

SECOND EDITION

LIBERTY EQUALITY POWER

A History of the American People
VOLUME II: SINCE 1863



JOHN M. MURRIN ■ PAUL E. JOHNSON
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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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John M. Murrin, a specialist in American colonial and revolutionary history, is the author of the first section (Chapters 1–6) of *Liberty, Equality, Power*, Second Edition. He has edited one multivolume series and five books, including *Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development*, Fourth Edition (1993) and *Saints and Revolutionaries* (1984). His many essays on early American history show a diversity of interests that range from ethnic tensions, the early history of trial by jury, and the political culture of Revolutionary America, to the rise of professional baseball and college football. Professor Murrin has been elected president of the Society of Historians of the Early American Republic (SHEAR) for 1998–99.

PAUL E. JOHNSON

University of South Carolina

Paul E. Johnson authored the second section of the text (Chapters 7–12). A specialist in early national social and religious history, he is also the author of *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837* (1978); coauthor (with Sean Wilentz) of *The Kingdom of Matthias: Sex and Salvation in 19th-Century America* (1994); and editor of *African-American Christianity: Essays in History* (1994). He has been awarded the Merle Curti Prize of the Organization of American Historians (1980), and a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship (1995).

JAMES M. MCPHERSON

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James M. McPherson is the author of the third section of the text (Chapters 13–19). A distinguished Civil War historian, he won the 1989 Pulitzer Prize for his book *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. His other publications include *Marching Toward Freedom: Blacks in the Civil War*, Second Edition

(1991), *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction*, Second Edition (1992), *Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution* (1991), and *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (1997). In addition, he is, along with Gary Gerstle, a consulting editor of *American Political Leaders: From Colonial Times to the Present* (1991) and *American Social Leaders: From Colonial Times to the Present* (1993).

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Gary Gerstle is the author of the fourth section of the text (Chapters 20–25). A specialist in labor, immigration, and political history, he has published *Working-Class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in a Textile City, 1914–1960* (1989), *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930–1980* (1989) and articles in the *American Historical Review*, *Journal of American History*, *American Quarterly*, and many other journals. He is a consulting editor, along with James M. McPherson, of *American Political Leaders: From Colonial Times to the Present* (1991) and *American Social Leaders: From Colonial Times to the Present* (1993). He has been awarded many honors, including a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship for University Teachers, an Institute for Advanced Study Membership, and a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship.

EMILY S. ROSENBERG

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Emily S. Rosenberg is the author, along with Norman L. Rosenberg, of the last section of the text (Chapters 26–31). She specializes in United States foreign relations in the 20th century and is the author of the widely used book *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890–1945* (1982). Her other publications include (with Norman L. Rosenberg) *In Our Times: America Since 1945*, Fifth Edition (1995) and numerous articles on subjects such as international finance,

gender issues, and foreign relations. She has served on the board of the Organization of American Historians, on the board of editors of the *Journal of American History*, and as president of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations.

NORMAN L. ROSENBERG

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Norman L. Rosenberg is coauthor, along with Emily S. Rosenberg, of the final section of the text

(Chapters 26–31). He specializes in legal history with a particular interest in legal culture and First Amendment issues. His books include *Protecting the “Best Men”: An Interpretive History of the Law of Libel* (1990) and (with Emily S. Rosenberg) *In Our Times: America Since 1945*, Fifth Edition (1995). He has published articles in the *Rutgers Law Review*, *Constitutional Commentary*, *Law & History Review*, and many other legal journals.

PREFACE

The second edition of *Liberty, Equality, Power*, like the first, captures the drama and excitement of America's past, from the pre-Columbian era through our own time. It integrates social and cultural history into a political story that is organized around the themes of liberty, equality, and power, and synthesizes the finest older historical scholarship with the best of the new to create a narrative that is balanced, lively, and accessible to a broad range of students.

REVISIONS FOR THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition won praise for its successful integration of social, cultural, and political history, its thematic unity, its narrative clarity and eloquence, its extraordinary coverage of pre-Columbian America, its attention to war and conquest, its extended treatment of the Civil War, its history of economic growth and change, and its excellent map and illustration programs. We have preserved and enhanced all of these strengths in the second edition. In preparing for this revision, we solicited feedback from scholars throughout the country, many of whom have used the first edition of *Liberty, Equality, Power* in their classrooms. Their comments proved invaluable, and many of their suggestions have been incorporated into the second edition. We have written new introductions and conclusions for each chapter with an eye toward focusing students' attention on key issues and on the central themes of liberty, equality, and power; added a new chapter on the South and West; expanded our coverage of the role of religion in American life; revised each chapter to reflect important new scholarship; and brought our account of American history to the present, as we stand on the brink of the Third Millennium. We have replaced the first edition's four extended photo essays with 31 new, richly illustrated features on fascinating and important topics from the American past. New maps and many more color illustrations strengthen our much-admired art programs, and chapter chronologies offer professors and students a new pedagogical aid. The

supplemental package has been expanded and revamped as well.

Throughout the book, we tightened our prose to achieve a rare goal: the text of this edition, with all of the additions, is actually 5 percent leaner than that of the first. The streamlining of the first seven chapters led to particularly impressive results—the history of the pre-Columbian and colonial periods is now covered in just six chapters. We strongly believe that the text has been shortened without compromising the intellectual standards and coverage valued by many of its readers.

REVISIONS TO CONTENT AND COVERAGE

Lean and Clear Presentation All sections have been revised with an emphasis on clarity. Each chapter now has a concise introduction and conclusion. The second edition text is leaner than the first by approximately 5 percent without any compromise in coherence or coverage. Indeed coverage of events since the Civil War has been expanded with one new chapter, while the first section (to 1789) has been trimmed without sacrificing any major themes.

Streamlined Early American Section The section covering colonial and revolutionary America has been streamlined into six chapters. However, this section remains one of the most wide-ranging and effective syntheses of early American historiography available.

Smooth Transition between Early National and Civil War Sections In response to reviewers' recommendations, the order of the last two chapters of the Early National section (first edition Chapters 12 and 13) has been reversed. Along with additional minor revisions, this reorganization creates a smoother transition to Chapter 13 (Manifest Destiny).

Increased Coverage of the West and the South A new chapter entitled "Frontiers of Change, Politics of Stalemate, 1865-1898" (Chapter 19), offers

more coverage of the West and South. In addition, Chapter 25, “The Great Depression and the New Deal,” provides increased coverage of the New Deal in the West.

Increased Thematic Consistency Sections on labor strife and monetary issues of the 1870s from the first edition’s Chapter 18 have been integrated with a discussion of similar themes from the 1880s and 1890s in the new Chapter 19.

Unified Discussion of the Women’s Rights Movement The section on women’s suffrage from the first edition’s Chapter 19 has been rewritten and incorporated into the discussion of women’s rights in Chapter 21.

Increased Coverage of Religion Chapter 21, “Progressivism,” offers a more extended analysis of the role of religion in reform.

Balanced Presentation of the Recent Past Fine-tuning of the interpretation in more recent chapters creates a well-balanced approach. Much material has been reworked and tightened to provide even greater clarity.

Up-to-Date Coverage Chapter 31 has been updated with a discussion of the major themes of the Clinton administration, and our history of the Cold War has been revised in light of recently declassified documents.

NEW FEATURES AND PEDAGOGICAL AIDS

American Album Features Each chapter now includes an “American Album,” a brief essay illustrated with historic photos or artwork that offers a visual excursion into fascinating moments from the American past. In addition to the themes of liberty, equality, and power, these features explore subjects especially intriguing to students—sports, the environment, gender roles, religion, popular and material culture, war, and race. They can be easily integrated into classroom discussions of the respective periods or left for students to discover on their own. We hope that the American Albums will tempt students to leaf through the textbook

on their own, much as they would leaf through a family album, and that their interest in American history will deepen and diversify as a result. As an aide to these various purposes, a list of American Album features is included following the Table of Contents.

New, Focused Chapter Introductions and Conclusions Every chapter contains a freshly conceived introduction and conclusion, written to focus students’ attention on key issues and to provide a thematic foundation.

New Featured Quotations Voices of the past—from ordinary citizens to prominent figures—speak through eloquent quotations chosen to enliven the surrounding text.

New Chapter Chronologies Chronologies, new to the second edition, provide a quick overview of major events and movements at the end of each chapter.

THE AUTHORS’ APPROACH

GLOBAL EMPHASIS IN EARLY AND MOST RECENT CHAPTERS

The focus is global in chapters covering the early and most recent periods; in between, it is continental. We begin where the human story began, with the Indian settlement of the Americas. The typical United States history textbook opens with a snapshot of Indian cultures on the East coast around 1600. This type of presentation suggests that these societies were stagnant and unchanging; that they are of more interest as curiosities than as participants in history; that history is something that Europeans did for themselves and to others; and that only their arrival brings focus and purposeful change to the Americas. We have rejected this formula. Native Americans had their own long and highly complex history before 1492, and much of that story is now being recovered. We incorporate it. We also alert readers to parallel or contrasting Canadian events, from the beginnings of New France through the adoption of Canadian Confederation in 1867. And,

we have moved the Spanish borderlands much closer to the center of American history in the century and a half before the Mexican war.

INTEGRATION OF SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND POLITICAL HISTORY

Because of our desire to integrate social, cultural and political history, we have made efforts not to isolate the concerns and achievements of women, Native Americans, African Americans, Hispanics, Asians, and other minorities. We believe that the larger story of what is now the United States simply will not make sense unless the potent influence of race and gender is made clear. To give a simple but important example, the rise of capitalism in the 18th and 19th centuries depended on specific assumptions about gender among European settlers. Women rarely owned property, but they lived in fixed households where goods could be accumulated, and an acquisitive ethic could take hold among both men and women. By contrast, most Native American women in the eastern woodlands had to move twice a year. They had no interest in acquiring any more goods than they could carry on their backs. For them, an ethic of accumulation made no sense, even though their husbands, as hunters and trappers, played an active role as producers for a global market.

A NEW AND EXPANSIVE POLITICAL HISTORY

This book reflects our strong interest in politics; however, our commitment to social and cultural history ruled out a return to an older political history organized around presidents, political parties, and Congress. Ours is a new and expansive political history oriented toward understanding how Americans have pursued, gained, and lost liberty, equality, and power. That Americans have cherished liberty and equality and have fought hard to make those ideals matter both in their own personal lives and in the political life of the nation is an idea that needs little introduction; but it has been some time since this idea has provided an organizing framework for a college textbook on American history. We exam-

ine many different stories about the pursuit of liberty and equality—from the drive for entrepreneurial freedom by businessmen and businesswomen to the desire for freedom welling inside African American slaves; from the determination by immigrants to partake of American liberty to demands by women for full equality; from struggles for autonomy by workers in the workplace to the nation's fight against Nazi and Communist tyranny.

These stories, we argue, are often not complete without a consideration of power. Power has often been the crucial variable in determining the spoils that accrued to contending groups. The Revolutionary generation conceived of liberty mostly as a negation of governmental power and embraced equality as a way of diffusing political liberty. In the Reconstruction era, many Americans modified the revolutionaries' approach, arguing that the liberty and equality of former slaves depended on the expansion of federal power.

Though Reconstruction was but a qualified success, the idea of the strong state as a guarantor of liberty and equality lived on in the social movements of farmers, workers, feminists, and minorities, and in the politics of liberal reform (Populism, Progressivism, the New Deal, the Great Society) from the 1890s through the 1960s. The building of a strong liberal state—and opposition to it—becomes an ever more prominent theme of this survey as the history of the 20th century unfolds. We conclude this story with a look at how conservatives of the 1970s and 1980s discredited strong-state liberalism and called for a return to the Revolutionary generation's original notion: that liberty will thrive the most in circumstances where the state governs the least.

Politics always involves power, but for the authors of this survey, power implies much more than politics. We see power operating at all levels of American society: between husbands and wives, parents and children, among racial and ethnic groups, between social classes, and, of course, in government and politics. Power has structured relations between men and women, immigrants and native-born, the city and the country, whites and blacks, rich and poor, and between the United States and other countries. We analyze the role of power in shaping these relationships, how power was gained and lost, and how it influenced the quest of these many groups for liberty and equality.

EMPHASIS ON THE ECONOMY, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS

Throughout the book, we pay particular attention to economic change and its effect on society and politics. We offer readers extensive treatment of a wide variety of economic topics, from Native American patterns of subsistence to English mercantilism, from the industrial, transportation, and market revolutions of the early 19th century to the technological, corporate, and managerial innovations of the late 19th century, from agricultural work to industrial work, from the rise of the assembly line and advertising to the computer-driven information revolution of our own time. These topics are never discussed in the dry manner that one might expect in an economics textbook. We have situated economic changes in their broadest possible historical contexts and probed their social, political, and cultural significance.

SERIOUS COVERAGE OF WARFARE AND IMPERIALISM

Because of our interest in power, we take warfare and imperialism—the naked imposition of force—more seriously than the authors of most other United States history textbooks. Recognizing that some wars are more significant than others, we have made no attempt to provide a comprehensive military narrative for every armed conflict in which the United States has been involved. But we do give considerable space to formative struggles, those that have helped to define the people we have become, from some of the earliest Indian wars through the Seven Years' War, the Revolution, the Civil War, and the Second World War.

AN EXAMINATION OF POPULAR CULTURE AND THE STRUCTURES OF EVERYDAY LIFE

Another distinctive feature of this survey is an effort to trace transformations of popular culture across the centuries, from the founding of the first newspapers in the early 18th century to the rise of movies, jazz, and the comics in the 20th century, to the cable television and Internet revolutions in re-

cent years. The popular novel gets more attention than the classics of American literature in our 19th-century chapters. The structure of households, popular culture, and changing family values have always been linked throughout America's past. We have traced these relationships.

A COHERENT AND ABSORBING NARRATIVE

Finally, as part of our effort to integrate social and cultural history with politics, we have also tried to construct a narrative of American history that is both coherent and absorbing. We hope that our text is more effective for that reason, and that students will find it lucid and readable.

SUPPLEMENTS

FOR THE INSTRUCTOR:

PowerPoint Lecture Presentations NEW!

New to the Second Edition, the PowerPoint Lecture Presentations, developed by Raymond M. Hyser and J. Christopher Arndt of James Madison University, feature 31 text-based outlines plus a collection of images—maps, graphs, and illustrations—from the text, as well as from other sources. It is available free for instructors to download from our Web site.

Liberty, Equality, Power Online Resources REVISED AND EXPANDED! The new *Liberty, Equality, Power* Web site provides access to many online resources for instructors and students. Begin your tour at our home page: www.hbcollege.com.

Instructor's Resource Manual EXPANDED! Volume I: To 1877; Volume II: Since 1863 The Instructor's Resource Manual, in two volumes, is a comprehensive teaching tool, prepared by Peter Field, Jeffery Roberts, and Larry Whiteaker of Tennessee Technological University, that includes new, detailed lecture outlines organized by chapter. Other resources include chapter summaries; the Thematic Braid discussions of the interconnected themes of liberty, equality, power; identification items; chronologies; geography objectives; topics for classroom and group activities; discussion questions; suggested essay and paper topics; an audio-visual bibliography; and the instructor's guide to

the Core Concepts video package. The Instructor's Resource Manual is free to instructors.

Test Bank EXPANDED! Volume I: To 1877; Volume II: Since 1863 The Test Bank, in two volumes, has been expanded by B. Jane England of North Central Texas College to include more than 2,600 test items. New questions emphasize critical thinking skills—thematic connections, causes, and motives. It contains a wide variety of question styles with graded levels of difficulty. In addition to chapter-specific learning objectives, the Test Bank offers multiple-choice, true/false, fill-in, identification, and short and long essay questions. The Test Bank is available free to instructors.

Computerized Test Bank EXPANDED! The EXAMaster+ system simplifies test generation and allows instructors the flexibility to add or edit questions, select test items by learning objectives or level of difficulty, and incorporate graphs and charts. It includes all test items from both volumes of the printed Test Bank and is free to instructors. Available in three formats: Macintosh®, IBM® 3.5", MS Windows™.

Full Color Overhead Transparency Package EXPANDED! The OHT package contains 150 color transparencies that include many of the text's excellent maps. It has also been expanded to include charts, graphs, and political cartoons from the text as well as other sources. The transparencies are keyed to chapters of the text for ease in lecture planning.

The American History CD-ROM NEW! The American History CD-ROM is an interactive learning tool that provides a vast library of pictures, film clips, sound recordings, and maps. It is indexed and organized in a unique, flexible format that makes it easy to explore U.S. history from ancient times through the 1990s. Features include: *Overviews*, narrated by Charles Kuralt; thousands of captioned illustrations; 68 motion pictures; dozens of brief sound bites; a quiz that offers students several levels and options for self-assessment; and *The Histriopix Game*, a challenging test of students' recall for key concepts and information that is conveyed through the images. In addition to independent study, students and professors can create lessons, lesson plans, and presentations. Adoption requirements apply.

Second World War Photo CD-ROM The Second World War CD-ROM is a three-disc set that features selections from the National Archives. It includes more than 900 black and white images taken during the war that are accompanied by historically accurate captions. Adoption requirements apply.

Zane Publishing's Home Library CD-ROM Package for U.S. History The home library includes a 10-disc CD-ROM package that covers major subject areas in U.S. history, ranging from the 1700s to the present. Topics include Jacksonian Democracy, the Civil War, Reconstruction, the American West, the Great Depression, U.S. Government, U.S. Foreign Policy from 1788 to 1933 and 1933 to 1963, and the Social Reform movement. Adoption requirements apply.

Core Concept Videos to accompany Liberty, Equality, Power, Second Edition Volume I: To 1877, prepared by Lynn Wilson, Tarrant County Junior College Northeast; William D. Young, Johnson County Community College; and Marilyn Rhinehart, Johnson County Community College.

Volume II: Since 1863, prepared by Marilyn Rhinehart, Johnson County Community College; Chuck Chalberg, Normandale Community College; and Joe Jaynes, Collin County Community College.

The Core Concept video package is uniquely designed for instructors and students. Created exclusively for Harcourt Brace by Films for the Humanities, each video contains eight segments that include an introduction by the respective author of each section of *Liberty, Equality, Power*, concept clues, running video segments of about 10 minutes, and concluding questions that take the student from image to text. Video segments are arranged chronologically and relate to a topic of importance in *Liberty, Equality, Power*. The video package is available free to instructors and may be purchased by students.

U.S. History Videos/Films for the Humanities EXPANDED! Contact your local Harcourt Brace sales representative for a complete listing of the many videos that are available from the extensive Films for the Humanities American History catalog. Adoption requirements apply.

U.S. History Videos/Arts and Entertainment

Many outstanding U.S. history selections are available from the Arts and Entertainment video library. Choose from *American Revolution*, *Civil War Journal*, *The Real West*, Mike Wallace's *The Twentieth Century*, and selections from A&E's extensive *Biography* collection. Adoption requirements apply.

American History Video Disk from Instructional Resources

A Level 1/III CAV double-sided disk, the American history compilation from Instructional Resources features more than 2,400 images and 68 full-motion video sequences arranged in 10 distinct units that span the entirety of U.S. history. The package includes a user's manual with captions and bar codes for easy presentation to students. Software is available for Macintosh and IBM compatibles. Adoption requirements apply.

Twentieth Century American History Video Disk

The history of the American 20th century comes alive in a one-hour video disk produced expressly for Harcourt Brace by Fountain Communications. It addresses the pressing issues that Americans have faced in this century: immigration, the Great Depression, the Second World War, the Cold War, the United States in the 1950s, the civil rights movement, Vietnam, and the women's movement. Adoption requirements apply.

FOR THE STUDENT:***Liberty, Equality, Power Computerized Student Tutorial NEW!***

The Computerized Student Tutorial is a new supplement designed specifically to accompany the second edition of *Liberty, Equality, Power*. It offers students, at an affordable price, a variety of interactive exercises tied to the chapter organization of the text. The tutorial is available in Windows format from Educational Software Concepts, Inc., and a free preview is available for instructors. To order, or for more information, call toll free 1-800-748-7734.

Study Guide REVISED! Volume I: To 1877;

Volume II: Since 1863 The Study Guide is a thorough student resource prepared and revised by Mary Jane McDaniel of the University of North Alabama. It provides not only chapter overviews, but also guidance for students in considering the

importance of liberty, equality, and power within each chapter. An in-depth chronological overview is featured along with a glossary of important terms. Completion exercises, multiple-choice and matching questions, essay questions, and discussion and analysis questions allow students to test their comprehension of the text. Each chapter also contains a crossword puzzle that challenges students in a uniquely engaging manner.

U.S. History Documents Package EXPANDED! Volume I: To 1877; Volume II:

Since 1863 The Documents Package, edited by Mark W. Beasley (Ph.D., Texas Christian University), has been expanded to include more than 150 primary source documents interspersed with 31 political cartoons and advertisements. Chapter openers and notes for each selection introduce the documents and tie in the themes of liberty, equality, and power. Discussion questions after each chapter's readings ask students to think critically about the ways that documents relate to each other and the text. The package is available free to instructors and may be purchased by students.

Guide to America's Historical Geography***EXPANDED! Volume I: To 1877; Volume II:***

Since 1863 The Guide to America's Historical Geography is a mapping workbook that has been revised and expanded by Timothy J. McMannon (Ph.D., University of Washington). It provides students with a variety of challenging and innovative mapping exercises. In addition to labeling and locating exercises, the guide includes fill-in and essay questions that ask students to relate historical events to their geographic contexts. The workbook is available free to instructors and may be purchased by students.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors have had the good fortune to work with an excellent staff at Harcourt Brace. Drake Bush, Sue Lister, Lynne Bush, Everett Sims, Lili Weiner, Ruth Steinberg, and Bernard Sinsheimer made invaluable contributions to the first edition, and the book still owes a great deal to their hard work and influence. A new team, led by Senior Acquisitions Editor David Tatom, took up where the old one left

off. David has been a model of professionalism and a source of wisdom. We have come to respect his decisions and advice and to appreciate his deep commitment to this book. He has enabled us to take *Liberty, Equality, Power* to a new level. We have been blessed with another wonderful developmental editor, Margaret McAndrew Beasley, whose standards of organization, diligence, and patience are ones we have all come to admire. She has kept us on schedule and helped us to achieve the revisions we sought. Charles Dierker has been a no-nonsense, efficient, and remarkably effective project editor. Brian Salisbury, our art director, created a fresh look for the book while maintaining its elegance, and Diane Gray worked long and hard in production to keep us on schedule and within budget. Steve Drummond, our marketing product manager, has worked hard to promote this book and given us many useful suggestions for revision. We have enjoyed reunions with our manuscript and photo editors, Everett Sims and Lili Weiner, who once again served us in excellent ways. To the many editorial and production assistants with whom we did not work directly but who contributed significantly to this textbook, we express our hearty thanks. A special thanks goes to the many Harcourt Brace sales representatives who have done such a good job presenting our book and who have provided us with a steady stream of valuable feedback from the field.

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