

# AMERICAN HISTORY



Alan  
Brinkley

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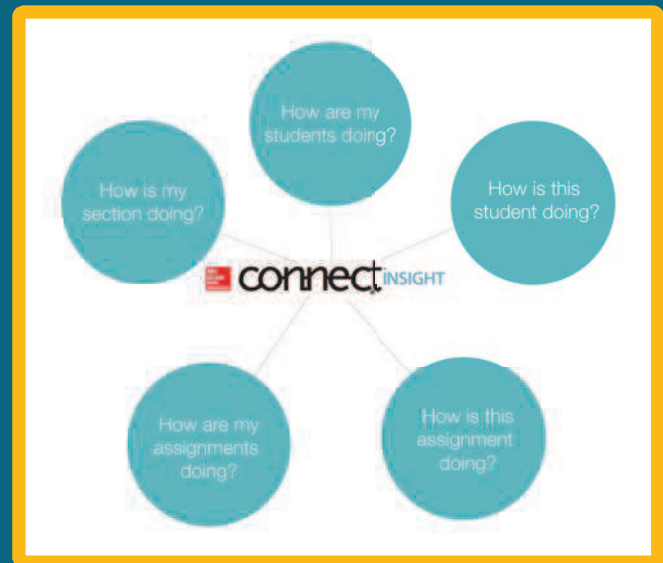
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SMARTBOOK Am History - American History: Connecting with the Past - Brinkley, 14e Reconstruction and the New South

PREVIEW READ PRACTICE RECHARGE

Items left: 46

White Northerners who moved to the South and served as Republican leaders during Reconstruction were called "carpetbaggers" by Southerners who resented their involvement.

Type your answer in the box  
Do you know the answer? (Be honest)

I KNOW IT THINK SO UNSURE NO IDEA

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the economic development of the region. Others were farmers who lived in remote areas where there had been little or no slavery and who hoped the Republican program of internal improvements would help end their economic isolation. Despite their diverse social positions, scalawags shared a belief that the Republican Party would serve their economic interests better than the Democrats.

White men from the North also served as Republican leaders in the South. Critics of Reconstruction referred to them pejoratively as "carpetbaggers," which conveyed an image of penniless adventurers who arrived with all their possessions in a carpetbag (a common kind of cheap suitcase covered with carpeting material). In fact, most of the so-called carpetbaggers were well-educated people of middle-class origin, many of them doctors, lawyers, and teachers. Most were veterans of the Union army who looked on the South as a new frontier, more promising than the West. They had settled there at war's end as hopeful planters or as business and professional people.

But the most numerous Republicans in the South were the black freedmen, most of whom had no previous experience in politics and who tried, therefore, to build institutions through which they could learn to exercise their power. In several states, African American voters held their own conventions to chart their future course. One such "colored convention," as Southern whites called them, assembled in Alabama in 1867 and announced: "We claim exactly the same rights, privileges and immunities as are enjoyed by white men—we ask nothing more and will be content with nothing else." The black churches that freedmen created after emancipation also helped give unity and political self-confidence to the former slaves. African Americans played a significant role in the politics of the Reconstruction South. They served as dele-

WE CLAIM EXACTLY THE  
ME RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES AND  
MUNITIES AS ARE ENJOYED BY  
HITE MEN—WE ASK NOTHING  
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FREEDMEN

The first and only adaptive reading experience, SmartBook is changing the way students read and learn.

- As the student engages with SmartBook, questions test his or her understanding. In response to the student's answers, the reading experience actually adapts to what the student knows or doesn't know.
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- By focusing on the content needed to close specific knowledge gaps, the student maximizes the efficiency of his or her study time.

# Critical Missions Promote Critical Thinking.

*What would your students do if they were senators voting on the impeachment of Andrew Johnson?*

*Or if they were advisers to Harry Truman, helping him decide whether to drop 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 concerning whether or not I should use the atomic bomb on Japan, including 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



### analyze the map

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



Critical Missions make students feel like active participants in history by immersing them in a series of transformative moments from our past.

As advisers to key historical figures, they read and analyze primary sources, interpret maps and timelines, and write recommendations.

As a follow-up activity in each Critical Mission, students learn to think like a historian by conducting a retrospective analysis from a contemporary perspective.

# AMERICAN HISTORY

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Connecting with the Past | FIFTEENTH EDITION

**ALAN BRINKLEY**  
*Columbia University*





AMERICAN HISTORY: CONNECTING WITH THE PAST, 15E  
Alan Brinkley

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PREFACE xxiii

1	THE COLLISION OF CULTURES	1
2	TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS	34
3	SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN PROVINCIAL AMERICA	65
4	THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION	98
5	THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION	128
6	THE CONSTITUTION AND THE NEW REPUBLIC	159
7	THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA	180
8	VARIETIES OF AMERICAN NATIONALISM	214
9	JACKSONIAN AMERICA	229
10	AMERICA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION	254
11	COTTON, SLAVERY, AND THE OLD SOUTH	293
12	ANTEBELLUM CULTURE AND REFORM	314
13	THE IMPENDING CRISIS	339
14	THE CIVIL WAR	364
15	RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEW SOUTH	399
16	THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST	430
17	INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY	458
18	THE AGE OF THE CITY	486
19	FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE	514
20	THE PROGRESSIVES	551
21	AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR	583
22	THE "NEW ERA"	614
23	THE GREAT DEPRESSION	639
24	THE NEW DEAL	661
25	THE GLOBAL CRISIS, 1921–1941	686
26	AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR	704
27	THE COLD WAR	732
28	THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY	753
29	CIVIL RIGHTS, VIETNAM, AND THE ORDEAL OF LIBERALISM	781
30	THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY	807
31	FROM THE "AGE OF LIMITS" TO THE AGE OF REAGAN	837
32	THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION	856

APPENDIXES A-1

CREDITS C-1

INDEX I-1



## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

---

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PREFACE xxiii

## 1 THE COLLISION OF CULTURES 1

### SETTING THE STAGE 2 AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS 2

- The Peoples of the Precontact Americas 2
- The Growth of Civilizations: The South 3
- The Civilizations of the North 3
- Tribal Cultures 7



- EUROPE LOOKS WESTWARD 7**
  - Commerce and Nationalism 8
  - Christopher Columbus 9
  - The Conquistadores 12
  - Spanish America 15
  - Northern Outposts 17
  - The Empire at High Tide 17
  - Biological and Cultural Exchanges 18
  - Africa and America 20

- THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH 21**
  - The Commercial Incentive 21
  - The Religious Incentive 23
  - The English in Ireland 27
  - The French and the Dutch in America 29
  - The First English Settlements 30
  - Roanoke 30

#### Debating the Past

- Why Do Historians So Often Differ?* 8

#### Debating the Past

- The American Population before Columbus* 10

#### America in the World

- The Atlantic Context of Early American History* 22

#### America in the World

- Mercantilism and Colonial Commerce* 26

END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 32

## 2 TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS 34

### SETTING THE STAGE 35 THE EARLY CHESAPEAKE 35

- Colonists and Natives 35
- Reorganization and Expansion 36
- Tobacco 37
- Expansion 38
- Exchanges of Agricultural Technology 38



- Maryland and the Calverts 39
- Turbulent Virginia 40
- Bacon's Rebellion 41

### THE GROWTH OF NEW ENGLAND 41

- Plymouth Plantation 41
- The Puritan Experiment 43
- The Expansion of New England 45
- Settlers and Natives 46
- The Pequot War, King Philip's War, and the Technology of Battle 47

### THE RESTORATION COLONIES 49

- The English Civil War 49
- The Carolinas 49
- New Netherland, New York, and New Jersey 51
- The Quaker Colonies 52

### BORDERLANDS AND MIDDLE GROUNDS 53

- The Caribbean Islands 54
- Masters and Slaves in the Caribbean 55
- The Southwestern Borderlands 56
- The Southeastern Borderlands 57
- The Founding of Georgia 57
- Middle Grounds 60

### THE EVOLUTION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE 60

- The Drive for Reorganization 60
- The Dominion of New England 62
- The "Glorious Revolution" 62

#### Debating the Past

- Native Americans and the "Middle Ground"* 58

END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 63

## 3 SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN PROVINCIAL AMERICA 65

### SETTING THE STAGE 66

#### THE COLONIAL POPULATION 66

- Indentured Servitude 66
- Birth and Death 68
- Medicine in the Colonies 69
- Women and Families in the Chesapeake 69
- Women and Families in New England 71
- The Beginnings of Slavery in British America 71
- Changing Sources of European Immigration 74



### THE COLONIAL ECONOMIES 76

- The Southern Economy 77
- Northern Economic and Technological Life 78
- The Extent and Limits of Technology 80
- The Rise of Colonial Commerce 80
- The Rise of Consumerism 81

**PATTERNS OF SOCIETY 82**

- The Plantation 83
- Plantation Slavery 84
- The Puritan Community 85
- The Witchcraft Phenomenon 86
- Cities 87
- Inequality 88

**AWAKENINGS AND ENLIGHTENMENTS 89**

- The Pattern of Religions 89
- The Great Awakening 90
- The Enlightenment 91
- Education 92
- The Spread of Science 94
- Concepts of Law and Politics 95

**Debating the Past**

*The Origins of Slavery 72*

**Debating the Past**

*The Witchcraft Trials 90*

**Patterns of Popular Culture**

*Colonial Almanacs 92*

**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 96**

**4 THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION 98**

**SETTING THE STAGE 99**

**LOOSENING TIES 99**

- A Tradition of Neglect 99
- The Colonies Divided 100

**THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONTINENT 101**

- New France and the Iroquois Nation 101
- Anglo-French Conflicts 102
- The Great War for the Empire 103

**THE NEW IMPERIALISM 107**

- Burdens of Empire 107
- The British and the Tribes 109
- The Colonial Response 110

**STIRRINGS OF REVOLT 112**

- The Stamp Act Crisis 112
- Internal Rebellions 114
- The Townshend Program 114
- The Boston Massacre 115
- The Philosophy of Revolt 117
- The Tea Excitement 118

**COOPERATION AND WAR 122**

- New Sources of Authority 122
- Lexington and Concord 124

**America in the World**

*The First Global War 104*

**Consider the Source**

*Tea Parties 120*



**Patterns of Popular Culture**

*Taverns in Revolutionary Massachusetts 122*

**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 126**

**5 THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 128**

**SETTING THE STAGE 129**

**THE STATES UNITED 129**

- Defining American War Aims 129
- The Decision for Independence 130
- Responses to Independence 131
- Mobilizing for War 131



**THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE 133**

- The First Phase: New England 133
- The Second Phase: The Mid-Atlantic Region 135
- The Iroquois and the British 138
- Securing Aid from Abroad 139
- The Final Phase: The South 140
- Winning the Peace 143

**WAR AND SOCIETY 143**

- Loyalists and Minorities 143
- The War and Slavery 145
- Native Americans and the Revolution 146
- Women's Rights and Women's Roles 147
- The War Economy 149

**THE CREATION OF STATE GOVERNMENTS 150**

- The Assumptions of Republicanism 150
- The First State Constitutions 150
- Revising State Governments 150
- Toleration and Slavery 151

**THE SEARCH FOR A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT 151**

- The Confederation 151
- Diplomatic Failures 152
- The Confederation and the Northwest 153
- Indians and the Western Lands 155
- Debts, Taxes, and Daniel Shays 155

**Debating the Past**

*The American Revolution 132*

**America in the World**

*The Age of Revolutions 144*

**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 156**

**6 THE CONSTITUTION AND THE NEW REPUBLIC 159**

**SETTING THE STAGE 160**

**FRAMING A NEW GOVERNMENT 160**

- Advocates of Centralization 160
- A Divided Convention 162

- Compromise 163
- The Constitution of 1787 164
- The Limits of the Constitution 166
- Federalists and Antifederalists 167
- Completing the Structure 168



**FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS 169**

- Hamilton and the Federalists 169
- Enacting the Federalist Program 170
- The Republican Opposition 171

**ESTABLISHING NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY 172**

- Securing the Frontier 172
- Native Americans and the New Nation 172
- Maintaining Neutrality 173
- Jay's Treaty and Pinckney's Treaty 174

**THE DOWNFALL OF THE FEDERALISTS 174**

- The Election of 1796 175
- The Quasi War with France 175
- Repression and Protest 176
- The "Revolution" of 1800 177

**Debating the Past**

- The Meaning of the Constitution* 164

**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 178**

**7 THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA 180**

**SETTING THE STAGE 181**  
**THE RISE OF CULTURAL NATIONALISM 181**

- Patterns of Education 181
- Medicine and Science 183
- Cultural Aspirations in the New Nation 183
- Religious Skepticism 184
- The Second Great Awakening 185



**STIRRINGS OF INDUSTRIALISM 188**

- Technology in America 188
- Transportation Innovations 189
- The Rising Cities 191

**JEFFERSON THE PRESIDENT 192**

- The Federal City and the "People's President" 193
- Dollars and Ships 195
- Conflict with the Courts 195

**DOUBLING THE NATIONAL DOMAIN 197**

- Jefferson and Napoleon 197
- The Louisiana Purchase 199
- Lewis and Clark Explore the West 200
- The Burr Conspiracy 201

**EXPANSION AND WAR 202**

- Conflict on the Seas 202
- Impressment 203

- "Peaceable Coercion" 204
- The "Indian Problem" and the British 205
- Tecumseh and the Prophet 206
- Florida and War Fever 207

**THE WAR OF 1812 208**

- Battles with the Tribes 208
- Battles with the British 208
- The Revolt of New England 210
- The Peace Settlement 210

**Consider the Source**

- Religious Revivals* 186

**America in the World**

- The Global Industrial Revolution* 192

**Patterns of Popular Culture**

- Horse Racing in Early America* 196

**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 211**

**8 VARIETIES OF AMERICAN NATIONALISM 214**

**SETTING THE STAGE 215**

**BUILDING A NATIONAL MARKET 215**

- Banking, Currency, and Protection 215
- Transportation 216



**EXPANDING WESTWARD 218**

- The Great Migrations 218
- The Plantation System in the Southwest 218
- Trade and Trapping in the Far West 219
- Eastern Images of the West 220

**THE "ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS" 220**

- The End of the First Party System 221
- John Quincy Adams and Florida 221
- The Panic of 1819 222

**SECTIONALISM AND NATIONALISM 222**

- The Missouri Compromise 222
- Marshall and the Court 223
- The Court and the Tribes 224
- The Latin American Revolution and the Monroe Doctrine 225

**THE REVIVAL OF OPPOSITION 226**

- The "Corrupt Bargain" 226
- The Second President Adams 227
- Jackson Triumphant 227

**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 228**

**9 JACKSONIAN AMERICA 229**

**SETTING THE STAGE 230**

**THE RISE OF MASS POLITICS 230**

- The Emergence of Andrew Jackson 230
- Expanding Democracy 231
- Tocqueville and *Democracy in America* 232
- The Legitimization of Party 233
- “President of the Common Man” 234



- “OUR FEDERAL UNION” 235
  - Calhoun and Nullification 235
  - The Rise of Van Buren 236
  - The Webster-Hayne Debate 236
  - The Nullification Crisis 237
- THE REMOVAL OF THE INDIANS 238
  - White Attitudes Toward the Tribes 238
  - The Black Hawk War 239
  - The “Five Civilized Tribes” 239
  - Trails of Tears 240
  - The Meaning of Removal 241

- JACKSON AND THE BANK WAR 242
  - Biddle’s Institution 242
  - The “Monster” Destroyed 243
  - The Taney Court 243

- THE CHANGING FACE OF AMERICAN POLITICS 244
  - Democrats and Whigs 245
  - Van Buren and the Panic of 1837 246
  - The Log Cabin Campaign 247
  - The Frustration of the Whigs 248
  - Whig Diplomacy 249

Debating the Past

*The “Age of Jackson”* 234

Patterns of Popular Culture

*The Penny Press* 250

END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 252

## 10 AMERICA’S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION 254

- SETTING THE STAGE 255
- THE CHANGING AMERICAN POPULATION 255
  - The American Population, 1820-1840 255
  - Immigration and Urban Growth, 1840-1860 256
  - The Rise of Nativism 259



- TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS, AND TECHNOLOGY 262
  - The Canal Age 263
  - The Early Railroads 265
  - The Triumph of the Rails 266
  - Innovations in Communications and Journalism 266

- COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY 268
  - The Expansion of Business, 1820-1840 268
  - The Emergence of the Factory 269
  - Advances in Technology 269
- MEN AND WOMEN AT WORK 270
  - Recruiting a Native Workforce 270
  - The Immigrant Workforce 276
  - The Factory System and the Artisan Tradition 277
  - Fighting for Control 278
  - “Free Labor” 278

- PATTERNS OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY 279
  - The Rich and the Poor 279
  - Social Mobility 281
  - Middle-Class Life 281
  - The Changing Family 282
  - Women and the “Cult of Domesticity” 282
  - Leisure Activities 287

- THE AGRICULTURAL NORTH 288
  - Northeastern Agriculture 288
  - The Old Northwest 288
  - Rural Life 290

Consider the Source

*Nativism and Anti-Immigration Sentiment* 260

Consider the Source

*Rules for Employees* 272

Consider the Source

*Family Time* 284

END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 290

## 11 COTTON, SLAVERY, AND THE OLD SOUTH 293

- SETTING THE STAGE 294
- THE COTTON ECONOMY 294
  - The Rise of King Cotton 294
  - Southern Trade and Industry 295
  - Sources of Southern Difference 298



- WHITE SOCIETY IN THE SOUTH 298
  - The Planter Class 298
  - “Honor” 300
  - The “Southern Lady” 300
  - The Plain Folk 301

- SLAVERY: THE “PECULIAR INSTITUTION” 303
  - Varieties of Slavery 303
  - Life under Slavery 304
  - Slavery in the Cities 305
  - Free African Americans 306
  - The Slave Trade 307
  - Slave Resistance 309

- THE CULTURE OF SLAVERY 311
  - Language and Music 311

African American Religion 312  
 The Slave Family 312  
**Debating the Past**  
*The Character of Slavery* 306  
**Patterns of Popular Culture**  
*The Slaves' Music* 310  
**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW** 313

## 12 ANTEBELLUM CULTURE AND REFORM 314

**SETTING THE STAGE** 315  
**THE ROMANTIC IMPULSE** 315  
 Nationalism and Romanticism in American Painting 315  
 Literature and the Quest for Liberation 316  
 Literature in the Antebellum South 317  
 The Transcendentalists 317  
 The Defense of Nature 318  
 Visions of Utopia 318  
 Redefining Gender Roles 319  
 The Mormons 320



**REMAKING SOCIETY** 321  
 Revivalism, Morality, and Order 321  
 The Temperance Crusade 322  
 Health Fads and Phrenology 323  
 Medical Science 324  
 Reforming Education 325  
 Rehabilitation 326  
 The Indian Reservation 326  
 The Emergence of Feminism 327

**THE CRUSADE AGAINST SLAVERY** 330  
 Early Opposition to Slavery 330  
 Garrison and Abolitionism 331  
 Black Abolitionists 331  
 Anti-Abolitionism 332  
 Abolitionism Divided 333

**Consider the Source**  
*The Rise of Feminism* 328

**America in the World**  
*The Abolition of Slavery* 334

**Patterns of Popular Culture**  
*Sentimental Novels* 336  
**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW** 336

## 13 THE IMPENDING CRISIS 339

**SETTING THE STAGE** 340  
**LOOKING WESTWARD** 340  
 Manifest Destiny 340

Americans in Texas 342  
 Tensions between the United States and Mexico 342  
 Oregon 343  
 Westward Migration 344  
 Life on the Trail 344

**EXPANSION AND WAR** 346  
 The Democrats and Expansion 346  
 The Southwest and California 347  
 The Mexican War 348

**THE SECTIONAL DEBATE** 351  
 Slavery and the Territories 351  
 The California Gold Rush 351  
 Rising Sectional Tensions 353  
 The Compromise of 1850 353

**THE CRISES OF THE 1850s** 354  
 The Uneasy Truce 354  
 “Young America” 355  
 Slavery, Railroads, and the West 355  
 The Kansas-Nebraska Controversy 355  
 “Bleeding Kansas” 356  
 The Free-Soil Ideology 357  
 The Pro-Slavery Argument 358  
 Buchanan and Depression 358  
 The *Dred Scott* Decision 358  
 Deadlock over Kansas 359  
 The Emergence of Lincoln 359  
 John Brown’s Raid 360  
 The Election of Lincoln 360

**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW** 361

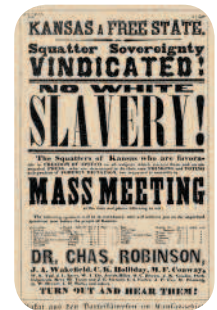
## 14 THE CIVIL WAR 364

**SETTING THE STAGE** 365  
**THE SECESSION CRISIS** 365  
 The Withdrawal of the South 365  
 The Failure of Compromise 366  
 Fort Sumter 366  
 The Opposing Sides 368



**THE MOBILIZATION OF THE NORTH** 368  
 Economic Measures 368  
 Raising the Union Armies 370  
 Wartime Politics 370  
 The Politics of Emancipation 372  
 African Americans and the Union Cause 376  
 The War and Economic Development 377  
 Women, Nursing, and the War 377

**THE MOBILIZATION OF THE SOUTH** 378  
 The Confederate Government 378  
 Money and Manpower 378  
 States’ Rights versus Centralization 379  
 Economic and Social Effects of the War 380



**STRATEGY AND DIPLOMACY** 381  
 The Commanders 381  
 The Role of Sea Power 382  
 Europe and the Disunited States 383  
 The American West and the War 384

**THE COURSE OF BATTLE** 385  
 The Technology of Battle 385  
 The Opening Clashes, 1861 387  
 The Western Theater 388  
 The Virginia Front, 1862 388  
 The Progress of War 391  
 1863: Year of Decision 392  
 The Last Stage, 1864-1865 394

**Debating the Past**  
*The Causes of the Civil War* 372

**Consider the Source**  
*Wartime Oratory* 374

**Patterns of Popular Culture**  
*Baseball and the Civil War* 384

**America in the World**  
*The Consolidation of Nations* 386

**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW** 397

## 15 RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEW SOUTH 399

**SETTING THE STAGE** 400  
**THE PROBLEMS OF PEACEMAKING** 400  
 The Aftermath of War and Emancipation 400  
 Competing Notions of Freedom 401  
 Issues of Reconstruction 402  
 Plans for Reconstruction 403  
 The Death of Lincoln 403  
 Johnson and “Restoration” 404

**RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION** 404  
 The Black Codes 405  
 The Fourteenth Amendment 405  
 The Congressional Plan 405  
 The Impeachment of the President 407

**THE SOUTH IN RECONSTRUCTION** 407  
 The Reconstruction Governments 407  
 Education 408  
 Landownership and Tenancy 409  
 The Crop-Lien System 410  
 The African American Family in Freedom 412

**THE GRANT ADMINISTRATION** 412  
 The Soldier President 412  
 The Grant Scandals 412  
 The Greenback Question 413  
 Republican Diplomacy 413



**THE ABANDONMENT OF RECONSTRUCTION** 414  
 The Southern States “Redeemed” 414  
 The Ku Klux Klan Acts 414  
 Waning Northern Commitment 414  
 The Compromise of 1877 415  
 The Legacies of Reconstruction 417

**THE NEW SOUTH** 418  
 The “Redeemers” 418  
 Industrialization and the “New South” 419  
 Tenants and Sharecroppers 420  
 African Americans and the New South 421  
 The Birth of Jim Crow 422

**Debating the Past**  
*Reconstruction* 416

**Patterns of Popular Culture**  
*The Minstrel Show* 420

**Consider the Source**  
*Remembering Black History* 426

**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW** 428

## 16 THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST 430

**SETTING THE STAGE** 431  
**THE SOCIETIES OF THE FAR WEST** 431  
 The Western Tribes 431  
 Hispanic New Mexico 433  
 Hispanic California and Texas 434  
 The Chinese Migration 434  
 Anti-Chinese Sentiments 436  
 Migration from the East 437

**THE CHANGING WESTERN ECONOMY** 438  
 Labor in the West 439  
 The Arrival of the Miners 439  
 The Cattle Kingdom 441

**THE ROMANCE OF THE WEST** 443  
 The Western Landscape 443  
 The Cowboy Culture 443  
 The Idea of the Frontier 443  
 Frederick Jackson Turner 445  
 The Loss of Utopia 445

**THE DISPERSAL OF THE TRIBES** 447  
 White Tribal Policies 447  
 The Indian Wars 449  
 The Dawes Act 452

**THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE WESTERN FARMER** 453  
 Farming on the Plains 453  
 Commercial Agriculture 455  
 The Farmers’ Grievances 455  
 The Agrarian Malaise 455



**Patterns of Popular Culture***The Wild West Show* 444**Debating the Past***The "Frontier" and the West* 446

END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 456

**17 INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY** 458**SETTING THE STAGE** 459**SOURCES OF INDUSTRIAL GROWTH** 459

Industrial Technologies 459

The Airplane and the Automobile 461

Research and Development 462

The Science of Production 462

Railroad Expansion 463

The Corporation 464

Consolidating Corporate America 465

The Trust and the Holding Company 466

**CAPITALISM AND ITS CRITICS** 467

The "Self-Made Man" 467

Survival of the Fittest 471

The Gospel of Wealth 471

Alternative Visions 472

The Problems of Monopoly 473

**INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN THE NEW ECONOMY** 475

The Immigrant Workforce 476

Wages and Working Conditions 476

Women and Children at Work 477

The Struggle to Unionize 478

The Great Railroad Strike 479

The Knights of Labor 480

The AFL 480

The Homestead Strike 481

The Pullman Strike 482

Sources of Labor Weakness 483

**Consider the Source***Philanthropy* 468**Patterns of Popular Culture***The Novels of Horatio Alger* 472**Patterns of Popular Culture***The Novels of Louisa May Alcott* 474

END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 483

**18 THE AGE OF THE CITY** 486**SETTING THE STAGE** 487**THE URBANIZATION OF AMERICA** 487

The Lure of the City 487

Migrations 488

The Ethnic City 490

Assimilation 491

Exclusion 492

**THE URBAN LANDSCAPE** 494

The Creation of Public Space 494

Housing the Well-to-Do 495

Housing Workers and the Poor 495

Urban Transportation 496

The "Skyscraper" 497

**STRAINS OF URBAN LIFE** 497

Fire and Disease 497

Environmental Degradation 498

Urban Poverty 498

Crime and Violence 499

The Machine and the Boss 499

**THE RISE OF MASS CONSUMPTION** 500

Patterns of Income and Consumption 500

Chain Stores and Mail-Order Houses 501

Department Stores 501

Women as Consumers 502

**LEISURE IN THE CONSUMER SOCIETY** 502

Redefining Leisure 502

Spectator Sports 503

Music and Theater 506

The Movies 507

Working-Class Leisure 507

The Fourth of July 507

Mass Communications 508

**HIGH CULTURE IN THE AGE OF THE CITY** 508

The Literature of Urban America 508

Art in the Age of the City 509

The Impact of Darwinism 509

Toward Universal Schooling 510

Education for Women 511

**America in the World***Global Migrations* 490**Patterns of Popular Culture***Coney Island* 504

END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 512

**19 FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE** 514**SETTING THE STAGE** 515**THE POLITICS OF EQUILIBRIUM** 515

The National Government 516

Presidents and Patronage 516

Cleveland, Harrison, and the Tariff 517

New Public Issues 517

**THE AGRARIAN REVOLT** 520

The Grangers 520

The Farmers' Alliances 521





The Populist Constituency 523  
 Populist Ideas 523

**THE CRISIS OF THE 1890s** 524  
 The Panic of 1893 524  
 The Silver Question 525

**“A CROSS OF GOLD”** 527  
 The Emergence of Bryan 528  
 The Conservative Victory 529  
 McKinley and Recovery 530

**STIRRINGS OF IMPERIALISM** 531  
 The New Manifest Destiny 532  
 Hemispheric Hegemony 533  
 Hawaii and Samoa 534

**WAR WITH SPAIN** 538  
 Controversy over Cuba 538  
 “A Splendid Little War” 539  
 Seizing the Philippines 539  
 The Battle for Cuba 542  
 Puerto Rico and the United States 543  
 The Debate over the Philippines 543

**THE REPUBLIC AS EMPIRE** 545  
 Governing the Colonies 545  
 The Philippine War 545  
 The Open Door 547  
 A Modern Military System 548

**Patterns of Popular Culture**  
*The Chautauquas* 524

**Debating the Past**  
*Populism* 528

**America in the World**  
*Imperialism* 534

**Patterns of Popular Culture**  
*Yellow Journalism* 536

**Consider the Source**  
*Memorializing National History* 540

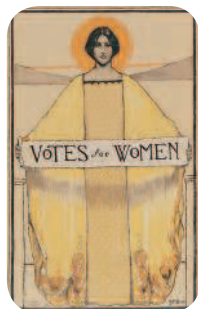
**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW** 549

## 20 THE PROGRESSIVES 551

**SETTING THE STAGE** 552

**THE PROGRESSIVE IMPULSE** 552  
 Varieties of Progressivism 552  
 The Muckrakers 553  
 The Social Gospel 553  
 The Settlement House Movement 553  
 The Allure of Expertise 554  
 The Professions 555  
 Women and the Professions 555

**WOMEN AND REFORM** 556  
 The “New Woman” 556



The Clubwomen 557  
 Woman Suffrage 559

**THE ASSAULT ON THE PARTIES** 560  
 Early Attacks 560  
 Municipal Reform 561  
 New Forms of Governance 561  
 Statehouse Progressivism 562  
 Parties and Interest Groups 563

**SOURCES OF PROGRESSIVE REFORM** 564  
 Labor, the Machine, and Reform 564  
 Western Progressives 565  
 African Americans and Reform 565

**CRUSADE FOR SOCIAL ORDER AND REFORM** 566  
 The Temperance Crusade 567  
 Immigration Restriction 568

**CHALLENGING THE CAPITALIST ORDER** 568  
 The Dream of Socialism 568  
 Decentralization and Regulation 570

**THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE MODERN PRESIDENCY** 570  
 The Accidental President 571  
 Government, Capital, and Labor 571  
 The “Square Deal” 574  
 Roosevelt and Conservation 574  
 Roosevelt and Preservation 575  
 The Hetch Hetchy Controversy 575  
 The Panic of 1907 576

**THE TROUBLED SUCCESSION** 577  
 Taft and the Progressives 577  
 The Return of Roosevelt 578  
 Spreading Insurgency 578  
 Roosevelt versus Taft 578

**WOODROW WILSON AND THE NEW FREEDOM** 579  
 Woodrow Wilson 579  
 The Scholar as President 579  
 Retreat and Advance 580

**Debating the Past**  
*Progressivism* 556

**America in the World**  
*Social Democracy* 562

**Consider the Source**  
*Dedicated to Conserving America* 572

**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW** 581

## 21 AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR 583

**SETTING THE STAGE** 584

**THE “BIG STICK”: AMERICA AND THE WORLD, 1901–1917** 584  
 Roosevelt and “Civilization” 584  
 Protecting the “Open Door” in Asia 584  
 The Iron-Fisted Neighbor 585

- The Panama Canal 586
- Taft and “Dollar Diplomacy” 587
- Diplomacy and Morality 587



- THE ROAD TO WAR** 589
  - The Collapse of the European Peace 589
  - Wilson’s Neutrality 589
  - Preparedness versus Pacifism 590
  - A War for Democracy 590

- “WAR WITHOUT STINT”** 591
  - Entering the War 591
  - The American Expeditionary Force 592
  - The Military Struggle 593
  - The New Technology of Warfare 594

- THE WAR AND AMERICAN SOCIETY** 596
  - Organizing the Economy for War 596
  - Labor and the War 596
  - Economic and Social Results of the War 597

- THE FUTILE SEARCH FOR SOCIAL UNITY** 599
  - The Peace Movement 599
  - Selling the War and Suppressing Dissent 599

- THE SEARCH FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER** 603
  - The Fourteen Points 603
  - Early Obstacles 603
  - The Paris Peace Conference 604
  - The Ratification Battle 605
  - Wilson’s Ordeal 605

- A SOCIETY IN TURMOIL** 606
  - Industry and Labor 606
  - The Demands of African Americans 607
  - The Red Scare 609
  - Refuting the Red Scare 611
  - The Retreat from Idealism 611

- Consider the Source**
  - Race, Gender, and Military Service* 600

END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 612

## 22 THE “NEW ERA” 614

- SETTING THE STAGE** 615
- THE NEW ECONOMY** 615
  - Technology and Economic Growth 615
  - Economic Organization 616
  - Labor in the New Era 617
  - Women and Minorities in the Workforce 617
  - The “American Plan” 621
  - Agricultural Technology and the Plight of the Farmer 621



- THE NEW CULTURE** 622
  - Consumerism 622
  - Advertising 622
  - The Movies and Broadcasting 623

- Modernist Religion 624
- Professional Women 624
- Changing Ideas of Motherhood 624
- The “Flapper”: Image and Reality 625
- Pressing for Women’s Rights 626
- Education and Youth 627
- The Disenchanted 627
- The Harlem Renaissance 630

- A CONFLICT OF CULTURES** 631
  - Prohibition 631
  - Nativism and the Klan 631
  - Religious Fundamentalism 634
  - The Democrats’ Ordeal 635

- REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT** 635
  - Harding and Coolidge 635
  - Government and Business 637

- Consider the Source**
  - Communications Technology* 618

- America in the World**
  - The Cinema* 626

- Patterns of Popular Culture**
  - Dance Halls* 628

END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 637

## 23 THE GREAT DEPRESSION 639

- SETTING THE STAGE** 640
- THE COMING OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION** 640
  - The Great Crash 640
  - Causes of the Depression 641
  - Progress of the Depression 643



- THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN HARD TIMES** 643
  - Unemployment and Relief 644
  - African Americans and the Depression 645
  - Mexican Americans in Depression America 646
  - Asian Americans in Hard Times 648
  - Women and the Workplace in the Great Depression 648
  - Depression Families 649

- THE DEPRESSION AND AMERICAN CULTURE** 649
  - Depression Values 649
  - Artists and Intellectuals in the Great Depression 650
  - Radio 650
  - Movies in the New Era 651
  - Popular Literature and Journalism 653
  - The Popular Front and the Left 654

- THE UNHAPPY PRESIDENCY OF HERBERT HOOVER** 655
  - The Hoover Program 656
  - Popular Protest 657
  - The Election of 1932 658
  - The “Interregnum” 658

**Debating the Past**

*Causes of the Great Depression* 642

**America in the World**

*The Global Depression* 644

**Patterns of Popular Culture**

*The Films of Frank Capra* 652

**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW** 659

**24 THE NEW DEAL** 661

**SETTING THE STAGE** 662

**LAUNCHING THE NEW DEAL** 662

- Restoring Confidence 662
- Agricultural Adjustment 663
- Industrial Recovery 663
- Regional Planning 667
- Currency, Banks, and the Stock Market 668
- The Growth of Federal Relief 668



**THE NEW DEAL IN TRANSITION** 669

- Critics of the New Deal 669
- The “Second New Deal” 670
- Labor Militancy 671
- Organizing Battles 671
- Social Security 672
- New Directions in Relief 673
- The 1936 “Referendum” 673

**THE NEW DEAL IN DISARRAY** 675

- The Court Fight 675
- Retrenchment and Recession 676

**LIMITS AND LEGACIES OF THE NEW DEAL** 678

- The Idea of the “Broker State” 679
- African Americans and the New Deal 679
- The New Deal and the “Indian Problem” 681
- Women and the New Deal 682
- The New Deal in the West and the South 683
- The New Deal and the National Economy 683
- The New Deal and American Politics 684

**Consider the Source**

*Banking Crises* 664

**Patterns of Popular Culture**

*The Golden Age of Comic Books* 676

**Debating the Past**

*The New Deal* 680

**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW** 684

**25 THE GLOBAL CRISIS, 1921–1941** 686

**SETTING THE STAGE** 687

**THE DIPLOMACY OF THE NEW ERA** 687

- Replacing the League 687
- Debts and Diplomacy 688
- Hoover and the World Crisis 689

**ISOLATIONISM AND INTERNATIONALISM** 690

- Depression Diplomacy 691
- America and the Soviet Union 691
- The Good Neighbor Policy 691
- The Rise of Isolationism 692
- The Failure of Munich 694



**FROM NEUTRALITY TO INTERVENTION** 695

- Neutrality Tested 695
- The Third-Term Campaign 698
- Neutrality Abandoned 699
- The Road to Pearl Harbor 699

**America in the World**

*The Sino-Japanese War, 1931–1941* 692

**Patterns of Popular Culture**

*Orson Welles and the “War of the Worlds”* 696

**Debating the Past**

*The Question of Pearl Harbor* 700

**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW** 702

**26 AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR** 704

**SETTING THE STAGE** 705

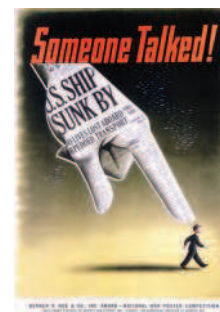
**WAR ON TWO FRONTS** 705

- Containing the Japanese 705
- Holding Off the Germans 706
- America and the Holocaust 708

**THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN**

**WARTIME** 709

- Prosperity 709
- The War and the West 712
- Labor and the War 712
- Stabilizing the Boom 712
- Mobilizing Production 713
- Wartime Science and Technology 713
- African Americans and the War 715
- Native Americans and the War 716
- Mexican American War Workers 716
- Women and Children at War 716
- Wartime Life and Culture 718
- The Internment of Japanese Americans 720
- Chinese Americans and the War 721
- The Retreat from Reform 721



**THE DEFEAT OF THE AXIS** 722

- The Liberation of France 722
- The Pacific Offensive 724
- The Manhattan Project 726
- Atomic Warfare 727

**Consider the Source***The Face of the Enemy* 710**Patterns of Popular Culture***Life: The Great Magazine* 718**Debating the Past***The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb* 728**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW** 730**27 THE COLD WAR** 732**SETTING THE STAGE** 733**ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR** 733

- Sources of Soviet-American Tension 733
- Wartime Diplomacy 734
- Yalta 734

**THE COLLAPSE OF THE PEACE** 735

- The Failure of Potsdam 735
- The China Problem 735
- The Containment Doctrine 736
- The Marshall Plan 737
- Mobilization at Home 738
- The Road to NATO 739
- Reevaluating Cold War Policy 740
- The Conservative Opposition to Containment 740

**AMERICAN SOCIETY AND POLITICS AFTER THE WAR** 741

- The Problems of Reconversion 741
- The Fair Deal Rejected 742
- The Election of 1948 742
- The Fair Deal Revived 743
- The Nuclear Age 744

**THE KOREAN WAR** 745

- The Divided Peninsula 745
- From Invasion to Stalemate 745
- Limited Mobilization 746

**THE CRUSADE AGAINST SUBVERSION** 747

- HUAC and Alger Hiss 747
- The Federal Loyalty Program and the Rosenberg Case 748
- McCarthyism 749
- The Republican Revival 749

**Debating the Past***Origins of the Cold War* 736**Debating the Past***“McCarthyism”* 750**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW** 750**28 THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY** 753**SETTING THE STAGE** 754**“THE ECONOMIC MIRACLE”** 754

- Sources of Economic Growth 754
- The Rise of the Modern West 755
- The New Economics 755
- Capital and Labor 756

**THE EXPLOSION OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY** 758

- Medical Breakthroughs 758
- Pesticides 759
- Postwar Electronic Research 759
- Postwar Computer Technology 760
- Bombs, Rockets, and Missiles 760
- The Space Program 761

**PEOPLE OF PLENTY** 762

- The Consumer Culture 762
- The Landscape and the Automobile 763
- The Suburban Nation 763
- The Suburban Family 764
- The Birth of Television 764
- Travel, Outdoor Recreation, and Environmentalism 765
- Organized Society and Its Detractors 766
- The Beats and the Restless Culture of Youth 767
- Rock 'n' Roll 768

**THE “OTHER AMERICA”** 770

- On the Margins of the Affluent Society 770
- Rural Poverty 770
- The Inner Cities 771

**THE RISE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT** 772

- The *Brown* Decision and “Massive Resistance” 772
- The Expanding Movement 773
- Causes of the Civil Rights Movement 773

**EISENHOWER REPUBLICANISM** 774

- “What Was Good for . . . General Motors” 774
- The Survival of the Welfare State 774
- The Decline of McCarthyism 775

**EISENHOWER, DULLES, AND THE COLD WAR** 775

- Dulles and “Massive Retaliation” 775
- France, America, and Vietnam 776
- Cold War Crises 776
- Europe and the Soviet Union 778
- The U-2 Crisis 778

**Patterns of Popular Culture***On the Road* 756**Patterns of Popular Culture***Lucy and Desi* 768**END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW** 779

## 29 CIVIL RIGHTS, VIETNAM, AND THE ORDEAL OF LIBERALISM 781

### SETTING THE STAGE 782

#### EXPANDING THE LIBERAL STATE 782

- John Kennedy 782
- Lyndon Johnson 783
- The Assault on Poverty 784
- Cities, Schools, and Immigration 784
- Legacies of the Great Society 785

#### THE BATTLE FOR RACIAL EQUALITY 786

- Expanding Protests 786
- A National Commitment 787
- The Battle for Voting Rights 787
- The Changing Movement 788
- Urban Violence 789
- Black Power 790
- Malcolm X 791

#### “FLEXIBLE RESPONSE” AND THE COLD WAR 792

- Diversifying Foreign Policy 792
- Confrontations with the Soviet Union 793
- Johnson and the World 793

#### THE AGONY OF VIETNAM 793

- The First Indochina War 794
- Geneva and the Two Vietnams 795
- America and Diem 795
- From Aid to Intervention 796
- The Quagmire 798
- The War at Home 799

#### THE TRAUMAS OF 1968 801

- The Tet Offensive 801
- The Political Challenge 802
- The King and Kennedy Assassinations 803
- The Conservative Response 804

#### Debating the Past

- The Civil Rights Movement* 788

#### Debating the Past

- The Vietnam Commitment* 794

#### Patterns of Popular Culture

- The Folk-Music Revival* 798

#### America in the World

- 1968 802

#### END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 805



- The New Left 808
- The Counterculture 811

#### THE MOBILIZATION OF MINORITIES 813

- Seeds of Indian Militancy 813
- The Indian Civil Rights  
Movement 815
- Latino Activism 816
- Gay Liberation 817

#### THE NEW FEMINISM 818

- The Rebirth 819
- Women’s Liberation 819
- Expanding Achievements 820
- The Abortion Controversy 821

#### ENVIRONMENTALISM IN A TURBULENT SOCIETY 821

- The New Science of Ecology 821
- Environmental Advocacy 822
- Environmental Degradation 822
- Earth Day and Beyond 823

#### NIXON, KISSINGER, AND THE WAR 824

- Vietnamization 824
- Escalation 825
- “Peace with Honor” 826
- Defeat in Indochina 826

#### NIXON, KISSINGER, AND THE WORLD 827

- China and the Soviet Union 827
- The Problems of Multipolarity 827

#### POLITICS AND ECONOMICS UNDER NIXON 828

- Domestic Initiatives 828
- From the Warren Court to the Nixon Court 828
- The Election of 1972 829
- The Troubled Economy 830
- Inequality 832
- The Nixon Response 832

#### THE WATERGATE CRISIS 832

- The Scandals 832
- The Fall of Richard Nixon 833

#### Patterns of Popular Culture

- Rock Music in the Sixties* 810

#### America in the World

- The End of Colonialism* 824

#### Debating the Past

- Watergate* 830

#### END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 834



## 30 THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 807

### SETTING THE STAGE 808

#### THE YOUTH CULTURE 808

## 31 FROM THE “AGE OF LIMITS” TO THE AGE OF REAGAN 837

### SETTING THE STAGE 838

#### POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY AFTER WATERGATE 838

- The Ford Custodianship 838
- The Trials of Jimmy Carter 839

- Human Rights and National Interests 840
- The Year of the Hostages 840

### THE RISE OF THE NEW AMERICAN RIGHT 841

- The Sunbelt and Its Politics 842
- The Politics of Religion 842
- The “New Right” 844
- The Tax Revolt 845
- The Campaign of 1980 845

### THE “REAGAN REVOLUTION” 846

- The Reagan Coalition 846
- Reagan in the White House 846
- “Supply-Side” Economics 846
- The Fiscal Crisis 847
- Reagan and the World 848
- The Election of 1984 849

### AMERICA AND THE WANING OF THE COLD WAR 850

- The Fall of the Soviet Union 850
- Reagan and Gorbachev 850
- The Fading of the Reagan Revolution 851
- The Election of 1988 851
- The First Bush Presidency 851
- The First Gulf War 852
- The Election of 1992 853

### Patterns of Popular Culture

- The Mall* 842

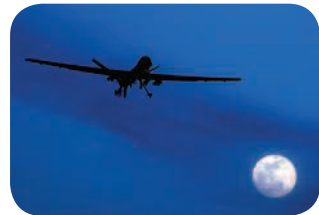
### END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 854

## 32 THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION 856

### SETTING THE STAGE 857

#### A RESURGENCE OF PARTISANSHIP 857

- Launching the Clinton Presidency 857
- The Republican Resurgence 858
- The Election of 1996 858
- Clinton Triumphant and Embattled 858
- The Election of 2000 859



- The Second Bush Presidency 860
- The Election of 2004 860

### THE ECONOMIC BOOM 861

- From “Stagflation” to Growth 861
- The Two-Tiered Economy 862
- Globalization 862

### SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE NEW ECONOMY 862

- The Digital Revolution 862
- The Internet 863
- Breakthroughs in Genetics 863

### A CHANGING SOCIETY 863

- A Shifting Population 863
- African Americans in the Post-Civil Rights Era 865
- Modern Plagues: Drugs and AIDS 866

### A CONTESTED CULTURE 866

- Battles over Feminism and Abortion 866
- The Growth of Environmentalism 867

### THE PERILS OF GLOBALIZATION 867

- Opposing the “New World Order” 868
- Defending Orthodoxy 870
- The Rise of Terrorism 870
- The War on Terrorism 872
- The Iraq War 872

### TURBULENT POLITICS 875

- The Unraveling of the Bush Presidency 876
- The Election of 2008 and the Financial Crisis 876
- The Obama Presidency 877

### Patterns of Popular Culture

- Rap* 868

### Debating the Past

- Women’s History* 870

### America in the World

- The Global Environmental Movement* 874

### END-OF-CHAPTER REVIEW 880

### APPENDICES A-1

### CREDITS C-1

### INDEX I-1

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**WHY** do so many people take an interest in history? It is, I think, because we know that we are the products of the past—that everything we know, everything we see, and everything we imagine is rooted in our history. It is not surprising that there have been historians throughout almost all of recorded time. It is only natural that we are interested in what the past was like. Whether we study academic history or not, we all are connected to the past.

Americans have always had a love of their own history. It is a daunting task to attempt to convey the long and remarkable story of America in a single book, but that is what this volume attempts to do. The subtitle of this book, “Connecting with the Past,” describes this edition’s focus on encouraging readers to be aware of the ways in which our everyday experiences are rooted in our history.

Like any history, this book is a product of its time. It reflects the views of the past that historians continue to develop. A comparable book published decades from now will likely seem as different from this one as this book appears different from histories written a generation or more ago. The writing of history changes constantly—not, of course, because the past changes, but because of shifts in the way historians, and the publics they serve, ask and answer questions about the past.

There have always been critics of changes in historical understanding. Many people argue that history is a collection of facts and should not be subject to “interpretation” or “revision.” But historians insist that history is not and cannot be simply a collection of facts. They are only the beginning of historical understanding. It is up to the writers and readers of history to try to interpret the evidence before them; and in doing so, they will inevitably bring to the task their own questions, concerns, and experiences.

Our history examines the experience of 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 shared and enormously 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 not only the writing of history that changes with time—the tools and technologies through which information is delivered change as well. Created as an integral part of the content of this fifteenth edition are an array of valuable learning resources that will aid instructors in teaching and students in learning about American history. These resources include:

- Smartbook<sup>®</sup>—an online version of this book that adapts to each student’s reading experience by offering self-quizzing and highlighting material that the student is struggling with.
- Connect History<sup>®</sup>—homework and quizzing exercises including map understanding, primary source analysis, image exploration, key terms, and review and writing questions.
- Insight<sup>®</sup>—a first-of-its-kind analytics tool for Connect assignments that provides instructors with vital information about how students are performing and which assignments are the most effective.
- Interactive maps—more than thirty maps in the ebook and Connect can be manipulated by students to encourage better geographical understanding.
- Critical Missions<sup>®</sup>—an activity 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?
- A Primary Source Primer—a video exercise with multiple-choice questions 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.

In addition to content and scholarship updates throughout, we have added 4 new “Consider the Source” boxed features that explore the topics of family time; wartime oratory; black history; and race, gender, and military service. Our concluding chapter, “The Age of Globalization,” now brings *American History* up-to-date through the summer of 2014 and includes coverage of the 2008 financial crisis, the rise of the Tea Party, the 2012 election, the Affordable Care Act, and the ongoing federal gridlock.

I am grateful to many people for their help on this book—especially the people at McGraw-Hill who have supported and sustained it so well for many years. I am grateful to Laura Wilk, Rhona Robbin, Art Pomponio, April Cole, Stacy Ruel, Emily Kline, and Carrie Burger. I am grateful, too, to Deborah Bull for her help with photographs. I also appreciate the many suggestions I have received from students over the last several years, as well as the reviews provided by a group of talented scholars and teachers.

Alan Brinkley  
Columbia University  
New York, NY



## AMERICAN HISTORY CONNECTS STUDENTS TO THE RELEVANCE OF HISTORY THROUGH A SERIES OF ENGAGING FEATURES



### PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE



### BASEBALL AND THE CIVIL WAR

**LONG** before the great urban stadiums, long before the lights and the cameras and the multimillion-dollar salaries, long before the Little Leagues and the high school and college teams, baseball was the most popular game in America. And during the Civil War, it was a treasured pastime for soldiers, and for thousands of men (and some women) behind the lines, in both North and South.

The legend that baseball was invented by Abner Doubleday, who probably never even saw the game, came from Albert G. Spalding, a patriotic sporting-goods manufacturer eager to prove that the game had purely American origins and to dispel the notion that it came from England. In fact, baseball was derived from a variety of earlier games, especially the English pastimes of cricket and rounders. American baseball took its own distinctive form beginning in the 1840s, when Alexander Cartwright, a shipping clerk, formed the New York Knickerbockers, laid out a diamond-shaped field with four bases, and declared that batters with three strikes were out and that teams with three outs were retired.

Cartwright moved west in search of gold in 1849, ultimately grew rich, and settled finally in Hawaii (where he brought the game to Americans in the Pacific). But the game did not languish in his absence. Henry Chadwick, an English-born journalist, spent much of the 1850s popularizing the game (and regularizing its rules). By 1860, baseball was being played by college students and Irish workers, by urban elites and provincial farmers, by people of all classes and ethnic groups from New England to Louisiana. It was also attracting the attention of women. Students at Vassar College formed "ladies" teams in the 1860s; and in Philadelphia, free black men formed the first of what would become a great network of African American baseball teams, the Pythians. From the beginning, they were barred from playing against most white teams.

When young men marched off to war in 1861, some took their bats and balls with them. Almost from the start of the fighting, soldiers in both armies took advantage of idle moments to lay out

baseball diamonds and organize games. There were games in prison camps; games on the White House lawn (where Union soldiers were sometimes billeted); and games on battlefields that were sometimes interrupted by gunfire and cannonfire. "It is astonishing how indifferent a person can become to danger," a soldier wrote home to Ohio in 1862. "The report of musketry is heard but a very little distance from us, . . . yet over there on the other side of the road is most of our company, playing Bat Ball." After a skirmish in Texas, another Union soldier lamented that, in addition to casualties, his company had lost "the only baseball in Alexandria, Texas." Far from discouraging baseball, military commanders—and the U.S. Sanitary Commission, the Union army's medical arm—actively encouraged the game during the war. It would, they believed, help keep up the soldiers' morale.

Away from the battlefield, baseball continued to flourish. In New York City, games between local teams drew crowds of ten or twenty thousand. The National Association of Baseball Players (founded in 1859) had recruited ninety-one clubs in ten northern states by

### ***PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE FEATURES***

These twenty-six features bring fads, crazes, hang-outs, hobbies, and entertainment into the story of American history, encouraging students to expand their definition of what constitutes history, and to think about how we can best understand the lived experience of past lives.



## CONSIDER THE SOURCE



### RACE, GENDER, AND MILITARY SERVICE

MUCH CAN BE LEARNED ABOUT A SOCIETY'S VALUES from how it handles the raising of an army. In wartime, nations typically clarify the terms of citizenship and service—asking some people to fight, others to stay home, and appealing to the public for participation and support. The government sets the terms of service, but they must align with popular values to be successful.

During World War I, as part of the war, the government disseminated documents). The first poster was part was part of a campaign to sell "It roughly two-thirds of the war's 5321 not only served in the military and i

By the time of the war on terrorism, military recruitment had changed dram World War I, and the draft had been a volunteer force. This put a high premium for those purposes remained just as illu 2006, the U.S. Army launched its "Army

the army builds not only physical but also mental and emotional strengths in its recruits. The second images shows the welcoming attitude of today's army.

#### UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. How do the posters use images of women or the home to encourage either enlistment or financial support for the war?
2. What do these posters say about contemporary understandings of gender roles? What did the state and society expect from men. What did they expect from women?
3. Like almost all recruiting posters of World War I, these two depict white people—despite the fact that many African Americans and ethnic minorities served as well. What does that say about mainstream attitudes toward race and ethnicity during World War I?

### WORLD WAR I—1917–1918

#### WARTIME POSTERS



(The Library of Congress (LC-USZ64-104))

### WAR ON TERRORISM—2006–2014

#### ARMY RECRUITMENT AND MARKETING



U.S. Army



U.S. Army

#### MAKE CONNECTIONS

1. How do these sources portray the army? How are they persuasive? Is the ongoing war against terrorism invoked in any way?
2. How are ethnicity and gender portrayed differently in these documents than in the 1917 and 1918 posters?
3. All four images were created for the government and military—but do they say anything about popular attitudes? Explain.

## CONSIDER THE SOURCE FEATURES

These features guide students through careful analysis of historical documents, both textual and visual, and prompt them to make connections with contemporary events. New topics in this edition include family time; wartime oratory; black history; and race, gender, and military service.

## THE AGE OF REVOLUTIONS

**THE** American Revolution was a result of specific tensions and conflicts between Britain and its North American colonies. But it was also a part, and a cause, of what historians have come to call an “age of revolutions” that spread through much of the Western world in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The modern idea of revolution—the overturning of old systems and regimes and the creation of new ones—was largely a product of the ideas of the Enlightenment. Among those ideas was the

notion of popular sovereignty, articulated by the English philosopher John Locke and others. Locke argued that political authority did not derive from the divine right of kings or the inherited authority of aristocracies but, rather, from the consent of the governed. A related Enlightenment idea was the concept of individual freedom, which challenged the traditional belief that governments had the right to prescribe the way people act, speak, and even think. Champions of individual freedom in the eighteenth century—among them the French philosopher Voltaire—advocated religious toleration and freedom of thought and expression. The Swiss-French Enlightenment theorist Jean-Jacques Rousseau helped spread the idea of political and legal equality for all people—the end of special privileges for aristocrats and elites, the right of all citizens to participate in the formation of policies and laws.

The American Revolution was the first and in many ways the most influential of the Enlightenment-derived uprisings against established orders. It served as an inspiration to people in other lands who were trying to find a way to oppose unpopular regimes. In 1789, a little over a decade after the beginning of the American Revolution, revolution began in France. The monarchy was abolished (and the king and queen publicly executed in 1793), the authority of the Catholic Church was challenged and greatly weakened, and at the peak of revolutionary chaos during the Jacobin period (1793–1794), more than 40,000 suspected enemies of the revolution were executed and hundreds of thousands of others imprisoned. The most radical phase of the revolution came to an end in 1799, when Napoleon Bonaparte, a young general, seized power and began to build a new French empire. But France’s ancient regime of king and aristocracy never wholly revived.

The American and French Revolutions helped inspire uprisings in many other parts of the Atlantic world.



**STORMING THE BASTILLE** This painting portrays the storming of the great Parisian fortress and prison, the Bastille, on July 14, 1789. The Bastille was a despised symbol of royal tyranny to many of the French, because of the arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned people who were sent there. The July assault was designed to release the prisoners, but in fact the revolutionaries found only seven people in the vast fortress. Even so, the capture of the Bastille—which marked one of the first moments in which ordinary Frenchmen joined the Revolution—has since one of the great moments in modern French history. The anniversary of the event, “Bastille Day,” remains the French national holiday. (© Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France/The Bridgeman Art Library)

## AMERICA IN THE WORLD ESSAYS

These fifteen essays focus on specific parallels between American history and that of other nations, and demonstrate the importance of the many global influences on the American story. Topics like the global industrial revolution, the abolition of slavery, and the origins of the Cold War provide concrete examples of the connections between the history of the United States and the history of other nations.

### UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. How did the American Revolution influence the French Revolution?
2. What other nations were affected by the example of the American Revolution?
3. What was the significance of the revolution in Haiti, and how much attention did it get in other nations?

## UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE REVIEW QUESTIONS

Appearing at the end of every feature essay, these questions encourage students to move beyond memorization of facts and names to explore the importance and significance of the featured content.

## THE NEW DEAL

**FOR** many years, debate among historians over the nature of the New Deal mirrored the debate among Americans in the 1930s over the achievements of the Roosevelt administration. Historians struggled, just as contemporaries had done, to decide whether the New Deal was a good thing or a bad thing.

By far the dominant view of the New Deal among scholars has been an approving, liberal interpretation, and the first important voice of that view was Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., who argued in the three volumes of *The Age of Roosevelt* (1957–1960) that the New Deal marked a continuation of the long struggle between public power and private interests. Roosevelt had moved that struggle to a new level, challenging the unrestrained power of the business community and offering far more protection for workers, farmers, consumers, and others than they had enjoyed in the past.

The first systematic “revisionist” interpretation of the New Deal came in 1963, in William Leuchtenburg’s *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*. Leuchtenburg was a sympathetic critic, arguing that most of the limitations of the New Deal were a result of the restrictions imposed on Roosevelt by the political and ideological realities of his time—that the New Deal probably could not have done much more than it did. Nevertheless, Leuchtenburg could not agree with others who called the New Deal a revolution in social policy. He was able to muster only enough enthusiasm to call it a “halfway revolution,” one that enhanced the positions of some previously disadvantaged groups (notably farmers and factory workers) but did little or nothing for many others (including blacks, sharecroppers, and the urban poor). Ellis Hawley augmented these moderate criticisms of the Roosevelt record in *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly* (1966). In examining 1930s economic policies, Hawley argued that New Deal efforts were in many cases designed to enhance the position of private entrepreneurs—even, at times, at the expense of some of the liberal reform goals that administration officials espoused.

Much harsher criticisms of the New Deal emerged in the 1960s and later. Barton Bernstein in a 1968 essay concluded that the Roosevelt administration may have saved capitalism, but it failed to help—and in many ways actually harmed—groups most in need of assistance. David Mervin, Thomas Ferguson, and, more recently, Colin Gordon cited the close ties between the New Deal and international liberalism of the 1930s as a product of their shared interest in stabilizing capitalism.

Most scholars in the 1980s and 1990s, however, seemed largely to have accepted the revised liberal view: that the New Deal was a significant (and, most agreed, valuable) chapter in the history of reform, but one that worked within rigid, occasionally crippling limits. Much of the recent work on the New Deal has focused on the constraints within which it was operating. The sociologist Theda Skocpol (along with other scholars) has emphasized the issue of “state capacity” as an important New Deal constraint; ambitious reform ideas often foundered, she argued, because no government bureaucracy had sufficient strength and expertise to shape or administer them. James T. Patterson, Barry Karl, Mark Leff, and others have emphasized the political constraints the New Deal encountered. Both in Congress and among the public, conservative inhibitions about government remained strong.

Frank Freidel, Ellis Hawley, Herbert Stein, and many others point as well to the ideological constraints affecting Franklin Roosevelt and his supporters. Alan Brinkley, in *The End of Reform* (1995), described an ideological shift in New Deal liberalism that shifted from the initial regulatory view of government to one that envisioned relatively little direct governmental interference in the economic world and instead, instead, as Keynesian

embraced measures that unleashed the power of the market did prosperity begin to return.

The phrase “New Deal liberalism” has come in the postwar era to seem synonymous with modern ideas of aggressive federal management of the economy, elaborate welfare systems, a powerful bureaucracy, and large-scale government spending. Many historians of the New Deal, however, would argue that the modern idea of “New Deal liberalism” bears only a limited relationship to the ideas that New Dealers themselves embraced. The liberal accomplishments of the 1930s can be understood only in the context of their own time; later liberal efforts drew from that legacy but also altered it to fit the needs and assumptions of very different eras. ●

### UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. What is the conservative view of the New Deal?
2. How did the political atmosphere of the 1930s limit the New Deal?
3. Did the New Deal save capitalism? If so, how and why?



**FDR IN ALBANY** Before he became president, Franklin Roosevelt served as governor of New York, where he developed a reputation of being an activist working to confront the Great Depression. In this 1930 photograph, he is sitting at his desk in the state capital. Two years later, he would be elected president. (© APPI/Getty Images)

## DEBATING THE PAST ESSAYS

Twenty-five essays introduce students to the contested quality of much of the American past, and provide a sense of the evolving nature of historical scholarship. From addressing the question of “Why do historians so often disagree?” to examining specific differences in historical understandings of the Constitution, the character of slavery, and the causes of the Great Depression, these essays familiarize students with the interpretive character of historical understanding.

# LIST OF MAPS

- 1.1 North American Migrations 4
- 1.2 How the Early North Americans Lived 5
- 1.3 European Exploration and Conquest, 1492–1583 13
- 1.4 Spanish America 16
- 1.5 Europe and West Africa in the Fifteenth Century 24
- 2.1 The Growth of the Chesapeake, 1607–1750 37
- 2.2 The Growth of New England, 1620–1750 46
- 2.3 The Seventeenth-Century Caribbean 55
- 3.1 North America in 1700 67
- 3.2 Immigrant Groups in Colonial America, 1760 77
- 3.3 The “Triangular Trade” 81
- 3.4 African Population as a Proportion of Total Population, c. 1775 83
- 3.5 The New England Town: Sudbury, Massachusetts, Seventeenth Century 85
- 4.1 The Seven Years’ War 106
- 4.2 The Thirteen Colonies in 1763 108
- 4.3 North America in 1763 110
- 4.4 The Battles of Lexington and Concord, 1775 124
- 5.1 The Revolution in the North, 1775–1776 137
- 5.2 The Revolution in the Middle Colonies, 1776–1778 139
- 5.3 The Revolution in the South, 1778–1781 141
- 5.4 The Conflict over Western Lands 152
- 5.5 Land Survey: Ordinance of 1785 154
- 7.1 North America in 1800 194
- 7.2 Washington, D.C., in the Early Nineteenth Century 194
- 7.3 Exploring the Louisiana Purchase, 1804–1807 200
- 7.4 The Indian Response to White Encroachment 205
- 7.5 The War of 1812 209
- 8.1 The Missouri Compromise, 1820 223
- 9.1 The Expulsion of the Tribes, 1830–1835 240
- 10.1 American Population Density, 1820 257
- 10.2 American Population Density, 1860 258
- 10.3 Canals in the Northeast, 1823–1860 264
- 10.4 Railroad Growth, 1850–1860 267
- 10.5 Lowell, Massachusetts, 1832 276
- 11.1 Slavery and Cotton in the South, 1820 and 1860 296
- 11.2 Plantations in Louisiana, 1858 297
- 11.3 A Georgia Plantation 299
- 13.1 Expanding Settlement, 1810–1850 341
- 13.2 Western Trails in 1860 345
- 13.3 The Oregon Boundary, 1846 346
- 13.4 The Mexican War, 1846–1848 348
- 13.5 Southwestern Expansion, 1845–1853 350
- 13.6 Slave and Free Territories under the Compromise of 1850 354
- 14.1 The Process of Secession 367
- 14.2 The War in the West, 1861–1863 389
- 14.3 The Virginia Theater, 1861–1863 390
- 14.4 The Siege of Vicksburg, May–July 1863 392
- 14.5 Gettysburg, July 1–3, 1863 393
- 14.6 Virginia Campaigns, 1864–1865 394
- 14.7 Sherman’s March to the Sea, 1864–1865 395
- 15.1 Reconstruction, 1866–1877 406
- 15.2 The Southern Plantation before and after Emancipation 409
- 15.3 The Crop-Lien System in 1880 423
- 16.1 Mining Towns, 1848–1883 440
- 16.2 The Cattle Kingdom, c. 1866–1887 441
- 16.3 The Indian Frontier 450
- 17.1 Railroads, 1870–1890 464
- 18.1 The United States in 1900 488
- 18.2 Ethnic and Class Segregation in Milwaukee, 1850–1890 492
- 18.3 Streetcar Suburbs in Nineteenth-Century New Orleans 497
- 19.1 Imperialism at High Tide, 1900 531
- 19.2 The Spanish-American War in Cuba, 1898 542
- 19.3 The American South Pacific Empire, 1900 547
- 20.1 Establishment of National Parks and Forests 575
- 21.1 The United States and Latin America, 1895–1941 586
- 21.2 America in World War I: The Western Front, 1918 595

21.3 African American Migration, 1910–1950	609	28.2 African American Migration, 1950–1980	771
22.1 Farm Tenancy, 1910–1930	621	29.1 The United States in Latin America, 1954–1996	792
24.1 The Tennessee Valley Authority	667	29.2 The War in Vietnam and Indochina, 1964–1975	797
26.1 World War II in the Pacific	706	30.1 Aboriginal Territories and Modern Reservations of Western Indian Tribes	814
26.2 World War II in North Africa and Italy: The Allied Counteroffensive, 1942–1943	708	31.1 Growth of the Sunbelt, 1970–1990	844
26.3 World War II in Europe: The Allied Counteroffensive, 1943–1945	723	32.1 Crises in the Middle East	873
27.1 Divided Europe after World War II	739		
27.2 The Korean War, 1950–1953	747		
28.1 Chicago’s Annexations and the Suburban Noose	776		

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The background of the page is a faded, light blue-tinted American flag. The stars and stripes are visible but semi-transparent, creating a subtle watermark effect.

# **AMERICAN HISTORY**

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Connecting with the Past



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# 1

# THE COLLISION OF CULTURES



**FIRST ENCOUNTERS WITH NATIVE AMERICANS** This 1505 engraving is one of the earliest European images of the way Native Americans lived in the early Americas. It also represents some of the ways in which white Europeans would view the people they called Indians for many generations. Native Americans here were portrayed by Europeans as exotic savages, whose sexuality was not contained within stable families and whose savagery was evidenced in their practice of eating the flesh of their slain enemies. In the background are the ships that have brought the European visitors who recorded these images. (© North Wind Picture Archives)

## LOOKING AHEAD

1. How did the societies of native peoples in South America differ from those in North America 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?

# SETTING THE STAGE

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**THE DISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAS** did not begin with Christopher Columbus in 1492. It began many thousands of years earlier when human beings first crossed into the American continents and began to people them. By the end of the fifteenth century CE, when the first important contact with Europeans occurred, the Americas were the home of millions of men and women.

These ancient civilizations experienced many changes and many catastrophes during their long history. But none of these experiences was likely as tragically transforming as the arrival of Europeans. In the short term—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 conquest of the existing American empires. Although in the long term European settlers came to dominate most areas of the Americas, the Europeans were never able to eliminate the influence of the existing peoples (whom they came to call “Indians”). Battles between natives and Europeans continued into the late nineteenth century and beyond. But there were also productive interactions through which these very different civilizations shaped one another. They learned from one another and changed each other permanently and profoundly.

## AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS

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We still know relatively little about the first peoples in the Americas. What we do know comes from scattered archaeological discoveries—new evidence from artifacts that have survived over many millennia.

### 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. These migrants then traveled from the glacial north, through an unfrozen corridor between two great ice sheets, until they reached the nonglacial lands to the south. The migrations were probably a result of the development of new stone tools—spears and other hunting implements—with which migrating people could pursue the large animals that regularly 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. They are known to scholars as the “Clovis” people, named for a town in New Mexico.

#### THE “CLOVIS” PEOPLE

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The Clovis people established one of the first civilizations in the Americas. Archaeologists believe that they lived about 13,000 years ago. They were among the first people to make tools and to eat other animals. The Clovis are believed to have migrated from Siberia across the Bering land bridge into Alaska. From there, they moved southward to warmer regions, including New Mexico.

More recent archaeological evidence, however, suggests that not all the early migrants 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. This suggests that these first South Americans may have come not by land but by sea, using boats. Other discoveries on other continents made clear that migrants had traveled by water much earlier to populate Japan, Australia, and other areas of the Pacific. Those discoveries suggest that migrants were capable of making long ocean voyages—long enough to bring them to the American coasts.

#### ARCHAEOLOGISTS AND POPULATION DIVERSITY

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Other discoveries on other continents made clear that migrants had traveled by water much earlier to populate Japan, Australia, and other areas of the Pacific. Those discoveries suggest that migrants were capable of making long ocean voyages—long enough to bring them to the American coasts.

This new evidence suggests that the early population of the Americas was much more diverse and more scattered than scholars used to believe. Some people came to the Americas from farther south in Asia than Mongolia—perhaps Polynesia and Japan. Recent DNA evidence has identified what may have been yet another population group that, unlike most other American groups, does not seem to have Asian characteristics. Thus it is also possible that, thousands of years before Columbus, there may have been some migration from Europe or Africa. Most Indians in the Americas today share relatively similar characteristics, and those characteristics link them to modern Siberians and Mongolians. But that does not prove that Mongolian migrants were the only immigrants to the Americas. It suggests, rather, that Mongolian migrants eventually came to dominate and perhaps eliminate earlier population groups.

The “Archaic” period is a scholarly term for the history of humans in America during a period of about 5,000 years beginning around 8000 BCE. In the first part of this period, most

### THE “ARCHAIC” PERIOD

humans continued to support themselves through hunting and gathering, using the same stone tools that earlier Americans had brought with them from Asia. Some of the largest animals that the earliest humans in America once hunted became extinct during the Archaic period. But archaic people continued to hunt with spears in the area later known as the Great Plains of North America who, then as centuries later, pursued bison (also known as buffalo). Bows and arrows were unknown in most of North America until 400–500 CE.

Later in the Archaic period, population groups also began to develop new tools to perform work. Among them were nets and hooks for fishing, traps for smaller animals, and baskets for gathering berries, nuts, seeds, and other plants. Later, some groups began to farm. Through much of the Americas, the most important farm crop was corn, but many agricultural communities also grew other crops such as beans and squash. 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 south of what is now the United States—in South and Central America and in what is now Mexico. In Peru, the Incas created the largest empire in the Americas. They began as a small tribe in the mountainous region of Cuzco, in the early fifteenth century—spurred by a powerful leader, Pachacuti (whose name meant “world shaker”). His empire stretched along almost 2,000 miles of western South America. It was an empire created as much by persuasion as by force. Pachacuti’s agents fanned out around the region and explained the benefits of the empire to people in the areas the Incas hoped to control. Most local leaders eventually allied themselves with the Incas. The empire was sustained by innovative administrative systems and by the creation of a large network of paved roads.

Another great civilization emerged from the so-called Meso-Americans, the peoples of what is now Mexico and much of Central America. Organized societies emerged in these regions as early as 10,000 BCE, and the first truly complex society in the Americas—of the Olmec people—began in approximately 1000 BCE. A more sophisticated culture emerged beginning around 800 CE 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 Mayan regions were followed by other Meso-American tribes. They became known collectively (and somewhat inaccurately) as the Aztec. They called themselves Mexica, a name that eventually came to describe people of a number of different tribes. In about 1300 CE, the Mexica established a city, which they named Tenochtitlán, on a large island in a lake in central Mexico, the site of present-day Mexico City. The Mexica soon incorporated the peoples of other tribes into their society as well. It became by far the greatest city ever created in the Americas to that point, with a population as high as 100,000 by 1500, connected to water supplies from across the region by aqueducts. The residents of Tenochtitlán also created 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. They gradually established their dominance over almost all of central Mexico, and beyond, through a system of tribute (a heavy tax paid in crops, cloth, or animals) enforced by military power. The peoples ruled by the Mexica maintained a significant element of independence nevertheless, and many of them always considered the Mexica to be tyrannical rulers, but too powerful to resist.

Like other Meso-American societies, the Mexica developed a religion based on a belief in human sacrifice. Unlike earlier societies in the Americas, whose sacrifices to the gods emphasized blood-letting and other mostly nonfatal techniques, the Mexica also believed that the gods could be satisfied by being fed the living hearts of humans. But the Mexica also believed that the gods could be satisfied only by being fed the living hearts of humans. As a result, they sacrificed people—largely prisoners captured in combat—on a scale unknown in other American civilizations.

The Meso-American civilizations were for many centuries the center of civilized life in North and Central America—the hub of culture and trade. Disease and disunity made it difficult for them to survive the European invasions. But they were, nevertheless, very great civilizations—all the more impressive because they lacked some of the crucial technologies that Asian and European societies had long employed. As late as the sixteenth century CE, no American society had yet developed wheeled vehicles.

## THE CIVILIZATIONS OF THE NORTH

The peoples north of Mexico—in the lands that became the United States and Canada—did not develop empires as large or political systems as elaborate as those of the Incas, Mayas,



**NORTH AMERICAN MIGRATIONS** This map tracks some of the 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 have on residential patterns in the ancient American world?*

and Mexico. They built complex civilizations of great variety that subsisted on hunting, gathering, and fishing. The Eskimos of the Arctic Circle fished and hunted seals; their civilization spanned thousands of miles of largely frozen land, which they traversed by dogsled. The big-game hunters of the northern forests led nomadic lives based on pursuit of moose and caribou. The tribes of the Pacific Northwest, whose principal occupation was salmon fishing,

### COMPLEX AND VARIED CIVILIZATIONS

of the Arctic Circle fished and hunted seals; their civilization spanned thousands of miles of largely frozen land, which they traversed by dogsled. The

created substantial permanent settlements along the coast and engaged in constant and often violent competition with one another for access to natural resources.

Another group of tribes spread through more arid regions of the Far West and developed successful communities—many of them quite wealthy and densely populated—based on fishing, hunting small game, and gathering. Other societies in America were primarily agricultural. Among the most elaborate were those in the Southwest. The people of that region built large



**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?*

irrigation systems to allow farming on their relatively dry land. They constructed substantial towns that became centers of trade, crafts, and religious and civic ritual. Their densely populated settlements at Chaco Canyon and elsewhere consisted of stone and adobe terraced structures, known today as pueblos, many of which resembled the large apartment buildings of later eras in size and design. In the Great Plains region, too, most tribes were engaged in sedentary farming (corn and other grains) and lived in

permanent settlements, although there were some small nomadic tribes that subsisted by hunting buffalo. (Only in the eighteenth century, after Europeans had introduced the horse to North America, did buffalo hunting begin to support a large population in the region; at that point, many once-sedentary farmers left the land to pursue the great migratory buffalo herds.)

The eastern third of what is now the United States—much of it covered with forests and inhabited by people who have



**MAYAN TEMPLE, TIKAL** Tikal was the largest city in what was then the vast Mayan Empire. It extended through what is now Mexico, Guatemala, and Belize. The temple shown here was built before 800 CE and was one of many pyramids created by the Mayas. Only a few of these pyramids still survive. (© M.L. Sinibaldi/Corbis)

thus become known as the Woodland Indians—had the greatest food resources of any region of the continent. Many tribes lived there, and most of them engaged in farming, hunting, gathering, and fishing. In the South there were substantial permanent settlements and large trading networks based on corn and other grains grown in the rich lands of the Mississippi River valley. Among the major cities that emerged as a result of trade was Cahokia (near present-day St. Louis), which at its peak in 1200 CE had a population of about 10,000 and contained a great complex of large earthen mounds.

The agricultural societies of the Northeast were more nomadic than those in other regions. Much of the land in the region was less fertile than other regions because farming was newer and less established. Most tribes combined farming with hunting. Farming techniques in the Northeast were usually designed to exploit the land quickly rather than to develop permanent settlements. Natives often cleared the land by setting forest fires or cutting into trees to kill them. They then planted crops—corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and others—among the dead or blackened trunks. After a few years, when the land became exhausted or the filth from a settlement began to accumulate, they moved on and established themselves elsewhere. In some parts of eastern North America, villages dispersed every winter and families foraged in the wilderness until warm weather returned; those who survived then reassembled to begin farming again.

Many of the tribes living east of the Mississippi River were linked together loosely by common linguistic roots. The

### MOBILE SOCIETIES

largest of the language groups was the Algonquian, which dominated the Atlantic seaboard from Canada to Virginia. Another important language group was the Iroquoian, centered in what is now upstate New York. The Iroquois included at least five distinct northern “nations”—the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga,



**MAYAN MONKEY-MAN SCRIBAL GOD** The Mayas believed in hundreds of different gods, and they attempted to personify many of them in various artifacts such as the one depicted on the bowl shown here, which dates from 900–1100 CE. The monkey gods were believed to be twins who took the form of monkeys after being lured into a tree from which they could not descend. According to legend, they abandoned their loincloths, which then became tails, which they then used to move more effectively up and down trees. The monkey-men were the patrons of writing, dancing, and art. (© Collection of the Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami, Gift of the Institute of Maya Studies/The Bridgeman Art Library)



**CAHOKIA** An artist's rendition of the city of Cahokia circa 1100 CE. Its great earthen mounds, constructed by the Cahokia Indians near present-day St. Louis, have endured into modern times as part of the Missouri landscape. (Courtesy of Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site, Collinsville, Illinois. Painting by William R. Iseminger)

Oneida, and Mohawk—and had links as well with the Cherokees and the Tuscaroras farther south, in the Carolinas and Georgia. The third-largest language group—the Muskogean—included the tribes in the southernmost region of the eastern seaboard: the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles. Alliances among the various Indian societies (even among those with common languages) were fragile, since the peoples of the Americas did not think of themselves as members of a single civilization.

## TRIBAL CULTURES

The enormous diversity of economic, social, and political structures among the North American Indians makes large generalizations about their cultures difficult. In the last centuries before the arrival of Europeans, however, Native Americans—like peoples in other areas of the world—were experiencing an agricultural revolution. In all regions of the

### AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

United States, tribes were becoming more sedentary and were developing new sources of food, clothing, and shelter. Most regions were experiencing significant population growth. Virtually all were developing the sorts of elaborate social customs and rituals that only stationary societies can produce. Religion was as important to Indian society as it was to most other cultures, and it was usually closely bound up with the natural world on which the tribes depended. Native Americans worshiped many gods, whom they associated with crops, game, forests, rivers, and other elements of nature. Some tribes created elaborate, brightly colored totems as part of their religious ritual; most staged large festivals on such important occasions as harvests or major hunts.

As in other parts of the world, the societies of North America tended to divide tasks according to gender. 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 (notably the Pueblos of the Southwest) reserved farming tasks almost entirely for men. Among others (including the Algonquins, the Iroquois, and the Muskogees), women tended the fields, while men engaged in hunting, warfare, or clearing land. Iroquois women and children were often left alone for extended periods while men were away hunting or fighting battles. As a result, women tended to control the social and economic organization of the settlements and played powerful roles within families.

## 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 perhaps others—had glimpsed parts of the New World and had demonstrated that Europeans were capable of crossing the ocean to reach it. But even if their discoveries had become common knowledge (and they had not), there would have been little incentive for others to follow. Europe in the Middle Ages (roughly 500–1500 CE) was not an adventurous civilization. Divided into innumerable small duchies and kingdoms, Europe had an overwhelmingly provincial outlook. Subsistence agriculture predominated, and commerce was limited; few merchants looked beyond the boundaries of their own regions. The Roman Catholic Church exercised a measure of spiritual authority over most of the continent, and the Holy Roman Empire provided at least a nominal political center. Even so, real power was widely dispersed; only rarely could a single leader launch a great venture. Gradually, however, conditions in Europe changed so that by the late fifteenth century, interest in overseas exploration had grown.

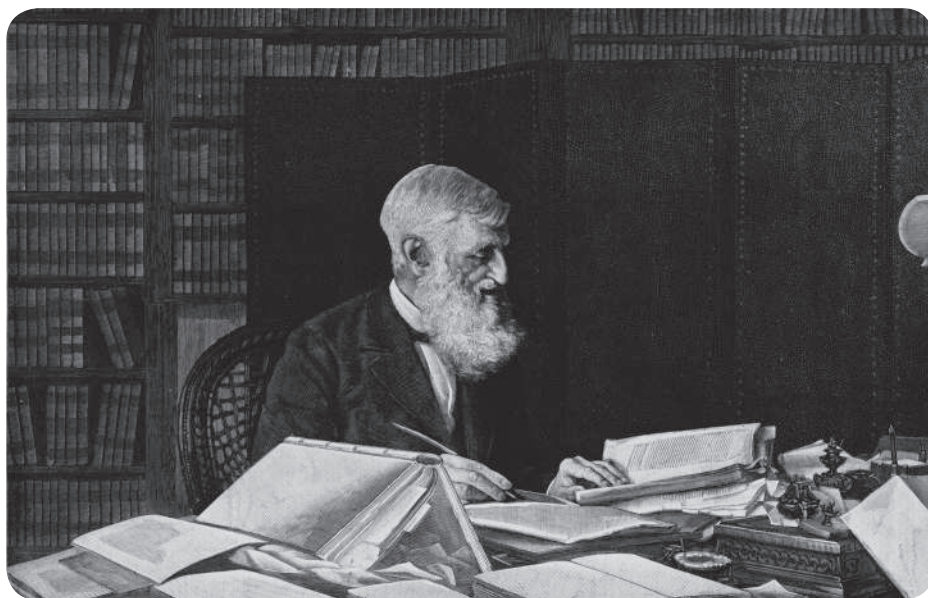




# WHY DO HISTORIANS SO OFTEN DIFFER?

**EARLY** in the twentieth century, when the professional study of history was still relatively new, many historians believed that questions about the past could be answered with the same certainty and precision that questions in more-scientific fields could be answered. By sifting through available records, using precise methods of research and

analysis, and producing careful, closely argued accounts of the past, they believed they could create definitive histories that would survive without controversy. Scholars who adhered to this view believed



**GEORGE BANCROFT** (© Corbis)

**PAULINE MAIER** (© Charles Maier. Courtesy of the Maier family)

## COMMERCE AND NATIONALISM

Two important and related changes provided the first incentive for Europeans to look toward new lands. One was a result of the significant population growth in fifteenth-century Europe. The Black Death, a catastrophic epidemic of the bubonic plague that began in Constantinople in 1347, had decimated Europe, killing

### A REAWAKENING OF COMMERCE

(according to some estimates) more than a third of the people of the continent and debilitating its already-limited economy.

But a century and a half later, the population had rebounded. With that growth came a rise in land values, a reawakening of commerce, and a general increase in prosperity. Affluent landlords became eager to purchase goods from distant regions, and a new merchant class emerged to meet their demand. As trade increased, and as advances in navigation and shipbuilding made long-distance sea travel more feasible, interest in developing new markets, finding new products, and opening new trade routes rapidly increased.

Paralleling the rise of commerce in Europe, and in part responsible for it, was the rise of new governments that were more united and powerful than the feeble political entities of

### CENTRALIZED NATION-STATES

the feudal past. In the western areas of Europe, the authority of the distant pope and the even more distant Holy Roman

Emperor was necessarily weak. As a result, strong new monarchs emerged and created centralized nation-states, with national courts, national armies, and—perhaps most important—national tax systems. As these ambitious kings and queens consolidated their power and increased their wealth, they became eager to enhance the commercial growth of their nations.

Ever since the early fourteenth century, when Marco Polo and other adventurers had returned from Asia bearing exotic goods (spices, fabrics, dyes) and exotic tales, Europeans who hoped for commercial glory had dreamed of trade with the East. For two centuries, that trade had been limited by the difficulties of the long, arduous overland journey to the Asian

that real knowledge can be derived only from direct, scientific observation of clear “facts”. They were known as “positivists.”

A vigorous debate continues to this day over whether historical research can or should be truly objective. Almost no historian any longer accepts the “positivist” claim that history could ever be an exact science. Disagreement about the past is, in fact, at the heart of the effort to understand history. Critics of contemporary historical scholarship often denounce the way historians are constantly revising earlier interpretations. Some denounce the act of interpretation itself. History, they claim, is “what happened,” and historians should “stick to the facts.”

Historians, however, continue to differ with one another both because the “facts” are seldom as straightforward as their critics claim and because facts by themselves mean almost nothing without an effort to assign meaning to them. Some historical “facts,” of course, are not in dispute. Everyone agrees, for example, that the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and that Abraham Lincoln was elected president in 1860. But many other “facts” are much harder to determine—among them, for example, the question of how large the American population was before the arrival of Columbus, which is discussed in this chapter. How many slaves resisted slavery? This sounds like a reasonably straightforward question, but it is almost impossible to answer with any certainty—because the records of slave resistance are spotty and the definition of “resistance” is a matter of considerable dispute.

Even when a set of facts is clear and straightforward, historians disagree—sometimes quite radically—over what they mean. Those disagreements can be the result of political and ideological disagreements. Some of the most vigorous debates in recent decades have been between scholars who believe that economic interests and class divisions are the key to understanding the past, and those who believe that ideas and culture are at least as important as material interests. Whites and people of color, men and women, people from the American South and people from the North, young people and older people: these and many other points of difference find their way into scholarly disagreements. Debates can also occur over differences in methodology—between those who believe that quantitative studies can answer important historical questions and those who believe that other methods come closer to the truth.

Most of all historical interpretation changes in response to the time in which it is written. Historians may strive to be “objective” in their work, but no one can be entirely free from the assumptions and concerns of the present. In the 1950s, the omnipresent shadow of the Cold War had a profound effect on the way most historians viewed the past. In the 1960s, concerns about racial justice and disillusionment with the Vietnam War altered the way many historians viewed the past. Those events introduced a much more critical tone to scholarship and turned the attention of scholars away from politics and government and toward the study of society and culture.

Many areas of scholarship in recent decades are embroiled in a profound debate over whether there is such a thing as “truth.” The world, some scholars argue, is simply a series of “narratives”

constructed by people who view life in very different and often highly personal ways. “Truth” does not really exist. Everything is a product of interpretation. Not many historians embrace such radical ideas; most would agree that interpretations, to be of any value, must rest on a solid foundation of observable facts. But historians do recognize that even the most compelling facts are subject to many different interpretations and that the process of understanding the past is a forever continuing—and forever contested—process. ●

## UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. What are some of the reasons historians so often disagree?
2. Is there ever a “right” or “wrong” in historical interpretation? What value might historical inquiry have other than reaching a “right” or “wrong” conclusion?
3. If historians so often disagree, how should a student of history approach historical content? How might disagreement expand our understanding of history?

courts. But in the fourteenth century, as the maritime capabilities of several western European societies increased and as Muslim societies seized control of the eastern routes to Asia, there began to be serious talk of finding a faster, safer sea route to Asia. Such dreams found a receptive audience in the courts of the new monarchs. By the late fifteenth century, some of them were ready to finance daring voyages of exploration.

The first to do so were the Portuguese. They were the pre-eminent maritime power in the fifteenth century, in large part because of the work of one man, Prince Henry the Navigator.

### PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR

Henry’s own principal interest was not in finding a sea route to Asia, but in exploring the western coast of Africa. He dreamed of establishing a Christian empire there to aid in his country’s wars against the Moors of northern Africa; and he hoped to find new stores of gold. The explorations he began did not fulfill his own hopes, but they ultimately led farther than he had dreamed. Some of Henry’s mariners went as far

south as Cape Verde, on Africa’s west coast. In 1486 (six years after Henry’s death), Bartholomeu Dias rounded the southern tip of Africa (the Cape of Good Hope); and in 1497–1498 Vasco da Gama proceeded all the way around the cape to India. In 1500, the next fleet bound for India, under the command of Pedro Cabral, was blown westward off its southerly course and happened upon the coast of Brazil. But by then another man, in the service of another country, had already encountered the New World.

## CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

Christopher Columbus, who was born and reared in Genoa, Italy, obtained most of his early seafaring experience in the service of the Portuguese. As a young man, he became intrigued with the possibility, already under discussion in many seafaring circles, of reaching Asia by going not east but west. Columbus’s hopes rested on several basic misconceptions. He believed that the world was far smaller than it actually is.