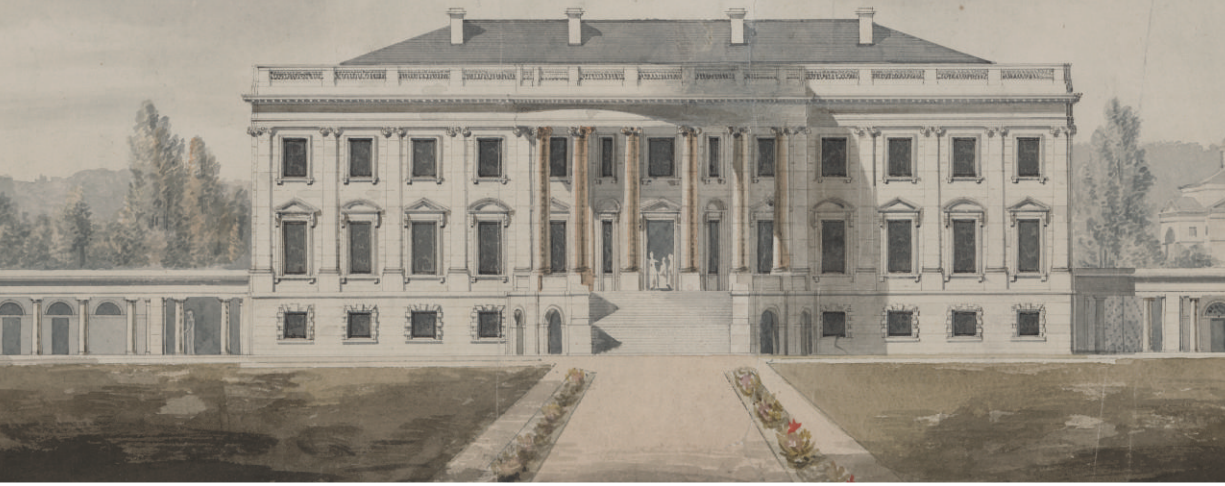


TENTH EDITION



THE UNFINISHED NATION

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

ALAN BRINKLEY | JOHN M. GIGGIE | ANDREW J. HUEBNER



**Mc
Graw
Hill**



THE UNFINISHED NATION

A Concise History of the American People

Tenth Edition

ALAN BRINKLEY

Columbia University

JOHN M. GIGGIE

University of Alabama

ANDREW J. HUEBNER

University of Alabama

**Mc
Graw
Hill**





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

Published by McGraw Hill LLC, 1325 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10019. Copyright © 2022 by McGraw Hill LLC. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. Previous editions © 2019, 2016, and 2014. No part of this publication may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, or stored in a database or retrieval system, without the prior written consent of McGraw Hill LLC, including, but not limited to, in any network or other electronic storage or transmission, or broadcast for distance learning.

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

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 LCR 26 25 24 23 22 21

ISBN 978-1-260-72683-1 (bound edition)

MHID 1-260-72683-5 (bound edition)

ISBN 978-1-264-30921-4 (loose-leaf edition)

MHID 1-264-30921-X (loose-leaf edition)

Senior Portfolio Manager: *Jason Seitz*

Product Development Manager: *Dawn Groundwater*

Senior Product Developer: *Lauren A. Finn*

Senior Marketing Manager: *Michael Gedatus*

Content Project Managers: *Sherry Kane/Vanessa McClune*

Senior Buyer: *Susan K. Culbertson*

Designer: *Beth Blech*

Content Licensing Specialist: *Sarah Flynn*

Cover Image: *1817 White House: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division [LC-DIG-ppmsca-09502]; White House Front Lawn: Jill Braaten/McGraw Hill; and Blueprint Grid: McGraw Hill.*

Compositor: *Aptara®*, Inc.

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

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Brinkley, Alan, author. | Giggie, John M. (John Michael), 1965- author. | Huebner, Andrew J., author.

Title: The unfinished nation : a concise history of the American people / Alan Brinkley, Columbia University ;

John Giggie, University of Alabama ; Andrew Huebner, University of Alabama.

Other titles: Concise history of the American people

Description: Tenth edition. | [Dubuque, Iowa] : McGraw Hill Education, [2022] | Includes index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021026391 (print) | LCCN 2021026392 (ebook) | ISBN 9781264309252 (v. 1 ;

hardcover) | ISBN 9781264309283 (v. 1 ; spiral bound) | ISBN 9781264309306 (v. 2 ; hardcover) |

ISBN 9781264309313 (v. 2 ; spiral bound) | ISBN 9781260726831 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781264309214

(spiral bound) | ISBN 9781265360917 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781264309207 (ebook) | ISBN 9781264309245

(ebook other)

Subjects: LCSH: United States—History—Textbooks.

Classification: LCC E178.1 .B827 2022 (print) | LCC E178.1 (ebook) | DDC 973—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021026391>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021026392>

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

mheducation.com/highered

BRIEF CONTENTS

PREFACE	xxii	16 THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST	379
1 THE COLLISION OF CULTURES	1	17 INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY	403
2 TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS	25	18 THE AGE OF THE CITY	425
3 SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN PROVINCIAL AMERICA	55	19 FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE	451
4 THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION	82	20 THE PROGRESSIVES	484
5 THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION	106	21 AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR	514
6 THE CONSTITUTION AND THE NEW REPUBLIC	134	22 THE NEW ERA	539
7 THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA	155	23 THE GREAT DEPRESSION	559
8 EXPANSION AND DIVISION IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC	185	24 THE NEW DEAL ERA	584
9 JACKSONIAN AMERICA	202	25 AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR	610
10 AMERICA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION	227	26 THE COLD WAR	640
11 COTTON, SLAVERY, AND THE OLD SOUTH	253	27 THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY	665
12 ANTEBELLUM CULTURE AND REFORM	271	28 THE TURBULENT SIXTIES	695
13 THE IMPENDING CRISIS	295	29 THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY	727
14 THE CIVIL WAR	319	30 FROM "THE AGE OF LIMITS" TO REAGANISM	758
15 RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEW SOUTH	350	31 THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION	781
		APPENDIX	A-1
		GLOSSARY	G
		INDEX	I-1

CONTENTS

PREFACE xxii

1 THE COLLISION OF CULTURES 1

AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS 2

- The Peoples of the Precontact Americas 2
- The Growth of Civilizations: The South 3
- The Civilizations of the North 4

EUROPE LOOKS WESTWARD 6

- Commerce and Sea Travel 6
- Christopher Columbus 7
- The Spanish Empire 9
- Northern Outposts 11
- Biological and Cultural Exchanges 11
- Africa and America 17



Don Mammoser/
Shutterstock

THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH 18

- Incentives for Colonization 19
- The First English Settlements 20
- The French and the Dutch in America 22

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

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

America in the World: The International Context of the Early History of the Americas 16

CONCLUSION 23

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 24

RECALL AND REFLECT 24

2 TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS 25

THE EARLY CHESAPEAKE 26

- Colonists and Native Peoples 26
- Reorganization and Expansion 27
- Slavery and Indenture in the Virginia Colony 29
- Bacon’s Rebellion 30
- Maryland and the Calverts 32

THE GROWTH OF NEW ENGLAND 33

- Plymouth Plantation 33
- The Massachusetts Bay Experiment 35
- The Expansion of New England 35
- King Philip’s War 37

THE RESTORATION COLONIES 40

- The English Civil War 40
- The Carolinas 41
- New Netherland, New York, and New Jersey 42
- The Quaker Colonies 43

BORDERLANDS AND MIDDLE GROUNDS 44

- The Caribbean Islands 44
- Slaveholder and Enslaved in the Caribbean 45
- The Southwest Borderlands 46

- The Southeast Borderlands 47
- The Founding of Georgia 47
- Middle Grounds 49

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EMPIRE 51

- The Dominion of New England 52
- The “Glorious Revolution” 52

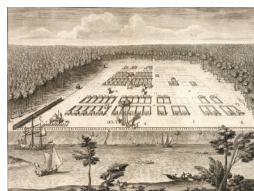
Consider the Source: Cotton Mather on the Recent History of New England (1692) 38

Debating the Past: Native Americans and the Middle Ground 50

CONCLUSION 53

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 54

RECALL AND REFLECT 54



Universal History Archive/
Universal Images Group/
Getty Images

3 SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN PROVINCIAL AMERICA 55

THE COLONIAL POPULATION 56

- Indentured Servitude 56
- Birth and Death 57
- Medicine in the Colonies 57
- Women and Families in the Colonies 60
- The Beginnings of Slavery in English America 62
- Changing Sources of European Immigration 63

THE COLONIAL ECONOMIES 65

- Slavery and Economic Life 65
- Industry and Its Limits 65
- The Rise of Colonial Commerce 66
- The Rise of Consumerism 68

PATTERNS OF SOCIETY 69

- Southern Communities 69
- Northern Communities 70
- Cities 73

AWAKENINGS AND ENLIGHTENMENTS 74

- The Pattern of Religions 74
- The Great Awakening 75

- The Enlightenment 76
- Literacy and Technology 76
- Education 78
- The Spread of Science 79
- Concepts of Law and Politics 79

Consider the Source: Gottlieb Mittelberger, the Passage of Indentured Servants (1750) 58

Debating the Past: The Witchcraft Trials 72

CONCLUSION 80

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 81

RECALL AND REFLECT 81



Bettmann/Getty Images

4 THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION 82

LOOSENING TIES 83

- A Decentralized Empire 83
- The Colonies Divided 83

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONTINENT 84

- New France and the Iroquois Nation 84
- Anglo-French Conflicts 85
- The Great War for Empire 85

THE NEW IMPERIALISM 89

- Burdens of Empire 90
- The British and Native Americans 90
- Battles over Trade and Taxes 92



Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZC4-5315]

STIRRINGS OF REVOLT 93

- The Stamp Act Crisis 93
- Internal Rebellions 96
- The Townshend Program 96
- The Boston Massacre 97
- The Philosophy of Revolt 97
- Sites of Resistance 99
- The Tea Excitement 99

COOPERATION AND WAR 102

- New Sources of Authority 102
- Lexington and Concord 102

America in the World: The First Global War 86

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

Patterns of Popular Culture: Taverns in Revolutionary Massachusetts 100

CONCLUSION 104

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 104

RECALL AND REFLECT 105

5 THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 106

THE STATES UNITED 107

- Defining American War Aims 107
- The Declaration of Independence 110
- Mobilizing for War 111

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE 112

- New England 112
- The Mid-Atlantic 113
- Securing Aid from Abroad 115
- The South 116
- Winning the Peace 117

WAR AND SOCIETY 120

- Loyalists and Religious Groups 120
- The War and Slavery 121
- Native Americans and the Revolution 122
- Women's Rights and Roles 123
- The War Economy 125



MPI/Hulton Archive/Getty Images

THE CREATION OF STATE GOVERNMENTS 125

- The Principles of Republicanism 125
- The First State Constitutions 126
- Revising State Governments 126

THE SEARCH FOR A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT 127

- The Confederation 127
- Diplomatic Failures 128
- The Confederation and the Northwest 128
- Native Americans and the Western Lands 130
- Debts, Taxes, and Daniel Shays 130

Debating the Past: The American Revolution 108

America in the World: The Age of Revolutions 118

Consider the Source: The Correspondence of Abigail Adams on Women's Rights (1776) 124

CONCLUSION 132

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 132

RECALL AND REFLECT 133

6 THE CONSTITUTION AND THE NEW REPUBLIC 134

FRAMING A NEW GOVERNMENT 135

- Advocates of Reform 135
- A Divided Convention 136
- Compromise 137
- The Constitution of 1787 137

ADOPTION AND ADAPTATION 141

- Federalists and Antifederalists 141
- Completing the Structure 142

FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS 143

- Hamilton and the Federalists 144
- Enacting the Federalist Program 144
- The Republican Opposition 145

ESTABLISHING NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY 146

- Securing the West 146
- Maintaining Neutrality 147

THE DOWNFALL OF THE FEDERALISTS 150

- The Election of 1796 150
- The Quasi War with France 150
- Repression and Protest 151
- The "Revolution" of 1800 152

Debating the Past: The Meaning of the Constitution 138

Consider the Source: Washington's Farewell Address, *American Daily Advertiser*, September 19, 1796 148

CONCLUSION 153

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 154

RECALL AND REFLECT 154



National Archives and Records Administration

7 THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA 155

THE RISE OF CULTURAL NATIONALISM 156

- Educational and Literary Nationalism 156
- Medicine and Science 157
- Cultural Aspirations of the New Nation 158
- Religion and Revivalism 158

STIRRINGS OF INDUSTRIALISM 160

- Technology in the United States 160
- Transportation Innovations 163
- Country and City 166

JEFFERSON THE PRESIDENT 166

- The Federal City and the “People’s President” 166
- Dollars and Ships 168
- Conflict with the Courts 168

DOUBLING THE NATIONAL DOMAIN 169

- Jefferson and Napoleon 169
- The Louisiana Purchase 171
- Exploring the West 171
- The Burr Conspiracy 175

EXPANSION AND WAR 175

- Conflict on the Seas 176
- Impressment 176
- “Peaceable Coercion” 177



Bettmann/Getty Images

- Native Americans and the British 178
- Tecumseh and the Prophet 179
- Florida and War Fever 179

THE WAR OF 1812 180

- Battles with the Nations 180
- Battles with the British 181
- The Revolt of New England 182
- The Peace Settlement 183

America in the World: The Global Industrial Revolution 162

Patterns of Popular Culture: Horse Racing 164

Consider the Source: Thomas Jefferson to Meriwether Lewis (1803) 172

CONCLUSION 183

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 184

RECALL AND REFLECT 184

8 EXPANSION AND DIVISION IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC 185

STABILIZING ECONOMIC GROWTH 186

- The Government and Economic Growth 186
- Transportation 187

EXPANDING WESTWARD 188

- Westward Migration 188
- White Settlers in the Old Northwest 188
- The Plantation System in the Old Southwest 189
- Trade and Trapping in the Far West 189
- Eastern Images of the West 190

THE “ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS” 191

- The End of the First Party System 191
- John Quincy Adams and Florida 191
- The Panic of 1819 192

SECTIONALISM AND NATIONALISM 193

- The Missouri Compromise 193
- Marshall and the Court 195

- The Court and Native Peoples 197
- The Latin American Revolution and the Monroe Doctrine 198

THE REVIVAL OF OPPOSITION 199

- The “Corrupt Bargain” 199
- The Second President Adams 200
- Jackson Triumphant 200

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

CONCLUSION 201

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 201

RECALL AND REFLECT 201



Yale University Art Gallery

9 JACKSONIAN AMERICA 202

THE RISE OF MASS POLITICS 203

- Expanding Democracy 203
- Tocqueville and *Democracy in America* 205
- The Legitimization of Party 205
- President of the Common People 207

“OUR FEDERAL UNION” 208

- Calhoun and Nullification 208
- The Rise of Van Buren 209
- The Webster-Hayne Debate 209
- The Nullification Crisis 210

THE REMOVAL OF NATIVE AMERICANS 210

- White Attitudes toward Native Peoples 210
- The “Five Civilized Tribes” 211
- Trail of Tears 213
- The Meaning of Removal 214

JACKSON AND THE BANK WAR 215

- Biddle’s Institution 215
- The “Monster” Destroyed 216

THE CHANGING FACE OF AMERICAN POLITICS 217

- Democrats and Whigs 218

POLITICS AFTER JACKSON 219

- Van Buren and the Panic of 1837 219
- The Log Cabin Campaign 220
- The Frustration of the Whigs 224
- Whig Diplomacy 224

Debating the Past: Jacksonian Democracy 206

Consider the Source: Letter from Chief John Ross to the Senate and House of Representatives (1836) 212

Patterns of Popular Culture: The Penny Press 222

CONCLUSION 225

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 225

RECALL AND REFLECT 226



Yale University
Art Gallery

10 AMERICA’S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION 227

THE CHANGING AMERICAN POPULATION 228

- Population Trends 228
- Urban Growth and Immigration, 1840–1860 229
- The Rise of Nativism 230

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS REVOLUTIONS 231

- The Canal Age 231
- The Early Railroads 232
- The Triumph of the Rails 233
- The Telegraph 234
- New Technology and Journalism 236

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY 236

- The Expansion of Business, 1820–1840 236
- The Emergence of the Factory 236



Universal History Archive/Universal Images
Group/Getty Images

- Advances in Technology 237
- Rise of the Industrial Ruling Class 238

MEN AND WOMEN AT WORK 238

- Recruiting a Native Workforce 238
- The Immigrant Workforce 239
- The Factory System and the Artisan Tradition 241
- Fighting for Control 242

PATTERNS OF SOCIETY 242

- The Rich and the Poor 242
- Social and Geographical Mobility 243
- Middle-Class Life 244
- The Changing Family 245
- The “Cult of Domesticity” 246
- Leisure Activities 246

THE AGRICULTURAL NORTH 248

- Northeastern Agriculture 248
- The Old Northwest 249
- Rural Life 250

Consider the Source: *Handbook to Lowell* (1848) 240

CONCLUSION 251

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 251

RECALL AND REFLECT 252

11 COTTON, SLAVERY, AND THE OLD SOUTH 253

THE COTTON ECONOMY 254

- The Rise of King Cotton 254
- Southern Trade and Industry 257

SOUTHERN WHITE SOCIETY 257

- The Planter Class 259
- The “Southern Lady” 260
- Beneath the Planter Class 260

SLAVERY: THE “PECULIAR INSTITUTION” 261

- Slavery and Punishment 261
- Life under Slavery 261
- Slavery in the Cities 265
- Free Blacks 265
- The Slave Trade 266

BLACK CULTURE UNDER SLAVERY 267

- Religion 267
- Language and Song 268
- Family 268
- Resistance 269

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

Debating the Past: Analyzing Slavery 262

CONCLUSION 270

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 270

RECALL AND REFLECT 270



MPI/Archive Photos/Getty Images

12 ANTEBELLUM CULTURE AND REFORM 271

THE ROMANTIC IMPULSE 272

- Nationalism and Romanticism in American Painting 272
- An American Literature 273
- Literature in the Antebellum South 273
- The Transcendentalists 274
- The Defense of Nature 276
- Visions of Utopia 276
- Redefining Gender Roles 277
- The Mormons 277

REMAKING SOCIETY 279

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

THE CRUSADE AGAINST SLAVERY 286

- Early Opposition to Slavery 286
- Black Abolitionists 286
- Garrison and Abolitionism 290
- Anti-Abolitionism 290
- Abolitionism Divided 291

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

America in the World: The Abolition of Slavery 288

Patterns of Popular Culture: Sentimental Novels 292

CONCLUSION 294

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 294

RECALL AND REFLECT 294



Bettmann/Getty Images

13 THE IMPENDING CRISIS 295

LOOKING WESTWARD 296

- Manifest Destiny 296
- Americans in Texas 297
- Oregon 298
- The Westward Migration 298

EXPANSION AND WAR 300

- The Democrats and Expansion 300
- The Southwest and California 301
- The Mexican War 302

THE SECTIONAL DEBATE 304

- Slavery and the Territories 304
- The California Gold Rush 305
- Rising Sectional Tensions 307
- The Compromise of 1850 308

THE CRISES OF THE 1850s 309

- The Uneasy Truce 309
- “Young America” 309
- Slavery, Railroads, and the West 310
- The Kansas-Nebraska Controversy 310
- “Bleeding Kansas” 311
- The Free-Soil Ideology 312
- The Pro-Slavery Argument 313

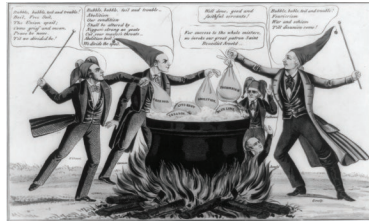
- Buchanan and Depression 313
- The *Dred Scott* Decision 314
- Deadlock over Kansas 315
- The Emergence of Lincoln 315
- John Brown’s Raid 316
- The Election of Lincoln 316

Consider the Source: Wilmot Proviso (1846) 306

CONCLUSION 317

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 318

RECALL AND REFLECT 318



Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA [LC-USZ62-11138]

14 THE CIVIL WAR 319

THE SECESSION CRISIS 320

- The Withdrawal of the South 320
- The Failure of Compromise 321
- The Opposing Sides 321
- Going to War 323

THE MOBILIZATION OF THE NORTH 324

- Economic Nationalism 324
- Raising the Union Armies 325
- Wartime Politics 326
- The Politics of Emancipation 327
- Black Americans and the Union Cause 329
- Women, Nursing, and the War 330

THE MOBILIZATION OF THE SOUTH 331

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

STRATEGY AND DIPLOMACY 333

- The Commanders 333
- The Role of Sea Power 334



Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ61-903]

Europe and the Disunited States 336

CAMPAIGNS AND BATTLES 337

- The Technology of War 337
- The Opening Clashes, 1861 338
- The Western Theater 338
- The Virginia Front, 1862 339
- The Progress of the War 341
- 1863: Year of Decision 341
- The Last Stage, 1864–1865 345

Consider the Source: Ordinances of Secession (1860/1861) 322

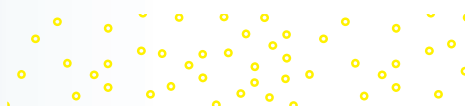
Consider the Source: Letter from a Refugee (1862) 326

Consider the Source: The Emancipation Proclamation (1863) 328

CONCLUSION 348

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 349

RECALL AND REFLECT 349



15 RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEW SOUTH 350

THE PROBLEMS OF PEACEMAKING 351

- The Aftermath of War and Emancipation 351
- Competing Notions of Freedom 351
- Plans for Reconstruction 353
- The Death of Lincoln 355
- Johnson and “Restoration” 357

RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION 358

- The Black Codes 359
- The Fourteenth Amendment 359
- The Congressional Plan 361
- The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson 362

THE SOUTH IN RECONSTRUCTION 363

- Politics 363
- Education 364
- Landownership and Tenancy 364

THE GRANT ADMINISTRATION 366

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

THE ABANDONMENT OF RECONSTRUCTION 368

- The Southern States for Southern Whites 368
- Waning Northern Commitment 369

- The Compromise of 1877 369
- The Legacy of Reconstruction 370

THE NEW SOUTH 371

- The “Redeemers” 371
- Industrialization and the New South 371
- Black Americans and the New South 372
- The Lost Cause 373
- The Birth of Jim Crow 374

Consider the Source: Southern Blacks Demand Federal Aid (1865) 354

Debating the Past: Reconstruction 356

Consider the Source: Mississippi Black Codes (1865) 360

Patterns of Popular Culture: The Minstrel Show 376

CONCLUSION 378

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 378

RECALL AND REFLECT 378



Corbis/Getty Images

16 THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST 379

THE SOCIETIES OF THE FAR WEST 380

- Western Native Societies 380
- Hispanic New Mexico 381
- Hispanic California and Texas 381
- The Chinese Migration 382
- Anti-Chinese Sentiments 384
- Migration from the East 384

THE ROMANCE OF THE WEST 385

- The Western Landscape and the Cowboy 385
- The Idea of the Frontier 385

THE CHANGING WESTERN ECONOMY 388

- Labor in the West 388
- The Arrival of the Miners 389
- The Cattle Kingdom 390

THE DISPERSAL OF NATIVE PEOPLES 391

- White Policies 392
- The Native American Wars 392
- The Dawes Act 395

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE WESTERN FARMER 396

- Farming on the Plains 396
- Commercial Agriculture 399
- The Farmers' Grievances 400
- The Agrarian Malaise 400



NPS photo by JR Douglas

Debating the Past: The Frontier and the West 386

Consider the Source: Walter Baron Von Richthofen, *Cattle Raising on the Plains in North America* (1885) 398

CONCLUSION 401

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 402

RECALL AND REFLECT 402

17 INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY 403

SOURCES OF INDUSTRIAL GROWTH 404

- Industrial Technologies 404
- The Technology of Iron and Steel Production 405
- The Automobile and the Airplane 406
- Making Production More Efficient 407
- Railroad Expansion and the Corporation 408

CAPITALISM AND ITS CRITICS 411

- Survival of the Fittest 411
- The Gospel of Wealth 412
- Alternative Visions 413
- The Problems of Monopoly 413

THE ORDEAL OF THE WORKER 418

- The Immigrant Workforce 418
- Wages and Working Conditions 418
- Unions 419
- The Knights of Labor 420
- The American Federation of Labor 420
- The Homestead Strike 421

The Pullman Strike 422

Sources of Labor Weakness 422

Consider the Source: Andrew Carnegie Explains “The Gospel of Wealth” (1889) 414

Patterns of Popular Culture: The Novels of Horatio Alger 416

CONCLUSION 423

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 423

RECALL AND REFLECT 424



Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division
[LC-USZC4-435]

18 THE AGE OF THE CITY 425

THE NEW URBAN GROWTH 426

- The Migrations 426
- The Ethnic City 429
- Assimilation and Exclusion 430

THE URBAN LANDSCAPE 431

- The Creation of Public Space 431
- The Search for Housing 432
- Urban Technologies: Transportation and Construction 434



Bettmann/
Getty Images

STRAINS OF URBAN LIFE 434

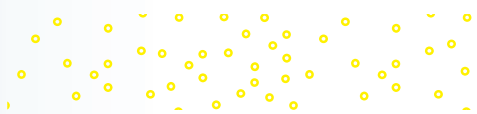
- Health and Safety in the Built Environment 434
- Urban Poverty, Crime, and Violence 435
- The Machine and the Boss 436

THE RISE OF MASS CONSUMPTION 437

- Patterns of Income and Consumption 437
- Chain Stores, Mail-Order Houses, and Department Stores 438
- Women as Consumers 439

LEISURE IN THE CONSUMER SOCIETY 441

- Redefining Leisure 441
- Spectator Sports 442
- Music, Theater, Movies, and Literature 442



Patterns of Public Leisure 444
 The Technologies of Mass
 Communication 444
 The Telephone 445

**HIGH CULTURE IN THE URBAN
 AGE 445**

Literature and Art in Urban America 445
 The Impact of Darwinism 446
 Toward Universal Schooling 447
 Universities and the Growth of Science and
 Technology 448

Medical Science 448
 Education for Women 449

**America in the World: Global
 Migrations 428**

Consider the Source: John Wanamaker,
 The Four Cardinal Points of the
 Department Store (1874) 440

CONCLUSION 449

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 450

RECALL AND REFLECT 450

19 FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE 451

**THE POLITICS OF
 EQUILIBRIUM 452**

The Party System 452
 The National Government 453
 Presidents and Patronage 454
 Cleveland, Harrison, and the Tariff 454
 New Public Issues 456

THE AGRARIAN REVOLT 457

The Grangers 457
 The Farmers' Alliances 457
 The Populist Constituency 459
 Populist Ideas 459

THE CRISIS OF THE 1890s 460

The Panic of 1893 460
 The Silver Question 461
 "A Cross of Gold" 462
 The Conservative Victory 463
 McKinley and Recovery 464

**STIRRINGS OF OVERSEAS
 IMPERIALISM 465**

The New Manifest Destiny 465
 Hawaii and Samoa 468

WAR WITH SPAIN 469

Controversy over Cuba 469
 "A Splendid Little War" 472
 Seizing the Philippines 473
 The Battle for Cuba 473
 Puerto Rico and the United States 474
 The Debate over the Philippines 476



Library of Congress Prints &
 Photographs Division
 [LC-DIG-ppmsca-28490]

THE REPUBLIC AS EMPIRE 479

Governing the Colonies 479
 The Philippine War 479
 The Open Door 481
 A Modern Military System 482

**America in the World:
 Imperialism 466**

Patterns of Popular Culture: Yellow
 Journalism 470

Consider the Source: Rudyard
 Kipling, "The White Man's Burden:
 The United States and the Philippine
 Islands" (1899) 478

CONCLUSION 482

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 483

RECALL AND REFLECT 483

20 THE PROGRESSIVES 484

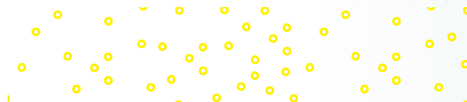
THE PROGRESSIVE IMPULSE 485

The Muckrakers and the Social Gospel 487
 The Settlement House Movement 488
 The Allure of Expertise 489

The Professions 489
 Women and the Professions 490

WOMEN AND REFORM 490

The "New Woman" 490



The Clubwomen 491
 Woman Suffrage 491

THE ASSAULT ON THE PARTIES 493

Early Attacks 493
 Municipal Reform 493
 Statehouse Progressivism 494
 Parties and Interest Groups 494

SOURCES OF PROGRESSIVE REFORM 495

Labor, the Machine, and Reform 495
 Western Progressives 497
 African Americans and Reform 498

CRUSADES FOR SOCIAL ORDER AND REFORM 499

The Temperance Crusade 499
 Immigration Restriction 500



Library of Congress Prints and
 Photographs Division
 [LC-DIG-ggbain-11369]

The Dream of Socialism 500
 Decentralization and Regulation 501

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE MODERN PRESIDENCY 501

The Accidental President 502
 The “Square Deal” 503
 Roosevelt and the Environment 503
 Panic and Retirement 506

THE TROUBLED SUCCESSION 506

Taft and the Progressives 507
 The Return of Roosevelt 507
 Spreading Insurgency 508
 Roosevelt versus Taft 508

WOODROW WILSON AND THE NEW FREEDOM 509

Woodrow Wilson 509
 The Scholar as President 510
 Retreat and Advance 512

America in the World: Social Democracy 486

Debating the Past: Progressivism 496

Consider the Source: John Muir on the Value of Wild Places (1901) 504

CONCLUSION 512

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 513

RECALL AND REFLECT 513

21 AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR 514

THE “BIG STICK”: AMERICA AND THE WORLD, 1901–1917 515

Roosevelt and “Civilization” 515
 Protecting the “Open Door” in Asia 516
 The Iron-Fisted Neighbor 517
 The Panama Canal 517
 Taft and “Dollar Diplomacy” 518
 Diplomacy and Morality 519

THE ROAD TO WAR 520

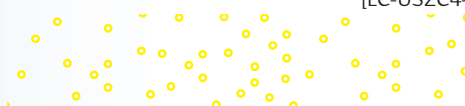
The Collapse of the European Peace 520
 Wilson’s Neutrality 520
 Preparedness versus Pacifism 521
 Intervention 521

“OVER THERE” 523

Mobilizing the Military 523
 The Yanks Are Coming 525
 The New Technology of Warfare 526
 Organizing the Economy for War 528
 The Search for Social Unity 529



Library of Congress Prints and
 Photographs Division
 [LC-USZC4-9884]



THE SEARCH FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER 531

- The Fourteen Points 531
- The Paris Peace Conference 532
- The Ratification Battle 532

A SOCIETY IN TURMOIL 533

- The Unstable Economy 533
- The Demands of African Americans 534
- The Red Scare 536

- Refuting the Red Scare 537
- The Retreat from Idealism 537

Consider the Source: Race, Gender, and World War I Posters 524

Patterns of Popular Culture: George M. Cohan, “Over There,” 1917 530

CONCLUSION 537

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 538

RECALL AND REFLECT 538

22 THE NEW ERA 539

THE NEW ECONOMY 540

- Technology, Organization, and Economic Growth 540
- Workers in an Age of Capital 541
- Women and Minorities in the Workforce 543
- Agricultural Technology and the Plight of the Farmer 545

THE NEW CULTURE 546

- Consumerism and Communications 546
- Women in the New Era 546
- The Disenchanted 551

A CONFLICT OF CULTURES 552

- Prohibition 552
- Nativism and the Klan 552
- Religious Fundamentalism 553
- The Democrats’ Ordeal 554

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT 554

- The Harding Administration 555

- The Coolidge Administration 556
- Government and Business 556

America in the World: The Cinema 548

Consider the Source: American Print Advertisements 550

CONCLUSION 558

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 558

RECALL AND REFLECT 558



Bettmann/Getty Images

23 THE GREAT DEPRESSION 559

THE COMING OF THE DEPRESSION 560

- The Great Crash 560
- Causes of the Depression 560
- Progress of the Depression 561

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN HARD TIMES 564

- Unemployment and Relief 564
- African Americans and the Depression 565
- Hispanics and Asians in Depression America 566
- Women and Families in the Great Depression 569



Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division
[LC-DIG-fsa-8b29853]



THE DEPRESSION AND AMERICAN CULTURE 570

- Depression Values 570
- Radio 570
- The Movies 571
- Literature and Journalism 574
- The Popular Front and the Left 574

THE ORDEAL OF HERBERT HOOVER 577

- The Hoover Program 577
- Popular Protest 578
- Hoover and the World Crisis 579
- The Election of 1932 581
- The “Interregnum” 581

America in the World: The Global Depression 562

Consider the Source: Mr. Tarver Remembers the Great Depression (1940) 568

Patterns of Popular Culture: The Golden Age of Comic Books 572

CONCLUSION 582

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 583

RECALL AND REFLECT 583

24 THE NEW DEAL ERA 584

LAUNCHING THE NEW DEAL 585

- Restoring Confidence 585
- Agricultural Adjustment 586
- Industrial Recovery 587
- Regional Planning 588
- The Growth of Federal Relief 590

THE NEW DEAL IN TRANSITION 590

- The Conservative Criticism of the New Deal 590
- The Populist Criticism of the New Deal 593
- The “Second New Deal” 595
- Labor Militancy 595
- Organizing Battles 596
- Social Security 597



Fotosearch/Archive
Photos/Getty Images

- New Directions in Relief 598
- The 1936 “Referendum” 599

THE NEW DEAL IN DISARRAY 599

- The Court Fight 599
- Retrenchment and Recession 600

ISOLATIONISM AND INTERNATIONALISM 601

- Depression Diplomacy 601
- The Rise of Isolationism 602
- The Failure of Munich 603

LIMITS AND LEGACIES OF THE NEW DEAL 604

- African Americans and the New Deal 604
- The New Deal and Native Americans 605
- Women and the New Deal 605
- The New Deal and the West 607
- The New Deal, the Economy, and Politics 607

Debating the Past: The New Deal 592

Consider the Source: Eleanor Roosevelt on Civil Rights (1942) 606

CONCLUSION 608

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 609

RECALL AND REFLECT 609

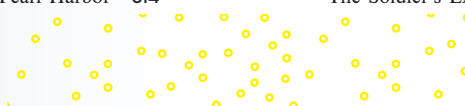
25 AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR 610

FROM NEUTRALITY TO INTERVENTION 611

- Neutrality Tested 611
- Neutrality Abandoned 613
- The Road to Pearl Harbor 614

WAR ON TWO FRONTS 615

- Containing the Japanese 615
- Holding Off the Germans 616
- America and the Holocaust 617
- The Soldier's Experience 619



THE AMERICAN ECONOMY IN WARTIME 619

- Prosperity and the Rights of Labor 620
- Stabilizing the Boom and Mobilizing Production 620
- Wartime Science and Technology 621

RACE AND ETHNICITY IN WARTIME AMERICA 622

- Minority Groups and the War Effort 622
- The Internment of Japanese Americans 623
- Chinese Americans and the War 625

ANXIETY AND AFFLUENCE IN WARTIME CULTURE 625

- Home-Front Life and Culture 626
- Love, Family, and Sexuality in Wartime 626
- The Growth of Wartime Conservatism 628

THE DEFEAT OF THE AXIS 629

- The European Offensive 629
- The Pacific Offensive 631
- The Manhattan Project and Atomic Warfare 634

Consider the Source: The Face of the Enemy 624

Debating the Past: The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb 636

CONCLUSION 638

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 638

RECALL AND REFLECT 639



Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division
[LC-USZC4-1047]

26 THE COLD WAR 640

ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR 641

- Sources of Soviet-American Tension 641
- Wartime Diplomacy 643
- Yalta 644

THE COLLAPSE OF THE PEACE 645

- The Failure of Potsdam 645
- The China Problem and Japan 646
- The Containment Doctrine 646
- The Conservative Opposition to Containment 647
- The Marshall Plan 648
- Mobilization at Home 649
- The Road to NATO 649
- Reevaluating Cold War Policy 650

AMERICA AFTER THE WAR 651

- The Problems of Reconversion 651
- The Fair Deal Rejected 652
- The Election of 1948 653
- The Fair Deal Revived 653
- The Nuclear Age 654

THE KOREAN WAR 657

- The Divided Peninsula 657
- From Invasion to Stalemate 658
- Limited Mobilization 660

THE CRUSADE AGAINST SUBVERSION 660

- HUAC and Alger Hiss 660
- The Federal Loyalty Program and the Rosenberg Case 661
- McCarthyism 661
- The Republican Revival 663

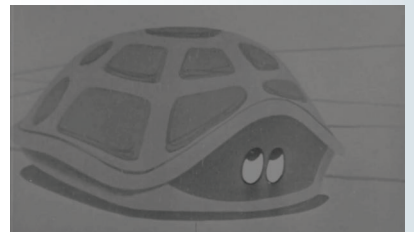
Debating the Past: The Cold War 642

Consider the Source: "Bert the Turtle (Duck and Cover)" (1952) 656

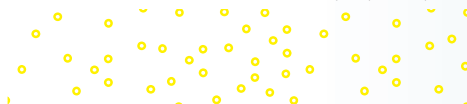
CONCLUSION 663

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 664

RECALL AND REFLECT 664



U.S. Office for Emergency Management.
Office of Civilian Defense. 5/20/1941-
6/30/1945/NARA (38174)



27 THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY 665

THE ECONOMIC “MIRACLE” 666

- Economic Growth 666
- The Rise of the Modern West 668
- Capital and Labor 668

THE EXPLOSION OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY 669

- Medical Breakthroughs 669
- Pesticides 671
- Postwar Electronic Research 671
- Postwar Computer Technology 671
- Bombs, Rockets, and Missiles 672
- The Space Program 672

PEOPLE OF PLENTY 674

- The Consumer Culture 674
- The Suburban Nation 674
- The Suburban Family 675
- The Birth of Television 675
- Travel, Outdoor Recreation, and Environmentalism 676
- Organized Society and Its Detractors 677
- The Beats and the Restless Culture of Youth 677
- Rock ‘n’ Roll 680

THE OTHER AMERICA 681

- On the Margins of the Affluent Society 681
- Rural Poverty 682
- The Inner Cities 682

THE RISE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT 683

- The *Brown* Decision and “Massive Resistance” 683
- The Expanding Movement 684
- Causes of the Civil Rights Movement 685

EISENHOWER REPUBLICANISM 686

- “What Was Good for . . . General Motors” 686
- The Survival of the Welfare State 687
- The Decline of McCarthyism 687

EISENHOWER, DULLES, AND THE COLD WAR 688

- Dulles and “Massive Retaliation” 688
- France, America, and Vietnam 688
- Cold War Crises 689
- The U-2 Crisis 691

Patterns of Popular Culture: Lucy and Desi 678

Consider the Source: Eisenhower Warns of the Military-Industrial Complex (1961) 692

CONCLUSION 693

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 694

RECALL AND REFLECT 694



NASA

28 THE TURBULENT SIXTIES 695

EXPANDING THE LIBERAL STATE 696

- John Kennedy 696
- Lyndon Johnson 698
- The Assault on Poverty 699
- Cities, Schools, and Immigration 700
- Legacies of the Great Society 701

THE BATTLE FOR RACIAL EQUALITY 701

- Expanding Protests 701
- A National Commitment 705



John Orris/New York Times Co./Getty Images

The Battle for Voting Rights	706
The Changing Movement	707
Urban Violence	710
Black Power	711
“FLEXIBLE RESPONSE” AND THE COLD WAR	712
Diversifying Foreign Policy	712
Confrontations with the Soviet Union	713
Johnson and the World	713
THE AGONY OF VIETNAM	714
The United States and Diem	714
From Aid to Intervention	715
The Quagmire	716
The War at Home	720
THE TRAUMAS OF 1968	720
The Tet Offensive	721
The Political Challenge	721

Assassinations and Politics	723
The Conservative Response	724
Debating the Past: The Civil Rights Movement	702
Consider the Source: Fannie Lou Hamer on the Struggle for Voting Rights (1964)	708
Patterns of Popular Culture: The Folk Music Revival	718
America in the World: 1968	722
CONCLUSION	725
KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS	726
RECALL AND REFLECT	726

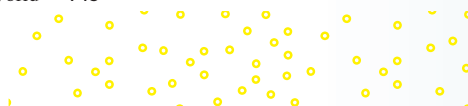
29 THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 727

THE YOUTH CULTURE	728
The New Left	728
The Counterculture	729
THE MOBILIZATION OF MINORITIES	732
Seeds of Native American Militancy	732
The Native American Civil Rights Movement	732
Latino Activism	734
Gay Liberation	734
WOMEN AND SOCIAL CHANGE	736
Modern Feminism	736
Expanding Achievements	737
The Abortion Issue	738
ENVIRONMENTALISM IN A TURBULENT SOCIETY	738
The New Science of Ecology	738
Environmental Advocacy	739
Earth Day and Beyond	740
NIXON, KISSINGER, AND THE VIETNAM WAR	740
Vietnamization	741
Escalation	741
The End of the War	742
Defeat in Indochina	743
NIXON, KISSINGER, AND THE WORLD	744
The China Initiative and Soviet-American Détente	744
The “Third World”	745



Michael Rougier/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS IN THE NIXON YEARS	748
Domestic Initiatives	748
From the Warren Court to the Nixon Court	749
The 1972 Landslide	750
The Troubled Economy	751
The Nixon Response	751
THE WATERGATE CRISIS	752
The Scandals	752
The Fall of Richard Nixon	753
Consider the Source: Demands of the New York High School Student Union (1970)	730
America in the World: The End of Colonialism	746
Debating the Past: Watergate	754
CONCLUSION	756
KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS	757
RECALL AND REFLECT	757



30 FROM “THE AGE OF LIMITS” TO REAGANISM 758

POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY AFTER WATERGATE 759

- The Ford Custodianship 759
- The Trials of Jimmy Carter 761
- Human Rights and National Interests 761
- The Year of the Hostages 762

THE RISE OF THE NEW CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT 763

- The Sunbelt and Its Politics 763
- Religious Revivalism 763
- The Emergence of the New Right 766
- The Tax Revolt 766
- The Campaign of 1980 767

THE “REAGAN REVOLUTION” 769

- The Reagan Coalition 769
- Reagan in the White House 770
- “Supply-Side” Economics 771
- The Fiscal Crisis 772
- Reagan and the World 773

THE WANING OF THE COLD WAR 774

- The Fall of the Soviet Union 774
- The Fading of the Reagan Revolution 776

- The Presidency of George H. W. Bush 777
- The Gulf War 777
- The Election of 1992 778

Consider the Source: Ronald Reagan on the Role of Government (1981) 768

CONCLUSION 779

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 780

RECALL AND REFLECT 780



Dirck Halstead/
The LIFE Images
Collection/Getty
Images

31 THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION 781



Lynnette Peizer/Alamy Stock Photo

A RESURGENCE OF PARTISANSHIP 782

- Launching the Clinton Presidency 782
- Republican Wins and Losses 784
- Clinton Triumphant and Embattled 784
- Impeachment, Acquittal, and Resurgence 786
- The Election of 2000 786
- The Presidency of George W. Bush 788

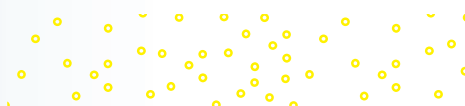
- The Election of 2008 789
- Obama and His Opponents 791
- Obama and the Challenge of Governing 795
- The Election of 2016 and President Trump 795
- The Fall of Trump and the Election of 2020 798

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE NEW ECONOMY 798

- The Digital Revolution 799
- The Internet 799
- Breakthroughs in Genetics 800

A CHANGING SOCIETY 800

- A Shifting Population 801
- Black Americans in the Post–Civil Rights Era 802
- The Abortion Debate 803
- AIDS 804
- Gay Americans and Same-Sex Marriage 805



The COVID-19 Pandemic 807
The Contemporary Environmental
Movement 808

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD 812

Challenging the “New World Order” 812
The Rise of Modern Terrorism 813
The War on Terror 814
The Iraq War 814
New Challenges in the Middle East 815
Diplomacy and Threats in East Asia 816
Echos of the Cold War 817

Patterns of Popular Culture:
Rap 792

Consider the Source: Same-Sex
Marriage, 2015 806

America in the World: The Global
Environmental Movement 810

CONCLUSION 818

KEY TERMS/PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS 818

RECALL AND REFLECT 818

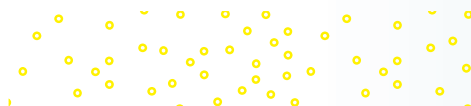
APPENDIX A-1

The Declaration of Independence A-2

The Constitution of the United States A-6

GLOSSARY G

INDEX I-1



PREFACE

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

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

This edition continues the evolution of the *The Unfinished Nation* as authors John M. Giggie and Andrew J. Huebner build upon this canonical text, with a focus on making history relatable and accessible to today's students. John M. Giggie is a historian of race and religion, Andrew J. Huebner is a historian of war and society, and both more generally study and teach American social and cultural history. Their interests join and complement Alan Brinkley's expansive base of knowledge in the history of American politics, society, and culture. Alan's scholarship inspired John and Andrew as graduate students and they are honored to continue the work of *The Unfinished Nation*. They endeavor to bring their own scholarly interests and sensitivities to an already vibrant, clear, concise, and balanced survey of American history. The result, we hope, is a text that explores the great range of ideas, institutions, individuals, and events that make up the fabric of society in the United States.

It is a daunting task to attempt to convey the history of the United States in a single book, and the tenth edition of *The Unfinished Nation* has, as have all previous editions, been carefully written and edited to keep the book as concise and readable as possible. It features most notably an enlarged focus on the history of Native Americans, the experiences of enslaved peoples in the United States, the ever-shifting political landscape with its associated opportunities and challenges, the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, the struggles and successes of Black Americans since the Civil War, and dramatic political and economic change in the twenty-first century, including discussion of the COVID-19 pandemic. Across these subjects, we recognize that to understand the full complexity of the American past it is necessary to understand both the forces that divide Americans and the forces that draw them together. Thus we've sought to explore the development of foundational ideals like democracy and equality as well as the ways that our nation's fulfillment of those ideals remains, like so much else, unfinished.

Paired with Connect History, a digital assignment and assessment platform, instructors and students utilizing *The Unfinished Nation* are able to accomplish more in less time. Among other resources, Connect History offers interactive map assignments and tools to strengthen critical reading and writing skills.

AMERICA'S HISTORY IS STILL UNFOLDING

Is American History finished? Not yet! *The Unfinished Nation* shows that as more details are uncovered, dates may not change—but perceptions and reality definitely can. The United States and its history are in a constant state of change.

Just like the United States, this edition evolves, benefiting from the voices of John M. Giggie and Andrew J. Huebner, whose expertise sheds light on perspectives that shape an examination of the past. Their aim is to help students ask new questions. By doing so, students find their own answer to the question: is American History finished?

PRIMARY SOURCES HELP STUDENTS THINK CRITICALLY ABOUT HISTORY

Primary sources help students think critically about history and expose them to contrasting perspectives of key events. The Tenth Edition of *The Unfinished Nation* provides three different ways to use primary source documents in your course.

Power of Process is a critical thinking tool for reading and writing about primary sources. As part of Connect History, Power of Process contains a database of over 400 searchable primary sources in addition to the capability for instructors to upload their own sources. Instructors can then select a series of strategies for students to use to analyze and comment on a source. The Power of Process framework helps students develop essential academic skills such as understanding, analyzing, and synthesizing readings and visuals such as maps, leading students toward higher order thinking and writing.

The Power of Process landing page makes it easy for instructors to find pre-populated documents or to add their own.



Features that offer contrasting perspectives or showcase historical artifacts. Within the print or eBook, the Tenth Edition of *The Unfinished Nation* offers the following features:

CONSIDER THE SOURCE

In every chapter, Consider the Source features guide students through careful analysis of historical documents and prompt them to closely examine the ideas expressed, as well as the historical circumstances. Among the classic sources included are Benjamin Franklin’s testimony against the Stamp Act, the Emancipation Proclamation, Fannie Lou Hamer on the struggle for voting rights, and Ronald Reagan on the role of government. Concise introductions provide context, and concluding questions prompt students to understand, analyze, and evaluate each source.

DEBATING THE PAST

Debating the Past 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 examining specific differences in historical understandings of the Constitution, to exploring the causes of the Civil War and the significance of Watergate, these essays familiarize students with the interpretive character of historical understanding.

AMERICA IN THE WORLD

America in the World essays focus on specific parallels between American history and those of other nations and demonstrate the importance of the many global influences on the American story. Topics such as the global Industrial Revolution, the abolition of slavery, and the global depression of the 1930s provide concrete examples of the connections between the history of the United States and the history of other nations.

PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE

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

CONSIDER THE SOURCE

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

Bartolomé de Las Casas, a Dominican friar from Spain, was an early European settler of the West Indies. He devoted much of his life to describing the culture of native peoples and championing the many abuses they suffered at the hands of their colonizers. This excerpt is from a letter he addressed to Spain's Prince Philip against the racks. Others they seized by the shoulders and threw into the water, laughing and joking, and when they felt into the water they exclaimed: "Well ho! of us and of you!" They spilled the bodies of other Indians, together with their mothers and all who came before them, on their sands.

[illegible]

The Christians, with their horses and muskets and lances, began to slaughter and practice strange cruelty among us. They penetrated into the country and spared neither children nor the old, nor pregnant women, nor those in child labor, all of whom they cut through the body and located, as if they were seeds, and then they scattered them hand-in-hand in their bloody fields. I read here and there to who would kill a man in two, or cut off his head, or even blow or they opened up his bowels. They tore the babies from their mothers' breasts by the feet, and dashed their heads

DEBATING THE PAST

THE DECISION TO DROP THE ATOMIC BOMB

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

Some historians, both at the time and in the 1950s mentioned, insisted that the decision was a single one, Japan was not ready to surrender, and that the atomic bomb was the only alternative to using atomic weapons, he claimed, was an American invention of mainland Japan that might have cost hundreds of thousands of American lives. Secretary of War Henry Stimson made the same argument, known as the 'bifurcated' one, in 1947 (see in Meyer's *Bombing*). The second, considerable support in the 1950s, Herbert Feis argued in *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World II* (1946) that Truman made his decision on the military grounds – to ensure a secure American legacy.

In 1948, British physicist P. M. S. Blackley wrote in *Fact, Myth, and the Bomb* that the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was a necessary step to end the second world war as the best option against



The most significant work with Tsuru's "The Imperial Japanese Navy and the Pacific War" was an important "insensitive" critic of Tsuru's decision is the historian Gary Klintworth's 1994 book *Imperial Japanese Navy and the Pacific War*. Klintworth's book on the subject: *Imperial Japanese Navy and the Pacific War*. The book is a critical analysis of Tsuru's decision to argue that the Japanese Navy was not responsible for the attack on Pearl Harbor. Klintworth's book is a critical analysis of Tsuru's decision to argue that the Japanese Navy was not responsible for the attack on Pearl Harbor. Klintworth's book is a critical analysis of Tsuru's decision to argue that the Japanese Navy was not responsible for the attack on Pearl Harbor.

These include Jack Dawson's role in *Heart of Darkness* and *Passer in the Rain* (1986). Ronald Takaki's *Alone: Why America Dropped the Atomic Bomb* (1995), and Yasuyoshi Kuniyoshi's *Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan* (2005). These writers contend that American violence in the Japanese archipelago at almost ubiquitous sites cut only Hiroshima and Nagasaki but not the broader character of the war in the Pacific. But there is much discussion within the

1. The United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan, one on Hiroshima and the other on Nagasaki. Was dropping the bombs on Hiroshima necessary? Was it justified? Or the reasons for dropping the bomb on Hiroshima apply equally to the bombing of Nagasaki?

What's the impact of the 1990s and 2000s on "strategic diplomacy" in the 1990s and 2000s?

AMERICA IN THE WORLD

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

The United States formally abolished slavery through the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1865, the end of the Civil War. But the effort to abolish slavery did not begin or end in North America. Emancipation in the United States was part of a global antislavery movement that began in the late eighteenth century and continued through the nineteenth century.

The end of slavery, like that of monarchies and established religions, was one of the ideals of the Enlightenment, an era of intellectual and cultural change that began in Europe in the late seventeenth century and spread throughout the world.



that its continuation would create more terrorists. In the Caribbean, Spain follows

[illegible]

Initially, educated British began to oppose the system, too, arguing that it obstructed economic and social progress.

In the United States, the power of world opinion—and the example of Willerford's movement in England—became an important influence on the abolitionist movement as it gained strength in the 1830s. *Amos A. Phelps*, an abolitionist, in turn, helped convince the movement's leader, *Frederick Douglass*, the

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, & EVALUATE

1. Why did opponents of slavery focus first on ending the slave trade, rather than abolishing slavery itself? Why was ending the slave trade easier than ending slavery?
2. How do William Willerford's arguments against slavery compare with those of the abolitionists in the United States?

PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE

TAVERNS IN REVOLUTIONARY MASSACHUSETTS

[illegible]

the public houses of Boston, where he sought to encourage resistance to British rule while taking care to drink moderately so as not to erode his stature as a leader. His cousin John Adams, although somewhat more skeptical of Taverner and more sensitive to the views they encouraged, also recognized their political value. In Taverner, he once said, "timidity and legislators are inseparable qualities."

the verge of bankruptcy) was sitting on large stocks of tea that it could not sell in Britain. In an effort to save the company, the government passed the **Tea Act** of 1773, which gave the company the right to export its merchandise directly to the colonies without paying any of the regular taxes that were imposed on colonial imports. The law provided no new tax on tea, but the original Townsend duty on the commodity survived, and the East India Company was now exempt from paying it. That meant cheaper tea for consumers.

But resistance leaders in America argued that the law, in effect, imposed an unfair tax on American merchants, who would be undercut by the East India Company and become disadvantaged in the colonial law trade. The colonists responded by boycotting tea. Unlike earlier protests, most of which had involved relatively small numbers of people, the tea boycotts had the approval of the entire population. It also helped link the tea boycott to a common experience of mass popular protest. Particularly important to the movement were the activities of colonial women, who led the boycott. The *Daughters of Liberty* recently formed women's organizations-proclaimed, "rather than Freedom, we'll part with our Tea."

to present the East to his Company from landing its cargoes. In Philadelphia and New York, deprecated collectors kept the tea from leaving the company's ships, and in Charles Town, South Carolina, they stored it away in a public warehouse. In Boston, local dissenters staged a spectacular drama. On the evening of December 16, 1773, three companies of fifty men each, masquerading as Mohawks, went aboard three ships, broke open the tea chests, and heaved the contents into the harbor. The following morning scores of the *Boston Tea Party* spread, and men in other spots staged similar acts of defiance.

Parliament retaliated in four acts of 1774: closing the port of Boston, drastically reducing the powers of self-government in Massachusetts, permitting royal officials in America to be tried for crimes in other colonies or in Great Britain, and providing for the quartering of troops by the colonists. These *Coercive Acts* went more widely known in America as the

The Coercive Acts backfired. Far from isolating Massachusetts, they made the colony a martyr in the eyes of other colonies and sparked new resistance up and down the coast. Colonial legislatures passed a series of resolves supporting Massachusetts. Women's groups mobilized to extend the boycotts of British goods and to create substitutes for the tea, textiles, and other commodities they were banning. In Edenton, North Carolina, fifty-one women signed an agreement in October 1774 declaring their "sincere adherence" to the "unanimous Acts."



Select **primary source documents that meet the unique needs of your course**. No two history courses are the same. Using McGraw Hill Education's Create allows you to quickly and easily create custom course materials with cross-disciplinary content and other third-party sources.

- **CHOOSE YOUR OWN CONTENT:** Create a book that contains only the chapters you want, in the order you want. Create will even renumber the pages for you!
- **ADD READINGS:** Use our American History Collections to include primary sources, or Taking Sides: Annual Editions. Add your own original content, such as syllabus or History major requirements!
- **CHOOSE YOUR FORMAT:** Print or eBook? Softcover, spiral-bound, or loose-leaf? Black-and-white or color? Perforated, three-hole punched, or regular paper?
- **CUSTOMIZE YOUR COVER:** Pick your own cover image and include your name and course information right on the cover. Students will know they're purchasing the right book—and using everything they purchase!
- **REVIEW YOUR CREATION:** When you are all done, you'll receive a free PDF review copy in just minutes! To get started, go to create.mheducation.com and register today.

WRITING ASSIGNMENT

McGraw Hill's new Writing Assignment Plus tool delivers a learning experience that improves students' written communication skills and conceptual understanding with every assignment.

Assign, monitor, and provide feedback on writing more efficiently and grade assignments within McGraw Hill Connect®. Writing Assignment Plus gives you time-saving tools with a just-in-time basic writing and originality checker.

Features include:

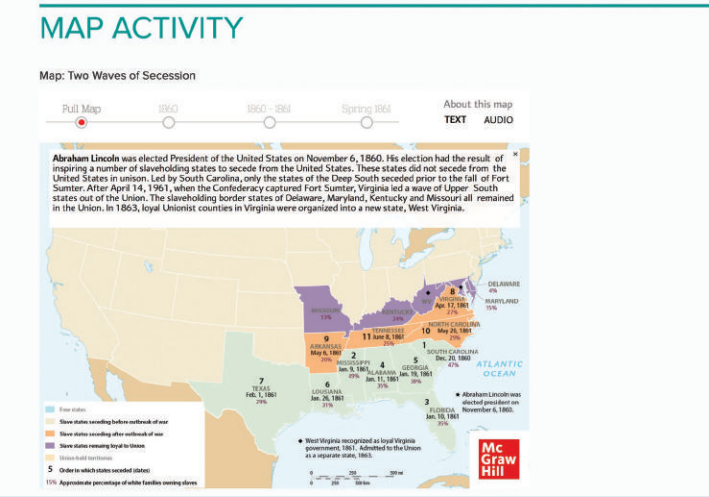
- Grammar/writing checking with McGraw Hill learning resources.
- Originality checker with McGraw Hill learning resources.
- Streamlined tools for faculty to make grading writing easier.
- Writing stats that identify common student issues.
- Rubric building and scoring.
- Ability to assign draft and final deadline milestones.
- Tablet-readiness, with tools for all learners.

MAP TOOLS TO PROMOTE STUDENT LEARNING

Using Connect History and more than 100 maps, students can learn the course material more deeply and study more effectively than ever before.

Interactive maps give students a hands-on understanding of geography. *The Unfinished Nation* offers over 30 interactive maps that support geographical as well as historical thinking. These maps appear in both the eBook and Connect History exercises. For some interactive maps, students click on the boxes in the map legend to see changing boundaries, visualize migration routes, or analyze war battles and election results. With others,

students manipulate a slider to help them better understand change over time. New interactive maps feature advanced navigation features, including zoom, as well as audio and textual animation.



SMARTBOOK

SMARTBOOK Available within Connect History, SmartBook has been updated with improved learning objectives to ensure that students gain foundational knowledge while also learning to make connections to help them formulate a broader understanding of historical events. SmartBook 2.0 personalizes learning to individual student needs, continually adapting to pinpoint knowledge gaps and to focus learning on topics that need the most attention. Study time is more productive and, as a result, students are better prepared for class and coursework. For instructors, SmartBook 2.0 tracks student progress and provides insights that can help guide teaching strategies.

CONTEXTUALIZE HISTORY

Help students experience history in a whole new way with our Podcast Assignments. We've gathered some of the most interesting and popular history podcasts currently available and built assignable questions around them. These assignments allow instructors to bring greater context and nuance to their courses while engaging students through the storytelling power of podcasts.

13 Reasons for the American Revolution [30 min]

HISTORY PODCASTS

INSTRUCTIONS: Please listen to the following podcast and answer the questions that follow. Questions will focus on the first 30 minutes of the podcast.

PODCAST SOURCE: Stuff You Missed in History Class

EPISODE TITLE: 13 Reasons for the American Revolution

SUMMARY: "No taxation without representation" is often cited as one of the most important reasons for the American Revolution, but it was only one of many moving parts in the bigger picture.

TOTAL PODCAST TIME: 30min

Disclaimer: Our website contains links to websites owned and operated by third parties. We are not an endorser of any third party and we are not responsible for the content or the actions of any third party. The third parties are owned and operated by third parties and we are not responsible for the content or the actions of any third party.

What did the listeners to the podcast write ...

What did the listeners to the podcast write in to say they thought ...

Multiple Choice

☐ The Battle of Bunker Hill

PODCAST SOURCE: Stuff You Missed in History Class

EPISODE TITLE: 13 Reasons for the American Revolution

SUMMARY: "No taxation without representation" is often cited as one of the most important reasons for the American Revolution, but it was only one of many moving parts in the bigger picture.

TOTAL PODCAST TIME: 30min

Disclaimer: Our website contains links to websites owned and operated by third parties. We are not an endorser of any third party and we are not responsible for the content or the actions of any third party. The third parties are owned and operated by third parties and we are not responsible for the content or the actions of any third party.

What did the listeners to the podcast write ...

What did the listeners to the podcast write in to say they thought ...

Multiple Choice

☐ The Battle of Bunker Hill

PODCAST SOURCE: Stuff You Missed in History Class

EPISODE TITLE: 13 Reasons for the American Revolution

SUMMARY: "No taxation without representation" is often cited as one of the most important reasons for the American Revolution, but it was only one of many moving parts in the bigger picture.

TOTAL PODCAST TIME: 30min

Disclaimer: Our website contains links to websites owned and operated by third parties. We are not an endorser of any third party and we are not responsible for the content or the actions of any third party. The third parties are owned and operated by third parties and we are not responsible for the content or the actions of any third party.

What did the listeners to the podcast write ...

What did the listeners to the podcast write in to say they thought ...

Multiple Choice

☐ The Battle of Bunker Hill

INSTRUCTOR RESOURCES

The Unfinished Nation offers an array of instructor resources for the U.S. history course:

Instructor's Manual The Instructor's Manual provides a wide variety of tools and resources for presenting the course, including learning objectives and ideas for lectures and discussions.

Test Bank By increasing the rigor of the test bank development process, McGraw Hill has raised the bar for student assessment. Each question has been tagged for level of difficulty, Bloom's taxonomy, and topic coverage. Organized by chapter, the questions are designed to test factual, conceptual, and higher-order thinking.

Test Builder Available within Connect, Test Builder is a cloud-based tool that enables instructors to format tests that can be printed and administered within a Learning Management System. Test Builder offers a modern, streamlined interface for easy content configuration that matches course needs without requiring a download.

Test Builder enables instructors to

- Access all test bank content from a particular title.
- Easily pinpoint the most relevant content through robust filtering options.
- Manipulate the order of questions or scramble questions and/or answers.
- Pin questions to a specific location within a test.
- Determine your preferred treatment of algorithmic questions.
- Choose the layout and spacing.
- Add instructions and configure default settings.

PowerPoint The PowerPoint presentations highlight the key points of the chapter and include supporting visuals. All slides are WCAG compliant.

Remote Proctoring and Browser-Locking Capabilities. Remote proctoring and browser-locking capabilities, hosted by Proctorio within Connect, provide control of the assessment environment by enabling security options and verifying the identity of the student. Seamlessly integrated within Connect, these services allow instructors to control students' assessment experience by restricting browser activity, recording students' activity, and verifying students are doing their own work. Instant and detailed reporting gives instructors an at-a-glance view of potential academic integrity concerns, thereby avoiding personal bias and supporting evidence-based claims.

CHAPTER-BY-CHAPTER CHANGES

We have extensively revised the narrative and features in this Tenth Edition to bring in new scholarship, particularly as it relates to the experiences and perspectives of Native Americans, Black Americans, and women throughout American history. Revisions and updates in every chapter reflect the most recent scholarship as well as the advice of our panel of reviewers. Following are the major changes organized by chapter:

Chapter 1, The Collision of Cultures

- Revised content addressing political and cultural achievements of indigenous societies before the arrival of Europeans.
- Updated material on Henry Hudson's travels.

Chapter 2, Transplantations and Borderlands

- Expanded discussion of Anne Hutchinson's social role and theology.

- Revised content on William Penn and the Pennsylvania Quakers, with a focus on relationships with native peoples.
- New material on the Barbados Slave Code of 1661.

Chapter 3, Society and Culture in Provincial America

- New and revised material pertaining to early medicine in the American colonies.
- Revised material pertaining to early industry in the colonies.
- Updated discussion of the experiences of enslaved people in the Southern communities.
- Revised material on the economies and social patterns in Northern settlements, including discussion of enslaved people living in Northern colonies.
- Revised content on the religious heritage of enslaved Africans.

Chapter 4, The Empire in Transition

- Updated treatment of native resistance to European powers.
- Revised discussion of the different approaches taken by British and French colonies in North America, particularly in regards to relationships with native peoples.

Chapter 5, The American Revolution

- Updates regarding the 1619 project in the Debating the Past feature on the American Revolution.
- Revised material on the role of enslaved people in the Revolutionary War as well as the way that war affected the lives of enslaved people.

Chapter 6, The Constitution and the New Republic

This chapter features substantial reworking of the coverage of the Constitution, slavery, and the rancor of early American politics. Specific updates include

- Revised material on slavery and the Constitution, including significant revisions in the Debating the Past feature.
- Expanded discussion of the system of checks and balances.
- Revised material on the Bill of Rights.
- Revised material on Hamilton's approach to the national economy.
- New material on the emergence of a two-party system.
- Updated treatment of the Alien and Sedition Acts.

Chapter 7, The Jeffersonian Era

This chapter has been significantly revised to reflect the newest scholarship on the Jeffersonian period.

Particular attention has been paid to westward expansion, violence against and dispossession of Native Americans, and the War of 1812. Other updates include

- Clarifications in discussion of the impact of the cotton gin on the slavery system.
- Expanded material on the Louisiana Purchase.

Chapter 8, Expansion and Division in the Early Republic

- Expanded discussion of the impacts of westward migration on indigenous societies during the early republican period.
- Revised material pertaining to the plantation system in the Old Southwest.
- New content on Jackson's activities during the Seminole War.
- Revised material on the Missouri Compromise.
- Updated discussion of the effect of the Marshall Court's rulings on native peoples.
- New material on the formation of the second two-party system.
- New material pertaining to the "corrupt bargain."

Chapter 9, Jacksonian America

- Expanded material on the Dorr Rebellion.
- Updated discussion in the Debating the Past feature reflecting the most recent scholarship pertaining to Jacksonian democracy.
- Significant updates and revisions pertaining to the forced removal of Native Americans during the Jackson presidency.
- Revised content on the philosophies and approaches of the Democrats and the Whigs.

Chapter 10, America's Economic Revolution

- Expanded discussion of immigration and urban growth.
- New material on the growth of the railroads.
- New material on women's early efforts to unionize.
- New material on class conflict.

Chapter 11, Cotton, Slavery, and the Old South

- Expanded and revised material on the cotton economy.
- Significantly revised material on Southern white society, including the roles of women, the class divide among white Southerners, and the commitment to slavery as the foundation of the economy.
- Significantly revised material on slavery in the American South, including updates to the Debating the Past feature to reflect recent scholarship, expanded material on the reliance on punishment as a way of managing enslaved individuals, new

content on the diets and daily lives of enslaved people, and a revised discussion of the experiences of those sold through the slave trade.

- Significantly rewritten content on Black culture under slavery, with new or revised material on religion, language, song, family, and means of resistance.

Chapter 12, Antebellum Culture and Reform

- Revised discussion of the importance of the Hudson River school.
- New content on Southern writers.
- Revised material on the development, culture, and theology of the Shakers.
- Revised content on health care in the antebellum period, including new material on the racist applications of phrenology.
- Rewritten discussion of prison reform efforts.
- Updated material on early opposition to slavery.
- New and revised material on the Southern response to the abolition movement.

Chapter 13, The Impending Crisis

- Rewritten material pertaining to the concept of manifest destiny.
- Updated material on John Brown and “Bleeding Kansas.”

Chapter 14, The Civil War

This chapter has been significantly rewritten and revised. Changes include

- New material reflecting latest scholarship on the question of why the South seceded
- New Consider the Source feature “Ordinances of Secession (1860/1861).”
- New material on the differences in the ways that Southerners and Northerners viewed the Civil War while it was being fought, as well as material on the way that enslaved people and free Blacks viewed the Civil War.
- Revised discussion of political changes in the North associated with the War.
- New Consider the Source feature “Letter from a Refugee (1862).”
- New Consider the Source feature “The Emancipation Proclamation (1863).”
- New and revised content on the experiences of Black soldiers who fought for the Union.
- New and revised content on women’s roles during the Civil War in both the North and the South.
- New material on the politic effects of the Conscription Act.
- New material on the skills, strategies, and personalities of key Southern and Northern military leaders.

- New material on the cultural and class background of Civil War soldiers in both the Union and Confederate armies.
- Updated material on the impact of military technology on Civil War battles.

Chapter 15, Reconstruction and the New South

This chapter has been significantly rewritten and revised. Changes include

- Updated content on the number of casualties caused by the Civil War.
- Clarified discussion of competing notions of freedom held by white Southerners and Black Americans.
- New material on the development of Black higher education.
- Updated and revised material on the scholarship pertaining to Reconstruction in the Debating the Past box, with a focus on the contributions of gender historians.
- New material on the significance and limitations of the Fourteenth Amendment.
- New material on Black politics during Reconstruction.
- New material on the growth and activities of the Ku Klux Klan.
- New section on the growth and cultural significance of Lost Cause mythology in the South.
- Revised treatment of the birth of Jim Crow.

Chapter 16, The Conquest of the Far West

- Revised discussion of resistance to white encroachment by native societies living west of Mississippi.
- Updated material on the impact of large-scale ranches on the economy and ecology of the Far West.
- Rewritten content on white policies toward and treatment of native peoples, including unofficial campaigns of violence.

Chapter 17, Industrial Supremacy

- Revised discussion of the role of unions.
- Refined presentation of material pertaining to sources of industrial growth.

Chapter 18, The Age of the City

This chapter has been significantly revised with substantial revisions to content on immigration and ethnicity, consumerism, labor, and urban life, and with new material on LGBTQ communities. Specific updates include

- Revised content on immigration patterns at the end of the nineteenth century.
- New material on the growth of nativism.

- New material on Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise.
- New and revised material on the creation of public space.
- New and revised content on urban poverty and philanthropic efforts to address it.
- Revised material on political machines.
- New material on anti-Semitic nature of criticism of department stores.
- New material on the homogenizing pressures of consumer society.
- New material on the growth of gay communities in urban areas.
- Revised and new content on the impact of Darwin's ideas on society.
- New and revised material on the Carlisle School.

Chapter 19, From Crisis to Empire

The chapter has been significantly updated, with a new Consider the Source feature on imperialism, along with substantial revisions on topics including: populism, party politics, imperialism, and wars in the Philippines and the Caribbean. Specific revision include

- Revised material on the party system in the late nineteenth century.
- Revised content on the Pendleton Act.
- New material on the impact of Supreme Court decisions on the Granger Laws.
- Revised America in the World feature on Imperialism.
- New material on various aspects of the Spanish American War: role of concerns about declining masculinity, hopes that the war would help Civil-War reconciliation, and experience of Black soldiers.
- New Consider the Source feature "The White Man's Burden."

Chapter 20, The Progressives

This chapter has been significantly updated, with substantial revisions to the Debating the Past feature on Progressivism and to topics including progressive ideology and politics, eugenics, woman suffrage, and race and progressivism. Specific updates include

- Revised America in the World feature on Social Democracy.
- New and revised content on the settlement house movement.
- New material on Robert la Follette and the "Wisconsin Idea."
- New material on women's roles in reform efforts.
- New material on the impact of women's WWI participation in suffrage campaign.

- Significantly revised Debating the Past feature on progressivism, reflecting current scholarship.
- New material on the National Urban League.
- New material on anti-immigration sentiments.
- New material on forced sterilization campaigns.
- New material on Theodore Roosevelt's attitude toward Native Americans.
- New material on Woodrow Wilson's embrace of white supremacy.

Chapter 21, America and the Great War

- New material on Tulsa race massacre.
- New material pertaining to American resistance to having a standing army prior to World War I.
- New content on the resistance to conscription.

Chapter 22, The New Era

- New material on the role of "welfare capitalism" in undermining unionization.
- Revised America in the World feature on the cinema.
- Updated discussion of cultural shift toward "companionate marriages."

Chapter 23, The Great Depression

- Revised material on literature and journalism during the 1930s.
- Update treatment of the Bonus Army march on Washington, D.C.

Chapter 24, The New Deal Era

- Updated Debating the Past feature on the New Deal, reflecting the latest scholarship.
- New content on the membership and political influence of the Liberty League.
- Revised material on the political and economic impact of the Revenue Acts.

Chapter 25, America in a World at War

- Updated treatment of the 1940 presidential election.
- Revised discussion of tensions between white and Mexican Americans, including the "zoot suit riots."

Chapter 26, The Cold War

- Revised content pertaining to the political risks of supporting alternatives to communism that turn out to be corrupt or antidemocratic.
- Updated discussion on the role of the Marshall Plan in the Cold War.
- New material on longer-term impacts of WWII on the structure of the federal government.
- Expanded discussion of the railway strike of 1950.

Chapter 27, The Affluent Society

- Revised content on medical breakthroughs pertaining to the treatment of viruses, with inclusion of comparisons to COVID-19 pandemic.
- New material on the role of WWII in preparing the way for the Civil Rights movement.
- New material on the Cold War implications of the highway system.

Chapter 28, The Turbulent Sixties

- New material on the foreign-affairs focus shared by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.
- Revised Debating the Past feature, reflecting the latest scholarship, on the Civil Rights movement.
- Update material on both the Civil Rights role and political career of John Lewis.
- Revised treatment of the Black Power movement.
- Updated America in the World feature on the worldwide political events of 1968.
- Expanded material on the political impact of the Democratic Party's embrace of Civil Rights in the American South.

Chapter 29, The Crisis of Authority

- Updated and expanded treatment of the Native American Civil Rights movement.
- Revised and expanded material the gay liberation movement.
- New material on the cultural impact of Title IX legislation.
- Updated and revised material on the political and cultural significance of the Watergate crisis.
- Significantly revised Debating the Past feature on Watergate, reflecting the latest scholarship.

Chapter 30, From “the Age of Limits” to Reaganism

- Expanded material on economic policies under President Carter.

- Revised discussion on the political impact of the growth of the Sunbelt.
- Expanded and updated material on the political and cultural effects of the tax revolt and the New Right.

Chapter 31, The Age of Globalization

This chapter has been thoroughly revised and organized according to a framework of broader themes within recent history, focusing on the rise of political polarization, the impacts of shifting population demographics, and the evolving consequences of globalization, including the global spread of disease. Specific updates include

- New material on immigration trends.
- New material on economic inequality.
- New material on the Dakota Access Pipeline.
- New material on the Black Lives Matter movement.
- New material on the Women's March on Washington.
- New material on the Mueller investigation of Russian meddling in the 2016 campaign and election.
- New material on the first Trump impeachment.
- New material on Ryan White.
- New material on LGBTQ rights.
- New material on foreign policy under Donald Trump.
- New material on North Korea.
- New material on the COVID-19 pandemic.
- New material on the election of Joseph Biden.
- New Material on the second impeachment of President Trump and the sacking of the Capitol Building by supporters unwilling to accept his loss in the presidential election to Joseph Biden.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to express our deep appreciation to the following faculty members who contributed to the development of *The Unfinished Nation, Tenth Edition*:

Charles Adams, *North Central Texas College*
Alana Aleman, *Lone Star College*
Shelly Bailess, *Liberty University*
Sheryl Ballard, *Houston Community College*
Kelly Cantrell, *East Mississippi Community College*
John Carr Shanahan, *University of Texas at San Antonio*
Caitlin Curtis, *Liberty University*
Roger Hardaway, *Northwestern Oklahoma State University*

Sandra Harvey, *Lone Star College*
Raymond Hylton, *Virginia Union University*
Bradley Keefer, *Kent State University*
Frederic Krome, *University of Cincinnati*
Bob Miller, *University of Cincinnati*
Carey Roberts, *Liberty University*
James Thomas, *Houston Community College*
Shawna Williams, *Houston Community College*

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

ALAN BRINKLEY (1949–2019) was the Allan Nevins Professor of History at Columbia University. He served as university provost at Columbia from 2003 to 2009. He authored works such as *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression*, which won the 1983 National Book Award; *American History: Connecting with the Past*; *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War*; *Liberalism and Its Discontents*; *Franklin D. Roosevelt*; and *The Publisher: Henry Luce and His American Century*. He served as board chair of the National Humanities Center, board chair of the Century Foundation, and a trustee of Oxford University Press. He was also a member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1998–1999 he was the Harmsworth Professor of History at Oxford University, and in 2011–2012 the Pitt Professor at the University of Cambridge. He won the Joseph R. Levenson Memorial Teaching Award at Harvard and the Great Teacher Award at Columbia. He was educated at Princeton and Harvard.

JOHN M. GIGGIE is associate professor of history and African American studies at the University of Alabama where he also serves as Director of the Summersell Center for the Study of the South. He is the author of *After Redemption: Jim Crow and the Transformation of African American Religion in the Delta, 1875–1917*, editor of *America Firsthand*, editor of *Faith in the Market: Religion and the Rise of Commercial Culture* and co-editor of *Dixie Great War: World War I and the American South*. He is a series editor for Religion and Culture at the University of Alabama Press. In 2020, Prof. Giggie taught the first Black history course offered daily for an entire year at an Alabama public school. He is co-founder of the West Side Scholars Academy, a middle school summer enrichment program that focuses on local civil rights history. He is managing a research study of lynching in Alabama and preparing a book on civil rights protests in West Alabama. He was educated at Amherst College and Princeton University.

ANDREW J. HUEBNER is associate professor of history at the University of Alabama. He is the author of *Love and Death in the Great War* (2018) and *The Warrior Image: Soldiers in American Culture from the Second World War to the Vietnam Era* (2008). He is co-editor of *Dixie's Great War* (2020) as well as two other forthcoming edited volumes on the subject of war and society in the United States. In 2017, he was named an Organization of American Historians (OAH) Distinguished Lecturer. He received his PhD from Brown University.

1

THE COLLISION OF CULTURES

AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS
EUROPE LOOKS WESTWARD
THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH

LOOKING AHEAD

1. How did the societies of native people in the South differ from those in the North in the precontact period (before the arrival of the Europeans)?
2. What effects did the arrival of Europeans have on the native peoples of the Americas?
3. How did patterns of settlement differ within the Americas?

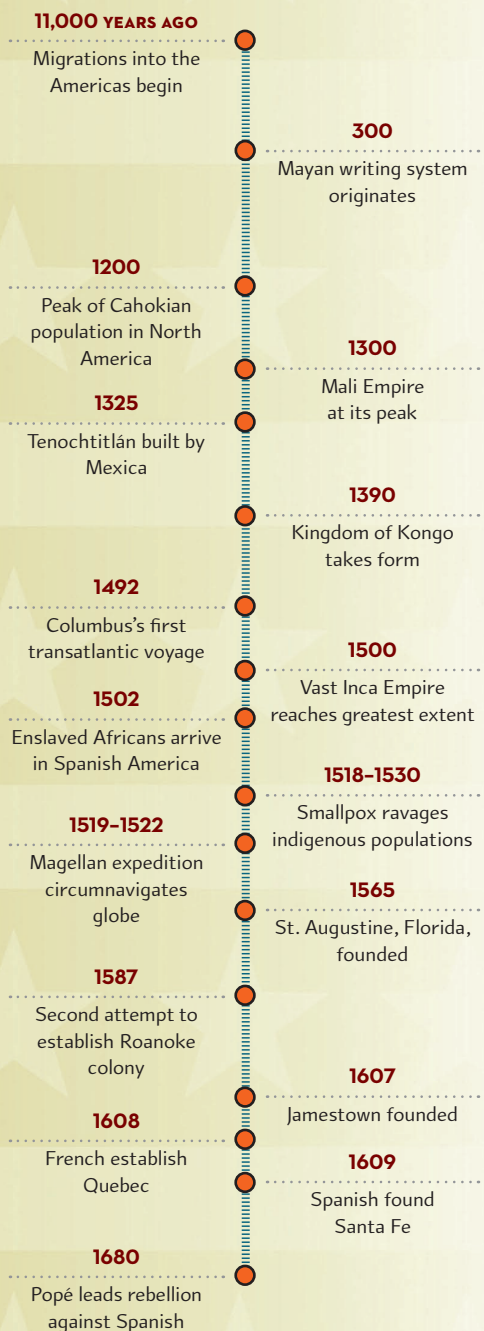
THE DISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAS did not begin with Christopher Columbus. It began many thousands of years earlier, when human beings first crossed into the new continents and began to people them. By the end of the fifteenth century, when the first important contact with Europeans occurred, the Americas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

These ancient civilizations experienced many changes and many catastrophes during their long history. But likely none was as tragically transforming as the arrival of Europeans. In the first violent years of Spanish and Portuguese exploration, the impact of the new arrivals was profound. European invaders brought with them diseases (most notably smallpox) previously unknown to native peoples to which they had no immunity. The result was a demographic disaster that killed millions of people, weakened existing societies, and greatly aided the Spanish and Portuguese in their rapid and devastating takeover of empires that had existed long before they arrived.

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



TIME LINE



AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS

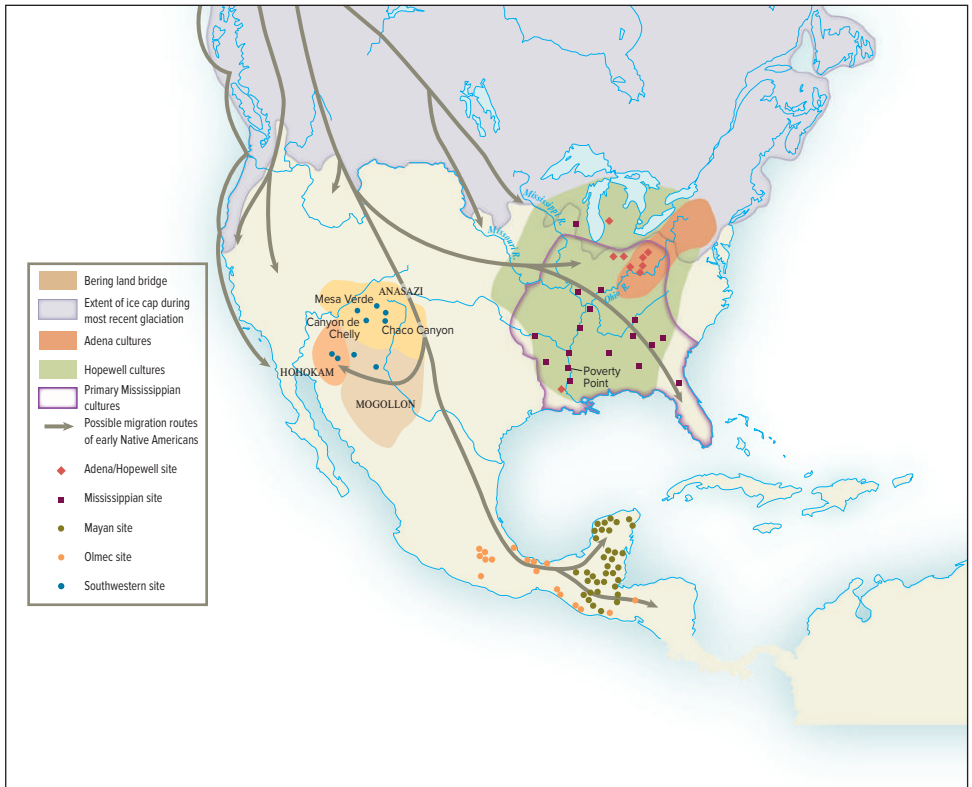
While relatively little is known about the first peoples in the Americas, archaeologists continue to discover ancient artifacts that provide new information about them.

THE PEOPLES OF THE PRECONTACT AMERICAS

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

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

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



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

The *Archaic period* is a scholarly term for the early history of humans in America, beginning around 8000 B.C. In the first part of this period, most humans supported themselves through hunting and gathering, using the same stone tools that earlier Americans had brought with them. Later in the Archaic period, population groups began to expand their activities and develop new tools, such as nets and hooks for fishing, traps for smaller animals, and baskets for gathering berries, nuts, seeds, and small plants. Still later, some groups began to farm. Farming, of course, requires people to stay in one place. In agricultural areas, the first sedentary settlements slowly began to form, creating the basis for larger civilizations.

THE GROWTH OF CIVILIZATIONS: THE SOUTH

The most elaborate early civilizations emerged in South and Central America and in Mexico. In Peru, the Incas created the largest empire in the Americas, stretching almost 2,000 miles along western South America. The Incas developed a complex administrative

state, an irrigation system, and a large network of paved roads that welded together the populations of many peoples under a single government.

Organized societies emerged around 10,000 B.C. in **Mesoamerica**, a region comprising Mexico and much of Central America. The Olmec people, whose roots trace back to between 1600 and 1500 B.C., were the first complex society in the region. A more sophisticated culture grew up in parts of Central America and in the Yucatán peninsula of Mexico, in an area known as Maya. Mayan civilization, which stretched back to 1800 B.C. and was at its most powerful about A.D. 300, developed a written language, a numerical system similar to the Arabic numeral system, an accurate calendar, an advanced agricultural system, and important trade routes into other areas of the continents.

Gradually, the societies of the Maya region were superseded by other Mesoamerican groups, who have become known collectively (and somewhat inaccurately) as the Aztecs. They called themselves Mexica. In about A.D. 1325, the Mexicas built the city of Tenochtitlán on a large island in a lake in central Mexico, the site of present-day Mexico City. With a population as high as 100,000 by A.D. 1500, Tenochtitlán featured large and impressive public buildings, schools that all male children attended, an organized military, a medical system, and an enslaved workforce drawn from conquered peoples. It was a city built over water and featuring a sophisticated water navigation system, much like Venice, Italy, but larger. The Mexicas gradually established their dominance over almost all of central Mexico.

The Mesoamerican civilizations were for many centuries the center of civilized life in North and Central America—the hub of culture and trade.

THE CIVILIZATIONS OF THE NORTH

The peoples north of Mexico developed less elaborate but still substantial civilizations. Inhabitants of the northern regions of the continent subsisted on combinations of hunting, gathering, and fishing. They included the Inuit of the Arctic Circle, who fished and hunted seals; big-game hunters of the northern forests, who led nomadic lives based on the pursuit of moose and caribou; nations of the Pacific Northwest, who relied heavily on salmon fishing and who created substantial permanent settlements along the coast; and groups spread through relatively arid regions of the Far West, who built successful communities based on fishing, hunting small game, and gathering edible plants.

Other societies in North America were primarily agricultural. Among the most developed were those in the Southwest. Between A.D. 900 and 1150, the ancient Pueblo people developed a thriving center of culture and commerce in Chaco Canyon, in modern-day northwestern New Mexico. At its apex, Chaco Canyon boasted a population of 15,000, 12 towns, and 200 villages—one of the largest of which was Pueblo Bonita. Composed of sandstone, timber, and adobe, Pueblo Bonita soared five stories high and had 600 rooms. There would not be another structure of this size in North America until the 1880s. At roughly the same period, the Hopis lived in small masonry villages, farmed corn, and developed an elaborate irrigation system, a ceremonial culture, and a trade network stretching across what is now Arizona. And the Zunis, based in the desert areas of present-day Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico, built large stone and adobe villages centered on a plaza, created elaborate pottery, and farmed corn and other grains.

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



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

and fishing simultaneously. In the South there were permanent settlements and large trading networks based on the corn, legumes, and squash grown in the rich lands of the Mississippi River valley. **Cahokia**, a trading center located near present-day St. Louis, had a population of 40,000 at its peak in A.D. 1200. Residents traded not only their crops but also their locally made hand tools and pottery. Occupying six square miles, Cahokia was the largest and most populous urban center north of Tenochtitlán and would remain so until Philadelphia in 1780.

The agricultural societies of the Northeast were more mobile. Farming techniques there were designed to exploit the land quickly rather than to develop permanent settlements. Many of the nations living east of the Mississippi River were loosely linked together by



(Don Mammoser/Shutterstock)

PUEBLO VILLAGE OF THE SOUTHWEST

cally followed paternal lines. All Native American groups assigned women the majority of work to care for children, prepare meals, and gather certain foods. But the allocation of other tasks varied from one society to another. In the case of the Hopi, women and men shared cultural authority. Women assumed leadership roles in the household, economy, and social system; men tended to predominate in religion and politics. Yet women reserved the power to negate or renegotiate trade or land deals forged by men if they deemed them unjust or imbalanced.

common linguistic roots. The largest of these language groups consisted of the Algonquian, who lived along the Atlantic seaboard from Canada to Virginia; the Iroquois Confederacy, which was centered in what is now upstate New York; and the Muskogean, which consisted of the peoples in the southernmost regions of the eastern seaboard.

Most indigenous societies were matrilineal, meaning that family association and clan membership flowed through the mother's heritage. In contrast, in Europe ancestral descent typically

EUROPE LOOKS WESTWARD

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

COMMERCE AND SEA TRAVEL

Two important social changes encouraged Europeans to look toward new lands. The first was the significant growth in Europe's population in the fifteenth century. The Black Death, a catastrophic epidemic of the bubonic plague that began in Constantinople in 1347, had killed more than a third of the people on the Continent (according to some estimates). But a century and a half later, the population had rebounded. With that growth came a reawakening of commerce. A new merchant class was emerging to meet the rising demand for goods from abroad. As trade increased, and as advances in navigation made long-distance sea travel more feasible, interest in expanding trade grew even more quickly. The second change was the emergence of new governments that were more united and powerful than the feeble political entities of the feudal past. In the western areas of Europe in particular, strong new monarchs were eager to enhance the commercial development of their nations.

Above all, Europeans who craved commercial glory had dreamed of trade with the East. It was not a new dream. In the early fourteenth century, Marco Polo and other adventurers had returned from Asia bearing exotic spices, cloths, and dyes and even more exotic tales. Yet for two centuries, that trade had been limited by the difficulties of the long overland journey to the Asian courts. By the mid-fourteenth century, talk of finding a faster, safer sea route to East Asia had begun.

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

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

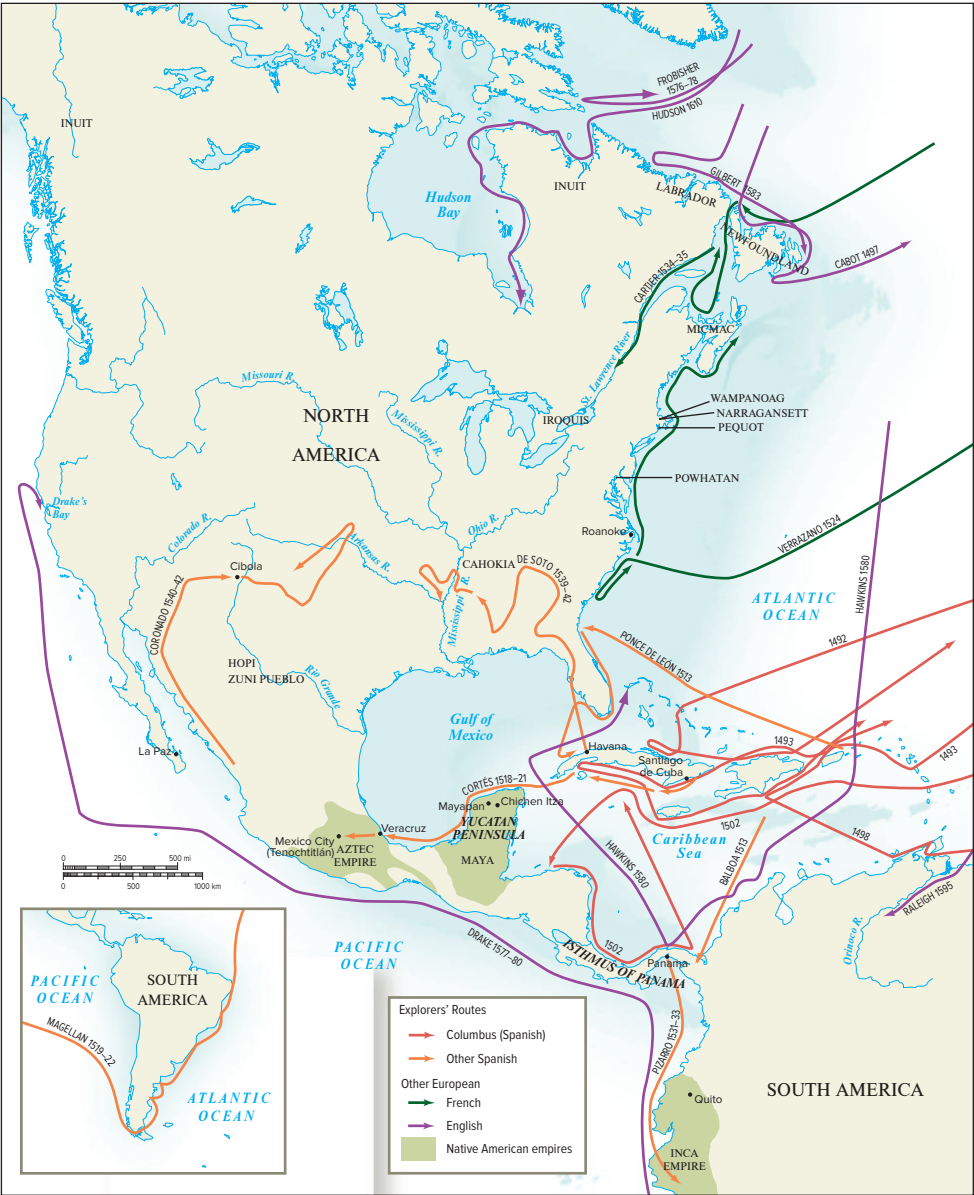
Christopher Columbus was born and reared in Genoa, Italy. He spent his early seafaring years in the service of the Portuguese, stoking his ambitions of undertaking a great voyage of discovery. By the time he was a young man, he believed he could reach East Asia by sailing west, across the Atlantic, rather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

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

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

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

Partly as a result of Columbus's initiative, Spain began to devote greater resources and energy to maritime exploration. In 1513, the Spaniard Vasco de Balboa crossed the Isthmus



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

of Panama and became the first known European to gaze westward upon the great ocean that separated America from China. Seeking access to that ocean, Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese in Spanish employ, found the strait that now bears his name at the southern end of South America, struggled through the stormy narrows and into the ocean (so calm

by contrast that he christened it the *Pacific*), and then proceeded to the Philippines. There Magellan died in a conflict with local indigenous people, but his expedition went on to complete the first known circumnavigation of the globe (1519–1522). By 1550, Spaniards had explored the coasts of North America as far north as Oregon in the west and Labrador in the east.

THE SPANISH EMPIRE

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

In 1518, Hernando Cortés, who had been an unsuccessful Spanish government official in Cuba for fourteen years, led a small military expedition of about 600 men against the Aztecs in Mexico and their powerful emperor, Montezuma, after hearing stories of their great treasures. Moving his warriors through Mexico, he befriended a native group that he labeled the Tlaxcalans, who were rivals of the Aztecs and would become crucial military allies. Approaching Tenochtitlán, Cortés benefited from perfect timing. His arrival seemed to fulfill a popular Aztec prophecy that claimed the god Quetsalcoatl was to return to Earth. The Aztecs mistook Cortés and his fighters—mysterious light skinned men—as divine company and greeted them as honored figures. Cortés, with the support of the Tlaxcalans, quickly took control of the city. Key to his success was the use of steel swords, lances with iron or steel points, body armor that repelled or blunted arrows, and a type of early musket called *harquebus*—all weapons unknown to the Aztecs. An Aztec counter-rebellion soon restored them to power. But not for long.

A smallpox epidemic, begun when a Spanish soldier died from the disease while in Tenochtitlán, spread among the Aztecs and gutted the population. When Cortés re-attacked, again with the backing of the Tlaxcalans, he fought a depleted people. Even more significantly, he employed a series of new and aggressive military tactics—blocking delivery of food and water to the city, choking off canals, destroying aqueducts—that brought the city to its knees after 75 days. Cortés laid claim to Tenochtitlán, ruthlessly destroying temples and homes and establishing himself as one of the most brutal of the Spanish **conquistadores** (conquerors). Twenty years later, Francisco Pizarro overpowered the Incas in Peru and opened the way for other Spanish advances into South America.

The first Spanish settlers in America were interested largely in exploiting the American stores of gold and silver, and they were fabulously successful. For 300 years, beginning in the sixteenth century, the mines of Spanish America yielded more than ten times as much gold and silver as all the rest of the world's mines combined. Before long, however, most Spanish settlers in America traveled to the New World for other reasons. Many went in hopes of profiting from agriculture. They helped establish elements of European civilization permanently in America. Other Spaniards—priests, friars, and missionaries—went to America to spread Catholicism; through their efforts, the influence of the Catholic Church ultimately extended throughout South and Central America and Mexico. They sometimes evangelized with an iron fist, forcing whole families to forsake their sacred beliefs and practices, be baptized, and adopt the teachings of the Catholic Church or face physical punishment and even death. Yet one of the first friars to work in the colonies, **Bartolomé de Las Casas**, fought for the fair treatment of native peoples by the Spanish as part of his ministry. (See “Consider the Source: Bartolomé de Las Casas, ‘Of the Island of Hispaniola.’”)

CONSIDER THE SOURCE

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

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

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

The Christians, with their horses and swords and lances, began to slaughter and practice strange cruelty among them. They penetrated into the country and spared neither children nor the aged, nor pregnant women, nor those in child labour, all of whom they ran through the body and lacerated, as though they were assaulting so many lambs herded in their sheepfold. They made bets as to who would slit a man in two, or cut off his head at one blow: or they opened up his bowels. They tore the babes from their mothers’ breast by the feet, and dashed their heads

against the rocks. Others they seized by the shoulders and threw into the rivers, laughing and joking, and when they fell into the water they exclaimed: “boil body of so and so!” They spitted the bodies of other babes, together with their mothers and all who were before them, on their swords.

They made a gallows just high enough for the feet to nearly touch the ground, and by thirteens, in honor and reverence of our Redeemer and the twelve Apostles, they put wood underneath and, with fire, they burned the Indians alive.

They wrapped the bodies of others entirely in dry straw, binding them in it and setting fire to it; and so they burned them. They cut off the hands of all they wished to take alive, made them carry them fastened on to them, and said: “Go and carry letters”: that is; take the news to those who have fled to the mountains.

They generally killed the lords and nobles in the following way. They made wooden gridirons of stakes, bound them upon them, and made a slow fire beneath; thus the victims gave up the spirit by degrees, emitting cries of despair in their torture.

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, & EVALUATE

1. How did Bartolomé de Las Casas characterize the indigenous people of Hispaniola? How do you think they would have responded to this description?
2. What metaphor did Las Casas use to describe the native peoples and where does this metaphor come from?
3. What role did Las Casas expect the Spaniards to play on Hispaniola? What did they do instead?

Source: MacNutt, Francis Augustus, *Bartholomew de Las Casas: His Life, His Apostolate, and His Writings*. New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1909, 14.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the Spanish Empire included the Caribbean islands, Mexico, and southern North America. It also spread into South America and included what is now Chile, Argentina, and Peru. In 1580, when the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies temporarily united, Brazil came under Spanish jurisdiction as well.

NORTHERN OUTPOSTS

In 1565, the Spanish established the fort of St. Augustine in Florida, their first permanent settlement in what is now the United States. It was little more than a small military outpost. A more substantial colonizing venture began in the Southwest in 1598, when Don Juan de Oñate traveled north from Mexico with a party between 600 and 700, claimed for Spain some of the lands of the Pueblo in what is now New Mexico, and began to establish a colony. It was a bloody affair. In October 1598, the Acoma Pueblos refused to turn over food to Oñate's soldiers and, in a small battle, killed as many as 13 of them, including Oñate's nephew. In January of the next year, Oñate ordered retribution. His men lay siege to the Acoma village, killing at least 800. They enslaved all survivors older than 12 years for a period of 20 years and cut off the right foot of all men of fighting age.

Oñate granted **encomiendas** (the right to exact tribute and labor from native peoples on large tracts of land) to favored Spaniards. In 1609, Spanish colonists founded Santa Fe. By 1680, there were over 2,000 Spanish colonists living among about 30,000 Pueblos. The economic heart of the colony was cattle and sheep, raised on the *ranchos* that stretched out around the small towns Spanish settlers established.

Part of the Spanish expansion in the North included converting native peoples to Catholicism. As in the South, it met with uneven results. Many native peoples simply rejected the attempt, mixed the precepts and practices of their own faith with Catholicism, or only selectively adopted Catholic rituals and teachings. At other times native peoples and Spanish officials differed over what constituted conversion. Matters came to a head in 1680, when Spanish priests and the colonial government tried to suppress native rituals. In response, **Popé**, a Pueblo religious leader, led an uprising that killed hundreds of European settlers, captured Santa Fe, and drove the Spanish from the region. Ironically, the rebellion was so widespread and included so many different indigenous groups that the native revolutionaries used Spanish as their common language in order to communicate with one other. Twelve years later, however, the Spanish returned and crushed a last revolt in 1696.

Many Spanish colonists now realized that they could not hope to prosper in New Mexico while in constant conflict with a native population that greatly outnumbered them. Although the Spanish intensified their assimilation efforts, they also now permitted the Pueblos to own land. They stopped commandeering Pueblo labor, and they tolerated the survival of tribal religious rituals. There was significant intermarriage between Europeans and native women. By 1750, the Spanish population had grown to about 4,000. The Pueblo population had declined (through disease, war, and migration) to about 13,000—less than half what it had been in 1680. New Mexico had by then become a reasonably stable, but still weak and isolated, outpost of the Spanish Empire.

BIOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES

European and native cultures never entirely merged in the Spanish Empire. Nevertheless, the arrival of whites launched a process of interaction between diverse peoples that left



SPANISH AMERICA From the time of Columbus’s initial voyage in 1492 until the mid-nineteenth century, Spain was the dominant colonial power in the New World. From the southern regions of South America to the northern regions of the Pacific Northwest, Spain controlled one of the world’s vastest empires. Note how much of the Spanish Empire was simply grafted upon the earlier empires of native peoples—the Inca in what is today Chile and Peru and the Aztec across much of the rest of South America, Mexico, and the Southwest of what is now the United States. • *What characteristics of Spanish colonization would account for their preference for already settled regions?*

no one unchanged. That Europeans were exploring the Americas at all was a result of early contacts with the native peoples, from whom they had learned of the rich deposits of gold and silver. From then on, the history of the Americas became one of increasing levels of exchanges—some beneficial, others catastrophic—among different peoples and cultures.



(Dorling Kindersley/Getty Images)

SMALLPOX AMONG THE AZTECS This illustration by a Spanish missionary in the fifteenth century depicts victims of smallpox in various stages of the disease, which was introduced to the Americas by Europeans.

The first and perhaps most profound result of this exchange was the importation of European diseases to the New World. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences of the exposure of Native Americans to such illnesses as influenza, measles, typhus, and above all smallpox. Although historians have debated the question of how many people lived in the Americas before the arrival of Europeans, it is estimated that millions died. (See “Debating the Past: Why Do Historians So Often Differ?”) The high fatality rates were due partly to the way that native cultures traditionally cared for the very ill. They tended to surround the sick with constant companions and visitors as a way to encourage healing—a practice that inadvertently helped spread the highly contagious diseases they were encountering for the first time. Unlike in Europe, where experience with the bubonic plague had taught the benefits of isolating the infected, there was no notion of quarantine among native societies of the Americas. In some areas, native populations were virtually wiped out within a few decades of their first contact with whites. On Hispaniola, where Columbus had landed in the 1490s, the native population quickly declined from approximately one million to about five hundred. In the Maya area of Mexico, as much as 95 percent of the population perished within a few years of the native peoples’ first contact with the Spanish. Still, not everyone died, not every community was ravaged, and some rebuilt over time. And many of the nations north of Mexico were spared the worst of the epidemics. But for other areas of the New World, this was a disaster at least as grave as, and in some places far worse than, the Black Death that had killed over one-third of the population of Europe two centuries before. Some Europeans, watching this biological catastrophe, saw it as clear evidence of God’s will that they should dominate the New World—and its native population.

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 as questions in more-scientific fields. 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 that real knowledge can be derived only from direct, scientific observation of clear “fact.” They were known as “positivists.”

A vigorous debate continues to this day over whether historical research can ever 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, or how many enslaved workers 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. 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 political concerns of the present. In the 1950s, the omnipresent shadow of the Cold War shaped histories of Communist countries. The civil rights movements prompted scholars to reconsider what they knew about the lives and achievements of Black Americans, women, Hispanics, and gays and lesbians. The rise of

postcolonial societies pushed historians to reexamine assumptions built into the telling of the rise and fall of empires—that they were the products of an elite cadre of men—and rethink the role of workers and the less powerful in influencing the course of events. The “cultural turn” at the end of the twentieth century placed a newfound stress on examining how various forces of culture—gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, language—deeply affected the ways in which people experienced and understood the world. Its effects are still rippling through the academy, asking historians to ever widen their lens of analysis when seeking to explain people’s motivations and actions.

Historians regularly debate over which types of interpretation come closest to capturing the truth of the past with no clear-cut consensus likely to come into focus any time soon. Such debate, though, is a sign of

the health of the profession. Scholars need to constantly revisit how they talk about the past and be challenged to defend their decisions in order to make sure they are capturing the full range of human experience when writing their histories. Indeed, understanding the past is a forever continuing—and forever contested—process. •

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, & 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?

Not all aspects of the exchange were disastrous to native peoples. The Europeans introduced important new crops (among them sugar and bananas), domestic livestock (cattle, pigs, and sheep), and, perhaps most significantly, the horse, which gradually became central to the lives of many native peoples and transformed their societies. Less beneficially, the transfer of European grass seed and the grazing and feeding habits of European animals devastated local flora.

The exchange was at least as important (and often more advantageous) to the Europeans. In both North and South America, the arriving peoples learned from native cultures new agricultural techniques appropriate to the demands of the new land. They discovered new crops—above all maize (corn), which Columbus took back to Europe from his first trip to America. Such foods as squash, pumpkins, beans, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, and potatoes also found their way into European diets.

In South America, Central America, and Mexico, Europeans and native groups lived in intimate, if unequal, contact with one another. Many native people gradually came to speak Spanish or Portuguese, but they created a range of dialects fusing the European languages with elements of their own. European men outnumbered European women by at least ten to one. Intermarriage—often forced—became frequent between Spanish immigrants and native women. Before long, the population of the colonies came to be dominated (numerically, at least) by people of mixed race, or **mestizos**.

Virtually all the enterprises of the Spanish and Portuguese colonists depended on native workforces. In some places, indigenous people were sold into slavery. More often, colonists used a coercive (or “indentured”) wage system, under which native people worked in the mines and on the plantations under duress for fixed periods. That was not, in the end, enough to meet the labor needs of the colonists. As early as 1502, European settlers began importing enslaved laborers from Africa.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAS

Most Americans understand that our nation of late has become intimately bound up with the rest of the world—that we live in what many call the “age of **globalization**.” But few extend that idea backward in time and consider how the story of America before Columbus and the effort by European powers to settle it was also part of a global current of ideas and events. Indeed, until recently historians typically studied these early chapters from the nation’s past mostly in isolation from larger world events and non-European societies. By contrast today, scholars of early American history now examine what happened in the New World from a broadly international perspective.

That perspective is often called the “**Atlantic World**” and it explores the intermingling of peoples from Africa, Europe, and the Americas and the profound effects of those interactions. The phrase has a long intellectual genealogy, stretching back to the foundational work of C. L. R. James, W. E. B. Du Bois, Frantz Fanon, and Eric Williams. They demonstrated that the origins of the New World were deeply enmeshed in the practice and institution of slavery, on the one hand, and that African (and later African American) culture lay at the root of the evolution of culture in the Americas, on the other.

The idea of an Atlantic World rests in part on the obvious connections between western Europe and the Spanish, British, French, and Dutch colonies in North and South America. All the early European civilizations of the Americas were part of a great imperial project launched by the major powers of Europe. The European immigrations to the Americas beginning in

the sixteenth century, the advance of slavery and the introduction of it in the New World, the defeat and devastation of native populations, the creation of European agricultural and urban settlements, and the imposition of imperial regulations on trade, commerce, landowning, and political life—all of these forces reveal the influence of Old World **imperialism** on the history of the New World.

But the expansion of empires is only one part of the creation of the Atlantic World. At least equally important—and closely related—is the expansion of commerce from Europe and Africa to the Americas. Although some northern and southern Europeans traveled to the New World in search of religious freedom, or to escape oppression, or to search for adventure, the great majority were in search of economic opportunity. Not surprisingly, therefore, their settlements in the Americas were almost from the start intimately connected to Europe through the growth of commerce between them and to Africa through the capture and import of enslaved workers. This international commercial dynamic between America and Europe was responsible not just for the growth of trade, but also for the increases in migration over time—as the demand for labor in the New World drew more and more settlers from the Old World. Commerce was also a principal reason for the rise of slavery in the Americas, and for the growth of the slave trade between European America and Africa.

Religion was also a powerful force influencing migration to the New World and shaping human interactions there. Depending on the decade, some Europeans—Puritans, Anabaptists—relocated in part

to escape persecution for their principles. At other times, Catholics and members of the Church of England built settlements to win converts and extend their religious empires. Significantly, European transplants had to come to terms with the religion of the native people they encountered, which led to a variety of responses: indifference, evangelism, repression, or the growth of hybrid sacred practices and convictions. Adding to the mix were enslaved African, who brought their own indigenous religions. They found themselves the subjects of intense and sometimes brutal proselytizing attempts by Europeans, which met with only uneven success. Some enslaved workers adopted the faith of their owners. But African American religion as a whole generally emerged as a series of spiritual beliefs and rituals that mixed African, European, and sometimes indigenous beliefs. It also influenced the religion of Europeans and (to a lesser extent) native peoples, particularly in the evolution of their public revivals and preaching traditions in the New World.

The early history of the Americas was also closely bound up with the intellectual life of northern and southern Europe and Latin America. The Enlightenment—the cluster of ideas that emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries emphasizing the power of human reason—moved quickly to the Americas, producing intellectual ferment throughout the New World. Thinkers from Britain and Spain, for example, stressed the sanctity of individual rights, the proper nature and role of

representative government, and the fairness of law that eventually undergirded the American Revolution, the Haitian Revolution, and Latin American revolutions of the eighteenth century. Scientific and technological knowledge—another product of the Enlightenment—traveled constantly across the Atlantic and back. Americans borrowed industrial technology from Britain. Europe acquired much of its early knowledge of electricity from experiments done in America. But the Enlightenment was only one part of the continuing intellectual connections within the Atlantic World, connections that spread artistic, scholarly, and political ideas widely through the lands bordering the ocean.

Instead of thinking of the early history of what became the United States simply as the story of the growth of thirteen small colonies along the Atlantic seaboard of North America, the idea of the Atlantic World encourages us to think of early American history as a vast pattern of exchanges and interactions—trade, migration, religious and intellectual exchange, and many other relationships—among all the societies bordering the Atlantic: northern and southern Europe, western Africa, the Caribbean, and North and South America. •

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, & EVALUATE

1. What is the Atlantic World?
2. What has led historians to begin studying the idea of an Atlantic World?

AFRICA AND AMERICA

Over one-half of all those enterering the New World between 1500 and 1800 were Africans, sent against their will. Most came from West and Central Africa.

Europeans and white Americans came to portray African society as primitive. But most Africans were, in fact, highly civilized peoples with well-developed economies and political systems. The residents of the Gold Coast had substantial commercial contact with the Mediterranean world—trading ivory, gold, and enslaved labor for finished goods—and, largely

as a result, became early converts to Islam. After the collapse of the ancient kingdom of Ghana around A.D. 1100, they created the even larger empire of Mali, whose trading center at Timbuktu became fabled as a learned meeting place of the peoples of many lands. In West Central Africa, the Kingdom of Kongo flourished. It was a regional center for trade, where residents sold goods they manufactured, such as pottery and copper and iron goods. By early 1500, the majority of the ruling class had converted to Catholicism and the Kingdom was sending a formal emissary to the Vatican. By the end of the sixteenth century its population was nearly 500,000.

As in many indigenous societies in America, African families tended to be matrilineal. Women played a major role, often the dominant role, in trade. In many areas, they were also the principal farmers while the men hunted, fished, raised livestock, fought battles; in these areas women chose their own leaders to make decisions and policies for the community as a whole. Everywhere women managed child care and food preparation.

Small elites of priests and nobles stood at the top of many African societies. Most people belonged to a large middle group of farmers, traders, crafts workers, and others. At the bottom of society were enslaved men and women, not all of them African, who were put into bondage after being captured in wars, because of criminal behavior, or as a result of unpaid debts. Those enslaved in Africa were generally in bondage for a fixed term, and in the meantime they retained certain legal protections (including the right to marry). Children did not inherit their parents' condition of bondage.

The African slave trade long preceded European settlement in the New World. As early as the eighth century, West Africans began selling small numbers of enslaved workers to traders from the Mediterranean and later to the Portuguese. In the sixteenth century, however, the market for enslaved labor increased dramatically as a result of the growing European demand for sugarcane. The small areas of sugar cultivation in the Mediterranean could not meet popular demand, and production soon spread to new areas: to the island of Madeira off the African coast, which became a Portuguese colony, and not long thereafter (still in the sixteenth century) to the Caribbean islands and Brazil. Sugar was a labor-intensive crop, and the demand for African workers in these new areas of cultivation was high. At first the slave traders were overwhelmingly Portuguese. By the seventeenth century, though, the Dutch had won control of most of the market. And in the eighteenth century, the English dominated it. By 1700, slavery had spread well beyond its original locations in the Caribbean and South America and into the English colonies to the north. The relationship among European, African, and native peoples—however unequal—reminds us of the global context to the history of America. (See “America in the World: The International Context of the Early History of the Americas.”)

THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH

England's first documented contact with the New World came only five years after Spain's. In 1497, John Cabot (like Columbus, a native of Genoa) sailed to the northeastern coast of North America on an expedition sponsored by King Henry VII, in an unsuccessful search for a northwest passage through the New World to the Orient. But nearly a century passed before the English made any serious efforts to establish colonies in America.

Significantly, England's first experience with colonization came not in the New World but in neighboring Ireland. The English had long laid claim to the island, but only in the late sixteenth century did serious efforts at colonization begin. The long, brutal process by

which the English attempted to subdue the Irish created an important assumption about colonization: the belief that settlements in foreign lands must retain a rigid separation from the native populations. Unlike the Spanish in America, the English in Ireland tried to build a separate society of their own, peopled with emigrants from England itself. They would take that concept with them to the New World.

INCENTIVES FOR COLONIZATION

Interest in **colonization** grew in part as a response to social and economic problems in sixteenth-century England. The English people faced frequent and costly European wars as well as almost constant religious strife within their own land. Many suffered, too, from harsh economic changes in their countryside. Because the worldwide demand for wool was growing rapidly, landowners were converting their land from fields for crops to pastures for sheep. The result was a reduction in the amount of land available for growing food. England's food supply declined at the same time that the English population was growing—from 3 million in 1485 to 4 million in 1603. To some of the English, the New World began to seem attractive because it offered something that was growing scarce in England: land.

At the same time, new merchant capitalists were prospering by selling the products of England's growing wool-cloth industry abroad. At first, most exporters did business almost entirely as individuals. In time, however, merchants formed companies, whose **charters** from the king gave them monopolies for trading in particular regions. Investors in these companies often made fantastic profits, and they were eager to expand their trade.

Central to this trading drive was the emergence of a new concept of economic life known as **mercantilism**. Mercantilism rested on the belief that one person or nation could grow rich only at the expense of another, and that a nation's economic health depended, therefore, on selling as much as possible to foreign lands and buying as little as possible from them. The principles of mercantilism spread throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One result was the increased attractiveness of acquiring colonies, which became the source of raw materials and a market for the colonizing power's goods.

In England, the mercantilistic program thrived at first on the basis of the flourishing wool trade with the European continent, and particularly with the great cloth market in Antwerp. In the 1550s, however, that glutted market began to collapse, and English merchants had to look elsewhere for overseas trade. Some English believed colonies would solve their problems.

There were also religious motives for colonization—a result of the **Protestant Reformation**. Protestantism began in Germany in 1517, when Martin Luther challenged some of the basic practices and beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church. Luther quickly won a wide following among ordinary men and women in northern Europe. When the pope excommunicated him in 1520, Luther began leading his followers out of the Catholic Church entirely.

The Swiss theologian John Calvin went even further in rejecting the Catholic belief that human behavior could affect an individual's prospects for salvation. Calvin introduced the doctrine of predestination. God "elected" some people to be saved and condemned others to damnation; each person's destiny was determined before birth, and no one could change that predetermined fate. But those who accepted Calvin's teachings came to believe that the way they led their lives might reveal to them their chances of salvation. A wicked or useless existence would be a sign of damnation, saintliness and diligence possibly signs of grace. The new creed spread rapidly throughout northern Europe.

In 1529, King Henry VIII of England, angered by the refusal of the pope to grant him a divorce from his Spanish wife, broke England's ties with the Catholic Church and established himself as the head of the Christian faith in his country. This was known as the English Reformation. After Henry's death, his Catholic daughter, Queen Mary, restored England's allegiance to Rome and persecuted Protestants. When Mary died in 1558, her half sister, **Elizabeth I**, became England's sovereign and once again severed the nation's connection with the Catholic Church, this time for good.

To many English people, however, the new Church of England was not reformed enough. They clamored for changes that would "purify" the church and quickly became known as **Puritans**. Most only wanted to simplify worship and reform the leadership of the church. Their frustration mounted steadily as political and ecclesiastical authorities refused to respond to their demands.

Puritan discontent grew rapidly after the death of Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors, and the accession of James I, the first of the Stuarts, in 1603. Convinced that kings ruled by divine right, James quickly antagonized the Puritans by resorting to illegal and arbitrary taxation, favoring English Catholics in the granting of charters and other favors, and supporting "high-church" forms of ceremony, meaning a strong stress on traditional and very formal liturgical practices. By the early seventeenth century, some Puritans were beginning to look for places of refuge outside the kingdom.

THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS

The first permanent English settlement in the New World was established at Jamestown, in Virginia, in 1607. But for nearly thirty years before that, English merchants and adventurers had been engaged in a series of failed efforts to create colonies in America.

Through much of the sixteenth century, the English had harbored mixed feelings about the New World. They were intrigued by its possibilities, but they were also fearful of Spain, which remained the dominant force in America. In 1588, King Philip II of Spain sent one of the largest military fleets in the history of warfare—the Spanish Armada—across the English Channel to attack England itself. The smaller English fleet, taking advantage of its greater maneuverability, defeated the armada and, in a single stroke, ended Spain's domination of the Atlantic. This great shift in naval power caused English interest in colonizing the New World to grow quickly.

The pioneers of English colonization were Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half brother Sir Walter Raleigh—both veterans of earlier colonial efforts in Ireland. In 1578, Gilbert obtained from Queen Elizabeth a six-year patent granting him the exclusive right "to inhabit and possess any remote and heathen lands not already in the possession of any Christian prince." Five years later, after several setbacks, he led an expedition to Newfoundland, looking for a good place to build a profitable colony. A storm sank his ship, and he was lost at sea. The next year, Sir Walter Raleigh secured his own six-year grant from the queen and sent a small group of men on an expedition to explore the North American coast. When they returned, Raleigh named the region they had explored Virginia, in honor of Elizabeth, who was known as the "Virgin Queen."

In 1585, Raleigh recruited his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, to lead a group of men to the island of **Roanoke**, off the coast of what is now North Carolina, to establish a colony. Grenville deposited the settlers on the island, destroyed a native village as retaliation for a minor theft, and returned to England. The following spring, with long-overdue supplies and reinforcements from England, Sir Francis Drake unexpectedly arrived in Roanoke. The dispirited colonists boarded his ships and left.



(Photo12/Universal Images Group/Getty Images)

ROANOKE A drawing by one of the colonists in the ill-fated Roanoke expedition of 1585 became the basis for this engraving by Theodor de Bry, published in England in 1590. A small European ship approaches the island of Roanoke, in the center. The wreckage of several larger vessels farther out to sea suggests the danger of the journey while the presence of native settlements on the mainland and on Roanoke itself reflects the contact between two different cultures to come.

Raleigh tried again in 1587, sending an expedition to Roanoke carrying ninety-one men, seventeen women, and nine children. The settlers attempted to take up where the first group of colonists had left off. John White, the commander of the expedition, returned to England after several weeks, in search of supplies and additional settlers. Because of a war with Spain, he was unable to return to Roanoke for three years. When he did, in 1590, he found the island deserted, with no clue to the fate of the settlers other than the cryptic inscription “Croatoan” carved on a post.

The Roanoke disaster marked the end of Sir Walter Raleigh’s involvement in English colonization of the New World. No later colonizers would receive grants of land in America as vast or undefined as those Raleigh and Gilbert had acquired. Yet the colonizing impulse remained very much alive. In the early years of the seventeenth century, a group of London merchants decided to renew the attempt at colonization in Virginia. A rival group of merchants, from the area around Plymouth, was also interested in American ventures and was sponsoring voyages of exploration farther north. In 1606, James I issued a new charter, which divided North America between the two groups. The London group got the exclusive right to colonize the south, and the Plymouth merchants received the same right in the north. Through the efforts of these and other companies, the first enduring English colonies would soon be established in North America.

THE FRENCH AND THE DUTCH IN AMERICA

English settlers in North America encountered not only native groups but also other Europeans who were, like them, driven by mercantilist ideas. There were scattered North American outposts of the Spanish Empire and, more important, there were French and Dutch settlers who were also vying for a stake in the New World.

In the early sixteenth century, eager to discover new trade routes across the Atlantic and locate a new corridor to the Pacific, the French King, Francis I, turned to Giovanni da Verrazzano, an Italian explorer. After rough seas forced him to abort his maiden voyage in 1523, Verrazano set sail the next year and successfully landed at Cape Fear. He charted his way north along the Atlantic Coast, including stops in New York Bay, Long Island, Narraganset Bay, Cape Cod, and finally Newfoundland. Crafting detailed maps and providing accounts of his interactions with native people, Verrazano laid the pathway for future generations of European explorers.

Nearly 40 years later, in 1562, Frenchman Jean Ribault established a small settlement he called Charlesfort in present-day Parris Island, South Carolina. Poor leadership, inadequate supplies, and a lack of cooperation with native residents ushered in its demise after only a year. In 1564, Rene Goulaine de Laudonniere, an officer in Ribault’s original force, built Fort Caroline, near what is now Jacksonville, Florida. It too nearly collapsed within a year for similar reasons, but a fortuitous stop-over by an English ship allowed residents to trade for much needed supplies. Fort Caroline quickly became entangled in larger territorial conflicts between the French and Spanish, who sacked the fort in 1565, killed most of its residents, and built their own fortification, Fort San Mateo. It lasted until 1569, when a vengeful French force burned it to the ground.

Samuel de Champlain founded the first permanent French settlement in North America at Quebec in 1608, less than a year after the English settled Jamestown. Central to its success was Champlain’s winning effort to form strong political partnerships with the Montagnais, Algonquin, and Huron, even going to war with them against the Iroquois. These bonds facilitated the expansion of the French fur trade in the region. Champlain