

VOLUME II: SINCE 1865



FOURTH EDITION

DAVIDSON · GIENAPP · HEYRMAN · LYTTLE · STOFF

# Nation of Nations

A NARRATIVE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC



NATION OF NATIONS: A NARRATIVE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC,  
VOLUME II: SINCE 1865, FOURTH EDITION

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# preface to the fourth edition

All good history begins with a good story: that has been the touchstone of *Nation of Nations*. Narrative is embedded in the way we understand the past; hence it will not do simply to compile an encyclopedia of American history and pass it off as a survey.

Yet the narrative keeps changing. As we constantly revalue the past, searching for more revealing ways to connect *then and there* with *here and now*, the story shifts, sometimes in subtle ways and other times more boldly. The fourth edition of this text has been significantly revised.

## Changes to the Fourth Edition

Most broadly, the changes in this edition arise from our conviction that it is difficult to understand the American past without linking its story to events worldwide. Half a millennium ago, the societies of Europe, Africa, and Asia first began a sustained interaction with the civilizations of the Americas, and the interplay between newcomers and natives, between old cultures and new, continues to this day. We still introduce each of the book's six parts with Global Essays and Global Timelines. But for this edition we have also woven into the text of every chapter additional shorter narratives underscoring the global links. These narratives are not separate special features. Sometimes only a paragraph in length, sometimes an entire section, they integrate an international perspective whether we are discussing the trans-Atlantic culture of the early slave trade, the rise of postal networks, the influenza pandemic of 1918–1919, or international influences on the student rebellions of the 1960s. As the title of the book's new final chapter makes clear, we have become a "Nation of Nations in a Global Community." This narrative of the 1990s views events through twin engines of social change: the recent wave of immigration, whose upsurge rivals the influx at the beginning of the century; and the global culture being wrought by the communications revolution of the Internet and the World Wide Web.

In addition, a number of structural changes help the narrative flow as well as reflect recent scholarship.

- A new prologue, "Settling and Civilizing the Americas," is devoted to the Pre-Columbian Americas. It highlights all major regional cultures of North America by focusing on the influence of Mesoamerican classical civilizations on North American societies.
- Part 4 employs a new chapter order. Chapter 18, following our treatment of Reconstruction, now covers the New South and the trans-Mississippi West. The chapter's narrative opening (on the Exodusters) provides a useful bridge between the two chapters. Chapter 19 is now "The New Industrial Order" and Chapter 20 is "The Rise of an Urban Order."
- The coverage of the 1920s and 1930s has been consolidated into two chapters, down from three. Chapter 24, "The New Era," takes the narrative through the Great Crash, and Chapter 25 has become "The Great Depression and the New Deal, 1929–1939."
- Part 6 (the post–World War II material) has been thoroughly revised to create a more coherent, thematic story—always a challenge in narrating the most recent years of the American survey.
- Chapter 28, "The Suburban Era," extends its political and foreign policy narrative through the Kennedy administration, ending with (and incorporating new scholarship about) the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. This approach delineates more clearly the arc of the first half of the cold war, culminating in the confrontation that brought the world the closest it has yet come to a full-scale nuclear war.
- Chapter 29—now titled "Civil Rights and the Crisis of Liberalism"—is more strongly focused on the civil rights crusade as the era's defining social movement. Coverage begins with the social and economic background of the 1950s

and is followed by *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Montgomery bus boycott, and the crisis at Little Rock—materials originally treated in “The Suburban Era.” New material emphasizes the grassroots elements of the crusade and provides coverage of *Hernandez v. Texas*, the 1954 Supreme Court decision that proved as pivotal for Latino civil rights as was *Brown v. Board of Education* for African Americans. Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society and the counterculture remain in this chapter, as does the material on the Warren Court.

- Chapter 30, “The Vietnam Era,” reorients its coverage of minority activism by focusing on the theme of identity group politics. Coverage of the feminist movement, the Equal Rights Amendment, and abortion rights has been moved to this chapter to join expanded coverage of Latino protests (Chavez and the farmworkers, Mexican American student activists) as well as the campaigns of Native Americans, Asian Americans, and gay activists.
- Chapter 32 now focuses, as its new name suggests, on the conservative rebellion. It covers the years from 1980 to 1992.
- And, as already indicated, Chapter 33 examines the renewed immigration of the 1980s and 1990s, the rise of the Internet and its social implications, and the influence of multiculturalism on the contested nature of American identity. Of course, the chapter also recounts the turbulent events of the Clinton administration, both foreign and domestic.

## New Pedagogy

Significant pedagogical changes appear in this edition. Building on the popularity of our marginal headings, we now include a succinct preview of each chapter’s themes as well as bulleted summaries, which make student review easier. These and other features of the text are described on page xx–xxv.

Taken together, these revisions are substantial; indeed, they entailed a good deal of elbow grease to put into place. But we believe that a text is unlikely to remain useful to its readers unless it strives continually to rethink the ways in which history is presented. For all that, we trust that the essential character of *Nation of Nations* remains.

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The division of labor for this book was determined by our respective fields of scholarship: Christine Heyrman, the colonial era, in which Europeans, Africans, and Indians participated in the making of both a new America and a new republic; William Gienapp, the 90 years in which the young nation first flourished, then foundered on the issues of section and slavery; Michael Stoff, the post-Civil War era, in which industrialization and urbanization brought the nation more centrally into an international system regularly disrupted

by depression and war; and Mark Lytle, the modern era, in which Americans finally faced the reality that even the boldest dreams of national greatness are bounded by the finite nature of power and resources both natural and human. Finally, because the need to specialize inevitably imposes limits on any project as broad as this one, our fifth author, James Davidson, served as a general editor and writer, with the intent of fitting individual parts to the whole as well as providing a measure of continuity, style, and overarching purpose. In producing this collaborative effort, all of us have shared the conviction that the best history speaks to a larger audience.

James West Davidson  
William E. Gienapp  
Christine Leigh Heyrman  
Mark H. Lytle  
Michael B. Stoff



# A Guided Tour of Nation of Nations:

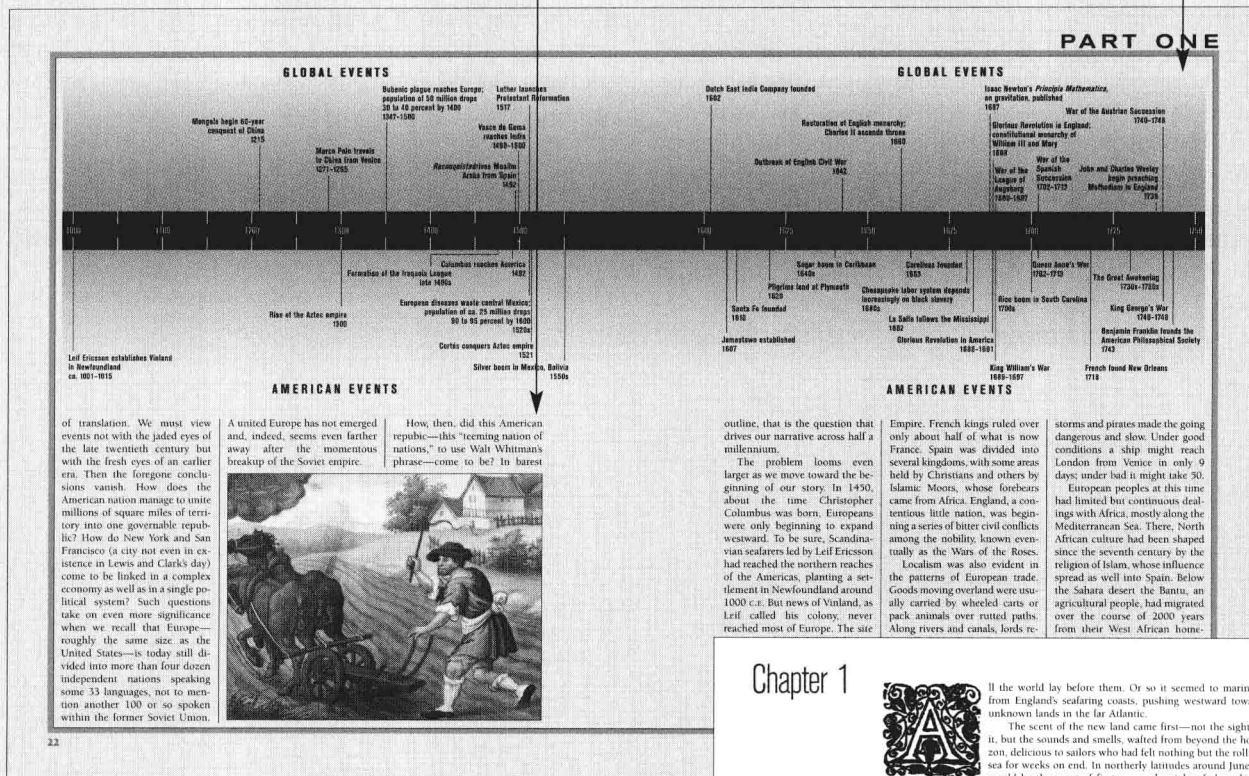
## A Narrative History of the American Republic, Fourth Edition

### Global Essay

Each of the book's six parts begins with an essay that sets American events into a global context.

### Global Time Line

Each global essay includes a time line comparing political and social events in the United States with developments elsewhere.



### Preview

A preview introduces each chapter's main themes.

### Chapter 1



If the world lay before them. Or so it seemed to mariners from England's seafaring coasts, pushing westward toward unknown lands in the far Atlantic.

The scent of the new land came first—not the sight of it, but the sounds and smells, wafted from beyond the horizon: delicious to sailors who had felt nothing but the rolling sea for weeks on end. In northerly latitudes around June, it would be the scent of fir trees or the sight of shore birds wheeling about the masts. Straightaway the captain would call for a lead to be thrown overboard to sound the depths. At its end was a hollowed-out socket with a bit of talow in it, so some of the sea bottom would stick when the lead was hauled up. Even out of sight of land, a good sailing master could tell where he was by what came up—“oily sand” or perhaps “soft worms” or “popplestones as big

## Old World, New Worlds

**preview** • In the century after 1492, Europeans expanded boldly and often ruthlessly into the Americas, thanks to a combination of technological advances in sailing and firearms, the rise of new trading networks, and, stronger, more centralized governments. Spain established a vast and profitable empire but at fearful human cost. A diverse Mesoamerican population of some 20 million was reduced to only 2 million through warfare, European diseases, and exploitation.

and raisins from the Spanish and Portuguese coasts. In return, West Country ports offered woven woolen cloth and codfish, caught wherever the best prospects beckoned.

Through much of the fifteenth century the search for cod drew West Country sailors north and west, toward Iceland. In the 1480s and 1490s, however, a few English men tried their luck farther west. Old maps, after all, claimed that the bountiful *Rhy-Brazil*—Celtic for “Isle of the Blessed”—lay somewhere west of Ireland. These western ventures returned with little to show for their daring until the coming of an Italian named Giovanni Caboto, called John Cabot by the English. Cabot, who hailed from Venice, obtained the blessing of King Henry VII to hunt for unknown lands. From the port of Bristol his lone ship set out to the west in the spring of 1497.

This time the return voyage brought news of a “new found” island where the trees were tall enough to make fine masts and the codfish were plentiful. After returning to Bristol, Cabot marched off to London to inform His Majesty, received 10 pounds as his reward, and with the proceeds dressed himself in dashing silks. The multitudes of London flocked after him, wondering over “the Admiral”; then Cabot returned triumphantly to Bristol to undertake a more ambitious search for a northwest passage to Asia. He set sail with five ships in 1498 and was never heard from again.

By the 1550s Cabot's island, now known as Newfoundland, attracted 400 vessels annually, fishermen not only from England but also from France, Portugal, and Spain. The trip was not easy. Individual merchants or a few partners outfitted small

Cabot discovers Newfoundland

The fishing season

## AFTER THE FACT

### Historians Reconstruct the Past

#### Tracking the First Americans

**Sometimes** the most ordinary circumstances end in the most extraordinary discoveries. One of those times was a morning in 1908 when George McJunkin, an African American cowboy scanning the range near Folsom, New Mexico, for stray cattle, dropped his gaze into a dry gully and spotted some large bones poking through the soil. Intrigued, he began digging and found a stone spear point lodged in the skeleton. He carried the lot back to his ranch, where they remained for the next seventeen years. Then McJunkin's curiosity somehow came to the attention of archaeologists, who identified the bones as those of a long-extinct form of bison that had ranged throughout the Southwest at least ten thousand years earlier. They realized, too, that only a spear-wielding human could have killed the bison.

That discovery reeled the scientific community, which for the previous century had confidently declared that Indians had first arrived in the Americas only about 4000 years ago. Shortly thereafter, in 1932, another shock wave followed when some amateur collectors digging at Clovis, New Mexico, unearthed more bones and spearheads suspected to be even older. Finally, in 1949, scientists established the great antiquity of both finds by using "radiocarbon dating," a method for measuring decay rates of the radioactive isotope of carbon, which exists in organic matter like bone and starts to break down immediately after an organism dies. Tests revealed that the Indians whose hunting grounds were now called Folsom and Clovis had been turning bison into bones between 10,800 and 11,500 years ago.

Those conclusions pointedly raised the question of exactly how much earlier the first American an-

cestors of such hunters had come to the New World. This tantalizing mystery puzzles (and divides) archaeologists and anthropologists, geologists and historians, right down to the present. Such men and women devote their lives to the hard work of digging in remote sites or exploring the ocean's floor, to the harder work of analyzing their finds in laboratories, and to the hardest work of all—trying to make sense of what it all means. Their efforts have yielded much new evidence and increasingly sophisticated techniques for understanding its significance, but many important questions still remain unanswered.

Even so, almost all of them agree on a number of points. First, whoever the first inhabitants of the New World were, they came, originally, from the Old



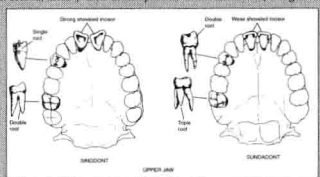
Arrowheads known as Clovis points found with the skeleton of a bison.



World: scientists have found no fossil remains to support the view that human beings evolved into modern men and women in the Americas. Second, these

first Americans were almost certainly fully evolved human beings, known as *Homo sapiens sapiens*—not their less developed forebears, the Neanderthals, or even earlier ancestors. These *Homo sapiens sapiens* excelled at surviving anywhere, armed as they were with the intellectual ability to plan and project and the technology to sew warm clothing and to stave food. About 35,000 years ago, these resourceful adapters came to predominate, edging out the Neanderthals, whose more limited skills

Southeast Asians floated across 55 miles of ocean on rafts to reach Australia some 35,000 years ago. Could their contemporaries in northeast Asia, using bark-



had mastered their settlements to the tropical and temperate parts of the world.

The new species multiplied rapidly, and the pressure of its growing population pushed many into settling in less hospitable regions—including the arctic frontier of Siberia in northeastern Asia. Indeed, a third point of general agreement among scholars is that the descendants of these migrants to Siberia continued the wandering ways of their ancestors and somehow, at some time, wandered into North America by way of Alaska. The research of physical anthropologists documents key biological similarities between Siberians and American Indians. Both groups share not only certain genetic variants that suggest their descent from common ancient ancestors but also distinctive formations of the roots and crowns of their teeth known as Sinedonty.

But how did Asians get to Alaska—a region now separated from Siberia by fifty miles of ocean known as the Bering Strait? It is not impossible that they sailed across, for some *Homo sapiens sapiens* could build boats sturdy enough to navigate about stretches of open ocean. Archaeologists have discovered that

## After the Fact: Historians Reconstruct the Past

The book includes six essays that demonstrate the methods used by historians to analyze a variety of sources, ranging from typescript drafts of presidential memoirs or handwritten notations in church records to military casualty estimates, public monuments, and even climate data derived from the analysis of tree rings.

## Global Coverage

A section of the narrative in each chapter discusses American history from a global perspective, showing that the United States did not develop in a geographic or cultural vacuum and that the broad forces shaping it also influenced other nations.

### 34 Part One The Creation of a New America

#### Political centralization

and land to rent. Wealth flowed into the coffers of sixteenth-century traders, financiers, and landlords, creating a pool of capital that those investors could plow into colonial development. Both the commercial networks and the private fortunes needed to sustain overseas trade and settlement were in place by the time of Columbus's discovery.

The direction of Europe's political development also paved the path for American colonization. After 1450 strong monarchs in Europe steadily enlarged the sphere of royal power at the expense of warrior lords. Henry VII, the founder of England's Tudor dynasty, Francis I of France, and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain began the trend, forging modern nation-states by extending their political control over more territory, people, and resources. Those larger, more centrally organized states were able to marshal the resources necessary to support colonial outposts and to sustain the professional armies and navies capable of protecting empires abroad.

#### Europeans, Chinese, and Aztecs on the Eve of Contact

It was the growing power of monarchs as well as commercial and technological development that allowed early modern Europeans to establish permanent settlements—even empires—in another world lying an ocean away. But that conclusion raises an intriguing question: why didn't China, the most advanced civilization of the early modern world, engage in expansion and colonization? Or for that matter, if events had fallen out a little differently, why didn't the Aztecs discover and colonize Europe?

The Chinese undoubtedly possessed the capability to navigate the world's oceans and to establish overseas settlements. A succession of Ming dynasty emperors and their efficient bureaucrats marshaled China's resources to develop a thriving ship-building industry and trade with ports throughout southeast Asia and India. By the opening of the fifteenth century, the Chinese seemed poised for even greater maritime exploits. Seven times between 1405 and 1433, its "treasure fleet"—300 ships manned by 28,000 sailors and commanded by Zheng He (pronounced *Jung Huh*)—unfurled their red silk sails off the south China coast and sailed as far as the kingdoms of east Africa. The treasure fleet's largest craft were nine-masted junks measuring 400 feet long that boasted multiple decks and luxury cabins with balconies. By contrast, when Columbus's three ships set sail to find the Indies, the biggest was a mere 85 feet long, and the crew aboard all three totaled just 90 men.

#### Why China did not explore farther

Zheng He could have been another Columbus, given the resources available to him. But the Chinese had little incentive either to seek out the world's trade or to conquer and colonize new territories. Unlike western Europeans, they faced no shortages of land or food, and they led the world in producing luxury goods. On the other hand, China faced the threat of attack from the Mongols on its northwestern border—a threat so pressing that by 1433 the Ming emperor mobilized all the country's wealth and warriors to fend it off. Thus ended the great era of Chinese maritime expansion. All foreign trade was suspended, and Zheng He's treasure fleet, which would remain the world's most impressive navy until the beginning of the twentieth century, rotted away in the ports of southern China.

As for the Aztecs, their cultural development paralleled that of early modern Europe in many ways. Both societies were predominantly rural, with most inhabitants living in small villages and engaging in agriculture. In both places, merchants and specialized craftsmen clustered in cities, organized themselves into guilds, and clamored for protection from the government. Aztec noble and priestly classes, like those in Europe, took the lead in politics and religion, demanding tribute from the common people. Finally, both societies were robustly expansionist, bent on bringing new lands and peoples under their control.

## Daily Lives

### POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT The Vaudeville show

It looked like a palace or some high-toned concert hall. Patrons walked through a richly ornamented arched gateway to gold-domed, marble ticket booths. Ushers guided them through a stately lobby cushioned with velvet carpets. Large mirrors and brass ornaments hung on brocaded walls. There were "gentlemen's smoking and reading rooms" and suites with dressing cases and free toilettries for the ladies. The house seats were thick and comfortable and positioned well back from the stage. Thousands of electrical fixtures set the place aglow. When the lights dimmed, the audience sank into polite silence as the show began.

Benjamin Franklin Keith, who had worked in circuses, tent shows, and dime museums, opened the New Theatre in Boston in 1884. Seeing housewives with children as a source of new profits, resourceful theater owners such as Keith had cleaned up the bawdy variety acts of saloons and music halls, borrowed the animal and ac-

robat acts from circuses and Wild West shows and the comedy acts of minstrel shows, and moved them to plush surroundings. They called the new shows "vaudeville," after the French "spécies de vaudeville" developed in eighteenth-century street fairs. In 1881 Tony Pastor opened the first vaudeville theater on Fourteenth Street in New York City. Within a decade more elegant palaces like Keith's New Theatre were opening in cities across the country.

For anywhere from a dime to two dollars, a customer could see up to nine acts—singers, jugglers, acrobats, magicians, trained ani-

mals, and comics. The mix of performers reflected the urban tempo and new urban tastes. Skits often drew on the experience of immigrants, and early comedy teams had names like "The Sport and the Jew" and "Two Funny Sauerkrauts." Divided into acts that came in rapid-fire succession, "continuous shows" ran one after another, from early morning until late at night. "After breakfast go to Proctor's," trumpeted one advertisement for F. F. Proctor's vaudeville show, "after Proctor's go to bed."

Saloon music halls had catered to a rowdy all-male, working-class clientele, who smoke, drank,



Balconies at vaudeville shows, like this one depicted by Charles Dana Gibson, attracted a wide variety of customers. Most seats cost \$1, and theater owners scheduled performances from morning until night.

stomped, and jeered at the players. Vaudeville was aimed at middle-class and wealthier working-class families who could no longer afford "legitimate" theater and light opera. Keith worked diligently to make each of his theaters "as 'homelike' an amusement resort as it was possible to make it." Backstage he locked signs warning performers not to say "alibi" or "son-of-a-gun" or "hully-gee" . . . unless you want to be canceled peremptorily." In the interest of good taste, all his chorus girls wore stockings. Within a few years Keith was producing the kind of show, as one comedian put it, "to which any child could bring his parents."

The audience, too, was instructed on proper behavior. No liquor was served. No cigars or cigarettes were permitted. Printed notices directed patrons to "kindly avoid the stamping of feet and pounding of canes on the floor . . . Please don't talk during acts, as it annoys those about you, and prevents a perfect hearing of the entertainment."

Enjoying its heyday from 1880 to 1920, vaudeville became big business. Nearly one in five city dwellers went to a show once every seven days. Headliners earned \$1,000 a week, theaters \$20,000.

Owners like Keith and Edward Albee merged their operations into gigantic circuits. By the time of Keith's death in 1914, the Keith-Albee circuit had built an empire of 29 theaters in more than seven cities.

Vaudeville became middle-class mass entertainment. Moderate and moral, it furnished cheap recreation that also reinforced gentile values. Skits encouraged audiences to pursue success through hard work. An emerging star system made American heroes out of performers like W. C. Rogers and George M. Cohan and American models out of Fanny Brice and Mae West. Ethnic comics defused tensions among immigrants with spoofs that exaggerated stereotypes and stressed the common foibles of all humanity. And theaters learned how to behave. Order and decorum replaced the boisterous atmosphere of saloons and music halls. Vaudeville audiences adopted the middle-class ideal of behavior—passive and polite. Americans were learning to defer to experts in the realms of public conduct and popular entertainment, as elsewhere in the new urban, industrial society.

ambivalent about this process. Cities beckoned migrants from the countryside and immigrants from abroad with unparalleled opportunities for work and pleasure. The playwright Israel Zangwill celebrated the city's transforming power in his 1908 Broadway hit *The Melting Pot*. "The real American," one of his characters explained, "is only in the Crucible. I tell you—he will be the fusion of all the races, the coming superman."

Where Zangwill saw a melting pot with all its promise for a new super race, champions of traditional American values, such as the widely read Protestant minister Josiah Strong, saw "a commingled mass of venomous filth and seething sin, of

lust, of drunkenness, of pauperism, and crime of every sort." Both the champions and the critics of the late nineteenth century had a point. Corruption, crudeness, and disorder were no more or less a part of the cities than the vibrancy, energy, and opportunities that drew people to them. The gap between rich and poor yawned most widely in cities. As social critic Henry George observed, progress and poverty seemed to go hand in hand.

In the end moral judgments, whether pro or con, missed the point. Cities stood at the hubs of the new industrial order. All Americans, whatever they thought about the new urban world, had to search for ways to make that world work.

664

665

## Daily Lives

Every chapter contains an essay focusing on one of five themes that give insight into the lives of ordinary Americans: clothing and fashion; time and travel; food, drink, and drugs; public space/private space; and popular entertainment.

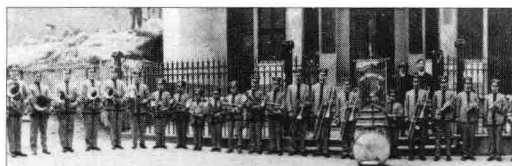
## Marginal Headings

Succinct notes in the margins highlight key terms and concepts.

## Counterpoint

Each chapter incorporates a discussion that explores contrasting ways historians have interpreted one of the chapter's central topics. These discussions are integrated into the narrative to emphasize that such debates are an inevitable and productive part of writing history.

654 Part Four The United States in an Industrial Age



Entertainment in immigrant neighborhoods often resulted in a cross-fertilization of cultures. The New Cathay Boys Club Band, a marching band of Chinese-Americans (shown here), was formed in San Francisco's Chinatown in 1911. It was inspired by the Columbia Park Boys Band of Italians from nearby North Beach and played American music only.

Special situation of the Chinese

The Chinese were an exception to the pattern. The ban on the immigration of Chinese laborers in the 1880s (page 651) had frozen the sex ratio of Chinese communities into a curious imbalance. Like other immigrants, most Chinese newcomers had been single men. In the wake of the ban, those in the United States could they marry whites. With few women, Chinese communities suffered from high rates of prostitution, large numbers of gangs and secret societies, and low birth totals. When the San Francisco earthquake and fire destroyed birth records in 1906, resourceful Chinese immigrants created "paper sons" (and less often "paper daughters") by forging American birth certificates and claiming their China-born children as American citizens.

counterpoint

The "New" Immigrants: Who Came and Why?

With so many immigrants coming to America, it is no wonder that historians have disagreed over who came and why. Early historians of immigration focused on those arriving in the United States. These newcomers are depicted as an undifferentiated mass of European peasants, striking out on their own, often poverty-stricken, sometimes persecuted, sometimes eager for opportunity. The march of so many immigrants into American life, these historians argue, both reflected and helped to create the uniqueness of the American experience.

More recently, historians have placed immigration to the United States in global perspective by examining both receiving and sending countries. In an international context, the United States moves from the center of immigration history to the fringes of the story as one of many countries attracting migrants as an expanding world economy. Immigration to the United States thus becomes part of an international labor exchange and the American experience less exceptional and more comparable to that of other receiving nations such as Argentina and Australia. As for the immigrants themselves, the international perspective underscores the diversity of the newcomers and of their motives. Landless young men from Italy hoped to return to buy plots in Italy, whereas the sons of cattle farmers from western Norway left for good because inheritance laws kept them from owning farms at home. Other immigrants to the United States, fewer in number, came not from Europe but from Latin America, Africa, the Caribbean, and Asia.



## Summary

A bulleted summary reinforces each chapter's main points.

## Significant Events

A chronology at the end of each chapter shows the temporal relationship among important events.

## Additional Reading

Annotated references to both classic studies and recent scholarship encourage further pursuit of the topics and events covered in the chapter.

that role because they trusted that a large republic, with its millions of citizens, would yield more of that scarce resource—disinterested gentlemen dedicated to serving the public good. Such gentlemen, in Madison's words, "whose enlightened views and virtuous sentiments render them superior to local prejudices," would fill the small number of national offices.

Not all the old revolutionaries agreed. Anti-Federalists drawn from the ranks of ordinary Americans still believed that common people were more virtuous and gentlemen more interested than the Federalists allowed. "These lawyers and men of learning, and moneyed men, that talk so finely," complained one Anti-Federalist, would "get all the power and all of the money into their own hands, and then they will swallow up all us little folks." Instead of being dominated by enlightened gentlemen, the national government should be composed of representatives from every social class and occupational group.

The narrow majorities by which the Constitution was ratified reflected the continuing influence of such sentiments, as well as fear that the states were surrendering too much power. That fear made Patrick Henry so ardent an Anti-Federalist that he refused to attend the Constitutional Convention in 1787, saying that he "smelt a rat." "I am not a Virginian, but an American," Henry had once declared. Most likely he was lying. Or perhaps Patrick Henry, a southerner and a slaveholder, could see his way clear to being an "American" only so long as sovereignty remained firmly in the hands of the individual states. Henry's convictions, 70 years hence, would rise again to haunt the Union.

### chapter summary

Leading Americans would give more thought to federalism, the organization of a United States, as the events of the postrevolutionary period revealed the weaknesses of the state and national governments.

- For a decade after independence, the revolutionaries were less committed to creating a single national republic than to organizing 13 separate state republics, each dominated by popularly elected legislatures.
- The Articles of Confederation provided for a government by a national legislature, but left the crucial power of the purse, as well as all final power to make and execute laws, entirely to the states.
- Many conflicts in the new republic were occasioned by westward expansion, which created both inter-

national difficulties with Britain and Spain and internal tensions over the democratization of state legislatures.

- In the wake of the Revolution, ordinary Americans struggled to define republican society; workers began to organize, some women claimed a right to greater political, legal, and educational opportunities, and religious dissenters called for disestablishment.
- In the mid-1780s the political crisis of the Confederation came to a head, prompted by the controversy over the Jay-Gardoqui Treaty and Shays's rebellion.
- The Constitutional Convention of 1787 produced an entirely new frame of government that established a truly national republic and provided for a separation of powers among a judiciary, a bicameral legislature, and a strong executive.
- The Anti-Federalists, opponents of the Constitution, softened their objections when promised a bill of rights after ratification, which was accomplished by 1789.

- Tecumseh's movement collapsed with his death during the War of 1812.
- France and Britain both interfered with neutral rights, and the United States went to war against Britain in 1812.
- In the years after 1815 there was a surge in American nationalism.
- The Transcontinental Treaty with Spain (1819) foreshadowed American expansion by drawing a boundary line to the Pacific.
- The Monroe Doctrine (1823) barred European intervention in the Western Hemisphere.
- Britain's recognition of American sovereignty after 1815 ended the threat of foreign interference in America's internal affairs.

### additional reading

A good survey of the presidencies of Jefferson and Madison is Marshall Smelser, *The Democratic Republic* (1968). Drew R. McCoy, *The Elusive Republic* (1980) skillfully analyzes the dilemmas Jefferson and Madison confronted in power. An important study of the Federalist party is David Hackett Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservatism* (1965). For the origins of the War of 1812, see Roger V. Brown, *The Republic in Peril* (1964). The biographies of Jefferson and Madison, listed in the bibliography, examine political developments in this period in detail. Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *The Trans-Appalachian Frontier* (1978) traces the process of western settlement, while other

aspects of western society are treated in John Boles, *The Great Revival in the South* (1972) and R. David Edmunds, *The Shawnee Prophet* (1983). Donald Jackson, *Thomas Jefferson and the Stony Mountains: Exploring the West from Monticello* (1979) is a fascinating analysis of western exploration in this period. The journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition, which have been published in several editions, are invaluable; a recent history is Stephen E. Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage* (1996).

The first part of George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism* (1965), capably covers Monroe's administration. Samuel E. Bemis traces American foreign policy during and after the war in John Quincy Adams and the *Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (1949). Ernest R. May, *The Making of the Monroe Doctrine* (1976), is the best study of the subject. For a fuller list of readings, see the Bibliography.

## Significant Events

- 1786 1790s Second Great Awakening begins
- 1791 Adams's "midnight" appointments; Marshall becomes chief justice; Jefferson inaugurated in Washington; Cave Ridge revival
- 1802 Judiciary Act of 1801 repealed
- 1803 Marbury v. Madison; Louisiana Purchase; war resumes between Great Britain and France
- 1804-1806 Lewis and Clark expedition
- 1805 Prophet's revivals begin
- 1806 Madison elected president
- 1807 XYZ affair; Embargo Act passed
- 1808 Madison elected president
- 1809 Tecumseh's confederacy organized
- 1810 Fletcher v. Peck
- 1810-1812 West Florida annexed
- 1811 Battle of Tippecanoe
- 1812 War declared against Great Britain
- 1813 Battle of Lake Erie; Tecumseh killed
- 1813-1814 Creek War
- 1814 Washington burned; Hartford Convention; Treaty of Ghent signed
- 1815 Battle of New Orleans
- 1816 Monroe elected president
- 1817
- 1818 United States-Canada boundary fixed to the Rockies; joint occupation of Oregon established
- 1819 Transcontinental Treaty with Spain; United States acquires Florida
- 1823 Monroe Doctrine proclaimed

## Initial Blocks and Printer Ornaments

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History records change over time in countless ways. The flow of history is reflected not only in the narrative of this text, but in the decorative types used in its design.



Over the years printers have used ornamental designs to enliven their texts. Each chapter of *Nation of Nations* incorporates an ornament created during the period being written about. Often these ornaments are from printers' specimen books, produced by type manufacturers so printers could buy such designs. In other chapters the ornaments are taken from printed material of the era.

The initial blocks—the large decorative initials beginning the first word of every chapter—are drawn from type styles popular during the era covered by each of the book's six parts.



Part 1 uses hand-engraved initials of the sort imported from England and Europe by colonial printers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.



Part 2 displays mortised initial blocks. These ornaments had holes cut in the middle of the design so a printer could insert the initial of choice. These holes provided greater flexibility when the supply of ornaments was limited.



Part 3 features initial blocks cut from wood, an approach common in the early and middle nineteenth century. This design, Roman X Condensed, allowed more letters to be squeezed into a limited space.



Part 4 makes use of a more ornamental initial block common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Some Victorian designs became quite ornate. This font, a style that is relatively reserved, is Latin Condensed.



Part 5 illustrates an initial block whose clean lines reflect the Art Deco movement of the 1920s and 1930s. Printers of the New Era turned away from the flowery nineteenth-century styles. This font is Beverly Hills.



Part 6 features an informal style, Brush Script Regular. First introduced during World War II, this typeface reflects the more casual culture that blossomed during the postwar era.

# Information about Supplements

The supplements listed here accompany *Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the American People*, fourth edition. Please contact your local McGraw-Hill representative for details concerning policies, prices, and availability, as some restrictions may apply.

## For the Student

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Packaged free with every copy of the book, an **Interactive Study Guide CD-ROM** (0072373792) includes quizzes containing multiple-choice, true-false, and fill-in questions for every chapter; an Internet primer; and more.

The **Student Study Guide with Map Exercises** (Volume I: 0072315040; Volume II: 0072315059) includes for each chapter a list of learning objectives, key events, quizzes, map identifications, primary source documents, and other resources to help students master the material covered in the text.

Located on the book's Web site [www.mhhe.com/davidson4](http://www.mhhe.com/davidson4), the **Student Online Learning Center** offers interactive maps with exercises, extensive Web links, quizzes, and more.

## For the Instructor

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The **Instructor's Manual/Test Bank** (0072373725) offers a variety of resources for instructors, including ideas for classroom discussions and lecture strategies. Numerous multiple-choice, fill-in, and essay questions are provided for instructors to use in constructing exams.

**Computerized Test Banks** for both the Mac (007237375X) and PC (0072373768) are also available.

A set of **Overhead Transparencies** (0072315067) includes maps and images from the textbook.

A **Presentation Manager CD-ROM** (0072373733) provides materials for instructors to use in the classroom, including PowerPoint presentations and electronic versions of the maps in the textbook.

A set of **Audiotapes** (Volume I: 0072373776; Volume II: 0072373784) features conversations with the authors about topics covered in the text.

# about the authors

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**James West Davidson** received his Ph.D. from Yale University. A historian who has pursued a full-time writing career, he is the author of numerous books, among them *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection* (with Mark H. Lytle), *The Logic of Millennial Thought: Eighteenth-Century New England*, and *Great Heart: The History of a Labrador Adventure* (with John Ruge).

**William E. Gienapp** has a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. He taught at the University of Wyoming before going to Harvard University, where he is Professor of History. In 1988 he received the Avery O. Craven Award for his book *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852–1856*. His essay on “The Antebellum Era” appeared in the *Encyclopedia of Social History* (1992). Currently he is at work on *Abraham Lincoln and Civil War America*.

**Christine Leigh Heyrman** is Professor of History at the University of Delaware. She received a Ph.D. in American Studies from Yale University and is the author of *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690–1750*. Her book *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* was awarded the Bancroft Prize in 1998.

**Mark H. Lytle**, who received a Ph.D. from Yale University, is Professor of History and Environmental Studies and Chair of the American Studies Program at Bard College. He was recently appointed a Fulbright Scholar to teach at University College, Dublin, in Ireland. His publications include *The Origins of the Iranian-American Alliance, 1941–1953* and *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection* (with James West Davidson) and “An Environmental Approach to American Diplomatic History,” in *Diplomatic History*. He is at work on *The Uncivil War: America in the Vietnam Era*.

**Michael B. Stoff** is Associate Professor of History at the University of Texas at Austin. The recipient of a Ph.D. from Yale University, he has received many teaching awards, most recently the Friars' Centennial Teaching Excellence Award. He is the author of *Oil, War, and American Security: The Search for a National Policy on Foreign Oil, 1941–1947* and coeditor (with Jonathan Fanton and R. Hal Williams) of *The Manhattan Project: A Documentary Introduction to the Atomic Age*.



# introduction

History is both a discipline of rigor, bound by rules and scholarly methods, and something more: the unique, compelling, even strange way in which we humans define ourselves. We are all the sum of the tales of thousands of people, great and small, whose actions have etched their lines upon us. History supplies our very identity—a sense of the social groups to which we belong, whether family, ethnic group, race, class, or gender. It reveals to us the foundations of our deepest religious beliefs and traces the roots of our economic and political systems. It explores how we celebrate and grieve, how we sing the songs we sing, how we weather the illnesses to which time and chance subject us. It commands our attention for all these good reasons and for no good reason at all, other than a fascination with the way the myriad tales play out. Strange that we should come to care about a host of men and women so many centuries gone, some with names eminent and familiar, others unknown but for a chance scrap of information left behind in an obscure letter.

Yet we do care. We care about Sir Humphrey Gilbert, “devoured and swallowed up of the Sea” one black Atlantic night in 1583; we care about George Washington at Kips Bay, red with fury as he takes a riding crop to his retreating soldiers. We care about Octave Johnson, a slave fleeing through Louisiana swamps trying to decide whether to stand and fight the approaching hounds or take his chances with the bayou alligators; we care about Clara Barton, her nurse’s skirts so heavy with blood from the wounded, that she must wring them out before tending to the next soldier. We are drawn to the fate of Chinese laborers, chipping away at the Sierras’ looming granite; of a Georgian named Tom Watson seeking to forge a colorblind political alliance; and of desperate immigrant mothers, kerosene lamps in hand, storming Brooklyn butcher shops that had again raised prices. We follow, with a mix of awe and amusement, the fortunes of the quirky Henry Ford (“Everybody wants to be somewhere he ain’t”), turning out identical automobiles, insisting his factory workers wear identical expressions (“Fordization of the Face”).

We trace the career of young Thurgood Marshall, crisscrossing the South in his own “little old beat-up ’29 Ford,” typing legal briefs in the back seat, trying to get black teachers to sue for equal pay, hoping to get his people somewhere they weren’t. The list could go on and on, spilling out as it did in Walt Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass*: “A southerner soon as a northerner, a planter nonchalant and hospitable, / A Yankee bound my own way . . . a Hoosier, a Badger, a Buckeye, a Louisianian or Georgian. . . .” Whitman embraced and celebrated them all, inseparable strands of what made him an American and what made him human:

In all people I see myself, none more and not one  
a barleycorn less, And the good or bad I say of  
myself I say of them.

To encompass so expansive an America, Whitman turned to poetry; historians have traditionally chosen *narrative* as their means of giving life to the past. That mode of explanation permits them to interweave the strands of economic, political, and social history in a coherent chronological framework. By choosing narrative, historians affirm the multicausal nature of historical explanation—the insistence that events be portrayed in context. By choosing narrative, they are also acknowledging that, although long-term economic and social trends shape societies in significant ways, events often take on a logic (or an illogic) of their own, jostling one another, being deflected by unpredictable personal decisions, sudden deaths, natural catastrophes, and chance. There are literary reasons, too, for preferring a narrative approach, because it supplies a dramatic force usually missing from more structural analyses of the past.

In some ways, surveys such as this text are the natural antithesis of narrative history. They strive, by definition, to be comprehensive: to furnish a broad, orderly exposition of their chosen field. Yet to cover so much ground in so limited a space necessarily deprives readers of the context of more detailed accounts. Then, too, the resurgence of social history—with its concern for class and race, patterns of rural and urban life, the

spread of market and industrial economies—lends itself to more analytic, less chronological treatments. The challenge facing historians is to incorporate these areas of research without losing the story's narrative drive or the chronological flow that orients readers to the more familiar events of our past.

With the cold war of the past half-century at an end, there has been increased attention to the worldwide breakdown of so many nonmarket economies and, by inference, to the greater success of the market societies of the United States and other capitalist nations. As our own narrative makes clear, American society and politics have indeed come together centrally in the marketplace. What Americans produce, how and where they produce it, and the desire to buy cheap and sell dear have been defining elements in every era. That market orientation has created unparalleled abundance and reinforced striking inequalities, not the least a society in which, for two centuries, human beings themselves were bought and sold. It has made Americans powerfully provincial in protecting local interests and internationally adventurous in seeking to expand wealth and opportunity.

It goes without saying that Americans have not always produced wisely or well. The insistent drive toward material plenty has levied a heavy tax on the

global environment. Too often quantity has substituted for quality, whether we talk of cars, education, or culture. When markets flourish, the nation abounds with confidence that any problem, no matter how intractable, can be solved. When markets fail, however, the fault lines of our political and social systems become all too evident.

In the end, then, it is impossible to separate the marketplace of boom and bust and the world of ordinary Americans from the corridors of political maneuvering or the ceremonial pomp of an inauguration. To treat political and social history as distinct spheres is counterproductive. The primary question of this narrative—how the fledgling, often tumultuous confederation of “these United States” managed to transform itself into an enduring republic—is not only political but necessarily social. In order to survive, a republic must resolve conflicts between citizens of different geographic regions and economic classes, of diverse racial and ethnic origins, of competing religions and ideologies. The resolution of these conflicts has produced tragic consequences, perhaps, as often as noble ones. But tragic or noble, the destiny of these states cannot be understood without comprehending both the social and the political dimensions of the story.



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| 4. ESTONIA                 | 21. AZERBAIJAN                     |
| 5. LATVIA                  | 22. LEBANON                        |
| 6. LITHUANIA               | 23. ISRAEL                         |
| 7. CZECH REPUBLIC          | 24. LAOS                           |
| 8. SLOVAKIA                | 25. THAILAND                       |
| 9. SWITZERLAND             | 26. CAMBODIA                       |
| 10. AUSTRIA                | 27. PUERTO RICO (U.S.)             |
| 11. HUNGARY                | 28. ST. KITTS AND NEVIS            |
| 12. SLOVENIA               | 29. ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA            |
| 13. CROATIA                | 30. DOMINICA                       |
| 14. BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA | 31. ST. LUCIA                      |
| 15. YUGOSLAVIA             | 32. ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES |
| 16. MACEDONIA              | 33. BARBADOS                       |
| 17. ALBANIA                | 34. TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO            |



