

THE ENDURING VISION

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



SIXTH EDITION

BOYER | CLARK | KETT | SALISBURY | SITKOFF | WOLOCH

The Enduring Vision

This page intentionally left blank

The Enduring Vision

SIXTH EDITION

A History of the American People

Paul S. Boyer

University of Wisconsin

Clifford E. Clark, Jr.

Carleton College

Joseph F. Kett

University of Virginia

Neal Salisbury

Smith College

Harvard Sitkoff

University of New Hampshire

Nancy Woloch

Barnard College

Houghton Mifflin Company *Boston* *New York*

Publisher: Suzanne Jeans
Marketing Manager: Katherine Bates
Marketing Assistant: Lauren Bussard
Senior Developmental Editor: Jennifer E. Sutherland
Senior Project Editor: Bob Greiner
Editorial Assistant: Emily Meyer
Senior Art and Design Manager: Jill Haber
Cover Design Director: Anthony L. Saizon
Senior Photo Editor: Jennifer Meyer Dare
Composition Buyer: Chuck Dutton
New Title Project Manager: James Lonergan

Cover Art: View of New Orleans, "Under my Wings Everything Prospers," 1803. Chicago Historical Society.

Copyright © 2008 by Houghton Mifflin. All rights reserved.

No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by any information storage or retrieval system without the prior written permission by federal copyright law. Address inquiries to College Permissions, Houghton Mifflin Company, 222 Berkeley Street, Boston, MA 02116-3764.

Printed in the U.S.A.

Library of Congress Catalog Number: 2006930132

Instructor's exam copy:
ISBN-10: 0-618-83404-4
ISBN-13: 978-0-618-83404-4

For orders, use student text ISBNs:
ISBN-10: 0-618-80159-6
ISBN-13: 978-0-618-80159-6

Brief Contents

| | | |
|-----------------|---|------|
| PROLOGUE | Enduring Vision, Enduring Land | xxxv |
| 1 | Native Peoples of America, to 1500 | 2 |
| 2 | The Rise of the Atlantic World, 1400–1625 | 22 |
| 3 | The Emergence of Colonial Societies, 1625–1700 | 52 |
| 4 | The Bonds of Empire, 1660–1750 | 86 |
| 5 | Roads to Revolution, 1750–1776 | 120 |
| 6 | Securing Independence, Defining Nationhood, 1776–1788 | 156 |
| 7 | Launching the New Republic, 1788–1800 | 190 |
| 8 | Jeffersonianism and the Era of Good Feelings, 1801–1824 | 220 |
| 9 | The Transformation of American Society, 1815–1840 | 248 |
| 10 | Democratic Politics, Religious Revival, and Reform, 1824–1840 | 278 |
| 11 | Technology, Culture, and Everyday Life, 1840–1860 | 310 |
| 12 | The Old South and Slavery, 1830–1860 | 336 |
| 13 | Immigration, Expansion, and Sectional Conflict, 1840–1848 | 368 |
| 14 | From Compromise to Secession, 1850–1861 | 396 |
| 15 | Crucible of Freedom: Civil War, 1861–1865 | 424 |
| 16 | The Crises of Reconstruction, 1865–1877 | 466 |
| 17 | The Transformation of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1860–1900 | 500 |
| 18 | The Rise of Industrial America, 1865–1900 | 532 |
| 19 | Immigration, Urbanization, and Everyday Life, 1860–1900 | 564 |

2 0 **Politics and Expansion in an Industrializing Age, 1877–1900** 596

2 1 **The Progressive Era, 1900–1917** 626

2 2 **Global Involvements and World War I, 1902–1920** 662

2 3 **The 1920s: Coping with Change, 1920–1929** 696

2 4 **The Great Depression and the New Deal, 1929–1939** 728

2 5 **Americans and a World in Crisis, 1933–1945** 764

2 6 **The Cold War Abroad and at Home, 1945–1952** 798

2 7 **America at Midcentury, 1952–1960** 826

2 8 **The Liberal Era, 1960–1968** 858

2 9 **A Time of Upheaval, 1968–1974** 888

3 0 **Conservative Resurgence, Economic Woes, Foreign Challenges,
1974–1989** 916

3 1 **Beyond the Cold War: Charting a New Course, 1988–2000** 946

3 2 **Global Dangers, Global Challenges, 2001 to the Present** 974

Appendix A-1

Credits C-1

Index I-1

Contents

| | | | |
|------------------|-------|-------------------|--------|
| Special Features | xix | Tables | xxv |
| Maps | xxi | Preface | xxvii |
| Figures | xxiii | About the Authors | xxxiii |

Prologue **Enduring Vision, Enduring Land** xxxv

The Continent and Its Regions xxxvi
The West xxxvi • The Heartland xxxvii • The Atlantic Seaboard xxxix

A Legacy and a Challenge xl

1 Native Peoples of America, to 1500 3

The First Americans, c. 13,000–2500 BC 4
Peopling New Worlds 4 • Archaic Societies 6

Cultural Diversity, c. 2500 BC–AD 1500 7
Mesoamerica and South America 7 • The Southwest 12
• The Eastern Woodlands 13 • Nonfarming Societies 15

**North American Peoples on the Eve
of European Contact** 17
Kinship and Gender 17 • Spiritual and Social Values 18

Beyond America—Global Interactions
The Origins and Spread of Agriculture 10

Conclusion 20 • Chronology 13,000 BC–AD 1500 20

2 The Rise of the Atlantic World, 1400–1625 23

African and European Backgrounds 24
West Africa: Tradition and Change 24 • European Culture and Society 27 • Religious Upheavals 30
• The Reformation in England, 1533–1625 32

Europe and the Atlantic World, 1400–1600 33
Portugal and the Atlantic, 1400–1500 33 • The “New Slavery” and Racism 34 • To America and Beyond, 1492–1522 35 • Spain’s Conquistadors, 1492–1536 37
• The Columbian Exchange 41

Footholds in North America, 1512–1625 42
Spain’s Northern Frontier 42 • France: Colonizing Canada 44 • England and the Atlantic World, 1558–1603 45 • Failure and Success in Virginia, 1603–1625 46 • New England Begins, 1614–1625 48
• A “New Netherland” on the Hudson, 1609–1625 49

Technology and Culture

Sugar Production in the Americas 38

Conclusion 49 • Chronology, 1400–1625 50

3 The Emergence of Colonial Societies, 1625–1700 53

Chesapeake Society 54
State and Church in Virginia 55 • State and Church in Maryland 55 • Death, Gender, and Kinship 56
• Tobacco Shapes a Region, 1630–1675 57 • Bacon’s Rebellion, 1676 58 • From Servitude to Slavery 59

Puritanism in New England 61
Building a City upon a Hill, 1625–1642 61 • New England Ways 62 • Towns, Families, and Farm Life 64
• Economic and Religious Tensions 66 • Expansion and Native Americans 68 • Salem Witchcraft, 1691–1693 72

The Spread of Slavery: The Caribbean and Carolina 73
Sugar and Slaves: The West Indies 73 • Rice and Slaves: Carolina 75

The Middle Colonies 76
Precursors: New Netherland and New Sweden 76
• English Conquests: New York and New Jersey 77
• Quaker Pennsylvania 78

Rivals for North America: France and Spain 87
 France Claims a Continent 80 • New Mexico: The Pueblo Revolt 82 • Florida and Texas 83

Technology and Culture

Native American Baskets and Textiles
 in New England 70

Conclusion 84 • Chronology, 1625–1700 84

4 The Bonds of Empire, 1660–1750 86

Rebellion and War, 1660–1713 88

Royal Centralization, 1660–1688 88 • The Glorious Revolution, 1688–1689 89 • A Generation of War, 1689–1713 91

Colonial Economies and Societies, 1660–1750 91

Mercantilist Empires in America 92 • Population Growth and Diversity 96 • Rural White Men and Women 99 • Colonial Farmers and the Environment 100 • The Urban Paradox 102 • Slavery 103 • The Rise of Colonial Elites 105

Competing for a Continent, 1713–1750 106

France and the American Heartland 106 • Native Americans and British Expansion 107 • British Expansion in the South: Georgia 108 • Spain's Borderlands 109 • The Return of War, 1739–1748 110

Public Life in British America, 1689–1750 112

Colonial Politics 112 • The Enlightenment 114 • The Great Awakening 115

Beyond America—Global Interactions

European Maritime Empires, 1440–1740 94

Conclusion 118 • Chronology, 1660–1750 118

5 Roads to Revolution, 1750–1776 120

Triumph and Tensions: The British Empire, 1750–1763 122

A Fragile Peace, 1750–1754 123 • The Seven Years' War in America, 1754–1760 123 • The End of French North America, 1760–1763 125 • Anglo-American Friction 126 • Frontier Tensions 127

Imperial Authority, Colonial Opposition, 1760–1766 130

Writs of Assistance, 1760–1761 131 • The Sugar Act, 1764 131 • The Stamp Act Crisis, 1765–1766 132 • Ideology, Religion, and Resistance 135

Resistance Resumes, 1766–1770 137

Opposing the Quartering Act, 1766–1767 137 • Crisis Over the Townshend Duties, 1767–1770 137 • Women and Colonial Resistance 139 • Customs "Racketeering," 1767–1770 140 • "Wilkes and Liberty," 1768–1770 141

The Deepening Crisis, 1770–1774 142

The Boston Massacre, 1770 142 • The Committees of Correspondence, 1772–1773 143 • Conflicts in the Backcountry 143 • The Tea Act, 1773 145

Toward Independence, 1774–1776 146

Liberty for African-Americans 146 • The "Intolerable Acts" 147 • The First Continental Congress 148 • From Resistance to Rebellion 149 • *Common Sense* 150 • Declaring Independence 151

Technology and Culture

Public Sanitation in Philadelphia 128

Conclusion 153 • Chronology, 1750–1776 153

6 Securing Independence, Defining Nationhood, 1776–1788 156

The Prospects of War 158

Loyalists and Other British Sympathizers 158 • The Opposing Sides 160

War and Peace, 1776–1783 161

Shifting Fortunes in the North, 1776–1778 162 • The War in the West, 1776–1782 166 • Victory in the South, 1778–1781 167 • Peace at Last, 1782–1783 169

The Revolution and Social Change 170

Egalitarianism Among White Males 171 • White Women in Wartime 172 • A Revolution for Black Americans 172 • Native Americans and the Revolution 175

Forging New Governments, 1776–1787 175

From Colonies to States 175 • Formalizing a Confederation, 1776–1781 177 • Finance, Trade, and the Economy, 1781–1786 178 • The Confederation and the West, 1785–1787 179

Toward a New Constitution, 1786–1788 182

Shays's Rebellion, 1786–1787 182 • The Philadelphia Convention, 1787 182 • The Struggle over Ratification, 1787–1788 185

Beyond America—Global Interactions

The American Revolution as an International War 164

Conclusion 188 • Chronology, 1776–1788 188

7 Launching the New Republic, 1788–1800 190

Constitutional Government Takes Shape, 1788–1796 192

Implementing Government 192 • The Federal Judiciary and the Bill of Rights 193

Hamilton’s Domestic Policies, 1789–1794 194

Hamilton and His Objectives 194 • Establishing the Nation’s Credit • Creating a National Bank 196 • Emerging Partisanship 196 • The Whiskey Rebellion 197

The United States in a Wider World, 1789–1796 198

Spanish Power in Western North America 199
• Challenging American Expansion, 1789–1792 202
• France and Factional Politics, 1793 202 • Diplomacy and War, 1793–1796 203

Parties and Politics, 1793–1800 205

Ideological Confrontation, 1793–1794 205
• The Republican Party, 1794–1796 206 • The Election of 1796 207 • The French Crisis, 1798–1799 207
• The Alien and Sedition Acts, 1798 208 • The Election of 1800 210

Economic and Social Change 210

Producing for Markets 210 • White Women in the Republic 212 • Land and Culture: Native Americans 214
• African-American Struggles 216

Beyond America—Global Interactions

Trade and Empire in the Pacific, to 1800 200

Conclusion 219 • Chronology, 1788–1800 218

8 Jeffersonianism and the Era of Good Feelings, 1801–1824 220

The Age of Jefferson 222

Jefferson and Jeffersonianism 222 • Jefferson’s “Revolution” 223 • Jefferson and the Judiciary 224
• The Louisiana Purchase 225 • The Election of 1804 227 • The Lewis and Clark Expedition 227

The Gathering Storm 229

Challenges on the Home Front 229 • The Suppression of American Trade and Impressment 232 • The Embargo Act of 1807 233 • James Madison and the Failure of Peaceable Coercion 234 • Tecumseh and the Prophet 235 • Congress Votes for War 236

The War of 1812 237

On to Canada 237 • The British Offensive 239 • The Treaty of Ghent, 1814 239 • The Hartford Convention 240

The Awakening of American Nationalism 241

Madison’s Nationalism and the Era of Good Feelings, 1817–1824 242 • John Marshall and the Supreme Court 242 • The Missouri Compromise, 1820–1821 243
• Foreign Policy Under Monroe 244 • The Monroe Doctrine, 1823 245

Technology and Culture

Mapping America 230

Conclusion 246 • Chronology, 1801–1824 246

9 The Transformation of American Society, 1815–1840 248

Westward Expansion 250

The Sweep West 250 • Western Society and Customs 251 • The Far West 252 • The Federal Government and the West 252 • The Removal of the Indians 253
• The Agricultural Boom 254

The Growth of the Market Economy 255

Federal Land Policy 256 • The Speculator and the Squatter 256 • The Panic of 1819 257

The Transportation Revolution: Steamboats, Canals, and Railroads 257

The Growth of Cities 259

Industrial Beginnings 263

Causes of Industrialization 264 • Textile Towns in New England 265 • Artisans and Workers in Mid-Atlantic Cities 267

Equality and Inequality 267

Urban Inequality: The Rich and the Poor 268 • Free Blacks in the North 269 • The “Middling Classes” 270

The Revolution in Social Relationships 271

The Attack on the Professions 271 • The Challenge to Family Authority 272 • Wives and Husband 273
• Horizontal Allegiances and the Rise of Voluntary Associations 275

Technology and Culture

Building the Erie Canal 260

Conclusion 275 • Chronology, 1815–1840 276

10 Democratic Politics, Religious Revival, and Reform, 1824–1840 278

The Rise of Democratic Politics, 1824–1832 280

Democratic Ferment 281 • The Election of 1824 281
 • John Quincy Adams as President 281 • The Rise
 of Andrew Jackson 282 • The Election of 1828 282
 • Jackson in Office 283 • Nullification 284 • The Bank
 Veto and the Election of 1832 286

**The Bank Controversy and the Second Party System,
 1833–1840 287**

The War on the Bank 288 • The Rise of Whig Opposition
 288 • The Election of 1836 289 • The Panic of 1837 292
 • The Election of 1840 292 • The Second Party System
 Matures 293

The Rise of Popular Religion 294

The Second Great Awakening 294 • Eastern Revivals
 295 • Critics of Revivals: The Unitarians 296 • The Rise
 of Mormonism 296 • The Shakers 298

The Age of Reform 298

The War on Liquor 298 • Public School Reform 300
 • Abolition 301 • Women’s Rights 303 • Penitentiaries
 and Asylums 304 • Utopian Communities 306

Beyond America—Global Interactions

The Panic of 1837 290

Conclusion 307 • Chronology, 1824–1840 307

**11 Technology, Culture, and Everyday Life,
 1840–1860 310**

Technology and Economic Growth 312

Agricultural Advancement 312 • Technology and
 Industrial Progress 313 • The Railroad Boom 316
 • Rising Prosperity 319

The Quality of Life 320

Dwellings 320 • Conveniences and Inconveniences 321
 • Disease and Health 322 • Popular Health Movements
 322 • Phrenology 323

Democratic Pastimes 323

Newspapers 324 • The Theater 324 • Minstrel Shows
 325 • P.T. Barnum 325

The Quest for Nationality in Literature and Art 326

Roots of the American Renaissance 327 • Cooper,
 Emerson, Thoreau, Fuller, and Whitman 327
 • Hawthorne, Melville, and Poe 329 • Literature in the
 Marketplace 331 • American Landscape Painting 332

Technology and Culture

Guns and Gun Culture 314

Conclusion 334 • Chronology, 1840–1860 335

**12 The Old South and Slavery,
 1830–1860 336**

King Cotton 338

The Lure of Cotton 339 • Ties Between the Lower and
 Upper South 341 • The North and South Diverge 342

The Social Groups of the White South 343

Planters and Plantation Mistresses 344 • The Small
 Slaveholders 346 • The Yeomen 347 • The People of
 the Pine Barrens 347

Social Relations in the White South 348

Conflict and Consensus in the White South 348 • Conflict
 over Slavery 348 • The Proslavery Argument 349
 • Violence in the Old South 352 • The Code of Honor
 and Dueling 352 • The Southern Evangelicals and White
 Values 353

Life Under Slavery 354

The Maturing of the Plantation System 354 • Work and
 Discipline of Plantation Slaves 355 • The Slave Family
 356 • The Longevity, Diet, and Health of Slaves 357
 • Slaves off Plantations 358 • Life on the Margins: Free
 Blacks in the Old South 358 • Slave Resistance 359

The Emergence of African-American Culture 361

The Language of Slaves 361 • African-American Religion
 362 • Black Music and Dance 364

Beyond America—Global Interactions

Slavery as a Global Institution 350

Conclusion 365 • Chronology, 1830–1860 366

**13 Immigration, Expansion, and Sectional
 Conflict, 1840–1848 368**

Newcomers and Natives 371

Expectations and Realities 371 • The Germans 372
 • The Irish 373 • Anti-Catholicism, Nativism, and Labor
 Protest 374 • Immigrant Politics 375

The West and Beyond 376

The Far West 377 • Far Western Trade 377 • The
 American Settlement of Texas to 1835 378 • The Texas
 Revolution, 1836 379 • American Settlements in
 California, New Mexico, and Oregon 379 • The Overland
 Trails 380

The Politics of Expansion, 1840–1846 381

The Whig Ascendancy 381 • Tyler and the Annexation
 of Texas 382 • The Election of 1844 383 • Manifest
 Destiny, 1845 386 • Polk and Oregon 387

The Mexican-American War and Its Aftermath, 1846–1848 388

The Origins of the Mexican-American War 388 • The Mexican-American War 389 • The War's Effects on Sectional Conflict 392 • The Wilmot Proviso 392 • The Election of 1848 392 • The California Gold Rush 393

Technology and Culture

The Telegraph 384

Conclusion 394 • Chronology, 1840–1848 395

14 From Compromise to Secession, 1850–1861 398

The Compromise of 1850 398

Zachary Taylor at the Helm 398 • Henry Clay Proposes a Compromise 399 • Assessing the Compromise 400 • Enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act 401 • *Uncle Tom's Cabin* 402 • The Election of 1852 403

The Collapse of the Second Party System, 1853–1856 403

The Kansas-Nebraska Act 404 • The Surge of Free Soil 405 • The Ebbing of Manifest Destiny 405 • The Whigs Disintegrate, 1854–1855 406 • The Rise and Fall of the Know-Nothings, 1853–1856 406 • The Republican Party and the Crisis in Kansas, 1855–1856 407 • The Election of 1856 410

The Crisis of the Union, 1857–1860 411

The Dred Scott Case 411 • The Lecompton Constitution, 1857 411 • The Lincoln-Douglas Debates 412 • The Legacy of Harpers Ferry 414 • The South Contemplates Secession 416

The Collapse of the Union, 1860–1861 416

The Election of 1860 417 • The Movement for Secession 420 • The Search for Compromise 421 • The Coming of War 421

Beyond America—Global Interactions

Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World 418

Conclusion 422 • Chronology, 1850–1861 423

15 Crucible of Freedom: Civil War, 1861–1865 426

Mobilizing for War 426

Recruitment and Conscription 427 • Financing the War 428 • Political Leadership in Wartime 429 • Securing the Union's Borders 431

In Battle, 1861–1862 431

Armies, Weapons, and Strategies 431 • Stalemate in the East 434 • The War in the West 435 • The Soldiers' War 437 • Ironclads and Cruisers: The Naval War 439 • The Diplomatic War 440

Emancipation Transforms the War, 1863 441

From Confiscation to Emancipation 441 • Crossing Union Lines 442 • Black Soldiers in the Union Army 443 • Slavery in Wartime 444 • The Turning Point of 1863 444

War and Society, North and South 448

The War's Economic Impact: The North 448 • The War's Economic Impact: The South 449 • Dealing with Dissent 451 • The Medical War 454 • The War and Women's Rights 455

The Union Victorious, 1864–1865 456

The Eastern Theater in 1864 456 • The Election of 1864 457 • Sherman's March Through Georgia 457 • Toward Appomattox 459 • The Impact of the War 460

Technology and Culture

The Camera and the Civil War 452

Conclusion 461 • Chronology, 1861–1865 462

16 The Crises of Reconstruction, 1865–1877 466

Reconstruction Politics, 1865–1868 468

Lincoln's Plan 469 • Presidential Reconstruction Under Johnson 470 • Congress Versus Johnson 471 • The Fourteenth Amendment, 1866 471 • Congressional Reconstruction, 1866–1867 473 • The Impeachment Crisis, 1867–1868 473 • The Fifteenth Amendment and the Question of Woman Suffrage, 1869–1870 476

Reconstruction Governments 477

A New Electorate 478 • Republican Rule 479 • Counterattacks 480

The Impact of Emancipation 481

Confronting Freedom 481 • African-American Institutions 483 • Land, Labor, and Sharecropping 484 • Toward a Crop-Lien Economy 485

New Concerns in the North, 1868–1876 487

Grantism 487 • The Liberals' Revolt 489 • The Panic of 1873 489 • Reconstruction and the Constitution 492 • Republicans in Retreat 493

Reconstruction Abandoned, 1876–1877 493

"Redeeming" the South 493 • The Election of 1876 494

Technology and Culture

The Sewing Machine 490

Conclusion 497 • Chronology, 1865–1877 497

17 The Transformation of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1860–1900 500

Native Americans and the Trans-Mississippi West 502

The Plains Indians 503 • The Assault on Nomadic Indian Life 504 • Custer’s Last Stand, 1876 506 • “Saving” the Indians 507 • The Ghost Dance and the End of Indian Resistance on the Great Plains, 1890 509

Settling the West 511

The First Transcontinental Railroad 511 • Settlers and the Railroad 512 • Homesteading on the Great Plains 513 • New Farms, New Markets 515 • Building a Society and Achieving Statehood 515 • The Spread of Mormonism 516

Southwestern Borderlands 517

Exploiting the Western Landscape 518

The Mining Frontier 519 • Cowboys and the Cattle Frontier 521 • Cattle Towns and Prostitutes 522 • Bonanza Farms 522 • The Oklahoma Land Rush, 1889 523

The West of Life and Legend 526

The American Adam and the Dime-Novel Hero 526 • Revitalizing the Frontier Legend 526 • Beginning a National Parks Movement 527

Beyond America—Global Interactions

Cattle-Raising in the Americas 524

Conclusion 529 • Chronology, 1860–1900 529

18 The Rise of Industrial America, 1865–1900 532

The Rise of Corporate America 534

The Character of Industrial Change 534 • Railroad Innovations 535 • Consolidating the Railroad Industry 536 • Applying the Lessons of the Railroads to Steel 537 • The Trust: Creating New Forms of Corporate Organization 539

Stimulating Economic Growth 541

The Triumph of Technology 541 • Specialized Production 544 • Advertising and Marketing 545 • Economic Growth: Costs and Benefits 546

The New South 546

Obstacles to Economic Development 547 • The New South Creed and Southern Industrialization 547 • The Southern Mill Economy 548 • The Southern Industrial Lag 549

Factories and the Work Force 550

From Workshop to Factory 550 • The Hardships of Industrial Labor 550 • Immigrant Labor 551 • Women and Work in Industrial America 552 • Hard Work and the Gospel of Success 554

Labor Unions and Industrial Conflict 555

Organizing Workers 555 • Strikes and Labor Violence 558 • Social Thinkers Probe for Alternatives 560

Technology and Culture

Electricity 542

Conclusion 561 • Chronology, 1865–1900 562

19 Immigration, Urbanization, and Everyday Life, 1860–1900 564

The New American City 566

Migrants and Immigrants 567 • Adjusting to an Urban Society 569 • Slums and Ghettos 571 • Fashionable Avenues and Suburbs 571

Middle- and Upper-Class Society and Culture 574

Manners and Morals 574 • The Cult of Domesticity 574 • Department Stores 575 • The Transformation of Higher Education 575

Working-Class Politics and Reform 578

Political Bosses and Machine Politics 578 • Battling Poverty 578 • New Approaches to Social Reform 580 • The Moral-Purity Campaign 580 • The Social Gospel 580 • The Settlement-House Movement 581

Working-Class Leisure in the Immigrant City 582

Streets, Saloons, and Boxing Matches 582 • The Rise of Professional Sports 584 • Vaudeville, Amusement Parks, and Dance Halls 586 • Ragtime 586

Cultures in Conflict 587

The Genteel Tradition and Its Critics 587 • Modernism in Architecture and Painting 589 • From Victorian Lady to New Woman 590 • Public Education as an Arena of Class Conflict 591

Technology and Culture

Flush Toilets and the Invention of the Nineteenth-Century Bathroom 572

Conclusion 593 • Chronology, 1860–1900 594

**20 Politics and Expansion
in an Industrializing Age, 1877–1900 596**

Party Politics in an Era of Upheaval, 1877–1884 598

Contested Political Visions 598 • Patterns of Party Strength 600 • Regulating the Money Supply 601
• Civil Service Reform 601

**Politics of Privilege, Politics of Exclusion,
1884–1892 602**

A Democrat in the White House: Grover Cleveland, 1885–1889 603 • Big Business Strikes Back, Benjamin Harrison, 1889–1893 604 • Agrarian Protest and the Rise of the People’s Party 605 • African-Americans After Reconstruction 608

The 1890s: Politics in a Depression Decade 610

1892: Populists Challenge the Status Quo 610
• Capitalism in Crisis: The Depression of 1893–1897 611
• Business Leaders Respond 612 • 1894: Protest Grows Louder 613 • Silver Advocates Capture the Democratic Party 613 • 1896: Republicans Triumphant 615

**Expansionist Stirrings and War with Spain,
1878–1901 616**

Roots of Expansionist Sentiment 616 • Pacific Expansion 617 • Crisis over Cuba 620 • The Spanish-American War, 1898 620 • Critics of Empire 622 • Guerrilla War in the Philippines, 1898–1902 622

Beyond America—Global Interactions
Missionaries to the World 618

Conclusion 623 • Chronology, 1877–1900 624

21 The Progressive Era, 1900–1917 626

Progressives and Their Ideas 628

The Many Faces of Progressivism 628 • Intellectuals Offer New Social Views 629 • Novelists, Journalists, and Artists Spotlight Social Problems 633

State and Local Progressivism 634

Reforming the Political Process 634 • Regulating Business, Protecting Workers 635 • Making Cities More Livable 637

Progressivism and Social Control 639

Moral Control in the Cities 639 • Battling Alcohol and Drugs 640 • Immigration Restriction and Eugenics 641
• Racism and Progressivism 642

Blacks, Women, and Workers Organize 644

African-American Leaders Organize Against Racism 644

• Revival of the Woman-Suffrage Movement 645
• Enlarging “Woman’s Sphere” 646 • Workers Organize; Socialism Advances 647

**National Progressivism Phase I: Roosevelt and Taft,
1901–1913 648**

Roosevelt’s Path to the White House 649 • Labor Disputes, Trustbusting, Railroad Regulation 649
• Consumer Protection 650 • Environmentalism Progressive-Style 651 • Taft in the White House, 1909–1913 653 • The Four-Way Election of 1912 654

**National Progressivism Phase II: Woodrow Wilson,
1913–1917 655**

Tariff and Banking Reform 655 • Regulating Business; Aiding Workers and Farmers 657 • Progressivism and the Constitution 657 • 1916: Wilson Edges Out Hughes 658

Beyond America—Global Interactions

Progressive Reformers Worldwide Share Ideas and Strategies 630

Conclusion 659 • Chronology, 1900–1917 659

**22 Global Involvements and World War I,
1902–1920 662**

Defining America’s World Role, 1902–1914 664

The “Open Door”: Competing for the China Market 664
• The Panama Canal: Hardball Diplomacy 665
• Roosevelt and Taft Assert U.S. Power in Latin America and Asia 666 • Wilson and Latin America 667

War in Europe, 1914–1917 669

The Coming of War 669 • The Perils of Neutrality 669
• The United States Enters the War 671

**Mobilizing at Home, Fighting in France,
1917–1918 672**

Raising, Training, and Testing an Army 672 • Organizing the Economy for War 674 • With the American Expeditionary Force in France 675 • Turning the Tide 676

Promoting the War and Suppressing Dissent 678

Advertising the War 678 • Wartime Intolerance and Dissent 679 • Suppressing Dissent by Law 682

Economic and Social Trends in Wartime America 683

Boom Times in Industry and Agriculture 683 • Blacks Migrate Northward 683 • Women in Wartime 684
• Public Health Crisis: The 1918 Influenza Pandemic 685
• The War and Progressivism 686

Joyous Armistice, Bitter Aftermath, 1918–1920 687

Wilson's Fourteen Points; The Armistice 687 • The Versailles Peace Conference, 1919 688 • The Fight over the League of Nations 689 • Racism and Red Scare, 1919–1920 691 • The Election of 1920 692

Technology and Culture

The Phonograph, Popular Music, and Home-Front Morale in World War I 680

Conclusion 693 • Chronology, 1902–1920 694

23 The 1920s: Coping with Change, 1920–1929 696

A New Economic Order 698

Booming Business, Ailing Agriculture 698 • New Modes of Producing, Managing, and Selling 700 • Women in the New Economic Era 701 • Struggling Labor Unions in a Business Age 701

The Harding and Coolidge Administrations 702

Standpat Politics in a Decade of Change 702 • Republican Policy Making in a Probusiness Era 703 • Independent Internationalism 705 • Progressive Stirrings, Democratic Party Divisions 705 • Women and Politics in the 1920s: A Dream Deferred 706

Mass Society, Mass Culture 706

Cities, Cars, Consumer Goods 706 • Soaring Energy Consumption and a Threatened Environment 707 • Mass-Produced Entertainment 709 • Celebrity Culture 710

Cultural Ferment and Creativity 711

The Jazz Age and the Postwar Crisis of Values 711 • Alienated Writers 712 • Architects, Painters, and Musicians Confront Modern America 713 • The Harlem Renaissance 716

A Society in Conflict 717

Immigration Restriction 717 • Needed Workers/Unwelcome Aliens: Hispanic Newcomers 718 • Nativism, Antiradicalism, and the Sacco-Vanzetti Case 719 • Fundamentalism and the Scopes Trial 719 • The Ku Klux Klan 720 • The Garvey Movement 721 • Prohibition: Cultures in Conflict 722

Hoover at the Helm 723

The Election of 1928 723 • Herbert Hoover's Social Thought 724

Beyond America—Global Interactions

The “New Woman” in the 1920s 714

Conclusion 725 • Chronology, 1920–1929 726

24 The Great Depression and the New Deal, 1929–1939 728

Crash and Depression, 1929–1932 730

Black Thursday and the Onset of the Depression 730 • Hoover's Response 731 • Mounting Discontent and Protest 732 • The Election of 1932 734

The New Deal Takes Shape, 1933–1935 734

Roosevelt and His Circle 734 • The Hundred Days 736 • Problems and Controversies Plague the Early New Deal 738 • 1934–1935: Challenges from Right and Left 740

The New Deal Changes Course, 1935–1936 741

Expanding Federal Relief 741 • Aiding Migrants, Supporting Unions, Regulating Business, Taxing the Wealthy 741 • The Social Security Act of 1935; End of the Second New Deal 743 • The 1936 Roosevelt Landslide and the New Democratic Coalition 744 • The Environment and the West 745

The New Deal's End Stage, 1937–1939 747

FDR and the Supreme Court 747 • The Roosevelt Recession 747 • Final Measures; Growing Opposition 748

Social Change and Social Action in the 1930s 749

The Depression's Psychological and Social Impact 749 • Industrial Workers Unionize 750 • Black and Hispanic Americans Resist Racism and Exploitation 752 • A New Deal for Native Americans 754

The American Cultural Scene in the 1930s 755

Avenues of Escape: Radio and the Movies 755 • The Later 1930s: Opposing Fascism; Reaffirming Traditional Values 758 • Streamlining and a World's Fair: Corporate America's Utopian Vision 760

Technology and Culture

Sound, Color, and Animation Come to the Movies 756

Conclusion 761 • Chronology, 1929–1939 762

25 Americans and a World in Crisis, 1933–1945 764

The United States in a Menacing World, 1933–1939 766

Nationalism and the Good Neighbor 766 • The Rise of Aggressive States in Europe and Asia 767 • The

American Mood: No More War 768 • The Gathering Storm, 1938–1939 768 • America and the Jewish Refugees 769

Into the Storm, 1939–1941 769

The European War 772 • From Isolation to Intervention 772 • Pearl Harbor and the Coming of War 773

America Mobilizes for War 775

Organizing for Victory 775 • The War Economy 776 • “A Wizard War” 778 • Propaganda and Politics 779

The Battlefield, 1942–1944 780

Liberating Europe 780 • War in the Pacific 782 • The Grand Alliance 782

War and American Society 783

The GI’s War 784 • The Home Front 784 • Racism and New Opportunities 787 • War and Diversity 789 • The Internment of Japanese-Americans 790

Triumph and Tragedy, 1945 791

The Yalta Conference 791 • Victory in Europe 792 • The Holocaust 793 • The Atomic Bombs 793

Beyond America—Global Interactions

Refugees from Fascism: The Intellectual Migration to the United States 770

Conclusion 795 • Chronology, 1933–1945 796

26 The Cold War Abroad and at Home, 1945–1952 798

The Postwar Political Setting, 1945–1946 800

Demobilization and Reconversion 800 • The GI Bill of Rights 801 • The Economic Boom Begins 802 • Truman’s Domestic Program 802

Anticommunism and Containment, 1946–1952 803

Polarization and Cold War 803 • The Iron Curtain Descends 805 • Containing Communism 808 • Confrontation in Germany 809 • The Cold War in Asia 810 • The Korean War, 1950–1953 812

The Truman Administration at Home, 1945–1952 814

The Eightieth Congress, 1947–1948 815 • The Politics of Civil Rights and the Election of 1948 815 • The Fair Deal 817

The Politics of Anticommunism 818

Loyalty and Security 818 • The Anticommunist Crusade 818 • Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs 820 • McCarthyism 821 • The Election of 1952 822

Beyond America—Global Interactions

Decolonization and the Cold War 806

Conclusion 823 • Chronology, 1945–1952 824

27 America at Midcentury, 1952–1960 826

The Eisenhower Presidency 828

“Dynamic Conservatism” 828 • The Downfall of Joseph McCarthy 829 • Jim Crow in Court 832 • The Laws of the Land 833

The Cold War Continues 834

Ike and Dulles 834 • CIA Covert Actions 835 • The Vietnam Domino 836 • Troubles in the Third World 837 • The Eisenhower Legacy 837

The Affluent Society 837

The New Industrial Society 838 • The Age of Computers 839 • The Costs of Bigness 840 • Blue-Collar Blues 841 • Prosperity and the Suburbs 842

Consensus and Conservatism 844

Togetherness and the Baby Boom 844 • Domesticity 845 • Religion and Education 845 • The Culture of the Fifties 846 • The Television Culture 847

The Other America 849

Poverty and Urban Blight 849 • Blacks’ Struggle for Justice 850 • Latinos and Latinas 851 • Native Americans 852

Seeds of Disquiet 852

Sputnik 852 • A Different Beat 853 • Portents of Change 854

Technology and Culture

The Interstate Highway System 830

Conclusion 856 • Chronology, 1952–1960 856

28 The Liberal Era, 1960–1968 858

The Kennedy Presidency, 1960–1963 860

A New Beginning 861 • Kennedy’s Domestic Record 861 • Cold War Activism 863 • To the Brink of Nuclear War 864 • The Thousand-Day Presidency 864

The Struggle for Black Equality, 1961–1968 865

Nonviolence and Violence 865 • The African-American Revolution 866 • The March on Washington, 1963 867 • The Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts 867 • Fire in the Streets 868 • “Black Power” 870

Liberalism Ascendant, 1963–1968 871

Johnson Takes Over 871 • The 1964 Election 872
 • Triumphant Liberalism 873 • The Warren Court in the Sixties 873

Voices of Protest 875

Native American Activism 876 • Hispanic Americans Organize 876 • Asian-American Activism 878
 • A Second Feminist Wave 878 • Women’s Liberation 879

The Liberal Crusade in Vietnam, 1961–1968 879

Kennedy and Vietnam 882 • Escalation of the War 883
 • The Endless War 884 • Doves Versus Hawks 884

Technology and Culture

The Pill 880

Conclusion 886 • Chronology, 1960–1968 886

29 A Time of Upheaval, 1968–1974 888

The Youth Movement 890

Toward a New Left 890 • From Protest to Resistance 891
 • Kent State and Jackson State 893 • Legacy of Student Frenzy 894

The Counterculture 895

Hippies and Drugs 895 • Musical Revolution 895 • The Sexual Revolution 896 • Gay Liberation 896

1968: The Politics of Upheaval 897

The Tet Offensive in Vietnam 897 • A Shaken President 897 • Assassinations and Turmoil 901 • Conservative Resurgence 902

Nixon and World Politics 903

Vietnamization 903 • LBJ’s War Becomes Nixon’s War 904 • America’s Longest War Ends 905 • Détente 905 • Shuttle Diplomacy 906

Domestic Problems and Divisions 908

The Nixon Presidency 908 • A Troubled Economy 909
 • Law and Order 910 • The Southern Strategy 911

The Crisis of the Presidency 911

The Election of 1972 911 • The Watergate Upheaval 912
 • A President Disgraced 913

Beyond America—Global Interactions

The British Invasion 898

Conclusion 914 • Chronology, 1964–1974 915

30 Conservative Resurgence, Economic Woes, Foreign Challenges, 1974–1989 916

Cultural Trends 918

Personal Pursuits and Diversions 918 • Changing Gender Roles and Sexual Behavior 922 • The Persistence of Social Activism 923 • Grass-Roots Conservatism 924
 • Evangelical Protestants Mobilize 925

Economic and Social Changes in Post-1960s America 926

A Changing Economy 926 • The Two Worlds of Black America 927 • Brightening Prospects for Native Americans 928 • New Patterns of Immigration 928

Years of Malaise: Post-Watergate Politics and Diplomacy, 1974–1981 929

The Caretaker Presidency of Gerald Ford, 1974–1977 929
 • The Outsider as Insider: President Jimmy Carter, 1977–1981 930 • The Middle East: Peace Accords and Hostages 932 • Troubles and Frustration as Carter’s Term Ends 932

The Reagan Revolution, 1981–1984 933

Roots of the Reagan Revolution 933 • Reaganomics 934
 • The “Evil Empire” and Crises in the Middle East 937
 • Military Buildup and Antinuclear Protest 939
 • Reagan Reelected 939

Reagan’s Second Term, 1985–1989 940

Supreme Court Appointments, Budget Deficits, the Iran-Contra Scandal 940 • Reagan’s Mission to Moscow 941
 • The Middle East: Tensions and Terrorism 942
 • Assessing the Reagan Years 943

Technology and Culture

The Personal Computer 920

Conclusion 944 • Chronology, 1974–1989 944

31 Beyond the Cold War: Charting a New Course, 1988–2000 946

The Bush Years: Global Resolve, Domestic Drift, 1988–1993 948

The Election of 1988 948 • The Cold War Ends 948
 • The Persian Gulf War, 1991 949 • Home-Front Problems and Domestic Policies 951 • 1992: Clinton Versus Bush, and a Third-Party Challenge 953

The Clinton Era Begins: Debating Domestic Policy, 1993–1996 954

Shaping a Domestic Agenda 954 • A Sharp Right Turn: 1994–1996 956

The Economic Boom of the 1990s 958

An Uneven Prosperity 958 • America and the Global Economy 959

Clinton's Foreign Policy: Defining America's Role in a Post-Cold War World 959

The Balkans, Russia, and Eastern Europe in the Post-Soviet Era 962 • The Middle East: Seeking an Elusive Peace, Combating a Wily Foe 962 • Nuclear Proliferation, Terrorism, and Peacekeeping Challenges 963 • A New World Order Painfully Emerges 964

The Clinton Era Ends: Domestic Politics, Impeachment, Disputed Election, 1996–2000 965

Campaign 1996 and After: Battling Big Tobacco; Balancing the Budget 965 • Scandal Grips the White House 966 • Election 2000: Bush Versus Gore 966

Cultural Trends at Century's End 968

Affluence and a Search for Heroes 968 • Outbursts of Violence Stir Concern 969 • Culture Wars: A Broader View 971

Beyond America—Global Interactions

The Challenge of Globalization 960

Conclusion 972 • Chronology, 1988–2000 972

32 Global Dangers, Global Challenges, 2001 to the Present 974

America Under Attack: September 11, 2001, and Its Aftermath 976

The Bush Administration Begins 976 • Day of Horror: September 11, 2001 977 • Confronting the Enemy in Afghanistan 978 • Tightening Home-Front Security 979 • The Campaign in Iraq, 2003–2004 980

Politics and The Economy in Bush's First Term, 2001–2005 982

Economic Reverses and Corporate Scandals 982 • The Republican Domestic Agenda 984 • Campaign Finance Reform and the Election of 2004 985

Foreign Policy in a Threatening Era 987

The Continuing Struggle in Iraq; Sagging Home-Front Support 987 • Nuclear Proliferation Threats 991 • A Widening Trade Gap and China's Growing Power 992 • Environmental Hazards Become a Global Concern 992

**Social and Cultural Trends
in Contemporary America 993**

An Increasingly Diverse People 993 • Upward Mobility and Social Problems in a Multiethnic Society 997 • The "New Economy" and the Old Economy 1000

Domestic Policy Since 2004 1002

Funding Social Security and Health Care as the Federal Deficit Soars 1002 • Hurricane Katrina Tests the Bush Administration 1002 • Extending Republican Influence: From the Supreme Court to K Street 1004 • Debating Immigration 1005 • The Election of 2006 1007

Technology and Culture

Developing New Tools for Measuring Global Warming 994

Conclusion 1007 • Chronology, 2001–2006 1008

Appendix A-1

Documents A-1

Declaration of Independence A-1
Constitution of the United States of America A-3

The American Land A-14

Admission of States into the Union A-14
Territorial Expansion A-14

The American People A-15

Population, Percentage Change, and Racial Composition A-15
Population Density and Distribution A-15
Changing Characteristics of the U.S. Population A-16
Immigrants to the United States A-17
Major Sources of Immigration, 1820–2000 A-17
The American Worker A-18

The American Government A-19

Presidential Elections, 1789–2004 A-19

The American Economy A-23

Key Economic Indicators A-23
Federal Budget Outlays and Debt A-24

Credits C-1

Index I-1

This page intentionally left blank

Special Features

Beyond America—Global Interactions

- The Origins and Spread of Agriculture 10
- European Maritime Empires, 1440–1740 94
- The American Revolution as an International War 64
- Trade and Empire in the Pacific, to 1800 200
- The Panic of 1837 290
- Slavery as a Global Institution 350
- Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World 418
- Cattle-Raising in the Americas 524
- Missionaries to the World 618
- Progressive Reformers Worldwide Share Ideas and Strategies 630
- The “New Woman” in the 1920s 714
- Refugees from Fascism: The Intellectual Migration to the United States 770
- Decolonization and the Cold War 806
- The British Invasion 898
- The Challenge of Globalization 960

Technology and Culture

- Sugar Production in the Americas 38
- Native American Baskets and Textiles in New England 70
- Public Sanitation in Philadelphia 128
- Mapping America 230
- Building the Erie Canal 260
- Guns and Gun Culture 314
- The Telegraph 384
- The Camera and the Civil War 452
- The Sewing Machine 490
- Electricity 542
- Flush Toilets and the Invention of the Nineteenth-Century Bathroom 572
- The Phonograph, Popular Music, and Home-Front Morale in World War I 680
- Sound, Color, and Animation Come to the Movies 756
- The Interstate Highway System 830
- The Pill 880
- The Personal Computer 920
- Developing New Tools for Measuring Global Warming 994