

美国新闻署 编  
杨俊峰等 译  
辽宁教育出版社

AN OUTLINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY



# 美国历史概况

下

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杨俊峰 徐莹 谭晶华 尹丹 译

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# 美国历史概况

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Campaigning for the woman's right to vote, early  
20th century.

20世纪初，为争取妇女投票权进行宣传活动。



AN OUTLINE OF  
AMERICAN HISTORY  
美国历史概况

CHAPTER EIGHT 第八章

# VIII

DISCONTENT AND REFORM

不满与改革

“A GREAT  
DEMOCRACY WILL  
BE NEITHER GREAT  
NOR A DEMOCRACY  
IF IT IS NOT  
PROGRESSIVE.”

---

Former President Theodore Roosevelt, circa 1910

### AGRARIAN DISTRESS AND THE RISE OF POPULISM

In spite of their remarkable progress, 19th-century American farmers experienced recurring periods of hardship. Several basic factors were involved — soil exhaustion, the vagaries of nature, a decline in self-sufficiency, and the lack of adequate legislative protection and aid. Perhaps most important, however, was over-production.

Along with the mechanical improvements which greatly increased yield per hectare, the amount of land under cultivation grew rapidly throughout the second half of the century, as the railroads and the gradual displacement of the Plains Indians opened up new areas for western settlement. A similar expansion of agricultural lands in countries such as Canada, Argentina and Australia compounded these problems in the international market, where much of U.S. agricultural production was now sold.

The farther west the settlers went, the more dependent they became on the railroads to move their goods to market. At the same time, farmers paid high costs for manufactured goods as a result of the protective tariffs that Congress, backed by Eastern industrial interests, had long supported. Over time, the Midwestern and Western farmer fell ever more deeply in debt to the banks that held their mortgages.

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“一个伟大的民主国家如果没有进步意识，那么它就既不伟大也不民主。”

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前总统西奥多·罗斯福 约1910

### 农业的萧条和民粹党的上升

虽然农业的发展迅速，但19世纪的农民却一再地遭受着艰难困苦。这里涉及好几个基本因素：土地贫瘠化；自然情况捉摸不定；自给自足能力的衰退；以及缺少适当的立法保护和援助。但其中最重要的一个原因莫过于生产的过剩。

由于机械化的发展，极大地提高了每公顷的单位产量。在19世纪后半期，随着铁路的拓展和平原印第安人的逐渐迁出，西部有了更广阔的定居地，于是，耕地的数量大幅增加。类似的耕地面积的增长情况，在加拿大、阿根廷和澳大利亚也出现了，这就加剧了世界市场的竞争。而这几个国家又是大量美国农产品的销售地。

定居者越往西部前进，对铁路的依赖性就越大，因为他们需要将其种植的谷物运到市场上去。与此同时，农民们需要花高价购入制成品，这是在东部工业利益的驱使下，国会长期实施保护关税的结果。这样一来，中西部和西部的农民纷纷向他们发放贷款的银行举了重债。

In the South, the fall of the Confederacy brought major changes in agricultural practices. The most significant of these was sharecropping, where tenant farmers "shared" up to half of their crop with the landowners in exchange for seed and essential supplies. An estimated 80 percent of the South's black farmers and 40 percent of its white ones lived under this debilitating system following the Civil War.

Most sharecroppers were locked in a cycle of debt, from which the only hope of escape was increased planting. This led to the overproduction of cotton and tobacco, and thus to declining prices and the further exhaustion of the soil.

The first organized effort to address general agricultural problems was the Granger movement. Launched in 1867 by employees of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, the Granges focused initially on social activities to counter the isolation most farm families encountered. Women's participation was actively encouraged. Spurred by the Panic of 1873, the Grange soon grew to 20,000 chapters and one-and-a-half million members.

Although most of them ultimately failed, the Granges set up their own marketing systems, stores, processing plants, factories and cooperatives. The movement also enjoyed some political success during the 1870s. A few states passed "Granger laws," limiting railroad and warehouse fees.

By 1880 the movement began to decline, replaced by the Farmers' Alliances. By 1890 the Alliance movements had members from New York to California totalling about 1.5 million. A parallel African-American organization, the Colored Farmers National Alliance, numbered over a million members.

From the beginning, the Farmers' Alliances were political organizations with elaborate economic programs. According to one early platform, its purpose was to "unite the farmers of America for their protection against class legislation and the encroachments of concentrated capital." Their program also called for the regulation — if not the outright nationalization — of the railroads; currency inflation to provide debt relief; the lowering of the tariff; and the establishment of government-owned storehouses and low-interest lending facilities.

在南部，南方政府的垮台使农业生产上发生了重要变化。其中一个最重要的变化便是交谷租种，即佃农耕种土地所有者一半的土地，以换得种子和生活必需品。内战后，南部大约有80%的黑人农民和40%的白人农民在这种日渐衰落的制度下生活。

大部分用谷物交租的佃农都陷入了还债的恶性循环中，他们惟一的希望就是扩大耕种的面积。这就导致了棉花和烟草种植的过剩，并最终造成价格的下跌和土地的贫瘠。

为解决普遍存在的农业问题而最先行动的是保护农业社运动。这项运动始于1867年，是由美国农业部发起的。保护农业社最初将社会活动的重点放在致力于反对农民家庭之间彼此的疏离，并且积极鼓励妇女的参与。在1873年发生的恐慌的震动下，保护农业社逐渐发展成为有2万个分社和150万成员的团体。

虽然保护农业社的大部分企业最终失败了，但是它建立起了他们自己的销售系统、商店、农产品加工厂以及其他工厂和合作社。19世纪70年代，该运动也在政治上获得了一定的成功。有些州通过了“保护农业社法”，用以限制铁路和货栈的费用。

到了1880年，保护农业社运动开始走下坡路，并逐渐被农民联合会所取代。到1890年底，农民联合会运动的成员遍布从纽约到加利福尼亚的广大地区，总人数达150万之多。同样的黑人组织——全国有色人种农民联合会的成员也超过了100万。

从一开始，农民联合会就是带有详实经济计划的政治组织。其早期的一个纲领就声称，建立该组织的目的就是“要将全美的农民团结起来，反抗具有阶级差别的法规和对集中资本的侵犯，以保护农民的利益”。它们的计划还包括：呼吁如若不实行彻底的国有化，至少要规范铁路运输；抑制通货膨胀以提供债务救济；降低关税；设立政府所有的仓库和低息借贷机构。



During the late 1880s a series of droughts devastated the western Great Plains. Western Kansas lost half its population during a four-year span. To make matters worse, the McKinley Tariff of 1890 was one of the highest the country had ever seen.

By 1890 the level of agrarian distress was at an all-time high. Working with sympathetic Democrats in the South or small third parties in the West, the Farmer's Alliance made a push for political power. From these elements, a third political party, known as the Populist Party, emerged. Never before in American politics had there been anything like the Populist fervor that swept the prairies and cotton lands. The elections of 1890 brought the new party into power in a dozen Southern and Western states, and sent a score of Populist senators and representatives to Congress.

Its first convention was in 1892, when delegates from farm, labor and reform organizations met in Omaha. Nebraska, determined at last to make their mark on a U.S. political system they viewed as hopelessly corrupted by the monied interests of the industrial and commercial trusts. Their platform stated:

*We are met, in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench [courts] ... From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes — tramps and millionaires.*

The pragmatic portion of their platform focused on issues of land, transportation and finance, including the unlimited coinage of silver.

The Populists showed impressive strength in the West and South in the 1892 elections, and their candidate for president polled more than a million votes. Yet it was the currency question, pitting advocates of silver, against those who favored gold, which soon overshadowed all other issues. Agrarian spokesmen in the West and South — supported by labor groups in the Eastern industrial centers — demanded a return to the unlimited coinage of silver. Convinced that their troubles stemmed from a shortage of money in circulation, they argued that increasing the volume of money would indirectly raise prices for farm products and drive up industrial wages, thus allowing debts to be paid with inflated currency. Conservative groups and the financial classes, on

19世纪80年代后期，连续的旱灾摧毁了西部大平原地区。仅在短短的四年间，堪萨斯西部地区就流失了一半的人口。雪上加霜的是，1890年的麦金莱关税是有史以来最高的。

到了1890年，农业已经陷入极度的萧条。农民联合会在同南部同情农民的民主党人和西部的一些在野的小党合作下，努力在政治上有所作为。基于这些因素，一个名为民粹党的第三个政党就这样出现了。在美国政坛上，从来没有像民粹党那样狂热的政党。他们的热浪横扫草原和棉田。在1890年的选举中，这个新政党在十多个南方州和西部各州中取得了权力，并选出了20个参议员和众议员进入国会。

1892年，第一届民粹党大会在内布拉斯加州的奥马哈召开，会议代表来自农业、劳工和致力于改革的组织。大会最后决定要改变美国的政治制度，因为在他们看来这种政治制度是为工商业垄断组织的金钱利益服务的，因此已经腐败到无可救药的地步。他们的纲领是：

*在我们的国家正处于道德沦丧、政治腐败和物质匮乏的时候，我们在此召开大会。腐败掌控着投票箱、立法机构、国徽，甚至已经触到了正襟危坐的法官们的貂皮长袍（法院）……在充斥着各种政治不公正的国家里，诞生了两大阶级——流浪乞丐和百万富翁。*

纲领中涉及的实际问题主要是有关土地、运输和金融，其中包括不加限制地发行银币。

在1892年的选举中，民粹党在西部和南方都显示了惊人的力量。他们的总统候选人得到了100多万张选票。然而，货币问题却将银币维护者同支持发行金币的人对立起来，结果很快这个问题就成了压倒一切的中心问题。西部和南部为农民说话的人，在东部工业中心的劳工团体的支持下，要求恢复到过去无限制发行银币的状态。由于认为他们的困境主要是因为流通领域缺乏足够的货币，因此他们确信只要增大货币的发行量，就会直接导致农产品价格的提高和工人收入的增加，那么，人们就可以用通胀后的货币来还债。从另一方面说，保守团体和金融阶层的人士则认

the other hand, believed that such a policy would be disastrous, and insisted that inflation, once begun, could not be stopped. Only the gold standard, they said, offered stability.

The financial panic of 1893 heightened the tension of this debate. Bank failures abounded in the South and Midwest; unemployment soared and crop prices fell badly. The crisis, and President Grover Cleveland's inability to solve it, nearly broke the Democratic Party. Democrats who were silver supporters went over to the Populists as the presidential elections of 1896 neared.

The Democratic convention that year was witness to one of the most famous speeches in U.S. political history. Pleading with the convention not to "crucify mankind on a cross of gold", William Jennings Bryan, the young Nebraskan champion of silver, won the Democrats' presidential nomination.

The Populists also endorsed Bryan. The moment was to prove their high-water mark. Despite carrying the South and all of the West except California and Oregon, Bryan lost the more populated, industrial North and East — and the election — to the Republican's William McKinley.

The following year the country's finances began to improve, in part due to the discovery of gold in Alaska and the Yukon. In 1898 the Spanish-American War drew the nation's attention further from Populist issues. If the movement was dead, however, its ideas were not. Many of them passed into law within the next two decades.

## THE STRUGGLES OF LABOR

The life of a 19th-century American industrial worker was far from easy. Even in good times wages were low, hours long and working conditions hazardous. Little of the wealth which the growth of the nation had generated went to its workers. The situation was worse for women and children, who made up a high percentage of the work force in some industries and often received but a fraction of the wages a man could earn. Periodic economic crises swept the nation, further eroding industrial wages and producing high levels of unemployment.

为这种政策将造成灾难性的结果。而且通货膨胀一旦开始，就会一发而不可收拾。他们主张，只有采用金本位制才能实现货币的稳定。

1893年发生的金融恐慌更加剧了有关这一问题的紧张讨论。南部和中西部的银行纷纷破产；失业率迅速窜升；粮食价格暴跌。严重的危机，再加上格罗佛·克利夫兰总统在解决危机问题时的无能，几乎导致了民主党的分裂。随着1896年大选的临近，民主党内的银币支持者纷纷转投民粹党。

在当年的民主党大会上，诞生了美国历史上最著名的讲演之一。威廉·詹宁斯·布赖恩这位来自内布拉斯加的银币维护者，在演讲中恳请大会不要“将人们钉死在金币的十字架上”。结果，他成了民主党的总统候选人。

民粹党推举的候选人也是布赖恩。展示两党能量的时刻就要到了。然而，尽管布赖恩获得了南部和除了加利福尼亚和俄勒冈之外所有西部地区的选票，但他却因在人口更为密集的北部和东部的工业化地区的失败而输给了共和党人威廉·麦金莱。

在接下来的一年里，国家的金融状况有所好转，其部分原因是在阿拉斯加的育空河一带发现了金矿。1898年发生的美西战争吸引了全国的注意力，人们不再关注民粹党问题。如果说民粹党运动已经结束，那么其倡导的理念却没有消失。在接下来的20年中，许多民粹党的主张都被写入了法律。

## 劳工斗争

19世纪，美国产业工人的生活非常不易。即使是好年景，工人的收入依然很低，同时工作时间长，劳动条件很危险。国家强大了，但工人并没得到任何实惠。在某些工业领域里，妇女和儿童在劳动大军中占了很高的比重，而他们的境况就更差，收入只是男工的一小部分。经济危机定期席卷全国，更降低了产业工人的收入，并使得失业率居高不下。

At the same time, the technological improvements, which added so much to the nation's productivity, continually reduced the demand for skilled labor. Yet the unskilled labor pool was constantly growing, as unprecedented numbers of immigrants — 18 million between 1880 and 1910 — entered the country, eager for work.

Before 1874, when Massachusetts passed the nation's first legislation limiting the number of hours women and child factory workers could perform to 10 hours a day, virtually no labor legislation existed in the country. Indeed, it was not until the 1930s that the federal government would become actively involved. Until then, the field was left to the state and local authorities. Few of whom were as responsive to the workers as they were to wealthy industrialists.

The laissez-faire capitalism, which dominated the second half of the 19th century and fostered huge concentrations of wealth and power, was backed by a judiciary which time and again ruled against those who challenged the system. In this, they were merely following the prevailing philosophy of the times. As John D. Rockefeller is reported to have said: "the growth of a large business is merely a survival of the fittest." This "Social Darwinism", as it was known, had many proponents who argued that any attempt to regulate business was tantamount to impeding the natural evolution of the species.

Yet the costs of this indifference to the victims of capital were high. For millions, living and working conditions were poor, and the hope of escaping from a lifetime of poverty slight. As late as the year 1900, the United States had the highest job-related fatality rate of any industrialized nation in the world. Most industrial workers still worked a 10-hour day (12 hours in the steel industry), yet earned from 20 to 40 percent less than the minimum deemed necessary for a decent life. The situation was only worse for children, whose numbers in the workforce doubled between 1870 and 1900.

The first major effort to organize workers' groups on a nationwide basis appeared with The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor in 1869. Originally a secret, ritualistic society organized by Philadelphia garment workers, it was open to all workers, including blacks, women and farmers. The Knights grew slowly until they succeeded in facing down the great railroad baron, Jay Gould, in an 1885 strike. Within a year they added 500,000 workers to their rolls.

同时，科技的进步极大地促进了生产的发展，也继续减少对技术工人的需求。然而，在1880年到1910年之间，迁入美国的移民达到了1800万之多，这是前所未有的数目，非熟练工人大潮源源涌入美国，并急于找到工作。

1847年，马萨诸塞州通过了国家第一个法案，将女工和童工的日工作时间限制在10小时之内。此前，美国从未出台过劳工法。事实上，直到20世纪30年代，联邦政府才开始积极参与劳工法的制定。在那之前，劳工问题一直由各州和地方政府处理。但是他们更关注的不是工人，而是富有的工业家。

19世纪后半期，自由放任的资本主义盛行，也促成了巨大的财富和权利的集中，其背后还有司法界的支持，不断对挑战这一体制的人做出否定裁决。在这方面，他们只是在遵循当时社会上普遍存在的哲学。就像约翰·D·洛克菲勒所说的那样：“大商业的成长过程就是一个适者生存的过程。”这就是“社会达尔文主义”。许多社会达尔文主义的支持者坚持认为，试图规范商业的做法就相当于抑制物种的自然进化。

然而，漠视资本的牺牲品，却是要付出沉重代价的。在当时的美国，有上百万人的生活和工作条件极差，终生也无法逃脱贫困的厄运。1900年末，美国在世界所有工业化国家中，是工伤致死率最高的国家。大部分产业工人仍然一天要工作10个小时（钢铁工业的工人要工作12个小时），然而，他们的收入所得还不到必要的最低生活保障的20%到40%。童工的生活状况就更糟，而在1870年到1900年之间，童工的数量增加了一倍。

1869年出现的劳工骑士贵族团是第一次全国范围内组织起来的工人团体。最初这是一个由费城制衣工人组成的、有着固定仪式的秘密社团。它向所有包括黑人在内的工人、妇女和农民开放。该团体最初发展缓慢，但在1885年的罢工中成功挫败了大铁路巨商杰·古尔德之后，便迅速壮大起来。一年之内，就有50万名工人加入了进来。

The Knights of Labor soon fell into decline, however, and their place in the labor movement was gradually taken by the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Rather than open its membership to all, the AFL, under former cigar union official Samuel Gompers, focused on skilled workers. His objectives were "pure and simple" and apolitical: increasing wages, reducing hours and improving working conditions. As such, Gompers helped turn the labor movement away from the socialist views earlier labor leaders had espoused.

Still, labor's goals — and the unwillingness of capital to grant them — resulted in the most violent labor conflicts in the nation's history. The first of these occurred with the Great Rail Strike of 1877, when rail workers across the nation went out on strike in response to a 10-percent pay cut. Attempts to break the strike led to rioting and wide-scale destruction in several cities: Baltimore, Maryland; Chicago, Illinois; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Buffalo, New York; and San Francisco, California. Federal troops had to be sent in at several locations before the strike was ended.

The Haymarket Square incident took place nine years later, when someone threw a bomb into a meeting called to discuss an ongoing strike at the McCormick Harvester Company in Chicago. In the ensuing melee, nine people were killed and some 60 injured.

Next came the riots of 1892 at Carnegie's steel works in Homestead, Pennsylvania. A group of 300 Pinkerton detectives the company had hired to break a bitter strike by the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers were fired upon and 10 were killed. The National Guard was called in as a result, non-union workers hired and the strike broken. Unions were not let back into the plant until 1937.

Two years later, wage cuts at the Pullman Palace Car Company just outside Chicago, led to a strike, which, with the support of the American Railway Union, soon tied up much of the country's rail system. As the situation deteriorated, U.S. Attorney General Richard Olney, himself a former railroad lawyer, deputized over 3,000 men in an attempt to keep the rails open. This was followed by a federal court injunction against union interference with the trains. When rioting ensued, President Cleveland sent in federal troops, and the strike was eventually broken.

然而，劳工骑士团很快就走了下坡路。它在劳工运动中的地位逐渐被美国劳工联合会（AFL）取代。AFL在前雪茄业工会官员塞缪尔·冈珀兹的领导下，把重点放在技术工人身上，其会员身份并不对所有人开放。他的目标“简单明了”，并和政治无关：提高工资，减少工作时间并且改善工作条件。这样，冈珀兹领导的工人运动就抛开了此前劳工领袖们支持的社会主义观点。

但是，工人追求自己的目标，而资本家又不愿答应工人的要求，这种局面终于导致了美国历史上最严重的劳工暴力冲突。第一次冲突是在1877年发生的铁路大罢工。当时为反对公司削减10%的工资，全国的铁路工人发起了大罢工。由于要阻止罢工，结果导致了大规模的骚乱，有几个城市遭到了严重的破坏。它们是马里兰州的巴尔的摩；伊利诺伊州的芝加哥；宾夕法尼亚州的匹兹堡；纽约州的布法罗和加利福尼亚州的旧金山。最后不得不在各个地点派驻联邦军队以阻止罢工。

九年之后，发生了希马凯特广场事件。当时召开的会议正在讨论芝加哥米高梅收割机公司一直持续的罢工，突然有人扔进一枚炸弹，结果在一片混乱中，有9人死亡，60人受伤。

接下来的暴乱发生在1892年，地点是位于宾夕法尼亚州霍姆斯泰德的卡内基钢铁厂。公司雇用的300名平克顿私家侦探前来阻止铁钢锡工人联合会组织的艰苦罢工，遭到枪击，结果有10人死亡。政府动用了国家卫队，公司开始雇用非工会工人，罢工失败。直到1937年该工厂才重新出现了工会组织。

两年之后，就在芝加哥城外的普尔曼官汽车厂，因削减工人工资导致发生罢工。在美国铁路工会的支持下，该罢工很快使全国的铁路系统陷入瘫痪。随着形势的恶化，曾做过铁路律师的美国司法部长理查德·欧尔尼授权给3000多人，试图令铁路开通。接下来，联邦法院下令禁止工会干涉铁路事务。随后便爆发了骚乱。克利夫兰总统派出了联邦军队，最终制止了罢工。



The most militant of the strike-prone unions was the International Workers of the World (IWW). Formed from an amalgam of unions fighting for better conditions in the West's mining industry, the IWW, or "Wobblies" as they were commonly known, gained particular prominence from the Colorado mine clashes of 1903 and the singularly brutal fashion in which they were put down. Openly calling for class warfare, the Wobblies gained many adherents after they won a difficult strike battle in the textile mills of Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912. Their call for work stoppages in the midst of World War I, however, led to a government crackdown in 1917, which virtually destroyed them.

## THE REFORM IMPULSE

The presidential election of 1900 gave the American people a chance to pass judgment on the McKinley administration, especially its foreign policy. Meeting at Philadelphia, the Republicans expressed jubilation over the successful outcome of the war with Spain, the restoration of prosperity and the effort to obtain new markets through the Open Door policy. McKinley's election was a foregone conclusion. But the president did not live long enough to enjoy his victory. In September 1901, while attending an exposition in Buffalo, New York, McKinley was shot down by an assassin. (He was the third president to be assassinated since the Civil War.)

Theodore Roosevelt, McKinley's vice president, assumed the presidency. In domestic as well as international affairs, Roosevelt's accession coincided with a new epoch in American political life. The continent was peopled; the frontier was disappearing. A small, former struggling republic had become a world power. The country's political foundations had endured the vicissitudes of foreign and civil war, the tides of prosperity and depression. Immense strides had been made in agriculture and industry. Free public education had been largely realized and a free press maintained. The ideal of religious freedom had been sustained. The influence of big business was now more firmly entrenched than ever, however, and local and municipal government often was in the hands of corrupt politicians.

In response to the excesses of 19th-century capitalism and political corruption, a reform movement arose called "progressivism", which gave American politics and thought its special character from approximately 1890 until the American entry into World War I in 1917.