

An aerial photograph of Lower Manhattan, New York City, showing a dense cluster of skyscrapers and older buildings. The Freedom Tower is prominent on the left. The sky is a clear, pale blue.

THE UNFINISHED NATION

EIGHTH EDITION

A Concise
History
of the
American
People

Mc
Graw
Hill
Education

ALAN BRINKLEY

Better Critical Thinking Skills

Connect History builds critical thinking and writing skills through “Critical Missions” scenarios that place students in a pivotal moment in time and ask them to read and examine sources, maps, and timelines and develop a historical argument.

Critical Mission | Experience History | **Truman and the Atomic Bomb**

learn about your mission

I have been president for only a few months, assuming the position of Commander-in-Chief for a nation involved in a long, global war. New technology has provided me with an atomic bomb—the world’s first nuclear weapon—which could forever change the face of warfare. Now, I must decide whether to use this devastating new weapon to end the war with Japan. One group of advisors, including my chief advisor and long-time mentor, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, is encouraging me to approve the plan. Another group, including the Under-Secretary of State and expert on Japanese diplomacy, Joseph Grew, advises against it. Here is what I need you to do:



1. Review the information on the following pages—the timeline, the maps, and the documents;
2. Identify important themes and evidence that my advisors have considered in offering their opinions;
3. Write your recommendation of whether or not I should use the atomic bomb on Japan, including the themes and evidence to support your conclusion.

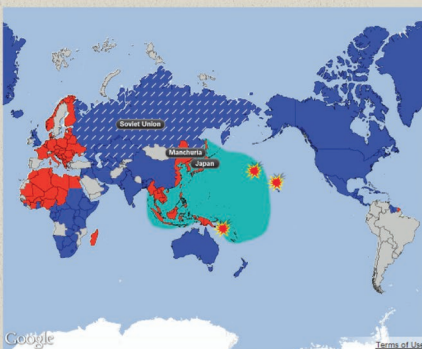
This is a decision that will shape the future for all humanity; consider it well!

President Harry S. Truman

Critical Mission | Experience History | **Truman and the Atomic Bomb**

analyze the map

Use the timeline to view changes over time and explore all the information that the map has to offer.



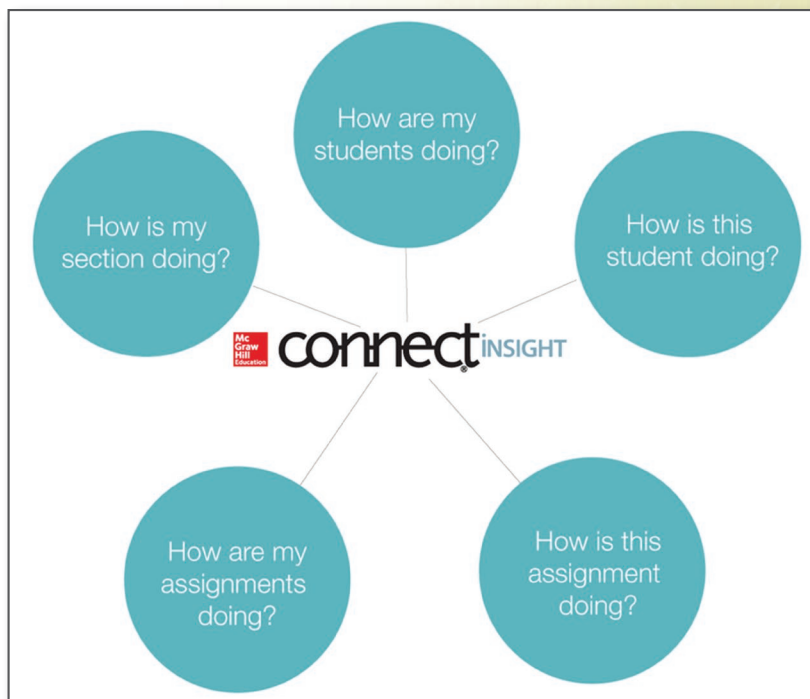
WWII Territorial Changes and Battle Casualties

1942

- Occupied by Allies
 - Occupied by Soviet Union
 - Occupied by Axis powers
 - Japanese naval power
 - Neutral or noncombatant
- ☀ Battle Points
♂ = 1000 Allied soldiers killed
♀ = 1000 Axis soldiers killed

Better Grades

Connect History offers a number of powerful reports and charts to give you the information you need to easily evaluate performance and keep students on a path to success. Connect Insight—now available for both students and instructors—is a series of visual data displays that provide at-a-glance information regarding student performance. Either quick review or in-depth, these reports remove the guesswork so you can focus on what matters most.



THE UNFINISHED NATION

A Concise History of the American People

Eighth Edition

ALAN BRINKLEY

Columbia University

with Contributions from

JOHN GIGGIE

University of Alabama

ANDREW HUEBNER

University of Alabama





THE UNFINISHED NATION: A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, EIGHTH EDITION

Published by McGraw-Hill Education, 2 Penn Plaza, New York, NY 10121. Copyright © 2016 by McGraw-Hill Education. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. Previous editions © 2014, 2010, and 2008. No part of this publication may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, or stored in a database or retrieval system, without the prior written consent of McGraw-Hill Education, including, but not limited to, in any network or other electronic storage or transmission, or broadcast for distance learning.

Some ancillaries, including electronic and print components, may not be available to customers outside the United States.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 DOC/DOC 1 0 9 8 7 6 5

ISBN 978-0-07-351333-1

MHID 0-07-351333-4

Senior Vice President, Products & Markets: *Kurt L. Strand*
Vice President, General Manager, Products & Markets: *Michael Ryan*
Vice President, Content Design & Delivery: *Kimberly Meriwether David*
Managing Director: *Gina Boedeker*
Brand Manager: *Jason Seitz*
Director, Product Development: *Meghan Campbell*
Lead Product Developer: *Rhona Robbin*
Product Developer: *Cynthia Ward*
Executive Marketing Manager: *April Cole*
Marketing Manager: *Alexandra Schultz*
Executive Market Development Manager: *Stacy Ruel*

Digital Product Developer: *David Chodoff*
Director, Content Design & Delivery: *Terri Schiesl*
Program Manager: *Marianne Musni*
Content Project Managers: *Susan Trentacosti, Marianne Musni, Karen Jozefowicz*
Buyer: *Susan K. Culbertson*
Design: *David Hash*
Content Licensing Specialists: *Carrie Burger, Ann Marie Jannette*
Cover Image: © *Underwood & Underwood/Corbis*;
© *Uwe Kazmaier/imageBROKER/Corbis*
Compositor: *Aptara®*, Inc.
Printer: *R. R. Donnelley*

All credits appearing on page or at the end of the book are considered to be an extension of the copyright page.

Credits: *Frontmatter: Page ix (T): © Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Spain/Bridgeman Images; (B): © MPI/Getty Images; p. x: The Library of Congress; p. xi (T): © MPI/Hulton Archive/Getty Images; (B): Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; p. xii: © Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, USA/Bridgeman Images; p. xiii: © Saint Louis Art Museum, Missouri, USA/Gift of Bank of America/Bridgeman Images; p. xiv (T): The Library of Congress; (B): © Bettmann/Corbis; p. xv: © Granger, NYC -All Rights Reserved.; p. xvi: The Library of Congress; p. xvii: © Photo Reproduction by Transcendental Graphics/Getty Images; p. xix: © United Artists/Photofest; p. xx: © Granger, NYC -All Rights Reserved.; p. xxi (T): © Istituto Nazionale Luce/Alinari/Getty Images; (B): © Popperfoto/Getty Images; p. xxiv: © Ian Dagnall/Alamy. Design elements: Scales: © Comstock/Jupiter Images; Phonograph: © Burke/Triolo/Brand X Pictures/Jupiter Images; Race car: © George Doyle/Stockbyte/Getty Images (RF); Wooden top: © Image Club; Stack of books: © D. Hurst/Alamy; American flag: © Steve Cole/Getty Images (RF); Double hemisphere map: © Stockbyte/Getty Images (RF)*

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Brinkley, Alan.

The unfinished nation: a concise history of the American people / Alan Brinkley, Columbia University; with contributions from John Giggie, University of Alabama; Andrew Huebner, University of Alabama. — Eighth edition.

pages cm

ISBN 978-0-07-351333-1 (alkaline paper) — ISBN 0-07-351333-4 (alkaline paper)

1. United States—History. I. Giggie, John Michael, 1965- II. Huebner, Andrew. III. Title.

E178.L1.B827 2016

973—dc23

2015025264

The Internet addresses listed in the text were accurate at the time of publication. The inclusion of a website does not indicate an endorsement by the authors or McGraw-Hill Education, and McGraw-Hill Education does not guarantee the accuracy of the information presented at these sites.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

ALAN BRINKLEY is the Allan Nevins Professor of History at Columbia University. He served as university provost at Columbia from 2003 to 2009. He is the author of *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression*, which won the 1983 National Book Award; *American History: Connecting with the Past*; *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War*; *Liberalism and Its Discontents*; *Franklin D. Roosevelt*; and *The Publisher: Henry Luce and His American Century*. He is board chair of the National Humanities Center, board chair of the Century Foundation, and a trustee of Oxford University Press. He is also a member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1998–1999, he was the Harmsworth Professor of History at Oxford University, and in 2011–2012, the Pitt Professor at the University of Cambridge. He won the Joseph R. Levenson Memorial Teaching Award at Harvard and the Great Teacher Award at Columbia. He was educated at Princeton and Harvard.

JOHN GIGGIE is associate professor of history and African American studies at the University of Alabama. He is the author of *After Redemption: Jim Crow and the Transformation of African American Religion in the Delta, 1875–1917*, editor of *America Firsthand*, and editor of *Faith in the Market: Religion and the Rise of Commercial Culture*. He is currently preparing a book on African American religion during the Civil War. He has been honored for his teaching, most recently with a Distinguished Fellow in Teaching award from the University of Alabama. He received his PhD from Princeton University.

ANDREW HUEBNER is associate professor of history at the University of Alabama. He is the author of *The Warrior Image: Soldiers in American Culture from the Second World War to the Vietnam Era* and has written and spoken widely on the subject of war and society in the twentieth-century United States. He is currently working on a study of American families and public culture during the First World War. He received his PhD from Brown University.

BRIEF CONTENTS

- PREFACE** XXV
- 1 THE COLLISION OF CULTURES** 1
- 2 TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS** 24
- 3 SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN PROVINCIAL AMERICA** 54
- 4 THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION** 83
- 5 THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION** 106
- 6 THE CONSTITUTION AND THE NEW REPUBLIC** 133
- 7 THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA** 154
- 8 VARIETIES OF AMERICAN NATIONALISM** 184
- 9 JACKSONIAN AMERICA** 201
- 10 AMERICA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION** 225
- 11 COTTON, SLAVERY, AND THE OLD SOUTH** 251
- 12 ANTEBELLUM CULTURE AND REFORM** 272
- 13 THE IMPENDING CRISIS** 296
- 14 THE CIVIL WAR** 321
- 15 RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEW SOUTH** 351
- 16 THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST** 380
- 17 INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY** 404
- 18 THE AGE OF THE CITY** 427
- 19 FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE** 454
- 20 THE PROGRESSIVES** 487
- 21 AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR** 518
- 22 THE NEW ERA** 543
- 23 THE GREAT DEPRESSION** 563
- 24 THE NEW DEAL** 587
- 25 THE GLOBAL CRISIS, 1921–1941** 611
- 26 AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR** 628
- 27 THE COLD WAR** 653
- 28 THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY** 678
- 29 THE TURBULENT SIXTIES** 707
- 30 THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY** 736
- 31 FROM “THE AGE OF LIMITS” TO THE AGE OF REAGAN** 766
- 32 THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION** 789
- APPENDIX** 823
- GLOSSARY** 851
- INDEX** 855

1 THE COLLISION OF CULTURES 1

AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS 2

- The Peoples of the Precontact Americas 2
- The Growth of Civilizations: The South 4
- The Civilizations of the North 4

EUROPE LOOKS WESTWARD 6

- Commerce and Sea Travel 6
- Christopher Columbus 7
- The Spanish Empire 9
- Northern Outposts 12
- Biological and Cultural Exchanges 12
- Africa and America 13

THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH 18

- Incentives for Colonization 18
- The French and the Dutch in America 20
- The First English Settlements 20

Consider the Source: Bartolomé de Las Casas, “Of the Island of Hispaniola” (1542) 10

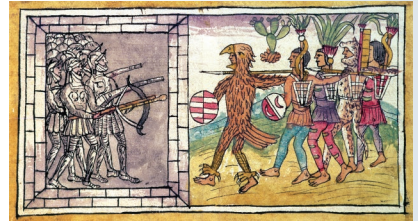
Debating the Past: Why Do Historians So Often Differ? 14

America in the World: The Atlantic Context of Early American History 16

CONCLUSION 22

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 22

RECALL AND REFLECT 23



2 TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS 24

THE EARLY CHESAPEAKE 25

- Colonists and Natives 25
- Reorganization and Expansion 27
- Maryland and the Calverts 29
- Bacon’s Rebellion 30

THE GROWTH OF NEW ENGLAND 31

- Plymouth Plantation 31
- The Massachusetts Bay Experiment 32
- The Expansion of New England 34
- Settlers and Natives 37
- King Philip’s War and the Technology of Battle 38

THE RESTORATION COLONIES 39

- The English Civil War 39
- The Carolinas 40
- New Netherland, New York, and New Jersey 41
- The Quaker Colonies 41

BORDERLANDS AND MIDDLE GROUNDS 42

- The Caribbean Islands 43
- Masters and Slaves in the Caribbean 43
- The Southwest Borderlands 44

- The Southeast Borderlands 45
- The Founding of Georgia 46
- Middle Grounds 47

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EMPIRE 50

- The Dominion of New England 50
- The “Glorious Revolution” 51

Consider the Source: Cotton Mather on the Recent History of New England (1692) 36

Debating the Past: Native Americans and the Middle Ground 48

CONCLUSION 52

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 52

RECALL AND REFLECT 53



3 SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN PROVINCIAL AMERICA 54

THE COLONIAL POPULATION 55

- Indentured Servitude 55
- Birth and Death 58
- Medicine in the Colonies 58
- Women and Families in the Colonies 59
- The Beginnings of Slavery in English America 60
- Changing Sources of European Immigration 65

THE COLONIAL ECONOMIES 65

- The Southern Economy 65
- Northern Economic and Technological Life 66
- The Extent and Limits of Technology 67
- The Rise of Colonial Commerce 68
- The Rise of Consumerism 69

PATTERNS OF SOCIETY 70

- Masters and Slaves on the Plantation 70
- The Puritan Community 72
- Cities 73
- Inequality 75

AWAKENINGS AND ENLIGHTENMENTS 76

- The Pattern of Religions 76
- The Great Awakening 77
- The Enlightenment 77
- Literacy and Technology 78
- Education 79
- The Spread of Science 80
- Concepts of Law and Politics 80

Consider the Source: Gottlieb Mittelberger, the Passage of Indentured Servants (1750) 56

Debating the Past: The Origins of Slavery 62

Debating the Past: The Witchcraft Trials 74

CONCLUSION 81

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 82

RECALL AND REFLECT 82

4 THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION 83

LOOSENING TIES 83

- A Decentralized Empire 84
- The Colonies Divided 84

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONTINENT 85

- New France and the Iroquois Nation 85
- Anglo-French Conflicts 86
- The Great War for the Empire 86

THE NEW IMPERIALISM 90

- Burdens of Empire 90
- The British and the Tribes 92
- Battles over Trade and Taxes 92

STIRRINGS OF REVOLT 93

- The Stamp Act Crisis 93
- Internal Rebellions 96
- The Townshend Program 96
- The Boston Massacre 97
- The Philosophy of Revolt 98
- Sites of Resistance 101
- The Tea Excitement 101

COOPERATION AND WAR 102

- New Sources of Authority 102
- Lexington and Concord 103

America in the World: The First Global War 88

Consider the Source: Benjamin Franklin, Testimony against the Stamp Act (1766) 94

Patterns of Popular Culture: Taverns in Revolutionary Massachusetts 100

CONCLUSION 104

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 105

RECALL AND REFLECT 105



5

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 106

THE STATES UNITED 107

- Defining American War Aims 107
- The Declaration of Independence 110
- Mobilizing for War 110

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE 111

- The First Phase: New England 111
- The Second Phase: The Mid-Atlantic Region 112
- Securing Aid from Abroad 114
- The Final Phase: The South 115
- Winning the Peace 119

WAR AND SOCIETY 119

- Loyalists and Minorities 119
- The War and Slavery 120
- Native Americans and the Revolution 121
- Women's Rights and Roles 121
- The War Economy 124

THE CREATION OF STATE GOVERNMENTS 124

- The Assumptions of Republicanism 124
- The First State Constitutions 124
- Revising State Governments 125
- Toleration and Slavery 126

THE SEARCH FOR A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT 126

- The Confederation 126

- Diplomatic Failures 127
- The Confederation and the Northwest 127
- Indians and the Western Lands 129
- Debts, Taxes, and Daniel Shays 129

Debating the Past: The American Revolution 108

America in the World: The Age of Revolutions 116

Consider the Source: The Correspondence of Abigail Adams on Women's Rights (1776) 122

CONCLUSION 131

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 131

RECALL AND REFLECT 132



6

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE NEW REPUBLIC 133

FRAMING A NEW GOVERNMENT 134

- Advocates of Reform 134
- A Divided Convention 135
- Compromise 136
- The Constitution of 1787 136

ADOPTION AND ADAPTATION 140

- Federalists and Antifederalists 140
- Completing the Structure 141

FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS 142

- Hamilton and the Federalists 142
- Enacting the Federalist Program 143
- The Republican Opposition 144

ESTABLISHING NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY 145

- Securing the West 145
- Maintaining Neutrality 148

THE DOWNFALL OF THE FEDERALISTS 149

- The Election of 1796 149
- The Quasi War with France 149

- Repression and Protest 150
- The "Revolution" of 1800 151

Debating the Past: The Meaning of the Constitution 138

Consider the Source: Washington's Farewell Address, *American Daily Advertiser*, September 19, 1796 146

CONCLUSION 152

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 152

RECALL AND REFLECT 153



7 THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA 154

THE RISE OF CULTURAL NATIONALISM 155

- Educational and Literary Nationalism 155
- Medicine and Science 156
- Cultural Aspirations of the New Nation 157
- Religion and Revivalism 157

STIRRINGS OF INDUSTRIALISM 159

- Technology in America 161
- Transportation Innovations 162
- Country and City 163

JEFFERSON THE PRESIDENT 165

- The Federal City and the “People’s President” 165
- Dollars and Ships 167
- Conflict with the Courts 167

DOUBLING THE NATIONAL DOMAIN 168

- Jefferson and Napoleon 168
- The Louisiana Purchase 170
- Exploring the West 170
- The Burr Conspiracy 171

EXPANSION AND WAR 174

- Conflict on the Seas 175
- Impressment 175
- “Peaceable Coercion” 176
- The “Indian Problem” and the British 177
- Tecumseh and the Prophet 178
- Florida and War Fever 179

THE WAR OF 1812 179

- Battles with the Tribes 179
- Battles with the British 181
- The Revolt of New England 181
- The Peace Settlement 182

America In The World: The Global Industrial Revolution 160

Patterns of Popular Culture: Horse Racing 164

Consider the Source: Thomas Jefferson to Meriwether Lewis, June 20, 1803 172

CONCLUSION 182

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 183

RECALL AND REFLECT 183

8 VARIETIES OF AMERICAN NATIONALISM 184

STABILIZING ECONOMIC GROWTH 185

- The Government and Economic Growth 185
- Transportation 186

EXPANDING WESTWARD 187

- The Great Migration 187
- White Settlers in the Old Northwest 187
- The Plantation System in the Old Southwest 188
- Trade and Trapping in the Far West 188
- Eastern Images of the West 189

THE “ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS” 189

- The End of the First Party System 190
- John Quincy Adams and Florida 191
- The Panic of 1819 191

SECTIONALISM AND NATIONALISM 192

- The Missouri Compromise 192
- Marshall and the Court 193

- The Court and the Tribes 196
- The Latin American Revolution and the Monroe Doctrine 196

THE REVIVAL OF OPPOSITION 198

- The “Corrupt Bargain” 198
- The Second President Adams 199
- Jackson Triumphant 199

Consider the Source: Thomas Jefferson Reacts to the Missouri Compromise, 1820 194

CONCLUSION 200

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 200

RECALL AND REFLECT 200



9

JACKSONIAN AMERICA 201

THE RISE OF MASS POLITICS 202

- The Expanding Democracy 202
- Tocqueville and *Democracy in America* 204
- The Legitimization of Party 204
- President of the Common People 205

“OUR FEDERAL UNION” 209

- Calhoun and Nullification 209
- The Rise of Van Buren 209
- The Webster-Hayne Debate 210
- The Nullification Crisis 210

THE REMOVAL OF THE INDIANS 211

- White Attitudes toward the Tribes 211
- The “Five Civilized Tribes” 211
- Trail of Tears 212
- The Meaning of Removal 214

JACKSON AND THE BANK WAR 214

- Biddle’s Institution 214
- The “Monster” Destroyed 215
- The Taney Court 215

THE CHANGING FACE OF AMERICAN POLITICS 216

- Democrats and Whigs 216

POLITICS AFTER JACKSON 218

- Van Buren and the Panic of 1837 218

- The Log Cabin Campaign 219
- The Frustration of the Whigs 222
- Whig Diplomacy 223

Consider the Source: Alexis de Tocqueville, *Concerning the People’s Choices and the Instinctive Preferences of American Democracy* 206

Debating the Past: Jacksonian Democracy 208

Patterns of Popular Culture: The Penny Press 220

CONCLUSION 224

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 224

RECALL AND REFLECT 224



10

AMERICA’S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION 225

THE CHANGING AMERICAN POPULATION 226

- Population Trends 226
- Immigration and Urban Growth, 1840–1860 227
- The Rise of Nativism 227

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS REVOLUTIONS 228

- The Canal Age 229
- The Early Railroads 230
- The Triumph of the Rails 231
- The Telegraph 232
- New Technology and Journalism 234

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY 234

- The Expansion of Business, 1820–1840 234
- The Emergence of the Factory 235
- Advances in Technology 235
- Rise of the Industrial Ruling Class 236

MEN AND WOMEN AT WORK 236

- Recruiting a Native Workforce 236
- The Immigrant Workforce 237

- The Factory System and the Artisan Tradition 239
- Fighting for Control 240

PATTERNS OF SOCIETY 240

- The Rich and the Poor 240
- Social and Geographical Mobility 242
- Middle-Class Life 242
- The Changing Family 243
- The “Cult of Domesticity” 244
- Leisure Activities 245

THE AGRICULTURAL NORTH 246

- Northeastern Agriculture 246
- The Old Northwest 247
- Rural Life 249

Consider the Source: *Handbook to Lowell, 1848* 238

CONCLUSION 249

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 250

RECALL AND REFLECT 250

11 COTTON, SLAVERY, AND THE OLD SOUTH 251

THE COTTON ECONOMY 252

- The Rise of King Cotton 252
- Southern Trade and Industry 254
- Sources of Southern Difference 255

SOUTHERN WHITE SOCIETY 256

- The Planter Class 257
- The “Southern Lady” 257
- The Plain Folk 259

SLAVERY: THE “PECULIAR INSTITUTION” 260

- Varieties of Slavery 261
- Life under Slavery 261
- Slavery in the Cities 264
- Free African Americans 265
- The Slave Trade 265
- Slave Resistance 267

THE CULTURE OF SLAVERY 268

- Slave Religion 268
- Language and Music 269
- The Slave Family 269

Consider the Source: Senator James Henry Hammond Declares, “Cotton Is King,” 1858 258

Debating the Past: The Character of Slavery 262

CONCLUSION 270

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 270

RECALL AND REFLECT 271



12 ANTEBELLUM CULTURE AND REFORM 272

THE ROMANTIC IMPULSE 273

- Nationalism and Romanticism in American Painting 273
- An American Literature 274
- Literature in the Antebellum South 274
- The Transcendentalists 275
- The Defense of Nature 276
- Visions of Utopia 277
- Redefining Gender Roles 277
- The Mormons 278

REMAKING SOCIETY 279

- Revivalism, Morality, and Order 279
- Health, Science, and Phrenology 280
- Medical Science 281
- Education 281
- Rehabilitation 282
- The Rise of Feminism 283
- Struggles of Radical Black Women 285

THE CRUSADE AGAINST SLAVERY 286

- Early Opposition to Slavery 286
- Garrison and Abolitionism 287
- Black Abolitionists 287

Anti-Abolitionism 291

Abolitionism Divided 291

Consider the Source: Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, Seneca Falls, New York, 1848 284

America in the World: The Abolition of Slavery 288

Patterns of Popular Culture: Sentimental Novels 292

CONCLUSION 294

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 295

RECALL AND REFLECT 295



13 THE IMPENDING CRISIS 296

LOOKING WESTWARD 297

- Manifest Destiny 297
- Americans in Texas 297
- Oregon 299
- The Westward Migration 299

EXPANSION AND WAR 301

- The Democrats and Expansion 301
- The Southwest and California 302
- The Mexican War 303

THE SECTIONAL DEBATE 305

- Slavery and the Territories 305
- The California Gold Rush 307
- Rising Sectional Tensions 308
- The Compromise of 1850 308

THE CRISES OF THE 1850s 310

- The Uneasy Truce 310
- “Young America” 310

- Slavery, Railroads, and the West 311
- The Kansas–Nebraska Controversy 311
- “Bleeding Kansas” 312
- The Free-Soil Ideology 313
- The Pro-Slavery Argument 314
- Buchanan and Depression 315
- The *Dred Scott* Decision 315
- Deadlock over Kansas 316
- The Emergence of Lincoln 317
- John Brown’s Raid 317
- The Election of Lincoln 318

Consider the Source: Wilmot Proviso, August 8, 1846 306

CONCLUSION 319

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 320

RECALL AND REFLECT 320

14 THE CIVIL WAR 321

THE SECESSION CRISIS 322

- The Withdrawal of the South 322
- The Failure of Compromise 322
- The Opposing Sides 323
- Billy Yank and Johnny Reb 323

THE MOBILIZATION OF THE NORTH 326

- Economic Nationalism 326
- Raising the Union Armies 327
- Wartime Politics 328
- The Politics of Emancipation 329
- African Americans and the Union Cause 330
- Women, Nursing, and the War 331

THE MOBILIZATION OF THE SOUTH 331

- The Confederate Government 331
- Money and Manpower 332
- Economic and Social Effects of the War 333

STRATEGY AND DIPLOMACY 333

- The Commanders 333
- The Role of Sea Power 336
- Europe and the Disunited States 337

CAMPAIGNS AND BATTLES 338

- The Technology of War 338
- The Opening Clashes, 1861 339
- The Western Theater 339
- The Virginia Front, 1862 341
- The Progress of the War 343

- 1863: Year of Decision 343
- The Last Stage, 1864–1865 347

Debating the Past: The Causes of the Civil War 324

Patterns of Popular Culture: Baseball and the Civil War 334

Consider the Source: The Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863 346

CONCLUSION 349

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 350

RECALL AND REFLECT 350



15 RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEW SOUTH 351

THE PROBLEMS OF PEACEMAKING 352

- The Aftermath of War and Emancipation 352
- Competing Notions of Freedom 352
- Plans for Reconstruction 354
- The Death of Lincoln 355
- Johnson and “Restoration” 357

RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION 358

- The Black Codes 358
- The Fourteenth Amendment 358
- The Congressional Plan 359
- The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson 362

THE SOUTH IN RECONSTRUCTION 362

- The Reconstruction Governments 362
- Education 364
- Landownership and Tenancy 364
- Incomes and Credit 364
- The African American Family in Freedom 365

THE GRANT ADMINISTRATION 366

- The Soldier President 366
- The Grant Scandals 367
- The Greenback Question 367
- Republican Diplomacy 368

THE ABANDONMENT OF RECONSTRUCTION 368

- The Southern States “Redeemed” 368
- Waning Northern Commitment 369

- The Compromise of 1877 369
- The Legacy of Reconstruction 371

THE NEW SOUTH 371

- The “Redeemers” 371
- Industrialization and the New South 372
- Tenants and Sharecroppers 373
- African Americans and the New South 373
- The Birth of Jim Crow 374

Debating the Past: Reconstruction 356

Consider the Source: Southern Blacks Ask for Help, 1865 360

Patterns of Popular Culture: The Minstrel Show 376

CONCLUSION 378

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 379

RECALL AND REFLECT 379



16 THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST 380

THE SOCIETIES OF THE FAR WEST 381

- The Western Tribes 381
- Hispanic New Mexico 382
- Hispanic California and Texas 382
- The Chinese Migration 383
- Anti-Chinese Sentiments 385
- Migration from the East 386

THE CHANGING WESTERN ECONOMY 386

- Labor in the West 387
- The Arrival of the Miners 387
- The Cattle Kingdom 388

THE ROMANCE OF THE WEST 390

- The Western Landscape and the Cowboy 390
- The Idea of the Frontier 391

THE DISPERSAL OF THE TRIBES 393

- White Tribal Policies 394

- The Indian Wars 395
- The Dawes Act 397

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE WESTERN FARMER 398

- Farming on the Plains 398
- Commercial Agriculture 399
- The Farmers’ Grievances 401
- The Agrarian Malaise 402

Debating the Past: The Frontier and the West 392

Consider the Source: Walter Baron Von Riehtofen, Cattle Raising on the Plains in North America, 1885 400

CONCLUSION 402

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 403

RECALL AND REFLECT 403

17 INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY 404

SOURCES OF INDUSTRIAL GROWTH 405

- Industrial Technologies 405
- The Technology of Iron and Steel Production 406
- The Automobile and the Airplane 407
- Research and Development 408
- The Science of Production 408
- Railroad Expansion and the Corporation 410

CAPITALIST CONSERVATISM AND ITS CRITICS 412

- Survival of the Fittest 412
- The Gospel of Wealth 413
- Alternative Visions 417
- The Problems of Monopoly 419

THE ORDEAL OF THE WORKER 419

- The Immigrant Workforce 419
- Wages and Working Conditions 420
- Emerging Unionization 421
- The Knights of Labor 422
- The American Federation of Labor 422
- The Homestead Strike 423
- The Pullman Strike 424
- Sources of Labor Weakness 424

Consider the Source: *Andrew Carnegie Explains the Gospel of Wealth, 1889* 414

Patterns of Popular Culture: The Novels of Horatio Alger 416

CONCLUSION 425

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 425

RECALL AND REFLECT 426

18 THE AGE OF THE CITY 427

THE NEW URBAN GROWTH 428

- The Migrations 428
- The Ethnic City 429
- Assimilation and Exclusion 431

THE URBAN LANDSCAPE 433

- The Creation of Public Space 434
- The Search for Housing 435
- Urban Technologies: Transportation and Construction 436

STRAINS OF URBAN LIFE 436

- Fire and Disease 437
- Environmental Degradation 437
- Urban Poverty, Crime, and Violence 438
- The Machine and the Boss 438

THE RISE OF MASS CONSUMPTION 440

- Patterns of Income and Consumption 440
- Chain Stores, Mail-Order Houses, and Department Stores 441
- Women as Consumers 441

LEISURE IN THE CONSUMER SOCIETY 443

- Redefining Leisure 443
- Spectator Sports 444
- Music, Theater, and Movies 445
- Patterns of Public and Private Leisure 446
- The Technologies of Mass Communication 447
- The Telephone 447

HIGH CULTURE IN THE URBAN AGE 448

- Literature and Art in Urban America 448
- The Impact of Darwinism 449
- Toward Universal Schooling 450
- Universities and the Growth of Science and Technology 450
- Medical Science 451
- Education for Women 452

America in the World: Global Migrations 432

Consider the Source: *John Wanamaker, the Four Cardinal Points of the Department Store, 1874* 442

CONCLUSION 452

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 453

RECALL AND REFLECT 453



19 FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE 454

THE POLITICS OF EQUILIBRIUM 455

- The Party System 455
- The National Government 456
- Presidents and Patronage 457
- Cleveland, Harrison, and the Tariff 458
- New Public Issues 459

THE AGRARIAN REVOLT 460

- The Grangers 460
- The Farmers' Alliances 460
- The Populist Constituency 462
- Populist Ideas 462

THE CRISIS OF THE 1890s 462

- The Panic of 1893 463
- The Silver Question 464
- "A Cross of Gold" 465
- The Conservative Victory 466
- McKinley and Recovery 466

STIRRINGS OF IMPERIALISM 468

- The New Manifest Destiny 468
- Hawaii and Samoa 468

WAR WITH SPAIN 472

- Controversy over Cuba 472

- "A Splendid Little War" 473
- Seizing the Philippines 476
- The Battle for Cuba 476
- Puerto Rico and the United States 478
- The Debate over the Philippines 478

THE REPUBLIC AS EMPIRE 481

- Governing the Colonies 481
- The Philippine War 482
- The Open Door 484
- A Modern Military System 485

America in the World: Imperialism 470

Patterns of Popular Culture: Yellow Journalism 474

Consider the Source: Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League, 1899 480

CONCLUSION 485

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 486

RECALL AND REFLECT 486

20 THE PROGRESSIVES 487

THE PROGRESSIVE IMPULSE 488

- The Muckrakers and the Social Gospel 489
- The Settlement House Movement 491
- The Allure of Expertise 492
- The Professions 492
- Women and the Professions 493

WOMEN AND REFORM 493

- The "New Woman" 494
- The Clubwomen 494
- Woman Suffrage 495

THE ASSAULT ON THE PARTIES 496

- Early Attacks 496
- Municipal Reform 497
- Statehouse Progressivism 497
- Parties and Interest Groups 498

SOURCES OF PROGRESSIVE REFORM 498

- Labor, the Machine, and Reform 499
- Western Progressives 501
- African Americans and Reform 501

CRUSADES FOR SOCIAL ORDER AND REFORM 503

- The Temperance Crusade 503
- Immigration Restriction 503
- The Dream of Socialism 504
- Decentralization and Regulation 504

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE MODERN PRESIDENCY 505

- The Accidental President 505
- The "Square Deal" 506
- Roosevelt and the Environment 507
- Panic and Retirement 509

THE TROUBLED SUCCESSION 510

- Taft and the Progressives 510
- The Return of Roosevelt 510
- Spreading Insurgency 511
- Roosevelt versus Taft 512

WOODROW WILSON AND THE NEW FREEDOM 512

- Woodrow Wilson 512
- The Scholar as President 514
- Retreat and Advance 515

America in the World: Social Democracy 490

Debating the Past: Progressivism 500

Consider the Source: John Muir on the Value of Wild Places, 1901 508

CONCLUSION 516

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 516

RECALL AND REFLECT 517

21 AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR 518

THE “BIG STICK”: AMERICA AND THE WORLD, 1901–1917 519

- Roosevelt and “Civilization” 519
- Protecting the “Open Door” in Asia 520
- The Iron-Fisted Neighbor 520
- The Panama Canal 521
- Taft and “Dollar Diplomacy” 522
- Diplomacy and Morality 522

THE ROAD TO WAR 524

- The Collapse of the European Peace 524
- Wilson’s Neutrality 524
- Preparedness versus Pacifism 525
- Intervention 525

“OVER THERE” 527

- Mobilizing the Military 527
- The Yanks Are Coming 529
- The New Technology of Warfare 530
- Organizing the Economy for War 532
- The Search for Social Unity 533

THE SEARCH FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER 535

- The Fourteen Points 535
- The Paris Peace Conference 536
- The Ratification Battle 536

A SOCIETY IN TURMOIL 537

- The Unstable Economy 537
- The Demands of African Americans 538
- The Red Scare 540
- Refuting the Red Scare 540
- The Retreat from Idealism 541

Consider the Source: Race, Gender, and World War I Posters 528

Patterns of Popular Culture: George M. Cohan, “Over There,” 1917 534

CONCLUSION 541

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 542

RECALL AND REFLECT 542

22 THE NEW ERA 543

THE NEW ECONOMY 544

- Technology, Organization, and Economic Growth 544
- Workers in an Age of Capital 545
- Women and Minorities in the Workforce 548
- Agricultural Technology and the Plight of the Farmer 551

THE NEW CULTURE 551

- Consumerism and Communications 551
- Women in the New Era 554
- The Disenchanted 555

A CONFLICT OF CULTURES 556

- Prohibition 556
- Nativism and the Klan 557
- Religious Fundamentalism 558
- The Democrats’ Ordeal 558

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT 559

- Harding and Coolidge 559
- Government and Business 560

Consider the Source: America’s Early Telephone Network 546

America in the World: The Cinema 552

CONCLUSION 562

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 562

RECALL AND REFLECT 562



23 THE GREAT DEPRESSION 563

THE COMING OF THE DEPRESSION 564

- The Great Crash 564
- Causes of the Depression 565
- Progress of the Depression 567

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN HARD TIMES 568

- Unemployment and Relief 569
- African Americans and the Depression 570
- Hispanics and Asians in Depression America 570
- Women and Families in the Great Depression 573

THE DEPRESSION AND AMERICAN CULTURE 574

- Depression Values 574
- Radio 574
- The Movies 575
- Literature and Journalism 578
- The Popular Front and the Left 579

THE ORDEAL OF HERBERT HOOVER 581

- The Hoover Program 581
- Popular Protest 582

- The Election of 1932 584
- The “Interregnum” 585

America in the World: The Global Depression 566

Consider the Source: Mr. Tarver Remembers the Great Depression 572

Patterns of Popular Culture: The Golden Age of Comic Books 576

CONCLUSION 586

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 586

RECALL AND REFLECT 586



24 THE NEW DEAL 587

LAUNCHING THE NEW DEAL 588

- Restoring Confidence 588
- Agricultural Adjustment 589
- Industrial Recovery 590
- Regional Planning 591
- The Growth of Federal Relief 592

THE NEW DEAL IN TRANSITION 593

- The Conservative Criticism of the New Deal 593
- The Populist Criticism of the New Deal 596
- The “Second New Deal” 598
- Labor Militancy 598
- Organizing Battles 599
- Social Security 600
- New Directions in Relief 601
- The 1936 “Referendum” 602

THE NEW DEAL IN DISARRAY 603

- The Court Fight 603
- Retrenchment and Recession 603

LIMITS AND LEGACIES OF THE NEW DEAL 606

- African Americans and the New Deal 606
- The New Deal and the “Indian Problem” 607
- Women and the New Deal 607
- The New Deal and the West 608
- The New Deal, the Economy, and Politics 608

Debating the Past: The New Deal 594

Consider the Source: Franklin D. Roosevelt Speaks on the Reorganization of the Judiciary 604

CONCLUSION 609

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 610

RECALL AND REFLECT 610

25 THE GLOBAL CRISIS, 1921–1941 611

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE NEW ERA 612

- Replacing the League 612
- Debts and Diplomacy 613
- Hoover and the World Crisis 613

ISOLATIONISM AND INTERNATIONALISM 616

- Depression Diplomacy 616
- The Rise of Isolationism 617
- The Failure of Munich 618

FROM NEUTRALITY TO INTERVENTION 619

- Neutrality Tested 619
- The Campaign of 1940 623
- Neutrality Abandoned 623
- The Road to Pearl Harbor 625

America in the World: The Sino-Japanese War, 1931–1941 614

Patterns of Popular Culture:
Orson Welles and the “War of the Worlds” 620

Consider the Source: Joint Statement
by President Roosevelt and Prime
Minister Churchill 624

CONCLUSION 626

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 627

RECALL AND REFLECT 627



26 AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR 628

WAR ON TWO FRONTS 629

- Containing the Japanese 629
- Holding Off the Germans 630
- America and the Holocaust 631

THE AMERICAN ECONOMY IN WARTIME 633

- Prosperity and the Rights of Labor 633
- Stabilizing the Boom and Mobilizing
Production 634
- Wartime Science and Technology 634

RACE AND ETHNICITY IN WARTIME AMERICA 635

- African Americans and the War 635
- Native Americans and the War 636
- Mexican American War Workers 637
- The Internment of Japanese
Americans 637
- Chinese Americans and the War 639

ANXIETY AND AFFLUENCE IN WARTIME CULTURE 639

- Home-Front Life and Culture 639
- Love, Family, and Sexuality in
Wartime 640
- The Growth of Wartime Conservatism 642

THE DEFEAT OF THE AXIS 643

- The European Offensive 644
- The Pacific Offensive 646
- The Manhattan Project and Atomic
Warfare 649

Consider the Source: The Face of the
Enemy 638

Debating the Past: The Decision to
Drop the Atomic Bomb 648

CONCLUSION 651

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 652

RECALL AND REFLECT 652



27 THE COLD WAR 653

ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR 654

- Sources of Soviet–American Tension 654
- Wartime Diplomacy 655
- Yalta 655

THE COLLAPSE OF THE PEACE 658

- The Failure of Potsdam 658
- The China Problem and Japan 659
- The Containment Doctrine 659
- The Conservative Opposition to Containment 659
- The Marshall Plan 660
- Mobilization at Home 661
- The Road to NATO 661
- Reevaluating Cold War Policy 663

AMERICA AFTER THE WAR 663

- The Problems of Reconversion 663
- The Fair Deal Rejected 665
- The Election of 1948 666
- The Fair Deal Revived 667

The Nuclear Age 668

THE KOREAN WAR 669

- The Divided Peninsula 669
- From Invasion to Stalemate 671
- Limited Mobilization 671

THE CRUSADE AGAINST SUBVERSION 672

- HUAC and Alger Hiss 672
- The Federal Loyalty Program and the Rosenberg Case 673
- McCarthyism 673
- The Republican Revival 676

Debating the Past: The Cold War 656

Consider the Source: National Security Council Paper No. 68 (NSC-68) 664

Debating the Past: McCarthyism 674

CONCLUSION 676

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 677

RECALL AND REFLECT 677

28 THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY 678

THE ECONOMIC “MIRACLE” 679

- Economic Growth 679
- The Rise of the Modern West 680
- Capital and Labor 681

THE EXPLOSION OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY 682

- Medical Breakthroughs 682
- Pesticides 683
- Postwar Electronic Research 684
- Postwar Computer Technology 684
- Bombs, Rockets, and Missiles 684
- The Space Program 685

PEOPLE OF PLENTY 686

- The Consumer Culture 687
- The Suburban Nation 687
- The Suburban Family 687
- The Birth of Television 688
- Travel, Outdoor Recreation, and Environmentalism 689
- Organized Society and Its Detractors 692
- The Beats and the Restless Culture of Youth 692
- Rock ‘n’ Roll 693

THE OTHER AMERICA 694

- On the Margins of the Affluent Society 694
- Rural Poverty 695
- The Inner Cities 695

THE RISE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT 696

- The *Brown* Decision and “Massive Resistance” 696
- The Expanding Movement 697
- Causes of the Civil Rights Movement 698

EISENHOWER REPUBLICANISM 698

- “What Was Good for . . . General Motors” 699
- The Survival of the Welfare State 699
- The Decline of McCarthyism 699

EISENHOWER, DULLES, AND THE COLD WAR 700

- Dulles and “Massive Retaliation” 700
- France, America, and Vietnam 700
- Cold War Crises 701
- The U-2 Crisis 702

Patterns of Popular Culture: On the Road 690

Consider the Source: Eisenhower Warns of the Military–Industrial Complex 704

CONCLUSION 705

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 706

RECALL AND REFLECT 706

29 THE TURBULENT SIXTIES 707

EXPANDING THE LIBERAL STATE 708

- John Kennedy 708
- Lyndon Johnson 710
- The Assault on Poverty 711
- Cities, Schools, and Immigration 712
- Legacies of the Great Society 712

THE BATTLE FOR RACIAL EQUALITY 713

- Expanding Protests 713
- A National Commitment 716
- The Battle for Voting Rights 717
- The Changing Movement 717
- Urban Violence 720
- Black Power 720

“FLEXIBLE RESPONSE” AND THE COLD WAR 721

- Diversifying Foreign Policy 721
- Confrontations with the Soviet Union 722
- Johnson and the World 723

THE AGONY OF VIETNAM 724

- America and Diem 724

- From Aid to Intervention 725
- The Quagmire 725
- The War at Home 727

THE TRAUMAS OF 1968 729

- The Tet Offensive 731
- The Political Challenge 731
- Assassinations and Politics 732
- The Conservative Response 733

Debating the Past: The Civil Rights Movement 714

Consider the Source: Fannie Lou Hamer on the Struggle for Voting Rights 718

Patterns of Popular Culture: The Folk-Music Revival 728

America in the World: 1968 730

CONCLUSION 734

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 734

RECALL AND REFLECT 735

30 THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 736

THE YOUTH CULTURE 737

- The New Left 737
- The Counterculture 739

THE MOBILIZATION OF MINORITIES 740

- Seeds of Indian Militancy 741
- The Indian Civil Rights Movement 741
- Latino Activism 742
- Gay Liberation 744

THE NEW FEMINISM 745

- The Rebirth 745
- Women’s Liberation 746
- Expanding Achievements 746
- The Abortion Issue 747

ENVIRONMENTALISM IN A TURBULENT SOCIETY 747

- The New Science of Ecology 748
- Environmental Advocacy 748
- Earth Day and Beyond 749

NIXON, KISSINGER, AND THE VIETNAM WAR 750

- Vietnamization 750
- Escalation 750
- “Peace with Honor” 751
- Defeat in Indochina 753

NIXON, KISSINGER, AND THE WORLD 753

- The China Initiative and Soviet–American Détente 753
- Dealing with the Third World 754

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS IN THE NIXON YEARS 755

- Domestic Initiatives 755
- From the Warren Court to the Nixon Court 758
- The 1972 Landslide 759
- The Troubled Economy 759
- The Nixon Response 760

THE WATERGATE CRISIS 761

- The Scandals 761
- The Fall of Richard Nixon 763

Consider the Source: Demands of the New York High School Student Union 738

America in the World: The End of Colonialism 756

Debating the Past: Watergate 762

CONCLUSION 764

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 765

RECALL AND REFLECT 765

31 FROM “THE AGE OF LIMITS” TO THE AGE OF REAGAN 766

POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY AFTER WATERGATE 767

- The Ford Custodianship 767
- The Trials of Jimmy Carter 769
- Human Rights and National Interests 769
- The Year of the Hostages 770

THE RISE OF THE NEW CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT 771

- The Sunbelt and Its Politics 771
- Religious Revivalism 771
- The Emergence of the New Right 773
- The Tax Revolt 774
- The Campaign of 1980 774

THE “REAGAN REVOLUTION” 775

- The Reagan Coalition 777
- Reagan in the White House 779

- “Supply-Side” Economics 779
- The Fiscal Crisis 780
- Reagan and the World 781

AMERICA AND THE WANING OF THE COLD WAR 782

- The Fall of the Soviet Union 782
- The Fading of the Reagan Revolution 783
- The Presidency of George H. W. Bush 784
- The Gulf War 785
- The Election of 1992 786

Consider the Source: Ronald Reagan on the Role of Government 776

- CONCLUSION 787
- KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 788
- RECALL AND REFLECT 788

32 THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION 789

A RESURGENCE OF PARTISANSHIP 790

- Launching the Clinton Presidency 790
- The Republican Resurgence 791
- Clinton Triumphant and Embattled 793
- Impeachment, Acquittal, and Resurgence 793
- The Election of 2000 794
- The Presidency of George W. Bush 795
- The Election of 2008 796
- Obama and His Opponents 800
- Obama and the Challenge of Governing 801

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE NEW ECONOMY 802

- The Digital Revolution 803
- The Internet 803
- Breakthroughs in Genetics 804

A CHANGING SOCIETY 805

- A Shifting Population 805
- African Americans in the Post–Civil Rights Era 805
- The Abortion Debate 807
- AIDS and Modern America 808
- Gay Americans and Same-Sex Marriage 809
- The Contemporary Environmental Movement 813

AMERICA IN THE WORLD 815

- Opposing the “New World Order” 815
- Defending Orthodoxy 816

- The Rise of Terrorism 816
- The War on Terror 818
- The Iraq War 818
- America after the Iraq War 820

Patterns of Popular Culture: Rap 798

Consider the Source: Same-Sex Marriage, 2015 810

America in the World: The Global Environmental Movement 812

- CONCLUSION 821
- KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 822
- RECALL AND REFLECT 822

APPENDIX 823

GLOSSARY 851

INDEX 855



THE title *The Unfinished Nation* is meant to suggest several things. It is a reminder of America's exceptional diversity—of the degree to which, despite all the many efforts to build a single, uniform definition of the meaning of American nationhood, that meaning remains contested. It is a reference to the centrality of change in American history—to the ways in which the nation has continually transformed itself and continues to do so in our own time. And it is also a description of the writing of American history itself—of the ways in which historians are engaged in a continuing, ever unfinished, process of asking new questions.

Like any history, *The Unfinished Nation* is a product of its time and reflects the views of the past that historians of recent generations have developed. The writing of our nation's history—like our nation itself—changes constantly. It is not, of course, the past that changes. Rather, historians adjust their perspectives and priorities, ask different kinds of questions, and uncover and incorporate new historical evidence. There are now, as there have always been, critics of changes in historical understanding who argue that history is a collection of facts and should not be subject to “interpretation” or “revision.” But historians insist that history is not simply a collection of facts. Names and dates and a record of events are only the beginning of historical understanding. Writers and readers of history interpret the evidence before them, and inevitably bring to the task their own questions, concerns, and experiences.

Our history requires us to examine the many different peoples and ideas that have shaped American society. But it also requires us to understand that the United States is a nation whose people share many things: a common political system, a connection to an integrated national (and now international) economy, and a familiarity with a powerful mass culture. To understand the American past, it is necessary to understand both the forces that divide Americans and the forces that draw them together.

It is a daunting task to attempt to convey the history of the United States in a single book, and the eighth edition of *The Unfinished Nation* has, as have all previous editions, been carefully written and edited to keep the book as concise and readable as possible.

In addition to the content and scholarship updates that are detailed on pages xxxi–xxxii, we have strengthened the pedagogical features with an eye to the details. We added a glossary of historical terms and bolded those terms within the text where significantly discussed. These terms, along with key names, places, and events, are listed at the end of chapters to help students review. All of the Consider the Source features now include concise introductions that provide context for the documents. Every Consider the Source, Debating the Past, Patterns of Popular Culture, and America in the World feature is referenced within the narrative, for a clearer indication of how the different lines of inquiry work together to create a vivid and nuanced portrait of each period. Margin notes have been reinstated as well, at the request of reviewers who missed this feature from earlier editions.

It is not only the writing of history that changes with time—the tools and technologies through which information is delivered change as well. New learning resources include:

- **McGraw-Hill Connect**[®]—an integrated educational platform that seamlessly joins superior content with enhanced digital tools (including SmartBook[®]) to deliver a personalized learning experience that provides precisely what students need—when and how they need it. New visual analytics, coupled with powerful reporting, provide immediate performance perspectives. Connect makes it easy to keep students on track.

- **SmartBook®**—an adaptive eBook that makes study time as productive and efficient as possible. It identifies and closes knowledge gaps through a continually adapting reading experience that provides personalized learning resources such as narrated map videos; key point summaries; time lines; and labeling activities at the precise moment of need. This ensures that every minute spent with SmartBook is returned to the student as the most value-added minute possible.
- **Critical Missions**—an activity within Connect History that immerses students in pivotal moments in history. As students study primary sources and maps, they advise a key historical figure on an issue of vital importance—for example, should President Truman drop the atomic bomb on Japan?
- **Primary Source Primer**—a video exercise in Connect History with multiple-choice questions. The primer teaches students the importance of primary sources and how to analyze them. This online “Introduction to Primary Sources” is designed for use at the beginning of the course, to save valuable class time.
- **Create™**—a service that allows professors to create a customized version of *The Unfinished Nation* by selecting the chapters and additional primary source documents that best fit their course, while adding their own materials if desired. Register at www.mcgrawhillcreate.com to build a complimentary review copy.
- **McGraw-Hill Campus**—a first-of-its-kind institutional service that provides faculty with true, single sign-on access to all of McGraw-Hill’s course content, digital tools, and other high-quality learning resources from any learning management system (LMS). This innovative offering allows secure, deep integration and seamless access to any of our course solutions, including McGraw-Hill Connect, McGraw-Hill LearnSmart, McGraw-Hill Create, and Tegrity. McGraw-Hill Campus covers our entire content library, including eBooks, assessment tools, presentation slides, and multimedia content, among other resources. This open and unlimited service allows faculty to quickly prepare for class, create tests or quizzes, develop lecture material, integrate interactive content, and much more.

ALAN BRINKLEY

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

WE are grateful to the many advisers and reviewers who generously offered comments, suggestions, and ideas at various stages in the development of this project. Our thanks go to:

Academic Reviewers

Tramaine Anderson, *Tarrant County College, Northeast*
Darlene Antezana, *Prince George's Community College*
Maj. Paul Belmont, *U.S. Military Academy, West Point*
Peter Belser, *Ivy Tech Community College*
Robert Bender, *Eastern New Mexico University, Roswell*
Tiffany Bergman, *Missouri Valley College*
Devan Bissonette, *Excelsior College*
Blanche Brick, *Blinn College*
Brian Cervantez, *Tarrant County College, Northwest*
Sharon Courmier, *Lamar University*
Keith D. Dickson, *Old Dominion University*
Kevin Eades, *North Central Texas College*
Angela S. Edwards, *Florence-Darlington Technical College*
Ron Enders, *Ashland Community College*
Amy Essington, *California State University, Long Beach*
Glen Findley, *Odessa College*
Brandon Franke, *Blinn College*
Mary E. Frederickson, *Miami University of Ohio*
Joy Giguere, *Ivy Tech Community College*
Howell H. Gwin Jr., *Lamar University*
Donn Hall, *Ivy Tech Community College*
Maj. Adrienne Harrison, *U.S. Military Academy, West Point*
Andrew Hollinger, *Tarrant County College, Northeast*
Volker Janssen, *California State University, Fullerton*
Brian Johnson, *Tarrant County College, South*
Philbert Martin, *San Jacinto College, South*
Linda McCabe, *Tarrant County College, Northeast*
Maureen A. McCormick, *Florida State College at Jacksonville*
Brian Craig Miller, *Emporia State University*
Amanda Lea Miracle, *Emporia State University*

Josh Montandon, *North Central Texas College*
Wesley Moody, *Florida State College*
Rebekkah Morrow, *Western Oklahoma State College*
Simone de Santiago Ramos, *North Central Texas College*
Matt Schaffer, *Florence-Darlington Technical College*
Jason Scheller, *Vernon College*
Rebecca Seaman, *Elizabeth City State University*
Dennis Spillman, *North Central Texas College*
Eddie Weller, *San Jacinto College, South*
Ann K. Wentworth, *Excelsior College*
Cody Whitaker, *Drury University*
Christina A. Wilbur, *Lamar University*
Geoffrey Willbanks, *Tyler Junior College*
Martin W. Wilson, *East Stroudsburg University*
Cary Wintz, *Texas Southern University*

Connect Board of Advisors

Michael Downs, *University of Texas–Arlington*
Jim Halverson, *Judson University*
Reid Holland, *Midlands Technical College*
Stephen Katz, *Rider University*
David Komito, *Eastern Oregon University*
Wendy Sarti, *Oakton Community College*
Linda Scherr, *Mercer County Community College*
Eloy Zarate, *Pasadena City College*

Symposium and Digiposium Attendees

Gisela Ables, *Houston Community College*
Sal Anselmo, *Delgado Community College*
Mario A. J. Bennekin, *Georgia Perimeter College*
C. J. Bibus, *Wharton County Junior College*
Olwyn M. Blouet, *Virginia State University*
Michael Botson, *Houston Community College*
Cathy Briggs, *Northwest Vista College*
Brad Cartwright, *University of Texas–El Paso*
Roger Chan, *Washington State University*
June Cheatham, *Richland College*
Keith Chu, *Bergen Community College*
Karl Clark, *Coastal Bend College*

Bernard Comeau, *Tacoma Community College*
Kevin Davis, *North Central Texas College*
Michael Downs, *Tarrant County College*
Tim Draper, *Waubensee Community College*
Laura Dunn, *Brevard Community College*
Arthur Durand, *Metropolitan Community College*

Amy Forss, *Metropolitan Community College*
Jim Good, *Lone Star College*
R. David Goodman, *Pratt Institute*
Wendy Gunderson, *Colin County Community College*

Debbie Hargis, *Odessa College*
Jim Harper, *North Carolina Central University*
Matt Hinckley, *Eastfield College*
John Hosler, *Morgan State University*
James Jones, *Prairie View A&M University*
Philip Kaplan, *University of North Florida*
Carol A. Keller, *San Antonio College*
Greg Kelm, *Dallas Baptist University*
Michael Kinney, *Calhoun Community College*
Jennifer Lang, *Delgado Community College*
Meredith R. Martin, *Collin College*
Thomas Massey, *Cape Fear Community College*

Linda McCabe, *North Lake College*
Sandy Norman, *Florida Atlantic University*
Michelle Novak, *Houston Community College*
Jessica Patton, *Tarrant County College*
Robert Risko, *Trinity Valley Community College*
Gary Ritter, *Central Piedmont Community College*

Esther Robinson, *Lone Star College*
Geri Ryder, *Ocean County College*
Horacio Salinas, *Laredo Community College*
Linda Scherr, *Mercer County Community College*

Jeffrey Smith, *Lindenwood University*
Rachel Standish, *San Joaquin Delta College*
Connie B. Thomason, *Louisiana Delta Community College*
Roger Ward, *Colin County Community College*
Don Whatley, *Blinn College*
David White, *McHenry County College*
Geoffrey Willbanks, *Tyler Junior College*
Scott M. Williams, *Weatherford College*
Carlton Wilson, *North Carolina Central University*
Chad Wooley, *Tarrant County College*

Focus Group Participants

Simon Baatz, *John Jay College*
Manu Bhagavan, *Hunter College*
David Dzurec, *University of Scranton*
Mark Jones, *Central Connecticut State University*
Stephen Katz, *Philadelphia University*
Jessica Kovler, *John Jay College*
David Lansing, *Ocean County College*
Benjamin Lapp, *Montclair State University*
Julian Madison, *Southern Connecticut State University*
David Marshall, *Suffolk Community College*
George Monahan, *Suffolk Community College*
Tracy Musacchio, *John Jay College*
Mikal Nash, *Essex County College*
Veena Oldenburg, *Baruch College*
Edward Paulino, *John Jay College*
Craig Pilant, *County College of Morris*
Susan Schmidt Horning, *Saint John's University*
Donna Scimeca, *College of Staten Island*
Matthew Vaz, *City College of New York*
Christian Warren, *Brooklyn College*

A GUIDE TOUR OF THE UNFINISHED NATION

The Unfinished Nation makes history relevant to students through a series of engaging features:

CONSIDER THE SOURCE FEATURES

In every chapter, Consider the Source features guide students through careful analysis of historical documents and prompt them to closely examine the ideas expressed, as well as the historical circumstances. Among the classic sources included are Benjamin Franklin's testimony against the Stamp Act, the Gettysburg Address, a radio address from FDR, and Ronald Reagan on the role of government. Concise introductions provide context, and concluding questions prompt students to understand, analyze, and evaluate each source.

CONSIDER THE SOURCE

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, "OF THE ISLAND OF HISPANIOLA" (1542)

Bartolomé de Las Casas, a Dominican friar from Spain, was an early European settler of the West Indies. He devoted much of his life to describing the culture of native peoples and championing the many abuses they suffered at the hands of their colonizers. This excerpt is from a letter he addressed to Spain's Prince Philip.

God has created all these numberless people to be quiet the simplest, without malice or duplicity, most obedient, most faithful to their natural lords, and to the Christians, whom they serve; the most humble, most patient, most peaceful and calm, without strife nor tumults, not wanting nor covetous, as free from sorrow, hate and desire of revenge as any in the world. . . Among these gentle sheep, gifted by their Maker with the above qualities, the Spaniards entered as soon as they knew them, like wolves, tigers and lions which had been starving for many days, and since forty years they have done nothing else, nor do they afflict, torment, and destroy them with strange and cruel, and downy kind of cruelty, never before seen, nor heard of, nor read of. . .

The Christians, with their horses and swords and arrows, began to slaughter and practice strange cruelty among them. They penetrated into the country and spared neither children nor the aged, nor pregnant women, nor those in child labor, all of whom they ran through the body and lacerated, as though they were animals to many lands hunted by their shepherds. They made haste on to also would kill a man in two, or cut off his head at the blow or they open up his bowels. . . Thus have they taken from their mouths

against the rocks. Others they seized by the shoulders and threw into the rivers, laughing and joking, and when they fell into the water they exclaimed, "Oh body of an and our!" They spoiled the bodies of other babies, together with their mothers and all who were before them, on their wives. . . They made a gallows just high enough for the feet to nearly touch the ground, and by thousands, in honor and reverence of our Redeemer and the twelve Apostles, they put wood underneath and, with fire, they burned the Indians alive. . . They wrung the bodies of others entirely in dry straw, binding them in it and setting fire to it, and so they burned them. They cut off the hands of all they wished to take alive, made them carry them fastened on to them, and said: "Go and carry letters," that is, take the news to those who have fled to the mountains. . . They generally filled the fields and hills in the following way. They made wooden grids of stakes, bound them upon them, and made a slow fire beneath; then the victims gave up the spirit by degrees, emitting cries of despair in their torture. . .

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, & EVALUATE

1. How did Bartolomé de Las Casas characterize the natives? How do you think they would have responded to this description?
2. What metaphor did Las Casas use to describe the natives and what does this metaphor come from?
3. What did Las Casas expect the Spaniards to do about the treatment?

DEBATING THE PAST FEATURES

DEBATING THE PAST



THE DECISION TO DROP THE ATOMIC BOMB

There has been continuing disagreement since 1945 among historians—and many others—about how to explain and evaluate President Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb against Japan.

Truman himself, both at the time and in his 1952 memoirs, insisted that the decision was a simple and straightforward one. The alternative to using atomic weapons, he claimed, was an American invasion of



mainland Japan that might have cost as many as a million American lives. This view has received considerable support from historians. Herbert Gold argued in *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II* (1966) that Truman made his decision on purely military grounds—to ensure a speedy American victory. David McCullough, the author of a popular biography of Truman published in 1992, also accepted Truman's own account of his actions largely uncritically, as did Alan Brinkley in *The End of Reform* (1995), an important scholarly study of Truman. "One consideration weighed most heavily on Truman," Brinkley concluded. "That longer the war lasted, the more Americans died."

Others have strongly disagreed. As early as 1946, British physicist P. M. S. Blackett wrote in *Force, War, and the Bomb* that the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was "not so much the last military act of the second World War as the first major operation of the cold diplomatic war with Russia."

The most important critic of Truman's decision is the historian Gar Alperovitz, the author of two influential books on the subject: *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam* (1965) and *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb* (1995). Alperovitz dismissed the argument that the bomb was used to shorten the war and save lives from Japan, saying he had never surrendered soon even if the bomb had not been used, he claimed. Instead, he argued, the United States used

the bomb less to influence Japan than to intimidate the Soviet Union. "To make things more metaphorical in Europe," John H. Coatsworth's *After World War II* (1968) contended, by implication at least, is another controversial explanation of the American decision to use the atomic bomb.

The debate over the decision to drop the atomic bomb is an unusually emotional one, and it has inspired both professional and popular articles in an abundance of almost every position. It illustrates clearly how history has often been, and remains, a powerful force in the way societies define themselves. x

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, & EVALUATE

1. The United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan, one on Hiroshima and the other on Nagasaki. Was dropping the bomb on Hiroshima necessary? Was it justifiable? Do the reasons for dropping the bomb on Hiroshima apply equally to the bombing of Nagasaki?
2. How might the war in the Pacific have been different if the United States had decided not to drop the bomb?

father insisted the Japanese will resist. Madam Japanese leaders, who had long since concluded the war was lost, were looking to end the fighting. But they continued to set powerful opposition to their leaders. When the records could be obtained, they have prevailed in a question historian continues to debate. In any case, their efforts became superfluous in August 1945, when the United States made use of a terrible new weapon it had been developing throughout the war.

THE MANHATTAN PROJECT AND ATOMIC WARFARE

Reports first reached the United States in 1939 that Nazi scientists had taken the first step toward the creation of an atomic bomb. x

Debating the Past essays introduce students to the contested quality of much of the American past, and they provide a sense of the evolving nature of historical scholarship. From examining specific differences in historical understandings of the Constitution, to exploring the causes of the Civil War and the significance of Watergate, these essays familiarize students with the interpretive character of historical understanding.

AMERICA IN THE WORLD FEATURES

AMERICA IN THE WORLD

IMPERIALISM

Empires were not, of course, new to the nineteenth century when the United States acquired its first overseas colonies. They had existed since the early moments of recorded history, and they have continued into our own time.

But in the second half of the nineteenth century, the construction of empires took on a new form, and the world imperialism emerged for the first time to describe it. In many decades, European powers now created colonies not by sending large numbers of migrants to settle and populate new lands, but instead by creating military, political, and business structures that allowed them to dominate and profit from the existing populations. This new imperialism changed the character of the colonies, turning nations, enriching them greatly, and producing new classes of people whose lives were shaped by the demands of imperial business and administration. It changed the character of "colonial" societies: even more, drawing them into the vast vortex of global industrial capitalism and introducing Western customs, institutions, and technologies to the subject people.

As the popularity of empire grew in the West, efforts to justify it grew as well. Champions of imperialism argued that the acquisition of colonies was essential for the health, even the survival, of their own industrial nations. Colonies were sources of raw materials vital to industrial production; they were markets for manufactured goods, and they were suppliers of cheap labor. Defenders of empire also argued that imperialism was good for the colonized people. Many saw colonization as an opportunity to export Christianity to "heathen" lands, and new missionary movements emerged as well in Europe and America in response. More secular apologists argued that imperialism


helped bring colonized people into the modern world.

The invention of steamships, railroads, telegraphs, and other modern vehicles of transportation and communication, the construction of canals (particularly the Suez Canal, completed in 1869) and the Panama Canal, completed in 1914; the creation of new military technologies (explosive shells, machine guns, and modern artillery)—all contributed to the ability of Western nations to reach, conquer, and control distant lands.

The greatest imperial power of the nineteenth century was Great Britain. By 1880, despite its recent loss of the colonies that became the United States, it already possessed vast territory in North America, the Caribbean, and the Pacific. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Britain greatly expanded its empire. Its most important acquisition was India, one of the largest and most populous countries in the world and a nation in which Great Britain had long exerted informal authority. In 1857, when native Indians rebelled against British influence, British forces brutally crushed the rebellion and established formal colonial control over India.

British officials, backed by substantial military power, now governed India through a large civil service staffed mostly by people from England and Scotland but with some Indians heavily involved in telegraphs, canals, harbors, and agricultural improvements, to enhance the economic opportunities available to them. They created schools for Indian children in an effort to bring them into modern positions. The British recruited their supporters of the imperial system.

The British also extended their empire south through Africa and other parts of Asia. The great imperial champion Cecil Rhodes expanded a small existing British colony at



SIEGE OF DELHI: The Indian Mutiny, which lasted from 1857 to 1859, was a major uprising against the rule of the British East India Company, with Indians fighting on both sides. The uprising resulted over a century of indirect rule by the Company and features as a key element in the Administration of the British Empire in India became known as the "Raj," from the Indian word for "rule." (Ginger on Publishing)

Capetown into a substantial colony that included much of what is now South Africa. In 1895, he added new British territories to the north, which he named Rhodesia (and which today are Zimbabwe and Zambia). Others spread British authority into Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, and much of Egypt. British imperialists also extended the empire into East Asia, with the acquisition of Singapore, Hong Kong, Burma, and Malaya, and they built a substantial presence—although not formal colonial rule—in China.

Other European states, watching the westward expansion of the British Empire, quickly jumped into the race for colonies. France created colonies in Indochina (Vietnam and Laos), Algeria, west Africa, and Madagascar. Belgium moved into the Congo in west Africa. Germany established colonies in the Cameroons, Tanganyika, and other parts of Africa, and in the Pacific islands north of Australia. Dutch, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Russian, and Japanese imperialists created colonies as well in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific—driven both by a calculation of

their own commercial interests and by the frenzied competition that had developed among rival imperial powers. In 1898, the United States was drawn into the imperial race in part inadvertently as an unintended result of the Spanish-American War. But the drive to acquire colonies resulted as well from the deliberate efforts of home-grown proponents of empire (among them Theodore Roosevelt), who believed that in the modern industrial imperial world, a nation without colonies would have difficulty remaining, or becoming, a true great power.

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, & EVALUATE

What motivated the European nations' drive for empire in the late nineteenth century?

1. Why was Great Britain so successful in acquiring its vast empire?
2. Were the imperial efforts and ambitions of the United States at the end of the nineteenth century comparable with those of European powers?

America in the World essays focus on specific parallels between American history and those of other nations and demonstrate the importance of the many global influences on the American story. Topics such as the global Industrial Revolution, the abolition of slavery, and the global depression of the 1920s provide concrete examples of the connections between the history of the United States and the history of other nations.

PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE FEATURES

PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE

THE MINSTREL SHOW

The minstrel show was one of the most popular forms of entertainment in America in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was also a testament to the high awareness of race (and the high level of racism) in American society both before and after the Civil War. Minstrel performers were mostly white, usually disguised as black. But African American performers also formed their own minstrel shows and transformed them into vehicles for training black entertainers and developing new forms of music and dance.

Before and during the Civil War, when minstrel shows consisted almost entirely of

white performers, performers blackened their faces with cork and presented grotesque stereotypes of the slave culture of the American South. Among the most popular of the stammering, ridiculously ignorant characters invented for those shows were such figures as "Toby Coon" and "Jim Crow" (whose name later resurfaced as a label for late-nineteenth-century segregation laws). A typical minstrel show presented a group of seven or more men seated in a semicircle facing the audience. The man in the center row, played the straight man for the jokes of others, and led the music—livey



OUR COLLOSSAL DOUBLE COMPANY.

MINSTRELS AT THEIR FINE: The Peterson & West minstrel troupe—a black and white ensemble—introduced the large troupe to the 1880s—was one of many companies to offer black bands of entertainment to cater to the popularity of rural African American minstrel acts. The Peterson & West troupe included groups of white and black performers alike. (The World of Geography)

dancers and sentimental ballads played on banjos, catarinets, and other instruments and sang by soloists or the entire group.

After the Civil War, white minstrels began to expand their repertoire. Drawing from the famous and successful freak shows of P. T. Barnum and other entertainment entrepreneurs, some began to include Sausage Tarts, boarded ladies, and even a supposedly 8-foot-2-inch "Chinese giant" in their shows. They also incorporated sex, both by including women in some shows and, even more popularly, by recruiting female impersonators. One of the most successful minstrel performers of the 1870s was Francis Leon, who delighted crowds with his female portrayal of a flamboyant "prima donna."

One reason white minstrels began to move in these new directions was that they were now facing competition from black performers, who could provide more authentic versions of black music, dance, and humor. They usually brought more talent to the task than white performers. The Georgia Minstrels, organized in 1865, was one of the first all-black minstrel troupes, and it had great success in attracting white audiences in the Northeast for several years.

By the 1870s, touring African American minstrel groups were numerous. The black minstrel used many of the conventions of the white shows. There were dances, music, comic routines, and sentimental recitations. Some black performers even blacked their faces to make themselves look as dark as the white blackface performers with whom they were competing. Black minstrels sometimes denounced slavery (at least indirectly) and did not often speak demeaningly of the capacities of their race. But they could not entirely escape caricature. African American life as they struggled to meet the expectations of their white audiences.

The black minstrel shows had few openly political aims. They did help develop some important forms of African American entertainment and transform them into a part of

the national culture. Black minstrels introduced new forms of dance, derived from the informal traditions of slavery and black community life. They showed the "back and wing," the "stop time," and the "Virginia exotica," which established the foundations for the tap and jazz dancing of the early twentieth century. They also improved musically and began experimenting with forms that over time contributed to the growth of ragtime, jazz, and rhythm and blues.

Eventually, black minstrelry—like its white counterpart—evolved into other forms of theater, including the beginnings of serious black drama. At Madison Park in Brooklyn in the 1890s, for example, the celebrated black comedian Sam Lucas (a veteran of the minstrel circuit) starred in the play *Darky*. Another, which one black newspaper later described as a "talent show of Negro life, carrying the race through all their historical phases from the plantation, into reconstruction days and finally granting our people as they are today, cultured and accomplished in the social graces, [holding] the mirror faithfully up to nature."

But interest in the minstrel show did not die altogether. In 1927 Hollywood released *The Jazz Singer*, the first feature film with sound. It was about the career of a white minstrel performer, and its star was one of the most popular singers of the twentieth century. At least, whose career had begun on the blackface minstrel circuit years before.

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, & EVALUATE

1. How did minstrel shows performed by white minstrels reinforce prevailing attitudes toward African Americans?
2. Minstrel shows performed by black minstrels often conformed to existing stereotypes of African Americans. Why?
3. Can you think of any popular entertainment today that carry remnants of the minstrel shows of the nineteenth century?

Patterns of Popular Culture essays bring fads, crazes, hangouts, hobbies, and entertainment into the story of American history, encouraging students to expand their definition of what constitutes history and gain a new understanding of what popular culture reveals about a society.

WHAT'S NEW TO *THE UNFINISHED NATION*, EIGHTH EDITION

We have revised the narrative and the features throughout this eighth edition for clarity and currency. On a chapter-by-chapter basis, major changes include:

Chapter 1, The Collision of Cultures

- New Debating the Past: “Why Do Historians So Often Differ?”

Chapter 2, Transplantations and Borderlands

- New portrait and information about early colonist Anne Pollard.
- New illustration of the early Savannah colony.

Chapter 3, Society and Culture in Provincial America

- New map of African population density in the colonies.

Chapter 6, The Constitution and the New Republic

- New illustration of the Jeffersonian vision of an agrarian republic.

Chapter 7, The Jeffersonian Era

- New political cartoon about the effects of the Embargo Act.

Chapter 8, Varieties of American Nationalism

- New portrait and information about Sequoyah.

Chapter 9, Jacksonian America

- Additional text and chapter question on the Native American response to U.S. expansion.
- New image satirizing financial policies associated with the depression of the late 1830s.

Chapter 10, America’s Economic Revolution

- New Consider the Source: “*Handbook to Lowell*, 1848.”

Chapter 11, Cotton, Slavery, and the Old South

- New photograph and information about Harriet Tubman.

Chapter 12, Antebellum Culture and Reform

- New Patterns of Popular Culture: “Sentimental Novels,” including a discussion of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.
- New section—“Struggles of Radical Black Women”—on preachers Jarena Lee and Rebecca Cox Jackson.

- New text connecting Thoreau’s idea of civil disobedience with later abolitionist and civil rights protests.
- New text explaining why free blacks resisted the ACS’s plan for populating Liberia.
- New photograph and information about Margaret Fuller.
- New painting depicting the Mormon trek to Utah.

Chapter 13, The Impending Crisis

- Revised accounts of how the Compromise of 1850 and the Lincoln-Nebraska Act were achieved.
- New Lone Star flag picture and information on Texas’s years as an independent republic.
- New photograph of a multiethnic group of California gold miners.
- New cartoon illustrating a pro-slavery argument.

Chapter 14, The Civil War

- New section—“Billy Yank and Johnny Reb”—describing the motivations and outfitting of Northern and Southern recruits at the start of the Civil War.
- Revised discussion of the North’s strategy for winning the war and Lincoln’s search for a commander.

Chapter 15, Reconstruction and the New South

- New Patterns of Popular Culture: “The Minstrel Show.”
- Expanded discussion of plans to give land to freed slaves as a first step in Reconstruction.
- New editorial cartoon on critics’ view of Reconstruction.

Chapter 16, The Conquest of the Far West

- New painting, *American Progress*, illustrating the American idea of the frontier.
- New painting of a Tejanos-run ranch in Texas.
- New painting of Little Bighorn, from a Native American artist’s perspective.

Chapter 17, Industrial Supremacy

- New photograph of child laborers and information about Lewis Hine’s investigative photography.

Chapter 19, From Crisis to Empire

- New Patterns of Popular Culture: “Yellow Journalism.”
- Revised discussion of the factors motivating American imperialism, introducing the concept of “jingoism” and the connection to ideas about the nation’s masculinity.
- Revised discussion of the range of American reactions to the Cuban rebellion and the Teller Amendment.
- New discussion of race in the context of the Philippine War.
- New editorial cartoon of Chester Arthur feeling heat of competing interest groups.
- New pro-imperialism editorial cartoon.
- New photograph and information about Populist orator Mary Lease.

Chapter 20, The Progressives

- New Consider the Source: “John Muir on the Value of Wild Places.”
- New photograph and information about the suffrage pageant in Washington, D.C., on the eve of Wilson’s inauguration.

Chapter 21, America and the Great War

- New Consider the Source: “Race, Gender, and World War I Posters.”
- Revised discussion of European alliances and the start of World War I.
- New “Intervention” subsection with a revised discussion of what compelled Wilson to enter the war.
- Revised discussion of the American contribution to the Allies’ victory.
- New descriptions of American troops and how Progressive ideas were employed in basic training.
- Reorganized and revised discussion of war casualty numbers.

Chapter 22, The New Era

- New Consider the Source: “America’s Early Telephone Network.”

Chapter 23, The Great Depression

- Revised discussion of Depression-era literature, and addition of Richard Wright’s *Native Son*.

Chapter 24, The New Deal

- New editorial cartoon of an optimistic FDR steering the nation toward recovery.
- New photo and information on the Memorial Day Massacre.
- New photo and information on Eleanor Roosevelt’s role in the New Deal.

Chapter 25, The Global Crisis, 1921–1941

- New Patterns of Popular Culture: “Orson Welles and the ‘War of the Worlds.’”

Chapter 26, America in a World at War

- New Consider the Source: “The Face of the Enemy.”
- New scholarship on wartime culture, including two new sections: “Home-Front Life and Culture” and “Love, Family, and Sexuality in Wartime.”
- Updated war casualty numbers.

Chapter 27, The Cold War

- New information on the Rosenberg case.
- Additional information on Ellen Schrecker’s *Many Are the Crimes*.
- Revised discussion of Cold War attitudes.

Chapter 28, The Affluent Society

- New Patterns of Popular Culture: “On the Road.”
- Expanded explanations of postwar economic growth as well as the decline in farm prices.

Chapter 29, retitled The Turbulent Sixties

- New Patterns of Popular Culture: “The Folk-Music Revival.”
- New Consider the Source: “Fannie Lou Hamer on the Struggle for Voting Rights.”
- Expanded discussions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act; Malcolm X; the Cuban missile crisis.

Chapter 30, The Crisis of Authority

- Additional information on the extent of the draft and resistance; the history of gay rights; the consequences of the 1973 OPEC embargo.
- New photos showing the Native American occupation of Alcatraz; Robert Kennedy with César Chávez; Nixon in China.
- New graph on the gender income gap.

Chapter 31, From the “Age of Limits” to the Age of Reagan

- New Consider the Source: “Ronald Reagan on the Role of Government.”

Chapter 32, The Age of Globalization

- Thoroughly updated and reorganized chapter and illustrations to reflect events up to press time. In addition to content changes in every section:
- New Patterns of Popular Culture: “Rap.”
- New Consider the Source: “Same-Sex Marriage, 2015.”
- New graph on immigration trends from 1850 to the present.
- Updated discussion of environmental catastrophes, including Deepwater Horizon.

1 THE COLLISION OF CULTURES

AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS
EUROPE LOOKS WESTWARD
THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH

LOOKING AHEAD

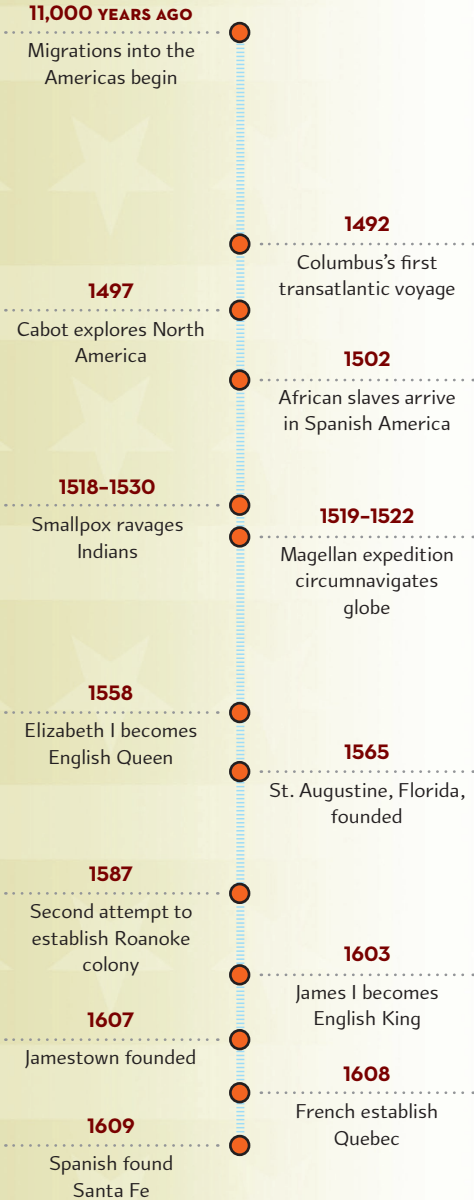
1. How did the societies of native people in the South differ from those in the North in the precontact period (before the arrival of the Europeans)?
2. What effects did the arrival of Europeans have on the native peoples of the Americas?
3. How did patterns of settlement differ among the Spanish, English, French, and Dutch immigrants to the Americas?

THE DISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAS did not begin with Christopher Columbus. It began many thousands of years earlier, when human beings first crossed into the new continents and began to people them. By the end of the fifteenth century A.D., when the first important contact with Europeans occurred, the Americas were home to millions of men and women.

These ancient civilizations had experienced many changes and many catastrophes during their long history. But it is likely that none of these experiences was as tragically transforming as the arrival of Europeans. In the first violent years of Spanish and Portuguese exploration and conquest, the impact of the new arrivals was profound. Europeans brought with them diseases (most notably smallpox) to which natives, unlike the invaders, had no immunity. The result was a great demographic catastrophe that killed millions of people, weakened existing societies, and greatly aided the Spanish and Portuguese in their rapid and devastating takeover of the existing American empires.

But the European immigrants were never able to eliminate the influence of the indigenous peoples (whom they came to call “Indians”). In their many interactions, whether beneficial or ruinous, these very different civilizations shaped one another, learned from one another, and changed one another permanently and profoundly.

TIME LINE



AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS

We know relatively little about the first peoples in the Americas, but archaeologists have uncovered new evidence from artifacts that have survived over many millennia. We continue to learn more about the earliest Americans.

THE PEOPLES OF THE PRECONTACT AMERICAS

For many decades, scholars believed that all early migrations into the Americas came from humans crossing an ancient land bridge over the Bering Strait into what is now Alaska, approximately 11,000 years ago. The migrations were probably a result of the development of new stone tools—spears and other hunting implements—used to pursue the large animals that crossed between Asia and North America. All of these land-based migrants are thought to have come from a Mongolian stock related to that of modern-day Siberia. Scholars refer to these migrants as the “Clovis” people, so named for a town in New Mexico where archaeologists first discovered evidence of their tools and weapons in the 1930s.

More recent archaeological evidence suggests that not all the early migrants to the Americas came across the Bering Strait. Some migrants from Asia appear to have settled as far south as Chile and Peru even before people began moving into North America by land. These first South Americans may have come not by land but by sea, using boats.

This new evidence suggests that the early population of the Americas was more diverse and more scattered than scholars used to believe. Recent DNA evidence has identified a possible early population group that does not seem to have Asian characteristics. This suggests that thousands of years before Columbus, there may have been some migration from Europe.



NORTH AMERICAN MIGRATIONS This map tracks some of the very early migrations into, and within, North America in the centuries preceding contact with Europe. The map shows the now-vanished land bridge between Siberia and Alaska over which thousands, perhaps millions, of migrating people passed into the Americas. It also shows the locations of some of the earliest settlements in North America. • *What role did the extended glacial field in what is now Canada play in residential patterns in the ancient American world?*

The *Archaic period* is a scholarly term for the early history of humans in America, beginning around 8000 B.C. In the first part of this period, most humans *The Archaic Period* supported themselves through hunting and gathering, using the same stone tools that earlier Americans had brought with them from Asia.

Later in the Archaic period, population groups began to expand their activities and to develop new tools, such as nets and hooks for fishing, traps for smaller animals, and baskets for gathering berries, nuts, seeds, and other plants. Still later, some groups began to farm. Farming, of course, requires people to stay in one place. In agricultural areas, the first sedentary settlements slowly began to form, creating the basis for larger civilizations.

THE GROWTH OF CIVILIZATIONS: THE SOUTH

The most elaborate early civilizations emerged in South and Central America and in Mexico. In Peru, the Incas created the largest empire in the Americas, stretching almost **The Inca in Peru** 2,000 miles along western South America. The Incas developed a complex administrative system and a large network of paved roads that welded together the populations of many tribes under a single government.

Organized societies of Mesoamericans emerged around 10,000 B.C. They created a **Mesoamerican Civilizations** civilization in what is now Mexico and much of Central America. They were known as the Olmec people. The first truly complex society in the region began in approximately 1000 B.C. A more sophisticated culture grew up around A.D. 800 in parts of Central America and in the Yucatán peninsula of Mexico, in an area known as Maya. Mayan civilization developed a written language, a numerical system similar to the Arabic, an accurate calendar, an advanced agricultural system, and important trade routes into other areas of the continents.

Gradually, the societies of the Maya region were superseded by other Mesoamerican tribes, who have become known collectively (and somewhat inaccurately) as the Aztec. They called themselves Mexica. In about A.D. 1300, the Mexica built the city of Tenochtitlán on a large island in a lake in central Mexico, the site of present-day Mexico City. With a population as high as 100,000 by 1500, Tenochtitlán featured large and impressive public buildings, schools that all male children attended, an organized military, a medical system, and a slave workforce drawn from conquered tribes. A warlike people, the Mexica gradually established their dominance over almost all of central Mexico.

Like other Mesoamerican societies, the Mexica developed a religion that included a belief that the gods could be satisfied only by being fed the living hearts of humans. The Mexica sacrificed people—largely prisoners captured in combat—on a scale unknown in other American civilizations. The Mesoamerican civilizations were for many centuries the center of civilized life in North and Central America—the hub of culture and trade.

THE CIVILIZATIONS OF THE NORTH

The peoples north of Mexico developed less elaborate but still substantial civilizations. Inhabitants of the northern regions of the continent subsisted on combinations of hunting, **Hunting, Gathering, and Fishing** gathering, and fishing. They included the Eskimo (or Inuit) of the Arctic Circle, who fished and hunted seals; big-game hunters of the northern forests, who led nomadic lives based on the pursuit of moose and caribou; tribes of the Pacific Northwest, whose principal occupation was salmon fishing and who created substantial permanent settlements along the coast; and a group of tribes spread through relatively arid regions of the Far West, who developed successful communities based on fishing, hunting small game, and gathering edible plants.

Other societies in North America were agricultural. Among the most developed were **Agricultural Societies** those in the Southwest. The people of that arid region built large irrigation systems, and they constructed towns of stone and adobe. In the Great Plains region, too, most tribes were engaged in sedentary farming (corn and other grains). They lived in large permanent settlements.

The eastern third of what is now the United States—much of it covered with forests and inhabited by the Woodland Indians—had the greatest food resources of any area of the continent. Most of the many tribes of the region engaged in farming, hunting, gathering,



HOW THE EARLY NORTH AMERICANS LIVED This map shows the various ways in which the native tribes of North America supported themselves before the arrival of European civilization. Like most precommercial peoples, the Native Americans survived largely on the resources available in their immediate surroundings. Note, for example, the reliance on the products of the sea of the tribes along the northern coastlines of the continent, and the way in which tribes in relatively inhospitable climates in the North—where agriculture was difficult—relied on hunting large game. Most Native Americans were farmers. • *What different kinds of farming would have emerged in the very different climates of the agricultural regions shown on this map?*

and fishing simultaneously. In the South there were permanent settlements and large trading networks based on the corn and other grains grown in the rich lands of the Mississippi River valley. Cahokia, a trading center located near present-day St. Louis, had a **Cahokia** population of 40,000 at its peak in A.D. 1200.

The agricultural societies of the Northeast were more mobile. Farming techniques there were designed to exploit the land quickly rather than to develop permanent settlements. Many of the tribes living east of the Mississippi River were linked together loosely by common linguistic roots. The largest of these language groups consisted of the Algonquian tribes, who lived along the Atlantic seaboard from Canada to Virginia; the Iroquois Confederacy, which was centered in what is now upstate New York; and the Muskogean



PUEBLO VILLAGE OF THE SOUTHWEST
(© C. McIntyre/PhotoLink/Getty Images)

tribes, which consisted of the tribes in the southernmost regions of the eastern seaboard.

Religion was usually closely linked with the natural world on which the tribes depended for sustenance. Native Americans worshiped many gods, whom they associated variously with crops, game, forests, rivers, and other elements of nature.

All tribes assigned women the jobs of caring for children, preparing meals, and gathering certain foods. But the allocation of other tasks varied from one society to

another. Some tribal groups reserved farming tasks almost entirely for men. Among other **Gender Relations** groups, women tended the fields, whereas men engaged in hunting, warfare, or clearing land. Because women and children were often left alone for extended periods while men were away hunting or fighting, women in some tribes controlled the social and economic organization of the settlements.

EUROPE LOOKS WESTWARD

Europeans were almost entirely unaware of the existence of the Americas before the fifteenth century. A few early wanderers—Leif Eriksson, an eleventh-century Norse seaman, and others—had glimpsed parts of the eastern Atlantic on their voyages. But even if their discoveries had become common knowledge (and they did not), there would have been little incentive for others to follow. Europe in the Middle Ages (roughly A.D. 500–1500) was too weak, divided, and decentralized to inspire many great ventures. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, conditions in Europe had changed and the incentive for overseas exploration had grown.

COMMERCE AND SEA TRAVEL

Two important changes encouraged Europeans to look toward new lands. One was the significant growth in Europe's population in the fifteenth century. The Black Death, a catastrophic epidemic of the bubonic plague that began in Constantinople in 1347, had killed more than a third of the people on the Continent (according to some estimates). But a century and **European Population Growth** a half later, the population had rebounded. With that growth came a reawakening of commerce. A new merchant class was emerging to meet the rising demand for goods from abroad. As trade increased, and as advances in navigation made long-distance sea travel more feasible, interest in expanding trade grew even more quickly.

The second change was the emergence of new governments that were more united and **Strong Monarchies** powerful than the feeble political entities of the feudal past. In the western areas of Europe in particular, strong new monarchs were eager to enhance the commercial development of their nations.

In the early fourteenth century, Marco Polo and other adventurers had returned from Asia bearing exotic spices, cloths, and dyes and even more exotic tales. Europeans who

craved commercial glory had dreamed above all of trade with the East. For two centuries, that trade had been limited by the difficulties of the long overland journey to the Asian courts. But in the fourteenth century, talk of finding a faster, safer sea route to East Asia began.

The Portuguese were the preeminent maritime power in the fifteenth century, largely because of Prince Henry the Navigator, who devoted much of his life to the promotion of exploration. In 1486, after Henry's death, the Portuguese explorer *Portuguese Exploration* Bartholomeu Dias rounded the southern tip of Africa (the Cape of Good Hope). In 1497–1498, Vasco da Gama proceeded all the way around the cape to India. But the Spanish, not the Portuguese, were the first to encounter the *New World*, the term Europeans applied to the ancient lands previously unknown to them.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

Christopher Columbus was born and reared in Genoa, Italy. He spent his early seafaring years in the service of the Portuguese. By the time he was a young man, he had developed great ambitions. He believed he could reach East Asia by sailing west, across the Atlantic, rather than east, around Africa. Columbus thought the world was far smaller than it actually is. He also believed that the Asian continent extended farther eastward than it actually does. Most important, he did not realize that anything lay to the west between Europe and the lands of Asia.

Columbus failed to enlist the leaders of Portugal to back his plan, so he turned instead to Spain. The marriage of Spain's two most powerful regional rulers, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, had produced the strongest and most ambitious monarchy in Europe. Columbus appealed to Queen Isabella for support for his proposed westward voyage, and in 1492, she agreed. Commanding ninety men and three *Columbus's First Voyage* ships—the *Niña*, the *Pinta*, and the *Santa María*—Columbus left Spain in August 1492 and sailed west into the Atlantic. Ten weeks later, he sighted land and assumed he had reached an island off Asia. In fact, he had landed in the Bahamas. When he pushed on and encountered Cuba, he assumed he had reached China. He returned to Spain, bringing with him several captured natives as evidence of his achievement. (He called the natives “Indians” because he believed they were from the East Indies in the Pacific.)

But Columbus did not, of course, bring back news of the great khan's court in China or any samples of the fabled wealth of the Indies. And so a year later, he tried again, this time with a much larger expedition. As before, he headed into the Caribbean, discovering several other islands and leaving a small and short-lived **colony** on Hispaniola. On a third voyage, in 1498, he finally reached the mainland and cruised along the northern coast of South America. He then realized, for the first time, that he had encountered not a part of Asia but a separate continent.

Columbus ended his life in obscurity. Ultimately, he was even unable to give his name to the land he had revealed to the Europeans. That distinction went instead to a Florentine merchant, Amerigo Vespucci, who wrote a series of vivid descriptions of the lands he visited on a later expedition to the New World and helped popularize the idea that the Americas were new continents.

Partly as a result of Columbus's initiative, Spain began to devote greater resources and energy to maritime exploration. In 1513, the Spaniard Vasco de Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama and became the first known European to gaze westward upon the great ocean that separated America from China. Seeking access to that ocean, Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese



EUROPEAN EXPLORATION AND CONQUEST, 1492-1583 This map shows the many voyages of exploration to and conquest of North America launched by Europeans in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Note how Columbus and the Spanish explorers who followed him tended to move quickly into the lands of Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central and South America, while the English and French explored the northern territories of North America. • *What factors might have led these various nations to explore and colonize different areas of the New World?*

in Spanish employ, found the strait that now bears his name at the southern end of South America, struggled through the stormy narrows and into the ocean (so calm by contrast that he christened it the *Pacific*), and then proceeded to the Philippines. There Magellan died in a conflict with natives, but his expedition went on to complete the **Circumnavigation of the Globe**

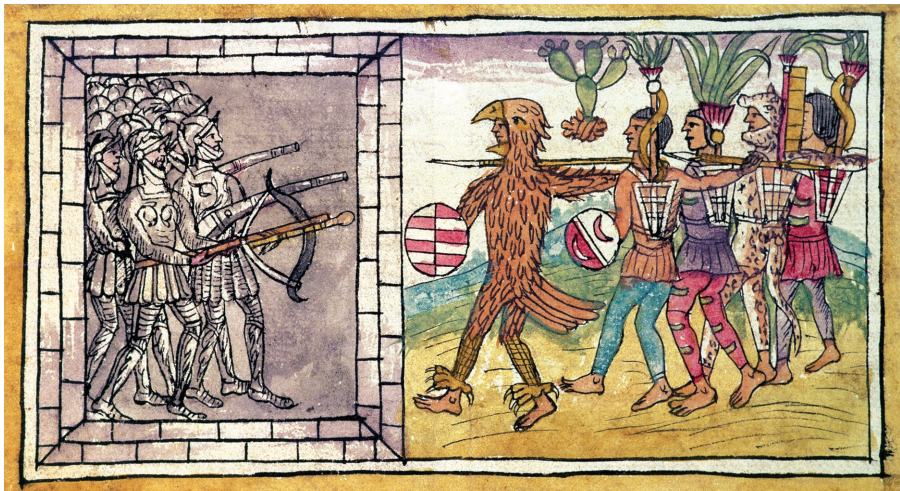
first known circumnavigation of the globe (1519–1522). By 1550, Spaniards had explored the coasts of North America as far north as Oregon in the west and Labrador in the east.

THE SPANISH EMPIRE

In time, Spanish explorers in the New World stopped thinking of America simply as an obstacle to their search for a route to Asia and began instead to consider it a possible source of wealth in itself. The Spanish claimed for themselves the whole of the New World, except for a large part of the east coast of South America (today's Brazil) that was reserved by a papal decree for the Portuguese.

In 1518, Hernando Cortés, who had been an unsuccessful Spanish government official in Cuba for fourteen years, led a small military expedition (about 600 men) against the Aztecs in Mexico and their powerful emperor, Montezuma, after hearing stories of great treasures there. His first assault on Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capital, failed. But Cortés and his army had unwittingly exposed the natives to smallpox, to which the natives, unlike the Europeans, had developed no immunity. The epidemic decimated the Aztec population and made it possible for the Spanish to triumph in their second attempt at conquest. Through his ruthless suppression of the surviving natives, Cortés established himself as one of the most brutal of the Spanish **conquistadores** (conquerors). Twenty years later, Francisco Pizarro conquered **Conquistadores** the Incas in Peru and opened the way for other Spanish advances into South America.

The first Spanish settlers in America were interested only in exploiting the American stores of gold and silver, and they were fabulously successful. For 300 years, beginning in the sixteenth century, the mines of Spanish America yielded more than ten times as much gold and silver as all the rest of the world's mines combined. Before long, however, most Spanish settlers in America traveled to the New World for other reasons. Many went in hopes of profiting from agriculture. They helped establish elements of European



THE MEXICANS STRIKE BACK In this vivid scene from the Durán Codex, Mexican artists illustrate a rare moment in which Mexican warriors gained the upper hand over the Spanish invaders. Driven back by native fighters, the Spanish have taken refuge in a room in the royal palace in Tenochtitlán while brightly attired Mexican warriors besiege them. Although the Mexicans gained a temporary advantage in this battle, the drawing illustrates one of the reasons for their inability to withstand the Spanish in the longer term. The Spanish soldiers are armed with rifles and crossbows, while the Indians carry only spears and shields. (© Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Spain/Bridgeman Images)