federal government should be responsible for people who, through no fault of their own, were unable to work.

7. What was the goal of the Social Security Act?
Study Guide

Chapter 18, Section 4

For use with textbook pages 572–577

THE NEW DEAL COALITION

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Frances Perkins  the Secretary of Labor under President Roosevelt, the first woman appointed to a cabinet post (page 573)

court-packing  Roosevelt’s plan to add justices to the Supreme Court (page 574)

Henry Morgenthau  Secretary of the Treasury under President Roosevelt (page 574)

John Maynard Keynes  influential British economist (page 575)

broker state  a government whose role includes mediating between competing groups (page 577)

safety net  safeguards and relief programs that protected Americans against economic disasters (page 577)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

How does the government today influence the nation’s economy? What other areas is the government involved in?

The last section described the programs of the Second New Deal. This section describes how the New Deal affected Americans.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the chart below to help you take notes. Fewer New Deal programs were established during Roosevelt’s second term. Describe the purpose of each of the programs listed in the chart.

| National Housing Act | 1. |
| Farm Security Administration | 2. |
| Fair Labor Standards Act | 3. |
READ TO LEARN

- **Roosevelt’s Second Term** *(page 572)*

  By 1936 most African American voters had switched their support to the Democratic Party because of the New Deal. African Americans and women had made some gains during the New Deal. Roosevelt appointed a number of African Americans to positions in his administration. He also tried to make sure that relief programs included African Americans. Roosevelt appointed the first woman to a cabinet position. **Frances Perkins** became the Secretary of Labor. Roosevelt also appointed many women to lower-level jobs in the federal government.

  In the 1936 election, the Republicans nominated Kansas Governor Alfred Landon. His campaign attacked the New Deal as violating the basic ideals of the American system. However, the New Deal was very popular with Americans. Roosevelt won the election by a landslide.

  The Supreme Court saw some of the New Deal’s programs as unconstitutional. It declared the Agricultural Adjustment Act unconstitutional in 1936. Other programs seemed likely to be struck down as well. Roosevelt was upset that a few justices might block his programs. He decided to change the balance of the Supreme Court. He sent a bill to Congress to increase the number of justices. If any justice had served for 10 years and did not retire within 6 months after reaching 70, the president could name an additional justice to the Court. This would allow Roosevelt to appoint as many as six new justices. This was referred to as the **court-packing** plan. Roosevelt’s plan made it look as if he was trying to interfere with the separation of powers and with the Supreme Court’s independence.

  The issue split the Democratic Party. Southern Democrats feared that the plan would put justices on the Court who would overturn segregation. African Americans feared that a future president might pack the Court with justices who were against civil rights. Many Americans believed the plan would make the president too powerful.

  Roosevelt’s actions did seem to force the Supreme Court to back down. It upheld the Wagner Act and the Social Security Act as constitutional. The Senate quietly killed the court-packing bill. However, the plan hurt Roosevelt’s reputation. It also encouraged conservative Democrats in Congress to work with Republicans to oppose further New Deal policies.

  Roosevelt experienced another setback in late 1937, when unemployment dramatically increased. Roosevelt decided that although unemployment was high, it was time to balance the budget. He was concerned about too much debt, so he ordered the WPA and the PWA to be cut considerably. However, he cut spending just as the first Social Security payments removed $2 billion from the economy. As a result, the economy declined. By the end of 1937, two million people had been thrown out of work.
The recession led to a debate among Roosevelt’s advisers about what to do. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau wanted to balance the budget and cut spending. However, Harry Hopkins, the head of the WPA, and Harold Ickes, the head of the PWA, disagreed with Morgenthau. They wanted more government spending. They pointed to Keynesianism—a theory proposed by British economist John Maynard Keynes. This theory said that during a recession the government should spend heavily, even go into debt, in order to jump-start the economy. According to Keynesianism, Roosevelt did the wrong thing when he cut back programs in 1937. Many critics, however, said that the recession proved that people were becoming too dependent on government spending. Roosevelt was worried that they might be right. However, in 1938 he decided to ask Congress to provide more funds for the PWA and WPA.

4. What did supporters of Keynesianism believe President Roosevelt should do to stop the recession in 1937?

• The Last New Deal Reforms (page 575)

In his second term, President Roosevelt wanted to provide better housing for the poor. In 1937 the National Housing Act set up the United States Housing Authority. It received $500 million to subsidize loans for builders to buy blocks of slums and build low-cost housing.

Many tenant farmers were hurt when farmers were paid to take land out of production to increase food prices. Many tenant farmers left farming. To stop this, Congress set up the Farm Security Administration. It gave loans to tenants so they could buy farms.

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 provided more protection for workers. It also abolished child labor and set up a 40-hour workweek to come into effect within three years.

In the congressional election of 1938, Republicans won many seats in Congress. Together with conservative Democrats, they began blocking New Deal legislation. By 1939 the New Deal era had ended.

5. How did the congressional elections of 1938 affect New Deal legislation?
The Legacy of the New Deal (page 576)

The New Deal resulted in business leaders, farmers, workers, and consumers all looking to government to protect their interests. The Supreme Court helped the government to take on this role through two rulings. The rulings increased federal power over the economy. It allowed the government to mediate between competing groups. As a mediator, the New Deal set up what is called a broker state, or working out conflicts among different interests. It is a role that has continued to today.

The biggest change brought about by the New Deal was the Americans’ view of government. The New Deal programs had created a kind of safety net for average Americans. Safeguards and relief programs protected them against economic disasters. By the time Roosevelt’s administration ended, most Americans believed that the government had a duty to keep the safety net.

6. How did Supreme Court rulings affect the federal government?
**Study Guide**

Chapter 19, Section 1

*For use with textbook pages 584–588*

**AMERICA AND THE WORLD**

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **Benito Mussolini**  Fascist dictator of Italy  *(page 585)*
- **fascism**  a kind of aggressive nationalism  *(page 585)*
- **Vladimir Lenin**  leader of the Bolshevik Party in Russia  *(page 585)*
- **Joseph Stalin**  dictator of the Soviet Union  *(page 585)*
- **Adolf Hitler**  Nazi leader of Germany  *(page 585)*
- **Manchuria**  province in northern China  *(page 586)*
- **Neutrality Act of 1935**  law that made it illegal for Americans to sell arms to any country at war  *(page 587)*
- **internationalism**  the idea that trade between nations creates prosperity and helps to prevent war  *(page 588)*

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

What decision did the Treaty of Versailles, which ended World War I, make regarding the treatment of Germany? How do you think the decision affected Germany?

In this section, you will learn about the rise of dictatorships in Europe and Asia. You will also learn why Americans supported isolationism in the 1930s.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Dictatorships were established in several countries after World War I. List the countries and the dictators in the diagram.

**Dictators After World War I**

1.  
2.  
3.  
4.  
5.  
6.  

The American Republic Since 1877
**READ TO LEARN**

- **The Rise of Dictators** (*page 584*)

The terms of the peace treaty that ended World War I and the economic depression contributed to the rise of dictatorships in Europe and Asia. In Italy, **Benito Mussolini** founded Italy’s Fascist Party. **Fascism** was a kind of aggressive nationalism. Fascists believed that the nation was more important than the individual. They believed that to be strong, a nation needed a strong government led by a dictator to impose order on society. Fascists also believed that a nation became strong by expanding its territory and building up its military. Fascists were anti-Communist. Many Europeans feared that Communists were trying to bring down their governments. Fascists played on these fears.

Mussolini marched on Rome in 1922. He claimed that he was coming to defend Italy against a Communist revolution. Conservative leaders of the Italian parliament persuaded the king to appoint Mussolini as the premier and head of the government. Once Mussolini took over, he quickly set up a dictatorship. He was supported by business leaders, landowners, and the Roman Catholic Church.

After the Russian Revolution began in 1917, the Bolshevik Party, led by **Vladimir Lenin**, set up Communist governments throughout the Russian empire. They renamed these territories the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). To control these territories, the Communists set up a one-party rule. They suppressed individual rights. They punished those who opposed them. **Joseph Stalin** became the Soviet leader by 1926, two years after Lenin died. Stalin started industrialization in the Soviet Union. He also caused the death of 8 to 10 million people who opposed the Communist policies.

In Germany, **Adolf Hitler** opposed communism. He admired Mussolini. He hated the Allies for their treatment of Germany after World War I. Germany’s condition after the war led to the start of many new political parties. One such party was the National Socialist German Workers’ Party, or the Nazi Party. The party was anti-Communist and nationalistic. Hitler was one of the first members of the party.

Hitler wrote his autobiography, entitled *Mein Kampf*, in which he called for the unification of all Germans under one government. He claimed that certain Germans, especially blond, blue-eyed ones, were part of a “master race” called Aryans. He believed these Germans needed more living space. Therefore, he wanted Germany to expand east into Poland and Russia. Hitler believed that the people of Eastern Europe were part of an inferior race. Hitler’s prejudice was especially directed toward Jews. He believed that they were responsible for many of the world’s, including Germany’s, problems.

Hitler worked to have Nazis elected to Germany’s parliament. Many Germans voted for Nazis, hoping that they might lead them out of the Great Depression that struck Germany. By 1932 the Nazis were the largest party in
the German Parliament. Many German leaders supported Hitler and his nationalism. In 1933 they appointed him chancellor, or prime minister. After Hitler took office, he called for new elections. He ordered the police to crack down on the Communist Party and to intimidate voters. After the elections, the Nazi-dominated Parliament gave Hitler the powers of a dictator. Hitler then became president, which gave him control of the army.

In Japan, the economy was suffering. Japan had to import nearly all the resources it needed to make goods. The country did not make enough money from its exports to pay for the imports it needed. The Depression made the situation even worse. Many military leaders blamed the poor economy on the corrupt politicians. They believed that the only way for Japan to get the resources it needed was to seize territory. They looked to Manchuria, a province in northern China, which was rich in resources. A group of military officers decided to act alone and invade Manchuria. The prime minister of Japan wanted to end the invasion, but he was assassinated by Japanese officers. The Japanese military was now in control.

7. What situations in Germany and Japan led to the rise of dictatorships there?

• America Turns to Neutrality (page 587)

After World War I, many Americans supported isolationism. They believed that the United States should stay out of international commitments that could bring the United States into a war. Support for isolationism became even stronger when many European nations announced that they could not repay money that they had borrowed during World War I. Then several books appeared, arguing that the arms manufacturers had tricked the United States into entering World War I. In 1934 Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota had held hearings to find out how involved the United States was. The Nye Committee investigated the huge profits that arms factories had made during the war. This gave the impression that these manufacturers did influence the United States to go to war. In response, Congress passed the Neutrality Act of 1935, which made it illegal for Americans to sell arms to any country at war.

The Spanish Civil War started in 1936. It was a conflict between the Communist government there and a group of Fascist rebels. The Soviet Union helped the Spanish government. Germany and Italy helped the Fascist rebels. In the same year, Germany and Italy signed an agreement to cooperate on
several international issues. This relationship was referred to as the Rome-Berlin Axis. Japan joined Germany and Italy. The three nations became known as the Axis Powers.

The United States passed the Neutrality Act of 1937. It continued to ban the sale of arms. It also required that countries at war buy nonmilitary supplies on a “cash-and-carry” basis. Countries that needed supplies had to send their own ships to pick up the supplies, and they had to pay cash. The United States wanted to avoid a situation that had helped bring it into World War I.

President Roosevelt knew that ending the Depression was his first priority. However, he was not an isolationist. Instead, he supported internationalism. This was the belief that trade between nations creates prosperity and helps to prevent war. Roosevelt knew that isolationism was too strong to resist, however, so he did not veto the Neutrality Acts.

In July 1937, Japan launched a full-scale attack on China. Roosevelt decided to help the Chinese. Because neither China nor Japan had actually declared war, Roosevelt claimed that the Neutrality Act of 1937 did not apply. He ordered the sale of weapons to China. Yet Americans still wanted nothing to do with another war.

8. Why did President Roosevelt not veto the Neutrality Acts?
DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Why do you think many Americans wanted the United States to follow a policy of isolationism? Do you think that was possible when dictators came to power in several countries of the world? Why or why not?

The last section described the rise of dictatorships in Europe and Asia after World War I. This section discusses the events that led to the beginning of World War II.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Adolf Hitler made continuous demands for territory. Britain and France met some of the demands in an effort to avoid war. In the diagram, list Hitler’s demands in the order in which they occurred, starting in 1937.

- **Hitler’s Demands**
  1. 
  2. 
  3.
READ TO LEARN

• “Peace in Our Time” (page 589)

European leaders did not try to stop Hitler. They thought that if they gave in to his demands, they would be able to avoid another war. They also thought that Hitler’s idea that all German-speaking regions of Europe be united with Germany was reasonable. They also believed that if the Nazis received more territory, they would be more interested in peace.

Hitler wanted Austria and Czechoslovakia. He believed these territories would provide Germany with food and soldiers. Hitler threatened to invade Austria unless Austrian Nazis were given important government posts. The Austrian chancellor decided to put the possibility of Austrian unification with Germany to a vote. Hitler feared the results, so he sent troops into Austria and announced the Anschluss, or unification, of Austria and Germany.

Hitler then announced that he wanted an area of Czechoslovakia that had many German-speaking people. Unlike Austria, which had a common culture and language with Germany, people in Czechoslovakia spoke many different languages. It was also allied with the Soviet Union and France. The Czechs resisted Germany’s demands for a portion of their nation. To help stop another war, in September 1938, Britain, France, Italy, and Germany sent representatives to a meeting in Munich, Germany, to decide what to do about Czechoslovakia. At the meeting, Britain and France agreed to Hitler’s demands. This policy became known as appeasement, or giving concessions in exchange for peace. They believed that if they gave Hitler what he wanted, war could be avoided. Germany violated the agreement in March 1939, when German troops marched into Czechoslovakia.

Hitler then demanded Poland. The British and French knew that appeasement had failed. In May 1939, Hitler ordered the German army to prepare to invade Poland. He then began negotiations with the USSR, because he did not want to have to fight the Soviets if he was going to have to fight Britain and France. In August 1939, Germany and the USSR signed the nonaggression pact. Britain and France believed that Hitler made the deal with the USSR to free himself to fight a war against them and Poland. They did not know that the nonaggression pact included a deal between Germany and the USSR to divide Poland between them.

4. Why did Britain and France agree to a policy of appeasement toward Hitler?
Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. It invaded Poland from the west, and the Soviets invaded it from the east. Hitler assumed that Britain and France would use appeasement toward him as they did before. However, on September 3, Britain and France declared war on Germany. World War II had started.

The Germans used a new type of warfare called blitzkrieg, or lightning war. This type of warfare used large numbers of tanks to break through and encircle enemy positions. In addition, waves of aircraft bombed enemy positions. Blitzkrieg depended on radios to coordinate tanks and aircraft. The Polish army was not able to defend itself against the German attack. By October 5, 1939, the Polish army had been defeated.

Countries in western Europe were waiting for the Germans to attack. After World War I, France had built a line of concrete bunkers and fortifications called the Maginot Line along the German border. Rather than attacking the Germans, the French waited behind the Maginot Line for the Germans to arrive.

After invading Poland, Germany attacked Norway and Denmark on April 9, 1940, and controlled both nations within a month. Hitler then turned his attention on France. He decided to go around the Maginot Line by starting a blitzkrieg against Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. The British and French forces moved north into Belgium. The Germans, however, sent their troops through the mountains in Luxembourg and eastern Belgium. The French did not think the Germans could get their tanks through the mountains. As a result, they left few troops to defend that area. The Germans easily got through and moved west across northern France to the English Channel. The British and French forces could not move into France quickly enough. They were stuck in Belgium.

After the Allied troops were trapped in Belgium, Germans moved toward the English Channel. The Germans had captured all but one port, Dunkirk, in northern France near Belgium. As German forces moved close to Dunkirk, Hitler surprisingly ordered them to stop. This gave the British time to evacuate. About 850 ships headed to Dunkirk from England. By June 4, about 338,000 British and French troops had been evacuated. However, most of the British army’s equipment remained at Dunkirk. This meant that it would almost be impossible to stop Hitler if he invaded Britain.

On June 22, 1940, France surrendered to Hitler. Germany then installed a puppet government in the town of Vichy, France, to govern France. The Germans believed it would be easy to take Britain.
5. Why did the evacuation at Dunkirk make it almost impossible for Britain to defend itself against Hitler?

• Britain Remains Defiant (page 593)

Hitler expected Britain to surrender just as France did. For British prime minister Winston Churchill, surrender was not an option. When Hitler realized that Britain would not surrender, he prepared to invade. Getting across the English Channel was a problem for Germany, however. Germany had few transport ships, so it would first have to defeat the British air force. In June 1940, the German air force, called the Luftwaffe, began to attack British ships in the English Channel. Then in August, Germany started an all-out air attack to destroy the British Royal Air Force. This battle lasted into October and became known as the Battle of Britain.

On August 23, German airplanes bombed London. This attack on civilians angered the British, who responded by bombing Berlin. Hitler responded by stopping the attacks on British military targets and concentrating them on London itself. Hitler wanted to terrorize the British people into surrendering. The British people did not do so and hid in the subways when the bombers appeared.

The British Royal Air Force was greatly outnumbered, but it had an advantage. It had developed the use of radar. As a result, the British were able to detect incoming German planes and to intercept them. They inflicted more damage on the Germans than they endured. On October 12, 1940, Hitler canceled his plans to invade Britain.

6. What helped Britain prevent a German invasion?
The Holocaust

What is the Holocaust? Have you seen movies or read books about the Holocaust? What was the focus of the movie or the book?

The last section described the events that led to the beginning of World War II. This section discusses Germany’s treatment of the Jews and the Holocaust.

Organizing Your Thoughts

Use the chart below to help you take notes. Historians have considered several factors that could have led to an event such as the Holocaust to occur. List these factors in the chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors That Contributed to the Holocaust</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>5.</td>
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<td>6.</td>
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READ TO LEARN

• Nazi Persecution of the Jews (page 595)

Millions of Jews suffered terrible persecutions before and during World War II. During the Holocaust, the catastrophe that devastated Europe’s Jews, the Nazis killed nearly 6 million Jews. They also killed millions of other people from groups that they considered inferior. The Hebrew term for the Holocaust is Shoah, meaning “catastrophe.” It is often used specifically to refer to the Nazi campaign to exterminate the Jews during World War II.

In Germany, the Nazis executed the racial policies that Hitler had outlined in his book Mein Kampf. The Nazis persecuted anyone who opposed them, as well as disabled people, Gypsies, homosexuals, and Slavic peoples. However, their hatred focused most on the Jews. In September 1935, the Nazis set up the Nuremberg Laws. These took citizenship away from the Jewish Germans and banned marriage between Jews and other Germans. Another law defined a Jew as a person with at least one Jewish grandparent and did not allow Jews to hold public office or vote. Passports of Jews were marked with a red “J” to clearly identify them as Jewish. Jews lost their right to work as journalists, farmers, teachers, lawyers, and doctors and from operating businesses. With no income, life became very difficult for Jews in Germany. Many Jews chose to stay in Germany during the early years of Nazi rule. They did not want to give up the lives they had built there.

On November 7, 1938, a Jewish refugee shot and killed a German diplomat in Paris. He was upset about the 10,000 Jews, including his father, being deported from Germany to Poland and wanted revenge. Hitler retaliated by staging attacks against the Jews. The night of November 9, 1938, saw anti-Jewish violence across Germany and Austria. The night came to be called Kristallnacht, or “night of broken glass.” It was called that because broken glass littered the streets afterward. Many Jews were killed and hundreds were injured. After that night, the Gestapo, the government’s secret police, arrested at least 20,000 wealthy Jews. They let them go only if they agreed to leave Germany and give up all their possessions.

Many Jews decided to leave Germany and flee to the United States. By 1939 about 350,000 Jews had escaped Germany. However, there was a backlog of visa applications from Jews trying to leave Germany. As a result, millions of Jews remained trapped in Nazi-dominated Europe.

Jewish immigration to the United States was hampered by several factors. Nazis did not allow Jews to take more than about four dollars out of Germany. Many countries refused to accept Jewish immigrants. The United States was reluctant to do so because laws prohibited immigration by people who might need financial assistance. Americans thought that this was true of the Jews because Germans forced them to leave their money and possessions behind. High unemployment rates in the United States made immigration
unpopular. Also, immigration quotas that set fixed quotas from each country were in place.

7. Why was the United States reluctant to accept Jewish immigrants?

8. What was the purpose of the Wannsee Conference?
Imagine that you are living in the United States in 1940. How do you think you would have felt about the nation becoming involved in the war overseas? Why?

The last section described Germany’s treatment of the Jews and the Holocaust. This section discusses the events that led to the U.S. entry into World War II.

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. President Roosevelt was determined to help Britain while keeping the United States neutral. List these ways in the diagram.

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

America First Committee  an isolationist group that firmly opposed any American intervention or aid to the Allies (page 602)

Lend-Lease Act  a law that would allow the United States to lend or lease arms to any country considered vital to the defense of the United States (page 603)

hemispheric defense zone  the western half of the Atlantic which was declared part of the Western Hemisphere and therefore neutral (page 603)

Atlantic Charter  an agreement between the United States and Britain to a postwar world of democracy, nonaggression, free trade, economic advancement and freedom of the seas (page 603)

strategic materials  materials important for fighting a war (page 605)
READ TO LEARN

• FDR Supports England (page 601)
  After Britain and France declared war on Germany, President Roosevelt declared the United States neutral. He wanted to help the two nations against Hitler, however. Roosevelt asked Congress to revise the Neutrality Acts. It had forbidden the sale of American weapons to any country at war. The revised law did allow warring countries to buy weapons as long as they paid cash and carried the arms away on their own ships.

  In May 1940, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill began asking President Roosevelt to give old American destroyers to Britain. Britain had lost most of its destroyers. It needed destroyers to protect its cargo ships from German submarines and to help prevent a German invasion of Britain. Roosevelt agreed to do so. He sent old American destroyers in exchange for the right to build American bases on British-controlled Newfoundland, Bermuda, and islands in the Caribbean.

  5. What did the revised Neutrality Act provide?

• The Isolationist Debate (page 602)
  By 1940 most Americans supported offering limited aid to the Allies. Yet there was a wide range of opinions. At one end was the Fight for Freedom Committee. It urged the repeal of all neutrality laws and stronger action against Germany. The Committee to defend America by Aiding the Allies pushed for increased American aid to the Allies but not military intervention.

  Roosevelt’s destroyers-for-bases deal led to the establishment of the America First Committee. This was an isolationist group that opposed any American intervention or aid to the Allies.

  President Roosevelt decided to run for a third term as president. He believed that at this point, a change of leadership might not be in the country’s best interest. During the 1940 campaign, Roosevelt called for a course between neutrality and intervention. He was re-elected by a wide margin.

  6. Why did President Roosevelt decide to run for a third term as president?
• Edging Toward War (page 603)

After he was re-elected, Roosevelt began to expand the nation’s role in the war. He said that only Britain stood between the United States and a German attack. By December 1940, Britain had no funds left to fight Germany. President Roosevelt came up with a way to get around the cash-and-carry policy, which Britain could no longer meet. The Lend-Lease Act allowed the United States to lend or lease arms to any country that was considered vital to the defense of the United States. As a result, the United States could send weapons to Britain if Britain promised to return or pay rent for them after the war. Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act. Lend-lease aid eventually included aid to the Soviet Union as well. In June 1941, Hitler violated the Nazi-Soviet pact and started a massive invasion of the Soviet Union. Although Churchill detested communism, he promised to aid any nation that helped fight Nazism. Roosevelt agreed with him.

The United States faced the problem of how to get supplies and arms to Britain. German submarines were sinking ships in the Atlantic. Roosevelt could not order the navy to protect British ships because the United States was neutral. As a result, he set up the idea of a hemispheric defense zone. Roosevelt said that the entire western half of the Atlantic was part of the Western Hemisphere and was therefore neutral. He ordered the navy to patrol the western Atlantic and point out the location of German submarines to the British.

In August 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill met and agreed to the Atlantic Charter. The leaders agreed to a postwar world of democracy, nonaggression, free trade, economic advancement, and freedom of the seas. Then in early September a German U-boat fired on the American destroyer Greer. The destroyer had been radioing the U-boat’s position to the British. Roosevelt ordered American ships to follow a shoot-on-sight policy toward German submarines. The Germans escalated hostilities. They torpedoed two American destroyers. One was the Reuben James. It sank, and 115 sailors died.

7. What was the Lend-Lease Act?
Roosevelt’s goal between August 1939 and December 1941 was to help Britain and its allies defeat Germany. Much of the British navy was needed in Asia to protect British territory from an attack by the Japanese. However, Britain had to move many of its ships from Asia to the Atlantic to defend Britain against Germany. As a result, Roosevelt introduced policies to discourage the Japanese from attacking the British Empire. In July 1940, Congress passed the Export Control Act. The law gave Roosevelt the power to restrict the sale of strategic materials to other nations. These were materials that were important for fighting a war. Roosevelt blocked the sale of airplane fuel and scrap iron to Japan. This angered the Japanese, who signed an alliance with Germany and Italy and became a member of the Axis Powers.

By July 1941, Japan had sent troops to southern Indochina. This was a threat to the British Empire. Japan was now in a position to bomb Hong Kong and Singapore. Roosevelt responded by freezing Japanese assets in the United States. He reduced the amount of oil being shipped to Japan. He also sent General Douglas MacArthur to the Philippines to build up American defenses there. Roosevelt said the ban on oil would be lifted if Japan would leave Indochina and make peace with China.

The Japanese government appeared to be negotiating with the United States. The United States, however, had decoded Japanese communications that showed Japan was preparing to go to war against the United States. On November 27, 1941, American commanders at the Pearl Harbor naval base received a war warning from Washington. Pearl Harbor was thought to be too great a distance from Japan. Washington did not think that Japan would launch an attack from that distance.

On December 7, 1941, Japan launched a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. Japan sank or damaged 21 ships of the U.S. Pacific Fleet. It also destroyed 188 airplanes, killed 2,403 Americans, and injured 1,178. The next day, Congress voted to declare war on Japan. On December 11, Germany and Italy both declared war on the United States.

8. What led Congress to declare war on Japan?
Imagine that you are living in the United States on December 7, 1941. How do you think you would have felt about the war after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor?

In this section, you will learn how the United States mobilized its economy to fight World War II. You will also learn what the nation did to create an army.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Even before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States government mobilized the nation for war. List two ways it did so.

**Ways of Mobilizing for War**

1. 
2. 

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **cost-plus** type of government contract in which the government agreed to pay a company whatever it cost to make a product plus a guaranteed percentage of the costs as profit (page 613)
- **Reconstruction Finance Corporation** a government agency that made loans to companies to help cover the cost of converting to war production (page 613)
- **Liberty ship** the basic cargo ship used during the war (page 614)
- **War Production Board** a government agency with the authority to set priorities and production goals and to control the distribution of raw materials and supplies (page 614)
- **Selective Service and Training Act** a plan for the first peacetime draft in American history (page 615)
- **disfranchised** denied the right to vote (page 616)
• Converting the Economy (page 612)

Even before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States had begun to mobilize the economy. When the German blitzkrieg hit France, President Roosevelt declared a national emergency. He announced a plan to build 50,000 warplanes a year. Roosevelt and his advisers believed that the quickest way to mobilize the economy was to give industries motivation to move quickly. Instead of asking companies to bid for contracts, the government signed cost-plus contracts. The government agreed to pay a company whatever it cost to make a product plus a guaranteed percentage of the costs as profit. Under this system, the more a company produced and the faster it did the work, the more money it would make. The system helped get things produced quickly.

To convince companies to switch their factories to make military goods, Congress gave the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) new authority. The government gave the agency permission to make loans to companies to help them cover the cost of converting to war production.

3. What was the effect of the cost-plus system on production?

• American Industry Gets the Job Done (page 613)

By 1941 the nation’s economy was only partially mobilized. Many companies were still producing consumer goods instead of military equipment. By the summer of 1942, however, most major industries had changed to war production. Automobile companies began to make trucks, jeeps, and tanks. They also made rifles, mines, helmets, and other pieces of military equipment. The Ford Company created an assembly line to build the B-24 bomber. By the end of the war, the company had built more than 8,600 aircraft.

Henry Kaiser’s shipyards built ships. They were best known for making Liberty ships. These were the basic cargo ships used during the war. They were welded rather than riveted, making them cheap and easy to build and very hard to sink.

To make mobilization more efficient, President Roosevelt set up the War Production Board (WPB). This agency had the authority to set priorities and production goals. It also had the authority to control the distribution of raw materials and supplies.
4. What was the advantage of making welded rather than riveted ships?

- Building an Army (page 615)

In addition to changing industries to war production, the country had to build up its military. After France surrendered to Germany, two members of Congress introduced the Selective Service and Training Act. This was a plan for the first peacetime draft in American history. Congress approved the draft in September 1940.

Draftees were sent to a reception center. There they were given a physical exam and shots. The draftees were then given uniforms, boots, and equipment. The clothing was labeled “G.I.,” which meant “Government Issue.” For this reason, American soldiers were called “GIs.” Recruits were sent to basic training for eight weeks. There they learned how to handle weapons, read maps, and dig trenches. They also learned how to work as a team. Recruits came from all over the country. Training made them a unit.

Although training promoted unity, white recruits did not train alongside African Americans. The army was completely segregated. African Americans had separate barracks, mess halls, and recreational facilities. They were organized into their own military units. White officers were in command of them. Many military leaders did not want African American soldiers in combat. They assigned them to construction and supply units.

Some African Americans did not want to support the war. They noted that African Americans were segregated in the army and that lynchings continued. They also noted that African Americans were disfranchised, or denied their right to vote. Many African American leaders combined patriotism with protest. A leading African American newspaper in Pittsburgh started a “Double V” campaign. The paper argued that African Americans should join the war effort to achieve a double victory. This would be a victory over Hitler’s racism and a victory over racism in the United States. President Roosevelt responded by ordering the military to begin recruiting African Americans and to put them into combat. He also appointed Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, the highest-ranking African American officer in the U.S. Army, to the rank of brigadier general.
The army air force created an African American unit that trained in Tuskegee, Alabama. The fighter pilots became known as the Tuskegee Airmen. They were sent to the Mediterranean in April 1943, where the unit played an important role in a battle in Italy. African Americans also performed well in the army, receiving commendations for distinguished service. Although the military did not end all segregation during the war, it paved the way for President Truman’s decision to fully integrate the military in 1948.

The army enlisted women for the first time during World War II, but they were banned from combat. Many women in the army had administrative and clerical jobs, freeing men for combat. The army set up the Women’s Army Corps (WAC) in 1943. The Coast Guard, the navy, and marines set up their own women’s organizations. In addition, thousands of women served as nurses in the army and navy.

5. How did women’s role in the military change during World War II?
Have you ever seen a movie about World War II? What was the movie about? How did it portray conditions during the war?

The last section described the ways that the United States mobilized for war. This section discusses the early battles of World War II.

Use the chart below to help you take notes. Several battles occurred in the early years of World War II. Explain the result of each of the battles listed in the chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Battle</th>
<th>Result</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Battle at Bataan Peninsula</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battle of Midway</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allied invasion of North Africa</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battle of Stalingrad</td>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although the United States fleet at Pearl Harbor was badly damaged by the Japanese, American aircraft carriers were not. They were on a mission in the Pacific. Admiral Chester Nimitz, the commander of the United States Navy in the Pacific, was determined to use the carriers. However, after Pearl Harbor Nimitz could do little to stop Japanese advances into Southeast Asia. The Japanese attacked American airfields in the Philippines and landed troops in the islands.

The American and Filipino forces defending the Philippines were outnumbered. General Douglas MacArthur, their commander, decided to retreat to the Bataan Peninsula. They held off the Japanese for more than three months. However, a lack of supplies and disease took its toll. In April 1942, the defenders surrendered. By May the Philippines fell to the Japanese.

President Roosevelt wanted to bomb Tokyo. However, American planes could reach Tokyo only if an aircraft carrier brought them close enough. Japanese ships in the Pacific stopped carriers from getting close enough to launch their short-range bombers. In 1942 a military planner suggested using long-range B-25 bombers that could be launched from farther away. Although the B-25s could be launched from a carrier, they could not land on the carrier’s short deck. As a result, after attacking Japan they would have to land in China.

President Roosevelt put Lieutenant Colonel James Doolittle in command of the mission. B-25s were loaded onto an aircraft carrier. On April 18, 1942, American bombs fell on Japan for the first time. Japanese leaders were horrified and changed their strategy. The commander of the Japanese fleet wanted to attack Midway Island. This was the last American base in the North Pacific west of Hawaii. He believed that attacking the base would bring the American fleet into battle. Then the Japanese fleet would destroy it. Japan also planned to attack New Guinea and cut American supply lines to Australia.

The Japanese believed that launching two different attacks would work because they thought the United States would not know what Japan was doing. Japan did not know that the United States used a team of code breakers, based in Hawaii, who had already broken the Japanese Navy’s secret code for conducting operations. The decoded messages alerted the United States that Japan would attack New Guinea. The United States sent two carriers to cut off the Japanese. Both sides started all-out air strikes against each other. The American attacks prevented the Japanese from landing in New Guinea. The American supply lines to Australia stayed open.

The code breakers also learned of the plan to attack Midway. Admiral Nimitz decided to ambush the Japanese fleet. He ordered carriers to move near Midway. When the Japanese aircraft flew near Midway, they were met
with antiaircraft fire. Thirty-eight Japanese planes were shot down. As the
Japanese were preparing a second wave of attacks on Midway, American air-
craft attacked Japanese carriers. The American attacks greatly damaged the
Japanese navy. The Japanese commander ordered the ships to retreat.

The Battle of Midway was a turning point in the war. The Japanese had lost
four of its largest carriers. The Americans had stopped the Japanese advance
in the Pacific. However, the battle killed 362 Americans and more than 3,000
Japanese.

5. How were Americans able to know about Japanese plans against the United States in the
Pacific?

• Turning Back the German Army (page 621)

President Roosevelt wanted to get American troops into battle in Europe.
British Prime Minister Churchill did not believe that the United States and
Britain were ready for a full-scale invasion of Europe. He wanted to attack the
periphery, or edges, of the German empire. Roosevelt agreed with Churchill
and ordered the invasion of Morocco and Algeria. These were French territo-
ries indirectly under German control. This invasion gave the American army
some experience and it did not involve a large number of troops. It also
placed American troops in North Africa, where they could help the British
fight Germans in Egypt. Egypt was important to Britain because of the Suez
Canal. Most of Britain’s empire used the canal to get supplies to Britain.

The American invasion of North Africa began on November 8, 1942, under
the command of General Dwight D. Eisenhower. The German forces were
under the command of General Erwin Rommel. The American forces in
Morocco, led by General George Patton, quickly seized Casablanca. American
forces in Algeria seized two cities there. British forces headed into Libya.
When American forces advanced into western Tunisia, they fought the
Germany army for the first time. The Americans were outfought. They suf-
f ered around 7,000 casualties. Eisenhower fired the general who led the attack
and placed Patton in command. The American and British forces finally
pushed the Germans back. In May 1943, the German forces in North Africa
surrendered.
The war against German submarines in the Atlantic Ocean increased. German submarines entered American coastal waters after Germany declared war on the United States. By August 1942, German submarines had sunk 360 American cargo ships. Because of the loss, the U.S. Navy decided to set up a convoy system. Under this system, cargo ships traveled in groups and were escorted by navy warships.

The German submarines sank more than 1.2 million tons of shipping in May and June 1942. At the same time, the United States and Britain built more than 1.1 million tons of new shipping. Soon, the United States was building more ships than German submarines managed to sink. American airplanes and warships also began to use new technology, such as radar and sonar, to pinpoint and attack submarines. Eventually the technology took its toll on German submarines. The Battle of the Atlantic turned in favor of the Allies.

Before the tide turned against Germany in the Atlantic, Hitler was confident that he would win the war. He decided to knock the Soviet Union out of the war. Hitler believed that the only way to defeat the Soviet Union was to destroy its economy. He ordered the German army to capture oil fields, industries, and farmlands. Stalingrad was the key city to attack. If Germany could capture Stalingrad, it would cut off the Soviets from the resources they needed to fight in the war. Soviet forces succeeded in surrounding Stalingrad and trapping thousands of German troops. When the battle ended, about 91,000 Germans surrendered. The Battle of Stalingrad was a major turning point in the war. It put the Germans on the defensive.

6. Why was the Battle of Stalingrad a turning point in the war?

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During World War II, some local governments banned a certain style of dressing. Do you think a government should have the right to do that in certain circumstances? Why do you think so?

The last section discussed the early battles of World War II. This section describes the effect of the war on the home front.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. During World War II, the American people supported the war effort at home. Describe how they did so.
READ TO LEARN

• Women and Minorities Gain Ground (page 625)

World War II changed American society at home. Before the war, most Americans believed married women should not work outside the home. However, the labor shortage during the war forced factories to hire married women to do the jobs that traditionally were done by men. "Rosie the Riveter" was the great symbol of the campaign to hire women. Images of Rosie appeared on posters and in newspaper ads. Although most women left the factories after the war, their work permanently changed American attitudes about women in the workplace.

Many factories were willing to hire women but they did not want to hire African Americans. A. Philip Randolph, the head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—a major union for African American railroad workers—decided to do something. He told President Roosevelt that he was going to organize a march on Washington. Roosevelt responded by issuing an order saying that discrimination in hiring workers in defense industries would not be tolerated. Roosevelt created the Fair Employment Practices Commission to enforce the order. This was the first civil rights agency set up by the federal government since Reconstruction.

To help farmers in the Southwest overcome the labor shortage, the government started the Bracero Program in 1942. It arranged for Mexican farmworkers to help in the harvest. Migrant farmworkers became important to farming in the Southwest.

4. What was the purpose of the Fair Employment Practices Commission?


• A Nation on the Move (page 627)

Many Americans moved during the war to places that had jobs. Many headed west and south. Southern California and cities in the Deep South made up a new industrial region, the Sunbelt. This region led the way in manufacturing and urbanization in the United States.

Cities that had war industries had to deal with the problem of providing houses to the thousands of new workers. The federal government gave $1.2 billion to build public housing and schools during the war. About two million people lived in government-built housing during the war.
During World War II, African Americans arrived in cities in the North and West in search of jobs. They were often met with intolerance that sometimes led to violence. The worst racial violence occurred in Detroit in June 1943. By the time it ended, 25 African Americans and 9 whites had been killed.

Wartime prejudice was evident in other areas of American society. In Los Angeles, racism against Mexican Americans and the fear of juvenile crime became linked because of the **zoot suit**. This was an overstuffed jacket that had wide lapels and reached to the knees. It also included baggy, pleated pants. Those who wore zoot suits often wore wide-brimmed hats and a long key chain. Many Americans considered the zoot suit unpatriotic. To save fabric for the war, many men wore a suit that had no vest or cuffs and included a short jacket with narrow lapels.

Many Mexican American teenagers in California wore the zoot suit. In June 1943, rumors spread that zoot suiters had attacked several sailors. Soldiers and sailors responded by attacking Mexican American teenagers in their neighborhoods in Los Angeles. The police did not stop the attacks, and the violence continued for days. The city of Los Angeles responded by banning zoot suits.

Hostility toward Mexican Americans did not stop them from joining the war effort. About 500,000 Hispanic Americans served in the American armed forces during the war.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, many Americans turned their anger against Japanese Americans. Some attacked Japanese American businesses and homes. Some newspapers printed rumors about Japanese spies in the Japanese American community. Many people, including members of Congress, demanded that people of Japanese ancestry be removed from the West Coast. They believed that Japanese Americans would not remain loyal to the United States. No Japanese American was ever tried for spying. Japanese Americans served in the war. However, President Roosevelt signed an order that allowed the War Department to declare any part of the United States a military zone. The department declared most of the West Coast a military zone. People of Japanese ancestry were relocated to 10 internment camps. Some Japanese Americans protested the relocation. Fred Korematsu claimed that his rights were violated. He took his case to the Supreme Court. In December 1944, the Court ruled that the relocation was constitutional because it was based on military urgency, not on race. Afterward, the Court ruled that loyal American citizens could not be held against their will. In early 1945, the government began releasing the Japanese Americans from the camps.

5. How did racism and discrimination affect Japanese Americans during World War II?
• Daily Life in Wartime America (page 629)

President Roosevelt worried that mobilizing the economy might result in inflation. Wages and prices began to rise quickly during the war because of the demand for workers and raw materials. To stabilize this, Roosevelt set up the Office of Price Administration (OPA) and the Office of Economic Stabilization (OES). The agencies regulated wages and the price of products. They managed to keep inflation under control.

The War Labor Board tried to prevent labor strikes. Most unions pledged not to strike. The War Labor Board settled over 17,000 disputes by the end of the war.

The demand for raw materials and supplies created shortages. The OPA began rationing, or limiting the availability of, many consumer products to make sure that there were enough supplies for the military. Items such as meat and sugar were rationed. Households were given a book of ration coupons each month. When people bought foods, they also had to give enough coupon points to cover their purchases.

Americans volunteered to plant victory gardens to produce more food for the war effort. Land such as backyards, schoolyards, city parks, and empty lots were used for these gardens.

The government organized scrap drives for materials that were important to the war effort. These materials included spare rubber, tin, aluminum, and steel. They also included oils and fats, which were needed to make explosives.

The war cost more than $300 billion. To raise money, the government raised taxes, but the taxes covered less than half of the cost. The government issued bonds to raise the rest of the money. When Americans bought bonds, they were loaning money to the government. The government promised that the bonds could be cashed in at a future date for the price of the bond plus interest. The most common bonds were E bonds. Americans bought nearly $50 billion worth of war bonds. Banks and other financial institutions bought about $100 billion worth of bonds.

6. Why did the OPA introduce rationing during World War II?
PUSHING THE AXIS BACK

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Casablanca Conference  a meeting between Roosevelt and Churchill in which they agreed to increase the bombing of Germany and to invade Sicily (page 632)

Operation Overlord  the code name for the planned invasion of France (page 633)

D-Day  the day the invasion of France began (page 634)

Omar Bradley  the commander of the American forces at Utah and Omaha Beaches in Normandy (page 634)

amphtrac  an amphibious tractor (page 636)

Guadalcanal  an island in the southwest Pacific and the first to be invaded by MacArthur’s troops in the plan to defeat Japan (page 636)

kamikaze  type of attacks in which Japanese pilots would deliberately crash their planes into American ships (page 637)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Do you know anyone who fought in or lived through World War II? What are their recollections about the battles fought during the war? How did they get information about the war?

The last section described the ways the war changed American society and the efforts of Americans on the home front. This section discusses how the Allied forces pushed back the Germans and the Japanese.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the chart below to help you take notes. The Allies fought the Axis in Europe and in the Pacific. List the results of the battles that are listed in the chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location of Battle</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sicily</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normandy</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leyte Gulf</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
READ TO LEARN

• Striking Back at the Third Reich (page 631)

To win the war, the Allies had to land their troops in Europe and on islands in the Pacific. To plan this, President Roosevelt met with Prime Minister Winston Churchill at the Casablanca Conference in Morocco. At this meeting, the two leaders decided to increase the bombing of Germany. The Allies also agreed to attack the Axis in Sicily. Churchill believed that the Italians would quit the war if Italy were invaded.

The Allies increased the bombing of Germany. Between January 1943 and May 1945, the air forces of Britain and the United States dropped about 53,000 tons of explosives on Germany every month. The bombing did not destroy German morale, but it created an oil shortage, destroyed the railroad system, and destroyed many German aircraft factories. Germany’s air force could not replace the planes they lost. This allowed the Allies to have total control of the air.

General Eisenhower was in charge of the invasion of Sicily. The invasion started on July 10, 1943. After the British and American troops came ashore, American tanks pushed through enemy lines and captured the western half of the island. The troops continued to move eastward and northward. By August 18, the Germans had left the island. The defeat of the Germans in Sicily caused the king of Italy to arrest Mussolini and to begin negotiating with the Allies for Italy’s surrender. Hitler responded by taking control of northern Italy and putting Mussolini back in power.

To stop Allied advances, the Germans took up positions in some Italian towns. It took the Allies five months to break through the enemy lines. Fighting in Italy continued until May 2, 1945, causing more than 300,000 Allied casualties.

Roosevelt and Churchill met with Stalin in Tehran, Iran, in late 1943. The leaders reached several agreements. Stalin promised to attack the Germans when the Allies invaded France. They agreed that Germany would be broken up after the war. Stalin promised that after Germany was beaten, the Soviet Union would help the United States defeat Japan. Stalin also agreed to support an international organization to keep peace after the war.

4. What agreements were reached at the conference in Tehran?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
Landing in France (page 633)

Roosevelt met with Churchill in Egypt to continue to plan the invasion of France. The code name for the invasion was Operation Overlord. Roosevelt selected General Eisenhower to be the commander of the invasion.

The Germans knew about the plans to invade France, so Hitler had fortified the coast. Hitler did not know when or where the invasion would take place, however. The Germans guessed that the Allies would land in Pas-de-Calais, an area of France closest to Britain. To make the Germans think they were right, the Allies placed inflated rubber tanks and dummy landing craft along the coast across from Calais. The Germans were fooled. The Allies actually planned to land in Normandy.

By the spring of 1944, the invasion was ready to begin. It had to begin at night to hide the ships carrying the men and equipment across the English Channel. The invasion could take place in certain weather conditions. The best opportunity for invasion was June 5 to June 7, 1944. Eisenhower chose June 6, 1944. The date became known as D-Day. About 7,000 ships sailed for Normandy. About 23,000 paratroopers were dropped inland. Fighter-bombers dropped bombs up and down the coast. The beaches were given different code names. The landing on Utah Beach went smoothly, but Omaha Beach was a different story. The German attack was intense. General Omar Bradley, the commander of the American forces landing at Utah and Omaha, began to make plans to evacuate. American troops then began to knock out the German defenses. By the end of the day, more than 58,000 American troops then had landed at Omaha and Utah. The invasion was successful.

5. Why did the invasion of France have to begin at night?

Driving the Japanese Back (page 635)

At the same time that plans were in progress for the invasion of France, the United States was developing a plan to defeat Japan. It was a two-part plan. Admiral Nimitz would command the Pacific Fleet and would move through the central Pacific, hopping from one island to the next, closer and closer to Japan. The island-hopping plan started in the fall of 1943. The geography of the Pacific caused a problem, however. Many of the islands were coral reef atolls. This meant that the water over the coral reef was not always deep
enough, and many ships ran aground. The troops had to wade in water, mak-
ing them easy targets for the Japanese. Many were killed. One vehicle was
able to cross the reef and deliver the troops to the beaches. It was the LVT,
which was a boat with tank tracks. This amphibious tractor, or amphtrac, as it
was nicknamed, had been invented in the late 1930s to rescue people in
Florida swamps. The navy decided to buy about 200 of them in 1941.

The amphtracs were used in the attack on the Marshall Islands, where
Americans suffered fewer casualties. The navy then attacked the Mariana
Islands and captured them by August 1944.

The second part of the plan to defeat Japan called for General MacArthur’s
troops to start their campaign in the southwest Pacific. It began with the inva-
sion of Guadalcanal. MacArthur then captured the Japanese base on the north
coast of New Guinea. To take back the Philippines, the United States put
together a huge invasion force. In October 1944, about 700 ships with more
than 160,000 troops sailed for Leyte Gulf in the Philippines. They began to
land on the eastern side of the Philippines. The Japanese sent four aircraft car-
rriers toward the Philippines from the north to stop the invasion. They secretly
sent another fleet to the west. The American carriers headed north to stop the
Japanese. The Japanese ships in the west raced through the Philippine Islands
into Leyte Gulf and ambushed the American ships that were still there. The
Battle of Leyte Gulf was the largest naval battle in history. It was the first time
that the Japanese used kamikaze attacks. These were attacks in which pilots
would deliberately crash their planes into American ships. They killed them-
selves but also inflicted huge damages. Just as the situation for the Americans
looked hopeless, the Japanese commander ordered a retreat, because he
believed that more American ships were on the way.

The campaign to take back the Philippines was long and difficult.
MacArthur’s troops did not capture Manila until March 1945. The city was
left in ruins and more than 100,000 Filipino civilians were dead.

6. How did the geography of the Pacific affect American plans to defeat Japan?
What is the United Nations? Do you think the United Nations serves a necessary purpose? Why or why not?

The last section described how the Allies pushed back the German and Japanese forces. This section discusses the strategies the Allies used to defeat Germany and Japan.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Several events occurred during 1945—the last year of World War II. List the event that occurred on the date shown in each box.

1945

February 19

1. ________________________________

April 1

2. ________________________________

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- **hedgerows** dirt walls, several feet thick and covered with shrubbery (page 641)
- **Battle of the Bulge** German attack on Allied forces in Antwerp, Belgium (page 641)
- **V-E Day** May 8, 1945, “Victory in Europe” day; the day after Germany surrendered (page 642)
- **Harry S Truman** the vice president who became president after Franklin Roosevelt’s death (page 642)
- **Curtis LeMay** commander of the B-29s based in the Mariana Islands (page 644)
- **napalm** a kind of jellied gasoline (page 644)
- **Manhattan Project** the code name for the program to build an atomic bomb (page 645)
- **V-J Day** August 15, 1945, the day Japan surrendered (page 647)
- **United Nations** an international political organization (page 647)
- **charter** a constitution (page 647)
**READ TO LEARN**

- **The Third Reich Collapses** *(page 640)*

  The Allies knew that to defeat the Germans, they would need to move out of Normandy, liberate France, and conquer Germany. D-Day was a success, but it was just the beginning. The Germans surrounded many fields in Normandy with **hedgerows**, or dirt walls that were several feet thick and covered in shrubbery. They helped Germans defend their positions. On July 25, 1944, American bombers blew a hole in the German lines. This allowed American tanks to roll through the gap. The Allies then liberated Paris on August 25, and three weeks later American troops were within 20 miles of the German border.

  Hitler decided to cut off Allied supplies that were coming through the port of Antwerp, Belgium. The Germans caught the American defenders by surprise. As Germans moved west, their lines bulged outward, so the attack became known as the **Battle of the Bulge**. Germans decided to capture the town of Bastogne, where several roads met. American troops quickly moved
to the town before Germany did. The Germans surrounded the town and demanded that the Americans surrender. The Americans refused. General Eisenhower then ordered General Patton to rescue the surrounded Americans. Patton hit the German lines, and Allied aircraft hit German fuel depots. The German troops were forced to stop. The United States had won the Battle of the Bulge. The Germans, who suffered 100,000 casualties, began to withdraw. They had very little left to prevent the Allies from entering Germany.

At the same time the Allies fought to liberate France, the Soviets attacked German troops in Russia. The Soviet troops had driven the Germans out of Russia and kept pushing them west. By February 1945, Soviet troops were only 35 miles from Berlin. As the Soviets crossed Germany’s eastern border, American forces attacked the western border. On May 7, 1945, Germany surrendered unconditionally. The next day, May 8, was proclaimed V-E Day, for “Victory in Europe.”

9. What was the importance of the Allied victory at the Battle of the Bulge?
napalm, a kind of jellied gasoline. The bombs would not just explode, but they would also set fires. Even if the bombs missed their targets, the fire would spread to the targets. Using firebombs was controversial because they killed civilians. Yet LeMay believed it was the only way to destroy Japan’s war production quickly. By the end of June 1945, six of Japan’s most important industrial cities had been firebombed. Half of their urban area was destroyed.

Despite the firebombings, Japan was not ready to surrender. American leaders believed that Japan would not surrender until Japan had been invaded. To do so, the United States needed a base near Japan to store supplies and build up troops. It chose Okinawa, located 350 miles from Japan. American troops landed on Okinawa on April 1, 1945. The Japanese positioned themselves on the island’s rugged mountains. American troops had to fight their way up the mountains as the Japanese fired on them. More than 12,000 Americans died during the fighting. On June 22, 1945, the troops finally captured Okinawa.

After Okinawa was captured, the Japanese emperor urged the government to surrender. Many Japanese leaders were willing to do so but only with the condition that the emperor would stay in power. Americans opposed that because they blamed the emperor for the war. President Truman did not want to go against public opinion. He also knew that the United States had a new weapon that it could use to force unconditional surrender.

In 1941 a scientific committee set up by President Roosevelt met with British scientists who were working on an atomic bomb. The research convinced Roosevelt to begin a program to build an atomic bomb. The program was code-named the Manhattan Project. In 1942 two physicists—Leo Szilard and Enrico Fermi—built the world’s first nuclear reactor at the University of Chicago. General Leslie R. Groves, the head of the Manhattan Project, organized a group of engineers and scientists to build an atomic bomb at a secret laboratory in Los Alamos, New Mexico. On July 16, 1945, they detonated the world’s first atomic bomb.

American officials debated how to use the bomb. Some opposed it because it would kill civilians. Some wanted to warn the Japanese about the bomb and to tell them that they could keep the emperor if they surrendered. Truman’s advisers told him that the United States would experience huge casualties if the United States invaded Japan. Truman believed that he should use every weapon available to save American lives.

Truman ordered the military to drop the atomic bomb. On August 6, 1945, a bomber named the Enola Gay dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, an important industrial city. The bomb destroyed about 63 percent of the city. It killed between 80,000 and 120,000 people instantly, and thousands more died later. Then on August 9, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. On the same day, the United States dropped an atomic bomb on Nagasaki. Between 35,000 and 74,000 people were killed. Japan surrendered on August 15, V-J Day. World War II had ended.
10. Why did President Truman decide to use the atomic bomb against Japan?


• Building a New World  (page 647)

Even before the war ended, President Roosevelt wanted to ensure that a world war would not happen again. In 1944 he took part in a meeting at Dumbarton Oaks Estate in Washington, D.C., with delegates from 39 countries to discuss a new international political organization, which was to be called the United Nations (UN). On April 25, 1945, representatives from 50 countries met in San Francisco to organize the United Nations. The United Nations would have a General Assembly, where every nation would have one vote. It would have a Security Council with 11 member. Five members would be permanent: Britain, France, China, the Soviet Union, and the United States. The five members would have veto power. The members at the San Francisco meeting also designed the charter, or constitution, of the United Nations. The General Assembly was given the power to vote on resolutions and to choose the non-permanent members of the Security Council. The Security Council was responsible for international peace and security.

In August 1945, the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union created the International Military Tribunal (IMT). At the Nuremberg trials, the IMT tried German leaders suspected of committing war crimes. Many of these leaders were executed. Several Japanese leaders were also tried and executed.

11. Why did President Roosevelt want to establish an international organization?
Draw from experience

What was the Cold War? What have you heard about it and why did it end?

In this section, you will learn why tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States increased after World War II. You will also learn about Stalin’s foreign policy after the war.

Organizing your thoughts

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The Yalta and Potsdam Conferences were held to determine the postwar world. List the decisions of the two conferences in the diagram.

### Key Terms and Names

- **Cold War**: a period of confrontation and competition between the United States and the Soviet Union (page 654)
- **Potsdam**: location of conference between the United States and the Soviet Union regarding Germany (page 657)
- **Satellite nations**: the Communist countries of Eastern Europe that had to remain friendly to the Soviet Union (page 658)
- **Iron curtain**: the separation of the Communist nations of Eastern Europe from the West (page 658)
After World War II, the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union became more and more strained. This led to an era of confrontation and competition that lasted from 1946 to 1990. It was known as the Cold War. The tensions existed because the two countries had different goals. The Soviet Union was concerned about its security because Germany had invaded it twice in 30 years. The Soviet Union wanted to keep Germany weak to make sure it did not invade again. The Soviet Union wanted to control the countries between it and Germany. The Soviets also believed that communism was a superior system that would eventually replace capitalism. They wanted communism to spread to other nations. Believing that capitalism would try to destroy communism, Soviet leaders became suspicious of capitalist nations.

The United States focused on economic problems. President Roosevelt and his advisers believed that economic growth was important to keeping peace in the world. They believed that world trade would lead to economic prosperity. The American leaders wanted to promote democracy throughout the world. They believed that democratic nations were more stable and less likely to go to war. They also believed that the free enterprise system was necessary for economic growth.

6. Why were Soviet leaders suspicious of capitalist nations?

The Yalta Conference (page 655)

In February 1945, before the war was finally over, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin met at Yalta, a resort in the Soviet Union, to plan the postwar world. The first issue was Poland. When Germany invaded Poland in 1939, the Polish government leaders had fled to Britain. When the Soviet Union liberated Poland from German control, they wanted Polish Communists to set up a new government. As a result, two governments—Communist and non-Communist—claimed the right to govern Poland. Churchill and Roosevelt wanted the Poles to choose their own government. Stalin, however, believed that Poland should be Communist to make the Soviet Union more secure against Germany. Churchill and Roosevelt compromised by recognizing the Polish government that the Soviets set up. Stalin agreed to include members...
of the old Polish government and to allow free elections in Poland as soon as possible.

Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin agreed to issue the Declaration of Liberated Europe. It declared the right of all people to choose the kind of government they wanted to live under. The meeting then focused on Germany. The three leaders agreed to divide Germany into four zones, with Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and France each controlling one zone. The four countries would also divide the city of Berlin. Stalin wanted Germany to pay heavy reparations. Roosevelt insisted that reparations should be based on Germany’s ability to pay. He also argued that Germany pay reparations with trade goods and products instead of cash. The Allies would be allowed to take machinery and other equipment from Germany as reparations. The question of German reparations would contribute to tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Two weeks after the meeting at Yalta, the Soviet Union pressured Romania into installing a Communist government. The United States accused the Soviet Union of going against the Declaration of Liberated Europe. The Soviet Union also did not allow free elections to be held in Poland. President Roosevelt informed the Soviets that their actions were not acceptable. Eleven days later, President Roosevelt died, and Harry S Truman became president.

7. What was the Declaration of Liberated Europe?

--

• **Truman Takes Control** *(page 657)*

Truman was suspicious of Stalin. He was also strongly anticommunist. He did not want to appease Stalin. He demanded that Stalin hold free elections as he promised at Yalta. Truman finally met Stalin in July 1945, at a conference at Potsdam, which was located near Berlin. They met to work out a deal on Germany. Truman and his advisers believed that unless Germany’s economy was revived, the rest of Europe would never recover. Truman also believed that if Germany’s economy stayed weak, the country might turn to communism. Stalin and his advisers wanted reparations from Germany. They believed that Germany had devastated the Soviet Union and should pay.

To solve the problem of reparations, Truman suggested that the Soviet Union take its reparations from its zone. The Soviets opposed this because their zone was mostly agricultural and could not provide the reparations the
Soviets needed. Truman responded by offering Stalin a small amount of German industrial equipment from the other zones. He also accepted the new German-Polish border the Soviets had set up. Stalin did not like Truman’s proposal. He suspected that the Americans were trying to limit reparations to keep the Soviet Union weak. In the end, the Soviet Union had no choice but to accept the deal. However, the Potsdam conference was another event that increased tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The Soviets refused to commit to uphold the Declaration of Liberated Europe. Pro-Soviet Communist governments would eventually be established in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. These countries of Eastern Europe came to be called satellite nations. They had their own governments and were not under the direct control of the Soviet Union. However, they had to remain Communist and friendly to the Soviet Union. Churchill called the Communist takeover in Eastern Europe the creation of the iron curtain, separating the Communist nations of Eastern Europe from the West.

8. Why did President Truman not want to place harsh reparations on Germany?
**Study Guide**

**Chapter 21, Section 2**

*For use with textbook pages 659–665*

**THE EARLY COLD WAR YEARS**

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **George Kennan**  American diplomat who explained Soviet goals *(page 660)*
- **containment**  the policy of keeping communism within its present territory through the use of diplomatic, economic, and military actions *(page 660)*
- **Marshall Plan**  an economic recovery plan in which the United States provided aid to European nations to rebuild their economies *(page 661)*
- **NATO**  a military alliance made up of the United States, Canada, and several Western European nations *(page 662)*
- **limited war**  a war fought to achieve a limited objective such as containing communism *(page 665)*

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

Do you think communism is a threat to the United States today? Why or why not?

The last section described the growing tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States. This section discusses how the United States attempted to contain communism.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The Soviet Union and the United States responded to various events during the Cold War. List their responses to the events listed in the diagram.

---

**Event**

- Germany divided into West Germany and East Germany

**Soviet Response**

1. 
2. 

**U.S. Response**

3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 

**Event**

- Korean War
Both Britain and the United States urged the Soviet Union to hold free elections in Eastern Europe. The Soviets refused to do so. The United States asked the American Embassy in Moscow to explain Soviet behavior. Diplomat George Kennan explained his views of Soviet goals. He believed that Communists were in a historical struggle against capitalism and that it was impossible to reach any permanent settlement with them. Kennan believed that the Soviet system had several economic and political weaknesses. He believed that if the United States could keep the Soviets from increasing their power, then eventually the Soviet system would fall apart. Kennan’s suggestions led to the rise of the policy of containment. The policy called for keeping communism within its present territory through the use of diplomatic, economic, and military actions.

A crisis in Iran seemed to show that Kennan’s ideas were right. During World War II, the United States had put troops into southern Iran while Soviet troops were in northern Iran to ensure a supply line from the Persian Gulf. After the war, the Soviet Union did not withdraw as promised. Instead, Stalin demanded access to Iran’s oil supplies. The Soviets also helped Communists in northern Iran set up a separate government. The United States demanded that the Soviet Union withdraw. The pressure worked, and the Soviet Union withdrew.

Stalin then turned to Turkey. The Soviet Union wanted to control the straits of the Dardanelles, which was an important route from Black Sea ports to the Mediterranean. It demanded that Turkey share control of this route with the Soviet Union. The United States saw this as a way for the Soviet Union to control the Middle East. The United States sent aircraft carriers into the eastern Mediterranean. In the meantime, Britain tried to help Greece in its fight against Communists there. However, helping Greece was too much for Britain’s economy. As a result, in March 1947, Truman went before Congress to ask for funds to fight the Soviets in Turkey and in Greece. His speech became known as the Truman Doctrine. It pledged that the United States would fight communism worldwide.

The European economy was in ruins after the war. In June 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall set up the Marshall Plan, which would give European nations American aid to rebuild their economies. Marshall offered the aid to all nations that planned a recovery program. The Soviet Union and its satellite nations rejected the offer. The Soviet Union developed its own economic program. The Marshall Plan put billions of dollars worth of supplies and food into Western Europe. It weakened the appeal of communism there. It also opened new markets for trade.
7. What was the purpose of the Marshall Plan?

• The Berlin Crisis (page 661)

The dispute between the Soviet Union and the United States over Germany almost led to war. By 1948 the United States believed that the Soviets were trying to undermine Germany’s economy. As a result, the United States, Great Britain, and France announced that they were combining their zones in Germany and allowing the Germans to have their own government. They also combined their zones in Berlin and made West Berlin a part of the new German nation. It was called the Federal Republic of Germany and became known as West Germany. The Soviet zone became known as East Germany.

The Soviets were angry. They cut all road and rail traffic to West Berlin. They also set up a blockade of the city. They wanted to force the Americans to change Germany’s status. President Truman had to keep West Berlin going without pushing the Soviets to war. As a result, he ordered the Berlin airlift. Cargo planes supplied the people in Berlin with food and other supplies. The airlift continued for eleven months. Stalin finally lifted the blockade.

The blockade convinced many Americans that the Soviets were trying to conquer other nations. They began supporting the idea of America becoming part of a military alliance with Western Europe. An agreement had been reached that created NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It was made up of 12 countries, including the United States. The members agreed to help any member who was attacked. A few years later, NATO allowed West Germany to join the alliance. The Soviets responded by setting up its own alliance in Eastern Europe, which became known as the Warsaw Pact.

8. How did the Soviet Union respond to the establishment of West Germany and West Berlin?
• The Cold War Spreads to East Asia (page 662)

The Cold War eventually spread to Asia. In China, Mao Zedong had led Communist forces against Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist government since the 1920s. The two sides stopped the conflict during World War II in order to stop Japanese occupation. After World War II ended, the two groups resumed their fighting. To stop the spread of communism in Asia, the United States sent Chiang money. However, the Communists captured Beijing, the Chinese capital, and moved southward. The United States discontinued aid to the Chinese Nationalists, who left mainland China for the island of Taiwan. In 1949 the Communists set up the People’s Republic of China.

In the same year, the Soviet Union announced that it had tested its first atomic weapon. In 1950 it signed a treaty of alliance with China. Western nations feared that China and the Soviet Union would support Communist revolutions in other parts of the world. The United States set up formal relations with the Nationalists in Taiwan. It helped keep Communist China out of the United Nations.

The United States changed its policy toward Japan. After World War II, General Douglas MacArthur took charge of occupied Japan. He wanted to introduce democracy there. The United States encouraged economic recovery in Japan. It saw Japan as a way to defend Asia against communism.

9. Why did the United States change its policy toward Japan after World War II?

• The Korean War (page 663)

After the war, the Allies divided Korea at the 38th parallel. The Soviets controlled the north, and the United States controlled the south. A Communist government was set up in the north, and an American-backed government was set up in the south. The Soviets gave military aid to North Korea, which built up a huge army. This army invaded South Korea on June 25, 1950.

President Truman saw the invasion of South Korea as a test of the containment policy. He asked the United Nations for troops to help the American troops. General MacArthur led the American troops. In September 1950, MacArthur ordered an invasion that took the North Korean troops by surprise. Within weeks, they retreated back across the 38th parallel. The Communist Chinese saw the UN troops as a threat and ordered them to
Their warnings were ignored and they started a massive attack. They were able to drive the UN forces back across the 38th parallel.

General MacArthur wanted to expand the war into China. He criticized President Truman for wanting a **limited war**, a war fought to achieve a limited objective such as containing communism. President Truman fired MacArthur. He chose General Matthew Ridgway to replace him. By mid-1951, the Korean War had settled into small bloody battles. An armistice was not signed until July 1953. More than 35,000 Americans died in the war.

After the Korean War, the United States began a military buildup. Until then, the United States believed that it had to focus on Europe to contain communism. Now it also focused militarily on Asia. Defense agreements were signed with Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Australia. The United States also began providing aid to the French forces fighting Communists in Vietnam.

10. How did the Korean War change the United States’s view of containment?
Study Guide

Chapter 21, Section 3

For use with textbook pages 668–674

THE COLD WAR AND AMERICAN SOCIETY

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- **subversion** an effort to secretly weaken a society and overthrow its government (page 669)
- **loyalty review program** a screening process of federal employees set up by President Truman in 1947 (page 669)
- **Alger Hiss** a government official accused of being a Communist spy (page 669)
- **perjury** lying under oath (page 670)
- **McCarran Act** a law passed by Congress that required Communist organizations to provide the government with their records (page 672)
- **McCarthyism** Senator McCarthy’s method of destroying reputations with weak evidence and unfounded charges of Communist activity (page 672)
- **censure** formal disapproval (page 673)
- **fallout** the radiation left over after a nuclear blast (page 674)
- **fallout shelter** shelter built to protect against fallout (page 674)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Does your school conduct practice drills for what to do in certain emergencies? What are the emergencies for which you have these drills?

The last section explained the steps the United States took to contain communism abroad. This section describes how the fear of communism affected Americans at home.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. In the United States, people’s fear of communism resulted in the Red Scare. In the diagram, list the government’s responses to the Red Scare.

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Diagram: Response to Red Scare

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5.
• **A New Red Scare** *(page 668)*

During the 1950s, people in the United States began to fear that the Communists were trying to take over the world. This fear, the Red Scare, began in September 1945, when a clerk working in the Soviet Embassy in Canada defected. He had documents that showed that the Soviet Union was trying to infiltrate organizations and government agencies in Canada and the United States. The Soviet Union was trying to find information about the atomic bomb.

The search for spies soon turned into a general fear of a Communist takeover of the government. In 1947 President Truman set up a **loyalty review program** to screen all federal employees. This action seemed to contribute to a greater fear that Communists had infiltrated the government. More than 6 million federal employees were screened for their loyalty. People became suspects simply for reading certain books or belonging to various groups. Thousands were subject to intense FBI investigations.

J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI Director, wanted to go further than screening federal employees. He went before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to urge the committee to hold public hearings on Communist subversion. FBI agents were sent to infiltrate groups suspected of subversion. They also wiretapped thousands of telephones.

In 1948 Whittaker Chambers, a *Time* magazine editor, testified before HUAC that several government officials, including Alger Hiss, had been Communists or spies at that time. Chambers claimed that Hiss, who had served in President Roosevelt’s administration, had given him secrets from the State Department. Hiss denied being a member of the Communist Party, and he denied knowing Chambers. The committee continued hearings to determine who was lying. Hiss admitted that he had met Chambers in the 1930s. He then sued Chambers, claiming that his accusations were unfounded. To defend himself, Chambers showed copies of secret documents that he had hidden. He believed the documents proved that he was telling the truth. A jury agreed with him. It convicted Hiss of **perjury**, or lying under oath.

Another spy case had to do with accusations that American Communists had sold secrets of the atomic bomb to the Soviet Union. Many people believed that the Soviet Union could not have developed an atomic bomb in 1949 without this help. In 1950 testimony by a British scientist that he sent information to the Soviet Union led the FBI to arrest Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were members of the Communist Party, and to charge them with passing on atomic secrets. Although the Rosenbergs denied the charges, they were condemned to death and executed in June 1953. Their guilt was debated by many Americans. Future investigation and documents, however, provided strong evidence that they were guilty.
The Red Scare spread beyond the federal government. State and local governments, universities, businesses, and unions began looking for Communists. Some universities required their faculty members to take loyalty oaths. The Taft-Hartley Act required that union leaders take loyalty oaths.

6. Why did President Truman set up the loyalty review program?

“A Conspiracy So Immense” (page 671)

After the Soviet Union tested an atomic bomb in 1949 and China fell to communism, many Americans feared that the United States was losing the Cold War. Many believed that Communists had infiltrated the government and were unnoticed. Then in February 1950, Wisconsin Senator Joseph R. McCarthy made a statement that he had a list of 205 Communists in the State Department. McCarthy never actually produced the list, but he accused many politicians and military officials of being Communists or leaning toward communism.

In 1950 the United States passed the McCarran Act. The law required all Communist organizations to provide the government with their records. It also required that in a national emergency, Communists and Communist sympathizers could be arrested. Truman did not believe that people should be punished for their beliefs, so he vetoed the bill. Congress overrode it.

In 1952 McCarthy became chairman of the Senate subcommittee on investigations. He used his position to force government officials to testify about so-called Communist influences. McCarthy turned the investigation into a witch hunt. His investigations were based on weak evidence and irrational fears. His method of destroying reputations with unfounded charges became known as McCarthyism. McCarthy would badger witnesses and then refuse to accept their answers. His methods left a sense of suspicion about the witness that was often interpreted as guilt.

In 1954 McCarthy began targeting the United States Army. The army’s own investigation found no spies. McCarthy then brought his investigation to the television. Millions of Americans watched as McCarthy bullied witnesses. His popularity began to decrease. Finally, people began to challenge McCarthy and his methods. In 1954 the Senate passed a vote for censure, or formal disapproval, against McCarthy. McCarthy’s influence was gone, and he faded from public view.
7. What led many Americans in 1949 to believe the United States was losing the Cold War and that Communist infiltration was the reason for it?

Life During the Early Cold War (page 673)

The fear of communism dominated everyday life in the United States in the 1950s. Americans were upset when the Soviet Union tested the more powerful hydrogen bomb. They got ready for a surprise Soviet attack. They set up special areas as bomb shelters. Students practiced bomb drills, although experts warned that these measures would not have protected people from nuclear radiation. They pointed out that in a nuclear bomb blast, many people would die not only from the blast itself but also from fallout, or the radiation left over after a blast. To protect themselves, some people built fallout shelters in their yards. They stocked these shelters with food.

The fear of communism influenced American movies and fiction. Many movies focused on FBI activities in espionage cases. Novels described the effects of nuclear war.

8. How did Americans in the 1950s get ready for a surprise Soviet attack?
What do you think of when you hear the term CIA? What does the CIA do? Do you think the CIA is important in today’s world? Why?

The last section described American reaction to the threat of communism. This section discusses President Eisenhower’s plans to contain communism.

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. President Eisenhower used the policy of brinkmanship in dealing with Cold War conflicts. List three ways he used this policy.

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **massive retaliation**: the policy of threatening Communist states with nuclear war if the state tried to take territory by force (page 676)
- **Sputnik**: developed by the Soviet Union, the first artificial satellite to orbit the earth (page 677)
- **brinkmanship**: the willingness to go to the brink of war to force the other side to back down (page 677)
- **covert**: hidden (page 679)
- **Central Intelligence Agency**: an agency that conducted covert operations (page 679)
- **developing nation**: nation with a primarily agricultural economy (page 679)
- **military-industrial complex**: the relationship between the military establishment and the defense industry (page 680)
In the 1952 presidential election, the Democrats nominated Adlai Stevenson, the governor of Illinois. The Republicans nominated General Dwight D. Eisenhower. Americans wanted a leader who they believed would lead the nation through the Cold War. Eisenhower won in a landslide.

Eisenhower believed that both a strong military and a strong economy were essential to win the Cold War. He also believed that preparing for a large-scale conventional war would cost too much money. Therefore, he believed that instead of a large-scale army, the United States had to be prepared to use atomic weapons.

Eisenhower believed that the United States could not contain communism through a series of small wars, such as the Korean War. He believed that it had to prevent such wars from happening in the first place. The best way to do this was to threaten to use nuclear weapons if a Communist state tried to take a territory by force. This policy became known as massive retaliation. It allowed Eisenhower to cut military spending by billions of dollars. He cut back the army but increased the nation’s nuclear weapons.

The new policy required new technology. The Air Force developed huge bombers that could fly across the continent and drop nuclear bombs anywhere in the world. Eisenhower also began to develop intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) that could deliver bombs anywhere in the world. He also began developing submarines that could launch nuclear missiles.

On October 4, 1957, the Soviets launched Sputnik, the first artificial satellite to orbit the earth. Many Americans saw that as a sign that the United States was falling behind the Soviet Union in missile technology and in scientific research. In response, Congress set up the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). The agency conducted research in rocket and space technology. Congress also passed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA). It provided money for education and training in science, math, and foreign languages.

4. What did President Eisenhower believe was necessary to win the Cold War?
Eisenhower supported the policy of brinkmanship, the willingness to go to the brink of war to force the other side to back down. Some thought the policy was too dangerous. However, Eisenhower used the threat of nuclear war to try to end the Korean War. He believed that the war was costing too many lives. So he threatened China with a nuclear attack. The threat seemed to work, because in July 1953, an armistice was signed. The line between the two sides became the border between North Korea and South Korea. A demilitarized zone (DMZ) separated them.

After the Korean War ended, problems arose over Taiwan. In 1954 China threatened to take two islands from Taiwan. Eisenhower asked Congress to authorize the use of force to defend Taiwan. He then warned the Chinese that if they invaded Taiwan, they would be confronted by American naval forces. Eisenhower also hinted that a nuclear attack was also possible. China backed down.

In 1955 problems developed in the Middle East. Eisenhower wanted to prevent Arab nations from siding with the Soviet Union. He offered Egypt financial help to build a dam on the Nile River. Egypt accepted the offer. Congress, however, did not agree to provide financial aid because Egypt had bought weapons from Communist Czechoslovakia. A week later, Egypt gained control of the Suez Canal from the Anglo-French company that controlled it. Egypt wanted to use the profits from the canal to pay for the dam. In response, in October 1956, British and French troops invaded Egypt. The action upset President Eisenhower. The conflict became worse when the Soviet Union threatened to attack France and Britain and to send troops to help Egypt. Again, Eisenhower threatened a nuclear attack. Britain and France called off the invasion. Other Arab nations soon began accepting Soviet aid.

5. How did President Eisenhower use brinkmanship to end the conflict in Korea?

- Fighting Communism Covertly (page 679)

President Eisenhower knew that brinkmanship would not work all the time. He knew it would not work to prevent Communists from starting revolutions within countries. To prevent revolutions, Eisenhower used covert, or hidden, operations that were run by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).
Many of these operations took place in developing nations, or nations with economies that depended primarily on agriculture. Many of these nations blamed American capitalism for their problems, and they looked to the Soviet Union as a model to industrialize their economy. American leaders feared that these countries would side with the Soviet Union or stage a Communist revolution. To prevent this, President Eisenhower offered financial aid to some of these nations. In nations where the Communist threat was stronger, the CIA used covert operations to overthrow anti-American leaders. They then replaced them with pro-American leaders.

Covert operations worked in Iran. There the prime minister was ready to make an oil deal with the Soviet Union. He moved against the pro-American Shah of Iran, who was forced to leave Iran. CIA agents organized street riots in Iran and arranged a coup to oust the prime minister and to return the Shah to power.

Covert operations also worked in Guatemala. The president of Guatemala had won the election with the support of the Soviet Union. His reform program took over large estates, including one owned by an America-owned company. Guatemala received weapons from Communist Czechoslovakia. The CIA then armed and trained the Guatemalan opposition. The CIA-trained forces then invaded Guatemala, and the pro-Communist president left office.

Sometimes covert operations did not work. After Stalin died, Nikita Khrushchev became the Soviet leader. He delivered a secret speech to Soviet leaders in which he attacked Stalin’s policies. The CIA obtained a copy of the speech and had it broadcasted in Eastern Europe. In June 1956, riots started in Eastern Europe. A full-scale uprising developed in Hungary. Soviet troops moved into Budapest, the capital, and crushed the uprising.

6. In what two countries were covert operations successful in preventing Communist revolutions?

- Iran
- Guatemala

- Continuing Tensions (page 680)

In 1958 Khrushchev demanded that the United States, Great Britain, and France remove their troops from West Germany. The United States rejected the demands and threatened to use military force if the Soviets threatened Berlin. The Soviets backed down. To try to improve relations, Eisenhower asked Khrushchev to visit the United States. The two leaders met and agreed to hold
a meeting in Paris in 1960. However, shortly before the meeting was to begin, the Soviet Union shot down an American U-2 spy plane. Khrushchev responded by breaking off the meeting.

President Eisenhower left office in January 1961. He delivered a farewell address to the nation. In it, he pointed out the new relationship that had developed between the military and the defense industry. He warned Americans against the influence of this military-industrial complex.

7. Why did Khrushchev break off the Paris meeting with President Eisenhower scheduled in 1960?
TRUMAN AND EISENHOWER

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

GI Bill  a bill that provided loans to veterans to help them start businesses, buy homes, and attend college (page 687)
closed shop  the practice of forcing business owners to hire only union members (page 687)
right-to-work laws  laws which outlawed union shops (page 687)
union shop  shops in which new workers were required to join the union (page 687)
featherbedding  the practice of limiting work output in order to create more jobs (page 687)
“Do-Nothing Congress”  the name President Truman gave to the Republican Congress (page 688)
Fair Deal  the name given to President Truman’s programs (page 688)
dynamic conservatism  the policy of balancing economic conservatism with some activism (page 689)
Federal Highway Act  law that provided funding for the building of interstate highways (page 690)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What kinds of roadways does your community have? How important are they to you, your family, and your community?

In this section, you will learn about President Truman’s domestic policy. You will also learn about President Eisenhower’s domestic policy.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. President Eisenhower’s policies regarding the role of the federal government were conservative, but he also believed in activism. Describe the ways President Eisenhower showed conservatism and the ways he showed activism.
After the war ended, the United States economy continued to grow. Consumer spending helped this growth. Americans, who lived with shortages throughout the war, were eager to buy the luxury goods that they had wanted. The economy also got a boost from the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act, which was popularly called the GI Bill. It provided loans to veterans to help them buy homes, start businesses, or go to college.

The large demand for goods led to higher prices. This led to growing inflation. As the cost of living increased, so did labor unrests. Strikes occurred in the automobile, steel, and mining industries.

The labor unrests and inflation caused many people to call for a change in leadership. In the 1946 congressional elections, Republicans took control of both houses of Congress. The new Congress set out to decrease the power of unions. They proposed the Taft-Hartley Act. It outlawed the closed shop, or the practice of forcing business owners to hire only union members. The law allowed the states to pass right-to-work laws, which outlawed union shops, or shops in which new workers were required to join the union. The law also prohibited featherbedding, or the practice of limiting work output in order to create more jobs. President Truman vetoed the bill. Congress overrode the veto and passed the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947. Labor leaders were upset, saying that the law had done away with many of the gains that unions had made since 1933.

7. Why did Congress pass the Taft-Hartley Act?

• Truman’s Domestic Program (page 687)

Although Republicans controlled Congress, President Truman continued to work to push his programs through Congress. He wanted to expand Social Security benefits, increase the minimum wage, set up long-range environmental and public works, and set up a system of national health insurance. Truman also asked Congress to pass a civil rights bill that would protect African Americans’ right to vote and make lynching a federal crime. He issued an executive order that banned discrimination in federal employment. It also ended segregation in the armed forces. However, many of Truman’s
suggested programs were shut down by a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats in Congress.

Many people did not think that President Truman would win the 1948 election. The Democratic Party itself was divided over whom to nominate. Southern Democrats formed a new party and nominated Strom Thurmond. The liberal members of the Democratic Party formed a new Progressive Party and nominated Henry A. Wallace. The Republican nominee was the popular New York Governor Thomas Dewey. Most newspaper writers believed that Dewey would win by a landslide.

Truman believed he could win. He waged an energetic campaign, traveling more than 20,000 miles. He blamed the Republican Congress, referring to it as the "Do-Nothing Congress," for refusing to pass his programs. His claims were not exactly true. Congress did pass many parts of his foreign-policy programs, such as the Marshall Plan. However, these programs did not affect Americans directly, and his "do-nothing" claims seemed to stick. Truman won by a narrow margin in a surprising victory. In addition, the Democrats had regained control of both houses of Congress.

Truman continued to work for passage of his programs. He said that all Americans had the right to expect a fair deal from the government. The Fair Deal became the name of Truman’s programs. Congress passed some aspects of the Fair Deal. It increased the minimum wage and approved an expansion of Social Security benefits. Congress also passed the National Housing Act, which provided funding for the building of low-income housing. Congress refused to pass national health insurance or civil rights laws.

8. What were the results of the 1948 election?

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• The Eisenhower Years (page 689)

Harry Truman did not run for re-election in 1952. The Republicans nominated General Dwight Eisenhower for president and Richard Nixon for vice president. The Democrats nominated Illinois governor Adlai Stevenson. Eisenhower won in a landslide. The Republicans had a majority in the House, while the Senate was evenly divided between Democrats and Republicans.

President Eisenhower’s political beliefs fell between conservative and liberal. He believed in dynamic conservatism, which meant balancing economic conservatism with some activism.

Eisenhower’s conservatism showed itself in several ways. He appointed several business leaders to his cabinet. Following their advice, Eisenhower ended government price and rent controls. Many conservatives had viewed these controls as unnecessary federal control over business. Eisenhower cut government aid to public housing. He limited the federal government’s aid to
businesses by abolishing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), which had lent money to banks and other large businesses. He cut the amount of money allocated for the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), another Depression-era agency.

Eisenhower showed his activist side. To provide more travel routes for the rapidly increasing number of cars, Eisenhower asked Congress to pass the Federal Highway Act. This was the largest public works program in American history. The act called for the building of more than 40,000 miles of interstate highway. He also authorized the building of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway. It connected the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean.

Although Eisenhower wanted to limit the federal government’s role in the economy, he did agree to extend the Social Security system. He also extended unemployment compensation and increased the minimum wage.

9. What was the purpose of the Federal Highway Act?
How do you decide what brand of clothes or other products to buy? How does advertising affect your choices?

The last section described the domestic policies of Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. This section discusses the effects of the nation’s economic boom on Americans.

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Several technological changes occurred in the United States in the 1950s. Identify these advances in the diagram.

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**
- white-collar: kind of jobs that do not involve physical labor in industry (page 693)
- blue-collar: kind of jobs that involve physical labor (page 693)
- multinational corporations: large corporations that expanded overseas (page 693)
- franchise: a business in which a person owns and runs one or several stores of a chain operation (page 693)
- David Riesman: sociologist who wrote *The Lonely Crowd* (page 693)
- Levittown: one of the earliest suburbs in the United States (page 694)
- baby boom: the time between 1945 and 1961, when more than 65 million children were born (page 694)
- Jonas Salk: research scientist who developed a vaccine that prevented polio (page 696)
In 1958 economist John Kenneth Galbraith published *The Affluent Society*. In it he claimed that the economic prosperity that the nation was experiencing was a new phenomenon. He believed that the United States had created an economy of abundance. New business techniques and improved technology helped the nation make an abundance of goods and services for its people. This allowed the people to have a higher standard of living than they ever thought possible.

Galbraith’s observation seemed to be true. Between 1940 and 1960, income tripled for many Americans. They produced more than they could use. More people than ever before owned their own homes. Fewer farmers and laborers were needed to provide food and goods. As a result, more Americans were working in white-collar jobs, such as those in sales and management. In 1956 white-collar workers outnumbered blue-collar workers, or those who perform physical labor in industry.

Many white-collar workers worked for large corporations. Some of these corporations expanded overseas. These multinational corporations were located closer to raw materials and a cheaper labor pool. This made the companies more competitive. The number of franchises increased in the 1950s. These are businesses in which a person owns and runs one or several stores of a chain operation. The owners of franchises demanded that their franchises have the same look and style.

Many corporate leaders also expected their employees to conform. They generally did not want their employees to be independent thinkers. Sociologist David Riesman criticized this approach. In his 1950 book, *The Lonely Crowd*, he argued that the individual who judged himself on the basis of his own values was now becoming an individual who was more concerned with winning the approval of the corporation or the community.

In the 1950s, part of fitting in included owning the same new products as everyone else. Having more income available to them, Americans bought luxury items such as swimming pools, refrigerators, and air conditioners.

Advertising became more sophisticated in the 1950s. It became a major industry. Many manufacturers used new techniques to sell their products. The purpose of advertising was to influence Americans to choose among brands of goods that were basically the same. The advertisers aimed their ads on people who had money to spend. Most of these people lived in the growing suburbs. One of the earliest of these new suburbs was Levittown, New York. The suburbs included hundreds of mass-produced, similar-looking homes. Thousands of people rushed to buy the inexpensive homes.
Most new homes in the 1950s were built in the suburbs. The number of people living in suburbs doubled. Unlike city life, life in the suburbs provided people with access to the countryside. Being able to afford a house was easier in the 1950s. This was due to the low-interest loans offered by the GI Bill. In addition, the government offered tax deductions for home mortgage interest payments and property taxes. For many Americans, the suburbs symbolized the American dream. However, some critics viewed all the identical-looking communities as a sign of conformity.

6. Why did housing become more affordable in the 1950s?

• The 1950s Family (page 694)

In the 1950s, the American family was changing. The birthrate increased greatly after World War II. The time between 1945 and 1961, when more than 65 million children were born, was known as the baby boom. There were several causes for the baby boom. Couples who postponed marriage during World War II and the Korean War could now marry and begin their families. The government encouraged having children by offering GI benefits for home purchases. Advertising sang the praises of pregnancy and large families.

During the 1950s, many women focused on establishing families and staying home to care for them. This discouraged many women from getting jobs. Magazine ads encouraged women to stay at home. However, despite the push for women to only be homemakers, the number of women who had jobs outside the home increased during the 1950s.

7. What factors contributed to the baby boom?
Several important scientific advances occurred in the 1950s. American physicists developed the transistor. The device made it possible to miniaturize radios and calculators. In 1946 scientists also developed one of the nation’s earliest computers to make military calculations. Several years later, a newer model was developed. This computer handled business data. The computer allowed people to work more quickly and efficiently. This provided Americans in the 1950s with more free time for leisure activities.

Medical advances included antibiotics to fight infections and new drugs to fight cancer, diabetes, and heart disease. New surgical techniques were also developed. Polio, however, continued to puzzle researchers. In the 1940s and 1950s a powerful polio epidemic swept the United States. The disease particularly targeted the young, causing crippling and death. In 1952 58,000 cases of polio were reported. Then Jonas Salk developed an injectable vaccine that prevented polio. In 1955 the vaccine became available to the public. The number of polio cases dropped dramatically. Albert Sabin then developed an oral vaccine for polio. In the following years, the threat of polio almost completely disappeared.

After the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, the United States hurried to catch up. On January 31, 1958, the United States launched its own satellite. At the same time, engineers were building smoother and faster commercial planes.

8. What was the effect of Jonas Salk’s polio vaccine?
## POPULAR CULTURE OF THE 1950S

### KEY TERMS AND NAMES
- **Ed Sullivan** host of a variety show (page 699)
- **Alan Freed** a radio disc jockey who introduced African American rhythm and blues records to white radio stations (page 701)
- **Elvis Presley** the first rock ‘n’ roll hero (page 701)
- **generation gap** a cultural separation between children and their parents (page 702)
- **Jack Kerouac** a beat writer (page 702)
- **Little Richard** African American rock ‘n’ roll singer (page 702)

### DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE
Are television and movies important parts of your leisure activities? What kinds of television programs and movies do you enjoy the most? Why?

The last section discussed the ways Americans were affected by the economic boom. This section describes popular culture in the United States in the 1950s.

### ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS
Use the cause-and-effect diagram below to help you take notes. Rock ‘n’ roll had an impact on American society in the 1950s. List its effects in the diagram.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Effects</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rock ‘n’ Roll</td>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
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</table>
• The New Mass Media (page 698)

By the end of the 1950s, the television was a popular household item. By 1957 there were about 40 million television sets in use. By the late 1950s, television was an important source of information. Television advertising led to a growing market for new products. Television programs included comedy, action and adventure, and variety-style entertainment. Many early television comedy shows were based on old radio shows. Americans enjoyed action shows such as The Lone Ranger and Dragnet. Variety shows such as Ed Sullivan’s Toast of the Town and quiz shows such as The $64,000 Question were popular. In 1956 Charles Van Doren, a contestant on the quiz show Twenty-One, won $129,000 during his time on the show. People soon found out, however, that Van Doren, like many other contestants, received the answers to questions in advance. Van Doren admitted his role to a congressional committee in 1959. Many quiz shows left the air after the scandal.

The film business suffered in the 1950s with the growing popularity of television. Hollywood tried to make films more exciting. Movies such as The Ten Commandments and Around the World in 80 Days were shown on large screens. Although these kinds of movies were expensive to make, they made up their cost by attracting many people and making large profits. Most films, like most television shows, conformed with the times. Very few showed strong-minded women. African Americans were usually shown in stereotypical roles such as servants or sidekicks to white heroes.

Television also took away radio listeners. As a result, the radio industry had to find ways to draw listeners. Many radios began to broadcast recorded music, news, and talk shows. They also presented shows for specific audiences. As a result of these changes, radio stations survived and prospered.

3. What types of programs did television show in the 1950s?

• The New Youth Culture (page 701)

In the 1950s, some of the nation’s youth rebelled against middle-class suburban values, particularly conformity. They turned to new and unconventional styles of music and literature. In 1951 a white disc jockey named Alan Freed introduced African American rhythm and blues records to white radio
stations. Soon white artists began making music that was based on African American rhythms and sounds. This form of music was rock ‘n’ roll. It became wildly popular with the nation’s teenagers. Teens bought the latest hits from such as artists as Buddy Holly and Chuck Berry. Elvis Presley became the first rock ‘n’ roll hero. By 1956 Presley had a record deal, a movie contract, and public appearances on several television shows.

Many parents viewed rock ‘n’ roll music as loud and dangerous. The music was banned in some communities. However, the music united teens in their own world. It helped to create a generation gap, or cultural separation between children and their parents.

In the 1950s, a group of white artists who called themselves the beats focused on a values gap in the United States. They lived unconventional lives away from a culture they hated. Beat poets, writers, and artists criticized the conformity of American life and the emptiness of popular culture. Jack Kerouac published On the Road in 1957. Although shocking to some, the book became a classic in modern American literature.

4. What contributed to a generation gap in the 1950s?

5. What did African American entertainers try to do in the 1950s?

• African American Entertainers (page 702)

During the 1950s, African American entertainers tried to find acceptance. Television tended to shut them out. African American rock ‘n’ roll singers such as Little Richard had more luck in gaining acceptance. In the late 1950s, African American women’s groups also became popular. At the same time that African American entertainers attempted to gain acceptance, the African American community attempted to gain equality and opportunities.
DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Do you think poverty is a problem in the United States today? Do you think it is a problem in other countries? What things do you think contribute to poverty?

The last section described popular culture in the United States in the 1950s. This section discusses the reasons many groups in the United States lived in poverty in the 1950s.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the chart below to help you take notes. Many groups of people in the United States did not enjoy economic prosperity. Identify these groups in the chart below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups Living in Poverty in the 1950s</th>
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<td>1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
READ TO LEARN

• Poverty Amidst Prosperity (page 706)

Although many Americans benefited from the economic boom in the 1950s, about 30 million Americans still lived below the poverty line by 1959. This is a figure the government set to reflect the minimum income required to support a family. Most Americans assumed that everyone in the nation was prosperous. However, writer Michael Harrington wrote a book in 1962 that reported on poverty in the United States. His book, The Other America, showed Americans the rundown communities of the country.

The poor in the United States included many different groups. Poverty was most obvious in the nation’s urban centers. As white people moved to the suburbs, the inner cities became home to poorer minority groups. Sometimes government efforts to help made things worse. For example, during the 1950s, urban renewal programs tried to eliminate poverty by tearing down slums and building new high-rise buildings for poor residents. These high-rises resulted in crowded conditions and violence. The government also ended up encouraging residents to remain in poverty by evicting them from the projects as soon as they earned any money.

Many residents of the inner cities were African Americans. This was due in part to the northward migration of about 3 million African Americans between 1940 and 1960. Many moved to northern cities to find jobs and to escape racial intimidation. Life was not much better in northern cities, however. Fewer and fewer jobs became available as many factories moved to the suburbs. Racial discrimination in schools, housing, and in hiring in the North kept African Americans in the inner cities poor. Poverty and racial discrimination also deprived African Americans of other things, such as proper medical care. Several African American groups, such as the NAACP, pushed for greater equality and economic opportunity for African Americans. They had few successes.

Hispanics in the United States also faced poverty. In the 1940s and the 1950s, nearly 5 million Mexicans immigrated to the United States to help fill the nation’s farm labor needs through the Bracero program. Those who worked on large farms throughout the country worked long hours for little pay in horrible conditions. Away from the farms, many Mexican families lived in small shacks.

By the mid-1900s, Native Americans made up the poorest group in the nation. After World War II, the United States government started a program to bring Native Americans into mainstream society, whether they wanted to or not. Under a plan known as the termination policy, the federal government withdrew all official recognition of the Native American groups as legal entities and made them subject to the same laws as white citizens. The government also helped move Native Americans off the reservations to cities such as Minneapolis. The termination policy deepened the poverty of many Native Americans.
Poverty was not limited to minorities. It also affected white families of Appalachia. During the 1950s, about a million people left Appalachia to start a better life in the cities. They left behind the elderly and other residents. Many people in Appalachia were suffering from poor nutrition. The region had few doctors. Schooling in Appalachia was considered worse than that in the inner cities.

5. What was the result of urban renewal programs?

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• **Juvenile Delinquency** *(page 709)*

Another problem facing the nation was **juvenile delinquency**, or antisocial or criminal behavior of young people. Juvenile crime rose by 45 percent between 1948 and 1953. Car thefts by juveniles increased. In addition, more young people belonged to street gangs and committed muggings and even murder. Experts blamed juvenile delinquency on a number of things. They blamed it on factors such as poverty, television, racism, and a rising divorce rate. Some critics claimed that young people were rebelling against conformity. Some blamed a lack of discipline. Delinquency existed across class and racial lines. Although most teens were not involved in crime or drugs, the public tended to stereotype all young people as juvenile delinquents.

Many parents in the 1950s were concerned over the educational system in the United States. With many baby boomers becoming school age in the 1950s, the number of children in school increased by 13 million. School districts had to build new school buildings and hire new teachers. However, there were shortages of both. The launch of **Sputnik** by the Soviet Union made many Americans believe that schools lacked technical education. As a result, efforts were made to improve math and science education in schools.

6. What caused concerns about the educational system in the United States in the 1950s?
Have you seen police detective shows on television? What do police officers do when they arrest a suspect? Why do they do that?

In this section, you will learn about President Kennedy’s economic policies. You will also learn why Congress did not support many of Kennedy’s domestic programs.

Use the chart below to help you take notes. The Supreme Court in the early 1960s helped to determine national policy through several of its rulings. Describe the Court decision in each of the rulings listed in the chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Court Case</th>
<th>Court Ruling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reynolds v. Sims</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapp v. Ohio</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gideon v. Wainwright</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• The Election of 1960 (page 718)

Television played an important part in the 1960 presidential election. This was the first election in which a majority of voters used television as a voting tool. The Democrats nominated John F. Kennedy, and the Republicans nominated Richard M. Nixon. Both parties spent money on television ads.

The main issues in the campaign were the economy and the Cold War. The candidates had few differences regarding these issues. Kennedy believed that the Soviets were a serious threat to the United States. He was concerned about a possible “missile gap,” in which the United States lagged behind the Soviet Union in weaponry. Nixon argued that the United States was on the right track. He warned that enacting the Democrats’ policies would increase inflation. Kennedy faced a religious issue. The United States had never had a Catholic president. Kennedy faced the issue by pointing out that in the United States, separation of church and state was absolute.

The four televised presidential debates influenced the outcome of the campaign. Kennedy won by a narrow margin.

5. How did television affect the 1960 presidential election?

6. The Kennedy Mystique (page 719)

President Kennedy was very popular with the American people. His looks, glamorous wife Jacqueline, and their children led to constant coverage by the media. Newspeople followed the family everywhere. Kennedy used the media well. He was the first to have his press conferences televised. He also inspired many of his staff.

6. How did Americans react to President Kennedy?

• Success and Setback on the Domestic Front (page 720)

President Kennedy was not popular with all Americans. Congress also was less taken with him. After Kennedy became president, he sent a legislative package to Congress. His domestic programs became known as the New Frontier. Kennedy wanted to increase aid to education, provide health insurance
to the elderly, and create a Department of Urban Affairs. Convincing Congress to pass the legislation was not easy.

Kennedy was not able to push through many of his domestic programs. Because Kennedy had won by such a narrow margin, he was not helpful in getting many Democrats elected to Congress. As a result, lawmakers found it easy to look out for their own interests instead of considering the interests of the president. Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats believed that the New Frontier was too costly. They also opposed an increase of federal power.

Although Kennedy was unsuccessful in getting Congress to pass many of his programs, he was successful in passing some economic programs. The American economy had slowed by the end of the 1950s. Unemployment was high and the growth rate of the gross national product was low. To boost the economy, Kennedy pushed Roosevelt’s strategy of deficit spending. Kennedy convinced Congress to spend more on defense and space exploration. This spending did create more jobs and stimulate the economy. Kennedy also wanted to boost the economy by increasing business production. His administration also asked businesses to keep prices down and to hold down pay increases.

Labor unions in the steel industry agreed to lower their demands for wage increases. In 1962, however, several steel companies raised prices. The president threatened to buy cheaper steel from foreign companies. The steel companies backed down and cut their prices.

To get the economy moving, Kennedy followed supply-side ideas. He pushed for a cut in tax rates, hoping this would give businesses more money to expand and create new jobs. Congress defeated the tax cut because many members feared it would cause inflation. Kennedy did get Congress to increase the minimum wage. He provided about $400 million to distressed areas. A Housing Act created a home-building and slum clearance program.

A number of women held important positions in Kennedy’s administration. In 1961 Kennedy created a Presidential Commission on the Status of Women. It called for federal action against gender discrimination and the right of women to equally paid employment. Kennedy issued an executive order that ended gender discrimination in the federal civil service. In 1963 he signed the Equal Pay Act for women.

7. Why did many members of Congress oppose the programs of the New Frontier?
Warren Court Reforms (page 721)

In 1953 President Eisenhower nominated Earl Warren to be the Chief Justice of the United States. The Warren Court was an active one, helping shape national policy by taking a stand on several issues. An important decision of the Warren Court had to do with reapportionment, or the way in which states draw up political districts based on changes in population. By 1960 more people lived in urban rather than rural areas. Many states had not changed their electoral districts to match this change, however. For example, in Tennessee a rural district with about 2,300 voters had one representative in the state legislature, while a city district with about 133 times more voters had only seven representatives. Some people in Tennessee decided to challenge this system in the courts. The case eventually reached the Supreme Court. In Reynolds v. Sims, the Supreme Court ruled that the current apportionment system in many states was not constitutional. The ruling required that state legislatures reapportion their electoral districts so that citizens’ votes would have equal weight. This decision shifted political power throughout the country from rural, often conservative, areas to urban, often more liberal, areas.

The Supreme Court began to use the Fourteenth Amendment to apply the Bill of Rights to the states. The Bill of Rights originally applied to the federal government. Many states had their own bill of rights. The Fourteenth Amendment said that no state could deprive an individual of rights with due process. This means that the law may not treat individuals unfairly or unreasonably and that courts must follow proper procedures and rules when trying cases. Due process makes sure that all people are treated the same by the courts. In several cases, the Supreme Court ruled that using due process meant that the federal bill of rights applied to the states.

In Mapp v. Ohio, the Supreme Court ruled that state courts could not use evidence that was obtained illegally. In Gideon v. Wainwright, it ruled that a defendant in a state court had the right to a lawyer, regardless of his ability to pay. In Escobedo v. Illinois, the Court ruled that a suspect has to have access to a lawyer and had to be informed of the right to remain silent before being questioned by the police. In Miranda v. Arizona, the justices ruled that authorities had to give suspects a four-part warning that included their right to remain silent and their right to a lawyer. These warnings are known as the Miranda rights. The rulings received mixed reactions. Some believed the Court favored criminals, whereas others believed the rulings promoted the rights of all citizens.

The Supreme Court also ruled on the relationship between church and state. In Engel v. Vitale, the Court ruled that states could not require prayers to be said in state public schools. In Abington School District v. Schempp, state-mandated Bible readings in public schools were not disallowed.

8. What effect did the Warren Court have on the United States?
Have you heard of the Peace Corps? What do you think is the purpose of the Peace Corps? Would you be interested in joining it? Why or why not?

The last section described President Kennedy’s domestic programs. This section discusses the ways President Kennedy dealt with Cold War challenges.

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. President Kennedy faced several crises that were the result of the Cold War. List these crises in the diagram.

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **flexible response**: the policy of allowing conventional troops and weapons to be used against Communist movements *(page 725)*
- **Peace Corps**: an organization that sent young Americans to perform humanitarian services in less developed nations *(page 725)*
- **space race**: vying for dominance of space to increase competitive positions on Earth *(page 725)*
- **Berlin Wall**: a wall built by the Soviet Union through Berlin to keep Germans from leaving East Germany into West Berlin *(page 727)*
- **Warren Commission**: a commission headed by Chief Justice Warren that concluded that Oswald was the lone assassin of President Kennedy *(page 729)*
Kennedy believed that Eisenhower depended too much on nuclear weapons, which could only be used in extreme situations. Kennedy wanted to allow for a flexible response, in which conventional troops and weapons could be used against Communist movements. To do this, Kennedy supported the Special Forces. This was a small army unit that was created to deal with guerrilla warfare.

Kennedy wanted to improve relations in Latin America. Many governments in Latin America were controlled by a wealthy few, whereas most of the people lived in poverty. In some of these countries, left-wing movements tried to overthrow their governments. The United States generally supported the existing governments in order to prevent the Communist movements from being successful. Poor Latin Americans resented the United States.

To improve relations between Latin America and the United States, President Kennedy proposed an Alliance for Progress. This was a series of cooperative aid projects with Latin American governments. The United States promised $20 billion to help Latin American countries set up better schools, housing, health care, and fairer land distribution. Some countries benefited from the aid. In other countries, the government leaders used the money to keep themselves in power.

President Kennedy also set up the Peace Corps to help fight poverty in less developed nations. It was an organization that sent young Americans to do humanitarian services in less developed nations. Volunteers were trained and then spent two years in a nation that had requested help. Their work included building roads, training medical technicians, and laying out sewage systems. The Peace Corps is still active today.

In 1961, the Soviet Union was the first nation to successfully launch a human being into orbit around the earth. Kennedy worried that Soviet space successes would affect the outcome of the Cold War. Both nations started a space race, the vying for dominance of space to increase their competitive positions on Earth. Kennedy challenged the U.S. government and the nation’s industry to safely land a human on the moon. The challenge was met in July 1969, demonstrating America’s technological superiority.

4. What was the purpose of the Alliance for Progress?
• Crises of the Cold War (page 726)

President Kennedy faced several crises in the Cold War. The first one started in Cuba. Fidel Castro had overthrown the Cuban dictator in 1959. He immediately established ties with the Soviet Union. He took over foreign-owned businesses, many of which were American. The Communists were now very close to the United States. The United States was concerned that the Communists would set up a base in Cuba from which to spread their beliefs throughout the Western Hemisphere. President Eisenhower authorized the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to train and arm Cuban exiles and to invade the island. The United States hoped that the invasion would start an uprising in Cuba against Castro.

Shortly after Kennedy became president, Kennedy’s advisers approved the invasion plan. On April 17, 1961, armed Cuban exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs, on the south coast of Cuba. The invasion failed. It showed that the United States had tried to overthrow a neighbor’s government. It made the United States look weak.

Shortly after the failed invasion, Kennedy faced another problem. Kennedy met with Soviet leader Khrushchev in Austria in June 1961. Khrushchev wanted to keep the Germans from moving out of Communist East Germany into West Berlin. He wanted Western countries to recognize East Germany. He also wanted the United States, Britain, and France to leave Berlin. Kennedy refused. Khrushchev responded by building the Berlin Wall. It stopped movement between the Soviet part of the city and the rest of the city. Guards along the wall shot at many of those trying to escape from the East.

The most frightening crisis happened in 1962, and it dealt with Cuba. The United States had learned that Soviet technicians and equipment had arrived in Cuba. They also learned that a military buildup was in progress. On October 22, 1962, President Kennedy told the American people that photos taken by spy planes showed that the Soviet Union had placed long-range missiles in Cuba. These posed a serious threat to the United States. Kennedy ordered a naval blockade to stop the Soviet Union from delivering more missiles. He warned that if the Soviet Union launched missiles on the United States, he would respond against the Soviet Union. However, work on the missile sites continued.

The leaders of the two countries started secret negotiations. They reached an agreement on October 18. Kennedy agreed not to invade Cuba and to remove U.S. missiles from Turkey. The Soviet Union agreed to remove their missiles from Cuba.

The Cuban missile crisis brought the world close to nuclear war. It made both the Soviet Union and the United States face the consequences of a nuclear war. As a result, both countries worked to lessen tensions. They agreed to a treaty to ban the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere.
5. What were the results of the Cuban missile crisis?


• The Death of a President (page 728)

On November 22, 1963, President Kennedy and his wife traveled to Texas to make some political appearances. As the presidential motorcade rode through Dallas, President Kennedy was shot. He was pronounced dead at a local hospital. Lee Harvey Oswald, the man accused of killing Kennedy, was shot to death two days later while in police custody. In 1964 the Warren Commission, a national commission headed by Chief Justice Warren, concluded that Oswald acted alone. However, theories about a conspiracy to kill the president have continued.

The United States and the world mourned the loss of President Kennedy. Although he served as president for only about 1,000 days, he left a lasting impression on most Americans.

6. What did the Warren Commission conclude?
Do you think poverty is a problem in the United States today? How, if at all, do you think the government should help reduce poverty? Why do you think so?

The last section described the events in foreign affairs during the Kennedy administration. This section discusses the domestic programs of President Johnson.

Use the chart below to help you take notes. President Johnson’s Great Society set up several new programs. Describe what each of the listed programs provides.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>What It Does</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medicare</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicaid</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Head Start</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VISTA</td>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
READ TO LEARN

• Johnson Takes the Reins (page 732)

Michael Harrington’s book, The Other America, showed that many Americans lived in poverty in the United States. As a result, both President Kennedy and Kennedy’s successor, President Lyndon Johnson, made the elimination of poverty a major goal.

After President Kennedy’s death, President Johnson knew that he had to reassure the nation that he could hold it together. He went before Congress and urged the nation to move on.

Johnson’s leadership style was quite different from that of President Kennedy. He had developed his style through long years of public service. He had 26 years in Congress, serving in both the House and the Senate. He had also served as vice president. He had a reputation as a person who got things done. He did favors, bargained, and threatened. He always tried to find consensus, or general agreement.

President Johnson pushed a number of Kennedy’s programs through Congress. He won passage of a major civil rights bill and an anti-poverty program. Johnson had known poverty firsthand. He believed that a government should try to improve its citizens’ lives. In his State of the Union address to Congress in 1964, Johnson announced that he was declaring a “war on poverty in America.” Congress set up the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), which worked to create jobs and fight poverty.

The Great Society also set up programs that were aimed at creating jobs and strengthening education. VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) was a kind of domestic Peace Corps. The program put young people to work in poor school districts.

In the 1964 election, President Johnson’s Republican opponent was Barry Goldwater, a senator from Arizona. Johnson won in a landslide.

5. What was the war on poverty?

• The Great Society (page 735)

President Johnson began working on the Great Society. This was Johnson’s plan for domestic programs. During his administration, the civil rights movement had achieved many of its goals through the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 ensured African Americans the right to vote.
Johnson’s goals were achieved for a variety of reasons. The civil rights movement had brought the concerns of African Americans to the forefront. The economy was strong, so people did not see why poverty could not be greatly reduced.

More than 60 of Johnson’s programs were passed between 1965 and 1968. Among these were Medicare and Medicaid. Medicare was a health insurance program for the elderly. Medicaid financed health care for people on welfare. Great Society programs also supported education. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided millions of dollars to public and private schools for books and special education materials. Project Head Start was an education program directed at disadvantaged preschool children.

Johnson also wanted to help the nation’s deteriorating inner cities. He urged Congress to pass legislation to address this problem. One law created a new cabinet agency, the Department of Housing and Urban Development. It was headed by Robert Weaver, the first African American to serve in a cabinet. Other laws provided federal funding to many cities for programs such as transportation, health care, and housing. Still other laws provided billions of dollars to build houses for low- and middle-income people.

One law passed during the Great Society affected the makeup of the American population. The Immigration Reform Act of 1965 kept a strict limit on the number of immigrants admitted to the United States each year. However, it eliminated the national origins system, which gave preference to immigrants from northern Europe. The new law allowed immigrants from all parts of Europe, and Asia and Africa.

6. How did the Immigration Reform Act of 1965 change the makeup of the American population?

- Legacy of the Great Society (page 737)

The Great Society programs had improved the lives of many Americans, but people have debated the Great Society’s success. The programs had been established quickly. Some of them did not work as well as people had hoped. The programs were often difficult to evaluate. Some criticized Great Society programs because they believed that the federal government had become too involved in people’s lives. The programs sometimes lacked funds. The programs were expensive, and when money was needed for the Vietnam War, many of these programs suffered.
Some Great Society programs remain today. They include Medicare, Medicaid, and Project Head Start. They also include two cabinet agencies—the Department of Transportation and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

The Great Society also produced questions. They included questions about how the government can help disadvantaged citizens and how much the government should help a society without interfering with private efforts.

7. What Great Society programs continue today?
The Movement Begins

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **separate-but-equal** doctrine that said laws segregating African Americans were allowed as long as equal facilities were provided for them (page 747)
- **de facto segregation** segregation by custom and tradition (page 747)
- **NAACP** the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (page 747)
- **sit-ins** form of protest in which protesters refused to leave segregated places (page 748)
- **Thurgood Marshall** chief counsel of the NAACP, who worked to end segregation in public schools (page 748)
- **Linda Brown** student who was denied admission to her school in Topeka, Kansas, and who sued the school board (page 748)
- **Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.** leader of the Montgomery Improvement Association and president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (page 749)
- **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** organization set up to eliminate segregation from American society (page 750)

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

What do the words segregation and integration mean? How were they an issue in United States history? Are they an issue today?

In this section, you will learn how the civil rights movement began. You will also learn how the federal government’s role in enforcing civil rights changed.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the chart below to help you take notes. Several African American organizations worked to ensure civil rights for African Americans. Describe the work of each of these organizations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Work of Organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NAACP</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORE</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCLC</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
READ TO LEARN
• The Origins of the Movement (page 746)

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks boarded a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, on her way home from work. Buses there at that time reserved the front section for whites and the back section for African Americans. Parks took a seat right behind the white section. When she was asked to give up her seat to a white man who was standing, she refused. She was arrested. She challenged bus segregation in court. After her arrest, African Americans in Montgomery started a boycott of the bus system. In the next few years, boycotts and protests started across the nation. African Americans had decided it was time to demand equal rights.

The Supreme Court’s 1896 decision in Plessy v. Ferguson set up a separate-but-equal policy. Laws that segregated African Americans were allowed as long as equal facilities were provided for them. After this decision, laws segregating African Americans became common. These Jim Crow laws segregated buses, schools, and restaurants. Signs saying “Whites Only” or “Colored” appeared on entrances to many places. Jim Crow laws were common in the South, but segregation also existed in other places. Areas that did not have segregation laws, such as in many places in the North, often had de facto segregation, or segregation by custom and tradition.

Since 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had supported court cases that had to do with overturning segregation. It was successful in some cases. In addition to these successes, African Americans began experiencing more political power. Before World War I, most African Americans lived in the South, where they were not allowed to vote. Through the Great Migration, many African Americans arrived in Northern cities, where they were allowed to vote. Northern politicians began seeking their vote and listening to their concerns. During the Great Depression, many African Americans voted for President Franklin Roosevelt. Their votes made the Democratic Party in the North stronger. Their votes also forced the Democratic Party to pay attention to civil rights.

African Americans began using their political power to demand more rights. In 1942 James Farmer and George Houser started the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Members of the organization began using sit-ins, a form of protest. They used the sit-in strategy to integrate restaurants. If the restaurants would not serve them, they sat down and refused to leave. Through sit-ins, CORE successfully integrated many restaurants and other public facilities in several Northern cities.
4. How did CORE successfully integrate many public facilities in some Northern cities?

**The Civil Rights Movement Begins (page 748)**

The chief counsel of the NAACP from 1939 to 1961 was African American attorney Thurgood Marshall. He focused his attention on desegregating public schools. In 1954 the Supreme Court heard cases regarding segregation in schools. One case involved Linda Brown. She was a young African American girl who was denied admission to her neighborhood school in Topeka, Kansas, because of her race. Together with the NAACP, her parents sued the Topeka school board. In May 1954, the Supreme Court ruled in the case of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional. It also ruled that segregation violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. This decision reversed the decision in Plessy v. Ferguson. The Brown v. Board of Education ruling signaled to African Americans that it was time to challenge other forms of segregation. The ruling made many white Southerners more determined to defend segregation. Many resisted the Supreme Court's ruling and kept their schools segregated for many more years.

It was during the conflict over the Brown v. Board of Education case that Rosa Parks decided to challenge the segregation of the bus system in Montgomery. African Americans supported the decision by boycotting the buses. The boycott was a success. Several African American leaders formed the Montgomery Improvement Association to negotiate with city leaders to end segregation. They elected the young minister Martin Luther King, Jr., to lead the organization. A powerful speaker, King believed that the way to end segregation and racism was through nonviolent passive resistance. This approach was based on the philosophy of the Indian leader Mohandas Gandhi. He had used nonviolent resistance in his struggle against British rule in India. Both Gandhi and King urged followers to disobey unjust laws.

African Americans in Montgomery continued their boycott for more than a year. Rosa Parks's lawsuit led to a Supreme Court ruling in 1956. The Court ruled that Alabama’s laws requiring segregation on buses were unconstitutional.
5. What technique did Martin Luther King, Jr., believe would be most effective in ending segregation?

• African American Churches (page 750)

Martin Luther King, Jr., was not the only minister to take part in the Montgomery boycott. Many of the leaders were African American ministers. African American churches in Montgomery were important to the success of the boycott. The churches were used for planning and protest meetings. The churches also organized many volunteers for specific civil rights campaigns. Led by King, African American ministers set up the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957. The organization worked to do away with segregation in American society and to encourage African Americans to register to vote. Martin Luther King, Jr., became the SCLC’s first president. The organization challenged segregation of public transportation, housing, and public accommodations.

6. What did the Southern Christian Leadership Conference work toward?

• Eisenhower and Civil Rights (page 751)

Although President Eisenhower personally opposed segregation, he disagreed with those who wanted to end it through protests and court rulings. He believed that segregation should end gradually. With the nation involved in the Cold War, Eisenhower feared that challenging white Southerners on segregation would divide the nation at a time when the nation needed to pull together.

Although Eisenhower believed the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education was wrong, he believed the federal government had the duty to uphold the decision. In September 1957, the Little Rock, Arkansas,
school board won a court order to admit nine African American students to Central High, a school with 2,000 white students. The governor of Arkansas ordered troops from the Arkansas National Guard to prevent the African American students from entering the school. A mob of white people joined the troops to prevent the students from entering the school. Eisenhower could not allow the governor to challenge the federal government. The governor removed the National Guard troops, but he did not take action to stop the mob of whites. They came close to capturing the terrified black students. Eisenhower became impatient with the mob violence. He ordered the United States Army to send troops to Little Rock. The troops encircled the school. A few hours later, the African American students arrived in an army station wagon and walked into the school. The troops stayed at the school for the rest of the school year.

In the same year that the Little Rock violence took place, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1957. It was intended to protect the right of African Americans to vote. It was an important step in involving the federal government into the civil rights debate. The law created a civil rights division within the Department of Justice. It also created the United States Commission on Civil Rights to investigate instances in which the right to vote was denied.

7. Why did President Eisenhower send the United States Army to Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957?
What do you think of when you hear the words civil rights? What are your civil rights? How are they protected?

The last section discussed the beginnings of the civil rights movement. This section discusses the expansion of the movement.

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. President Kennedy attempted to support the civil rights movement in several ways. Describe these ways in the diagram.
The Sit-In Movement (page 753)

The sit-in strategies to end segregation spread to several cities. Many African American college students joined the sit-in movement. Students like Jesse Jackson saw the sit-in as a way for students to take things into their own hands. At first, the leaders of the NAACP and the SCLC were concerned about the sit-ins. They feared that the students might not remain nonviolent if they were provoked. The students did remain peaceful, despite being punched, kicked, and beaten by bystanders. The students’ behavior attracted the nation’s attention.

4. What group of people did the sit-in movement draw?

SNCC (page 754)

As the sit-ins spread, student leaders realized that they needed to create an organization of their own. Ella Baker, the executive director of the SCLC, invited student leaders to a convention in Raleigh, North Carolina, where she urged them to start their own organization instead of joining SCLC or the NAACP. The students established the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Marion Barry, a student leader who later served as the mayor of Washington, D.C., became SNCC’s first chairperson. Although most of the SNCC members were African American college students, many whites also joined.

The SNCC was instrumental in desegregating public facilities in many communities. The organization realized that the civil rights movement focused on urban areas. As a result, members of SNCC began working to register African American voters in the rural areas of the Deep South. Three members who attempted to register African Americans in Mississippi were murdered by local officials there.

One SNCC organizer, a former sharecropper named Fannie Lou Hamer, had been evicted from her farm after registering to vote. She was arrested in Mississippi for urging other African Americans to register, and she was beaten by the police. She then helped organize the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. She challenged the legality of the segregated Democratic Party at the 1964 Democratic National Convention.
5. Where did the SNCC focus its efforts?

- The Freedom Riders (page 754)
  In 1961 James Farmer, the leader of CORE, asked groups of African Americans and white Americans to travel into the South to draw attention to the South’s segregation of bus terminals. These groups became known as Freedom Riders. When buses carrying Freedom Riders arrived at various cities in the South, white mobs attacked them. In Birmingham, Freedom Riders leaving the bus were viciously beaten by a gang of young men. Later evidence showed that the head of police in Birmingham had contacted the local Ku Klux Klan and had told them he wanted the Freedom Riders beaten. The violence in Alabama shocked many Americans. President John F. Kennedy, who took office four months before the violence took place, decided he had to do something to get the violence under control.

6. What was the goal of the Freedom Riders?

- John F. Kennedy and Civil Rights (page 755)
  In his campaign, John Kennedy promised to support the civil rights movement if he was elected president. African Americans overwhelmingly voted for him. At first, Kennedy was as cautious as Eisenhower on civil rights. He knew he needed the support of Southern senators to get some other programs he wanted passed. However, Kennedy did name about 40 African Americans to high-level positions in the federal government. He appointed Thurgood Marshall to an Appeals Court in New York. This position was one level below the United States Supreme Court. Kennedy also set up the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (CEEO). Its purpose was to stop the federal government from discriminating against African Americans when hiring and promoting people.
President Kennedy was reluctant to challenge Southern Democrats in Congress. He allowed the Justice Department, which was led by his brother Robert F. Kennedy, to support the civil rights movement. Robert Kennedy helped African Americans register to vote by having the Justice Department file lawsuits throughout the South.

After the Freedom Riders were attacked in Alabama, Kennedy urged them to stop the rides. They refused to do so and planned to head into Mississippi on their next trip. To stop the violence, President Kennedy made a deal with a senator from Mississippi. Kennedy told the senator that if he used his influence to prevent violence, he would not object if the Mississippi police arrested the Freedom Riders. The senator kept the deal. The cost of bailing the Freedom Riders out of jail used up most of CORE’s funds. Thurgood Marshall offered money from the NAACP’s Legal Defense Fund to keep the rides going.

When President Kennedy realized that the Freedom Riders were still active, he ordered the Interstate Commerce Commission to tighten its regulations against segregated bus terminals. Robert Kennedy ordered the Justice Department to take legal action against Southern cities that continued to segregate bus terminals. All these actions were successful. By late 1962, segregation on interstate travel had come to an end.

At the same time that the Freedom Riders were trying to desegregate bus terminals, people continued to work to integrate public schools. In early 1961, African American James Meredith applied to the University of Mississippi. At that time, the university had avoided obeying the Supreme Court ruling that ended segregated education. In September 1962, Meredith tried to register at the university. He was blocked from entering by the governor of Mississippi. President Kennedy sent 500 federal marshals to escort Meredith. A white mob attacked the campus and a riot started. The fighting continued throughout the night. Many marshals were wounded. Kennedy then ordered the Army to send troops to the campus. For the rest of the school year, Meredith attended classes at the university under federal guard.

Martin Luther King, Jr., and other civil rights leaders were frustrated over the events in Mississippi. They were disappointed that the president did not push for a new civil rights law. When the Cuban missile crisis began in October 1962, foreign policy took priority over civil rights issues. King observed that the federal government intervened in civil rights issues only when violence occurred. As a result, King ordered demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, knowing that it would likely lead to violence. He believed that it was the only way to get Kennedy to actively support civil rights.

Shortly after the protests in Birmingham began, King was arrested. After he was released, the protests grew again. The local authorities ordered the police to use clubs, police dogs, and high-pressure fire hoses on the demonstrators. Millions of Americans watched the violence on television. President Kennedy was worried that the government was losing control, so he ordered his aides to prepare a new civil rights bill.
Why was President Kennedy cautious about pushing for civil rights?

• The Civil Rights Act of 1964 (page 757)

   In June 1963, Alabama governor George Wallace stood in front of the University of Alabama’s admissions office to stop two African Americans from enrolling. Federal marshals ordered him to move. President Kennedy took that opportunity to present his civil rights bill.

   Martin Luther King, Jr., realized that Kennedy would have a difficult time pushing his civil rights bill through Congress. He decided to support a massive march on Washington. On August 28, 1963, more than 200,000 demonstrators gathered peacefully at the nation’s capital. Dr. King delivered his powerful “I Have a Dream” speech, in which he presented his dream of freedom and equality for all Americans. The march on Washington had built support for Kennedy’s civil rights bill. However, opponents in Congress continued to do what they could to slow the bill down. The bill would have an especially difficult time passing in the Senate. Senators are allowed to speak for as long as they like when a bill is being debated. The Senate is not allowed to vote on a bill until all the senators have finished speaking. A filibuster is when a small group of senators take turns speaking and refuse to stop the debate and allow a bill to come to a vote. Today a filibuster can be stopped if at least three-fifths of the senators vote for cloture, a motion which cuts off debate and forces a vote.

   African Americans became even more worried that the civil rights bill would never pass when President Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963. President Johnson, however, committed himself to getting Kennedy’s civil rights bill passed. On July 2, 1964, President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law. The law gave Congress the power to outlaw segregation in most public places. It gave citizens equal access to facilities such as restaurants, parks, and theaters. The law gave the attorney general more power to bring lawsuits to force schools to desegregate. It also set up the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). This agency was set up to oversee the ban on job discrimination by race, religion, gender, and national origin.
8. Why did Martin Luther King, Jr., support a march on Washington?

The Struggle for Voting Rights (page 759)

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 did little to guarantee the right to vote. The Twenty-fourth Amendment, ratified in 1964, helped somewhat by abolishing poll taxes, or fees paid in order to vote in national elections. The SNCC and SCLC increased their voter registration drives in the South. Those that tried to register African American voters were often attacked and beaten. Some were murdered. Civil rights leaders, including Martin Luther King, Jr., decided that a new law was necessary to protect African American voting rights. They decided to start their campaign in Selma, Alabama. The sheriff of that city prevented African Americans from registering to vote by deputizing and arming many white citizens. They terrorized and attacked the demonstrators. Approximately 2,000 African Americans were arrested by Selma’s sheriff.

To keep the pressure on the president and Congress to act, Dr. King and other SNCC activists organized a march from Selma to Montgomery. It began on March 7, 1965. As protesters approached the bridge that led out of Selma, the sheriff ordered them to break up. While the marchers knelt in prayer, state troopers and the deputized citizens rushed the demonstrators. The attack left more than 70 African Americans hospitalized and many more injured. The nation was shocked as it saw the brutality on television. President Johnson was furious. He came before Congress to present a new voting rights law.

In August 1965, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965. It ordered federal examiners to register qualified voters. It got rid of discriminatory practices such as literacy tests. By the end of 1965, almost 250,000 new African American voters had registered to vote. The number of African American elected officials in the South also increased. With the passage of the Voting Rights Act, the civil rights movement had achieved its two goals. Segregation had been banned, and laws were in place to prevent discrimination and protect voting rights.

9. What was the purpose of the march from Selma to Montgomery?
Study Guide

Chapter 24, Section 3

For use with textbook pages 761–766

NEW ISSUES

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

**racism**  prejudice or discrimination toward someone because of his or her race (page 762)

**Chicago Movement**  a plan by Martin Luther King, Jr., and other civil rights leaders to improve the economic conditions of African Americans in Chicago’s poor neighborhoods (page 763)

**Richard Daley**  the mayor of Chicago (page 763)

**black power**  a movement that called for African American control of the social, political, and economic direction of the struggle for equality and stressed pride in the African American cultural group (page 764)

**Stokely Carmichael**  the leader of the SNCC in 1966 (page 764)

**Malcolm X**  the most visible spokesperson of the Black Power movement (page 764)

**Black Panthers**  a militant African American group that preached black power, black nationalism, and economic self-sufficiency (page 765)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Do you think the civil rights movement is active today? What kinds of issues do you think still need to be addressed? Why do you think so?

The last section described the political gains made by the civil rights movement. This section discusses the efforts of the civil rights movement to gain economic equality for African Americans.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. African Americans faced many economic problems even after civil rights laws had been passed. In the diagram, list those problems and describe the Kerner Commission and its results.

<table>
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<th>Problems Facing Urban African Americans</th>
<th>Kerner Commission Appointed to:</th>
<th>Results of Kerner Commission:</th>
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Although several civil rights laws had been passed by the 1960s, *racism*, or prejudice or discrimination toward someone because of his or her race, was still common in the United States. In 1965 the majority of African Americans lived in large cities. Many had moved from the South to cities in the North and West, where they faced the same prejudice and discrimination that they did in the South. Many whites refused to live with African Americans in the same neighborhoods. Landlords refused to rent to African Americans. Those African Americans who moved into cities were often trapped by poverty in the inner city. Whites moved to the suburbs. Many African Americans found themselves in low-paying jobs. In 1965 only 15 percent of African Americans held professional or clerical jobs, compared to 44 percent of whites. Half of all African American families lived in poverty.

Poor neighborhoods in the nation’s cities were dirty and overcrowded. Crime rates were high. These kinds of problems existed in all poor neighborhoods. A greater proportion of African Americans lived in poverty, so a greater percentage of their neighborhoods faced these problems. The African Americans who lived in poverty were aware of the gains made by the civil rights movement. They were also aware that the gains did not address their problems, which were social and economic. Their anger at the situation erupted into violence.

A race riot broke out in Watts, an African American neighborhood in Los Angeles. Allegations of police brutality had started the riots, which lasted six days. Thousands of National Guard troops and law officers were needed to bring back order. Rioters burned and looted entire neighborhoods. Thirty-four people were killed and hundreds were injured.

Race riots broke out in other cities. The worst riot occurred in Detroit in 1967. The United States Army had to send in tanks and armed soldiers to bring an end to the riot. More than 1,300 buildings were damaged.

President Johnson appointed the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders to study the causes of the riots. Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois headed the Commission. The Kerner Commission studied the problem. It agreed with what many African American leaders had been saying for years. The Commission blamed white society and white racism for most of the problems in the inner city. The Commission recommended that two million new jobs and six million new housing units be created in the inner city. However, at the time, the United States was spending massive amounts of money on the Vietnam War. As a result, the report of the Kerner Commission produced no changes for African Americans.
8. On what did the Kerner Commission blame the problems of the inner city?

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- **The Shift to Economic Rights** (page 763)
  
  By the mid-1960s, some African American leaders were critical of Martin Luther King’s nonviolent strategies. They believed the strategies were not successful in improving the economic positions of African Americans. As a result, Dr. King began to focus on economic issues. In 1965 Dr. King was invited to Chicago by a group of community organizations that worked to improve conditions for the poor in Chicago. To call attention to the poor housing conditions that many African Americans faced, Dr. King and his wife moved into a slum apartment. He hoped to work with local leaders to improve economic conditions for African Americans in poor neighborhoods. The so-called **Chicago Movement** was unsuccessful.

  When Dr. King led a march through a Chicago suburb to demonstrate the need for open housing, he was met with angry white mobs like those he met in the South. Mayor Richard Daley ordered the police to protect the marchers. He then met with Dr. King and suggested a program to clean up the slums. Under the plan, mortgages and rental property would be available to everyone regardless of race. However, very little changed.

9. Why were some civil rights leaders critical of King’s nonviolent strategies?

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- **Black Power** (page 764)
  
  Dr. King’s failure in Chicago seemed to show many African Americans that nonviolence could not change their economic problems. Many young African Americans living in poverty in urban areas began to turn away from King’s movement. They turned to more aggressive forms of protest. African Americans began to place less emphasis on interracial cooperation. Many
young African Americans called for **black power**. A few believed that the term meant that self-defense, even violence, were acceptable when defending one’s freedom. Most African Americans, including **Stokely Carmichael**, the leader of the SNCC in 1966, believed black power meant that African Americans should control the social, political, and economic directions of the struggle for equality. Black power stressed pride in African American culture. It rejected cultural assimilation, or the philosophy of incorporating different racial or cultural groups into the dominant society. Black power was very popular in the poor urban neighborhoods where many African Americans lived.

By the early 1960s, a man named **Malcolm X** became the symbol of black power. As a young man, Malcolm X was convicted of burglary and sent to prison. There he began to educate himself and joined the Nation of Islam, or Black Muslims. The group was led by Elijah Muhammad. The Black Muslims did not hold the same beliefs as Muslims. The Black Muslims believed that African Americans should separate themselves from whites and form their own communities.

The Black Muslims viewed themselves as a nation. They tried to make themselves self-sufficient. They ran their own businesses and published their own newspaper. Malcolm X was a dynamic speaker. He gained national attention for the Nation of Islam.

By 1964 Malcolm X had broken with the Black Muslims. He was upset with the scandals involving the Nation of Islam’s leader. Malcolm X visited the Muslim holy city in Saudi Arabia. There he saw many different races worshiping together. He started to believe that an integrated society was possible. After he left the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X continued to criticize the organization and Elijah Muhammad. In February 1965, members of the Nation of Islam killed Malcolm X while he was giving a speech in New York. Malcolm X’s speeches pointed out to African Americans that although they were victims in the past, they did not have to continue being victimized. He encouraged African Americans to believe in their ability to make their own way in the world.

Malcolm X’s ideas continued to influence a new generation of militant African American leaders. One group, the **Black Panthers**, preached black power, black nationalism and economic self-sufficiency. The Black Panthers believed a revolution was necessary. They urged African Americans to arm themselves and confront white society to force whites to grant them equal rights.
10. What did the Black Muslims believe African Americans should do regarding white society?

• The Assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. (page 765)

By the late 1960s, the civil rights movement was divided into competing organizations that were at odds with one another. The call by some African Americans for violent action angered some white supporters of the civil rights movement.

In 1968 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., went to Memphis, Tennessee, to support a strike of African American sanitation workers. On April 4, 1968, King was assassinated as he stood on his hotel balcony. The assassination touched off riots in more than 100 cities. After Dr. King’s death, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1968. The law banned discrimination in the sale and rental of housing. After Dr. King’s death, the civil rights movement continued but lacked the vision that Dr. King had given it.

11. What happened to the civil rights movement by the late 1960s?
THE UNITED STATES FOCUSES ON VIETNAM

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Ho Chi Minh  Vietnam leader of the nationalism movement (page 773)
domino theory  the belief that if Vietnam fell to communism, so would the other Southeast Asian nations (page 774)
guerrillas  irregular troops who usually blend into the civilian population and are often difficult for regular armies to fight (page 774)
Dien Bien Phu  the location of the battle that forced France to withdraw from Indochina (page 774)
Ngo Dinh Diem  the leader of the government of South Vietnam (page 775)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Where is Vietnam located? What do you know about the country? From where did your information about the nation come?

In this section, you will learn about the nationalist movement in Vietnam. You will also learn why the United States became involved in Vietnam.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The Geneva Accords negotiated the end of the conflict between France and Vietnam. List the results of the negotiations in the diagram.
Vietnam had often been ruled by foreign powers. China controlled it off and on for hundreds of years. From the late 1800s until World War II, France ruled Vietnam and neighboring Laos and Cambodia. This region became known as French Indochina. Japan took power in Vietnam during World War II. By the early 1900s, nationalism spread through Vietnam. Several political parties pushed for independence from France. One of the leaders of the movement was Ho Chi Minh. In 1930 he helped start the Indochinese Communist Party and worked to overthrow French rule. In 1941, after Japan had taken control of Vietnam, Ho organized a nationalist group called the Vietminh. The group’s goal was to get rid of the Japanese forces. The United States sent military aid to the Vietminh.

When Japan was defeated in August 1945, it gave up control of Indochina. Ho announced that Vietnam was an independent nation. France, however, did not want to see Vietnam independent. It wanted to regain its colonial empire in Southeast Asia. France sent troops to Vietnam in 1946 and drove the Vietminh’s forces into hiding in the countryside. By 1949 France had set up a new government in Vietnam. The Vietminh fought against the French and slowly increased their control over large areas of the countryside. As fighting increased, France asked the United States for help.

The request put the United States in a difficult position. The United States had opposed colonialism. It urged the Dutch to give up their holdings in Indonesia. It supported the British decision to grant India independence. However, the conflict over Vietnam also included the issue of communism. The United States did not think that France should control Vietnam. At the same time, it did not want Vietnam to be Communist.

President Truman decided to help France for two reasons: the fall of China to communism and the Korean War. President Eisenhower continued to support the French against the Vietminh. Eisenhower defended the U.S. policy in Vietnam by stressing the domino theory. This was a belief that if Vietnam fell to communism, the other Southeast nations would also.

4. How did President Eisenhower defend the U.S. policy in Vietnam?
The Vietminh Drive Out the French (page 774)

The Vietminh military tactics frustrated the French. The Vietminh used the tactics of guerrillas, or irregular troops who usually blend into the civilian population and are often difficult for regular armies to fight.

In 1954 French troops occupied the Vietnamese town of Dien Bien Phu. They hoped to interfere with the Vietminh’s supply lines. Soon after, a large Vietminh force surrounded the town and began bombarding it. On May 7, 1954, the French forces at Dien Bien Phu fell to the Vietminh. The French decided to withdraw from Indochina.

Negotiations to end the conflict took place in Geneva, Switzerland. The Geneva Accords temporarily divided Vietnam into North Vietnam and South Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh and the Vietminh controlled North Vietnam. A pro-Western regime controlled South Vietnam. Elections were to be held in 1956 to reunite the country under a single government.

The United States stepped in to support the new government in South Vietnam. Its leader was Ngo Dinh Diem, who was anti-Communist. When the time came to hold elections in 1956, Diem refused. Eisenhower supported Diem, and the United States increased military and economic aid to South Vietnam. Tensions between the North and South increased.

5. What was the significance of the battle of Dien Bien Phu?
GOING TO WAR IN VIETNAM

KEY TERMS AND NAMES
Vietcong  a new guerrilla army organized by Ho Chi Minh and his followers (page 777)
Gulf of Tonkin Resolution  a Congressional resolution that allowed President Johnson to use force to defend American troops in Vietnam (page 779)
napalm  a jellied gasoline that explodes on contact (page 780)
Agent Orange  a chemical that strips leaves from trees and shrubs (page 780)
Ho Chi Minh trail  a network of paths, on which North Vietnam sent arms and supplies (page 781)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE
Have you seen any movies or read any books about the Vietnam War? How did the movie or book depict it? What conditions did American troops face there?

The last section described the French involvement in Vietnam. This section discusses how the United States became militarily involved in Vietnam.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS
Use the cause-and-effect diagram below to help you take notes. Identify the causes or the effects of the events listed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Effect</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. ______________</td>
<td>The power of the Vietcong increased.</td>
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<td>2. ______________</td>
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<tr>
<td>Congress passes the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.</td>
<td>3. ______________</td>
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<tr>
<td>President Johnson refuses to invade North Vietnam for fear of China’s involvement.</td>
<td>4. ______________</td>
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</table>
• American Involvement Deepens (page 776)

After Diem refused to hold national elections, Ho Chi Minh began an armed struggle to reunify the nation. He and his followers organized a new guerrilla army, which became known as the Vietcong. After fighting began between the Vietcong and South Vietnam’s forces, President Eisenhower increased American aid and sent military advisers to train South Vietnam’s army. However, the Vietcong’s power increased. This was partly due to the fact that many Vietnamese were against Diem’s government. It was also due to the Vietcong’s use of terror. The Vietcong had killed thousands of government officials and gained control of much of the countryside. Diem looked increasingly to the United States for help.

President Kennedy continued to support South Vietnam, seeing it as an important part of fighting communism. He increased military aid and sent more advisers. The United States believed that the Vietcong were so popular because Diem’s government was corrupt and unpopular. They urged him to introduce more democratic reforms. He introduced some, but they had little effect. Diem, a Catholic, was also unpopular because he discriminated against Buddhism, which was one of the most practiced religions in Vietnam. When he banned traditional religious flags for Buddha’s birthday, Buddhists protested. Diem’s police killed 9 people and injured 14 others. In one of the demonstrations, a Buddhist monk set himself on fire. The photograph of this appeared on television and in newspapers around the world. It clearly showed the opposition to Diem.

When Henry Cabot Lodge arrived in Vietnam as American ambassador in August 1963, he found out that several Vietnamese generals were plotting to overthrow Diem. Lodge told them that the United States was sympathetic to their cause. The generals overthrew Diem and executed him. Although Diem was unpopular, he was a good administrator. After his death, the government became even more unstable. This forced the United States to become even more involved as it tried to prop up the weak South Vietnamese government. Shortly after Diem’s death, President Kennedy was assassinated. The conflict in Vietnam fell to President Johnson.

5. Why did the Vietcong’s power increase?
President Johnson was determined to stop South Vietnam from becoming Communist. Johnson also knew that many Republicans blamed the Democrats for losing China to communism. As a result, he did not want to be blamed for losing Vietnam to communism.

On August 2, 1964, President Johnson announced that North Vietnamese torpedo boats had fired on two American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. He insisted that the attack was unprovoked. He ordered American aircraft to attack North Vietnamese ships. Johnson did not reveal that American warships had been helping South Vietnam in spying and raids on North Vietnam.

Johnson asked Congress for authorization to use force to defend American forces. On August 7, 1964, Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. It essentially handed over war powers to the president. Shortly afterward, the Vietcong began to attack American bases where U.S. advisers were stationed. In February 1965, after one Vietcong attack in which 7 Americans were killed and more than 100 were wounded, President Johnson ordered American aircraft to strike North Vietnam. Most Americans approved of Johnson’s actions. His advisers, including Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy, also approved. Some, however, warned that if the United States got too involved in Vietnam, it might be difficult to get out.

In March 1965, Johnson increased American involvement. He switched from using individual air strikes to a bombing campaign, which was named Operation Rolling Thunder. Johnson also ordered the first combat troops into Vietnam. They fought alongside the South Vietnamese troops against the Vietcong.

6. How did American involvement in Vietnam change after March 1965?

By 1966 more than 300,000 American soldiers were fighting in Vietnam. Americans believed that with such a large fighting force, the United States was destined to win. Not having this kind of power, the Vietcong used ambushes and hit-and-run tactics. The Vietcong also blended into the population in the cities and countryside and then vanished. To counter these tactics,
American troops tried to find enemy troops and bomb their positions. They hoped to destroy their supply lines and force them out in the open.

American troops also wanted to get rid of the Vietcong’s ability to hide in the thick jungles by destroying the landscape. American planes dropped napalm, a jellied gasoline that explodes on contact. They also used Agent Orange, a chemical that strips leaves from trees and shrubs. The chemical destroyed farmland and forests.

American military leaders believed that continuous bombing and killing of many Vietcong would destroy the enemy’s morale and make them surrender. However, the guerrillas had no intention of surrendering. Although the Vietcong were made up of many South Vietnamese, North Vietnam supported them with arms and advisers. Later, North Vietnam began sending its own army to South Vietnam. They sent the supplies by a network of paths that went through Cambodia and Laos. The paths bypassed the border between North Vietnam and South Vietnam. The network was known as the Ho Chi Minh trail. North Vietnam received its supplies from the Soviet Union and China. President Johnson refused to order an invasion of North Vietnam because he feared an attack would bring China into the war. This policy made it difficult to win the war. Instead of conquering enemy troops, American troops followed a strategy of defeating the enemy forces by slowly wearing them down.

Although American planes killed as many as 220,000 Vietnamese between 1965 and 1967, the Vietcong showed no signs of surrendering. American casualties also increased, with more than 6,700 American soldiers killed by the end of 1966.

7. Why did President Johnson refuse to order an invasion of North Vietnam?
Imagine that you are an American living in the United States during the Vietnam War. Would you have supported or opposed the war? Why?

The last section described the U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. This section discusses how the Vietnam War led to a division between supporters and opponents of the war.

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The year 1968 was a very critical year in the nation’s history. Identify the events of that year in the diagram.
READ TO LEARN

• A Growing Credibility Gap (page 784)

Opposition to the Vietnam War grew in the United States in the late 1960s. One of the main reasons for the increased opposition was that many Americans were suspicious of the government’s truthfulness about the war. In 1967 General William Westmoreland, the American commander in South Vietnam, reported that the United States was near victory. However, daily media accounts, particularly on television, showed images of wounded and dead Americans. These images made Americans doubt the optimistic government reports. Many Americans believed a credibility gap had developed. Congress also grew uncertain about the war. The Senate Foreign Relations committee held hearings on Vietnam. The committee called in Secretary of State Dean Rusk and other presidential advisers to explain the war program.

7. What led to a credibility gap in the United States in the late 1960s?

• An Antiwar Movement Emerges (page 785)

As more Americans died in Vietnam, many people, especially college students, began to protest against the war. In March 1965, a group of college teachers and students at the University of Michigan joined together in a teach-in. This was an informal discussion about the issues surrounding the war and their reasons for opposing it. Soon teach-ins were being held in other college campuses.

People opposed the war for different reasons. Some believed that it was a civil war that did not have anything to do with the United States. Others believed South Vietnam was a corrupt democracy, and supporting it was immoral. Some protesters believed the United States had an unfair draft system. At the beginning of the war, college students were able to postpone military service until after they graduated. A young person from a low-income family was more likely to serve in the war because he could not afford college. As a result, minorities made up a large percentage of the soldiers in Vietnam. The high number of African Americans and poor Americans dying in Vietnam angered African American leaders. In April 1967, Martin Luther King, Jr., publicly condemned the war.
As the war continued, more people were drafted. Many draftees refused to go. Some fled the country, moving to Canada or other nations. Others stayed and went to prison rather than fight in a war they opposed. In 1969 the government issued a lottery system for the draft. Only those who had low lottery numbers were drafted.

Demonstrators against the war were not only college students. In October 1967, a rally at the Lincoln Memorial drew tens of thousands of protesters. Although the antiwar protesters were a vocal group, a majority of people in early 1968 supported President Johnson’s determination to keep fighting. The nation seemed to be divided into two groups. Those who wanted the United States to withdraw from Vietnam were known as doves. Those who wanted the United States to stay and fight became known as hawks.

8. Why did minorities make up a large percentage of the soldiers in Vietnam?

• 1968: The Pivotal Year (page 787)

On January 30, 1968, the Vietcong and North Vietnamese launched a huge surprise attack during the Tet, the Vietnamese New Year. It was called the Tet offensive. The guerrilla fighters attacked all American airbases in South Vietnam and most of the nation’s major cities. After about a month of fighting, the American and South Vietnamese soldiers fended off the enemy troops, who suffered heavy losses.

However, the North Vietnamese scored a major political victory. Americans were shocked that the North Vietnamese, who were supposedly near defeat, could launch such a huge attack. General Westmoreland called for additional troops. This seemed to indicate to Americans that the United States could not win the war. In addition, the media criticized the military effort. The media also indicated that the United States could not win the war.

After the Tet offensive, President Johnson’s approval rating fell drastically. As a result, in March 1968, Johnson announced that he would not run for re-election in 1968. Even before his announcement, Democrats began looking for an alternative candidate to nominate. Eugene McCarthy, a dove, announced his candidacy in November 1967. Senator Robert Kennedy also announced his candidacy.
In April 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was shot and killed. This led to riots in several major cities. Then in June 1968, Senator Robert Kennedy was shot and killed just after winning California’s Democratic primary. Violence continued in 1968 with a clash between police and protesters at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Protesters demanded that the Democrats adopt an antiwar platform.

The delegates to the convention chose Hubert Humphrey, President Johnson’s vice president, as their presidential nominee. At the same time, the protesters and police began fighting in a park near the convention hall. A riot broke out on the streets of downtown Chicago.

The violence associated with the Democratic Party worked to the benefit of the Republican presidential candidate, Richard Nixon. It also encouraged a third candidate, Governor George Wallace of Alabama, to run as an independent. Nixon promised to unify the nation and to restore law and order. He also announced that he had a plan to end the Vietnam War. Nixon defeated Humphrey by a slim margin.

9. Why did President Johnson not run for re-election in 1968?
What memories do your parents or grandparents have of the Vietnam War? How do they think the war affected the country?

The last section described the division in the United States over the Vietnam War. This section discusses the events that led to the withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam.

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. List the effects of the war on South Vietnam and on the United States in the diagram.

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **Henry Kissinger** special assistant for national security affairs under President Nixon (page 790)
- **linkage** the policy of improving relations with the Soviet Union and China to persuade them to reduce their assistance to North Vietnam (page 790)
- **Vietnamization** a plan for a gradual withdrawal of American troops and for the South Vietnamese army to take over more of the fighting in Vietnam (page 791)
- **Pentagon Papers** documents that revealed that various administrations had deceived Congress and the people about the situation in Vietnam (page 792)
- **War Powers Act** a law that required the president to inform Congress of any troop commitment within 48 hours and to withdraw the troops in 60 days unless Congress approved the troop commitment (page 794)
• Nixon Moves to End the War (page 790)

President Nixon appointed Henry Kissinger as special assistant for national security affairs. Kissinger was given authority to use diplomacy to end U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Kissinger started a policy called linkage, which meant improving relations with the Soviet Union and China to persuade them to cut back their assistance to North Vietnam. Kissinger also resumed negotiations with North Vietnam. In August 1969, he started secret talks with Le Duc Tho, a North Vietnamese negotiator. The talks went on for four years. In the meantime, President Nixon began cutting back on the number of troops in Vietnam. He set up a plan called Vietnamization. It called for a gradual withdrawal of American troops and for the South Vietnamese army to take over more of the fighting. Nixon did not view the troop withdrawal as surrender. He wanted to keep America’s strength in Vietnam during negotiations. To do this, Nixon increased air strikes against North Vietnam. He also ordered the bombing of the Vietcong in Cambodia.

8. Why did Henry Kissinger set up the policy of linkage?

   ___________________________________________________________

   ___________________________________________________________

   ___________________________________________________________

   ___________________________________________________________

• Turmoil at Home Continues (page 791)

Protests and violence continued in the United States after Nixon became president. In November 1969, the American media reported that in the spring of 1968, an American platoon under the command of Lieutenant William Calley had massacred more than 200 unarmed South Vietnamese civilians in My Lai. Most of the victims were old men, women, and children. Calley went to prison for his role. The My Lai massacre increased the feelings among many Americans that the war was brutal and senseless.

In April 1970, Nixon announced that American troops had invaded Cambodia to destroy Vietcong military bases there. Many Americans viewed this action as enlarging the war. More protests occurred. At Kent State University in May 1970, Ohio National Guard soldiers fired on students without an order to do so. They killed four students. Two African American students were killed ten days later at a demonstration at Jackson State College in Mississippi.

Members of Congress were upset with the president for not notifying them of his plan to invade Cambodia. In December 1970, Congress repealed the
Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. Then in 1971, Daniel Ellsberg, a former Defense Department worker, leaked the *Pentagon Papers* to the *New York Times*. The documents showed that many government officials during the Johnson administration had privately questioned the war while publicly defending it. The documents also showed how various administrations deceived Congress, the media, and the public about the situation in Vietnam. They showed that the government had not been honest with the American people.

9. How did Congress respond to Nixon’s invasion of Cambodia?

*The United States Pulls Out of Vietnam* *(page 792)*

By 1971 a majority of Americans wanted to end the Vietnam War. In October 1972, Henry Kissinger announced that peace was near. In the 1972 presidential election, the Democrats nominated Senator George McGovern, a critic of the war. However, many Americans were tired of protesters and elected Nixon in a landslide.

Soon after the presidential election, in mid-December 1972, peace talks broke down. South Vietnam refused to agree to any plan in which North Vietnamese troops were left in South Vietnam. The next day Nixon began massive bombing raids to force North Vietnam to return to negotiations. They finally agreed. South Vietnam gave in to U.S. pressure and allowed North Vietnamese troops to remain in the South. On January 27, 1973, an agreement was signed to end the war. The United States agreed to withdraw its troops. Both sides agreed to an exchange of prisoners of war. The United States’s direct involvement in Vietnam had ended.

In March 1975, shortly after the United States pulled out the last of its troops, North Vietnam started a full-scale invasion of South Vietnam. South Vietnam asked the United States for help. President Nixon had promised such help during the negotiations. However, he had resigned following the Watergate scandal. President Ford asked Congress for funds to help South Vietnam, but Congress refused to do so. On April 30, 1975, North Vietnam captured Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam. It united Vietnam under Communist rule and renamed Saigon Ho Chi Minh City.
10. What happened after the United States troops left Vietnam?

The Vietnam War left lasting effects on the United States. It had cost more than $170 billion. It resulted in the deaths of about 58,000 Americans and in the injuries of more than 300,000. In Vietnam, about one million North and South Vietnamese had died. The war had a psychological impact on many American soldiers. Many Americans considered the war a defeat. As a result, the sacrifices made by many veterans were left unrecognized. There were few welcome-home parades for American soldiers. The war continued for many American families whose relatives were prisoners of war or missing in action.

In 1973 Congress passed the War Powers Act. This was an attempt to set limits on the power of the president. The law required the president to inform Congress of any commitment of troops within 48 hours. It also required the president to withdraw troops in 60 to 90 days unless Congress approved the troop commitment.

After the Vietnam War, many Americans became more reluctant to involve the United States in the affairs of other nations. The Vietnam War also increased Americans’ cynicism about their government. Many believed that the government had misled them.

11. How were the veterans of the Vietnam War often treated on their return home?

• The Legacy of Vietnam (page 793)

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The Student Movement and the Counterculture

Key Terms and Names

Port Huron Statement declaration by the Students for a Democratic Society that called for citizens to stop accepting a country run by big corporations and big government (page 801)

Tom Hayden author of the Port Huron Statement (page 801)

counterculture youth who adopted alternative ways of life (page 802)

communes group living arrangements in which members shared everything and worked together (page 803)

Haight-Ashbury district a popular hippie destination in San Francisco (page 803)

Jimi Hendrix musician who was a master at the electrically amplified guitar (page 805)

Drawing from Experience

What image comes to mind when you hear the word “hippie”? From where have these images come?

In this section, you will learn about the youth movement in the United States. You will also learn how the youth movement affected the nation’s culture.

Organizing Your Thoughts

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The counterculture affected American society in several ways. Describe these ways in the diagram.
The 1960s saw the rise of a youth movement. The movement challenged American politics and society. Although the nation enjoyed economic prosperity in the 1950s, this prosperity did not affect everyone. The writers and artists of the “beat” movement criticized American society. The nuclear arms race made many young people in the United States uneasy about the future. This unease led many young people to become involved in social causes, such as the civil rights movement.

Because of the baby boom, the early 1960s saw an increase in the number of young people enrolled in college. The economic boom of the 1950s allowed more families to be able to afford college. Young people in college were able to meet and bond with others who shared their feelings and concerns. As a result, protest movements were loudest on college campuses.

A group of college students was concerned about the injustices that it saw in the nation’s politics and society. The members of this group believed that a few wealthy people controlled politics. One organization of this group was the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). It set its views in a 1962 declaration known as the Port Huron Statement, written largely by Tom Hayden. He was the editor of the University of Michigan’s student newspaper. The declaration called for an end to apathy and for citizens to stop accepting a country that was run by big corporations and big government. SDS groups protested the Vietnam War. They also focused on issues such as poverty and racism.

Another group of activists were the members of the Free Speech Movement. The movement started in 1964 after the University of California at Berkeley decided to restrict students’ rights to distribute literature and to recruit people for political causes on campus. As on other campuses, students at Berkeley were often taught by graduate students. Many professors were too busy with research to meet with students. Administrators made rules that were not easy to obey. Students felt isolated and found a purpose in the Free Speech Movement. A struggle between school administrators and students led to a sit-in at the administration building. The California governor sent in 600 police officers who arrested more than 700 protesters. The arrests triggered larger protests. Much of the faculty supported the Free Speech Movement, which led the administration to give in to the students’ demands. The Supreme Court upheld the students’ rights to freedom of speech and assembly.

4. Why did colleges see an increased enrollment in the early 1960s?
In the 1960s, thousands of mostly white middle- and upper-class youths created an alternative lifestyle. They became known as the counterculture. They were commonly called “hippies.” The hippies rebelled against the dominant culture in the United States. They rejected the traditional middle-class values. The counterculture had an ideal of a society that was freer and full of love and empathy. As the movement grew larger, however, the newcomers did not understand the original ideas of the counterculture. For these people, what mattered were the outward signs such as long hair, shabby jeans, and the use of drugs.

Many hippies left home and lived together with other young people in communes. These were group living arrangements in which members shared everything and worked together. A popular hippie destination in the mid-1960s was the Haight-Ashbury district in San Francisco.

Many members of the counterculture looked to various beliefs ranging from astrology to Eastern religions and new forms of Christianity. Some religious groups centered around authoritarian leaders who controlled the lives of the group members. Parents accused religious sects of using mind-control techniques on their children. Two such new religious groups in the 1960s were the Unification Church and the Hare Krishna movement.

The counterculture began to deteriorate after a few years. Many young people of the counterculture gradually returned to mainstream society.

5. What did members of the counterculture rebel against?

• Impact of the Counterculture (page 803)

The counterculture did change American life. It changed the fashion industry, which took its cues from the young men and women. Clothing became more colorful and more comfortable. Ethnic clothing became popular. Beads imitated Native American costumes. Tie-dyed shirts borrowed techniques from India and Africa. Longer hair on men and more individual clothes for both men and women became generally accepted. Clothing of the counterculture soon became mainstream.
During the 1960s, there was less distinction between traditional art and popular art, or pop art. The subject of pop art came from parts of the popular culture, such as photographs and advertisements.

Counterculture music became part of the mainstream. The Beatles were one of the most famous of the counterculture musicians. They inspired many other rock 'n' roll groups both in Great Britain and in the United States. The lyrics of much of the counterculture music spoke to the fears of the young people and to the widening gap between them and their parents. Electrically amplified instruments changed the sound of the new music. A master of the new guitar sound was Jimi Hendrix. Thousands of people got together to celebrate the new music at rock festivals such as Woodstock, in New York, and Altamont, in California. The style of dancing had also changed. People danced individually without a partner and were surrounded by other people who danced alone.

6. How did the counterculture change fashion in the United States?
What issues do you think women face today? How do you think these issues are being addressed?

The last section described the effect of the youth movement in the United States. This section discusses the achievements of the women’s movement in the United States.

**Issues Addressed by the Women’s Movement**

1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **feminism** the belief that men and women should be equal politically, economically, and socially  
  (page 807)
- **Equal Pay Act** a law that outlawed paying men more than women for the same job  
  (page 807)
- **Equal Employment Opportunity Commission** federal agency in charge of administering the new  
  legislation for women  
  (page 808)
- **Betty Friedan** writer who wrote *The Feminine Mystique*  
  (page 808)
- **National Organization for Women** the national women’s organization started in the mid-1960s  
  (page 808)
- **Title IX** part of a law that prohibited federally funded schools from discriminating against girls  
  and young women in all aspects of their operations  
  (page 809)
- **Phyllis Schlafly** an outspoken opponent of the Equal Rights Amendment  
  (page 810)
By the early 1960s, many women in the United States became dissatisfied with their roles as homemakers. Those women who worked outside the home recognized that they received lower pay and fewer opportunities than men. The situation led to the start of a new feminist movement in the 1960s. Since the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, feminism, or the belief that men and women should be equal politically, economically, and socially, had been an issue. Soon after the Nineteenth Amendment was passed, the women’s movement split into two groups. One group was the League of Women Voters. It worked to promote laws to protect women and children, such as limiting the hours they could work. Another group was the National Woman’s Party (NWP). This group opposed protective laws for women. Instead, the NWP persuaded some members of Congress to introduce the first Equal Rights Amendment. The amendment was to forbid federal, state, and local laws from discriminating on the basis of gender. However, Congress ignored the proposed amendment.

During World War II, women became an important part of the nation’s workforce. When the war ended, many women lost their jobs to the men who returned home. However, many women gradually reentered the labor force. By 1960 they made up almost 40 percent of the nation’s workforce.

5. What situation led to the development of a new feminist movement in the 1960s?

By the 1960s, many women were resentful of being discriminated against because of gender. This was particularly true in the workforce, where women worked at lower-paying jobs. Women also had a better understanding of their unequal status from their work in the civil rights and antiwar movements. Very often women in these movements were not part of any policy decisions. This awareness led to a new feminist movement across the United States. It was part of the 1960s pursuit for rights.
The women’s movement came to life as a result of the mass protest of ordinary women and the President’s Commission on the Status of Women. President Kennedy appointed the commission to study the status of women in the United States. The commission’s report pointed to the problems of women in the workplace. It helped put together a network of feminist activists who lobbied Congress for women’s laws. In 1963 they won the passage of the Equal Pay Act. The law outlawed paying men more than women for the same job. Congress also added a measure to the 1964 Civil Rights Act. It was called Title VII and it outlawed job discrimination by private employers on the basis of race, religion, national origin, and gender. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was a federal agency set up to administer these laws. However, even this commission still held on to the belief that jobs should be distinguished by gender.

Many people date the start of the new women’s movement from the publication in 1963 of The Feminine Mystique by Betty Friedan. Friedan had interviewed women who had graduated with her from college and found that many of them felt unfulfilled, despite having everything they could want in life. The book became a bestseller and allowed many women to share their feelings and build a base for a nationwide movement.

In June 1966, Friedan and others began considering the need for women to form a national organization. This led to the start of the National Organization for Women (NOW). The organization demanded greater educational opportunities for women. It focused on helping women in the workplace. They fought against the practice of paying women less than men for the same work. The organization pushed for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. It also published its own magazine, Ms. The editor of the magazine was Gloria Steinem, one of the leading figures of NOW.

6. What do many people date as the start of the new women’s movement in the United States in the mid-1960s?

   -
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   -
   -

Successes and Failures (page 808)

A major accomplishment of the women’s movement was gaining greater equality for women in education. Leaders of the movement pushed lawmakers to pass federal laws banning discrimination in education. In 1972 Congress passed a collection of laws known as the Educational Amendments. One part
of these laws was Title IX. It prohibited federally funded schools from discriminating against girls and young women in all aspects of their operations.

An important goal for many women was the repeal of laws against abortion. Until 1973, the right to regulate abortion was given to the states. In that year, the Supreme Court ruled in Roe v. Wade that state governments could not regulate abortion during the first three months of pregnancy. This was interpreted as being within a woman’s constitutional right to privacy. The decision led to the rise of the right-to-life movement. Members of this movement considered abortion an absolute wrong and wanted it to be banned.

In 1972 Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Under this amendment, protection against discrimination on the basis of gender would become part of the Constitution if 38 states ratified it. Opposition to the ERA had been growing. Many people saw it as a threat to traditional values. Some women opposed it because they feared that it would take away the legal rights of wives. A vocal opponent of the ERA was Phyllis Schlafly. She organized the nationwide Stop-ERA campaign. She argued that the ERA would take away many of the rights that women already had, such as alimony after a divorce. The ERA failed to be ratified by three votes, and it finally failed in 1982.

7. What was the significance of Title IX?
NEW APPROACHES TO CIVIL RIGHTS

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

affirmative action  a policy that called for companies and institutions doing business with the federal government to actively recruit African American employees (page 813)

Allan Bakke  student who challenged the affirmative action policy (page 813)

busing  the transporting of children to schools outside their neighborhoods to gain greater racial balance (page 814)

Jesse Jackson  a civil rights activist and founder of People United to Save Humanity (PUSH). (page 814)

Congressional Black Caucus  an organization of African American members of Congress to more clearly represent the legislative concerns of African Americans (page 815)

César Chávez  civil rights activist and organizer of a group that fought for the rights of farmworkers (page 815)

La Raza Unida  Hispanic American political party formed in Texas in 1969 (page 815)

bilingualism  the practice of teaching immigrant students in their own language while they also learned English (page 815)

American Indian Movement  a militant Native American group (page 816)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What methods do groups in the United States today use to urge the government to address issues that are important to them? What methods do you think are most effective? Why?

The last section discussed the achievements of the women’s movement in the United States. This section discusses the ways that minority groups sought to increase their civil rights.
ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. In the late 1960s and 1970s, minority groups formed organizations to increase their civil rights. Describe the work of each of the organizations listed in the diagram.

**Work of Minority Organizations**

- **Congressional Black Caucus**
  1. ___________

- **United Farm Workers**
  2. ___________

- **La Raza Unida**
  3. ___________

- **American Indian Movement**
  4. ___________

READ TO LEARN

- **Fighting for Greater Opportunity** *(page 812)*

By the late 1960s, laws banned racial discrimination. However, most African Americans saw little improvement in their daily lives. Getting good jobs and a good education was difficult. As a result, civil rights leaders began focusing on these issues. They looked to **affirmative action**. It called for companies and institutions doing business with the federal government to actively recruit African American employees. This would be enforced through federal laws and with the hope that this would lead to improved social and economic conditions for African Americans. In Atlanta, Mayor Maynard Jackson, an African American, opened bidding for the expansion of the city’s airport more widely to minority companies. As a result, small and minority companies made up 25 percent of all airport construction work.

Critics of affirmative action called it “reverse discrimination.” In 1974 an application to the University of California Medical School by a white applicant named Allan Bakke was turned down. Bakke found out that slots had been set aside for minorities, some of whom had scored lower than Bakke on their exams. He sued the school, arguing that the school discriminated against him because of his race. In 1978 the Supreme Court ruled that the university did violate Bakke’s rights. However, it also ruled that schools could use racial criteria for admission as long as they did not use fixed quotas.

Civil rights leaders also worked for educational improvements. Even after the Supreme Court ruling in **Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas**, many schools in the 1960s remained segregated. Since children normally went to neighborhood schools, segregation in the schools reflected the racial segregation of neighborhoods. As a result, a number of local governments started a
policy known as busing, or transporting children to schools outside their neighborhoods to gain greater racial balance. The Supreme Court ruled that busing was constitutional. Many whites, however, opposed busing. Many took their children out of public schools. By 1976 African Americans and other minorities made up the majority of Boston’s public school students.

African Americans found new political leaders. One leader was Jesse Jackson. Jackson was an activist during the civil rights movement. He continued working to improve the economic and political situation of African Americans. He founded People United to Save Humanity (PUSH). The organization’s goal was to register voters, develop African American businesses, and improve educational opportunities.

African Americans gained influence in Congress. In 1971 African American members of Congress formed the Congressional Black Caucus. It was organized to better represent the legislative concerns of African Americans. It promoted African American interests in areas such as health care and economics.

5. What was the purpose of busing?

- Hispanic Americans Organize (page 815)

Hispanics in the 1960s also worked to gain greater rights. Hispanics came to the United States from different places and for different reasons. Hispanics, like other immigrant groups, experienced prejudice and a lack of access to proper housing and employment. Encouraged by the civil rights movement, they began to organize a protest movement.

Hispanics began working to win rights for farmworkers. Most Mexican American farmworkers earned little money and had few benefits. In the early 1960s, César Chávez and Dolores Huerta organized two groups that fought for the rights of farmworkers. They staged successful protests and a nationwide boycott against California grape growers. In 1966 Chávez and Huerta merged their organizations into the United Farm Workers (UFW). They continued their boycott until 1970, when the grape growers agreed to a contract to raise wages and improve working conditions.

Hispanic Americans also became more politically active. In 1969 a new political party called La Raza Unida was organized. The group mobilized Mexican American voters to support programs that called for job-training programs and greater access to financial institutions. Another issue that both
Hispanic students and political leaders worked for was **bilingualism**. This is the practice of teaching immigrant students in their own language while they also learned English. Congress responded by passing the Bilingual Education Act in 1968. Some American voters opposed bilingual education because they believed that it made it more difficult for a child to adjust to American culture. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of bilingualism in 1974.

6. For what did César Chávez work?

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**Native Americans Raise Their Voices** *(page 816)*

Native Americans suffered many injustices. Their unemployment rate was 10 times the national rate. Unemployment was especially high on reservation lands. More than half of Native Americans lived on these lands. Life expectancy for Native Americans was about seven years below the national average. In the late 1960s and 1970s, many Native Americans began to organize to improve these conditions.

Native Americans called for better economic opportunities on reservations. Many wanted greater independence from the mainstream society in the United States. In 1968 Congress passed the Indian Civil Rights Act. The law guaranteed Native Americans on reservations the protection of the Bill of Rights. It also recognized local reservation law. Some Native Americans believed the government was not doing enough. They formed more militant groups such as the **American Indian Movement** (AIM). In February 1973, members of AIM occupied the town of Wounded Knee, where federal troops had killed around 150 Sioux in 1890. The AIM members demanded changes in the way the reservations were run. They also wanted the government to honor its treaty obligations to Native Americans. A clash occurred between the Native Americans and the FBI. Two Native Americans were killed and several people were wounded. The takeover ended a short time later.

The Native American movement did have some successes. In 1975 Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act. The law increased funds for Native American education. It increased the role of Native Americans in administering federal programs. By working through the courts, Native Americans won a number of land and water rights
that they worked for. They have also developed businesses on reservations, which are operated under the laws of the reservation.

7. What did the Indian Civil Rights Act provide?
SAVING THE EARTH

KEY TERMS AND NAMES
Rachel Carson  author who wrote against the dangers of pesticides in *Silent Spring* (page 820)
smog  fog made heavier and darker by smoke and chemical fumes (page 820)
Environmental Protection Agency  a government agency established to set and enforce pollution standards (page 821)
fossil fuels  coal, oil, and natural gas (page 822)
Three Mile Island  a nuclear facility outside Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (page 822)
Ralph Nader  the leading figure in the consumer protection movement (page 823)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE
What steps does your local government take to protect your community’s environment? What actions do you and your family take?
The last section described the ways that minority groups sought to increase their civil rights. This section discusses the beginnings of the environmental movement and the consumer movement.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS
Use the cause-and-effect diagram below to help you take notes. Several incidents in the 1960s and 1970s had a great effect on the nation’s environment. List the effects in the diagram.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rachel Carson wrote <em>Silent Spring</em>.</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress passed several pieces of environmental legislation.</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Mile Island accident occurred.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph Nader wrote <em>Unsafe at Any Speed</em>.</td>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Beginnings of Environmentalism (page 819)

In the 1960s and 1970s, many Americans began to look more closely at the effects of industrialism on the environment. They were alarmed at what they found. The United States seemed to have little concern for the environment. Pesticides had damaged a wide range of wildlife. Pollution had damaged the air and the water. Nuclear energy was used more and more. In her book *Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson wrote of the danger in the increasing use of pesticides, particularly DDT. She wrote that although pesticides killed insect populations, they also killed birds, fish, and other animals. Carson’s book became one of the most powerful books of the 1960s. Many Americans took Carson’s warnings seriously. They began to focus on environmental issues.

5. What effect did Rachel Carson’s book have on many Americans?

The Environmental Movement (page 820)

By the late 1960s, environmental problems existed in every region of the nation. Acres of forestland were being cut down in the Northwest. Smog, or fog made heavier and darker by smoke and chemical fumes, covered many cities. Pollution and garbage had caused the death of nearly all the fish in Lake Erie. Many people believed it was time to take action to protect the environment.

The environmental movement began officially in April 1970. That month the nation held the first Earth Day. It was a day devoted to addressing environmental issues. Millions of Americans participated in some way to show environmental awareness. After Earth Day, many people formed local environmental groups. Organizations such as the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society became well-known. The federal government soon became involved with environmental issues. In 1970 the Environmental Protection Agency was established. Its job was to set and enforce pollution standards. The agency also coordinated anti-pollution activities with state and local governments. The Clean Air Act set up air emissions standards for factories and automobiles. The Clean Water Act limited the amount of pollutants that could be discharged into the nation’s lakes and rivers. The Endangered Species Act set up measures for saving threatened animal species. Eventually, these laws improved the condition of the nation’s environment.

In the 1970s, people living in the Love Canal—a housing development near Niagara Falls, New York—noticed a high rate of health problems in their community. The problems included nerve damage, blood diseases, and cancer. The people learned that their community was located on top of an old toxic waste dump.
waste dump. The hazardous materials in the dump had leaked into the ground. The people of Love Canal demanded that the government address the problem. After they made the problem known to the entire nation, the state relocated about 200 families. In 1980 President Carter declared the Love Canal a federal disaster area. He moved the 600 remaining families to new locations. The Love Canal residents sued the company that created the dump-site. They settled the case for $20 million. The site was cleaned up and homes above the dumping ground were burned.

During the 1970s, many Americans were concerned over the growth of nuclear power. Those who supported the use of nuclear power claimed it was a cleaner and less expensive alternative to fossil fuels, such as coal, oil, or natural gas. Those who opposed the use of nuclear power warned of the risks that nuclear energy posed, particularly if radiation was accidentally released into the air. On March 28, 1979, one of the reactors at the Three Mile Island nuclear facility outside Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, overheated. Later, low levels of radiation escaped from the reactor. Nearby residents were evacuated. Others left on their own. Citizens staged protests. The reactor was closed down and the leak was sealed. The Three Mile Island accident left many people doubtful about the safety of nuclear energy. The doubts continue today.

6. What effect did the accident at Three Mile Island have on Americans?

• The Consumer Movement (page 822)

Many Americans in the 1960s and 1970s began questioning the quality and safety of many new technological products. Some people began to demand government involvement in setting up a consumer policy to ensure product safety and accurate information about products that consumers were buying. The most famous personality in the new consumer movement was Ralph Nader. In the 1960s, he began noticing a high number of deaths from automobile accidents. He researched the problem and presented his findings in a book titled Unsafe at Any Speed. The book charged that car manufacturers put style and cost ahead of safety. Nader’s work helped to get Congress to pass the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act in 1966. The law set mandatory standards and established a system for notifying car owners about defects. Carmakers had to incorporate safety standards into their car designs. Nader was also successful in getting laws passed that regulated products such as dangerous toys and unsafe meat and poultry.

7. How did Congress respond to Ralph Nader’s findings regarding automobile safety?
DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What kinds of problems did the United States face at the end of President Johnson’s administration? Which problem do you think would be the most important one for the next president to address?

In this section, you will learn about President Nixon’s domestic policy. You will also learn about his foreign policy.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. President Nixon’s foreign policy was one of détente. List some of the results of détente in the diagram.
READ TO LEARN

• Appealing to Middle America (page 832)

In the late 1960s, many Americans longed for the violence in the nation to stop. The Republican candidate for president in 1968, Richard Nixon, appealed to these Americans. Nixon promised peace in Vietnam, law and order, and a return to more conservative values. Hubert Humphrey was the Democratic presidential candidate. George Wallace was the third-party candidate. Nixon won the election.

An important reason for Nixon’s victory was the support he received in the South. Nixon gained support by promising several things. He promised to appoint only conservatives to the federal courts and to appoint a Southerner to the Supreme Court. He promised to oppose court-ordered busing and to choose a vice presidential candidate acceptable to the South. Nixon chose Spiro Agnew, who was from Maryland. Nixon’s promises paid off. On election day, Nixon carried several southern states. After his victory, Nixon set out to bring more Southerners to the Republican Party. This effort became known as the Southern strategy. Nixon made good on his promises and took steps to slow desegregation.

Nixon set out to deliver on his promise to restore law and order. He targeted the antiwar protesters. Nixon also went against the Supreme Court rulings that expanded the rights of accused criminals. He openly criticized the rulings and Chief Justice Earl Warren. When Warren resigned after Nixon took office, Nixon replaced him with a conservative judge, Warren Burger. The Burger Court did not reverse the rulings on the rights of criminal suspects, but it did refuse to expand those rights.

Nixon’s domestic policies became known as New Federalism. It called for getting rid of several federal programs and giving more control to state and local governments. Nixon claimed that this would give the government agencies that were closest to the people the opportunity to address problems. Under New Federalism, Congress passed revenue sharing bills, which granted federal money to state and local agencies. Although revenue sharing was supposed to give state and local governments more power, it actually increased federal power. States came to depend on federal funds, but the federal government could impose conditions on the states. Unless states met these conditions, the funds would be cut off.

Nixon tried to increase the power of the executive branch. If Congress set aside money for programs he opposed, Nixon impounded, or refused to release the funds.

President Nixon wanted to reform the nation’s welfare system. Both Republicans and Democrats criticized the program. Many argued that the program was set up in such a way that it was better for poor people to apply for benefits rather than taking low-paying jobs. To replace this program, in 1969
Nixon proposed the Family Assistance Plan. It gave needy families $1,600 per year. That amount could be supplemented by outside earnings. The House of Representatives approved the plan in 1970. However, it was defeated in the Senate.

5. What did President Nixon do to keep his promise of restoring law and order?


• Nixon’s Foreign Policy (page 835)

President Nixon was more interested in foreign affairs than in domestic ones. He chose Henry Kissinger as his national security adviser. He took the lead in helping Nixon shape his foreign policy.

Both Nixon and Kissinger believed that the United States would have to gradually withdraw from Vietnam. Both believed that the nation’s policy against communism was too rigid and worked against the interest of the United States. They wanted to contain communism, but they believed that negotiation was a better way to achieve the goal. As a result, they began friendlier relations with China and the Soviet Union.

Kissinger and Nixon developed an approach called détente, or relaxation of tensions between the United States and its two major Communist rivals—China and the Soviet Union. Nixon claimed that the United States had to build a better relationship with the two countries in the interests of world peace.

In 1972 Nixon made a historic visit to China. Leaders of both nations agreed to set up more normal relations between their countries. Nixon believed that relaxing tensions with China would encourage the Soviet Union to do so. Shortly after negotiations with China took place, the Soviets proposed a summit, or high-level diplomatic meeting, to be held between the United States and the Soviet Union. During the summit, the two countries signed the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, or SALT I. This was a plan to limit nuclear arms. The two nations also agreed to increase trade and to exchange scientific information.

6. What was the purpose of SALT I?
KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Sam J. Ervin a senator and head of the Senate's Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities (page 840)

John Dean the counsel to President Nixon, who testified that Nixon played an active role in the Watergate cover-up (page 840)

executive privilege the principle that White House conversations should remain confidential to protect national security (page 841)

impeach official charges of presidential misconduct (page 841)

Federal Campaign Act Amendments A law that limited campaign contributions and set up an independent agency to administer stricter election laws (page 842)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What does the term Watergate mean to you? Whom did the Watergate scandal involve? How do you know about the Watergate scandal?

The last section discussed the domestic and foreign policies of President Nixon. This section discusses the events that led to the Watergate scandal and the effects of the scandal.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the cause-and-effect diagram below to help you take notes. The Watergate crisis affected Congress and the American people. List these effects in the diagram.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Effects</th>
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<td>Watergate Crisis</td>
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READ TO LEARN

• The Roots of Watergate (page 838)

President Nixon’s administration became involved in what became known as Watergate. It was an attempt by members of Nixon’s administration to cover up its involvement in the break-in at the Democratic National Committee (DNC) headquarters at the Watergate apartment-office complex. Although the scandal began with the burglary, many experts believe that the scandal was due in large part to the character of Richard Nixon. He had suffered several political defeats during his career and had to fight hard to win the presidential election in 1968. Over the years, he had grown defensive and secretive. Nixon became president when the United States was still in turmoil over the Vietnam War. He viewed protesters as people out to bring down his administration. He even developed an “enemies list” of people he considered a threat to his presidency.

Nixon was expected to win the 1972 presidential election. His approval rating was high, particularly for his foreign policy in China and the Soviet Union. However, the Vietnam War was continuing. Nixon and his advisers also remembered that he won the 1968 election by a slim margin. As a result, his team tried to gain an edge in every way they could. This included spying on the opposition, spreading rumors, and stealing information from the Democratic Party’s headquarters. Five Nixon supporters broke into the party’s office. As the burglars were at work on June 17, 1972, a security guard found a piece of tape holding a door lock. He took the tape off, but when he returned he found that it had been replaced. He called the police, who arrested the men.

One of the burglars, James McCord, was a member of the Committee for the Re-election of the President (CRP). As questions came up about the White House connection to the burglary, the cover-up began. Members of the administration destroyed documents and gave false testimony to investigators. Although President Nixon may not have ordered the break-in, he did order the cover-up. Members of the administration asked the CIA to stop the FBI from asking about the source of the money paid to the burglars. They argued that such an investigation would threaten national security. At the same time, the White House denied any involvement in the break-in. Most Americans believed the denial and re-elected Nixon in the November 1972 election. He won by one of the largest margins in history.

4. Why did members of Nixon’s administration order a break-in into the Democratic Party’s headquarters?
The Watergate burglars went on trial in 1973. James McCord agreed to cooperate with the grand jury investigation and with the Senate’s Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities. Senator Sam J. Ervin headed the committee. Many confessions came forward after McCord’s testimony.

A major confession came from John Dean, the counsel to the president. In June 1973, Dean testified that former Attorney General John Mitchell had ordered the Watergate break-in and that Nixon had played an active role in covering it up. The Nixon administration denied the charges. The committee then tried to determine who was telling the truth. Then on July 16, White House aide Alexander Butterfield testified that Nixon had ordered a taping system installed in the White House to record conversations. The committee believed that the tapes would tell them what they needed to know.

Everyone wanted the tapes. However, President Nixon claimed executive privilege. This is the principle that White House conversations should remain confidential to protect national security. He refused to give up the tapes. Archibald Cox, a special prosecutor appointed by the president to handle the Watergate cases, took Nixon to court in October 1973, to force him to give up the tapes. Nixon ordered Attorney General Elliot Richardson to fire Cox. He refused to do so and resigned in protest. Finally, Solicitor General Robert Bork fired Cox. The incident damaged Nixon’s reputation with the public.

Also in the fall of 1973, Vice President Spiro Agnew was forced to resign because he had taken bribes from state contractors while he was governor of Maryland and while he was serving in Washington. Gerald Ford, the Republican leader of the House of Representatives, became the new vice president.

President Nixon appointed a new special prosecutor, Leon Jaworski, who also wanted the president’s tapes. In April 1974, Nixon released edited notes of the tapes that he believed proved his innocence. However, investigators did not believe so and wanted the unedited tapes. In July the Supreme Court ruled that the president had to turn over the tapes themselves, not just the transcripts.

A few days later, the House Judiciary Committee voted to impeach Nixon, or officially charge him with presidential misconduct. The committee charged that Nixon had obstructed justice in the Watergate cover-up. The next step was for the entire House of Representatives to vote whether or not to impeach.

Investigators also found evidence against the president. One of the tapes showed that on June 23, 1972, just a few days after the burglary, Nixon had ordered the CIA to stop the FBI’s investigation of the break-in. Nixon’s impeachment and conviction by the Senate now seemed certain. As a result, on August 9, 1974, Nixon resigned his office. Gerald Ford became president.
5. Why was John Dean’s testimony in the Watergate investigation significant?

• The Impact of Watergate (page 842)

After the Watergate crisis, Congress passed a number of laws to limit the power of the executive branch and to get a greater balance of power in government. The Federal Campaign Act Amendments limited campaign contributions, and it set up an independent agency to administer stricter election laws. The Ethics in Government Act required that high government officials in all three branches of government provide financial disclosures.

Watergate made many Americans distrust their public officials. Other Americans saw Watergate as proof that no person in the United States is above the law.

6. Why did Congress pass several laws after the Watergate crisis?
What are the major sources of energy in the United States today? Do you think conserving energy is an issue today? What steps do you and your family take to conserve energy?

The last section discussed the Watergate scandal. This section discusses the administrations of Presidents Ford and Carter.

Use the chart below to help you take notes. Both President Ford and President Carter faced foreign policy issues. List these issues in the chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign Policy Issues Under President Ford</th>
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The United States had enjoyed a strong economy during the 1950s and 1960s. This was due in large part because the United States had easy access to raw materials and had a strong manufacturing industry at home. These conditions had changed in the 1970s.

The economic problems had started under President Johnson. During the Vietnam War, he increased government deficit spending to pay for the war and to set up Great Society programs. This led to inflation, or a rise in the cost of goods. The rising cost of raw materials was another cause of inflation.

The rising cost of oil greatly affected the nation’s economy. The United States became dependent on imports from the Middle East and Africa. In the early 1970s, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) decided to use oil as an economic and political weapon. In 1973 a war went on between Israel and its Arab neighbors. U.S. support of Israel made American relations with the Arab nations tense. OPEC decided that its members would embargo, or stop shipping, oil to countries that supported Israel. This included the United States. OPEC also raised the price of oil by 70 percent and then by 130 percent. As a result, the United States had its first fuel shortage since World War II.

OPEC ended the embargo a few months after it began. However, oil prices continued to rise. The rapid increase in prices rapidly increased inflation. Americans were paying high prices for gasoline and home heating. As a result, they had little money to spend on other goods. The economy then went into a recession.

By the 1970s, the United States manufacturing industry faced international competition. Many manufacturing plants in the United States were not as new as those in Japan and Europe. These changes forced many factories to close and many people to be unemployed. In the early 1970s, Nixon faced a new economic problem called stagflation. This was a combination of rising prices and economic stagnation. Many economists did not think that inflation and recession could exist at the same time. As a result, they did not know what economic policies the government should set up.

Nixon decided to focus on controlling inflation. The government cut spending and raised taxes. However, Congress and the American people opposed the idea of a tax hike. Nixon then tried to get the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates. He hoped that this would reduce consumer spending and possibly curb inflation. This plan failed. Nixon then placed a 90-day freeze on all wages and prices. This plan also failed. When Nixon resigned, the inflation rate remained high and the unemployment rate was increasing.
7. Why was it difficult for economists to set up a policy to deal with stagflation?

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• Ford Takes Over (page 845)

President Ford attempted to restore American faith in its government leaders. He granted a full pardon to Richard Nixon, hoping to bring that chapter of the nation's history to an end. He believed that doing so was in the public interest. Nixon’s pardon was severely criticized. Ford’s popularity plunged soon after the pardon.

By 1975 the economy of the United States was the worst it had been since the Great Depression. Unemployment was at nearly nine percent. Ford pushed for voluntary controls of wages and prices to help stop inflation. His plan became known as WIN—Whip Inflation Now. The plan, however, failed. Ford then tried reducing government spending and establishing higher interest rates to curb inflation. This plan also failed. At the same time that Ford was trying to improve the economy, he also tried to balance the budget and keep taxes low.

Ford continued Nixon’s foreign policy. Kissinger remained the secretary of state and continued the policy of détente. In 1975 Ford and the leaders of NATO and the Warsaw Pact signed the Helsinki Accords. They agreed to recognize the borders of Eastern Europe set up at the end of World War II. The Soviets promised to uphold basic human rights. Ford also faced problems in Southeast Asia. Cambodia seized the Mayaguez, an American cargo ship traveling near its shores. Cambodia said that the ship had been on an intelligence-gathering mission. Ford sent U.S. Marines to get the ship back.

In 1976 Americans were unsure of the future. Rising inflation and unemployment forced many Americans to change their lifestyle. The United States also faced instability in foreign affairs. As the 1976 presidential election approached, Americans hoped for a leader who could meet these challenges. The Republicans nominated Gerald Ford. He ran against the Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter. Carter’s image as a moral and upstanding person attracted many voters. Carter won the election by a narrow margin.

8. What was the public reaction to President Ford’s pardon of Richard Nixon?

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• Carter Battles the Economic Crisis (page 846)

Carter decided to deal with the economy by increasing government spending and cutting taxes. When inflation rose in 1978, he changed his mind. He tried to lower inflation by reducing the money supply and raising interest rates. His plans, however, were unsuccessful.

Carter believed that the nation’s most serious problem was its dependence on foreign oil. He proposed a national energy program to conserve oil and to push for the use of coal and renewable energy sources such as solar power. He also wanted Congress to create the Department of Energy. Carter also asked Americans to reduce the amount of energy they used. Many people ignored the request.

Many business leaders wanted President Carter to deregulate the oil industry. These regulations limited the oil companies from passing on OPEC price increases to American consumers. As a result, oil companies had a difficult time making a profit. They then did not have enough money to invest in new oil wells at home. These regulations and increased OPEC oil prices contributed to the energy crisis on the 1970s. Carter agreed on deregulation, but he insisted on a profit tax so that oil companies would not overcharge consumers. The profit tax, however, did not free up money to find new sources of oil. Carter’s plan to solve the energy problem did not work.

Many people have suggested that President Carter’s lack of leadership and his inability to work with Congress caused his difficulties in solving the nation’s economic problems. Carter reached out to Congress, so Congress blocked many of his energy proposals. Carter also did not develop a theme for his administration. By 1979 Carter’s popularity had dropped.

9. What did President Carter believe was the nation’s most serious problem?

• Carter’s Foreign Policy (page 847)

President Carter’s foreign policy was more clearly defined than his domestic policy. He believed that the United States had to be honest and truthful in dealing with other nations. In Latin America, Carter moved to give control of the Panama Canal to the Panamanians on December 31, 1999. Carter pointed to the Soviet Union as being a violator of human rights. He spoke against the Soviet practice of imprisoning people who protested against the government.
When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, Carter placed an embargo on the sale of grain to the Soviet Union. He also led a boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympic Games, which were held in Moscow. Under Carter, détente practically came to an end.

Carter’s greatest success in foreign affairs had to do with the Middle East. In 1978 Carter helped set up a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt known as the Camp David Accords. It was signed in 1979 and marked the first step in achieving peace in the region. A few months after the treaty, Carter faced conflict in Iran. The United States had supported Iran’s ruler, the Shah, because Iran was a major oil supplier. Iran was also a buffer against Soviet expansion in the Middle East. However, the Shah was unpopular with Iranians. He was repressive and tried to introduce Western ways that went against traditional Islamic ways. In January 1979, Iranian protesters forced the Shah to leave. They declared an Islamic republic, headed by religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini. The new government distrusted the United States because of its support of the Shah. In November 1979, revolutionaries seized the American embassy in Tehran and held 52 American hostages.

President Carter tried unsuccessfully to negotiate for the hostages’ release. In April 1980, he approved a daring military rescue mission, which failed and resulted in the death of eight American servicemen. The hostage crisis continued into the fall. Carter’s failure to gain the release of the hostages contributed to his loss to Ronald Reagan in the 1980 presidential election. Negotiations for the hostage release continued until Carter’s last day in office. After 444 days in captivity, the hostages were released on January 20, 1981, the day of Reagan’s inauguration.

10. What was President Carter’s greatest success in foreign affairs?
Study Guide

Chapter 27, Section 4

For use with textbook pages 850–854

THE “ME” DECADE: LIFE IN THE 1970s

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

New Age movement  secular movement of the 1970s (page 851)
gurus  mystical leaders (page 851)
transcendental meditation  a religious movement started by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi that suggested daily meditation and the silent repetition of spiritual mantras (page 851)
All in the Family  a situation comedy of the 1970s that confronted uncomfortable social issues (page 852)
disco  dance music with a loud and persistent beat that became popular in the 1970s (page 853)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What kind of music is popular today? Who are your favorite musical groups? What makes them your favorites?

The last section discussed the domestic and foreign policies of Presidents Ford and Carter. This section discusses the cultural changes in the United States in the 1970s.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. Several fads became popular during the 1970s. List these fads in the diagram.
Most Americans in the 1970s believed that the United States would move beyond the Watergate scandal and the effects of the Vietnam War. Americans found ways to cope with the tense times. Writer Tom Wolfe named the 1970s the “me decade.” He was referring to the idea that many Americans looked inward. They became self-absorbed and looked for greater individual satisfaction.

Some young people moved away from their parents’ traditional religions. They looked for fulfillment in secular movements and activities that made up the New Age movement. Followers of this movement believed that people were responsible for and capable of things such as self-healing. They believed that spirituality could be found in common practices, not just in traditional churchgoing. They tried activities such as yoga to gain spiritual awareness.

Many Americans who were dissatisfied with traditional religions joined new religions, which were often referred to as cults. Some new wave religions started in Asia and focused on the teachings of gurus, or mystical leaders. A well-known guru was Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. He moved from India to the United States, where he led a religious movement known as transcendental meditation. It preached daily meditation. Followers believed that if all people on Earth converted to transcendental meditation, the world would enjoy peace.

The search for fulfillment affected American families. By the 1970s, more women had joined the workforce. Women aged 25 to 34 had the largest annual percentage growth in the number of people joining the workforce between 1970 and 1980. These changes led to changes in family life. Americans were having smaller families. Parents and children were spending less time together. The divorce rate doubled.

6. Why did Tom Wolfe call the 1970s the “me decade”?

• Cultural Trends in the 1970s (page 852)

Popular entertainment reflected the changes taking place in the 1970s. The subjects of television programs had changed. The Mary Tyler Moore Show, for example, was a situation comedy that focused on an unmarried woman with
All in the Family took risks by addressing uncomfortable social issues, such as racism. The program featured a bigoted Archie Bunker, who argued with his liberal family members and neighbors about various social issues. It provided viewers with a way to examine their own feelings about issues such as racism. Other innovative programs included Good Times. This program focused on an African American family struggling to raise their children in a low-income housing development in Chicago.

The hard-driving rock of the 1960s moved to a softer sound in the 1970s. Music became less political. The 1970s saw the rise of disco music. Discotheques, which played dance music with a loud and persistent beat, attracted many fans. Disco music reflected the “me generation.” It allowed the people dancing to be more important than the actual music. Disco music reached its peak after the 1977 movie Saturday Night Fever. The soundtrack from the movie sold millions of copies and led to the increase of disco openings throughout the country.

In addition to disco, other fads swept the nation in the 1970s. Many Americans began wearing T-shirts with personalized messages. Teens enjoyed skateboarding. Drivers began using citizen band (“CB”) radios in their vehicles. This radio system allowed drivers to communicate with each other over a two-way frequency. Drivers adopted their own CB name and talked to each other using CB code words. Fitness was another trend in the 1970s. Americans turned to exercise to improve the way they felt and looked. Aerobics became popular because it provided a way to stay fit while having fun and interacting with others. Running also became a popular way to stay fit.

7. How did television programs change during the 1970s?
The New Conservatism

Key Terms and Names

**Liberal** a person who believes in government intervention in economic matters but not in social ones (page 861)

**Conservative** a person who believes that government should not interfere in the nation’s economy and that religious commitment could best address issues of morality (page 861)

William F. Buckley a conservative whose magazine helped to revive conservative ideas in the United States (page 861)

Sunbelt the South and West (page 862)

Billy Graham Protestant minister who helped build a religious revival in the United States (page 864)

teleevangelists Christian evangelicals who reached a nationwide audience through television (page 864)

Moral Majority a conservative movement started by evangelist Jerry Falwell (page 864)

Drawing from Experience

What do you think of when you hear the terms liberal and conservative? Do you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative? Why?

In this section, you will learn about the conservative shift in the United States in the 1980s. You will also learn about the effect of population shifts on the nation.

Organizing Your Thoughts

Use the chart below to help you take notes. Conservatives and liberals had different views. List these views in the chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liberal Views</th>
<th>Conservative Views</th>
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READ TO LEARN

• Conservatism and Liberalism (page 860)

Liberal politics dominated the United States for much of the 1900s. Conservative ideas gained strength during the 1980s. People who call themselves liberal believe that the government should regulate the economy and help disadvantaged people. Liberals do not believe the government should make any attempts to regulate social behavior. They believe that economic inequality is the basis of most social problems.

Conservatives distrust the power of the government. They believe that government regulation of the economy weakens the economy. Conservatives believe that most social problems result from issues of morality. They believe that these issues are best solved through commitment to a religious faith.

9. How do liberal and conservative views regarding the government’s role in the economy differ?

• Conservatism Revives (page 861)

Conservative ideas gained support after World War II for two main reasons. First, some Americans believed that the government’s role in the economy was leading the United States toward communism. The second reason had to do with the fact that many Americans viewed the Cold War in religious terms. Communism rejected religion and stressed material things. To Americans with a deep religious faith, the struggle against communism was a struggle between good and evil. As a result, many Americans turned away from liberalism, which stressed economic welfare. These Americans began to turn to conservatism.

A conservative named William F. Buckley founded a new conservative magazine called National Review. It helped to renew conservative ideas in the United States. Conservatives began to push their ideas and demand a greater role in the decision making of the Republican Party. By 1964 the conservative movement became influential enough in the Republican Party to get conservative Barry Goldwater nominated for president.
10. What was the effect of William F. Buckley’s magazine *National Review*?

- **Conservatism Gains Support** *(page 862)*

  The events of the 1960s and 1970s convinced many Americans to support conservatism. In the 1950s and early 1960s, conservative Americans generally split their votes between Republicans and Democrats. The South and West were generally more conservative than other parts of the country. Southern conservatives generally voted for Democrats, while Western conservatives generally voted for Republicans. This meant that whichever party won the heavily-populated liberal Northeast vote, would win the election.

  During World War II, many Americans moved south and west to get jobs in the war factories. The movement to the South and West, which was known as the **Sunbelt**, continued after the war. Americans who moved to the Sunbelt began looking at government differently than people living in the Northeast.

  Industry in the Northeast began to decline. As a result, the region had many unemployed people and congested and polluted cities. Many Americans in the region looked to the federal government to help them solve their problems. Americans who lived in the Sunbelt opposed taxes and federal regulations that might interfere with growth in the region. In the 1964 presidential election, many Southerners began to agree with Goldwater that the federal government was becoming too strong. For the first time since Reconstruction, many Southerners voted Republican. That showed the Republican Party that the way to get Southern votes was to support conservative policies. Americans living in the West also opposed the environmental regulations of the federal government that limited ranching or controlled water use. By 1980 the population of the Sunbelt was greater than that of the Northeast. This gave the conservative regions of the country more influence in shaping policy.

  During the 1960s and 1970s, many Americans moved to the suburbs to escape the chaos of the cities. However, their lifestyle there was in danger. The rising inflation had caused the buying power of middle-class Americans to decrease. Many Americans resented the high taxes they had to pay for Great Society programs while their economic conditions worsened. Anti-tax movements sprang up all over the country. Many middle-class Americans began to believe the conservative argument that the government had become too big.
Some Americans were attracted to conservatism because they were afraid that Americans had lost touch with traditional values. The Supreme Court ruling in Roe v. Wade, which established abortion as a constitutional right, upset many conservative Americans. The feminist movement upset conservatives, who saw the movement as an attack on the traditional family. Religious conservatives included people from many different faiths. However, the largest group belonged to evangelical Protestant Christians. Evangelicals believe that they are saved from their sins through conversion, which they refer to as being “born again.”

A religious revival began in the United States after World War II. Protestant ministers such as Billy Graham built huge followings. By the late 1970s, many Americans described themselves as “born again.” Evangelicals owned newspapers, magazines, and television networks. Ministers known as televangelists were able to reach large audiences throughout the nation through television. Jerry Falwell, a televangelist, founded a movement that he called the “Moral Majority.” The Moral Majority set up a network of ministers to register new voters to back conservative candidates. By 1980 the movement had formed a conservative coalition of voters.

11. How were televangelists able to reach large audiences to spread their conservative ideas?
**Study Guide**

Chapter 28, Section 2

For use with textbook pages 865–871

**THE REAGAN YEARS**

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

upply-side economics  the economic idea that cutting taxes would boost businesses and provide more money for consumers to spend (page 867)

Reaganomics  the term given to President Reagan’s approach to solving the nation’s economic problems (page 867)

budget deficit  the amount by which expenditures exceed income (page 867)

Sandra Day O’Connor  the first woman on the Supreme Court (page 868)

William Rehnquist  conservative Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, appointed by President Reagan (page 868)

Geraldine Ferraro  Democratic vice-presidential candidate in the 1984 election and the first woman to run for vice president for a major party (page 868)

contras  anti-Sandinista guerrilla forces in Nicaragua (page 870)

Iran-Contra scandal  an illegal operation in which profits from arm sales to Iran were diverted to the contras in Nicaragua (page 870)

Oliver North  major figure in the Iran-Contra scandal (page 870)

Mikhail Gorbachev  leader of the Soviet Union starting in 1985 (page 870)

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

What are today’s concerns about the nation’s economy? How are these concerns affecting the American people?

The last section described the conservative shift in the United States. This section discusses the administration of Ronald Reagan.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. President Reagan’s foreign policy became known as the Reagan Doctrine. It called for the United States to support guerrilla groups who were fighting to overthrow Communist or pro-Soviet governments. Describe the instances in which the Reagan Doctrine was applied.
READ TO LEARN

• The Road to the White House (page 865)

Ronald Reagan started out as an actor. For 25 years, he made more than 50 movies. In 1947 Reagan became president of the Screen Actors Guild, which was the actors’ union. As the head of the union, he testified about communism in Hollywood before the House Un-American Activities Committee. In 1954 Reagan became the host of a television program called General Electric. He was also a motivational speaker for the company. He traveled across the country speaking to workers and managers. As he did so, he became more and more conservative. He heard stories from Americans about high taxes and how government regulations made it impossible for them to get ahead.

In 1964 Barry Goldwater asked Reagan to speak on behalf of Goldwater’s presidential campaign. Reagan’s speech impressed several wealthy people from California. They convinced Reagan to run for governor of California, and he won. In 1980 he was the Republican candidate for president. Reagan promised to cut taxes and increase defense spending. He called for a constitutional amendment banning abortion. His position on issues won the support of conservatives. Reagan won the election. The Republicans also gained control of the Senate.

4. What did Ronald Reagan call for in his presidential campaign?

• Reagan’s Domestic Policies (page 867)

Reagan’s first priority was the nation’s economy. The economy was experiencing high unemployment and high inflation at the same time. Economists were puzzled about this because the two things were not supposed to occur at the same time. Economists offered two different ideas for fixing the economy. One group believed that the biggest problem was inflation, caused by too much money in circulation. They believed that raising interest rates was the solution. Another group of economists supported supply-side economics. They believed that the economy was weak because taxes were too high. They believed that cutting taxes would help businesses use the extra money to make new investments. They believed that this would allow businesses to grow and create new jobs. This would in turn result in more goods for consumers, who would have more money to spend.
Reagan decided to combine the ideas of the two groups of economists. He urged the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates and he asked Congress to pass a tax cut. Critics called this economic approach *Reaganomics*, or “trickle down economics.” Cutting tax rates would increase the budget deficit, the amount by which expenditures exceed income. To control the deficit, Reagan suggested cuts for social programs, such as welfare benefits. Although Congress fought the cuts, they eventually passed them. Reagan realized that he would never get Congress to cut spending enough to balance the budget. As a result, he decided that cutting taxes and building up the military were more important than balancing the budget.

Reagan believed that government regulations were another cause for the nation’s economic problems. After becoming president, he eliminated price controls for oil and gasoline, and energy prices fell. Other deregulation followed. It included deregulating the airline industry, which led to lower fares. Reagan’s Secretary of the Interior, James Watt, angered environmentalists when he increased the amount of public land that corporations could use for oil drilling, mining, and logging.

The economy began to recover in 1983. The median income of American families rose by 15 percent by 1989. Millions of new businesses and new jobs were created. The unemployment rate had fallen to about 5.5 percent.

President Reagan applied his conservative ideas to the judicial branch. He wanted judges on the Supreme Court who followed the original intent of the Constitution. He nominated *Sandra Day O’Connor* to be the first woman on the Supreme Court. In 1986 Reagan chose conservative *William Rehnquist* to be the Chief Justice. He also nominated other conservative justices.

The growing economy made Reagan very popular at the time of the 1984 presidential election. Democrats nominated former vice president Walter Mondale as their presidential candidate. He chose Representative *Geraldine Ferraro* as his running mate. She was the first woman to run for vice president for a major party. Reagan won in a landslide.

5. What did President Reagan do to control the increasing budget deficit?

*Reagan Builds Up the Military* (page 868)

Reagan did not follow containment or détente in his foreign policy. He viewed the Soviet Union as evil and he believed that the United States should not negotiate with it. Reagan believed that the United States had to use
strength in dealing with the Soviet Union. As a result, he started a huge military buildup. This buildup increased the federal budget deficit even more. Reagan had hoped that as the economy grew, there would be an increase in the amount of taxes collected. Although the amount of taxes the government collected did rise, it was not enough. Congress was not willing to cut other programs. Reagan’s defense spending pushed the annual budget deficit from $80 billion to over $200 billion.

6. Why did Reagan start a huge military buildup in the 1980s?

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The Reagan Doctrine (page 869)

In addition to building up the military, Reagan believed that the United States should support guerrilla groups who were fighting to overthrow Communist or pro-Soviet governments. This policy became known as the Reagan Doctrine. In December 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan to support a Soviet-backed government. The Soviets fought a large Afghan resistance movement. The United States sent money to assist the resistance. The Soviets found themselves trapped in Afghanistan, just as the United States was in Vietnam. The war became unpopular with the Soviets. The Soviet Union agreed to withdraw in 1988.

In Nicaragua, rebels known as the Sandinistas had overthrown a pro-American dictator. They set up a socialist government, and accepted Soviet aid. The Reagan administration began secretly arming anti-Sandinista forces known as the contras.

When Congress learned of this, it banned future arming of the contras. Individuals in Reagan’s administration, however, continued to illegally support them. These officials secretly sold weapons to Iran in exchange for the release of American hostages being held in the Middle East. The profits from the arms sales were then sent to the contras. News of the Iran-Contra scandal broke in November 1986. A major figure in the scandal was Marine Colonel Oliver North. He was an aide to the National Security Council. North and other officials testified before Congress that they had covered up the illegal actions. President Reagan had approved the sale of arms to Iran. However, the congressional investigation determined that Reagan did not know about the profits from the sales being sent to the contras.
7. What was the Reagan Doctrine?

President Reagan decided to position nuclear missiles in Western Europe to counter Soviet missiles in Eastern Europe. This action resulted in thousands of protesters pushing for a stop to the positioning of new nuclear missiles. Reagan agreed to remove American missiles if the Soviet Union agreed to remove its missiles. Reagan also suggested Strategic Arms Reduction talks (START) to reduce the number of missiles on both sides. The Soviets refused and walked out of the talks.

Reagan disagreed with the idea that as long as both the United States and the Soviet Union could both destroy each other with nuclear weapons, they would be afraid to use them. He believed that such an idea was immoral because it depended on the threat to kill many people. Also, there was no way to defend the United States if that kind of war did begin. In March 1983, Reagan proposed the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). This plan called for developing weapons that could destroy incoming missiles.

In 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Union. He agreed to resume arms control talks. He did not think that the Soviet Union’s economy could afford an arms race with the United States. Although at first the two leaders disagreed on many issues, by 1987 Reagan was convinced that Gorbachev wanted to reform the Soviet Union and end the arms race. The two leaders signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. It called for the destruction of nuclear weapons. The treaty marked the beginning of the end of the Cold War. Gorbachev introduced economic and political reforms in the Soviet Union that led to the end of communism in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union.

8. What were the provisions of the INF Treaty and why was it important?
LIFE IN THE 1980S

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- **yuppies**: young urban professionals (page 875)
- **AIDS**: acquired immune deficiency syndrome, a disease that weakens the immune system (page 876)
- **Sierra Club**: an environmental group (page 877)
- **American Association of Retired Persons (AARP)**: the major organization of older Americans (page 878)
- **space shuttle**: a reusable spacecraft (page 878)
- **space stations**: orbiting platforms where continuous observation of the universe could take place (page 879)

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

What kind of space exploration is the United States doing today? Do you think space exploration is important? Why or why not?

The last section discussed the domestic and foreign policies of President Reagan. This section discusses the reasons for renewed activism in the United States in the 1980s.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The United States dealt with several social problems in the 1980s. Identify these problems in the diagram.

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Social Problems

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
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READ TO LEARN

• A Decade of Indulgence (page 874)

The media portrayed the 1980s as a decade focused on wealth. After the economy revived, news stories described many young brokers and investors making multimillion-dollar deals as the value of real estate and stocks soared. The young moneymakers were referred to by journalists as yuppies, from “young urban professionals.” Many worked in law or finance. They rewarded themselves by buying luxury items and eating in upscale restaurants.

The economic growth and focus on gaining wealth was partly caused by the baby boom. By the 1980s, most baby boomers had begun building careers. Many focused on acquiring goods and getting ahead in their jobs. Because there were so many baby boomers, their concerns helped to shape the culture. The strong economic growth in the 1980s mostly benefited middle- and upper-class Americans. By the mid-1990s, the top 5 percent of Americans earned more than 21 percent of the nation’s income.

6. What did many baby boomers focus on in the 1980s?

• A Retail Revolution (page 875)

The 1970s and 1980s also featured a new approach to selling products to consumers. Discount retailing began in the 1960s and focused on selling large quantities of goods at very low prices. By 1985, this style of retailing generated annual sales of nearly $70 billion. While Wal-Mart was the most successful discount retailer, other franchises such as Home Depot and Best Buy successfully copied the same model.

7. What was the main component of the new style of retailing that grew successful in the 1980s?

• Technology and the Media (page 875)

In the 1980s, the news and entertainment industry also transformed. “Superstations” like Ted Turner’s WTBS sold low-cost sports and entertainment programs via satellite to cable companies throughout the nation. Similar networks, such as Robert Johnson’s Black Entertainment Television (BET),
8. What characterized the new “superstations” of the 1980s?

9. What was the purpose of MADD?

• A Society Under Stress (page 876)

The United States continued to deal with many social problems in the 1980s. Drug abuse made many city neighborhoods violent and dangerous. Drug use spread from cities to small towns and rural areas. Alcohol abuse, particularly by teenagers, was a serious problem. Young people were involved in thousands of alcohol-related accidents. In 1980 Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD), a grassroots organization, was established to find solutions to underage drinking and drunk driving. In 1984 Congress cut highway funds to any state that did not raise the legal drinking age to 21. All states complied.

In 1981 researchers identified a disease that made young healthy men get sick and die. The disease was called AIDS, or “acquired immune deficiency syndrome.” It weakens the immune system. HIV is the virus that causes AIDS. It is spread through body fluids. In the United States, AIDS was first seen among homosexual men, but it began to spread to heterosexual men and women. Some got it from blood transfusions. Some were drug users who shared needles with infected blood. Others were infected by sexual partners.

9. What was the purpose of MADD?

• Social Activism (page 877)

AIDS focused in on the gay and lesbian community in the United States. Some homosexuals had been involved in defending their civil rights since the 1960s. On June 1969, New York City police raided a Greenwich Village nightclub called the Stonewall Inn. The police often raided the club and the clients because of their sexuality. The gay and lesbian onlookers in the club became
frustrated with the police actions, and a public disturbance developed. The Stonewall riot was the beginning of the Gay Liberation Movement. The movement tried to increase public awareness of homosexuality.

Social activism continued to be important in the United States in the 1980s. Many Americans became concerned about the environment. Some joined environmental groups such as the Sierra Club. The environmental movement that began in the 1970s continued to grow in the 1980s. Environmental groups campaigned against nuclear power plants. They also campaigned to protect fragile wetlands. Communities started recycling programs. Activists became concerned about the ozone layer and rain forests.

In the 1980s, many singers and other entertainers took up social causes. Bruce Springsteen gave concerts to benefit food banks and the homeless. In 1984 Irish musician Bob Geldof organized musicians in England to put on benefit concerts to help starving people in Ethiopia. The theme song “We Are the World” was a best-seller. Country singer Willie Nelson organized benefit concerts to help American farmers going through hard times.

Senior citizens became activists in the 1980s. With new medical technology, more Americans were living to an older age. Older Americans became more active in politics. They opposed cuts in Social Security or Medicare. Because they voted in large numbers, they were an influential group. Their major organization was the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), which was founded in 1958.

10. Why were older Americans an influential group in the 1980s?

• A New Era in Space (page 878)

New technology led to an increased interest in space exploration. After the moon landings in the 1970s, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) concentrated on the space shuttle. This spacecraft looked like a huge airplane. It was reusable, going into space and then returning to Earth. The shuttle Columbia made its first flight in April 1981. In 1983 Sally Ride became the first American woman in space. Female astronauts became more common. In January 1986, Christa McAuliffe, a teacher, joined six others on the Challenger. As millions of Americans watched, the shuttle lifted into space and then exploded, killing everyone on board. Defective seals were blamed for the accident.
Despite the Challenger disaster, shuttle flights continued. Some of the shuttles carried satellites into orbit to gather scientific data. NASA also sent probes into space for further research. The probes sent back pictures of Jupiter, Saturn, and Neptune. The long-range goal of the shuttles was to set up space stations. These were orbiting platforms where continuous observation of the universe could take place. The goal was to set up a place where people could conduct research for a long period of time. The U.S. Skylab was launched in May 1973. In 1986 the Soviet Union launched the space station Mir. Since 1986, sixteen nations, including Russia, have participated in creating this space station.

11. What was the purpose of establishing space stations?
**Study Guide**

Chapter 28, Section 4

For use with textbook pages 881–886

**THE END OF THE COLD WAR**

**KEY TERMS AND NAMES**

- **perestroika** a restructuring (page 882)
- **glasnost** openness (page 882)
- **Boris Yeltsin** president of Russia (page 883)
- **Tiananmen Square** location of demonstrations for democracy in Beijing, China (page 883)
- **Saddam Hussein** dictator of Iraq (page 884)
- **downsizing** the practice by factories of laying off workers and managers in order to become more efficient (page 885)
- **capital gains tax** the tax paid by businesses and investors when they sell stocks or real estate for a profit (page 886)
- **H. Ross Perot** businessman and independent candidate for president in the 1992 election (page 886)
- **grassroots movement** groups of people organizing at the local level (page 886)

**DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE**

What issues were important in the most recent presidential election? What issues do you think will be important for candidates in the next election? Why do you think so?

The last section discussed the increased social activism in the United States in the 1980s. This section discusses the administration of President George Bush.

**ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS**

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. During his presidency, Bush faced the task of improving the nation’s economy. List the ways he attempted to do so.

![Diagram](image_url)

1. 
2. 

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For use with textbook pages 881–886

**The American Republic Since 1877**

456
READ TO LEARN

• George Bush Takes Office (page 881)

When President Reagan left office in 1988, most Americans wanted a continuation of Reagan’s domestic policies. When George Bush accepted the Republican Party’s nomination, he promised the Americans that he would not impose any new taxes. The Democrats wanted to regain the White House by promising to help working-class Americans, minorities, and the poor. Jesse Jackson ran for nomination. He finished second in the primaries and was the first African American to make a serious run for nomination. The Democrats’ nominee was Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis. The Republicans pictured him as too liberal and not tough on crime. Bush won the election, but Democrats kept control of Congress.

3. Who did George Bush defeat in the 1988 presidential election?

• The Cold War Ends (page 882)

President Bush continued Reagan’s policies with the Soviet leader Gorbachev. To save the Soviet economy, Gorbachev set up perestroika, or restructuring, of the economy. He allowed some private businesses and profit-making. Another part of Gorbachev’s plan was glasnost, or openness. It allowed more freedom of speech and religion. It allowed people to discuss politics openly.

The idea of glasnost spread to Eastern Europe. Demonstrations took place in several Eastern European cities. Democratically elected governments began replacing Communist governments in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria. In November 1989, the gates at the Berlin Wall were opened. Many East Berliners began streaming through the gates. A few days later, the wall was leveled. A year later, East and West Germany had reunited.

Gorbachev faced criticism from opponents at home. In August 1991, some Communist officials started a coup, an overthrow of the government. Gorbachev was arrested and troops were sent into Moscow. There, Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president, defied the leaders of the coup. The coup eventually collapsed and Gorbachev returned to Moscow. After the coup, all 15 Soviet republics declared their independence from the Soviet Union. In December 1991, Gorbachev announced the end of the Soviet Union. Most of the former Soviet republics joined in a federation called the Commonwealth of Independent States.

4. What was the result of glasnost?
After the Cold War ended, President Bush had to redefine American foreign policy. His first crisis occurred in China, where Communist leaders were determined to stay in power. Although the Chinese government had relaxed some controls on the economy, it continued to forbid protests and political speech. In May 1989, Chinese students and workers held protests for democracy. The government crushed their protests in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, China. Many demonstrators were killed and thousands were arrested. Some were sentenced to death. The United States and other countries reduced their contacts with China. The World Bank suspended loans.

A crisis also developed in Panama. In 1978, the United States had agreed to give Panama control of the canal by the year 2000, so it wanted to be sure that Panama’s government was stable and pro-American. Panama’s dictator, Manuel Noriega, had stopped cooperating with the United States. He aided drug traffickers and cracked down on opponents. In December 1989, Bush ordered American troops to invade Panama. Noriega was sent to the United States to stand trial on drug charges. U.S. troops then helped the Panamanians hold elections and set up a new government.

In addition to all these problems, President Bush also faced a crisis in the Middle East. In August 1990, Saddam Hussein, Iraq’s dictator, ordered the invasion of Kuwait, an oil-rich country. American officials believed that this was Iraq’s first step to capture Saudi Arabia and its oil reserves. President Bush persuaded other nations to join in a coalition to stop Hussein. The United Nations set a deadline for Iraq to withdraw or face the use of force. Iraq refused. On January 16, 1991, the coalition forces launched Operation Desert Storm. After about six weeks of bombing, the coalition began a ground attack. Just about 100 hours after the ground war began, President Bush declared victory. Iraq accepted the coalition’s cease-fire terms, and Kuwait was liberated.

5. What action led to Operation Desert Storm?

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In addition to handling crises in foreign affairs, President Bush had to address domestic issues. He faced a growing deficit and a recession. The recession was partly caused by an end to the Cold War. With the threat from the Soviet Union ending, the United States began reducing its armed forces and canceling orders for military equipment. This caused defense factories to lay off thousands of workers.
Other kinds of companies also began downsizing, or laying off workers and managers to become more efficient. In addition to the recession, the nation faced a huge debt. Americans had borrowed heavily during the 1980s. By the end of the 1980s, they had to stop spending and pay off their debts. The federal government faced a deficit, which meant that it had to borrow money to pay for some of its programs. The government had to pay interest on the debt, and that money could not be used to fund programs or to jumpstart the economy.

Bush tried to improve the economy. He suggested a cut in the capital gains tax. This was a tax paid by businesses and investors when they sell stocks or real estate for a profit. Bush thought that cutting this tax would help businesses to expand. Democrats believed it was a tax break for the rich and defeated the idea in Congress. Bush knew that the federal deficit was hurting the economy. He had to break his campaign promise of no new taxes. He made a deal with Congress, agreeing to a tax increase in exchange for cuts in spending. Many voters blamed him for increasing taxes and cutting programs.

President Bush and Congress did cooperate on other laws. One law was the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), which Bush signed in 1990. The law forbade discrimination in workplaces and public places against people who were physically or mentally challenged. The law resulted in access ramps being added in buildings and wheelchair lifts being installed on city buses.

6. Why did President Bush suggest a cut in the capital gains tax?

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• The 1992 Election (page 886)

Bush was the Republican nominee in the 1992 presidential election. He blamed the Democrats’ control of Congress for the gridlock that seemed to take over the national government. The Democrats nominated Arkansas governor Bill Clinton. He promised to cut taxes and spending and to reform the nation’s health care and welfare programs. Many Americans did not like either of the two candidates. This helped businessman H. Ross Perot to run as an independent candidate and to present a strong challenge to the other candidates. A grassroots movement, which are groups of people organizing at the local level, placed Perot on the ballot in all 50 states.

Bill Clinton won the election. The Democrats kept control of Congress. Clinton was the first person from the baby boom generation to become president.

7. What did Bill Clinton promise as the Democratic nominee for president in 1992?
Study Guide

Chapter 29, Section 1

For use with textbook pages 892–895

THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

ENIAC  Electronic Numerical Integrator and Computer, the first electronic digital computer (page 892)

integrated circuit  a complete electronic circuit on a single chip of the element silicon (page 893)

Silicon Valley  the area south of San Francisco where many electronics companies are located (page 893)

microprocessor  a single chip that combined several integrated circuits containing both memory and computing functions (page 893)

Bill Gates  co-founded Microsoft to design PC software (page 893)

software  the instructions used to program computers to perform desired tasks (page 893)

telecommute  to do a job via computer without having to go to the office (page 893)

Internet  a global information system that operated commercially rather than through the government (page 894)

biotechnology  the managing of biological systems to improve human life (page 894)

James Watson  American molecular biologist who helped decipher the structure of DNA (page 895)

Francis Crick  British molecular biologist who helped decipher the structure of DNA (page 895)

DNA  deoxyribonucleic acid, the genetic material in cells that determines all forms of life (page 895)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

Think of the ways that you use the computer. How important is it to your daily life? How important is the Internet to your daily life?

In this section, you will learn about the development of the computer and how it revolutionized science, medicine, and communications.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Computers changed life in the U.S. List how they affected biotechnology.

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 

How Computers Affected Biotechnology
• The Rise of the Compact Computer (page 892)

**ENIAC** (Electronic Numerical Integrator and Computer) was the world’s first electronic digital computer. It went into operation in February 1946. This computer was large and weighed over 30 tons. In 1959 several young scientists and engineers designed the first **integrated circuit**. This was a complete electronic circuit on a single chip of the element silicon. It made computers easier to make. Other electronics companies started nearby in the area south of San Francisco, which was nicknamed **Silicon Valley**. In 1968 scientist Robert Noyce and colleague Gordon Moore started Intel, for “Integrated Electronics.” This company revolutionized computers by combining several integrated circuits that contained both memory and computing functions on a single chip. These chips, called **microprocessors**, reduced the size of computers. They also increased their speed.

Stephen Wozniak and Steven Jobs used the microprocessor technology to build a small computer for personal use. In 1976 they founded Apple Computer and built their first machine, called Apple I. The next year they introduced the Apple II. This was the first practical and affordable computer for personal use. It sold well. In 1981 International Business Machines (IBM) introduced its own compact machine. It called it the “Personal Computer” (PC). Apple responded in 1984 with the Macintosh.

Bill Gates co-founded Microsoft to design PC **software**, or the instructions used to program computers to perform desired tasks. In 1980 IBM hired Microsoft to develop an operating system for its new PC. It became **MS-DOS** (Microsoft Disk Operating System). Microsoft also introduced the “Windows” operating system in 1985. It allowed PCs to use the on-screen graphic icons that Apple had made popular with the Macintosh. Computers soon became essential in every kind of business—from large corporations to neighborhood shops. By the late 1990s, many workers used a home computer and electronic mail to **telecommute**, or do their jobs via computer without having to go to the office. Wireless handheld devices and laptop computers have made computer use more convenient. Now, Internet access and its use are more widespread.

6. What was the significance of the development of Apple II?
• The Telecommunications Revolution (page 893)

In the 1970s, the government began to deregulate telecommunications. This led to competition in both the telephone and television industries. In 1996 Congress passed the Telecommunications Act. The law allowed telephone companies to compete with each other and to send television signals. This led to the development of new technologies, such as cellular phones.

7. How did deregulation affect telecommunications?

• The Rise of the Internet (page 894)

Digital electronics made a new world communications system possible. It started with a computer networking system that the U.S. Defense Department’s Advanced Research Project Agency set up in 1969. This system linked government agencies, defense contractors, and scientists at various universities, and they communicated through electronic mail. In 1985 the National Science foundation funded several supercomputer centers across the country. This set the stage for the Internet, a global information system that operated commercially rather than through the government. Internet use quickly took off. Between 1997 and 2000, Internet use increased almost 300 percent.

The Internet also started a “dot.com” economy. This name comes from the practice of using a business name as a World Wide Web address, followed by “.com.” Many companies made millions of dollars for stock investors. Internet-related stocks helped fuel the economy of the 1990s. However, the stocks of these companies dropped drastically in 2000.

8. How did the Internet get its start?
Computers helped scientists involved in biotechnology, the managing of biological systems to improve human life. Biotechnology helped researchers develop new medicines, genetically engineered plants, and industrial chemicals. The first steps toward biotechnology happened in 1953. American molecular biologist James Watson and his British colleague Francis Crick decoded the structure of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA). DNA is the genetic material in cells that determines all forms of life. The work had a great impact. Being able to read the message of DNA improved medical research. It helped law enforcement by establishing that DNA was unquestionable in identifying a person. Research in biotechnology assisted in genetic engineering for plants, animals, and humans.

In 1990 scientists began using supercomputers to develop the Human Genome Project at the National Institutes of Health (NIH). NIH put all of the data from the Human Genome Project on the Internet to make it available to scientists all over the world. The project published its first map of the human genome in February 2001. Medical research has grown more sophisticated and today many people debate the issues of human cloning and stem cell research.

9. How has the ability to read DNA improved medical research?
KEY TERMS AND NAMES

**AmeriCorps** a program that put students to work improving low-income housing, teaching children to read, and cleaning up the environment (page 897)

**Contract with America** a program proposed by congressional Republicans that called for several changes, including lowering taxes, welfare reform, and a balanced budget amendment (page 898)

**Kenneth Starr** an independent counsel appointed to investigate President Clinton in the Whitewater scandal (page 900)

**perjury** lying under oath (page 900)

**ethnic cleansing** the brutal expulsion of an ethnic group from a geographic area (page 900)

**Dayton Accords** a peace plan set up to stop the fighting in Bosnia (page 900)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What foreign affairs is the United States involved in today? How is the president handling these affairs?

The last section discussed the impact of computers on different aspects of American life. This section discusses the administration of President Clinton.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. President Clinton faced several foreign policy issues during his administration. List the areas of foreign policy issues in the diagram.

Areas of Foreign Policy Issues

1.

2.

3.
When President Bill Clinton took office, he focused on domestic issues. He focused first on the economy. Clinton believed that the problem with the economy was the huge federal deficit, which forced the government to borrow huge amounts of money to pay for its programs. This helped drive up the interest rates. Clinton believed that it was important to lower interest rates. He believed that this would help businesses borrow more money to expand. It would also help consumers to borrow money for mortgages and other items. He hoped that this would help economic growth.

Clinton believed that one way to bring down interest rates was to reduce the federal deficit. He sent a deficit reduction plan to Congress. However, reducing spending would involve cutting entitlement programs, such as Social Security and Medicare. This would be difficult to do because many Americans depend on these programs. As a result, Clinton decided to raise taxes, even though he promised to cut them during the campaign. His plan called for tax increases on middle- and upper-income people. The tax increases were unpopular. A revised plan narrowly passed Congress.

Another part of Clinton’s domestic program was the health care system. Millions of Americans did not have health insurance. Clinton appointed a task force, headed by his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, to develop a plan that guaranteed health benefits for all Americans. The plan that was developed put too much of the burden of payment on employers. Small businesses, the insurance industry, and doctors opposed the plan. Many members of Congress opposed the plan. As a result, the plan never came to a vote.

Clinton was successful in having the Family Medical Leave Act passed. The law gave workers up to 12 weeks per year of unpaid family leave for the birth or adoption of a child or for the illness of a family member. Clinton was also successful in getting Congress to create the AmeriCorps program. It put students to work improving low-income housing, teaching children to read, and cleaning up the environment.

In his campaign, Clinton promised to get tough on crime. He was successful in getting Congress to pass the Brady Bill, a gun-control law. Clinton also introduced an anticrime bill, which would provide states with extra funds to build new prisons and to put 100,000 more police officers on the streets.

4. How did Clinton fulfill his promise to get tough on crime?
• The Republicans Gain Control of Congress (page 898)

Although he experienced some successes, by 1994 Clinton was very unpopular. He had raised taxes after promising to reduce them and he did not fix health care. Republicans in Congress, led by Newt Gingrich, created the **Contract with America**. The program called for several changes, including lowering taxes, welfare reform, and a balanced budget amendment. The Republicans won huge victories in the 1994 Congressional elections. They had a majority in both houses of Congress. The House of Representatives passed most of the Contract with America. However, the Senate defeated several parts of the Contract, and the President vetoed others.

In 1995 Republicans in Congress clashed with the president over the new federal budget. Clinton had vetoed several Republican budget proposals. He claimed that they cut into social programs too much. The Republicans believed that if they stood firm, the president would back down and approve the budget. If he did not, the entire federal government would shut down for lack of funds. Clinton refused to budge, and the government did shut down. Clinton’s stand against the Republicans regained much of the support he had lost in 1994. The Republicans realized that they would have to work with the president. They eventually reached an agreement to pass the budget.

Before the 1996 presidential election, the president and Congress worked together to pass some new laws. In August, Congress passed the Health Insurance Portability Act. It improved coverage for people who changed jobs, and it lowered discrimination against people with preexisting illnesses. Congress also passed the Welfare Reform Act. It limited people to no more than two consecutive years on welfare and required them to work to get welfare benefits.

5. Why was President Clinton unpopular by the 1994 Congressional elections?


• The 1996 Election (page 898)

In the 1996 presidential election, President Clinton was very popular. The nation was experiencing an economic boom, crime rates fell, and the number of people on unemployment declined. The Republicans nominated Senator Bob Dole as their presidential candidate to run against Clinton. H. Ross Perot also ran as a candidate for the Reform Party, which he had created. Clinton won the election, but the Republicans kept control of Congress.
6. What were the results of the 1996 elections?

- **Clinton’s Second Term (page 899)**

  The economy continued to expand during Clinton’s second term. The president and Congress continued to work to shrink the deficit. In 1997, for the first time in 24 years, the president was able to present a balanced budget to Congress. By 1998 the government began to run a surplus—it collected more money than it spent.

  Clinton’s domestic policy focused on the nation’s children. He asked Congress to pass a $500 per child tax credit. He signed the Adoption and Safe Families Act and asked Congress to ban cigarette ads aimed at children. Clinton signed the Children’s Health Insurance Program. This was a plan to provide health insurance for children whose parents could not afford it. To help students, the president asked for a tax credit, an increase in student grants, and an expansion of the Head Start program.

  By 1998 Clinton became involved in a serious scandal. It began in his first term. He was accused of setting up illegal loans for an Arkansas real estate company, called Whitewater Development, while he was governor of Arkansas. **Kenneth Starr**, a former federal judge, was appointed by a three-judge panel to become an independent counsel to investigate the president. Then in early 1998, a new scandal became known. It involved a personal relationship between the president and a White House intern. Some evidence showed that the president had committed **perjury**, or had lied under oath, about the relationship. The three-judge panel directed Starr to investigate this scandal. Starr determined that Clinton had obstructed justice and committed perjury. He sent his report to the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives.

  The House began impeachment hearings after the 1998 elections. On December 19, 1998, the House passed two articles of impeachment. The case went to the Senate for trial. On February 12, 1999, the Senate voted that Clinton was not guilty. However, Clinton’s reputation had suffered.
7. Why was President Clinton investigated by independent counsel Kenneth Starr?

- Clinton’s Foreign Policy (page 900)

Although the Cold War had ended, President Clinton had to deal with several regional conflicts. In Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the democratically elected president, was overthrown by military leaders. Aristide sought refuge in the United States. The new rulers in Haiti used violence to keep down the opposition. Clinton urged the United Nations to set a trade embargo on Haiti. This caused severe economic hardships in the country. As a result, thousands of Haitian refugees fled Haiti to the United States. Clinton ordered an invasion of Haiti, but former president Jimmy Carter convinced Haiti’s rulers to step down.

After communism collapsed in Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia, which was made up of many different ethnic groups, split apart. A civil war started in Bosnia, one of the former republics of Yugoslavia. The war involved Orthodox Christian Serbs, Catholic Croatians, and Bosnian Muslims. The Serbs began ethnic cleansing. This is the brutal expulsion of an ethnic group from a geographic area. In some cases, the Serbs killed the Muslims instead of moving them.

The United States convinced the NATO allies that military action was necessary. NATO warplanes attacked the Serbs and forced them to negotiate. Clinton arranged peace talks in Dayton, Ohio. The participants signed a peace plan known as the Dayton Accords. NATO troops were sent to Bosnia to enforce the plan.

Another war started in 1998 in the Serbian province of Kosovo. Two ethnic groups lived in Kosovo—Serbs and Albanians. Many Albanians wanted Kosovo to separate from Serbia. Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic ordered a crackdown. The Albanians fought back. President Clinton again asked NATO to use force to stop the conflict. They began bombing Serbia. The bombing convinced Serbia to pull its troops out of Kosovo.

After the Persian Gulf War, President Saddam Hussein remained in power. He continued to make threats against his neighbors. In 1996 Iraq attacked the Kurds, an ethnic group whose homeland is in northern Iraq. The United States responded by firing missiles at Iraqi military targets.
Conflicts continued between Israel and Palestine. In 1993 Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Yasir Arafat, the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, reached an agreement. The PLO recognized Israel’s right to exist. Israel recognized the PLO as the representative of the Palestinians. President Clinton then invited the two leaders to the White House where they signed the Declaration of Principles. This was a plan for creating a Palestinian government. Opposition to the plan existed on both sides. In 1998 President Clinton met with Israeli and Palestinian leaders to work out details for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The agreement, however, could not solve the problem of Jerusalem, which both sides claimed. Talks between the two sides in 2000 also failed. Then in October of that year, violence broke out between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers.

President Clinton left office with a mixed legacy. He had balanced the budget and had overseen the greatest period of economic growth in U.S. history. Clinton’s impeachment, however, tarnished his successes. It also divided the nation and increased the gap between liberals and conservatives.

8. Why did President Clinton ask the United Nations to set up an embargo against Haiti?
AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

trade deficit  the situation in which Americans bought more from foreign nations than
American industries sold abroad (page 903)

North American Free Trade Agreement  the agreement that joined Canada, the United States,
and Mexico in a free-trade zone (page 903)

euro  a common currency for member nations of the European Union (page 903)

nuclear proliferation  the spread of nuclear weapons to new nations (page 905)

global warming  an increase in average world temperatures over time (page 905)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

What do you think is the most important issue facing the world today? Why do you think so?

The last section discussed the administration of President Clinton. This section discusses the interdependence of the world’s nations regarding the economy, health, and the environment.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the chart below to help you take notes. The world faced several environmental concerns in the late 1990s. List and describe those issues in the chart.

Environmental Concerns

1. 

2. 

3. 
By the end of the 1900s, the United States had become involved in many global issues. Computer technology and the Internet made a global economy possible. By the early 1970s, a serious trade deficit had resulted. Americans bought more from foreign nations than American industries sold abroad. Some people believed that the United States needed free trade because Americans benefited from buying imports. They believed that buying imports would keep consumer prices, inflation, and interest rates low. Those who wanted to limit trade believed it was necessary to prevent the United States from losing industrial jobs and manufacturing to lesser-developed nations.

One way to increase international trade was to set up regional trade pacts. In 1994 the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) joined Canada, the United States, and Mexico in a free-trade zone. Some Americans were concerned that industrial jobs would go to Mexico, where labor costs were lower. However, unemployment rates in the United States fell after the signing of NAFTA, and wages rose.

Other trade blocs developed in other parts of the world. The European Union (EU) was set up to promote economic and political cooperation among many European nations. The EU set up a common bank and the euro, a common currency for member nations.

The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) set up a Pacific trade community, which was the fastest-growing region in the world. Although APEC began as a way to promote cooperation and lower trade barriers, differences among its members prevented them from acting together.

The World Trade Organization (WTO) was important in promoting world trade. It administered international trade agreements. It also helped settle trade disputes.

China played an important part in world trade. It provided a huge market for American goods. However, many Americans were concerned about China’s record on human rights. Despite the concerns, President Clinton believed that regularizing trade with China would help bring the nation into the world community. Clinton urged Congress to pass a bill to give China permanent normal trade relation status. Some groups opposed this. Labor unions were worried about inexpensive Chinese goods flooding U.S. markets. Conservatives opposed China’s military ambitions. Environmentalists worried about pollution from Chinese factories. Despite the opposition, the bill passed in late 2000. In 2001 China joined the WTO.

4. What was the purpose of the World Trade Organization?
• Issues of Global Concern (page 904)

After the end of the Cold War, only a few nations had nuclear weapons. When Russia agreed to reduce its nuclear weapons, concerns arose about some of the weapons being lost, stolen, or sold in the black market. The United States provided funds for Russia to help it reduce its nuclear weapons. Congress also took measures to reduce the threat of nuclear proliferation, or the spread of nuclear weapons to new nations. Congress passed laws that cut aid and imposed sanctions on nations that wanted to get nuclear weapons. The 2002 Treaty of Moscow aimed to reduce the U.S. and Russia’s nuclear weapons. The U.S. and the EU demanded that Iran and North Korea undergo close scrutiny to ensure their nuclear energy programs do not lead to the production of nuclear weapons.

In the 1980s, scientists found out that chemicals called chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) could use up the earth’s atmosphere of ozone. This is a gas in the atmosphere that protects life on Earth from the cancer-causing ultraviolet rays of the sun. CFCs were used in air conditioners and refrigerators. Many people wanted the making of CFCs to be stopped. In 1987 the United States and other nations agreed to phase out the making of CFCs and other chemicals that might be weakening the ozone layer.

In the early 1990s, scientists found evidence of global warming, or an increase in average world temperatures over time. This rise in temperature could lead to more droughts and other types of extreme weather. Many experts believe that carbon dioxide emissions from factories and power plants caused global warming. Others disagree. Some even question whether global warming even exists. The global warming issue is controversial because the cost of controlling emissions would fall on industries. These costs would eventually be passed on to consumers. Developing nations that are beginning to industrialize would be hurt the most.

In 1997 thirty-eight nations and the EU signed the Kyoto Protocol. The nations promised to reduce emissions, although very few nations put it into effect. President Clinton did not present the Kyoto Protocol to the Senate because most senators opposed it. In 2001 President George W. Bush withdrew the United States from the treaty. He believed that it had flaws.

5. Why did President Bush withdraw the United States from the Kyoto Protocol?
AMERICA ENTERS A NEW CENTURY

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Al Gore  the Democratic nominee for president in 2000 (page 907)
George W. Bush  the Republican nominee for president in 2000 (page 907)
Ralph Nader  consumer advocate who was the presidential nominee of the Green Party in 2000 (page 907)
chad  the piece of cardboard punched out of a ballot (page 908)
strategic defense  a military program to develop missiles and other devices that can shoot down nuclear missiles before they hit the United States (page 909)

DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

How important do you think it is for citizens to vote in elections? Are you looking forward to voting in local and national elections? Why or why not?

The last section discussed the common issues facing the nations of the world. This section discusses the controversies surrounding the 2000 presidential election and President Bush’s first days in office.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the chart below to help you take notes. President Bush suggested programs for the nation’s economy, education, and the military. List his proposals in the chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Bush’s Proposals</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>3.</td>
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</tbody>
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READ TO LEARN

• A New President for a New Century (page 906)

In the 2000 presidential election, the Democrats nominated Vice President Al Gore. The Republicans nominated Texas Governor George W. Bush. In the campaign, both candidates fought for independent voters. The campaign focused on what to do with the surplus tax revenues. Both candidates agreed that Social Security needed reform, but they disagreed on how the reform should come about. Both promised to cut taxes, but Bush promised a larger tax cut. Both men promised to improve education and to set up programs to help senior citizens pay for their prescription drugs.

The state of the economy helped Gore. However, some voters were concerned about what they believed was a decline in the moral values of the nation’s leaders. Bush promised to restore moral leadership.

Consumer advocate Ralph Nader became a presidential candidate for the Green Party. Nader claimed that both Bush and Gore received campaign funds from large companies and that they would not support policies that favored American workers and the environment.

The election was one of the closest in American history. Gore won the popular vote. However, to win the presidency, candidates have to win a majority of the electoral votes. The election came down to the Florida vote. Both candidates needed the state’s 25 electoral votes to win. The vote in Florida was so close that state law required a recount of the ballots using vote-counting machines. Thousands of ballots, however, had been thrown out because the counting machines could not detect a vote for president. As a result, Gore asked for a hand recount of ballots in the Florida counties that voted strongly Democratic. A battle began over the manual recounts. Most Florida ballots required voters to punch a hole. The piece of cardboard punched out is called a chad. Vote counters had a problem figuring how to count a ballot when the chad was still attached. On some ballots the chad was still in place and the voter had left only a dimple on the surface of the ballot. Vote counters had to look at the ballot and determine what the voter had intended. Different counties, however, used different standards to determine it.

Under Florida law, state officials had to certify the results of the election by a certain date. When it became clear that the count would not be finished on time, Gore went to court to postpone the deadline, and the Florida Supreme Court agreed to do so and set a new deadline. Bush then asked the United States Supreme Court to intervene to determine if the Florida Supreme Court acted unconstitutionally. While both sides prepared their case, the hand counts continued. Even with additional time, some counties were not able to meet the new deadline. On November 26, Florida officials certified Bush the winner, by 537 votes.

Gore’s lawyers went back to court and argued that thousands of votes were still not counted. The Florida Supreme Court ordered all Florida counties to
begin another hand recount of ballots that the counting machines rejected. The United States Supreme Court ruled that all recounts should stop until it made its ruling.

On December 12, 2000, in Bush v. Gore, the United States Supreme Court ruled 7–2 that the hand counts violated the equal protection clause of the Constitution. The Court argued that because vote counters used different standards, the recount was not treating all voters equally. The Court ruled that there was not enough time for a manual recount before the electoral votes had to be cast. The ruling left Bush the certified winner.

4. What argument did the Supreme Court use to stop the hand recounts?

• Bush Becomes President (page 909)

Bush became the 43rd president of the United States. His first priority was to cut taxes. During the campaign, the economy began to slow. Some companies went out of business and many other businesses laid off workers. Congress passed a $1.35 trillion tax cut. The plan introduced tax cuts over a 10-year period. However, it also gave taxpayers an immediate rebate. By mid-2001, Americans began receiving tax rebate checks. Bush hoped the rebates would put about $40 billion into the economy to prevent a recession.

Bush’s plan for improving public schools included giving annual standardized tests and allowing parents to use federal funds for private schools. Congress did not support the use of federal funds for private schools. It did support the idea of states being required to annually test reading and math.

Bush focused on a Medicare reform bill that added prescription drug benefits. The bill was passed in November 2003.

Congress reacted to a number of corporate scandals. The government made regulations and penalties stronger.

Bush called for a review of the nation’s military. He wanted to increase military spending. He also wanted to set up new programs. He favored a program known as strategic defense. Its purpose was to develop missiles and other devices that can shoot down nuclear missiles before they hit the United States.

5. Which of President Bush’s education plans was supported by Congress?
DRAWING FROM EXPERIENCE

How did the terrorist attacks on the United States affect daily life in the nation? How did the attacks affect your community?

The last section discussed the 2000 presidential election and President Bush’s programs to improve the economy, education, and the military. This section discusses the terrorist attacks on the United States and the nation’s response to the attacks.

ORGANIZING YOUR THOUGHTS

Use the diagram below to help you take notes. The United States government quickly responded to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. List the ways it responded in the diagram.

U.S. Response to Terrorist Attacks

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7.
**READ TO LEARN**

- **September 11, 2001 (page 911)**

  On September 11, 2001, hijackers slammed two passenger jets into the World Trade Center in New York City. Hijackers crashed a third jet into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. Hijackers also took over a fourth plane, but some of the passengers resisted them, causing the plane to crash in western Pennsylvania. Thousands of people were killed. These attacks were acts of terrorism. This is the use of violence by nongovernmental groups against civilians to achieve a political goal. Terrorist acts are done to fill people with fear and to get their governments to change their policies.

  8. What is the purpose of terrorist acts?

- **Middle East Terrorism and the United States (page 912)**

  Most terrorist acts on Americans have been carried out by Middle Eastern groups. The reason for this traces back to the 1920s when oil became important to the American economy. The United States invested heavily in the oil industry in the Middle East. The industry brought great wealth to the ruling families in some Middle Eastern kingdoms. Most of the people, however, remained poor. Some of these people became angry with the United States for supporting the wealthy families. In addition, the growth of the oil industry led to increased contact with Western society and its values. Many devout Muslims feared that their traditional values and beliefs were being weakened by this contact.

  New movements developed throughout the Middle East that called for a strict interpretation of the Quran, which is the Muslim holy book. These movements wanted to overthrow governments in the Middle East that were pro-Western. They wanted to set up a pure Islamic society. Muslims who supported these movements are known as fundamentalist militants. The vast majority of Muslims believe terrorism is against the beliefs of their faith. Militants, however, began using terrorism to achieve their goals.

  Many people in the Middle East were also angry about American support of Israel. In 1947 the UN divided British-controlled Palestine into two territories. One part became Israel. The other part was to be a Palestinian state, but fighting between Israel and the Arab states left this territory under the control of Israel, Jordan, and Egypt. The Palestinians wanted their own nation. They began raids and guerrilla attacks against Israel. The United States gave Israel military and economic aid. As a result, Muslim militants began targeting the United States. In the 1970s, several Middle Eastern nations realized that instead of going to war with Israel and the United States, they could fight the two nations by providing terrorist groups with money and weapons. When a government secretly supports terrorism, this is called state-sponsored terrorism.
9. Why did some Middle Eastern nations sponsor terrorist groups?

- **A New Terrorist Threat (page 913)**
  
  In 1979 the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. Muslims from across the Middle East came to assist Afghanistan in its fight. One of these people was **Osama bin Laden**. He was a member of one of the wealthiest families in Saudi Arabia. He used his money to help Afghan resistance. He also founded an organization called **al-Qaeda**, which recruited Muslims to fight in Afghanistan and channeled money and supplies to the nation.

  After fighting in Afghanistan, bin Laden believed that superpowers could be defeated. He also believed that Western society had contaminated Muslim society. He was angry when Saudi Arabia allowed American troops on its soil after Iraq invaded Kuwait. He changed al-Qaeda into a terrorist organization and started attacks against Americans. Bin Laden began operating from Afghanistan, which came under the control of Muslim fundamentalists known as the Taliban. He devoted himself and al-Qaeda to driving Americans and other non-Muslims out of the Middle East. He called on Muslims to kill Americans anywhere in the world. Truck bombs exploded soon after in the American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in Africa.

  President Clinton responded to the attacks by ordering cruise missiles to attack terrorist camps in Afghanistan and Sudan. The attacks destroyed the camps but missed bin Laden. He continued to target Americans. In October 2000, al-Qaeda terrorists crashed a boat loaded with explosives into the American warship **USS Cole**, which was docked in the Middle Eastern country of Yemen.

10. What did bin Laden and al-Qaeda dedicate themselves to do?

- **America Unites (page 913)**
  
  The American people responded quickly to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Money, blood, and supplies were donated. Across the nation, flags were flown to show unity and resolve.

  The government also responded quickly. The armed forces were put on high alert. Security at airports was increased, and the FBI began a massive investigation. President Bush declared a national emergency. Congress voted to authorize the use of force to fight the terrorists. Intelligence sources and FBI investigations determined that the attack was the work of bin Laden and al-Qaeda terrorists.
President Bush issued an ultimatum to the Taliban. He demanded that they turn over bin Laden and his followers and to close all terrorist camps in Afghanistan. He announced that the United States would not tolerate countries that helped or harbored terrorists. President Bush also warned Americans that the war would not end quickly.

11. What ultimatum did President Bush issue to the Taliban?

• A New War Begins (page 914)

Several challenges faced the United States as it began its war against terrorism. The president asked Congress to create the Department of Homeland Security. Its job would be to merge the dozens of federal agencies and departments working to prevent terrorism.

In late October 2001, Congress drafted a new antiterrorist law, known as the USA Patriot Act, that permitted secret searches and allowed authorities to obtain a single nationwide search warrant. The law also made it easier to wiretap suspects, and it allowed authorities to track Internet communications and seize voice mail.

A new threat to the United States arose when the mail showed traces of anthrax. This is a type of bacteria that can become lethal if left untreated. Several occurrences of anthrax were found, but no suspects were publicly recognized.

On October 7, 2001, the United States launched the first military operations of the war on terrorism. Warplanes began bombing targets in Afghanistan. The U.S. also began sending military aid to Afghan groups known as the Northern Alliance, who had fought the Taliban for several years. President Bush warned that other countries and groups might threaten the world by using nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. These weapons of mass destruction could kill many thousands of people all at once.

12. What did the new antiterrorist law allow the federal government to do?
President Bush considered Iraq an immediate threat in developing and distributing weapons of mass destruction. Iraq’s dictator, Saddam Hussein, had used chemical weapons in the 1980s. After the Gulf War, UN inspectors had found evidence that Iraq had biological weapons and was working on a nuclear bomb. In the summer of 2002, President Bush increased pressure on Iraq for a regime change, asking the United Nations to demand that Iraq give up its weapons of mass destruction.

While the UN was still debating the issue, in mid-October Congress authorized the use of force against Iraq. With the midterm elections coming up soon, many Democrats in Congress now wanted to turn to the poor economy. The president managed to keep the focus on national security issues. In 2002 the Republicans picked up seats in the House and kept control of the Senate. Soon after the elections, the UN approved a new resolution that set a deadline for Iraq to readmit weapons inspectors.

Weapons inspectors returned to Iraq. The Bush administration believed that the Iraqis were still hiding weapons, but other Americans thought the inspectors should be given more time. The Bush administration pushed for a war resolution in the UN Security Council. Although France and Russia refused to back it, the United States and Great Britain prepared for war. About 30 other countries supported the war, but many antiwar protests took place around the world.

On March 20, 2003, the U.S.-led coalition forces attacked Iraq and quickly seized control. On May 1 President Bush declared that the major combat was over. However, the fighting and controversy continued. During the first six months of the occupation of Iraq, Americans found no evidence of weapons of mass destruction, but bombings, sniper attacks, and battles plagued American troops. American deaths and expenses were mounting. President Bush began to seek support from the UN to help stabilize and rebuild Iraq. He was sure that democracy would succeed. The drafting of Iraq’s constitution exposed divisions within the country. The Kurds and Shiite Muslims supported a draft proposing a new federal structure that would decentralize Iraq’s government, while the Sunnis believed federalism would greatly reduce their influence.

**13.** Why did President Bush consider Iraq to be an immediate threat?
The war on terrorism and the war in Iraq dominated the 2004 election. The Republicans nominated President Bush and Vice President Cheney for a second term, while the Democrats nominated Massachusetts senator John Kerry and North Carolina senator John Edwards.

President Bush pledged to continue cutting taxes and building a strong national defense. He opposed abortion and endorsed a constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriages. His supporters saw him as someone who operated on fixed moral and religious principles.

Kerry’s naval experience in the Vietnam War convinced him of the futility of war and made him leery of sending American troops into combat. As a liberal, he promised to strengthen Social Security and raise taxes on the wealthy to fund health-care insurance. He differed with church leaders on many social issues, including abortion.

On Election Day President Bush took the lead in the popular vote and the majority in the Electoral College. His victory helped preserve the Republican majorities in the Senate and the House of Representatives.

14. What were the major differences between Bush’s and Kerry’s platforms?