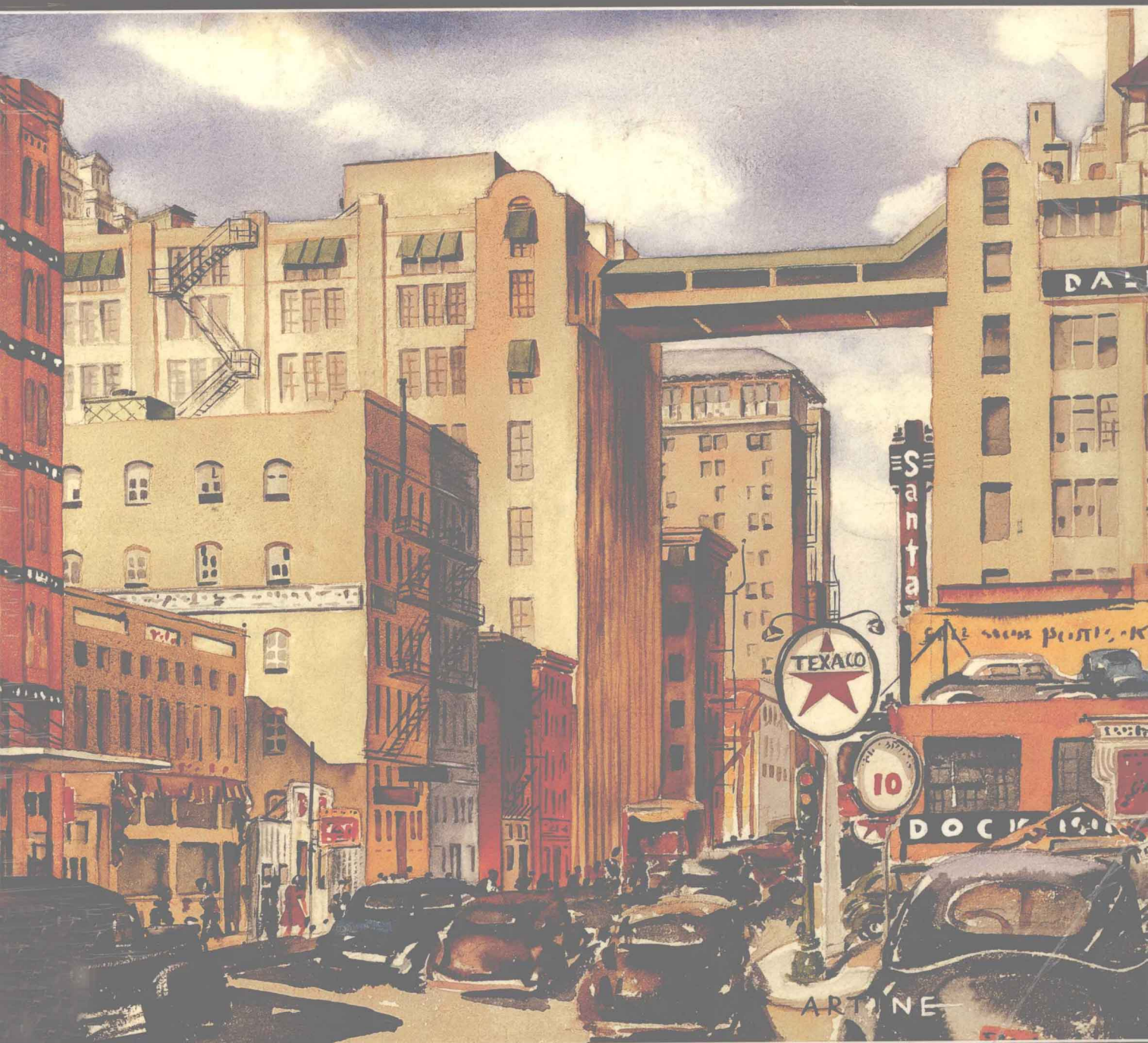


F O U R T H E D I T I O N

# *America's History*

*Volume 2: Since 1865*



James A. Henretta ★ David Brody ★ Susan Ware ★ Marilyn S. Johnson

FOURTH EDITION

# *America's<sup>★</sup> History*

*Volume 2: Since 1865*

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Boston • New York

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*Cover Art:* *Downtown Dallas* by Robine Artline Smith. Courtesy of David Dike Fine  
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*Composition:* TSI Graphics

*Printing and Binding:* RR Donnelley & Sons Company

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 99-62280

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5 4 3 2 1 0

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*For information, write:* Bedford/St. Martin's, 75 Arlington Street, Boston, MA 02116  
(617-426-7440)

ISBN: 0-312-19389-0

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*For our families*



# Preface for Instructors

The year 2000 is an auspicious time to be publishing the fourth edition of *America's History*. There's nothing like a new millennium to get the historical juices flowing, even in the most unsuspecting student. She is going to pause before some monumental development and say, "Whoa, wait a minute, how did that happen?" It might be the crowd of students in the library, online, peering into computer screens; or, on so many campuses, the glorious multi-ethnic, multi-racial mix of her classmates; or, on TV, news of more U.S. aid to Russia (formerly of President Reagan's Evil Empire). How did that happen?

This question is the very substance of historical inquiry. And in asking it, the student is thinking historically. In *America's History* we aspire to satisfy that student's curiosity. We try to ask the right questions—the big ones and the not-so-big ones—and then write narrative history that illuminates the answers. The story, we hope, tells not only what happened, but *why*. We exclude no student from our potential audience of readers. How *could* we, when we hold the conviction that every student, bar none, is curious about his or her past?

From the very inception of *America's History*, we set out to write a democratic history, one that would convey the experiences of ordinary people even as it recorded the accomplishments of the great and powerful. Throughout the book, we focus not only on the marvelous diversity of peoples who became American but also on the institutions—political, economic, social, and cultural—that forged a common national identity. And we present political and social history in an integrated way, using each perspective to make better sense of the other. In our discussion of government and politics, diplomacy and war, we show how they affected—and were affected by—ethnic groups and economic conditions, intellectual beliefs and social changes, and the religious and moral values of the times. Just as

important, we place the American experience in a global context. We trace aspects of American society to their origins in European and African cultures, consider the American Industrial Revolution within the framework of the world economy, and plot the foreign relations of the United States as part of an ever-shifting international system of imperial expansion, financial exchange, and diplomatic alliances.

In emphasizing the global context, however, we had something more in mind. We wanted to remind students that America has never existed alone in the world; that other societies have experienced developments comparable to our own; and that, knowing this, we can better understand what was distinctive and particular to the American experience. At opportune junctures, we pause along the way for a comparative discussion, as, for example, in this fourth edition, about the abolition of slavery in different nineteenth-century plantation economies. This enables us to explain why, in the universal struggle by emancipated slaves for economic freedom, the freedmen of the American South became sharecrop tenants in a market economy and not, as in the Caribbean, gang laborers or subsistence farmers. The operative word is *explain* and, insofar as we can make it so, explaining the past is what we intend *America's History* to do. The challenge is to write a text that has explanatory power and yet is immediately accessible to every student who enrolls in the survey course.

## Organization



This means first of all grounding *America's History* in a clear chronology and a strong conceptual framework. Each half of the nation's history is divided into three parts, with each part corresponding to a distinct phase

of development. Each part begins at a crucial turning point, such as the American Revolution or the Cold War, and emphasizes the dynamic forces that unleashed it and that symbolized the era. We want to show how people of all classes and groups make their own history, but also how people's choices are influenced and constrained by circumstances: the customs and institutions inherited from the past and the distribution of power in the present. We are writing narrative history, but harnessed to historical argument—not simply a retelling of “this happened, then that happened.”

To aid student comprehension, each part begins with a two-page overview: first, a **thematic timeline** highlights the key developments in government, economy, society, culture, and diplomacy; then these themes are fleshed out in a corresponding **part essay**. Each part essay focuses on the crucial engines of historical change—in some eras, primarily economic; in others, political or diplomatic—that created new conditions of life and transformed social relations. The part organization, encapsulated in the thematic timelines and opening essays, helps students understand the major themes and periods of American history, to see that individual historical facts acquire significance as part of a larger pattern of development.

The individual chapters are similarly constructed with student comprehension in mind. A **chapter outline** gives readers an overview of the text discussion, followed by a **thematic introduction** that orients them to the main issues and ideas of the chapter. We reiterate the themes in an analytic **chapter summary**, which is paired with a **chapter timeline** that reminds students of important events. The **suggested readings** that conclude each chapter are annotated for students and, to facilitate research, divided into sections corresponding to the main sections of the chapter.

## Features

The fourth edition of *America's History* contains a wealth of special features, offered not with an eye to embellishing the book but as essential components of the text's pedagogical mission. Each chapter includes two **American Voices**—excerpts from letters, diaries, autobiographies, and public testimony that convey the experiences of ordinary Americans in their own words. One-third of these personal documents are new to this edition, including Philip Fithian on “Sadism under Slavery,” Black Hawk on “A Sacred Reverence for Our Lands,” and Anne Moody on “We Would Like to Be Served.” Entirely new are the **Voices from Abroad**—first-person testimony in every chapter by a foreign vis-

itor or observer that casts the American experience in a different light. Recognizing the centrality of technology in American life, we have doubled the number of **New Technology** essays, in which we describe key technical innovations and their impact on American history. New subjects include folk medicine, the battleship, and the biotech revolution. We retain our well-received **American Lives** feature—incisive biographies in every chapter of important, representative American figures of the time. Among the new Lives in this edition are the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa, the World War I propaganda chief George Creel, the black New Dealer Mary McLeod Bethune, and the architect of Cold War containment, George Kennan.

*America's History* has always been noted for its rich illustration program. In this edition, a new full-color design complements our special effort to enlarge many of the pictures and maps for better clarity and impact. Over one-third of the pictures are new to this edition, selected to reflect changes in the text and to underscore book themes. Ten new maps, mainly political in content, bring the number of maps to over 125, covering every aspect of American life that can be captured geographically.

Taken together, these documents and illustrations provide instructors with a trove of teaching materials, and students with a chance to enter the life of the past and see it from within.

## Textual Changes

Of all the reasons for a new edition, of course, the most compelling is to improve the text itself—a task we have found to be never finished and yet, to our surprise, always gratifying. In this fourth edition, rather special considerations have spurred us on. Whenever authorial responsibility shifts, there is bound to be much rewriting. Elliot Brownlee, one of our original number, retires with this edition, and his section has been taken over by James Henretta (Chapters 10–14) and David Brody (Chapter 15). As a result, James Henretta now authors all of Volume 1 save the final chapter, while David Brody writes Chapters 15–21, Susan Ware Chapters 22–26 and 31, and Lynn Johnson Chapters 27–30.

We have also reduced the number of chapters from 33 to 31 to correspond more closely to the weeks of the academic calendar. In Part Three, former Chapters 13 (on sectionalism) and 14 (on the crisis of the Union) have been combined, with much of Chapter 13's discussion of southern society, Northeast industrialization, and the West shifted to earlier chapters. In Part Six, former Chapter 30 (on the politics of the 1960s) has

been incorporated into the surrounding chapters. Structural changes of this magnitude have a bracing effect, and we are hopeful that by being forced to think hard about how to organize materials, we have come up with a stronger periodization and a clearer thematic development.

We also decided to cut text discussion by ten percent, in part to accommodate a richer array of features, but also to achieve a leaner, more sharply delineated narrative. In this, we were instructed by our experience in writing the Concise version of *America's History* that appeared in 1999. Brevity, we have learned all over again, is the best antidote to imprecise language and shoddy thinking. As textbook authors, we have always contended that if written with enough clarity and skill, the introductory survey text could be made accessible to students at all levels without simplifying the story or skimping on explanation. In this fourth edition, we have enlisted the power of brevity to get us ever closer to that goal.

The revising process is also an opportunity to incorporate new scholarship into our text. In this edition we have expanded the treatment of native Americans in the colonial era, and we have been more attentive to the appearance of a distinctive southern social order before 1820. Our treatment of the coming of the Industrial Revolution shifts the emphasis from industrialization as such to the extension of markets, in keeping with new scholarship on the Market Revolution. Chapter 11 on antebellum reform now stresses the religious roots and impulses common to communalism, women's rights, and abolitionism. We have drawn on recent Reconstruction scholarship that sees the transition from slavery to freedom in large part as a battle over labor systems, and that reveals the gender dimensions of the black struggle for racial equality, including most notably the political role of black women after disfranchisement in the late nineteenth century. We've continued our efforts to incorporate the West into the nation's historical narrative, relying on the new western history for insight into the interactions among environment, peoples, and economic development. In our coverage of the 1930s, we've linked the discussion of popular culture and movies more explicitly to the impact of the depression, and we have expanded our coverage of Mexican Americans during World War II and postwar decades. In our look at the modern era, more attention is given to the role of religion in American life and politics, and in our discussion of diplomacy our treatment of the Cold War is informed by recent scholarship drawing on hitherto closed Soviet and U.S. archives.

Finally, in deference to the new millennium, Susan Ware closes this fourth edition with the epilogue "America and the World at 2000: How Historians Interpret Contemporary Events and Their Legacy for the Future."

In seeking her own bearings at the millennium, Ware invites the student to enter the historian's world—to participate with her in the act of interpretation that lies behind every historical text, including this one.

## Supplements



Readers of *America's History* often cite its ancillary package as a key to the book's success in the classroom. Hence we have revised and expanded with care our array of print and electronic ancillaries for students and teachers. We are especially pleased to welcome in the **Bedford Series in History and Culture** a new collection of potential supplements.

### For Students

**Documents Collection**—Volume 1 by David L. Carlton (Vanderbilt University), Volume 2 by Samuel T. McSevency (Vanderbilt University). This affordable two-volume Documents Collection offers students over 350 primary-source readings on topics covered in *America's History*, arranged to match the organization of the textbook. One-quarter of the documents in the collection are new, giving emphasis to contested issues in American history that will spark critical thinking and class discussions. Sets of documents highlight different perspectives on the same issue, while added attention has been given to America in the context of the larger world. Each document is preceded by a brief introduction and followed by questions for further thought.

**Student Guide**—Volume 1 by Timothy R. Mahoney (University of Nebraska); Volume 2 by Albert Berger (University of North Dakota). The two-volume Student Guide serves as a personal aid to students in their study of *America's History*, paralleling the textbook chapter by chapter to help them identify key ideas and assess their own grasp of the material. Each chapter in the Student Guide opens with all-new learning objectives that identify key themes for students to look for as they read, and a chapter summary that helps them determine whether they have mastered the primary concepts. The chapter timelines from the textbook appear with annotations, providing further framework for students' review. Newly expanded chapter glossaries include terms specific to each chapter as well as broader historical concepts that have changed in meaning over time. A set of exercises on the maps, art, and special features in the text encourage critical thinking, while identification and multiple-choice questions allow students to test their knowledge of the material. Guides to

studying the part introductions (thematic timelines and corresponding part essays) in the textbook and a set of questions for each part help students understand the major themes in each period of American history. Finally, two new essays—"Doing History" and "What History Is"—set the study of *America's History* in a broader context and offer an understanding of the purpose and the techniques of the discipline.

**Bedford/St. Martin's History Website**—Developed by a group of scholars from Columbia University and New York University, the Bedford/St. Martin's History Website allows students to crystallize their knowledge of the themes and discussions in American history and to develop their own critical-thinking skills through a technological medium. Interactive chapter quizzes, map exercises, and primary-source research modules give students a means of reviewing what they have learned in *America's History* and of making meaningful connections between individual events in American history and larger trends. A prominently placed Research Room provides students with a collection of important documents from American history; an organized and annotated set of links to major libraries, history research centers, and American history sites; and a tutorial to help students evaluate historical sources critically for content and reliability. An unabridged online version of Scott Hovey's *Using the Bedford Series in History and Culture in the United States History Survey* can also help instructors integrate primary documents into their course syllabi, lectures, and class discussion.

**The Bedford Series in History and Culture**—Any of the volumes from this highly acclaimed series of brief, inexpensive, document-based supplements can be packaged with *America's History* at a reduced price. More than forty titles include *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, *The Souls of Black Folk*, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*, and many more.

## For Instructors

**Instructor's Resource Manual**—by Bradley T. Gericke (United States Military Academy). The *Instructor's Resource Manual*, provided free of charge with adoption of the textbook, offers an extensive collection of tools to aid both the first-time and the experienced teacher in structuring and customizing the American history course. Paralleling the textbook organization, this guide includes for each chapter in the text an all-new set of instructional objectives, a new annotated chapter outline to guide lectures, a chapter summary,

and an expanded version of the chapter timeline that gives greater detail about each entry. Lecture strategies and ideas for class discussion offer possible approaches to teaching each chapter and cover potentially difficult topics and how to present them; also included are suggestions for teaching the special boxed features in the textbook. A set of exercises for students includes questions about maps, graphs, and pictures in the textbook, and suggested writing assignments include topics involving the boxed features. The manual also reproduces the part introductions from the text and offers part instructional objectives to help instructors tie together larger sections of the book for students.

In addition to the chapter-by-chapter guidelines, the *Instructor's Resource Manual* features a set of fifteen updated historiographic essays on particular topics intended either as background for the instructor or for use with students. An expanded set of special primary-source modules on significant themes in American history allows instructors to customize their courses by emphasizing certain topics or perspectives in assignments or class discussions. Retained modules have been updated with new documents to represent more fully African Americans, Latino Americans, native Americans, women, the South, and constitutional history. All-new modules address religious history, military history, economic history, the presidency, and the West. A new essay about writing history can be photocopied and shared with students, while an updated and extensive list of suggested films is arranged by chapter and gives full detail for instructors wishing to use other media in the classroom. Finally, a new essay on using computers in the teaching of history keeps instructors abreast of the rapidly changing arena of electronic resources.

**Test Bank**—by James Miller. A fully updated Test Bank offers over 120 exercises for each chapter, allowing instructors to pick and choose from a collection of multiple-choice, fill-in, and map questions and short and long essay questions. To aid instructors in customizing their tests to suit their classes, every question is labeled by topic according to the chapter headings and includes a textbook page number that allows instructors to direct students to a particular page for correct answers. The multiple-choice questions are also labeled for instructors by difficulty level, and the correct answers are included. The Test Bank is available in bound paper format, with perforated pages for easy removal, or in Macintosh and Windows formats on disk.

**Transparencies**—A newly expanded set of over 150 full-color acetate transparencies, free to adopters, includes all maps and many tables, graphs, and images from the text.



**CD-ROM with Presentation Manager Pro**—For teachers who wish to use electronic media in the classroom, this new CD-ROM includes images, maps, graphs, and tables from *America's History* as well as sound recordings and a collection of supplementary images, in an easy-to-use format that allows instructors to customize their own presentations. The CD-ROM may be used with Presentation Manager Pro or with PowerPoint.

**Using the Bedford Series in History and Culture in the United States History Survey**—by Scott Hovey. Recognizing that many instructors use a survey text in conjunction with supplements, Bedford/St. Martin's has made the Bedford series volumes available at a discount to adopters of *America's History*. This short guide gives practical suggestions for using more than forty volumes from the **Bedford Series in History and Culture** with a core text. The guide not only supplies links between the text and the supplements but also provides ideas for starting discussions focused on a single primary-source volume.

## Acknowledgments



We are extremely grateful to the following scholars and teachers who reported on their experiences with the third edition or reviewed manuscript chapters of the fourth edition. Their comments often challenged us to rethink or justify our interpretations and always provided a check on accuracy down to the smallest detail.

**Ruth M. Alexander, Colorado State University**

**Robin F. Bachin, University of Miami**

**Albert I. Berger, University of North Dakota**

**Neal A. Brooks, Essex Community College  
(Maryland)**

**Thomas Bryan, Alvin Community College**

**Markus C. Cachia-Riedl, University of  
California, Berkeley**

**Kay J. Carr, Southern Illinois University at  
Carbondale**

**Myles L. Clowers, San Diego City College**

**John P. Daly, Louisiana Tech University**

**Bradley T. Gericke, United States Military  
Academy**

**Nita S. Howard, Clovis Community College**

**Jen A. Huntley-Smith, University of Nevada—  
Reno**

**Davis D. Joyce, East Central University  
(Oklahoma)**

**Norman D. Love, El Paso Community College**

**John R. McKivigan, West Virginia University**

**Samuel T. McSeveney, Vanderbilt University**

**M. Catherine Miller, Texas Tech University**

**Charles K. Piehl, Mankato State University**

**Edwin G. Quattlebaum III, Phillips Academy**

**Steven D. Reschly, Truman State University**

**Leonard Riforgiato, Penn State University—  
Shenango**

**Howard B. Rock, Florida International  
University**

**Peter H. Shattuck, California State  
University—Sacramento**

**Emily J. Teipe, Fullerton College**

**Suzanne R. Thurman, Mesa State College**

**Ken L. Weatherbie, Del Mar College**

**Arthur J. Worrall, Colorado State University**

As the authors of *America's History*, we know better than anyone how much of this book is the work of other hands and other minds. We are grateful to R. Jackson Wilson, who served as intellectual midwife at the project's birth, and to David Follmer, who in various guises as our editor, publisher, and agent has from the outset been a partner in our endeavors. We are equally appreciative of the help given us during our years at Worth Publishers by three very special people: Bob Worth, Paul Shensa, and our indefatigable editor, Jennifer Sutherland.

At Bedford/St. Martin's, Elizabeth Welch has held us to the highest standards of clarity and accuracy as she masterfully edited our text. Charles Christensen, Joan Feinberg, and Katherine Kurzman have been generous in providing the resources we needed to produce the fourth edition. Special thanks are due to many other individuals: Pembroke Herbert and her staff at Picture Research Associates; editor John Elliot; our senior project editor, Shuli Traub; the fine copyeditors who worked closely with us—Patricia Herbst and Alice Vigliani; editorial assistants Becky Anderson, Gretchen Boger, and Regan Park; our senior marketing manager, Charles Cavaliere; and senior production supervisor Joe Ford. We also want to express our thanks for the valuable assistance provided by John Cashman, Patricia Deveneau, Scott Hovey, and Lawrence Peskin.

From the very beginning we have considered this book as a joint intellectual venture and with each edition our collaborative effort has grown. We are proud to acknowledge our collective authorship of *America's History*.

James A. Henretta

David Brody

Susan Ware

Marilynn S. Johnson

# Presenting *America's History*: An Introduction for Students



**I**TS TITLE REVEALS a lot about this book. From the very inception of *America's History*, the authors were determined to write a democratic history, one that would convey the experiences of ordinary people just as it recorded the accomplishments of the famous and powerful. They wanted to show the remarkable diversity of peoples who became American, and they wanted to show how broad historical forces and institutions—political, economic, social, and cultural—have influenced people's choices and forged a common national identity. In keeping with their inclusive vision of U.S. history, the authors sought also to place the American experience in a global context, to reveal the interactions between America and the wider world that have helped to shape the United States.

Broader in scope and richer in information and ideas than many texts, *America's History* nonetheless explains the past clearly and compellingly for all students of the U.S. survey. For explaining America's history—telling not only what happened but why it happened and why it matters—is what the authors set out to do. By reading this introduction, you will discover how they constructed their book and how to gain the most from it.

## *Part and Chapter Structure*

There are many ways to tell the multifaceted story of America's past. Even if the basic information remains the same, historians understand causes and effects differently, consider different facts as more or less important, and—because social, cultural, and political developments often have rhythms and timelines of their own—even tell parts of the story in a different order. The authors of *America's History* intend to explain major social, cultural, and economic developments as clearly as political and diplomatic ones. Hence they have given careful thought to the structure of their book, so that its very organization might make clear all the main themes and developments of American history.

The thirty-one chapters in the text are grouped into six parts, with each part corresponding to a distinct historical period, or phase of development. Each part begins at a crucial turning point, such as the American Revolution or the Cold War, and chapters within each part explore the central historical forces—the engines of change—that shaped each period. This part organization, encapsulated in the part introductions, will help you to place individual events into historical context and to understand the major themes and periods of American history.

## Part Introductions

Each part opens with a two-page overview intended to serve as a road map for the chapters ahead. First, a **thematic timeline** highlights the key developments in government, diplomacy, the economy, society, and culture that characterized the period. By reading the timelines vertically, you will see the principal developments in each of these categories over the course of the part; by reading them horizontally you will see what was happening on all those fronts at a specific time.

Second, a **part essay** that faces the timeline discusses the themes labeled in the timeline. By reading each part timeline and essay, you will gain a firm grasp on the main ideas and topics developed in the following chapters. Too, the part introductions double as useful review aids in preparation for tests and exams.

### THEMATIC TIMELINE

	Government	Diplomacy	Economy	Society	Culture
	The Rise of the State	From Isolation to World Leadership	Prosperity, Depression, and War	Nativism, Migration, and Social Change	The Emergence of a Mass National Culture
1914	Wartime agencies expand power of the federal government	United States enters World War I (1917) Wilson's Fourteen Points (1918)	Shift from debtor to creditor nation Agricultural glut	Southern blacks begin migration to northern cities	Silent screen; Hollywood becomes movie capital of the world
1920	Republican ascendancy Prohibition (1920–1933) Business-government partnership	Treaty of Versailles rejected by U.S. Senate (1920) Washington Conference sets naval limits (1922)	Economic recession (1920–1921) Booming prosperity (1922–1929) Rise of welfare capitalism	Rise of nativism National Origins Act (1924) Mexican American immigration increases	Jazz Age (1920s) Advertising promotes consumer culture, supports radio and new magazines
1930	Franklin D. Roosevelt becomes president (1933)	Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy toward Latin America (1933)	Great Depression (1929–1941) Rise of labor movement	Farming families migrate from Dust Bowl states to California and	Documentary impulse Federal patronage of the arts

**B**Y 1914 INDUSTRIALIZATION, economic expansion abroad, massive immigration, and the growth of a vibrant urban culture had set the foundations for a distinctly *modern* American society. In all facets of politics, the economy, and daily life, American society was becoming more organized, more bureaucratic, and more complex. By 1945, after having fought in two world wars and weathering a dozen years of economic depression, the edifice of the new society was largely complete.

**Government.** First, an essential building block of modern American society was a strong national state. This state came late and haltingly to America compared with that of the industrialized countries of Western Europe. American participation in World War I called forth an unprecedented mobilization of the domestic economy,

was also the only one to possess a dangerous new weapon—the atomic bomb. Within wartime decisions and strategies lay the roots of the Cold War that followed.

**Economy.** Third, modern America developed a strong domestic economy. In fact, between 1914 and 1945 the nation's industrial economy was the most productive in the world. Even the Great Depression, which hit the United States harder than any other industrialized nation, did not permanently affect America's global economic standing. Indeed, American businesses successfully competed in world markets, and American financial institutions played the leading role in international economic affairs. Large-scale corporate organizations replaced smaller family-run businesses. The



## Chapter Introductions

Just as the part introductions highlight central themes and topics in both graphic and narrative form, each chapter opens with two expressions of its main ideas and topics. To start, a **chapter outline** consisting of the main headings and subheadings of the chapter introduces you to subject matter and organization even before you begin to read. Next, a **thematic introduction** picks up from the outline to forecast the main issues and ideas of the chapter.

### *American Neutrality, 1939–1941*

The Road to War  
The Attack on Pearl Harbor

### *Organizing for Victory*

Mobilizing for Defense  
Mobilizing the American Fighting Force  
Workers and the War Effort  
Civil Rights during Wartime  
Politics in Wartime

### *Life on the Home Front*

"For the Duration"  
Japanese Relocation

### *Fighting and Winning the War*

Wartime Aims and Strategies  
The War in Europe  
The War in the Pacific

ON A SUNDAY night in October 1938 the actor Orson Welles's "Mercury Theater of the Air" broadcast a modern version of *The War of the Worlds* (1898) by the British writer H. G. Wells. The fictional news bulletins, interspersed with simulated on-the-spot reports, convinced many people that Martians had landed near Princeton, New Jersey, and were invading the countryside. Even though the broadcast included four announcements that the radio program was a dramatization, some people fled their homes. No one doubted the power of radio anymore.

One reason that so many people believed in Orson Welles's fictional invasion may have been that in September 1938, radio programs had been interrupted repeatedly by ominous news bulletins about a possible European war. Even the September 30 reports of the Munich agreement among Britain, France, and Germany, which prevented war for another year, did not ease people's fears of imminent catastrophe. In the late 1930s popular culture reflected America's connection to international events, an involvement that the coming of World War II would intensify. When radios announced on December 7, 1941, that the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor, Americans realized that this news flash was not a hoax.

## Chapter Headings

*America's History* contains a lot of information important for you to learn and remember. To help you navigate each chapter successfully, the authors employ three levels of headings—main headings to announce major topics and themes, subheadings to identify different aspects of the main topic, and sub-subheadings to divide subsections into related but distinct categories. The size and design of each heading indicate its level, with main headings the largest and most visually arresting and sub-subheadings the smallest and least prominent. As you read the chapter, consider the headings as signposts to main and contributing ideas and topics.

were not uniformly grim. The depression was not on everyone's mind twenty-four hours a day. People continued their daily routine of work, family, and leisure. Literature and the arts flourished, and Hollywood movies and radio provided a welcome relief from hard times. Novelist Josephine Herbst recalled "an almost universal liveliness that countervailed universal suffering."

### *The Coming of the Great Depression*



Since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution early in the nineteenth century the United States had experienced recessions or panics at least every twenty years. But none was as severe or lasted as long as the Great Depression. Only as the economy shifted toward war mobilization in the late 1930s did the grip of the depression finally ease.

### *The Causes of the Depression*

The downturn began slowly and almost imperceptibly. After 1927, consumer spending declined and housing construction slowed. Inventories piled up, and in 1928 and 1929 manufacturers began to cut back on production and lay off workers; reduced incomes and buying power in turn reinforced the downturn. By the summer of 1929 the economy was clearly in a recession.

#### **Stock Market Speculation and the Great Crash.**

Among the causes of the Great Depression, a flawed stock market was an important but not the dominant influence. By 1929 the market had become the symbol of the nation's prosperity and an icon of American business culture. The financier John J. Raskob captured this attitude in a *Ladies' Home Journal* article, "Everyone Ought to Be Rich." Invest \$15 a month in sound common stocks, Raskob advised, and in twenty years the investment will grow to \$80,000. Not everyone was playing the stock market, however. Only about 4 million Americans, representing about 10 percent of the nation's households, owned stock in 1929, and less than one-third of them had portfolios large enough to require the services of a stockbroker.

Stock prices had been rising steadily since 1921, but in 1928 and 1929 they surged forward with the



## Chapter Conclusions

Each chapter ends with a **chapter summary** that revisits central issues and themes. A paired **chapter timeline** lists key events and dates. Together, the summary and timeline provide a quick review of the main developments discussed in the chapter and the specific events that shaped those developments.

## Suggested Readings

The final page of each chapter provides a comprehensive list of Suggested Readings, each entry succinctly described by the text authors. If you want to learn more about a certain subject or need to find secondary sources for research, these up-to-date bibliographies will direct you toward interesting and important scholarship. To help you find easily works on a particular subject, the Suggested Readings are organized under headings that correspond to the main sections of the chapter.

### Summary

A new chapter in American reform began at the start of the twentieth century. For decades the problems resulting from industrialization and urban growth had been mounting. Now, after 1900, reform began to dominate the nation's public life. The unifying element in progressivism was a common intellectual outlook, highly principled and idealistic as to goals, and confident of the human capacity to find the means.

Beyond this shared outlook, progressives broke up into diverse and often conflicting groups. Political reformers included business groups concerned chiefly with improving the efficiency of city government. Other progressives, such as Robert La Follette, opposed privilege and wanted to democratize the political process. Both groups worked to enhance their power at the expense of entrenched party machines.

### T I M E L I N E

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1889 | Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr found Hull House  |
| 1893 | Panic of 1893 starts depression of the 1890s  |
| 1899 | National Consumers' League founded  |
| 1900 | Robert M. La Follette elected Wisconsin governor<br>Commission form of city government first appears, in Galveston, Texas |
| 1901 | President McKinley assassinated; Theodore Roosevelt succeeds him  |
| 1902 | President Roosevelt settles national anthracite strike  |
| 1903 | National Women's Trade Union League founded   |
| 1904 | Supreme Court dissolves the Northern Securities Company   |
| 1905 | <i>Lochner v. New York</i> overturns law restricting  |

### Suggested Readings

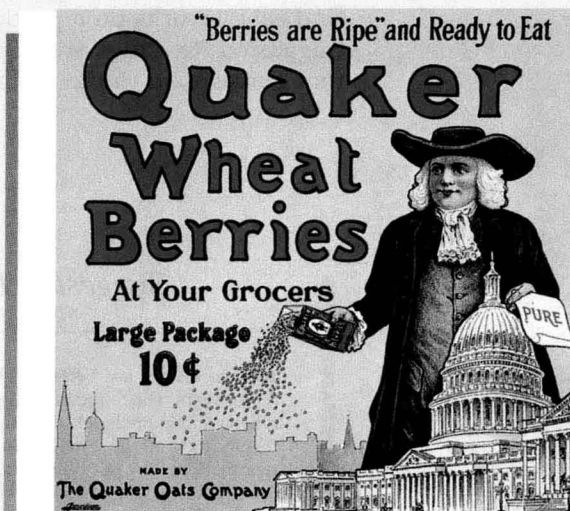
Western history has become a bitterly contested ground in recent years. The fountainhead of the voluminous traditional scholarship is Frederick Jackson Turner's famous essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (1893), reprinted in Ray A. Billington, ed., *Frontier and Section: Selected Essays of Frederick Jackson Turner* (1961). The "new" western history is critical of Turnerian scholarship for being "Eurocentric"—for seeing western history only through the eyes of frontiersmen and settlers—and for masking the rapacious and environmentally destructive underside of western settlement. Patricia N. Limerick's skillfully argued *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (1987) opened the debate. Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West* (1991), provides the fullest synthesis of the new scholarship. For an authoritative, balanced treatment of the main themes of western history, see the essays in Clyde A. Milner II et al., *The Oxford History of the American West* (1994). On women's experience—another primary concern of the new western history—the starting point is Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson, eds., *The Women's West* (1987). There are incisive environmental essays in Donald Worster, *Under Western Skies: Nature and History in the American West* (1992).

### The Great Plains

The classic book, stressing the settlers' adaptation to climate and environment, is Walter P. Webb, *The Great Plains* (1931). There is an excellent chapter on the ecological history of the southern plains in Donald Worster, *The Great Plains* (1979). Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846–1890* (1984), is a good introduction; Robert H. Lowie, *Indians of the Great Plains* (1954), is a classic anthropological study. On the religious life of the Plains Indians, see Howard L. Harrod, *Renewing the World: Plains Indian Religion and Morality* (1987). The assault on Indian culture is recounted in Fredrick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (1984). On phases of plains settlement, see Oscar Winther, *The Transportation Frontier: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1865–1890* (1964); Lewis Atherton, *The Cattle Kings* (1964); Gilbert Fite, *The Farmer's Frontier, 1865–1900* (1966); and Mary W. M. Hargreaves, *Dry-Farming in the Northern Great Plains* (1954). The ecological impact is

## Illustration Program

*America's History* contains an unusually rich assortment of pictures, maps, graphs, and tables, all carefully chosen to extend or to reinforce the text. To help you appreciate the historical significance of each illustration, explanatory captions link the images to chapter discussion.



### Quaker Oats

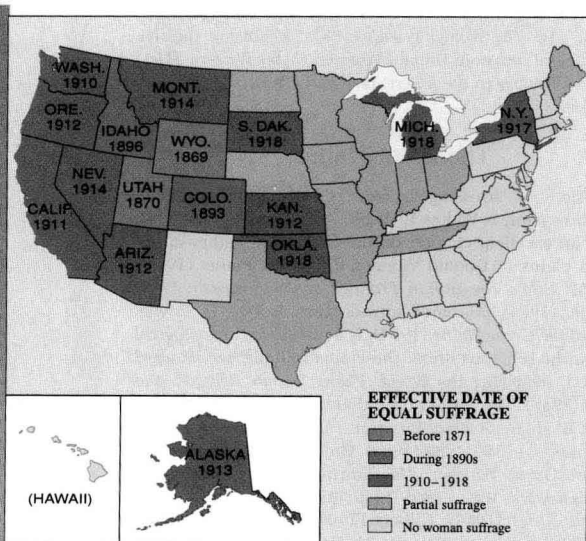
Like crackers, sugar, and other nonperishable foods, oatmeal had traditionally been marketed to consumers in bulk from barrels. In 1882 the grain merchant Henry P. Cowell completed the first continuous-process mill for oatmeal, cutting production costs and greatly increasing output. He also hit on the idea of selling oatmeal in boxes of standard size and weight to a national market. Broadsides showing the Quaker Oats man soon appeared in every American town, advertising a product

## Pictures

Historians value the art and artifacts of a period much as they value its written documents—as primary sources, or historical evidence for what people thought and did in the past. The over 500 images in *America's History* are all contemporaneous with the period under discussion; that is, people living at that time created the art and artifacts reproduced. Thus you can examine each picture for clues to the period, much as you would study a printed historical document.

## Maps

Maps in *America's History* show much more than a visual representation of the land—each conveys information that is significantly dependent on *place*. The over 125 maps in your book cover every aspect of American life that can be captured geographically, from military campaigns and political shifts to territorial expansion and changes in ethnic and religious distribution. Study each map and its caption critically, remembering that maps extend as well as reinforce the text. (For a complete listing of maps, see p. xxxiii.)



MAP 20.1

### Woman Suffrage, 1869-1918

By 1909, after more than sixty years of agitation, only four lightly populated western states had granted women full voting rights. A number of other states offered partial suffrage, limited mostly to voting for school boards and such issues as taxes. Between 1910 and 1918, as the effort shifted to the struggle for a constitutional amendment, eleven states (and Alaska) joined the list granting full suffrage. The most stubborn resistance was in the South.



## Graphs

Like maps, graphs reveal some historical patterns more clearly and vividly than words alone can. The many graphs in *America's History* show how specific data can add up to large social, economic, cultural, and political trends. Study them in conjunction with the text to understand key developments in greater depth and to learn how historians support their arguments with statistical evidence. (For a complete listing of graphs, see p. xxxiv.)

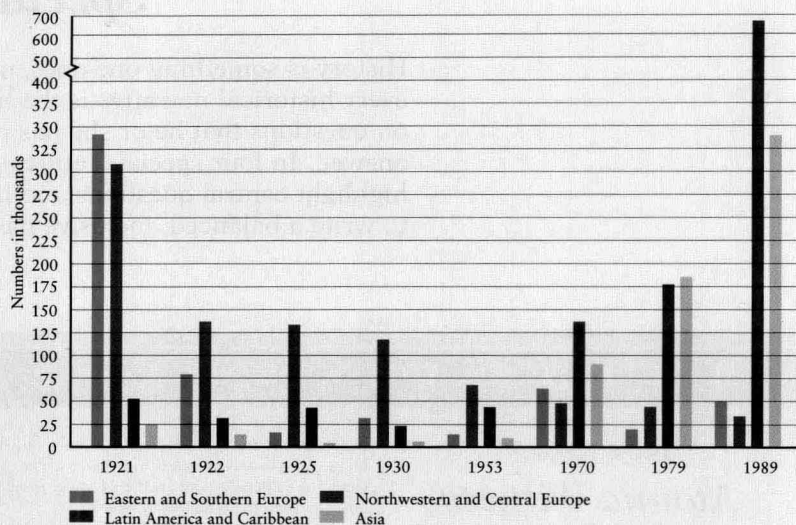


FIGURE 23.1

### *American Immigration after World War I*

Legislation reflecting nativism slowed the influx of immigrants after 1920, as did the dislocations brought on by depression and war in the 1930s and 1940s. Note the higher rate of non-European immigration since the 1970s.

## Tables

Tables present factual information, often involving dates or quantities, in rows and columns for easy comparison. By looking at the information presented, you can usually identify an increase or decrease over time, a contrast or similarity between different places, and other progressions or developments. (For a complete listing of tables, see p. xxxiv.)

TABLE 19.1

### *Ten Largest Cities by Population, 1870 and 1910*

1870		1910	
City	Population	City	Population
1. New York	942,292	New York	4,766,883
2. Philadelphia	674,022	Chicago	2,185,283
3. Brooklyn*	419,921	Philadelphia	1,549,008
4. St. Louis	310,864	St. Louis	687,029
5. Chicago	298,977	Boston	670,585
6. Baltimore	267,354	Cleveland	560,663
7. Boston	250,526	Baltimore	558,485
8. Cincinnati	216,239	Pittsburgh	533,905
9. New Orleans	191,418	Detroit	465,766
10. San Francisco	149,473	Buffalo	423,715

\*Brooklyn was consolidated with New York in 1898.

Source: U.S. Census data.

## Special Features

History is something one does, not just something one reads. Behind every historical narrative is the historian's act of interpretation, focused on questions that he or she has posed, researched, and sought to answer. In four special features, the authors of *America's History* highlight central questions and issues they have explored in their effort to write a balanced, inclusive narrative of the nation's history.

### A M E R I C A N V O I C E S

ISAAC NELSON

#### *Atomic Witness*



**I**saac Nelson, a naval veteran of World War II, returned to his hometown of Cedar City, Utah, in 1945 and went to work for a nearby hardware company. Like many other residents of southern Utah, he and his wife Oleta lived downwind from the Nevada Test Site, where the U.S. government detonated 126 atomic bombs into the atmosphere between 1951 and 1963.

After 1951 they were going to start the testing in Nevada, and everybody was really excited, and thought maybe we'd get a part to play in it and show our patriotism. We wanted to help out what little we could. My wife and I and a hundred or so residents of Cedar drove out to see the first one. We huddled up, our blankets around us because it was cold, so early in the morning before daylight, and we were chattering like chipmunks, so excited! Pretty soon,

would go out and ooh and aah just like a bunch of hicks. We was never warned that there was any danger involved in going out and being under these fall-out clouds all the time I lived here. . . .

Along about 1955 a cloud came over Cedar, and my wife and I, the kids and the neighbors stood outside looking at it and talking about it. Later on towards evening, my wife, her skin, her hands, arms, neck, face, legs, anything that was exposed just turned a beet red. . . . She got a severe headache, and nausea, diarrhea, really miserable. We drove out to the hospital, and the doctor said, "Well it looks like sunburn, but then it doesn't." Her headache persisted for several months, and the diarrhea and nausea for a few weeks.

Four weeks after that I was sittin' in the front room reading the paper and she'd gone into the bathroom to wash her hair. All at once she let out the most ungodly scream, and I run in there and there's about half her hair layin' in the washbasin! You can imagine a woman with beautiful, raven-black hair, so black it would glint green in the sunlight just like a raven's wing. . . . She was in a state of panic. . . . After that she kept getting weaker, and listless, and she didn't even have any desire to go out

### *American Voices*

Each chapter contains two primary-source excerpts drawn from letters, diaries, autobiographies, public testimony, and other documents that convey the experience of ordinary Americans in their own words. Individually each feature provides a firsthand account of an event or development central to the chapter; together the excerpts reveal the rich diversity of the American people. (For a complete listing of "American Voices," see p. xxxv.)

### *Voices from Abroad*

Despite its geographic distance from other parts of the world, America has always been influenced by events and traditions elsewhere. To illuminate what is comparable in the American experience and what is distinctive, first-person testimony in every chapter by a foreign observer casts America's history in a global perspective. (For a complete listing of "Voices from Abroad," see p. xxxvi.)

### V O I C E S F R O M A B R O A D

HANOCH BARTOV

#### *"Everyone Has a Car"*



**O**ne of Israel's foremost writers and journalists, Hanoach Bartov spent two years in the United States working as a correspondent for the newspaper Lamerchav. As a newcomer to Los Angeles in the early 1960s, he was both fascinated and appalled by Americans' love affair with the automobile.

Our immediate decision to buy a car sprang from healthy instincts. Only later did I learn from bitter experience that in California, death was preferable to living without one. Neither the views from the plane nor the weird excursion that first evening hinted at what I would go through that first week.

Very simple—the nearest supermarket was about half a kilometer south of our apartment, the nearest school was a kilometer east, and

never thought I might interpret his remark to refer to the walking distance. The moment a baby sees the light of day in Los Angeles, a car is registered in his name in Detroit. . . .

At first perhaps people relished the freedom and independence a car provided. You get in, sit down, and grab the steering wheel, your mobility exceeding that of any other generation. No wonder people refuse to live downtown, where they can hear their neighbors, smell their cooking, and suffer frayed nerves as trains pass by bedroom windows. Instead, they get a piece of the desert, far from town, at half price, drag a water hose, grow grass, flowers, and trees, and build their dream house. . . .

The result? A widely scattered city, its houses far apart, its streets stretched in all directions. Olympic Boulevard from west to east, forty kilometers. Sepulveda Boulevard, from Long Beach in the south to the edge of the desert, forty kilometers. Altogether covering 1200 square kilometers. As of now.

Why "as of now"? Because greater distances mean more commuting, and more commuting leads to more cars. More cars means problems that push people even farther away from the city, which



## American Lives

The authors want to show how people of all classes and groups shape their own history, but also how people's choices are influenced and constrained by circumstances: the customs and institutions inherited from the past and the distribution of power in the present. Incisive biographies in every chapter demonstrate how influential Americans confronted the major issues of their times. (For a complete listing of "American Lives," see p. xxxv.)

## A M E R I C A N L I V E S

### Mary McLeod Bethune: Black Braintruster

THE NEW DEAL brought many remarkable people to Washington, but few had traveled as far as Mary McLeod Bethune. As the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Sr. wrote to her in 1935 when she received the prestigious Spingarn Medal from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "It is a long way from the rice and cotton fields of South Carolina to this distinguished recognition, but you have made it in such a short span of years that I am afraid you are going to be arrested for breaking the speed limit." In terms of her contributions to black history, Mary McLeod Bethune deserves to be remembered alongside such luminaries as Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Martin Luther King Jr.

Born on July 10, 1875, near Mayesville, South Carolina, Mary was the fifteenth of seventeen children born to Sam and Patsy McLeod, former slaves liberated after the Civil War. She was educated at the Scotia Seminary in Concord, North Carolina, and the Bible Institute for Home and Foreign Missions in Chicago (later the Moody Bible Institute) in preparation for her chosen career as a missionary. Turning from her original plan to go to Africa, she redirected her missionary



**Mary McLeod Bethune**

This 1943 painting by Betsy Graves Reyneau captures the strength and dignity of one of the twentieth century's most important African Americans. Behind Bethune is a picture of the first building at the Daytona Literary and Industrial School for Training of Negro Girls, which later became Bethune-Cookman College.

National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution/Art Resource, NY.

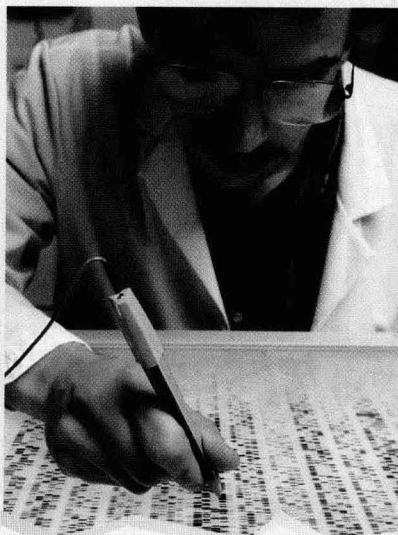
expanded educational opportunities for African Americans.

## N E W T E C H N O L O G Y

### The Biotech Revolution

WAS ZACHARY TAYLOR poisoned? Did Abraham Lincoln have a rare disease called Marfan's syndrome? Were Tzar Nicholas II and his family executed during the Bolshevik Revolution in 1918? Was the Vietnam serviceman buried in Arlington Cemetery's Tomb of the Unknowns really Air Force Lieutenant Michael Blassie? Recent advances in DNA testing, part of the dramatic growth in biotechnology in the 1980s and 1990s, mean that these historical questions, plus a host of contemporary ones, can be answered. With promises of breakthroughs in medicine (gene therapy and cancer research), the environment (genetically altered microorganisms for pollution cleanup), and agriculture (genetically engineered foods), biotechnology offers the possibility not just to understand but also to manipulate the processes of life.

The essence of biotechnology is exploiting genes, a process revolutionized by the 1953 discovery of DNA by scientists James Watson and Francis Crick. DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid) is the molecule that carries the genetic blueprint of all living things; genes are DNA chains made up of hundreds or some-



## New Technology

Recognizing the centrality of technology in American history, the authors pause twice in each part to consider revolutionary changes in technology that were central to the economic and cultural life of that period. (For a complete listing of "New Technology," see p. xxxvi.)