Reforming American Society

BEFORE YOU READ
In the last section, you learned about changes in the American economy.
In this section, you will read about reform movements in 19th-century America.

AS YOU READ
Use the chart below to take notes on the aims of the religious and reform movements of the early 19th century.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOPIC</th>
<th>AIMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second Great Awakening</td>
<td>bring more people to God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unitarianism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcendentalism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abolition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's rights</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Spiritual Awakening Inspires Reform (pages 144–145)

What changes in religion took place in America in the first half of the 1800s?

The Second Great Awakening was a wide-spread religious movement. In revival meetings that lasted for days, people studied the Bible and listened to impassioned preaching. Many Americans joined churches as a result of the movement.

Unitarians were a religious group that appealed to reason instead of emotion. Ralph Waldo Emerson, a New England minister, writer, and philosopher, founded transcendentalism. It was a philosophy that emphasized the interconnection between nature, human emotions, and the imagination.
Enslaved African Americans also experienced the urge to reform. Many in the South heard the sermons and hymns as a promise of freedom. In the North, free African Americans formed their own churches. These churches became political, cultural, and social centers for African Americans.

1. Name three religious movements that took place in America in the first half of the 1800s.

---

**Slavery and Abolition** (pages 145–147)

**Why did abolitionists oppose slavery?**

By the 1820s, many people began to speak out against slavery in a movement called abolition. One extreme abolitionist was William Lloyd Garrison. In his newspaper, *The Liberator*, Garrison called for immediate emancipation, or freeing of the slaves. Many people in both the North and the South thought that Garrison’s ideas were too extreme.

Another important abolitionist was Frederick Douglass. Douglass was an escaped slave who had learned to read and write. Garrison was impressed with Douglas and sponsored his speeches. Later Douglas broke with Garrison. Douglas believed slavery could be ended without violence. He published his own newspaper, *The North Star*.

By 1830 there were two constants in the lives of slaves—hard work and oppression. Most slaves worked as field hands or house servants. Some slaves were manumitted or freed, but most lived lives filled with suffering.

In 1831, a Virginia slave named Nat Turner led a violent slave rebellion. The rebels were captured and executed. The Turner rebellion frightened white Southerners. They made restrictions on slaves even tighter. Some Southerners also began to defend slavery as a good thing.

2. Describe how three people fought against slavery in the 1830s.

---

**Women and Reform** (pages 147–149)

**What did women reformers do?**

Women were active in the 19th-century reform movements. Many women worked for abolition. Women also played key roles in the temperance movement, the effort to ban the drinking of alcohol.

Until 1820, American girls had little chance for education. Some female reformers opened schools of higher learning for girls. In 1821 Emma Willard opened one of the nation’s first academically oriented schools for girls. In 1833, Oberlin College in Ohio became the first co-educational college in the nation. Four years later, in 1837, Mary Lyon started a school that became Mount Holyoke College.

Health reform for women was another important issue. Elizabeth Blackwell was the first woman to graduate from medical college. Catherine Beecher, the sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe undertook a survey of women’s health that showed that three out of every four women had serious health problems.

Some women addressed the issue of women’s rights. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott had been abolitionists. In 1848, they organized a women’s rights convention. The Seneca Falls convention supported many reforms. The most controversial one was women’s suffrage, or the right to vote.

For the most part, African American women did not have a voice at that time. Sojourner Truth, however, made her voice heard. A former slave, Truth became famous for speaking out for both abolition and women’s rights.

3. How did women work for reform in the 19th century?
Women in Public Life

BEFORE YOU READ
In the last section, you read about the progressive movement.
In this section, you will learn about the new, active roles women were taking in the workplace and in politics.

AS YOU READ
Use this diagram to take notes. Fill it in with details about women and their work in the four settings shown. The notes will help you remember what you learned about women's work in the late 1800s.

Women in the Work Force
(pages 313–314)

What jobs did women do?
Before the Civil War, most married women worked at home. They cared for their families and did not have paid jobs. By the end of the 19th century, however, many women had to work outside the home in order to earn money.

Farm women continued to work as they always had. They did the cooking, cleaning, sewing, and child rearing. They helped with the crops and animals.

As better-paying opportunities in towns and cities became available, more women began working outside the home. By 1900, one in five American women held jobs; 25 percent of them worked in manufacturing. About half of the women working in manufacturing were employed in the garment trades. They typically held the least skilled positions and were paid only half as much as men. Women also began filling new jobs in offices, stores, and classrooms. Women went to new business schools to learn to become stenographers and typists. These jobs required a high school education. Women without a formal education took jobs as domestic workers, cleaning, and taking care of children of other families. Almost two million African-American workers—forced by economic necessity—worked on farms and in cities as domestic workers.
workers, laundresses, scrubwomen, and maids. Unmarried immigrant women did domestic labor, took in piecwork, or cared for boarders at home.

1. What are three jobs that women without a formal education often held?

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**Women Lead Reform**

(pages 314–316)

**What reforms did women want?**

Dangerous conditions, long hours, and low wages caused working women to fight for reforms. The Triangle Shirtwaist fire in New York City in 1911 killed 146 young workers, mostly women, and spurred the cause for reform.

Women who became active in public life attended college. New women’s colleges such as Vassar, Smith, and Wellesley opened. By the late 19th century, marriage was no longer a woman’s only alternative.

In 1896, African-American women founded the National Association of Colored Women (NACW).

This organization created nurseries, reading rooms, and kindergartens.

Women’s crusade for *suffrage*, or the right to vote, began at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. The women’s movement split over whether or not to support the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments which granted the vote to African-American men, but not to women of any race. **Susan B. Anthony** led the opposition. By 1890, suffragists had united in the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).

Women tried three approaches to win the vote: (1) they tried to convince state legislatures; (2) they went to court to clarify whether the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment meant women should be allowed to vote, and (3) they pushed for a national constitutional amendment. This was voted down several times.

2. What are three ways in which women tried to win the vote?

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**Skillbuilder**

Use the photograph to answer these questions.

1. Name the two sides confronting each other.

2. Cite one example of what you think workers might strike over.
The New Deal Affects Many Groups

**BEFORE YOU READ**
In the last section, you read about the Second New Deal. In this section, you will learn about some of the effects of the New Deal.

**AS YOU READ**
Use the chart below to take notes on how the New Deal affected the groups listed in the chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>EFFECT OF NEW DEAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>First women in cabinet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Americans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican Americans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The New Deal Brings New Opportunities  (pages 504–505)

**How did the New Deal affect women?**

Women made some important gains during the New Deal. More women were appointed to important federal jobs.

**Frances Perkins** became the first female cabinet member as secretary of labor. Perkins helped create the Social Security system. Roosevelt also appointed women as federal judges. Roosevelt hoped that these appointments would make him more popular among women voters.

Many New Deal agencies did not discriminate in hiring. This gave women more opportunities. But some government agencies and many businesses did not hire as many women as men. For example, the Civilian Conservation Corps hired men only. And women were almost always paid less than men. For instance, the National Recovery Administration set lower wage levels for women than for men.

1. **Describe two ways that the New Deal expanded and limited opportunities for women.**

TERMS AND NAMES

- Frances Perkins  Secretary of labor
- Mary McLeod Bethune  Head of the Office of Minority Affairs in the NYA
- John Collier  Commissioner on Indian Affairs
- New Deal coalition  Voters from different groups that supported the Democratic party because of the New Deal
- Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)  Labor union
African-American Activism (pages 505–506)

**How did the New Deal affect African Americans?**

President Roosevelt gave a number of African Americans a voice in government. Mary McLeod Bethune was an educator who became head of the Minority Affairs Office of the National Youth Administration.

She worked to ensure that the NYA hired some African Americans. Bethune also helped organize the “Black Cabinet.” This was a group of influential African Americans that advised Roosevelt on racial issues.

However, President Roosevelt did not push for full civil rights for African Americans. He was afraid of losing the support of white Southerners.

2. What gains did African Americans make during the New Deal?

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Mexican-American Fortunes; Native American Gains (pages 506–507)

**What gains did Mexican Americans and Native Americans make?**

Mexican Americans tended to support the New Deal. But they received few benefits from New Deal programs. Many were farm workers who were not covered by federal laws. Some New Deal agencies discriminated against them.

Native Americans got support from the New Deal. In 1933, Roosevelt made John Collier commissioner on Indian affairs. He was a strong supporter of Native American rights. Collier helped pass the Indian Reorganization Act. This law strengthened Native American land claims.

3. How did Mexican Americans and Native Americans fare under the New Deal?

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FDR Creates the New Deal Coalition (pages 507–509)

**Who supported the New Deal?**

Roosevelt got votes from Southern whites, city people, African Americans, and workers who belonged to unions. Together these groups of voters formed a coalition that supported FDR. It became known as the New Deal coalition.

Labor unions made gains in the 1930s. New Deal laws made it easier for workers to form unions and to bargain with employers. Union membership soared from 3 million to more than 10 million.

Divisions emerged between labor unions. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) was made up of mostly crafts unions, such as plumbers or carpenters. Other unions wanted to represent workers in a whole industry, such as the automobile industry. These unions broke away to form the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

Labor employed a new kind of strike in the 1930s—a sit-down strike. In a sit-down strike, workers did not leave their workplace. They remained inside but refused to work. That prevented factory owners from using strikebreakers or scabs to get the work done.

Some strikes led to violence. On Memorial Day, 1937, police killed ten people during a steel strike in Chicago. The National Labor Relations Board stepped in. It forced the steel company to negotiate with the union. This helped labor gain strength.

The Democratic Party got a great deal of support from people living in cities. Powerful city political organizations helped build this support. So did New Deal programs that helped the urban poor. Roosevelt also appealed to people of many ethnic groups. He appointed people of urban-immigrant backgrounds to important government jobs.

4. What was the New Deal coalition?
Chapter 21

Taking on Segregation

Before You Read

In the last section, you read about President Johnson's Great Society.

In this section, you will read how African Americans challenged the nation's policies of segregation and racial inequality.

As You Read

Use this diagram to take notes on early battles of the civil rights movement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCIDENT</th>
<th>RESULT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Little Rock School Crisis</td>
<td>National Guard forces school to let in African Americans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery Bus Boycott</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lunch counter sit-ins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Segregation System

(pages 700–702)

How did World War II help start the civil rights movement?

By 1950, most African Americans were still considered second-class citizens. Throughout the South, Jim Crow laws remained in place. These were laws aimed at keeping blacks separate from whites.

During the 1950s, however, a civil rights movement began. This was a movement by blacks to gain greater equality in American society.

In several ways, World War II helped set the stage for this movement. First, the demand for soldiers during the war had created a shortage of white male workers. This opened up many new jobs for African Americans.

Second, about 700,000 African Americans had served in the armed forces. These soldiers helped free Europe. Many returned from the war ready to fight for their own freedom.

Third, during the war, President Franklin Roosevelt outlawed racial discrimination in all federal agencies and war-related companies.

World War II had given American blacks a taste of equality and respectability. When the war ended, many African Americans were more determined than ever to improve their status.

1. Name two ways in which World War II helped set the stage for the civil rights movement.
Challenging Segregation in Court (pages 702–703)

What was important in the case of Brown v. Board of Education?

Even before the civil rights movement began, African-American lawyers had been challenging racial discrimination in court. Beginning in 1938, a team of lawyers led by Thurgood Marshall began arguing several cases before the Supreme Court. Their biggest victory came in the 1954 case known as Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas. In this case, the Supreme Court ruled that separate schools for whites and blacks were unequal—and thus unconstitutional.

2. What did the Supreme Court rule about separate schools for whites and blacks?

Reaction to the Brown Decision; the Montgomery Bus Boycott (pages 703–705)

Where did African Americans fight racial segregation?

Some Southern communities refused to accept the Brown decision. In 1955, the Supreme Court handed down a second Brown ruling. It ordered schools to desegregate more quickly.

The school desegregation issue reached a crisis in 1957 in Little Rock, Arkansas. The state’s governor, Orval Faubus, refused to let nine African-American students attend Little Rock’s Central High School. President Eisenhower sent in federal troops to allow the students to enter the school.

School was just one place where African Americans challenged segregation. They also battled discrimination on city buses. In Montgomery, Alabama, a local law required that blacks give up their bus seats to whites. In December 1955, Montgomery resident Rosa Parks refused to give her seat to a white man. Parks was arrested.

After her arrest, African Americans in Montgomery organized a yearlong boycott of the city’s bus system. The protesters looked for a person to lead the bus boycott. They chose Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the pastor of a Baptist Church.

The boycott lasted 381 days. Finally, in late 1956, the Supreme Court ruled that segregated buses were illegal.

3. Name two places that African Americans targeted for racial desegregation.

Martin Luther King and the SCLC; The Movement Spreads (pages 705–707)

Where did King get his ideas?

Martin Luther King, Jr. preached nonviolent resistance. He termed it “soul force.” He based his ideas on the teachings of several people. From Jesus, he learned to love one’s enemies. From the writer Henry David Thoreau, King took the idea of civil disobedience. This was the refusal to obey an unjust law. From labor organizer A. Philip Randolph, he learned how to organize huge demonstrations. From Mohandas Gandhi, King learned that a person could resist oppression without using violence.

King joined with other ministers and civil rights leaders in 1957. They formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). By 1960, another influential civil rights group emerged. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was formed mostly by college students. Members of this group felt that change for African Americans was occurring too slowly.

One protest strategy that SNCC (“sneak”) used was the sit-in. During a sit-in, blacks sat at whites-only lunch counters. They refused to leave until they were served. In February 1960, African-American students staged a sit-in at a lunch counter at a Woolworth’s store in Greensboro, North Carolina. The students sat there as whites hit them and poured food over their heads. By late 1960, students had desegregated lunch counters in 48 cities in 11 states.

4. Name two people from whom Martin Luther King, Jr. drew his ideas.
The Triumphs of a Crusade

BEFORE YOU READ
In the last section, you read how African Americans began challenging the nation’s racist systems.
In this section, you will read how civil rights activists broke down many racial barriers and prompted landmark legislation.

AS YOU READ
Use this diagram to take notes on the achievements of the civil rights movement.

Riding for Freedom (pages 710–711)

Who were the freedom riders?
Freedom Riders were protesters who rode buses with the goal of integrating buses and bus stations. In 1961, a bus of Freedom Riders was attacked in Anniston, Alabama, where a white mob burned the bus. Another instance occurred when a group of Nashville students rode into Birmingham, Alabama, where they were beaten.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy ordered a reluctant bus company to continue to carry the freedom riders. When freedom riders were attacked in Montgomery, Alabama, the federal government took stronger action. President Kennedy sent 400 U.S. marshals to protect the freedom riders. The Interstate Commerce Commission banned segregation in all travel facilities including waiting rooms, rest rooms, and lunch counters.

1. Name two ways the government tried to help the freedom riders.
Standing Firm (pages 711–714)

What happened in Birmingham?

Civil rights workers soon turned their attention to integrating Southern schools. In September 1962, a federal court allowed James Meredith to attend the all-white University of Mississippi. However, Mississippi's governor refused to admit him. The Kennedy administration sent in U.S. marshals. They forced the governor to let in Meredith.

Another confrontation occurred in 1963 in Birmingham, Alabama. There, King and other civil rights leaders tried to desegregate the city. Police attacked activists with dogs and water hoses.

Many Americans witnessed the attacks on television. They were outraged by what they saw. Eventually, Birmingham officials gave in. They agreed to end segregation in the city.

The growing civil rights movement impressed President Kennedy. He became convinced that the nation needed a new civil rights law. Kennedy called on Congress to pass a sweeping civil rights bill.

2. What was the outcome of the demonstrations in Birmingham?

Fighting for Voting Rights (pages 715–716)

Where did workers try to register African Americans to vote?

Civil rights activists next worked to gain voting rights for African Americans in the South. The voting project became known as Freedom Summer. The workers focused their efforts on Mississippi. They hoped to influence Congress to pass a voting rights act.

Meanwhile, civil rights activists challenged Mississippi's political structure. At the 1964 Democratic National Convention, SNCC organized the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). The new party hoped to unseat Mississippi's regular party delegates at the convention.

Civil rights activist Fannie Lou Hamer spoke for the MFDP at the convention. She gave an emotional speech. As a result, many Americans supported the seating of the MFDP delegates. However, the Democratic Party offered only 2 of Mississippi's 68 seats to MFDP members.

In 1965, civil rights workers attempted a voting project in Selma, Alabama. They met with violent resistance. As a result, Martin Luther King, Jr. led a massive march through Alabama. President Johnson responded by asking Congress to pass a new voting rights act. Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The law eliminated state laws that had prevented African Americans from voting.

4. Name two states where civil rights workers tried to register blacks to vote.
Challenges and Changes in the Movement

BEFORE YOU READ
In the last section, you read about the triumphs of the civil rights movement.
In this section, you will read about challenges and changes to the movement and how it ultimately left a mixed legacy.

AS YOU READ
Use this diagram to take notes on the mixed legacy of the civil rights movement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACHIEVEMENTS</th>
<th>REMAINING PROBLEMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>full voting rights</td>
<td>high unemployment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

African Americans Seek Greater Equality (pages 717–719)

What problems did African Americans in the North face?
The biggest problem in the North was de facto segregation—segregation that exists by practice and custom. De facto segregation can be harder to fight than de jure segregation—segregation by law. Eliminating de facto segregation requires changing people's attitudes rather than repealing laws.

De facto segregation increased as African Americans moved to Northern cities after World War II. Many white people left the cities. They moved to suburbs. By the mid-1960s, many African Americans in the North lived in decaying urban slums. There, they dealt with poor schools and high unemployment.

The terrible conditions in Northern cities angered many African Americans. This anger led to many episodes of violence.

1. Name two problems African Americans in the North faced.
New Leaders Voice Discontent
(pages 719-721)

What did new leaders call for?

During the 1960s, new African-American leaders emerged. They called for more aggressive tactics in fighting racism.

One such leader was Malcolm X. Malcolm preached the views of Elijah Muhammad. Muhammad was the head of the Nation of Islam, or the Black Muslims. Malcolm declared that whites were responsible for blacks' misery. He also urged African Americans to fight back when attacked.

Eventually, Malcolm changed his policy regarding violence. He urged African Americans to use peaceful means—especially voting—to win equality. In February 1965, he was assassinated.

Another new black leader was Stokely Carmichael. He introduced the notion of Black Power. This movement encouraged African-American pride and leadership.

In 1966, some African Americans formed a political party called the Black Panthers. The party was created to fight police brutality. They urged violent resistance against whites. Many whites and moderate African Americans feared the group.

2. Name two new civil rights leaders.

---

Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement (pages 722–723)

Why is the legacy of the civil rights movement considered mixed?

Shortly after taking office, President Johnson formed a group known as the Kerner Commission. The commission’s job was to study the cause of urban violence. In March 1968, the commission issued its report. It named one main cause for violence in the cities: white racism.

What, then, did the civil rights movement achieve? The movement claimed many triumphs. It led to the passage of important civil rights acts. This included the Civil Rights Act of 1968. This law banned discrimination in housing.

The movement had also led to the banning of segregation in education, transportation, and employment. It had also helped African Americans gain their full voting rights.

Yet many problems remained. Whites continued to flee the cities. Throughout the years, much of the progress in school integration reversed. African Americans continued to face high unemployment.

The government continued steps to help African Americans—and other disadvantaged groups. During the late 1960s, federal officials began to promote affirmative action. Affirmative-action programs involve making special efforts to hire or enroll minorities.

4. Name one goal the civil rights movement achieved and one problem that remained.

---

1968—A Turning Point in Civil Rights (pages 721–722)

Who was killed in 1968?

In April 1968, a gunman shot and killed Martin Luther King, Jr., in Memphis, Tennessee. Many leaders called for peace. But anger over King’s death led many African Americans to riot. Cities across the nation erupted in violence.

A bullet claimed the life of yet another leader in 1968. In June, a man shot and killed Senator Robert Kennedy. Kennedy was a strong supporter of civil rights. The assassin was a Jordanian immigrant. He allegedly was angry about Kennedy’s support of Israel. Kennedy had been seeking the Democratic nomination for president when he was killed.

3. Name two of the nation’s leaders killed in 1968.