

# America

## PAST AND PRESENT

DIVINE BREEN FREDRICKSON WILLIAMS AND ROBERTS



BRIEF SECOND EDITION  
VOLUME TWO FROM 1865

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# About the Authors

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## Robert A. Divine

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, Second Chance: The Triumph of Internationalism in America During World War II* (1968), *Blowing on the Wind* (1978), and *Eisenhower and the Cold War* (1981). His most recent book is *The Johnson Years*, a collection of essays on science, the environment, and the impact of the Vietnam War on the Johnson administration. 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.

## T. H. Breen

T. H. Breen received his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1968. Since 1975 he has been the William Smith Mason Professor of American History at Northwestern University. Breen's major books include *The Character of the Good Ruler: A Study of Puritan Political Ideas in New England* (1974), *Puritans and Adventurers: Change and Persistence in Early America* (1980), with S. Innes of the University of Virginia, "Myne Owne Ground": *Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore* (1980), *Tobacco Culture: The Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of Revolu-*

*tion* (1985) and *Imaging the Past* (1989). In addition to receiving an award for outstanding teaching at Northwestern, Breen has been the recipient of research grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Guggenheim Foundation, the Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton), and the National Humanities Center. In 1988 he held the Fowler Hamilton Senior Research Fellowship at Christ Church, Oxford University. He is currently preparing a volume for the Oxford University Press, *History of the United States in Early America*.

## George M. Fredrickson

George M. Fredrickson is Edgar E. Robinson Professor of United States History at Stanford University. He is the author or editor of several books, including *The Inner Civil War* (1965), *The Black Image in the White Mind* (1971), and *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (1981), which won both the Ralph Waldo Emerson Award from Phi Beta Kappa and the Merle Curti Award from the Organization of American Historians. His latest work is *The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social Inequality* (1988). He received both the A.B. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard and has been the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship, two National Endowment for the Humanities Senior Fellowships, and a Fellowship from the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences. He has also served as Fulbright Professor of American History at Moscow University and as Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford University.

## **R. Hal Williams**

R. Hal Williams is Professor of History at Southern Methodist University. He received his A.B. degree from Princeton University (1963) and his Ph.D degree from Yale University (1968). His books include *The Democratic Party and California Politics, 1880-1896* (1973), *Years of Decision: American Politics in the 1890's* (1978), and *The Manhattan Project: A Documentary Study of the Development and Military Use of the Atom Bomb* (1988). A specialist in American political history, he taught at Yale University from 1968 to 1975 and came to SMU in 1975 as Chair of the Department of History. From 1980 to 1988 he served as Dean of Dedman College, the school of humanities and sciences, at SMU. Williams has received outstanding teaching awards at both Yale and SMU. He has received grants from the American Philosophical Society and the National Endowment for the Humanities, and he serves on the Texas Committee for the Humanities. He is currently at

work on a biography of James G. Blaine, the late-nineteenth-century Speaker of the House, secretary of state, and Republican presidential candidate.

## **Randy Roberts**

Randy Roberts teaches history at Purdue University. He received his Ph.D. from Louisiana State University in 1978. A specialist in cultural history and the history of sport, he has published widely in those fields. His books include *Jack Dempsey: The Manassa Mauler* (1979), *Papa Jack: Jack Johnson and the Era of White Hopes* (1983) and *Playing for Keeps: Sports and American Society, 1945-Present* (1988). He is on the editorial board of the *Journal of Sport History* and *Arete: The Journal of Sport Literature*, and he is co-editor of the Illinois University Press series *Studies in Sports and Society*. He has received several grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities. He is currently finishing a book on Muhammad Ali.

# Preface to Brief Second Edition

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This Brief Second Edition of *America: Past and Present*, prepared by Professor Randy Roberts with the collaboration of the four authors of the full-length survey text first published in 1984 and revised in 1987, is intended to serve the needs of instructors in one-semester courses and those who supplement the main assigned text with a wide variety of other readings. Enriched by the use of primary sources, monographs and scholarly articles, and fiction, a foundation text helps the student grasp the sweep and complexity of the American past.

The full-length edition won acclaim for its skillful integration of political, diplomatic, economic, social, and cultural history, its clarity of organization, and its stylistic grace. The goal of this abridgment is to produce a condensation true to the original in all its dimensions—a miniaturized replica or *bonsai*, as it were—retaining the style and tone, and the interpretations, with their nuances and subtleties intact. To achieve that goal, factual coverage and thematic advancement have been closely monitored; we have gone over the text line by line, and the intent of every paragraph has been retained. This version contains about two thirds of the narrative of the longer book, one half of the highly praised maps, charts and graphs, and a commensurate proportion of the outstanding illustration program.

What is new in this Brief Second Edition of *America: Past and Present*? Added material includes a new *Growth of the United States* sec-

tion at the front of the book that uses maps, narrative, and a chronology of parallel events to highlight American history in fifty-year intervals; a number of new and improved thematic, military, and current international maps; a four-page picture essay on *The New Immigrants*; a 1988 electoral map; a new final chapter covering the eight-year span of the Reagan era; and new bibliographies for every chapter.

A full complement of ancillary support items accompanies the Brief Second Edition: a new one-volume study guide (*Studying America: Past and Present*), a new *Instructor's Resource Manual*, and a new *Test Item File with Map Test Item Supplement*. One hundred four-color *Map Transparencies*, each with an instructional outline, is available for classroom use.

Many thanks to the academic reviewers and to the great numbers of users, too many to cite individually, whose critiques, suggestions, and classroom evaluation proved extremely valuable in preparing the final product.

This project was a collective effort in which the staff of my publisher, Scott, Foresman, played an integral part. I am grateful to Bruce Borland, Barbara Muller, and Charlotte Iglarsh and to the editorial and production people on the team.

A special note of appreciation to my friend and colleague, Professor Terry Bilhartz, for his careful reading and critique of this work, and to my wife Suzy for her support.

R.R.



# Preface to Full-Length Second Edition

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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 the 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.

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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** and **recommended readings** (redone for this edition). 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. 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.

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

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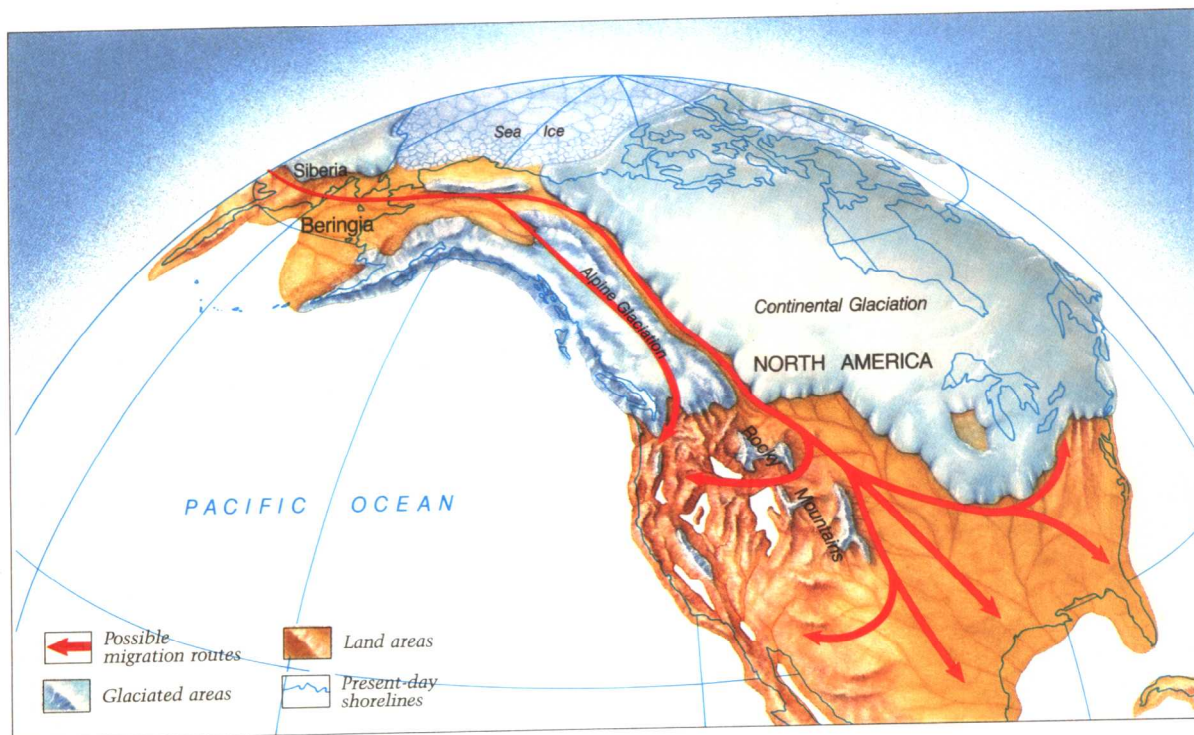
Frank Wetta  
*Galveston Community College*

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. We are also indebted to many people at Scott, Foresman.

Finally, each author received aid and encouragement from many colleagues, friends, and family members over the years of research, drafting, and revising that went into this edition.

**THE AUTHORS**

## Routes of the First Americans

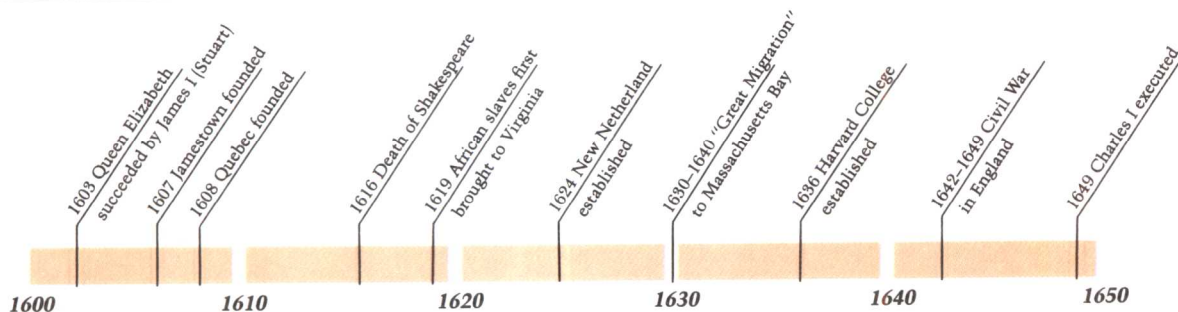
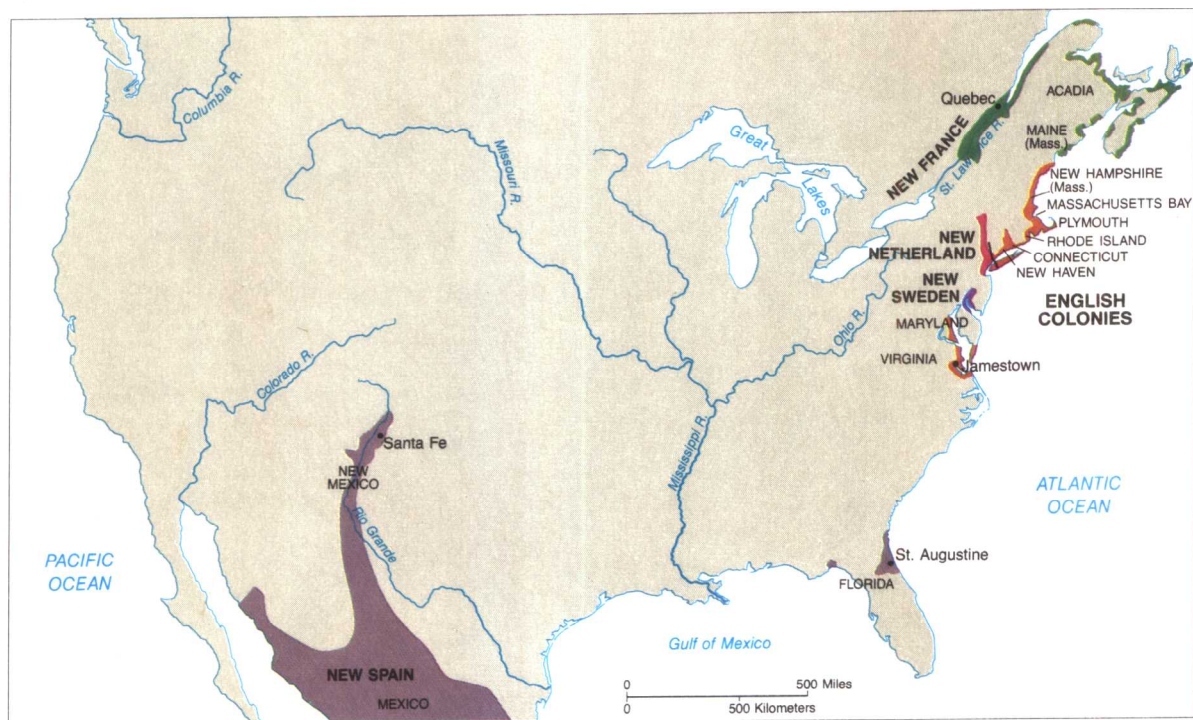


The peopling of North America began about 30,000 years ago, during the Ice Age, and continued for many millennia. Land bridges created by lower sea levels during glaciation formed a tundra coastal plain over what is now the Bering Strait between Asia and North America. In the postglacial era, the warmer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

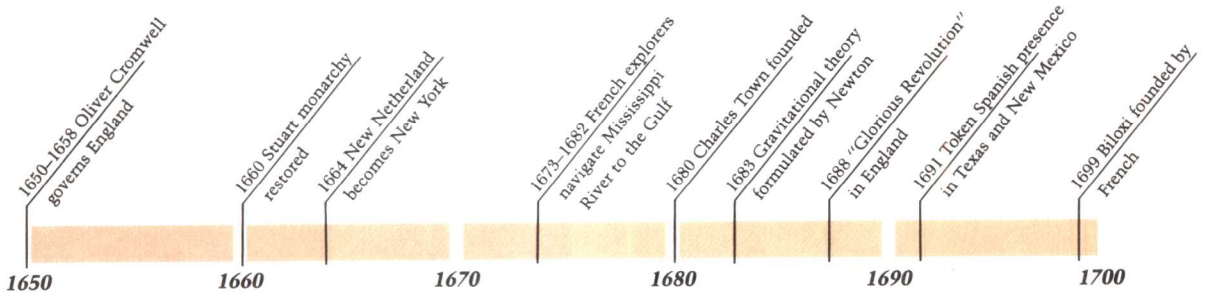
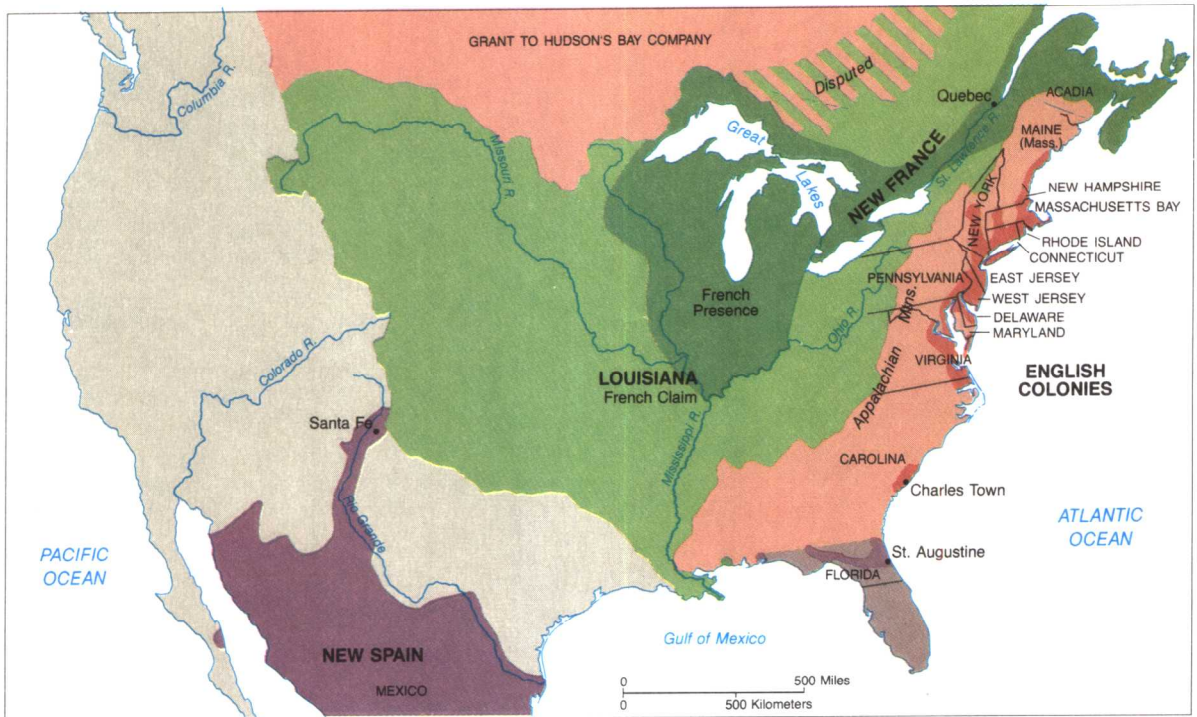


Following up on Columbus's discoveries, in the sixteenth century the Spanish conquered the Native American Aztecs and Incas to establish a vast colonial empire stretching from Mexico to Peru. The search for gold and silver brought Spanish explorers into the present-day American Southwest, where they 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. The seeds had been planted for a future United States.

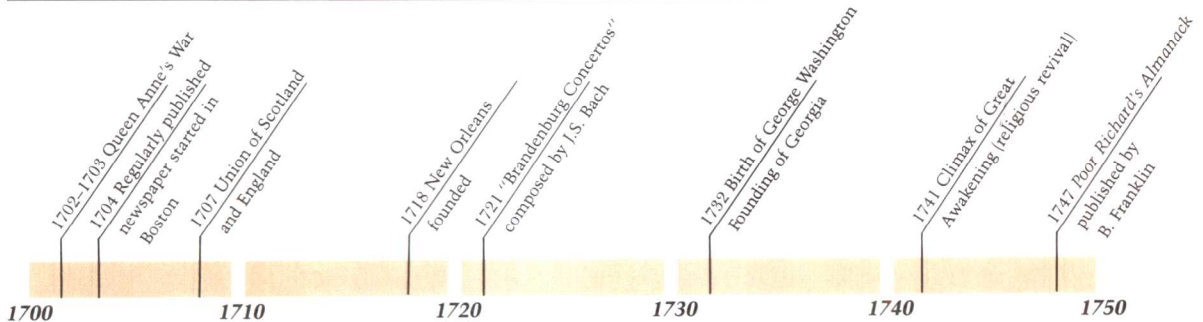




Having established a precarious foothold, the English settlements slowly began to grow and prosper. The later New England colonies received royal charters, separate from Massachusetts Bay. William Penn established Pennsylvania as a place of refuge for Quakers, but he welcomed French, Dutch, German, and 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. Bound together

only by ties to the mother country, each colony developed a distinctive character and culture.

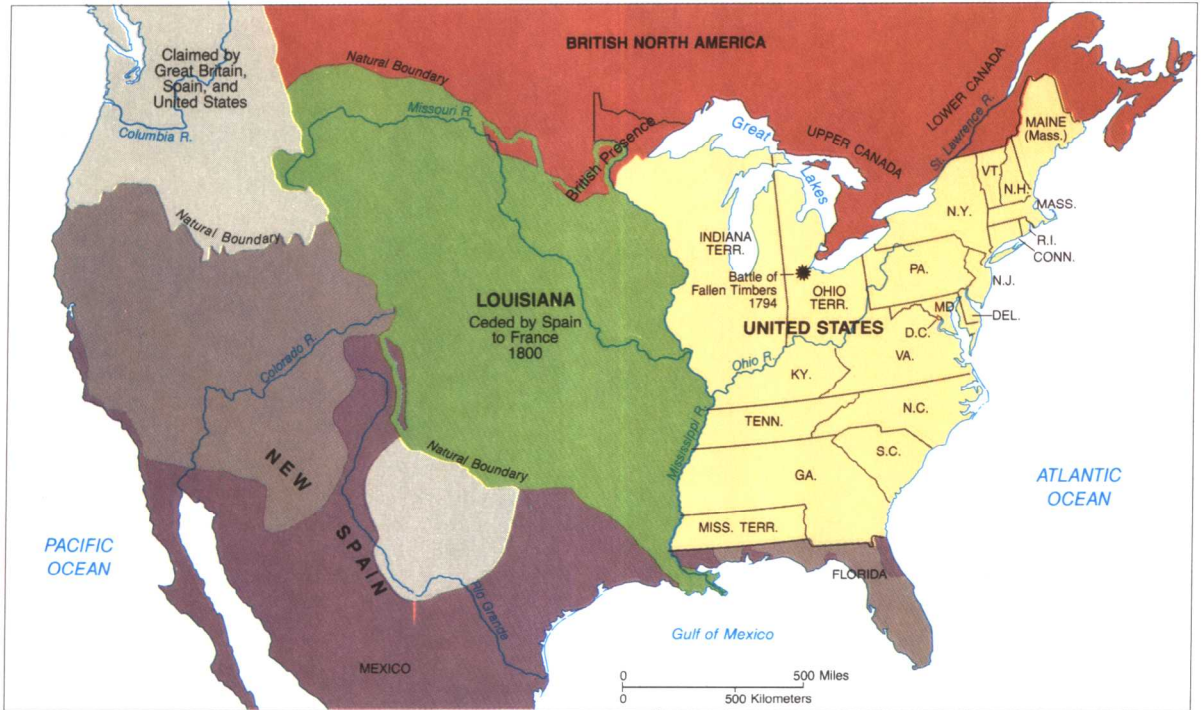
Meanwhile, intrepid French explorers based in Quebec penetrated deep into the continent, driven on by the imperatives of the fur trade. Père Marquette navigated the Mississippi river and Sieur de La Salle journeyed to the Gulf of Mexico, claiming for France all the lands drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries. This initiative alarmed colonists along the Atlantic coast, many of whom believed that France planned to block English settlement beyond the Appalachians. 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, divided in 1729 into the royal colonies of North and South Carolina.

By 1750, the American colonists were rapidly moving onto the lands between the Atlantic Coast and the foothills of the Appalachians. 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. The fertile lands of Kentucky and Ohio attracted other Americans. The French, fearful of a flood 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)

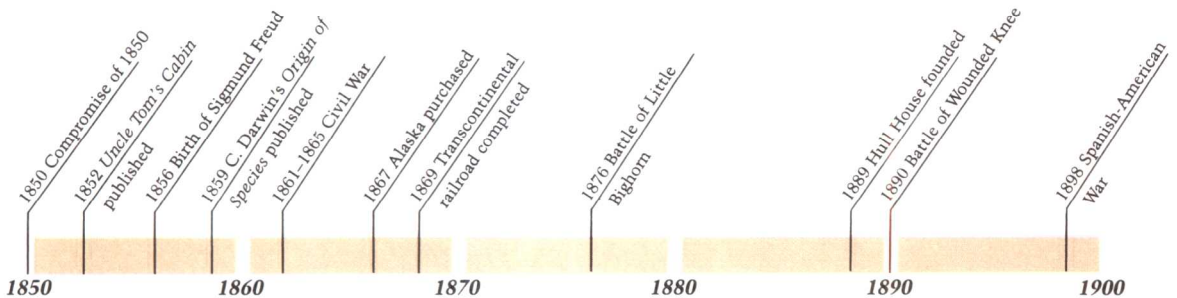




**B**etween 1750 and 1800, the map of North America underwent extensive political change. First, the British defeated the French and drove them from the mainland of the continent. The Peace of Paris in 1763 called for the French to surrender Canada to Great Britain and transfer Louisiana to Spain. The British Proclamation Line of 1763, which blocked settlement west of the mountains, angered the colonists and contributed to the unrest that led to the Revolutionary War.

Independence stimulated westward expansion. Even while the war was in progress, pioneers like Daniel Boone opened Kentucky and Tennessee to frontier settlement. In the 1783 treaty that ended the war, the

United States gained 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 the 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 followed soon after. (Ch. 4, 5, 6, 7)

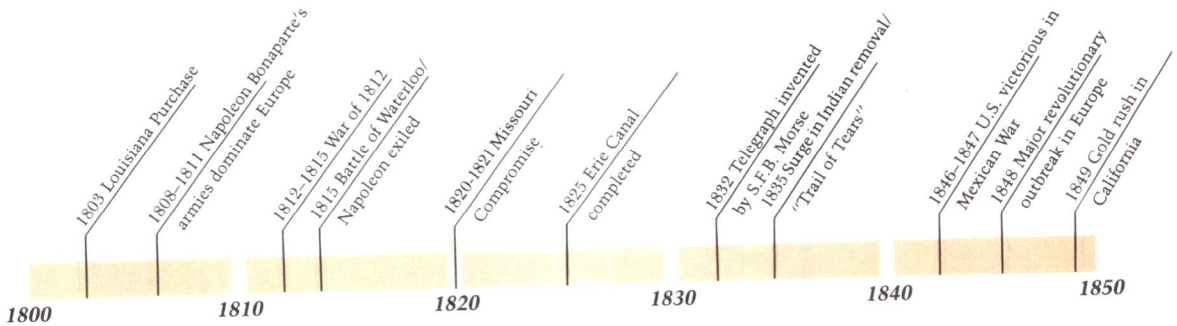
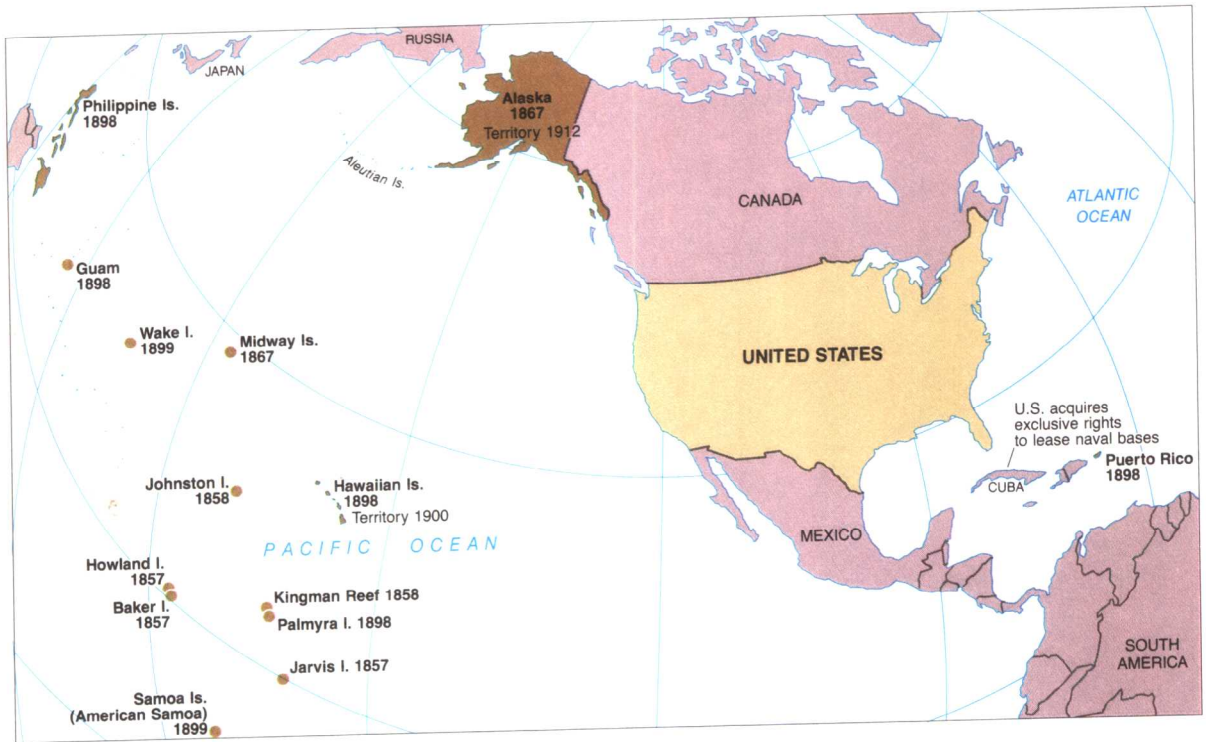


Over the next fifty years, the territory of the United States more than doubled. The purchase of Louisiana from France brought in the vast trans-Mississippi West, stretching across the Great Plains to the Rocky Mountains. Distance, fierce Indian resistance, and an arid climate delayed the settlement 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, agreed to evacuate their ancestral homelands and in 1835 the last remaining holdouts, the Cherokees, were forcibly removed to Oklahoma.

In the 1840s, the United States extended its bound-

aries to the Pacific. Proclaiming the nation's "manifest destiny" to occupy the continent, settlers leapfrogged 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)



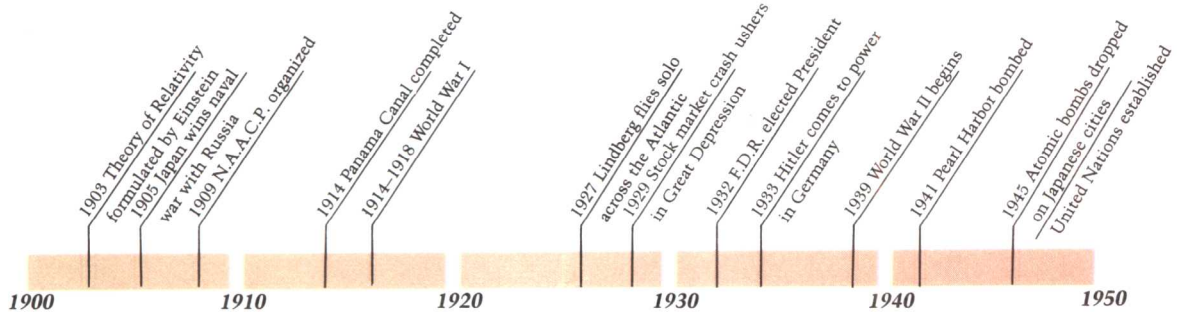
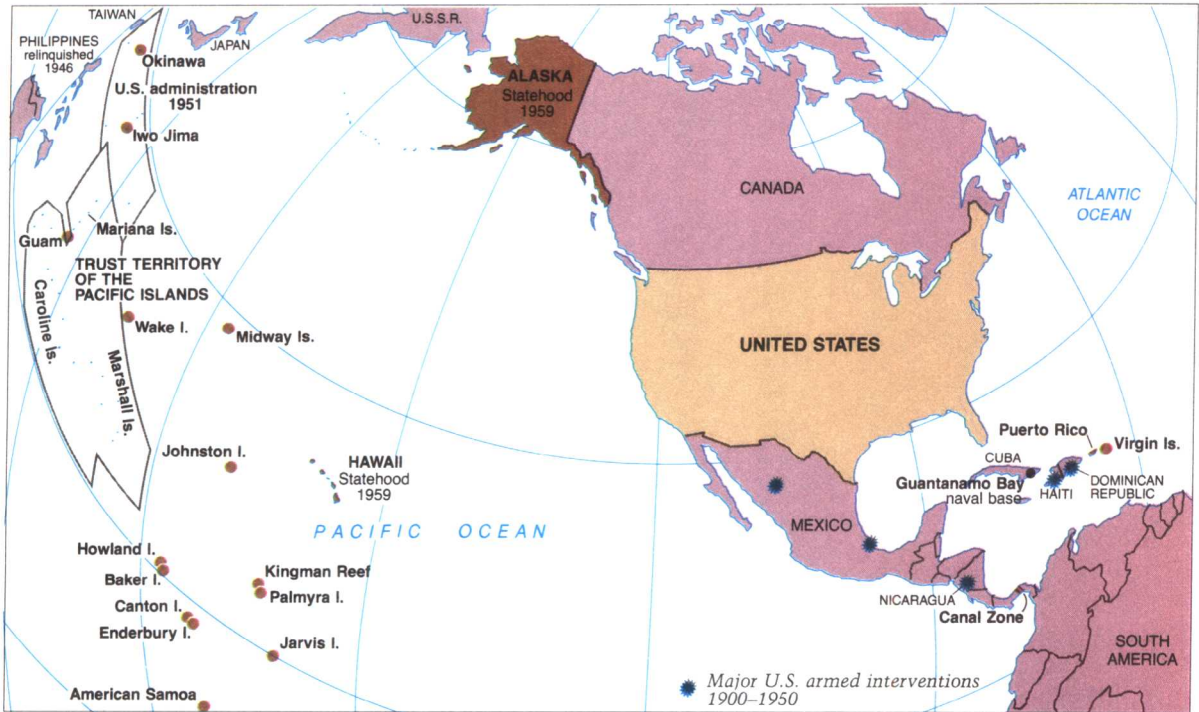


Newly acquired territories brought great opportunities and bitter sectional quarrels. The discovery of gold in California at mid-century was followed by a rush to the Pacific, but the question of extending slavery into the new areas set North against South. That controversy contributed to the outbreak 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, increased the fertility of the soil of the semiarid Great Plains. In 1893, historian Frederick Jackson Turner proclaimed the end of the American frontier 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 antiforeign 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.

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. 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)