

Volume One to 1877

America

Past and Present



Divine

Breen

Fredrickson

Williams



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DIVINE/AMERICA-PAST & PR
06/12/90

2nd edition

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Covers (detail) and Title Page:
"Parade Grounds at West Point"
from the "Scenic America"
series by Jean Zuber, c.
mid-1830s, in the Diplomatic
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3456-VHJ-9190898887

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
America, past and present.

Includes index.

Contents: v. 1. To 1877—v. 2. From 1865.

1. United States—History. I. Divine, Robert A.

E178.1.A4894 1987d 973 86-15600

ISBN 0-673-18374-2 (v. 1)

ISBN 0-673-18375-0 (v. 2)

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Robert A. Divine, the George W. Littlefield Professor in American History at the University of Texas at Austin, received his Ph.D. degree from Yale University in 1954. A specialist in American diplomatic history, he has taught at the University of Texas since 1954, where he has been honored by the Student Association for teaching excellence. His extensive published work includes *The Illusion of Neutrality* (1962), *Second Chance: The Triumph of Internationalism in America During World War II* (1967), and *Blowing on the Wind* (1978). He is also the author of *Eisenhower and the Cold War* (1981) and editor of *Exploring the Johnson Years* (1981). He has been a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and has given the Albert Shaw Lectures in Diplomatic History at Johns Hopkins University.

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R. Hal Williams

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Preface

The second edition of *America: Past and Present* is a history of the United States that strives to achieve the same goal as the first—to tell the unfolding story of national development from the days of the earliest inhabitants down to the present. We emphasize *telling the story* because we strongly believe in the value of historical narrative to provide a vivid sense of the past. Weaving the various strands of the American experience, we have sought in each chapter to blend the excitement and drama of that experience with insights into the underlying social, economic, and cultural forces that brought about change.

In this new edition, we have incorporated many of the suggestions offered by those who have used the original text in the classroom. We have gone over each chapter carefully to sharpen the prose and the analysis, and to offer new insights and perspectives. In the opening chapters, there is a **fuller discussion of the history of American Indian cultures** designed to reflect a growing body of excellent scholarship dealing with Native Americans. The **chapter on Reconstruction has been significantly revised** to take account of recent scholarly work that is changing our perception of this crucial period, especially our sense of what happened in the southern states. A **new last chapter** deals with developments in the 1980s, particularly the nature of the Reagan presidency and its impact on the changing American economy.

In a clear chronological organization, we have used significant incidents and episodes to reflect the dilemmas, the choices, and the decisions made by the people as well as by their leaders. After the colonial period, most of the chapters deal in short time periods, usually about a decade, that permit us to view major political and public events as points of reference and orientation around which social themes are integrated. This approach gives unity and direction to the text.

As the title suggests, our book is a blend of the traditional and the new. The strong narrative emphasis and chronological organization are traditional; the incorporation of the many fresh insights that historians have gained from the social sciences in the past quarter-century is new. In recounting the story of the American past we see a nation in flux. The early Africans and Europeans developed complex agrarian folkways

that blended Old World customs and New World experiences—an evolution that established new cultural identities and prepared the settlers for the idea of political independence. People who had been subjects of the British Crown created a system of government that challenged later Americans to work out the full implications of social and economic equality.

As we move to the growing sectional rift between North and South, the focus shifts to divergent modes of labor utilization and conflicting social values that culminate in civil war. The westward movement and the accompanying industrial revolution severely tested the values of an agrarian society, while leading to an incredibly productive economic system. In the early twentieth century, progressive reformers sought to infuse the industrial order with social justice, and World War I demonstrated the extent of American power in the world. The resiliency of the maturing American nation was tested by the Great Depression and World War II, but despite setbacks, the United States overcame these challenges. The Cold War ushered in an era of crises, foreign and domestic, that revealed both the strengths and the weaknesses of modern America.

The impact of change on human lives adds a vital dimension to historical understanding. We need to comprehend how the Revolution affected the lives of ordinary citizens; what it was like for both blacks and whites to live in a plantation society; how men and women fared in the shift from an agrarian to an industrial economy; and what impact technology, in the form of the automobile and the computer, has had on patterns of life in the twentieth century.

Our primary goal in this edition as in the first has been to write a clear, relevant, and balanced history of the United States. Our commitment is not to any particular ideology or point of view; rather, we hope to challenge our readers to rediscover the fascination of the American past and reach their own conclusions about its significance for their lives. At the same time, we have not avoided controversial issues; instead, we have tried to offer reasoned judgments on such morally charged subjects as the nature of slavery and the advent of nuclear weapons. We believe that while history rarely repeats itself, the story of the American past is relevant to the problems and

dilemmas facing the nation today, and we have therefore sought to stress themes and ideas which continue to shape our national culture.

The structure and features of the book are intended to stimulate student interest and reinforce learning. Chapters begin with **vignettes** or incidents that relate to chapter themes stated in the introductory sections, which also serve as overviews of the topics covered. Each chapter has a **chronology**, **recommended readings**, **bibliography** (redone for this edition), and a two-page **special feature** on a topic that combines high interest and instructional value. More than one third of the special features are new topics—some arranged sequentially, exploring the Constitution and landmark cases, immigration, and historiographic issues. The very extensive **full-color map program** has been enhanced, providing even more integration of action and information. New charts and graphs relating to the economy, social change, and the Vietnam experience have been added. The rich, **full-color illustration program**, bearing directly on the narrative, advances and expands the themes, provides elaboration and contrast, tells more of the story, and generally adds another dimension of learning. The illustrations also serve as a minisurvey of American painting styles. Nine **picture essays** (three are new to this edition) explore diverse facets of American life, and a new **ten-page map series** at the front of the book with accompanying narrative and a chronology of parallel events highlights the sweep of American history. The augmented **Appendix**, with updated presidential, electoral, cabinet, and Supreme Court charts, and an added statehood admission chart, also features a new ten-column population chart and map.

A full complement of ancillaries is offered with this edition. The support package includes a **two-volume study guide** and a **new test item file** (both of these supplements are available in print and in computerized versions); an enriched **instructor's manual**; and a **new 100-map transparency and slide program** with an accompanying instructional outline for each map.

Although this book is a joint effort, each author took primary responsibility for writing one section. T. H. Breen contributed the first eight chapters from the earliest Native American period to the second decade of the nineteenth century;

George M. Fredrickson wrote chapters 9 through 16, carrying the narrative through the Reconstruction era. R. Hal Williams is responsible for chapters 17 through 24, focusing on the industrial transformation and urbanization, and the events culminating in World War I; and Robert A. Divine wrote chapters 25 through 33, bringing the story through the Depression, World War II, and the Cold War to the present. Each contributor reviewed and revised the work of his colleagues and helped shape the material into its final form.

THE AUTHORS

Acknowledgements

We are most grateful to our reviewers, whose careful and constructive critiques contributed greatly to the final product:

James Axtell
College of William and Mary

Eric Foner
Columbia University

Richard S. Kirkendall
Iowa State University

Walter LaFeber
Cornell University

John Murrin
Princeton University

Michael Perman
University of Illinois at Chicago

Michael S. Sherry
Northwestern University

Many of the following conscientious historians who reviewed the first edition also offered valuable suggestions that led to important improvements in the second:

Frank W. Abbott
University of Houston

Kenneth G. Alfors
Mountain View College
Dallas

Thomas Archdeacon
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Kenneth R. Bain
Pan American University
Edinburg, Texas

Lois W. Banner
University of Southern California

Thomas Camfield
Sam Houston State University
Huntsville, Texas

Clayborne Carson
Stanford University

Jerald Combs
San Francisco State University

John Cooper
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Nancy F. Cott
Yale University

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University of Minnesota

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Harvard University

John Kelley
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Portsmouth, Ohio

Herbert F. Margulies
University of Hawaii

Myron Marty
Drake University

John K. Nelson
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Nora Ramirez
San Antonio Community College

Ronald Walters
Johns Hopkins University

Frank Wetta
Galveston Community College

A large number of instructors, too many to name individually, who used the first edition were most helpful in reporting on the success of the text in the classroom. We heartily thank them all.

The staff at Scott, Foresman continued its generous support and assistance for our efforts. We appreciate the thoughtful guidance of Bruce Borland, who was instrumental in initiating the project, history editor Barbara Muller, who carefully paved the way for the development of a new edition, and developmental editor Charlotte Iglarsh, who helped us in many creative ways to augment and enhance the appeal of the text. Project editor, Ann-Marie Buesing deftly guided the new edition into production. Others of the Scott, Foresman staff who gave valuable assistance include photo researchers Nina Page and Leslie Coopersmith-Cohn, designer Kathleen Cunningham, cartographer Paul Yatabe, and production coordinators Victoria Moon and Cathy Mercante.

Finally, each author received aid and encouragement from many colleagues, friends, and family members. Robert A. Divine wishes to thank Lisa Divine and Barbara Renick Divine, Ricardo Romo for helpful suggestions, and Brian Duchin and Louis Gomolak for preparing many of the special features in the last nine chapters of the book. T.H. Breen wishes to thank John Williams, Robyn Muncy, E. Faber, Susan C. Breen, and Patty Cleary. Special appreciation goes to Chester Pach. George M. Fredrickson wishes to thank Dale Prentiss and Keith Schlesinger for help with special features and map research, and Hélène Fredrickson for encouragement and clerical assistance. R. Hal Williams wishes to thank Nan Coulter, Lewis L. Gould, Kathleen Triplett, Edith Duncan, Dorothy Friedlander, Pat Hurst, Susan Meyn, Lee Goodwin, and Linda, Lise, and Scott Williams. Special thanks go to Jane Yoder and John Nicholson, and to Henry L. Gray and Michael R. Best.

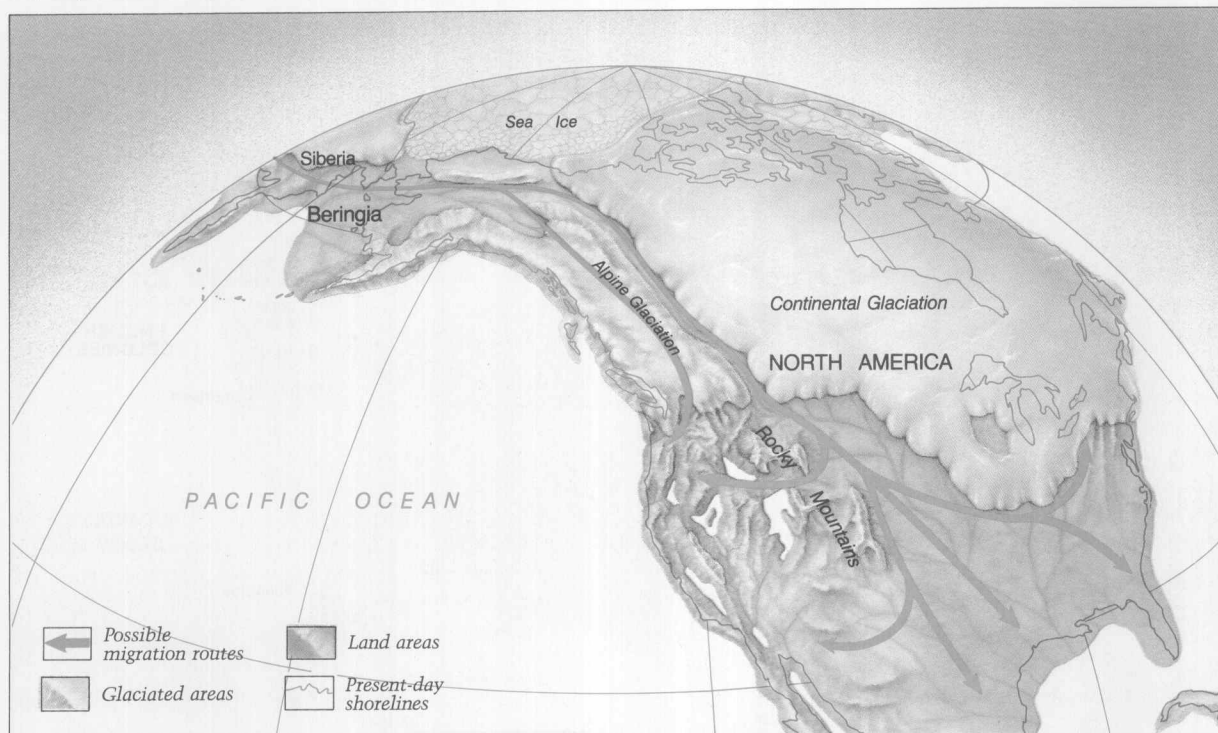
Map series with accompanying narrative and parallel events

The Growth of the United States

Routes of the First Americans xxiii

1600 to the Present xxiv-xxxi

Routes of the First Americans

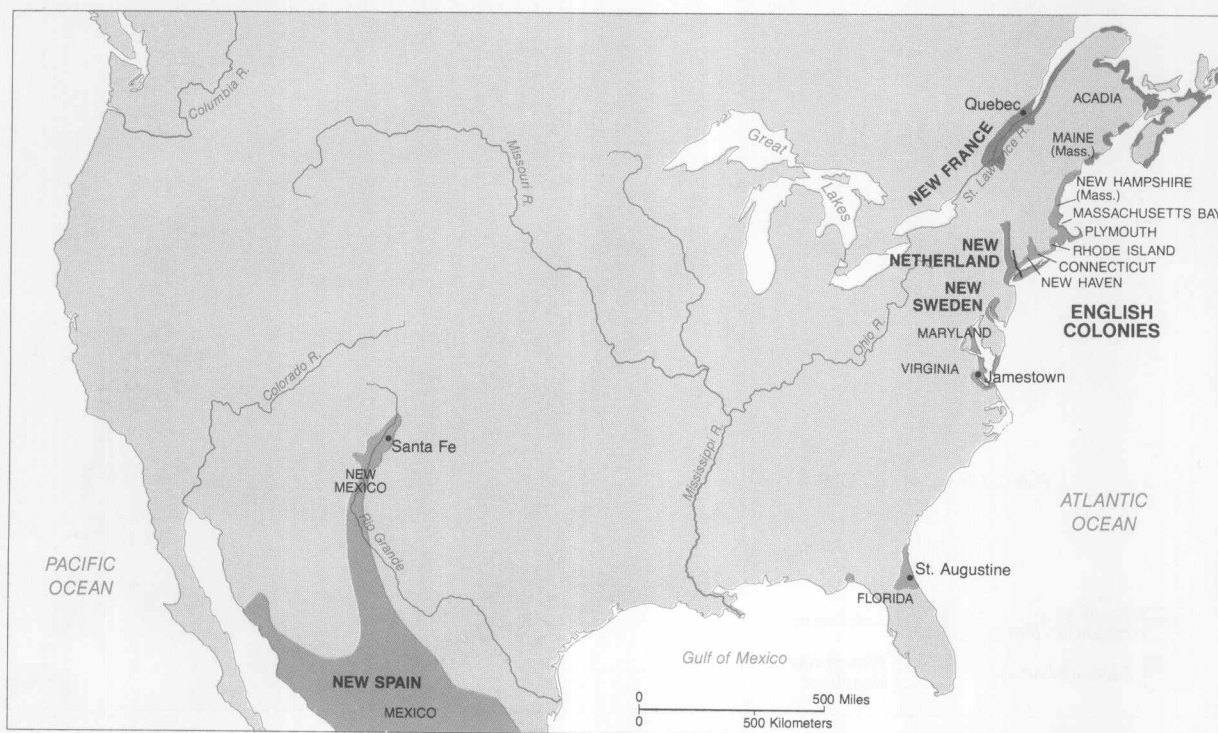


The peopling of North America began about 30,000 years ago, during the Ice Age, and continued for many millennia. Land bridges created by lower sea levels during glaciation formed a tundra coastal plain over what is now the Bering Strait between Asia and North America. In the postglacial era, the warmer climate supported the domestication and, later, the cultivation of plants. By the first century A.D. intensive farming was established in the south-western part of what is now the United States and had reached the East Coast. (Ch. 1)

Except for an abortive attempt by Norsemen in the tenth century, contact between North America

and Europe began with the Age of Exploration at the end of the 1400s. Settlements were founded in Mexico and Florida by Spain in the 1500s, and along the Atlantic littoral by France, England, Sweden, and Holland in the early 1600s.

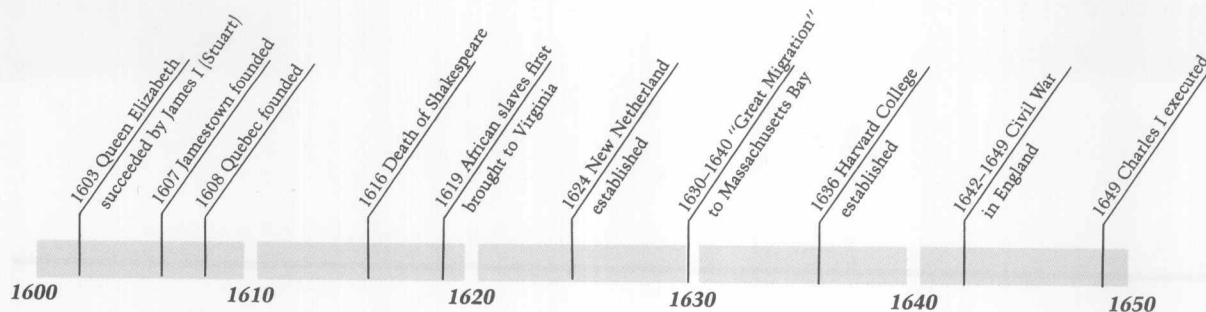
From the founding of the first colonies along the Atlantic Coast to the current global involvement of the United States, the dominant theme in American life has been growth. The pages that follow chronicle the growth of the United States from its colonial origins to the present in 50-year intervals, using maps, narrative, and a chronology of major and parallel events.

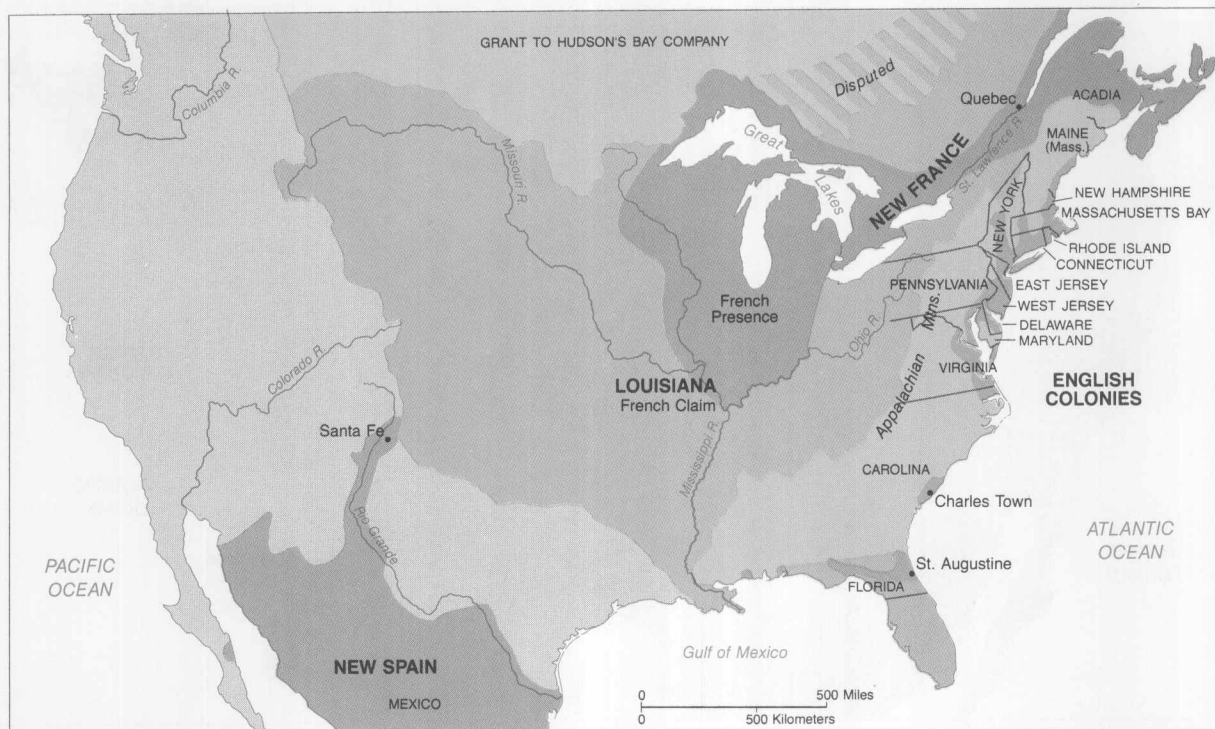


Following up on Columbus's discoveries, in the sixteenth century the Spanish conquered the Native American Aztecs and Incas to establish a vast colonial empire stretching from Mexico to Peru. The search for gold and silver brought Spanish explorers into the present-day American Southwest, where they established outposts in New Mexico in the early 1600s. Even earlier, Spain had begun the settlement of Florida with the founding of St. Augustine in 1565. Far to the north the French, attracted by the profits of the fur trade with the Indians, began settling the St. Lawrence valley in the early part of the century.

Between the Spanish to the south and the French to the north, English colonists founded a

series of scattered settlements along the Atlantic coast. Driven by the desire for economic gain or religious freedom, or both, colonists in Virginia and Massachusetts Bay endured severe weather and periods of starvation to establish small but permanent colonies. By mid-century, settlements had sprung up in New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. Along Chesapeake Bay, Maryland was founded as a place of refuge for persecuted Catholics. In the midst of these English colonies, the Dutch established New Netherland and took over a small Swedish settlement. By the middle of the century, the seeds had been planted for a future United States.

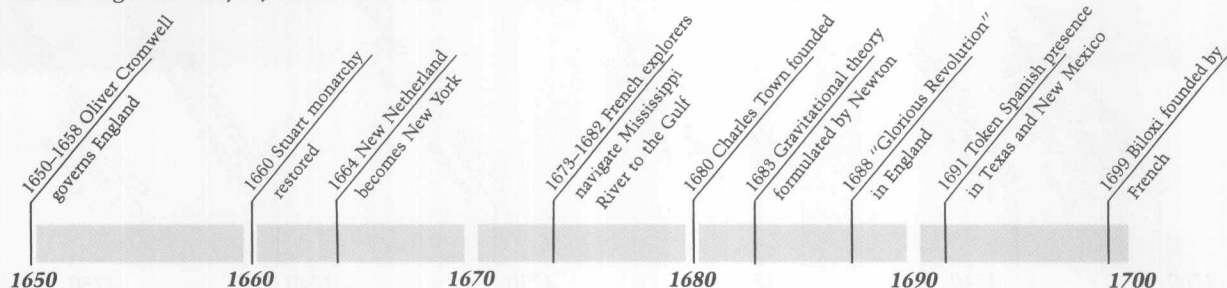


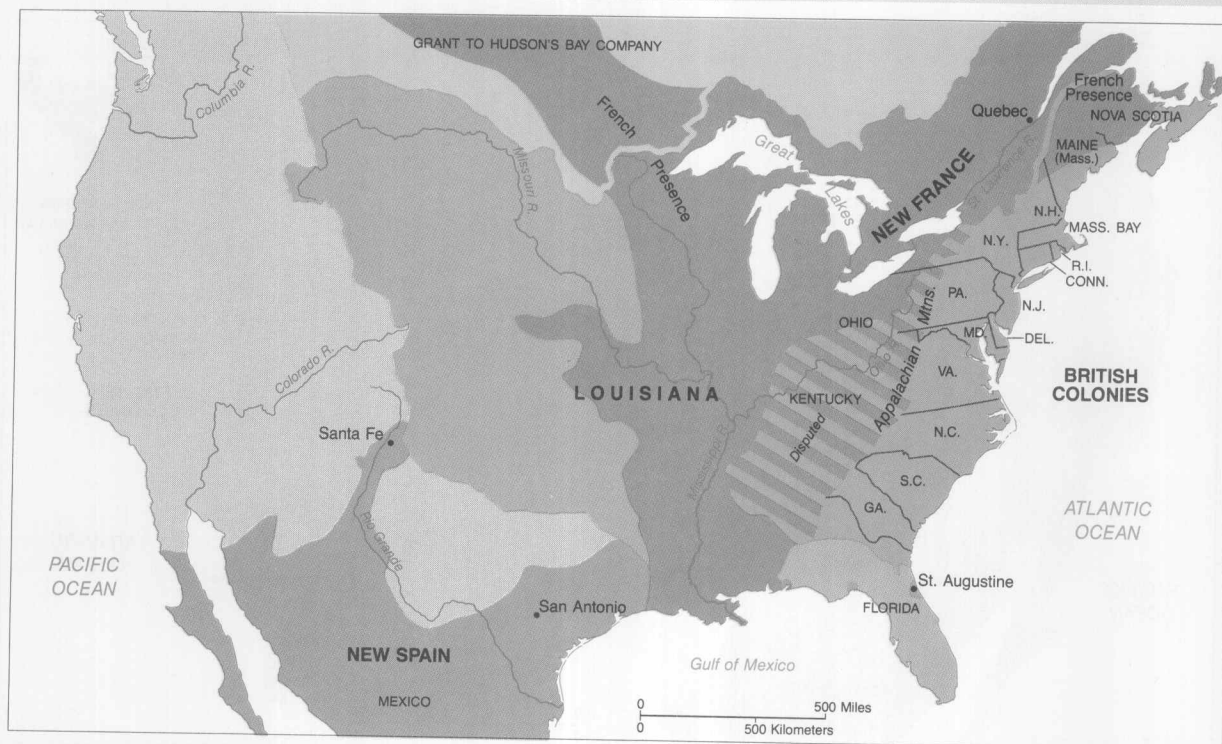


Having established a precarious foothold, the English settlements slowly began to grow and prosper. The later New England colonies received royal charters, separate from Massachusetts Bay. William Penn established Pennsylvania as a place of refuge for Quakers, but he welcomed French, Dutch, German, and Swedish settlers, as well as English and Scots-Irish. Nearby New Jersey became the home for an equally diverse population. New Netherland became New York, under English rule. In the south, English aristocrats founded Carolina as a plantation society populated in great part by settlers from the Caribbean island of Barbados. What was most remarkable about these English colonies was not their similarities but the differences between them. Bound together only by ties to the mother country,

they each developed their own character and culture.

Meanwhile, intrepid French explorers based in Quebec penetrated deep into the interior of the continent, driven on by the imperatives of the fur trade. Père Jacques Marquette navigated the Mississippi River and Sieur de La Salle journeyed to the Gulf of Mexico, laying claim for the King of France to a vast territory—all the lands drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries. This French initiative alarmed colonists along the Atlantic coast, many of whom believed that France planned to block English settlement on the lands beyond the Appalachian Mountains. About the same time, Spain established missions as a token presence in Texas. (Ch. 1, 2)

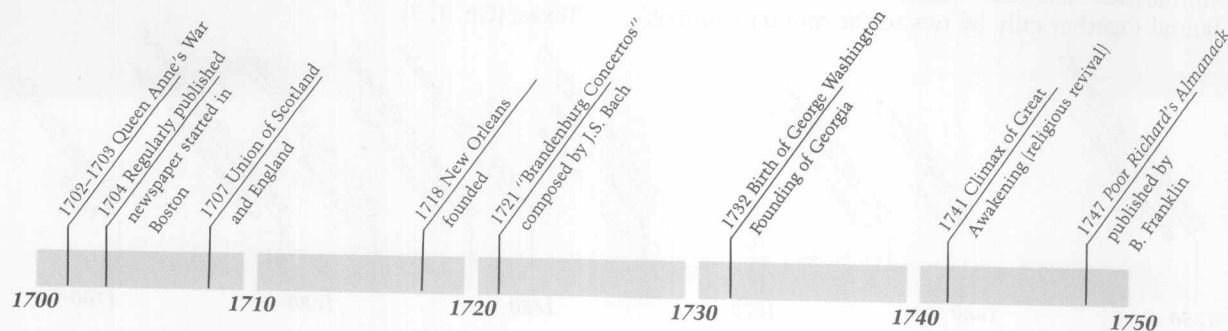


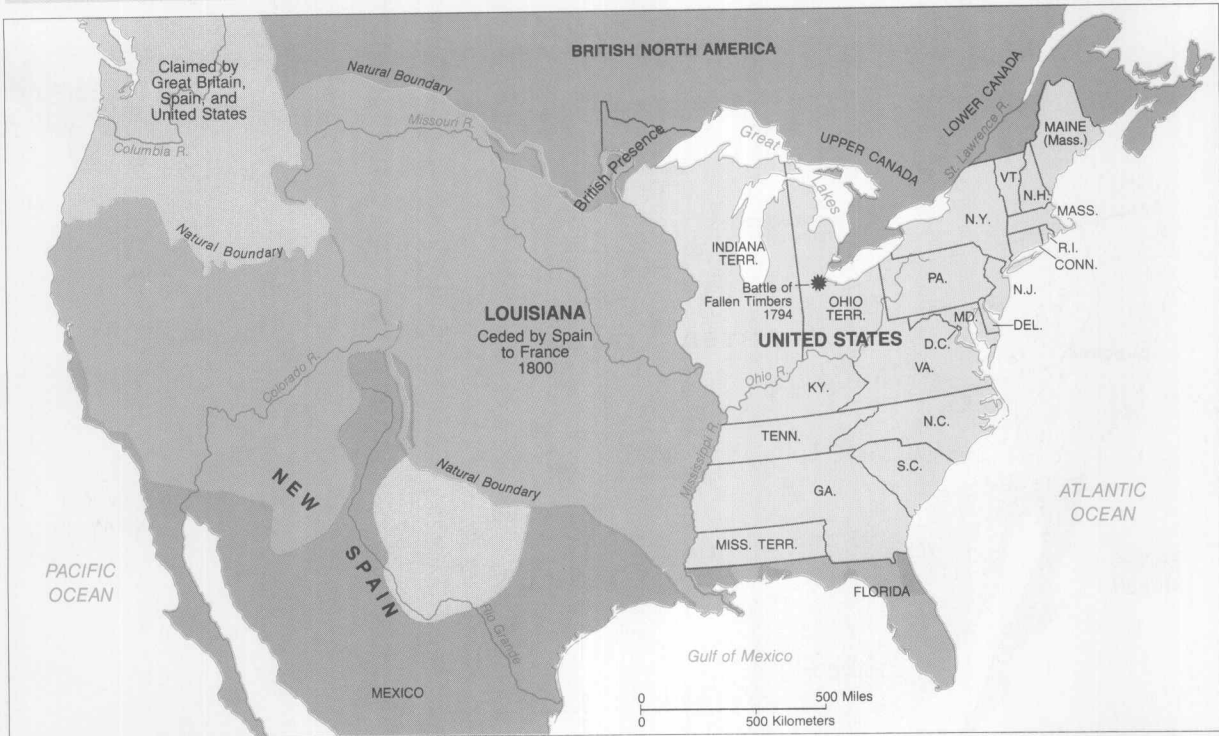


A century-long European struggle for empire between the French and the British led to military confrontation on this side of the Atlantic. Britain's victory in Queen Anne's War changed the map of North America. It gave the British control of the land bordering on Hudson Bay, as well as Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The French redoubled their efforts to develop Louisiana as a buffer against the westward expansion of the seaboard colonies. Concerned with the Spanish presence in Florida, the British founded the colony of Georgia in 1732 to guard the Carolinas, which had been divided in 1729 into the separate royal colonies of North and South Carolina.

By the middle of the century, the American

colonists were rapidly moving onto the lands between the Atlantic Coast and the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains. Descendants of the original settlers, along with newcomers from England, Northern Ireland, and Germany, filtered into the Shenandoah Valley to settle the backcountry of Virginia and the Carolinas. Other Americans contemplated crossing the mountains to occupy the fertile lands of Kentucky and Ohio. The French, fearful of a floodtide of American settlers, made important alliances with Indian tribes of the Ohio country to strengthen their position, and built a chain of forts to defend the area. Imperial rivalry for control of North America was approaching its climax. (Ch. 4)

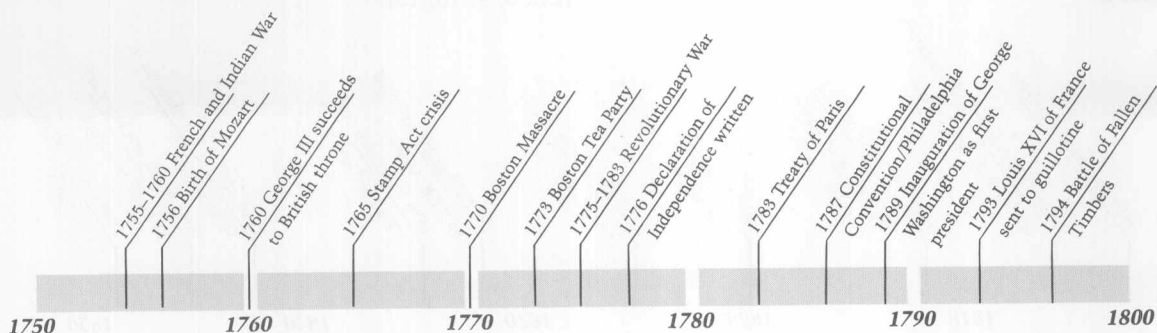


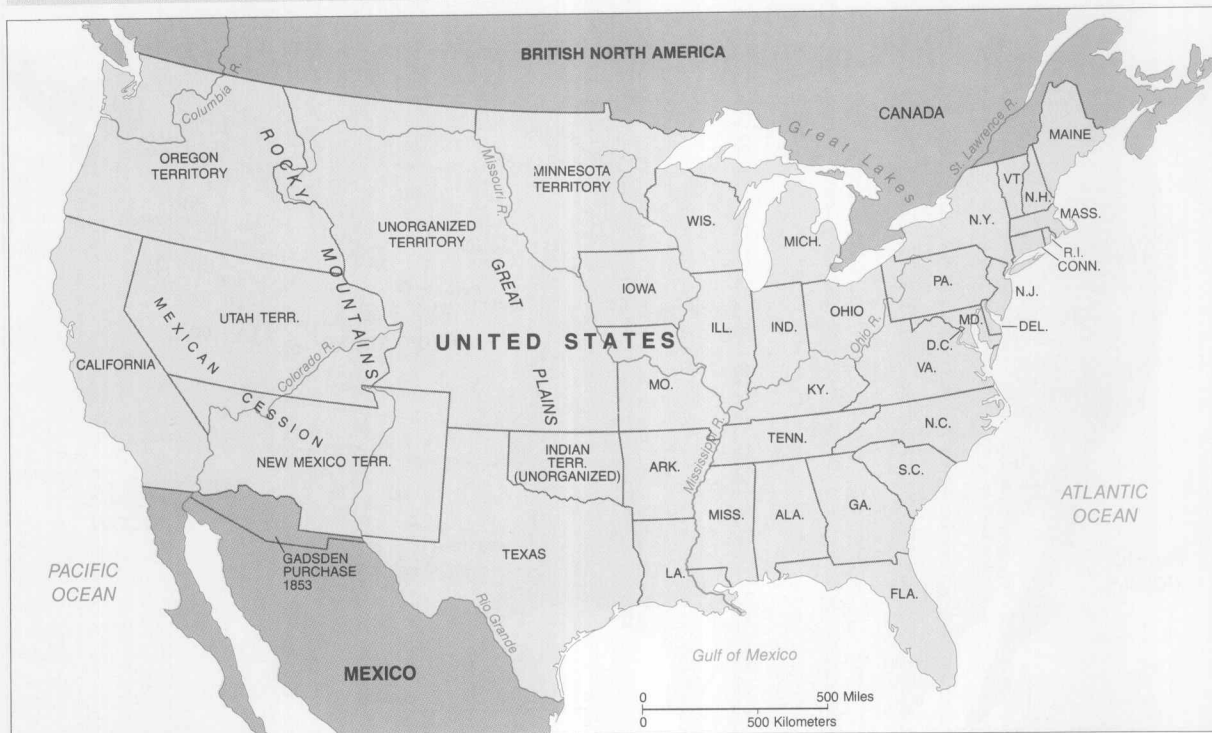


In the half-century between 1750 and 1800, the map of North America underwent extensive political change. First, the British defeated the French and drove them from the mainland of the continent. The Peace of Paris in 1763 called for the French to surrender Canada to Great Britain and transfer Louisiana to Spain. The subsequent British Proclamation Line of 1763, designed to preserve a fur trade with the Indians by blocking settlement west of the mountains, angered the colonists and contributed to the unrest that culminated in the Revolutionary War.

Independence stimulated the westward expansion of the American people. Even while the fighting was in progress, pioneers like Daniel Boone began opening up Kentucky and Tennessee to frontier

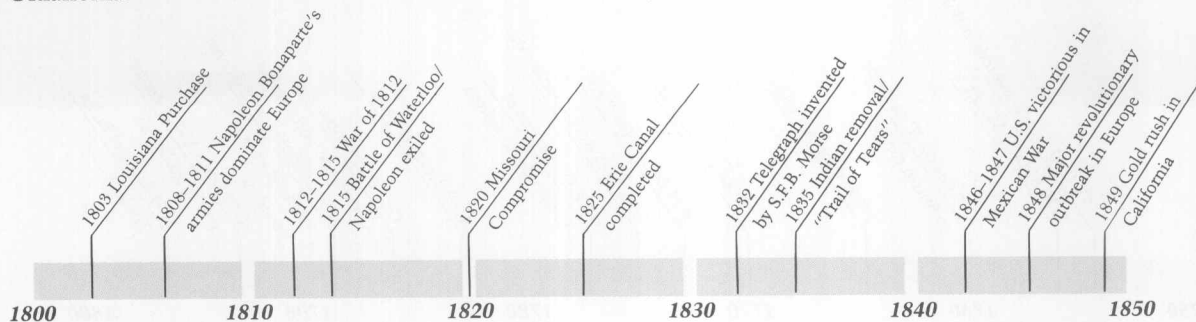
settlement. In the 1783 treaty that ended the war, Britain granted the United States generous boundaries, stretching from the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River on the north to Florida on the south, and westward to the Mississippi. But the young nation found it difficult to make good its claims to this new territory. Indians tried to hold on to their land, with British and Spanish encouragement. In the mid-1790s, however, diplomatic agreements with both nations and a crushing defeat of the Indians at Fallen Timbers, opened the way to American settlement of the land beyond the mountains. Kentucky and Tennessee became states in the union before the end of the century, and Ohio would follow just a few years later. (Ch. 4, 5, 6, 7)

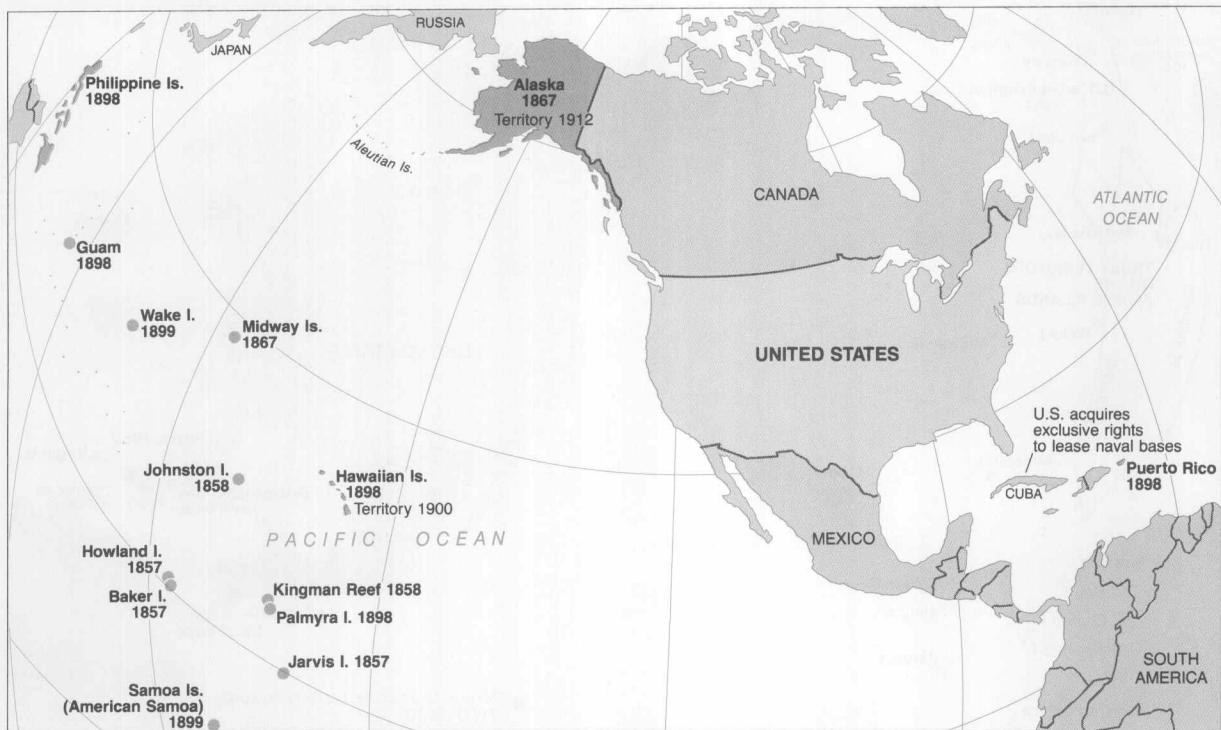




Over the next fifty years, the territory of the United States more than doubled. The purchase of Louisiana from France brought in the vast trans-Mississippi West, stretching across the Great Plains to the Rocky Mountains. From 1804 to 1806, William Lewis and Meriwether Clark and the expedition they led crossed the continent. Distance, fierce Indian resistance, and an arid climate delayed the settlement of the trans-Mississippi West, but American settlers poured into the area east of the Mississippi. The eastern Indians, their power broken in the War of 1812, were no longer able to resist the tide of settlement; they agreed to evacuate their ancestral homelands and in 1835 the last remaining holdouts, the Cherokees, were forcibly removed to Oklahoma.

The climax of western expansionism came in the 1840s, when the United States extended its boundaries to the Pacific. Proclaiming the nation's "manifest destiny" to occupy the continent, American settlers leaptfrogged over the inhospitable Great Plains and rugged Rockies to settle in California and Oregon. Diplomacy with Great Britain secured Oregon to the 49th parallel. Americans moved into Texas in the 1820s, broke away from Mexico in 1836, and joined the union in 1845—a move that led to war with Mexico in 1846. The American victory two years later gave the United States California and the New Mexico territory. The purchase of a small strip of southern Arizona in 1853 from Mexico rounded out the nation's present-day continental boundaries. (Ch. 8, 9, 10, 13)



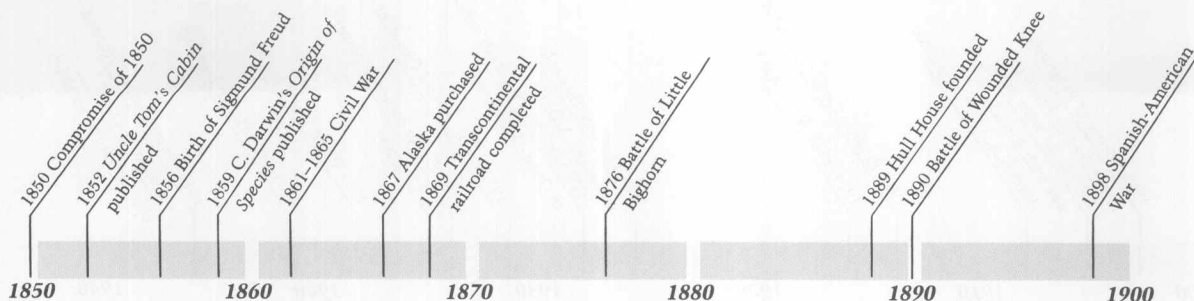


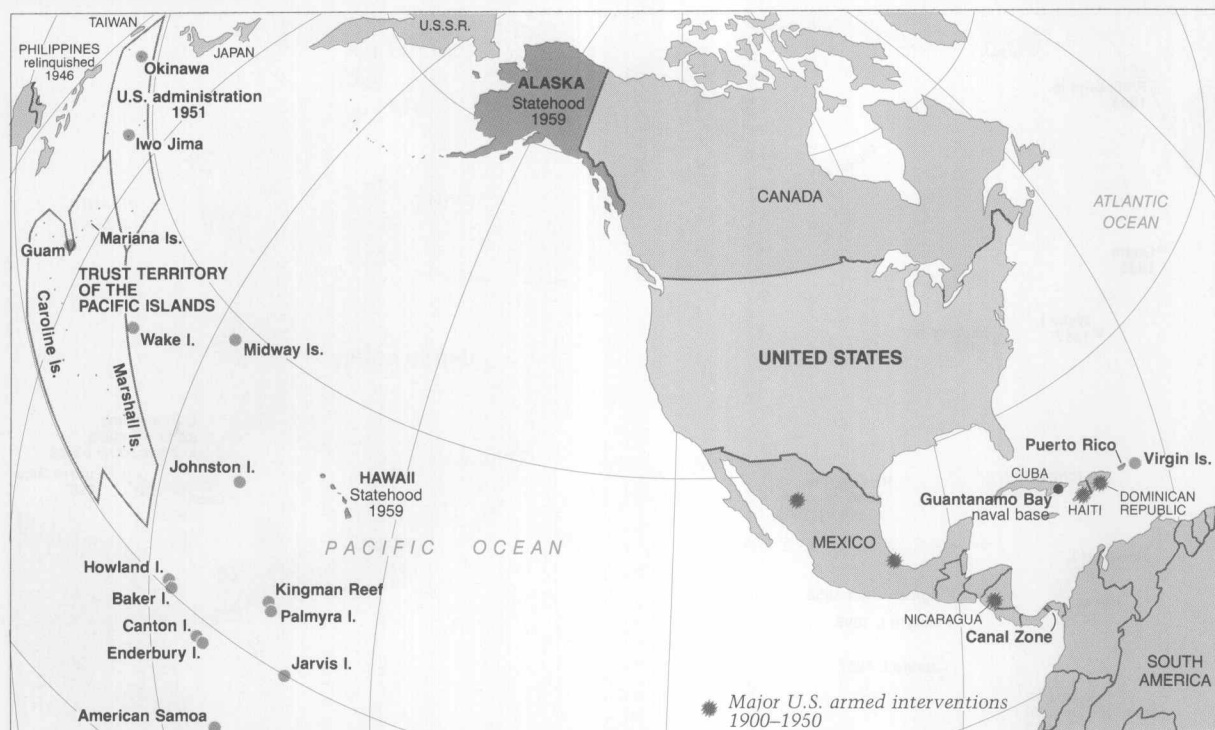
Newly acquired territories brought great opportunities and bitter sectional quarrels. The discovery of gold in California at mid-century was followed by a rush to the Pacific, but the question of extending slavery into the new areas set North against South. That controversy contributed to the outbreak of civil war and the end of slavery. In the three decades following the war between the states, Americans finally settled the last frontier.

Railroads linked widely separated regions when the first transcontinental line was completed in Utah in 1869. Prospectors flocked to the Rockies, drawn by the bonanza of mineral wealth; ranchers drove cattle through the grasslands of the great open

range from the Texas Panhandle to Montana; farmers, using new technology and methods to meet the semiarid conditions, increased the fertility of the soil of the Great Plains. In 1893, historian Frederick Jackson Turner proclaimed that the American frontier was disappearing, signalling the end of an era.

With the continent settled, expansionists looked overseas. William Seward added Alaska to the nation's territory in 1867. Three decades later, victory in the Spanish-American War led to an outburst of enthusiasm for empire. The United States acquired Puerto Rico and the Philippines from Spain, and annexed the Hawaiian Islands. (Ch. 14, 15, 17, 21)



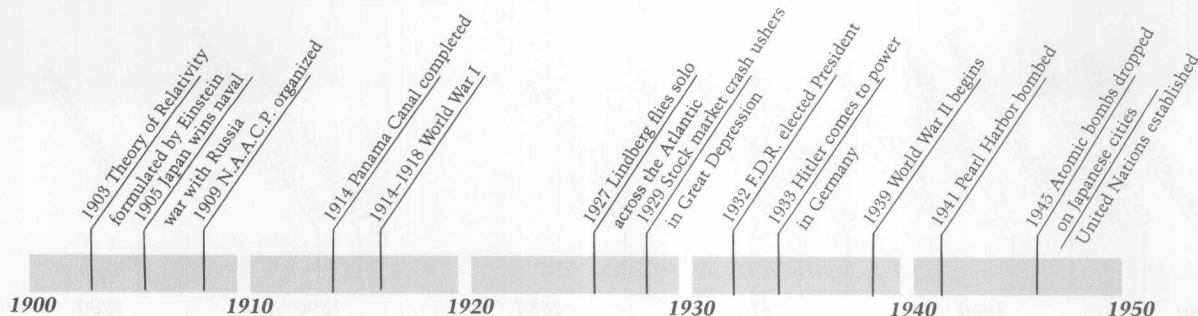


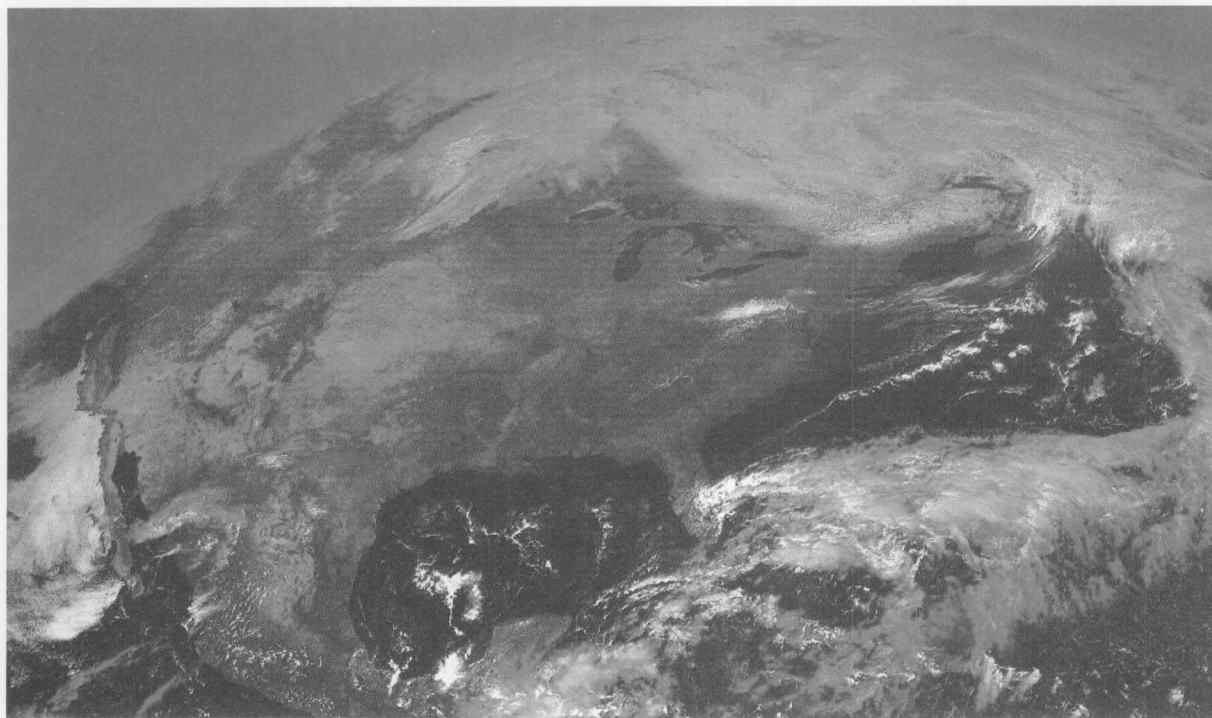
Taking an active role in world affairs led to recurring armed interventions by the United States in distant lands. In 1900, American troops took part in the international effort to put down the antifeign Boxer Rebellion in China. Over the next decade and a half, the United States intervened in several Latin American countries with armed force, most notably in Panama, where the United States acquired the Canal Zone in 1903, and in Mexico, with the six-month occupation of Vera Cruz in 1914.

America remained neutral for the first three years of World War I in Europe but finally entered the war against the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey) in 1917, eventually sending more than 2 million men to fight in France. At the war's end, President Wilson played an active role in

negotiating the Treaty of Versailles, even though the United States did not join the League of Nations created by the treaty.

Despite attempts in the 1920s and '30s to limit American involvement in the world, the 1940s found Americans fighting Germany and Japan around the globe. American forces waged World War II in North Africa, on many Pacific islands, and in Europe. Although the United States took the lead in forming the United Nations, the end of the war did not usher in an era of lasting peace. To the contrary, the United States and the Soviet Union faced off in a Cold War that led to the permanent stationing of American troops from West Germany to the Pacific Trust Territory. The Philippines gained their independence in 1946. (Ch. 21, 24, 27, 28)





The United States has taken part in two Asian wars since 1950, a stalemate in Korea and a long, frustrating, losing struggle in Vietnam in the 1960s and '70s. In the Middle East, European dependence on Persian Gulf oil and American support for Israel has made this region an area of vital concern for U.S. foreign policy.

Closer to home, Russian ties to Fidel Castro led to a dangerous showdown in the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. In the 1980s leftist revolutions in Nicaragua and El Salvador have focused American policy on Central America. There have been changes in the status of America's territorial possessions: Hawaii and Alaska became the forty-ninth and fiftieth states in the late 1950s; and Puerto Rico was granted commonwealth status in 1952.

The Soviet launch of Sputnik in 1957 opened up a new frontier for exploration—outer space. In 1969 came the world's most spectacular space achievement—American astronauts landing on the moon. Reconnaissance and communication satellites now send back information that makes arms control possible and transmit televised images instantaneously over great distances. Rockets launch unmanned probes into the solar system, gathering invaluable scientific data about other planets, while the space shuttle, despite setbacks, also contributes to the conquest of space. American horizons, once limited to the confines of thirteen struggling colonies, has expanded over four centuries to embrace the entire world and the nearer reaches of outer space. (Ch. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32)

