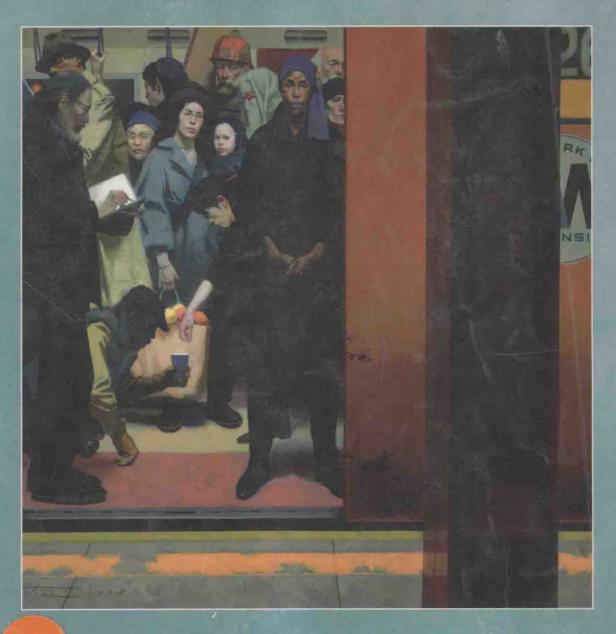


A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



OHN MACK FARAGHER - MARI JO BUHLE DANIEL CZITROM - SUSAN H. ARMITAGE

FOURTH EDITION

## OUT OF MANY

## A History of the American People

Fourth Edition

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# TO OUR STUDENTS, OUR SISTERS, AND OUR BROTHERS

## **PREFACE**

ut of Many: A History of the American People, fourth edition, offers a distinctive and timely approach to American history, highlighting the experiences of diverse communities of Americans in the unfolding story of our country. The stories of these communities offer a way of examining the complex historical forces shaping people's lives at various moments in our past. The debates and conflicts surrounding the most momentous issues in our national life-independence, emerging democracy, slavery, westward settlement, imperial expansion, economic depression, war, technological change-were largely worked out in the context of local communities. Through communities we focus on the persistent tensions between everyday life and those larger decisions and events that continually reshape the circumstances of local life. Each chapter opens with a description of a representative community. Some of these portraits feature American communities struggling with one another: African slaves and English masters on the rice plantations of colonial Georgia, or Tejanos and Americans during the Texas war of independence. Other chapters feature portraits of communities facing social change: the feminists of Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, or the African Americans of Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955. As the story unfolds we find communities growing to include ever larger groups of Americans: the soldiers from every colony who forged the Continental Army into a patriotic national force at Valley Forge during the American Revolution, or the moviegoers who aspired to a collective dream of material prosperity and upward mobility during the 1920s.

Out of Many is also the only American history text with a truly continental perspective. With community vignettes from New England to the South, the Midwest to the far West, we encourage students to appreciate the great expanse of our nation. For example, a vignette of seventeenth-century Sante Fé, New Mexico, illustrates the founding of the first European settlements in the New World. We present territorial expansion into the American West from the viewpoint of the Mandan villagers of the upper Missouri River of North Dakota. We introduce the policies of the Reconstruction era through the experience of African Americans in Hale County, Alabama. A continental perspective drives home to students that American history has never been the preserve of any particular region.

In these ways Out of Many breaks new ground, but without compromising its coverage of the traditional

turning points that we believe are critically important to an understanding of the American past. Among these watershed events are the Revolution and the struggle over the Constitution, the Civil War and Reconstruction, and the Great Depression and World War II. In Out of Many, however, we seek to integrate the narrative of national history with the story of the nation's many diverse communities. The Revolutionary and Constitutional period tested the ability of local communities to forge a new unity, and success depended on their ability to build a nation without compromising local identity. The Civil War and Reconstruction formed a second great test of the balance between the national ideas of the Revolution and the power of local and sectional communities. The Depression and the New Deal demonstrated the importance of local communities and the growing power of national institutions during the greatest economic challenge in our history. Out of Many also looks back in a new and comprehensive way-from the vantage point of the beginning of a new century and the end of the cold war-at the salient events of the last fifty years and their impact on American communities. The community focus of Out of Many weaves the stories of the people and the nation into a single compelling narrative.

Out of Many, fourth edition; includes expanded coverage of our diverse heritage. Our country is appropriately known as "a nation of immigrants," and the history of immigration to America, from the seventeenth to the twenty-first centuries, is fully integrated into the text. There is sustained and close attention to our place in the world, with special emphasis on our relations with the nations of the Western Hemisphere, especially our near neighbors, Canada and Mexico. In a completely new final chapter we consider the promises and the risks of American diversity in the new century. The statistical data has been completely updated with the results of the 2000 census. We have also incorporated new scholarship on the South, popular culture, science and technology, and the Cold War.

The fourth edition also includes an important new feature, Community & Memory, in which we examine the way American communities have attempted to commemorate and memorialize the past. Communities sometimes come to blows over different ways of looking at history. Arguments over the meaning of the past are not confined to the classroom.

#### SPECIAL FEATURES

With each edition of *Out of Many* we have sought to strengthen its unique integration of the best of traditional American history with its innovative community-based focus and strong continental perspective. A wealth of special features and pedagogical aids reinforces our narrative and helps students grasp key issues.

- Community and Diversity. Out of Many, fourth edition, opens with an introduction, titled "Community and Diversity," that acquaints students with the major themes of the book, providing them with a framework for understanding American history.
- Community & Memory. New to the fourth edition, this special illustrated feature, located at the end of Chapters 1, 4, 6, 9, 14, 19, 21, 25, 28, and 31, examines the ways in which American communities have attempted to commemorate the past and the conflicts that arise when the meaning of the past divides the members of a community. Discussion questions and annotated links to relevant Websites for each Community & Memory feature are found on the Companion Website for Out of Many.
- Maps. Out of Many, fourth edition, has more maps than any other American history textbook. Most maps include topographical detail that helps students appreciate the impact of geography on history. Many maps have been redrawn to better reflect a hemispheric perspective.
- Web Explorations. New to the fourth edition, Web explorations are tied directly up to two maps in each chapter and provide interactive exploration of key geographical, chronological, and thematic concepts in each chapter. Each Web exploration is found on the Companion Website for Out of Many: www.prenball.com/faragber, and on the Mapping American History CD-ROM, which is packaged with each copy of the text.
- Overview tables. Overview tables provide students with a summary of complex issues.
- Graphs, charts, and tables. Every chapter includes one or more graphs, charts, or tables that help students understand important events and trends.
- Photos and Illustrations. The abundant illustrations in Out of Many, 30 percent of them new to the fourth edition, include many that have never before been used in an American history text. None of the images is anachronistic—each one dates from the historical period under discussion.

- Extensive captions treat the images as visual primary source documents from the American past, describing their source and explaining their significance.
- Chapter-opening outlines and key topics lists. These pedagogical aids provide students with a succinct preview of the material covered in each chapter.
- Chronologies. A chronology at the end of each chapter helps students build a framework of key events.
- Review Questions. Review questions helps students review, reinforce, and retain the material in each chapter and encourage them to relate the material to broader issues in American history.
- Recommended Reading and Additional Bibliography. The works in the short, annotated Recommended Reading list at the end of each chapter have been selected with the interested introductory student in mind. The extensive Additional Bibliography provides a comprehensive overview of current scholarship on the subject of the chapter.
- History on the Internet. New to the fourth edition, sections in each chapter list useful Web resources related to the topics discussed, along with helpful comments describing the material on each site.

#### CLASSROOM ASSISTANCE PACKAGE

In classrooms across the country, many instructors encounter students who perceive history as merely a jumble of names, dates, and events. Out of Many, fourth edition, brings our dynamic past alive for these students with a text and accompanying print and multimedia classroom assistance package that combine sound scholarship, engaging narrative, and a rich array of cutting-edge pedagogical tools.

#### PRINT SUPPLEMENTS

#### Instructor's Resource Manual

A true time-saver in developing and preparing lecture presentations, the *Instructor's Resource Manual* contains chapter outlines, detailed chapter overviews, lecture topics, discussion questions, readings, and information about audio-visual resources.

#### Test Item File

The Test Item File offers a menu of more than 1,500 multiple-choice, identification, matching, true-false, and essay test questions and 10–15 questions per chapter on the maps found in each chapter. The guide includes a collection of blank maps that can be photocopied and used for map testing purposes or for other class exercises.

#### **Prentice Hall Custom Test**

This commercial-quality computerized test management program, available for Windows and Macintosh environments, allows instructors to select items from the *Test Item File* and design their own exams.

#### **Transparency Pack**

This collection of more than 160 full-color transparency acetates provides instructors with all the maps, charts, and graphs in the text for use in the classroom. Each transparency is accompanied by a page of descriptive material and discussion questions.

#### Study Guide, Volumes I and II

Each chapter in the *Study Guide* includes a chapter commentary and outline, identification terms, multiple-choice questions, short essay questions, map questions, and questions based on primary source extracts.

#### Documents Set, Volumes I and II

In revising the documents set for the fourth edition, the authors have selected and carefully edited more than 300 documents that relate directly to the themes and content of the text and organized them into five general categories: community, social history, government, culture, and politics. Each document is approximately two pages long and includes a brief introduction and study questions intended to encourage students to analyze the document critically and relate it to the content of the text. The *Documents Set* is available at a substantial discount when packaged with *Out of Many*.

#### Retrieving the American Past, 2003 Edition

Written and developed by leading historians and educators, this reader is an on-demand history database that offers 300 primary source documents (eight new to the 2003 edition) on key topics in American History, such as: Women on the Frontier, The Salem Witchcraft Scare, The Age of Industrial Violence, and Native American Societies, 1870–1995. Each module includes an introduction, several primary documents and secondary sources, follow-up questions, and recommendations for further reading. By deciding which modules to include

and the order in which they will appear, instructors can compile a custom reader to fit their needs. Contact your local Prentice Hall representative for more information about this exciting custom publishing option.

#### Many Lives, Many Stories: Biographies in American History

New to the fourth edition, this two-volume collection of sixty-two biographies in American history was written specifically to match the chapter sequence and themes of *Out of Many*.

Introductions, prereading questions, suggested readings, and a special prologue about the role of biography in the study of American history enrich this important new supplement. Available free when packaged with *Out of Many*. Annotated links to relevant Websites for each biography can be found on the *Companion Website* for *Out of Many*.

#### **Understanding and Answering Essay Questions**

Prepared by Mary L. Kelley, San Antonio College

This brief guide suggests helpful study techniques as well as specific analytical tools for understanding different types of essay questions and provides precise guidelines for preparing well-crafted essay answers. The guide is available free to students when packaged with *Out of Many*.

#### **Reading Critically About History**

Prepared by Rose Wassman and Lee Rinsky, both of DeAnza College.

This brief guide provides students with helpful strategies for reading a history textbook. It is available free when packaged with *Out of Many*.

#### Themes of the Times

Themes of the Times is a newspaper supplement prepared jointly by Prentice Hall and the premier news publication, the New York Times. Issued twice a year, it contains recent articles pertinent to American history. Contact your



local Prentice Hall representative for details.

#### Prentice Hall and Penguin Bundle Program

Prentice Hall and Penguin are pleased to provide adopters of *Out of Many* with an opportunity to receive significant discounts when orders for *Out of Many* are bundled together with Penguin titles in American history. Please contact your local Prentice Hall representative for details.

#### **MULTIMEDIA SUPPLEMENTS**

#### Out of Many Companion Website™

Address: http://www.prenhall.com/faragher

With the Out of Many Companion Website<sup>TM</sup> students can take full advantage of the Web and use it in tandem with the text to enrich their study of American history. The Companion Website<sup>TM</sup> ties the text to related material available on the Internet. Its many instructional features include learning objectives and study questions organized by the primary subtopics of each chapter, map labeling exercises, annotated links, document questions, and Community & Memory resources.

#### Mapping American History CD-ROM

This innovative electronic supplement takes advantage of the interactive capabilities of multimedia technology to enrich students' understanding of the geographic dimensions of history with animated maps, timelines, and related on-screen activities tied directly to key issues in each chapter of *Out of Many*.

#### Instructor CD-ROM for Out of Many

This new multimedia ancillary section contains a Power Point<sup>TM</sup> presentation directly linked to the text, as well as maps and graphs from *Out of Many*, lecture outlines, and other instructional materials.

## History on the Internet: Evaluating Online Resources

This brief guide introduces students to the origin and innovations behind the Internet and provides clear strategies for navigating the Web to find historical materials. Exercises within and at the end of the chapters allow students to practice searching the wealth of resources available to the student of history. This 48-page supplementary book is free to students when packaged with *Out of Many*.

#### **Course Management Systems**

As the leader in course-management solutions for teachers and students of history, Prentice Hall provides a variety of online tools. Contact your local Prentice Hall representative for details or visit www.prenhall.com.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the years it has taken to bring Out of Many from idea to reality and to improve it in successive editions, we have often been reminded that although writing history sometimes feels like isolated work, it actually involves a collective effort. We want to thank the dozens of people whose efforts have made the publication of this book possible.

At Prentice Hall, Charles Cavaliere, Senior Acquisitions Editor, gave us his full support and oversaw the entire publication process. Susanna Lesan, Editor-in-Chief of Development, edited the first and fourth editions of the book; without her efforts this book would never have been published. Jean Lapidus, Production Editor, oversaw the entire complicated production process in an exemplary fashion. Linda Sykes, our photo researcher, expertly tracked down the many pertinent new images that appear in this edition.

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Although we share joint responsibility for the entire book, the chapters were individually authored: John Mack Faragher wrote chapters 1–8; Susan Armitage wrote chapters 9–16; Mari Jo Buhle wrote chapters 18–20, 25–26, 29; and Daniel Czitrom wrote chapters 17, 21–24, 27–28. (For this edition Buhle and Czitrom co-authored Chapters 30–31.)

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#### xxvi Preface

Each of us depended on a great deal of support and assistance with the research and writing that went into this book. We want to thank: Kathryn Abbott, Nan Boyd, Krista Comer, Jennifer Cote, Crista DeLuzio, Keith Edgerton, Carol Frost, Jesse Hoffnung Garskof, Pailin Gaither, Jane Gerhard, Todd Gernes, Mark Krasovic, Melani McAlister, Cristiane Mitchell, J. C. Mutchler, Keith Peterson, Alan Pinkham, Tricia

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xxvii

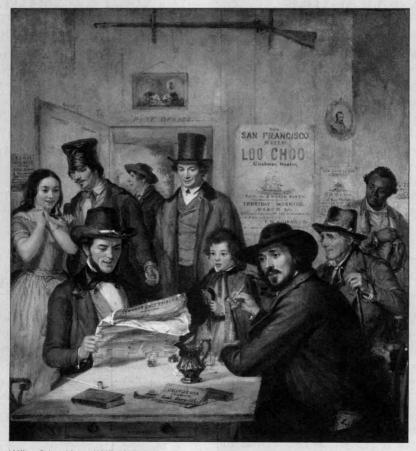
## COMMUNITY @ DIVERSITY

ne of the most characteristic features of our country has always been its astounding variety. The American people include the descendants of native Indians, colonial Europeans, Africans, and migrants from virtually every country and continent. Indeed, as we enter a new century the United States is absorbing a flood of immigrants from Latin America and Asia that rivals the great tide of people from eastern and southern Europe one hundred years ago. What's more, our country is one of the world's most spacious, incorporating more than 3.6 million square miles of territory. The struggle to meld a single nation out of our many far-flung communities is what much of American history is all about. That is the story told in this book.

Every human society is made up of communities. A community is a set of relationships linking men, women, and their families to a coherent social whole

that is more than the sum of its parts. In a community people develop the capacity for unified action. In a community people learn, often through trial and error, how to transform and adapt to their environment. The sentiment that binds the members of a community together is the mother of group identity and ethnic pride. In the making of history, communities are far more important than even the greatest of leaders, for the community is the institution most capable of passing a distinctive historical tradition to future generations.

Communities bind people together in multiple ways. They can be as small as local neighborhoods, in which people maintain face-to-face relations, or as large as the nation itself. This book examines American history from the perspective of community life—an ever-widening frame that has included larger and larger groups of Americans.



William Sidney Mount (1807–1868) California News 1850. Oil on canvas. The Long Island Museum of American Art, History and Carriages. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ward Melville, 1955.



Harvey Dinnerstein, Underground, Together~1996, oil on canvas,  $90'' \times 107''$ . Photograph courtesy of Gerold Wunderlich & Co., New York, NY.

Networks of kinship and friendship, and connections across generations and among families, establish the bonds essential to community life. Shared feelings about values and history establish the basis for common identity. In communities, people find the power to act collectively in their own interest. But American communities frequently took shape as a result of serious conflicts among groups, and within communities there has often been significant fighting among competing groups or classes. Thus the term *community*, as we use it here, includes tension and discord as well as harmony and agreement.

For years there have been persistent laments about the "loss of community" in modern America. But community has not disappeared—it is continually being reinvented. Until the late eighteenth century, community was defined primarily by space and local geography. But in the nineteenth century communities began to be reshaped by new and powerful historical forces such as the marketplace, industrialization, the corporation, mass immigration, mass media, and the growth of the nation-state. In the twentieth century, Americans have struggled to balance commitments to several

communities simultaneously. These were defined not simply by local spatial arrangements, but by categories as varied as racial and ethnic groups, occupations, political affiliations, and consumer preferences.

The "American Communities" vignettes that open each chapter reflect this shift. Most of the vignettes in the pre-Civil War chapters focus on geographically defined communities, such as the ancient Indian city at Cahokia, or the experiment in industrial urban planning in early nineteenth-century Lowell, Massachusetts. In the post-Civil War chapters different and more modern kinds of communities make their appearance. In the 1920s, movies and radio offered a new kind of community—a community of identification with dreams of freedom, material success, upward mobility, youth and beauty. In the 1950s, rock 'n' roll music helped germinate a new national community of teenagers, with profound effects on the culture of the entire country in the second half of the twentieth century. In the late 1970s, fear of nuclear accidents like the one at Three Mile Island brought concerned citizens together in communities around the country and produced a national movement opposing nuclear power.

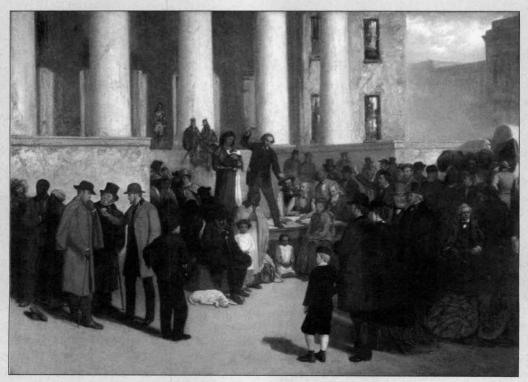
The title for our book was suggested by the Latin phrase selected by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson for the Great Seal of the United States: E Pluribus Unum—"Out of Many Comes Unity." These men understood that unity could not be imposed by a powerful central authority but had to develop out of mutual respect among Americans of different backgrounds. The revolutionary leadership expressed the hope that such respect could grow on the basis of a remarkable proposition: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The national government of the United States would preserve local and state authority but would guarantee individual rights. The nation would be strengthened by guarantees of difference.

"Out of Many"—that is the promise of America, and the premise of this book. The underlying dialectic of American history, we believe, is that as a people we need to locate our national unity in the celebration of the differences that exist among us, these differences

can be our strength, as long as we affirm the promise of the Declaration. Protecting the "right to be different," in other words, is absolutely fundamental to the continued existence of democracy, and that right is best protected by the existence of strong and vital communities. We are bound together as a nation by the ideal of local and cultural differences protected by our common commitment to the values of our Revolution.

Today those values are endangered by terrorists using the tactics of mass terror. In the wake of the September 11, 2001, attack on the United States, and with the continuing threat of biological, chemical, or even nuclear assaults, Americans can not afford to lose faith in our historic vision. The United States is a multicultural and transnational society. The thousands of victims buried in the smoking ruins of the World Trade Center included people from dozens of different ethnic and national groups. We must fight to protect and defend the promise of our diverse nation

Our history shows that the promise of American unity has always been problematic. Centrifugal forces have been powerful in the American past, and at times



Thomas Satterwhite Noble, Last Sale of Slaves on the Courthouse Steps, 1860, oil on canvas, Missouri Historical Society,

the country has seemed about to fracture into its component parts. Our transformation from a collection of groups and regions into a nation has been marked by painful and often violent struggles. Our past is filled with conflicts between Indians and colonists, masters and slaves. Patriots and Lovalists, Northerners and Southerners, Easterners and Westerners, capitalists and workers, and sometimes the government and the people. War can bring out our best, but it can also bring out our worst. During World War II thousands of Japanese American citizens were deprived of their rights and locked up in isolated detention centers simply because of their ethnic background. Americans often appear to be little more than a contentious collection of peoples with conflicting interests, divided by region and background, race and class.

Our most influential leaders have also sometimes suffered a crisis of faith in the American project of "liberty and justice for all." Thomas Jefferson not only believed in the inferiority of African Americans, but he feared that immigrants from outside the Anglo-American tradition might "warp and bias" the development of the nation "and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass." We have not always lived up to the American promise, and there is a dark side to our history. It took the bloodiest war in American history to secure the human rights of African Americans, and the struggle for full equality for all our citizens has yet to be won. During the great influx of immigrants in the early twentieth century, fears much like Jefferson's led to movements to Americanize the foreign born by forcing them, in the words of one leader, "to give up the languages, customs, and methods of life which they have brought with them across the ocean, and adopt instead the language, habits, and customs of this country, and the general standards and ways of American living." Similar thinking motivated Congress at various times to bar the immigration of Africans, Asians, and other ethnic groups and people of color into the country, and to force assimilation on American Indians by denying them the freedom to practice their religion or even to speak their own language. Such calls for restrictive unity still resound in our own day.

But other Americans have argued for a more fulsome version of Americanization. "What is the American, this new man?" asked the French immigrant Michel Crévecoeur in 1782. "A strange mixture of blood which you will find in no other country." In America, he wrote, "individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of

men." A century later Crévecoeur was echoed by historian Frederick Jackson Turner, who believed that "in the crucible of the frontier, the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics. The process has gone on from the early days to our own."

The process by which diverse communities have come to share a set of common American values is one of the most fundamental aspects of our history. It did not occur, however, because of compulsory Americanization programs, but because of free public education, popular participation in democratic politics, and the impact of popular culture. Contemporary America does have a common culture: We share a commitment to freedom of thought and expression, we join in the aspirations to own our own homes and send our children to college, we laugh at the same television programs.

To a degree that too few Americans appreciate, this common culture resulted from a complicated process of mutual discovery that took place when different ethnic and regional groups encountered one another. Consider just one small and unique aspect of our culture: the barbecue. Americans have been barbecuing since before the beginning of written history. Early settlers adopted this technique of cooking from the Indians—the word itself comes from a native term for a framework of sticks over a fire on which meat was slowly cooked. Colonists typically barbecued pork, fed on Indian corn. African slaves lent their own touch by introducing the use of hot sauces. The ritual that is a part of nearly every American family's Fourth of July silently celebrates the heritage of diversity that went into making our common culture.

The American educator John Dewey recognized this diversity early in the last century. "The genuine American, the typical American, is himself a hyphenated character," he declared, "international and interracial in his make-up." The point about our "hyphenated character," Dewey believed, "is to see to it that the hyphen connects instead of separates." We, the authors of Out of Many, share Dewey's perspective on American history. "Creation comes from the impact of diversity," wrote the American philosopher Horace Kallen. We also endorse Kallen's vision of the American promise: "A democracy of nationalities, cooperating voluntarily and autonomously through common institutions, . . . a multiplicity in a unity, an orchestration of mankind." And now, let the music begin.

## BRIEF CONTENTS

17
Reconstruction, 1863–1877 497
Conquest and Survival: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1860–1900 529
The Incorporation of America, 1865–1900 564
20 Commonwealth and Empire, 1870–1900 597
21 Urban America and the Progressive Era, 1900–1917 629
22 World War I, 1914–1920 665
23 The Twenties, 1920–1929 696
<ul><li>24</li><li>The Great Depression and the New Deal, 1929–1940 732</li></ul>
25 World War II, 1941–1945 768
26 The Cold War, 1945–1952 807
27 America at Midcentury, 1952–1963 838
28 The Civil Rights Movement, 1945–1966 869
29 War Abroad, War at Home, 1965–1974 902
30 The Conservative Ascendancy, 1974–1987 938
31 Toward a Transnational America, since 1988 974

## CONTENTS

Preface xxi Community & Diversity xxviii

## 17 Reconstruction, 1863-1877 497

AMERICAN COMMUNITIES: Hale County, Alabama: From Slavery to Freedom in a Black Belt Community 498

#### The Politics of Reconstruction 500

The Defeated South 500
Abraham Lincoln's Plan 501
Andrew Johnson
and Presidential Reconstruction 502
The Radical Republican Vision 503
Congressional Reconstruction
and the Impeachment Crisis 505
The Election of 1868 506
Woman Suffrage and Reconstruction 507

## The Meaning of Freedom 509 Moving About 509

The African American Family **509**African American Churches and Schools **510**Land and Labor after Slavery **511**The Origins of African American Politics **512** 

#### Southern Politics and Society 514

Southern Republicans 515
Reconstructing the States: A Mixed Record 515
White Resistance and "Redemption" 516
White Yeomen, White Merchants, and
"King Cotton" 518

#### Reconstructing the North 520

The Age of Capital **521**Liberal Republicans and the Election of 1872 **522**The Depression of 1873 **523**The Electoral Cricis of 1876 **524** 

The Electoral Crisis of 1876 524

Chronology 525 Conclusion 526 Review Questions 526 Recommended Reading 527 Additional Bibliography 527 History on the Internet 528