

Unit 1 Chapters 16-19

16: Conquering a Continent

Between 1861 and 1877, the United States completed its conquest of the continent. After the Civil War, the expansion of railroads fostered the integration of the national economy. Republicans in the federal government promoted this integration by erecting protective tariffs, while federal courts made rulings that facilitated economic growth and strengthened corporations. To attract foreign investment, Republican policymakers placed the nation on the gold standard. These policymakers also pursued a vigorous foreign policy, acquiring Alaska and asserting U.S. power indirectly through control of international trade in Latin America and Asia. An important result of economic integration was the incorporation of the Great Plains. Cattlemen built an industry linked to the integrated economy, though in the process nearly driving the native bison to extinction. Homesteaders confronted harsh environmental conditions as they converted the grasslands for agriculture. Republicans championed homesteader families as representatives of domesticity, an ideal opposed to Mormon plural marriage in Utah. Homesteading accelerated the rapid, often violent, transformation of the western environment. Perceiving this transformation, the federal government began setting aside natural preserves such as Yellowstone, often clashing with Native Americans who wished to hunt on the land. Such conflict over land ultimately led to the conquest of Native Americans. During the Civil War, white settlers clashed with the Sioux and their allies. Grant's peace policy sought to end this conflict by forcing Native Americans to assimilate western practices. Native American armed resistance continued through the 1870s and 1880s, ending with Geronimo's surrender in 1886. Thereafter, Native Americans survived, though not without further conflict, by either secretly continuing their traditions or selectively adopting white ways. Due in part to the determined military conquest of this period, the United States claimed for itself a major role on the world stage.

17: The Busy Hive: Industrial America at Work 1877-1911

The end of the Civil War ushered in the era of American big business. Exploiting the continent's vast resources, vertically integrated corporations emerged as the dominant business form and giant companies built near monopolies in some sectors of the economy. Corporations devised new modes of production, distribution, and marketing, extending their reach through the department store, the mail-order catalog, and the new advertising industry. These developments laid the groundwork for mass consumer culture. Rapid industrialization drew immigrants from around the world. Until the 1920s, most European and Latin American immigrants were welcome to enter the United States, though they often endured harsh conditions after they arrived. Asian immigrants, by contrast, met with severe discrimination. The Chinese Exclusion Act blocked all Chinese laborers from coming to the United States; it was later extended to other Asians, and it built the legal framework for broader forms of exclusion later on. Nationwide movements for workers' rights arose in response to industrialization. During the 1870s and 1880s, coalitions of workers and farmers, notably the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' Alliance, organized to seek political solutions to what they saw as large corporations' exploitation of working people. Pressure from such movements led to the first major attempts to regulate corporations, such as the federal Interstate Commerce Act. Radical protest movements were weakened, however, after public condemnation of anarchist violence in 1886 at Chicago's Haymarket Square — even though the Knights and Farmers' Alliance were obviously not responsible. Meanwhile, trade unions pursued a pure-and-simple approach to organization and negotiation, organizing skilled workers to negotiate directly with employers. Such unions became the most popular form of labor organizing in the early twentieth century.

18: The Victorians Meet the Modern, 1880-1917

The period between the 1880s and 1920s created the foundations for modern American culture. While middle-class families sought to preserve the Victorian domestic ideal, a variety of factors were transforming family life. Families had fewer children, and a substantial majority of young people achieved more education than their parents had obtained. The luckiest attended high school, and even college, in increasing numbers. These changes brought new opportunities, particularly for women who devoted themselves to reform. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union primarily sought the prohibition of liquor, but it also addressed an array of such issues as domestic violence, poverty, and children's education. Members of women's clubs pursued a variety of social and economic reforms, while other women organized for race uplift and patriotic work. Gradually, the Victorian ideal of female moral superiority gave way to modern claims for women's equal rights. Foreign missions, in the meantime, spread the Christian gospel from the United States to other

parts of the world, with mixed results for those receiving the message. New intellectual currents, including Darwinism and its applications and pragmatism, challenged Victorian certainties. In the arts, realist and naturalist writers rejected both romanticism and Victorian domesticity. Many Americans were shocked by the results, including Theodore Dreiser's scandalous novel *Sister Carrie*, Mark Twain's rejection of Christian faith, and the boldly modernist paintings displayed at New York's Armory Show. Science and modernism did not, however, displace religion. Newly arrived Catholics and Jews, as well as old-line Protestants, adapted their faith to the conditions of modern life.

19: "Civilization's Inferno": The Rise and Reform of Industrial Cities, 1880-1917

After 1865, American cities grew at an unprecedented rate, and urban populations swelled with workers from rural areas and abroad. To move burgeoning populations around the city, cities pioneered innovative forms of mass transit. Skyscrapers came to mark urban skylines, and new electric lighting systems encouraged nightlife. Neighborhoods divided along class and ethnic lines, with white middle-class people moving out to new suburban communities. Working-class city dwellers lived in crowded, shoddily built tenements. Immigrants developed new ethnic cultures in their neighborhoods, while racism followed African American migrants from country to city. At the same time, new forms of popular urban culture bridged class and ethnic lines, challenging traditional sexual norms and gender roles. Popular journalism rose to prominence and helped build rising sympathy for reform. Industrial cities confronted a variety of new political challenges. Despite notable achievements, established machine governments could not address urban problems through traditional means. Forward-looking politicians took the initiative and implemented a range of political, labor, and social reforms. Urban reformers also launched campaigns to address public health, morals, and welfare. They did so through a variety of innovative institutions, most notably social settlements, which brought affluent Americans into working-class neighborhoods to learn, cooperate, and advocate on behalf of their neighborhoods. Such projects began to increase Americans' acceptance of urban diversity and their confidence in government's ability to solve the problems of industrialization.

Unit 2 Chapters 20-23

20: Whose Government? Politics, Populists and Progressives, 1880-1917

The Progressive Era emerged from the political turmoil of the 1880s and 1890s. In the 1880s, despite the limits imposed by close elections, federal and state governments managed to achieve important administrative and economic reforms. After 1888, Republican leaders undertook more sweeping efforts, including the Sherman Antitrust Act, but failed in a quest to protect black voting rights. In the South and West, the People's Party called for much stronger government intervention in the economy, but its radical program drew bitter Republican and Democratic resistance. The depression of the 1890s brought a wave of political reaction. Labor unrest threw the nation into crisis, and Cleveland's intransigence over the gold standard cost the Democrats dearly in the 1894 and 1896 elections. While Republicans took over the federal government, southern Democrats restricted voting rights to build the "Solid South." Meanwhile, federal courts struck down regulatory laws and supported southern racial discrimination. After McKinley's assassination, Roosevelt launched a program that balanced reform and private enterprise. At both the federal and state levels, Progressive reformers made extensive use of elite expertise. At the grassroots level, black and white reformers battled racial discrimination; women reformers worked on issues ranging from public health to women's working conditions; and labor activists tried to address the conditions that fueled persistent labor unrest. The election of 1912 split the Republicans, giving victory to Woodrow Wilson, who launched a Democratic program of economic and labor reform. Despite the limits of the Progressive Era, the reforms of this period laid the foundation for a modern American state.

21: An Emerging World Power, 1877-1918

Between 1877 and 1918, the United States rose as a major economic and military power. Justifications for overseas expansion emphasized access to global markets, the importance of sea power, and the need to police international misconduct and trade. These justifications shaped U.S. policy toward European powers in Latin America, and victory in the War of 1898 enabled the United States to take control of former Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and Pacific. Victory, however, also led to a bloody conflict in the Philippines as the United States struggled to suppress Filipino resistance to American rule. After 1899, the United States aggressively asserted its interests in Asia and Latin America. In China, the United States used the Boxer Rebellion to make good its claim to an "open door" to Chinese markets. Later, President Theodore Roosevelt strengthened relations with Japan, and his successor, William Howard Taft, supported U.S. business interests in China. In the Caribbean, the United States constructed the Panama Canal and

regularly exercised the “right,” claimed under the Roosevelt Corollary, to intervene in the affairs of states in the region. President Woodrow Wilson publicly disparaged the imperialism of his predecessors but repeatedly used the U.S. military to “police” Mexico. At the outbreak of World War I, the United States asserted neutrality, but its economic ties to the Allies rapidly undercut that claim. In 1917, German submarine attacks drew the United States into the war on the side of England and France. Involvement in the war profoundly transformed the economy, politics, and society of the nation, resulting in an economic boom, mass migrations of workers to industrial centers, and the achievement of women’s voting rights. At the Paris Peace Conference, Wilson attempted to implement his Fourteen Points. However, the designs of the Allies in Europe undermined the Treaty of Versailles, while Republican resistance at home prevented ratification of the treaty. Although Wilson’s dream of a just international order failed, the United States had taken its place as a major world power.

22: Wrestling with Modernity, 1918-1929

Although involvement in the Great War (World War I) strengthened the United States economically and diplomatically, it also left the nation profoundly unsettled. Racial tensions exploded after the war as African Americans sought to pursue new opportunities and assert their rights. Meanwhile, labor unrest grew as employers cut wages and sought to break unions. Labor’s power declined sharply in the war’s aftermath, while anxieties over radicalism and immigration also prompted the nationwide Red Scare. The politics of the 1920s brought a backlash against prewar progressivism. The efforts of women reformers to advance a reform agenda met very limited success. Republican administrations pursued pro-business “normalcy” at home and “dollar diplomacy” abroad. Prohibition and the Scopes trial demonstrated the influence religion could exert on public policy, while rising nativism fueled a resurgent Ku Klux Klan and led to sweeping new restrictions on immigration. Postwar alienation found artistic expression in new forms of modernism, which denounced the dehumanizing effects of the war and criticized American materialism and hypocrisy. Spreading throughout the nation from New Orleans, jazz appealed to elite and popular audiences alike. Black artists and intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance, including many who were inspired by pan-African ideas, explored the complexities of African American life. During the 1920s, business thrived and a booming consumer culture, exemplified by the automobile and Hollywood films, created new forms of leisure, influencing daily life and challenging older sexual norms. However, the risky speculation and easy credit of the period undermined the foundations of the economy. After the 1929 crash, these factors, along with a range of interconnected global conditions, plunged the United States into the Great Depression.

23: The Great Depression and the New Deal, 1929-1939

We have seen how Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s First New Deal focused on stimulating recovery, providing relief to the unemployed, and regulating banks and other financial institutions. The Second New Deal was different. Influenced by the persistence of the depression and the growing popularity of Huey Long’s Share the Wealth proposals, Roosevelt promoted social-welfare legislation that provided Americans with economic security. We also explored the impact of the New Deal on various groups of citizens, especially African Americans, women, and unionized workers. Our survey paid particular attention to the lives of the Mexicans, Asians, and Okies who worked in the farms and factories of California. Because of New Deal assistance, the members of those groups gravitated toward the Democratic Party. The party’s coalition of ethnic workers, African Americans, farmers, parts of the middle classes, and white southerners gave FDR and other Democrats a landslide victory in 1936. Finally, we examined the accomplishments of the New Deal. In 1933, New Deal programs resolved the banking crisis while preserving capitalist institutions. Subsequently, these programs expanded the federal government and, through the Social Security system, farm subsidy programs, and public works projects, launched federal policies that were important to nearly every American. Great dams and electricity projects sponsored by the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Works Progress Administration in the West, and the Rural Electrification Administration permanently improved the quality of life for the nation’s citizens.

Unit 3 Chapters 24-27

24: The World at War, 1937-1945

The rise of fascism in Germany, Italy, and Japan led to the outbreak of World War II. Initially, the American public insisted on noninvolvement. But by 1940, President Roosevelt was mobilizing support for military preparedness and intervention. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 brought the nation fully into the conflict. War mobilization dramatically expanded the federal government. It also boosted geographical and social mobility as women,

rural whites, and southern blacks took up work in new defense plants in California and elsewhere. Government rules assisted both the labor movement and the African American campaign for civil rights. However, religious and racial animosity caused the exclusion of Jewish refugees and the internment of 112,000 Japanese Americans. As our account shows, by 1942 Germany and Japan had almost won the war. But in 1943, the Allies took the offensive — with advances by the Soviet Army in Europe and the American Navy in the Pacific — and by the end of 1944, Allied victory was all but certain. The United States emerged from the war with an undamaged homeland, sole possession of the atomic bomb, and a set of unresolved diplomatic disputes with the Soviet Union that would soon lead to the four-decade-long Cold War.

25: Cold War America, 1945-1963

We have seen how the Cold War began as a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union over Eastern Europe and the fate of Germany. Very early in the conflict, the United States adopted a strategy of containment. Although initially intended only for Europe, the containment strategy quickly expanded to Asia after China became a Communist state under Mao Zedong. The first effect of that expansion was the Korean War, after which, under Dwight D. Eisenhower, containment of communism became America's guiding principle across the developing world — often called the Third World. Cold War tensions relaxed in the late 1950s but erupted again under John F. Kennedy, with the Cuban missile crisis, the building of the Berlin Wall, and major increases in American military assistance to South Vietnam. Cold War imperatives between 1945 and the early 1960s meant a major military buildup, a massive nuclear arms race, and unprecedented entanglements across the globe. We have also seen how, on the domestic front, Harry S. Truman started out with high hopes for an expanded New Deal, only to be stymied by resistance from Congress and the competing demands of the Cold War. The greatest Cold War-inspired distraction, however, was a climate of fear over internal subversion by Communists that gave rise to McCarthyism. Truman's successor, Eisenhower, brought the Republicans back into power. Although personally conservative, Eisenhower actually proved a New Dealer in disguise. He declined to cut back on social welfare programs and broke new ground in federal spending on highways, scientific research, and higher education. When Eisenhower left office and Kennedy became president, it seemed that a "liberal consensus" prevailed, with old-fashioned, laissez-faire conservatism mostly marginalized in American political life.

26: Triumph of the Middle Class, 1945-1963

We have explored how, at the same time it became mired in the Cold War, the United States entered an unparalleled era of prosperity in which a new middle class came into being. Indeed, the Cold War was one of the engines of prosperity. The postwar economy was marked by the dominance of big corporations and defense spending. After years of depression and war-induced insecurity, Americans turned inward toward religion, home, and family. Postwar couples married young, had several children, and — if they were white and middle class — raised their children in a climate of suburban comfort and consumerism. The pro-family orientation of the 1950s celebrated traditional gender roles, even though millions of women entered the workforce in those years. Not everyone, however, shared in the postwar prosperity. Postwar cities increasingly became places of last resort for the nation's poor. Black migrants, unlike earlier immigrants, encountered an urban economy that had little use for them. Without opportunity, and faced by pervasive racism, many of them were on their way to becoming an American underclass, even as sparkling new suburbs emerged outside cities to house the new middle class. Many of the smoldering contradictions of the postwar period — Cold War anxiety in the midst of suburban domesticity, tensions in women's lives, economic and racial inequality — helped spur the protest movements of the 1960s.

27: Walking into Freedom Land: The Civil Rights Movement 1941-1973

Both African Americans and other people of color who fought for civil rights from World War II through the early 1970s sought equal rights and economic opportunity. For most of the first half of the twentieth century, African Americans faced a harsh Jim Crow system in the South and a segregated, though more open, society in the North. Segregation was held in place by a widespread belief among whites in black inferiority and by a southern political system that denied African Americans the vote. In the Southwest and West, Mexican Americans, Native Americans, and Americans of Asian descent faced discriminatory laws and social practices that marginalized them. The civil rights movement attacked racial inequality in three ways. First, the movement sought equal standing for all Americans, regardless of race, under the law. This required patient work through the judicial system and the more arduous task of winning congressional legislation, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Second, grassroots activists, using nonviolent protest, pushed all levels of government (from city to federal) to abide by Supreme Court decisions (such as

Brown v. Board of Education) and civil rights laws. Third, the movement sought to open economic opportunity for minority populations. This was embodied in the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Ultimately, the civil rights movement was successful in establishing the principle of legal equality, but its participants encountered more considerable odds in ending poverty and creating meaningful, widespread economic opportunity. Limitations in the civil rights model of social change led black activists — along with Mexican Americans, Native Americans, and others — to adopt a more nationalist stance after 1966. Nationalism stressed creating political and economic power in communities of color themselves, taking pride in one’s racial heritage, and refusing to allow whites to define cultural standards.

Unit 4 Chapters 28-31

28: Uncivil Wars: Liberal Crisis and Conservative Rebirth, 1964-1972

In this chapter, we saw how, under the combined pressures of the Vietnam War and racial and cultural conflict, the New Deal coalition fractured and split. Following John Kennedy’s assassination in 1963, Lyndon Johnson advanced the most ambitious liberal reform program since the New Deal, securing not only civil rights legislation but also an array of programs in education, medical care, transportation, environmental protection, and, above all, his War on Poverty. But the Great Society fell short of its promise as Johnson escalated the American involvement in Vietnam. The war bitterly divided Americans. Galvanized by the carnage of war and the draft, the antiwar movement spread rapidly among young people, and the spirit of rebellion spilled beyond the war. The New Left challenged the corporate dominance of society, while the more apolitical counterculture preached personal liberation through sex, drugs, music, and personal transformation. Women’s liberationists broke from the New Left and raised a new set of concerns about society’s sexism. In 1968, the nation was rocked by the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy and a wave of urban riots, fueling a growing popular desire for law and order. Adding to the national disquiet was the Democratic National Convention that summer, divided by the Vietnam War and under siege by rioting in the streets. The stage was set for a new wave of conservatism to take hold of the country, contributing to the resurgence of the Republican Party under Richard Nixon between 1968 and 1972. President Nixon ended the war in Vietnam, but only after five years had elapsed and enormous casualties accrued. Nixon’s presidency ended abruptly when the Watergate scandal forced his resignation.

29: The Search for Order in an Era of Limits, 1973-1980

For much of the 1970s, Americans struggled with economic problems, including inflation, energy shortages, income stagnation, and deindustrialization. These challenges highlighted the limits of postwar prosperity and forced Americans to consider lowering their economic expectations. In the midst of this gloomy economic climate, they also sought political and cultural resolutions to the upheavals of the 1960s. A movement for environmental protection, widely supported, led to new laws and an awareness of nature’s limits. Meanwhile, the battle for civil rights entered a second stage, expanding to encompass women’s rights and gay rights, the rights of alleged criminals and prisoners, and, in the realm of racial justice, focusing on the problem of producing concrete results rather than legislation. Many liberals cheered these developments, but another effect was to strengthen a new, more conservative social mood that began to challenge liberal values in politics and society more generally. Finally, we considered the multiple challenges faced by the American family in the 1970s and how a perception that the family was in trouble helped to spur an evangelical religious revival that would shape American society for decades to come.

30: Conservative America Ascendant, 1973-1991

This chapter examined two central developments of the years 1973–1991: the rise of the New Right in U.S. politics and the end of the Cold War. Each development set the stage for a new era in American life, one that stretches to our own day. Domestically, the New Right, which had been building in strength since the mid-1960s, criticized the “excessive” liberalism of the Great Society and the permissiveness conservative activists associated with feminism and the sexual revolution. Shifting their allegiance from Barry Goldwater to Ronald Reagan, right-wing Americans built a conservative movement from the ground up and in 1980 elected Reagan president. Advocating free-market economics, lower taxes, and fewer government regulations, Reagan became a champion of the New Right. His record as president was more mixed than his rhetoric would suggest, however. Reagan’s initial tax cuts were followed by tax hikes. Moreover, he frequently dismayed the Christian Right by not pursuing their interests forcefully enough — especially regarding abortion and school prayer. Reagan played a role in the ending of the Cold War. His massive military buildup in the early 1980s strained an already overstretched Soviet economy, which struggled to keep pace. Reagan then agreed to meet

with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in several summits between 1985 and 1987. More important than Reagan's actions, however, were inefficiencies and contradictions in the Soviet economic structure itself. Combined with the forced military buildup and the disastrous war in Afghanistan, these strains led Gorbachev to institute the first significant reforms in Soviet society in half a century. The reforms stirred popular criticism of the Soviet Union, which formally collapsed in 1991.

31: National Dilemmas in a Global Society, 1989-2011

This chapter has stressed how globalization — the worldwide flow of capital, goods, and people — entered a new phase after the end of the Cold War. The number of multinational corporations, many of them based in the United States, increased dramatically, and people, goods, and investment capital moved easily across political boundaries. Financial markets, in particular, grew increasingly open and interconnected across the globe. Technological innovations strengthened the American economy and transformed daily life. The computer revolution and the spread of the Internet changed the ways in which Americans shopped, worked, learned, and stayed in touch with family and friends. Globalization facilitated the immigration of millions of Asians and Latin Americans into the United States. In the decades since 1989, American life has been characterized by the dilemmas presented by the twin issues of globalization and divisive cultural politics. Conservatives spoke out strongly, and with increasing effectiveness, against multiculturalism and what they viewed as serious threats to “family values.” Debates over women's rights, access to abortion, affirmative action, and the legal rights of homosexuals intensified. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, temporarily calmed the nation's increasingly bitter partisanship, but that partisanship was revived after President Bush's decision to invade Iraq (a nation not involved in the events of 9/11) in 2003 led to a protracted war. When Barack Obama was elected in 2008, the first African American president in the nation's history, he inherited two wars and the Great Recession, the most significant economic collapse since the 1930s. His, and the nation's, efforts to address these and other pressing issues — including the national debt and global warming — remain ongoing, unfinished business.