

Volume Two from 1865

# America

*Past and Present*



Divine

Breen

Fredrickson

Williams

2nd edition



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## *Past and Present*

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Scott, Foresman and Company  
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# Political and Physical Map of the United States





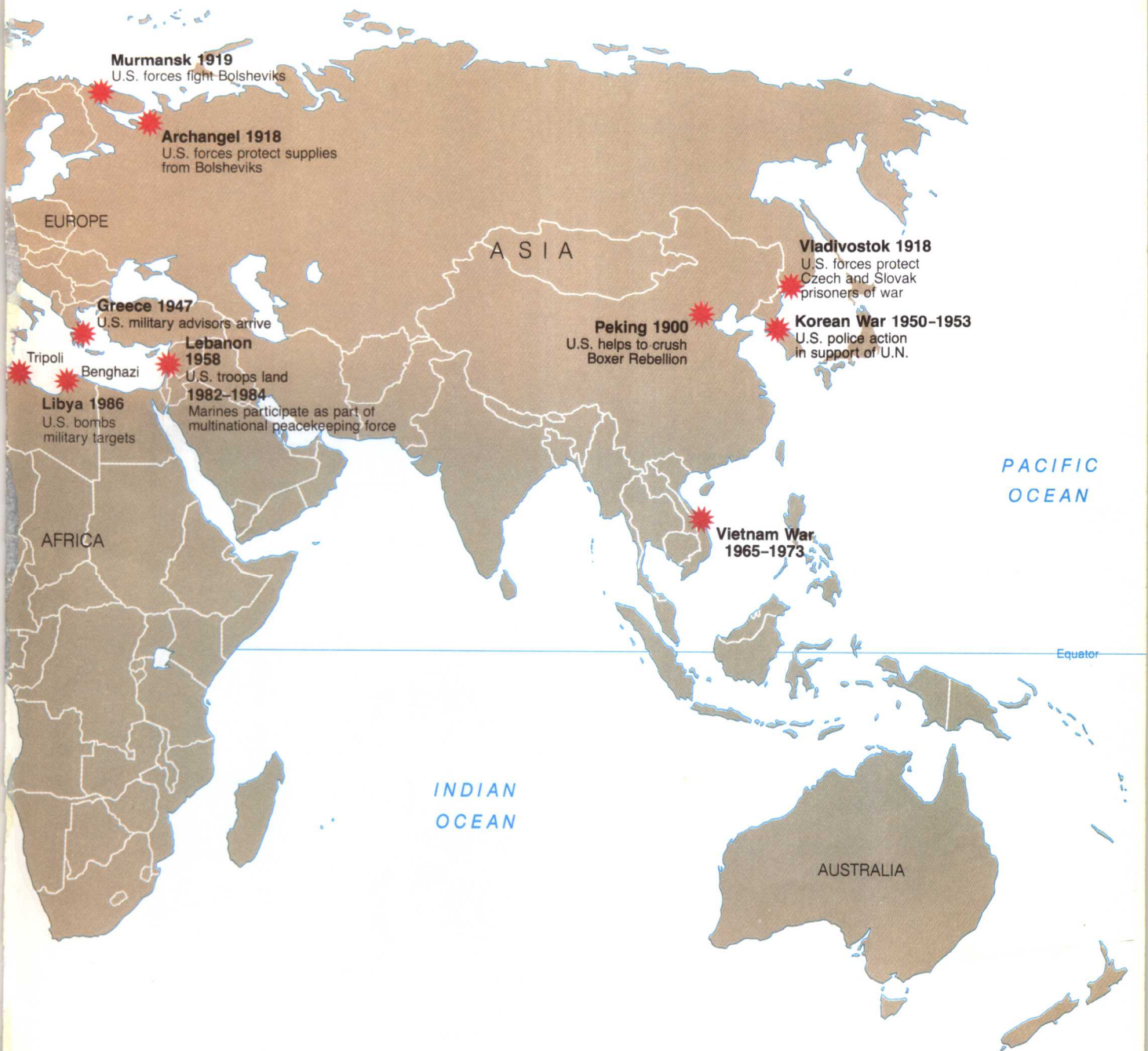




**Major Armed Interventions of the United States (excluding declared wars)**



Map shows present-day boundaries



**Murmansk 1919**  
U.S. forces fight Bolsheviks

**Archangel 1918**  
U.S. forces protect supplies  
from Bolsheviks

EUROPE

ASIA

**Vladivostok 1918**  
U.S. forces protect  
Czech and Slovak  
prisoners of war

**Korean War 1950-1953**  
U.S. police action  
in support of U.N.

**Peking 1900**  
U.S. helps to crush  
Boxer Rebellion

**Vietnam War  
1965-1973**

PACIFIC  
OCEAN

Equator

INDIAN  
OCEAN

AUSTRALIA

AFRICA

**Greece 1947**  
U.S. military advisors arrive

**Lebanon  
1958**  
U.S. troops land

**1982-1984**  
Marines participate as part of  
multinational peacekeeping force

**Libya 1986**  
U.S. bombs  
military targets

Tripoli  
Benghazi







# 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* (1962), *Second Chance: The Triumph of Internationalism in America During World War II* (1967), and *Blowing on the Wind* (1978). He is also the author of *Eisenhower and the Cold War* (1981) and editor of *Exploring the Johnson Years* (1981). He has been a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and has given the Albert Shaw Lectures in Diplomatic History at Johns Hopkins University.

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## T.H. Breen

T.H. Breen, William Smith Mason Professor of American History, at Northwestern University, received his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1968. He has taught at Northwestern since 1975. Breen's major books include *The Character of the Good Rule: A Study of Puritan Political Ideas in New England* (1974), *Puritans and Adventurers: Change and Persistence in Early America* (1980), *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of Revolution* (1985), and with S. Innes of the University of Virginia, "Myne Owne Ground": *Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore* (1980). 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. He is currently preparing a volume for the Oxford University Press *History of the United States in Early America*.

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## 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* (1968), *The Black Image in the White Mind* (1971), and *A Nation Divided* (1975). His latest work, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (1982) won both the Ralph Waldo Emerson Award from Phi Beta Kappa and the Merle Curti Award from the Organization of American Historians. 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. Before coming to Stanford in 1984, he taught at Northwestern. He has also served as Fulbright lecturer in American History at Moscow University, as a Mellon visiting professor at Rice University, and as Seagram lecturer at the University of Toronto.

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## R. Hal Williams

R. Hal Williams has been Dean of Dedman College, the school of humanities and sciences, at Southern Methodist University since 1980. 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) and *Years of Decision: American Politics in the 1890s* (1978). 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. He has received outstanding teaching awards at both Yale and SMU. Williams 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.



# Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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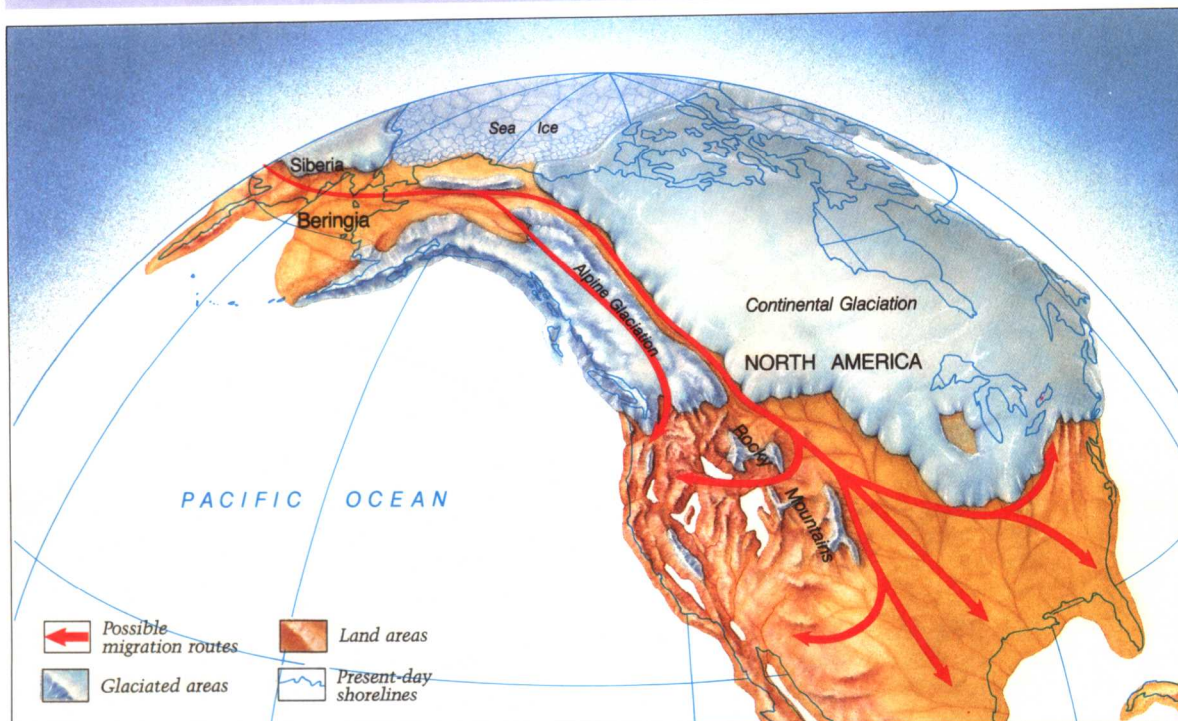
A large number of instructors, too many to name individually, who used the first edition were most helpful in reporting on the success of the text in the classroom. We heartily thank them all.

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

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



## Routes of the First Americans



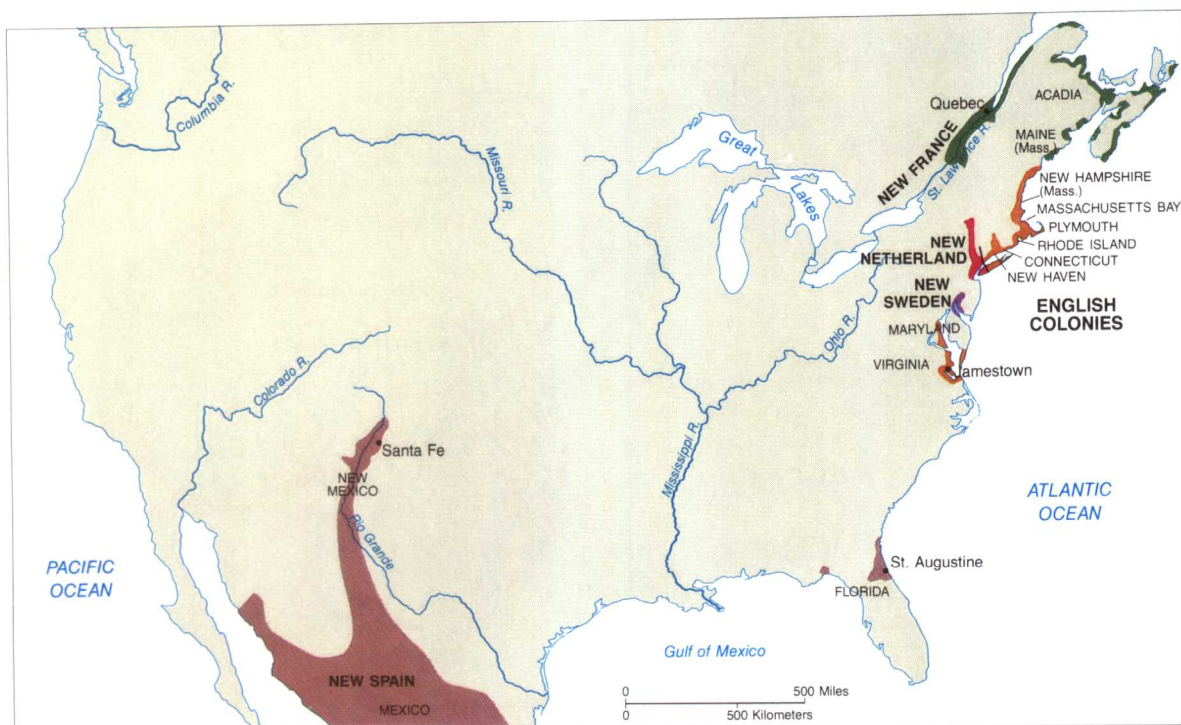
The peopling of North America began about 30,000 years ago, during the Ice Age, and continued for many millennia. Land bridges created by lower sea levels during glaciation formed a tundra coastal plain over what is now the Bering Strait between Asia and North America. In the postglacial era, the warmer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

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

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

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

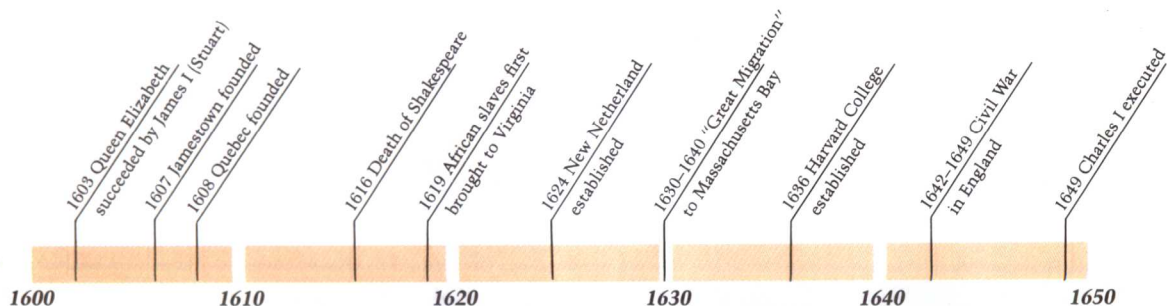




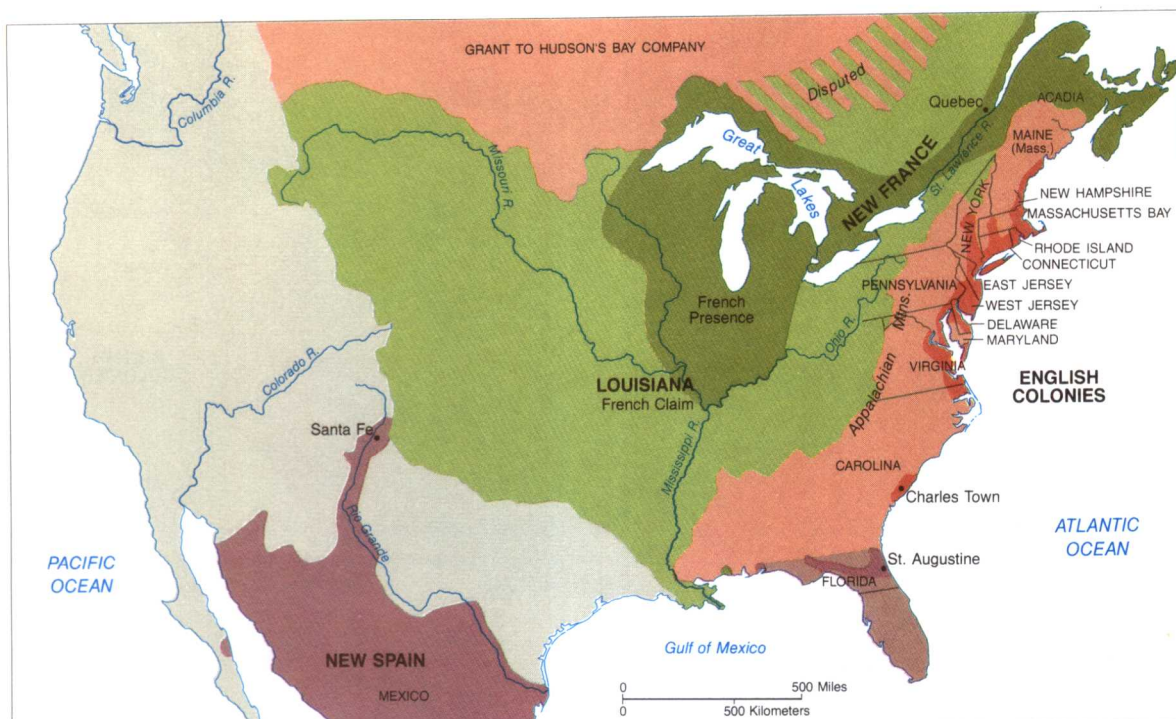
Following up on Columbus's discoveries, in the sixteenth century the Spanish conquered the Native American Aztecs and Incas to establish a vast colonial empire stretching from Mexico to Peru. The search for gold and silver brought Spanish explorers into the present-day American Southwest, where they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

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

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



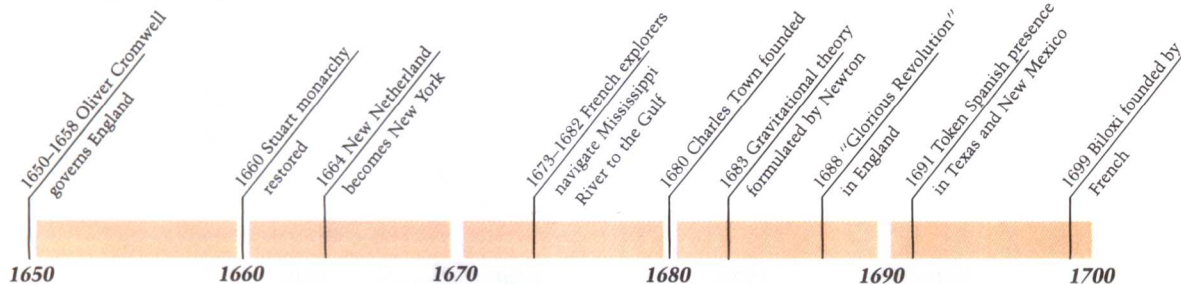




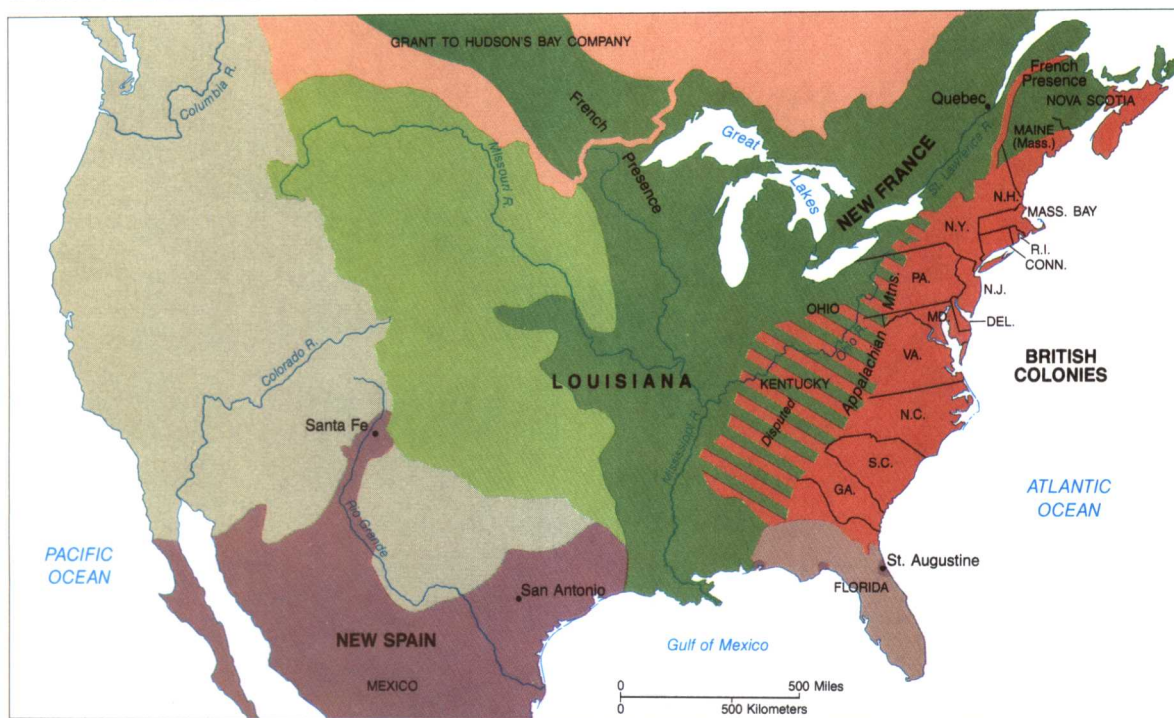
Having established a precarious foothold, the English settlements slowly began to grow and prosper. The later New England colonies received royal charters, separate from Massachusetts Bay. William Penn established Pennsylvania as a place of refuge for Quakers, but he welcomed French, Dutch, German, and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

they each developed their own character and culture.

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



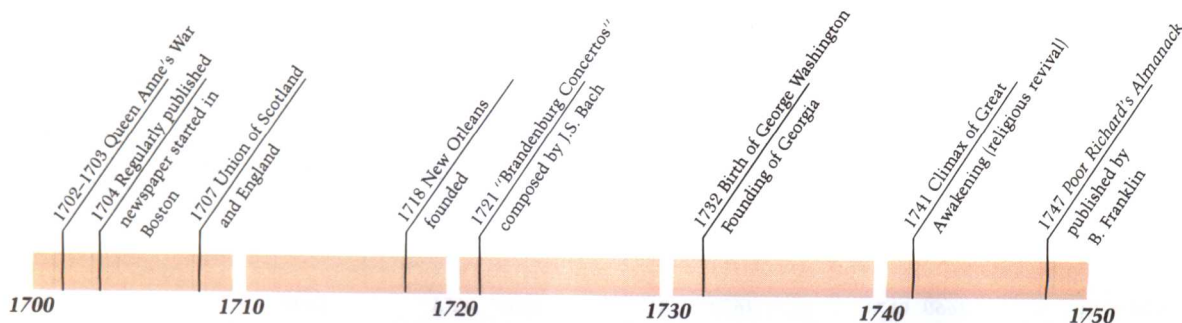


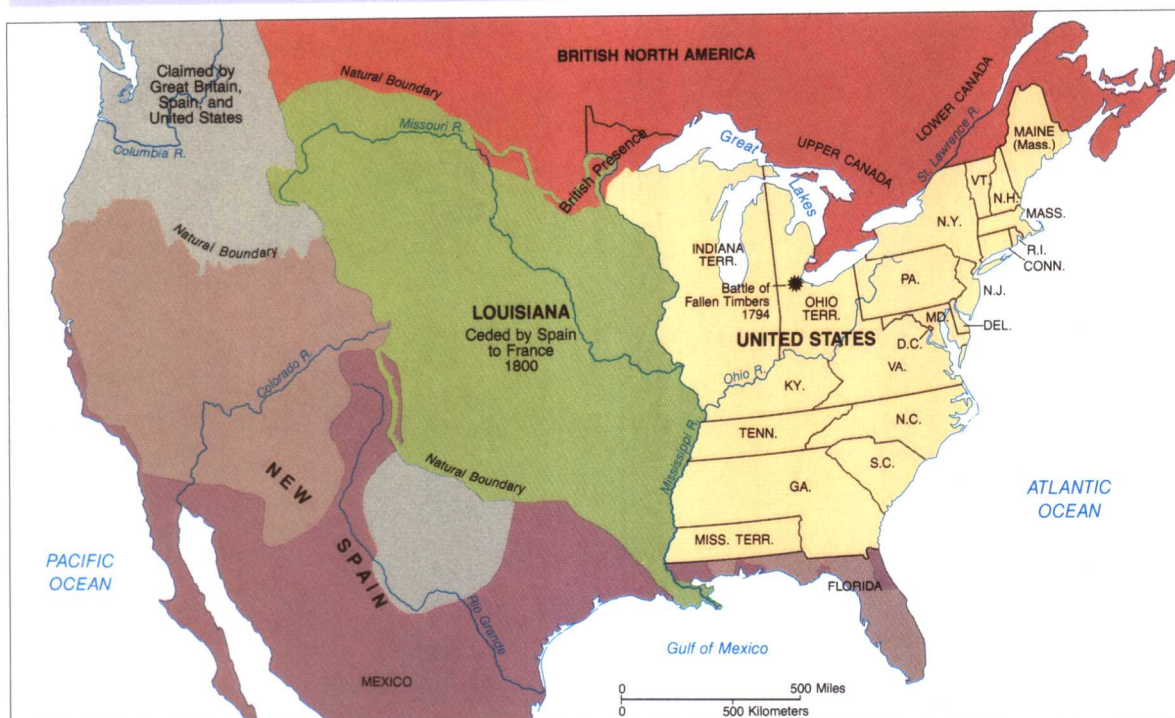


A century-long European struggle for empire between the French and the British led to military confrontation on this side of the Atlantic. Britain's victory in Queen Anne's War changed the map of North America. It gave the British control of the land bordering on Hudson Bay, as well as Newfoundland and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

By the middle of the century, the American

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





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

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

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

