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THE AMERICAN PROMISE

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES TO 1877

VOLUME I



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A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

Volume I: To 1877

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Cover art: Painted ceremonial hat, about 1850, of the Mount Airy, Pennsylvania, Fire Company. The hat, worn in dress parades, shows Liberty wearing the Stars and Stripes, holding a shield and the Liberty Cap and pole. The date on the back of the hat, 1804, refers to the founding of the company.

A NOTE FROM THE PUBLISHER PRESENTING *THE AMERICAN PROMISE*

YOU ARE HOLDING IN YOUR HANDS an innovative new text for the American history survey course. Carefully developed with the needs of students foremost in mind, *The American Promise* deftly wraps the inherently interesting but loose strands of social history around the more formal structure of political history. It is born of two convictions: (1) faced with an overwhelming amount of information, students need help determining what's important and (2) students won't get anything out of a textbook unless it's interesting and enjoyable. The design and art program represents an attempt to rethink the "look" of a textbook, fashioning every element from running-heads to captions to serve a pedagogical function or to further the narrative.

The next few pages offer an overview of the book and introduce its student-focused features. We urge you to take a few minutes to see how we've tried to improve on what has come before us. When you're finished, we hope you'll agree with us that *The American Promise* does more for students than any other survey of American history.

EASY-TO-FOLLOW CHAPTER STRUCTURE

The authors have sought to avoid an encyclopedic approach to American history in favor of building understanding through extensive examination of only the most important events and developments. The architecture of individual chapters is carefully designed to present information in a logical and ordered fashion that emphasizes major themes in history while incorporating individual accounts to maintain students' interest. Common to each chapter is a set of features—vignette, call-outs, conclusion, chronology, and bibliography—that provide useful guides to the narrative.

RECONSTRUCTION, 1863-1877

16

Opening vignettes

Every chapter begins with an engaging anecdote that eases readers into its major themes while immersing them in a specific historical moment.

(The complete example is found on page 605.)

WHEN THE WAR WAS OVER, swarms of northern journalists and government officials rushed to the South to see what four years of fighting had accomplished. Ugly stories of stiff-necked defiance toward Yankees and brutal violence toward ex-slaves had drifted northward. Andrew Johnson, Abraham Lincoln's successor in the White House, asked General Carl Schurz to undertake a special fact-finding tour to assess conditions in the ex-Confederate states. Schurz, a leading antislavery lecturer and Union general, arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, the "Queen City of the South," in July 1865.

Charleston greeted the visitor with an empty harbor, rotting wharves, and gutted buildings. The city looked, Schurz observed, as if it had been struck with "the sudden and irresistible force of a thunderbolt." Cattle grazed in its weed-filled streets. Schurz met former cotton kings and rice barons who could not afford to buy breakfast. Ex-slaves, now Union soldiers, patrolled the city's streets. Schools overflowed with African American children whom it was formerly considered a crime to educate. The Citadel, the state's military school, where once "the chivalric youth of South Carolina was educated for the task of perpetuating slavery by force of arms," now housed the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Colored Regiment.

Two-tiered running heads

Double bars at the top of every page let students know where they are in the book, and where they are in the chronology of American history.

606 CHAPTER 16 • RECONSTRUCTION

1863-1877

WARTIME RECONSTRUCTION 607

1863-1877

While northern resolve to defend black freedom withered, southern commitment to white supremacy intensified.

Call-outs

Throughout each chapter, occasional brief passages have been pulled from the main text to highlight important points, focus readers' attention, and convey the liveliness of the narrative.

Conclusions

Each chapter ends with a brief conclusion that summarizes the narrative's main points, analyzes their significance, and discusses their consequences.

(The complete example is found on page 639.)

Chronologies

A chronology at the close of each chapter provides a handy review of the most important dates and events.

(For the complete chronology, see pages 640–641.)

Bibliographies

Each chapter includes an up-to-date list of recommended works of scholarship. These bibliographies begin with general references for the period with the remainder of the titles organized under subheadings that closely correspond to the chapter's major sections.

(For the complete bibliography, turn to page 641.)

Conclusion: "A Revolution but Half-Accomplished"

In 1865, when General Carl Schurz visited the South at President Andrew Johnson's behest, he discovered "a revolution but half-accomplished." Defeat had not prepared the South for an easy transition from slavery to free labor, from white racial despotism to equal justice, and from white political monopoly to biracial democracy. The old elite wanted to get "things back as near to slavery as possible," while ex-slaves and whites who had lacked power in the slave regime were eager to exploit the revolutionary implications of defeat and emancipation.

CHRONOLOGY

1863 December. Lincoln issues Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction.

1864 July. Congress offers more stringent plan for reconstruction, Wade-Davis bill.

1865 January. General William T. Sherman sets aside land in South Carolina for black settlement.

March 4. Lincoln sworn in for second term as president of United States.

March. Congress establishes Freed-

April 14. Lincoln is succeeded by Andrew Johnson.
Fall. Southern states enact discriminatory laws.
December. Tenure of Office Act passed, preventing removal of U.S. Secretary of War.

1866 April. Congress passes Reconstruction Act, requiring blacks to be enfranchised in order to receive the rights of U.S. citizenship.

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GENERAL WORKS

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WARTIME RECONSTRUCTION

Richard H. Abbott, *The Reconstruction of the Southern States, 1863–1865* (1963).

Herman Belz, *Emancipation and the Reconstruction of the South* (1963).

Ira Berlin et al., eds., *Emancipation, 1861–1865* (1962).

Louis S. Gerteis, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (1963).

Peyton McCrary, *Abraham Lincoln and the Louisiana Experiment* (1963).

STRIKING VISUAL FEATURES

Beautifully designed and illustrated, *The American Promise* is replete with visual elements that expand upon—rather than merely decorate—the narrative. Every image has been chosen for its ability to enhance an understanding of the past.

Comprehensive illustration program with extensive captions

Hundreds of fresh images (many of them published in a survey text for the first time) dramatize and extend the story in the text. Unusually full captions—many of which include quotations, questions, or comparisons with other images—draw readers into active engagement with this visual material.

(This illustration is found on page 87.)



TOBACCO ADVERTISEMENT

This ad for “Kositzky’s Best Virginia” tobacco illustrates a colonial planter and tobacco merchant examining the quality of a sample of leaves from an open cask waiting to be shipped to London, while an onlooker samples the leaves more thoroughly by smoking. To smooth the transaction an African slave

Chapter-opening artifacts

To emphasize the importance of material culture in studying the past, each chapter opens with a full-page reproduction of a contemporary cultural artifact, such as clothing, books, musical instruments, or political emblems. Informative captions provide background information and invite readers to consider the artifact’s historical implications.

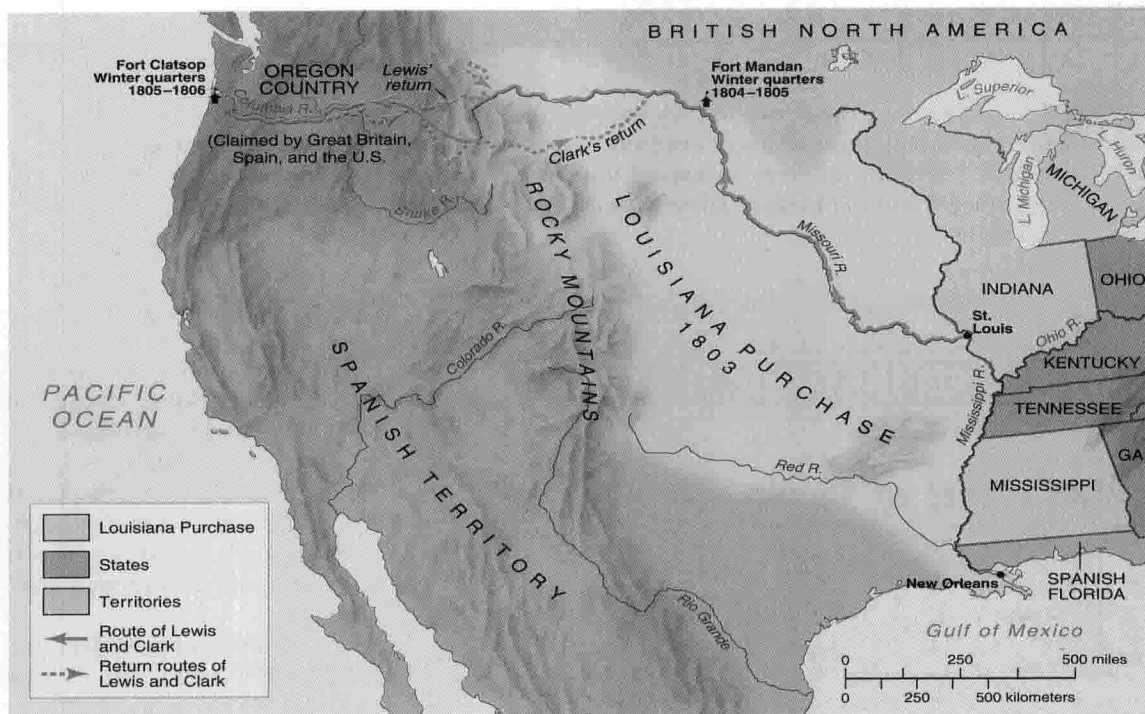
(This chapter-opening artifact is found on page 238.)



PAINTED DRUM

Drums were essential military equipment in eighteenth-century wars. Small to carry but loud in use, they provided a percussive beat that penetrated the din of the battlefield to signal troop advances, retreats, or other field movements. Drummers often stood right behind soldiers in firing formation, regulating the timing of each volley of shots. The eagle painted on this Revolutionary-era drum from Fort Ticonderoga in New York holds a banner inscribed “Sons of Liberty,” a name adopted in 1765 to distinguish protesters of British policies toward the colonies.

Fort Ticonderoga Museum.



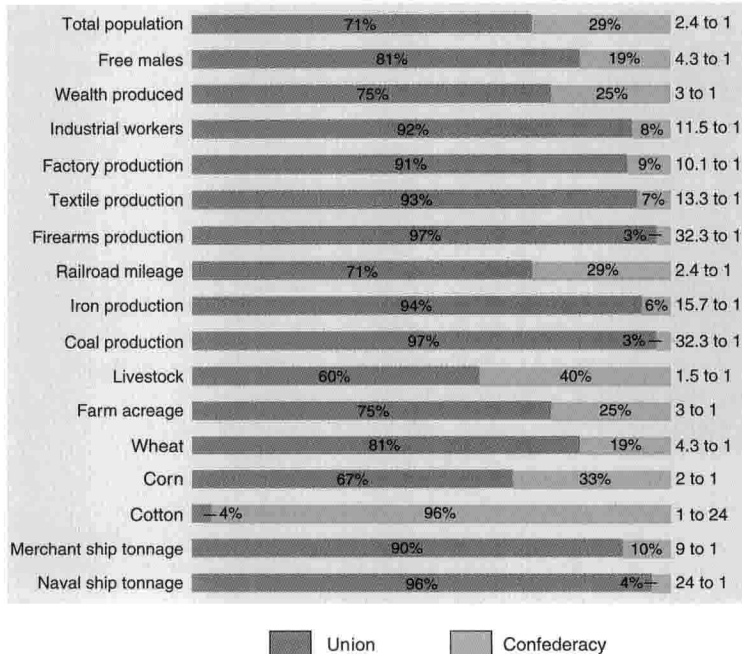
Lewis and Clark and the Louisiana Purchase

Extensive map and graphics program

The American Promise includes numerous four-color maps that provide a visual representation of historical data. Attractively designed tables, charts, and graphs throughout the book reinforce and expand on information in the text. An accompanying workbook — available free of charge with copies of the text — provides additional opportunities to expand on themes relating to the historical significance of geography using maps from the textbook.

(This map is found on page 354. Turn to page 567 for this graph.)

Resources of the Union and the Confederacy



ENGAGING SPECIAL FEATURES

The narrative in *The American Promise* is augmented with three kinds of special features to highlight the kinds of evidence and issues that fascinate even the casual reader. Providing students a moment to pause in the great sweep of coverage, these documents and mini-essays allow a focus that is not possible within the main narrative.

TEXTS IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Panic of 1837

The panic of 1837 brought fright and hysteria to city after city. Crowds of hundreds thronged the banks during the spring to get their money out. Business came to a standstill and many merchants appeared to be ruined overnight. Whig leaders were certain that the crisis could be traced to President Jackson's antibank and hard money policies, but others blamed it on what they saw as an immoral frenzy of greed and speculation that had gripped the nation for the preceding few years.

Harriet Martineau traveled throughout the United States and described booming land sales in the infant city of Chicago in 1836.

DOCUMENT 1. An English Visitor Describes the "Mania" for Speculation

I never saw a busier place than Chicago was at the time of our arrival. The streets were crowded with land speculators, hurrying from one sale to another. A negro, dressed up in scarlet, bearing a scarlet flag, and riding a white horse with housings of scarlet, announced the times of sale. At every street-corner where he stopped, the crowd flocked round him; and it seemed as if some prevalent mania infected the whole people. The rage for speculation might fairly be so regarded. As the gentlemen of our party walked the streets, store-keepers hailed them from their doors, and of farms, and "man-

some reason of the lots risks from from other profits, within so would ser of purchas on the bal was selling, improved, Mohawk, is already amount of be the suffi no one v unfortuna delusion, spirited, l simple sel knaves.

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Texts in Historical Context

A variety of primary documents—letters, diaries, speeches, memoirs and testimony—bring students into direct contact with the human impact of major historical events and issues. Headnotes provide background and context.

(For this complete Texts in Historical Context, turn to pages 420–421.)

Historical Question

These interpretive essays address specific historical questions likely to be of intrinsic interest to students. Among the topics discussed are: How Could a Vice President Get Away With Murder?, and Why Did the Allies Refuse to Bomb the Death Camps? Historical Questions single out issues of ongoing interest, providing answers in greater detail than possible in the narrative.

(For this complete Historical Question, turn to pages 594–595.)

Technology in America

Recognizing that the impact of technologies is of particular interest and relevance today, these brief (150–300 words) illustrated essays examine the ramifications—positive and negative—of specific technological changes.

(For this complete Technology in America, turn to page 186.)

HISTORICAL QUESTION

Why Did So Many Soldiers Die?

FROM 1861 TO 1865, Americans killed Americans on a scale that had never before been seen. Not until the First World War, a half century later, would the world match (and surpass) the killing fields at Shiloh, Antietam, and Gettysburg. Why were the totals so appallingly large? Why did 260,000 rebel soldiers and 373,000 Union soldiers die in the Civil War?

The balance between the ability to kill and the ability to save lives had tipped disastrously toward death. The sheer size of the armies—some battles involved more than 200,000 soldiers—ensured that battlefields would turn red with blood. Moreover, armies fought with antiquated strategy. In the

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TECHNOLOGY IN AMERICA

The Printing Press



In the eighteenth century, colonial printers began to publish newspapers. Since the 1630s, printers had used presses much like the one shown here to churn out

in 1704 with the appearance of the *Bos* usually printed on both sides of a single smaller than conventional typing paper. *News-Letter* contained reprints of articles appeared in English newspapers along with local news such as deaths, fires, storms, and rivalries. For years, the audience for such remained small; the editor complained it could not sell three hundred copies of. Nonetheless, a competing newspaper, *Gazette*, began publication in that year. by James Franklin on his press, shown had brought from England. Both the *C News-Letter* submitted their copy to the official approval before the newspaper. Frustrated by this official scrutiny, Fra new paper, the *New England Courant*, v thumb its nose at officialdom, both go religious. The *Courant* pledged “to ent with the most comical and diverting I mane Life” and to “expose the Vice ar sons of all Ranks and Degrees.” Frank broadcast to the reading public dissen that previously one had to hear (or ov vate conversations. When the old tech ing was used in fresh ways to publish all kinds of information and ideas beg more readily beyond official channels public opinion. Eighteenth-century ne bined old printing technology with the

INNOVATIVE APPENDICES

A three-part appendix serves as a convenient repository of important documents, historical data, and research resources. As with every other part of *The American Promise*, we have endeavored to enhance the usefulness of this critical material in new ways.

Documents

In addition to the complete texts of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, this section features unique annotations that provide appropriate background to the twenty-seven constitutional amendments—plus six that didn't make it into the final document.

(The annotated amendments are on pages A-10–A-23.)

Amendment IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

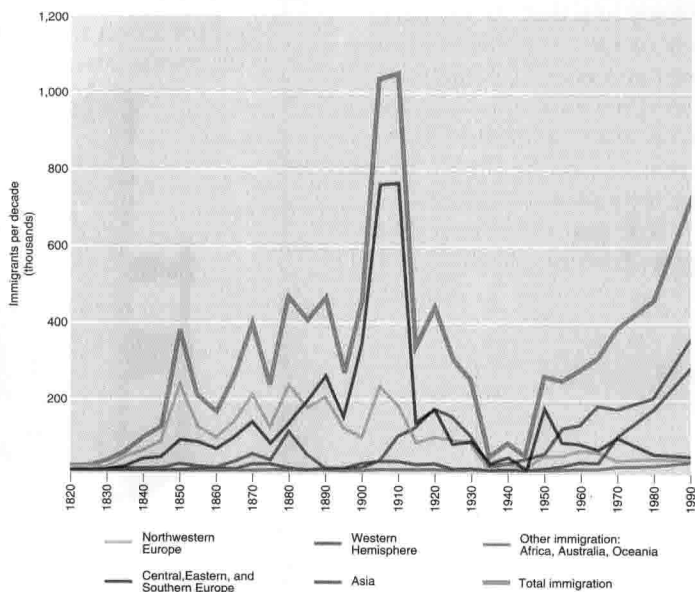


In the years before the Revolution, the houses, barns, stores, and warehouses of American colonists were ransacked by British authorities under "writs of assistance" or general warrants. The British, thus empowered, searched for seditious material or smuggled goods that could then be used as evidence against colonists who were charged with a crime only after the items were found.

Facts and Figures

This uniquely abundant collection of political, economic, and demographic information supplements the statistical data in the text on everything from population to education. It also includes summaries of twenty-four significant Supreme Court cases.

(For Facts and Figures, see pages A-24–A-26.)



Research Resources in U.S. History

Located on pages A-67–A-69, this annotated list of reference materials and Internet offerings provides a handy starting point for research papers, with extensive suggestions for locating many kinds of primary and secondary sources.

American Memory: Historical Collection from the National Digital Library Program. <<http://rs6.loc.gov/amhome.html>> An Internet site that features digitized primary source materials from the Library of Congress, among them African American pamphlets, civil war photographs, documents from the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention of 1774–1790, materials on woman suffrage, and oral histories.

Directory of Scholarly and Professional Electronic Conferences. <<http://n2h2.com/KOVAKS/>>. A good place to find out what electronic conversations are going on in a scholarly discipline. Includes a good search facility and instructions on how to connect to e-mail discussion lists, newsgroups, and interactive chat sites with academic content. Once identified, these conferences are good places to raise questions about what controversies are current.

User-friendly Index

Knowing that students use indexes primarily as study aids, the index in *The American Promise* is designed to make people, events, topics, and concepts as easy to locate as possible. Page numbers for a topic's main coverage are indicated in boldface; entries for significant people and events include dates; listings of important images, maps, and graphics are provided; and cross-references highlight related subjects.

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NOTE TO INSTRUCTORS

The American Promise is accompanied by an unusually full complement of ancillaries. Available for student purchase are a documents reader, a study guide, and titles from the Bedford Series in History and Culture. For teachers, we offer an instructor's manual, a testbank, a guide for teaching assistants, and a large transparency set that includes images not found in the text and a guide with teaching suggestions. Also available to be packaged free with the textbook is a two-volume map workbook with exercises based on maps drawn from every chapter in the text. For complete descriptions of each of these ancillaries, please refer to the Preface for Instructors.

PREFACE FOR INSTRUCTORS

WE SET OUT TO WRITE *The American Promise* because, as longtime teachers of the survey course, we felt that other texts simply didn't reflect what works in our classrooms. Most survey texts emphasize either a social or a political approach to history; by focusing on one, they inevitably slight the other. In our classrooms, students need *both* the structure a political narrative provides and the insights gained from examining social and cultural experiences. In our view, the story of politics is an account not merely of parties and presidents but also of the public arena in which issues of power, interest, culture, ideology, and identity are contested. In our effort to write a comprehensive account of American history, we have focused on the public arena—as the place where politics comes together with social and cultural events—to show how Americans lived within their political culture and confronted the major issues of their times.

We have worked to keep our writing clear, direct, and interesting, never losing sight of our obligation to engage our readers and offer them guidance. Because students in the introductory course often complain that they have difficulty figuring out what they need to know and why they need to know it, we deliberately avoided unnecessary detail so that we could offer more fully developed discussions of the major political, social, cultural, and economic changes that students should understand and remember when they've completed the course.

In our view, history is the story of human agency. To show students that history was made by *people*, we have included the voices of contemporaries who confronted the issues and events of their day. Every chapter includes numerous quotations from the famous and forgotten, taken from their journals, speeches, and letters. Vignettes open every chapter, spotlighting individuals like Benjamin Franklin, Frederick Douglass, and Jane Addams who worked for change in their day and whose efforts still affect our lives. More than a dozen document features demonstrate the impact of major historical events on individuals.

The American Promise also aims to demonstrate that history is both a body of knowledge and an ongoing process of investigation. Too many beginning students believe that historians simply gather facts

and string them together into a chronological narrative: that what historians write, students must memorize. To show that the story of history is a reflection of questions historians consciously pose of the past, recurring interpretive essays illustrate how contemporary curiosity shapes historical inquiry and introduce students to a more textured understanding of the discipline.

Features

The narrative in *The American Promise* is buttressed by a number of features that address the concerns most frequently voiced by teachers: that students often find history boring and difficult. Every feature has been conceived and developed with one of these two elemental problems in mind.

We have tried to make American history as accessible as possible for students. In addition to stressing the most important historical developments, each chapter is clearly structured to reinforce the essential people, events, and themes of the period. Innovative **call-outs**—attention-grabbing passages pulled from the main narrative and set in larger type—help students focus. At the close of each chapter, **conclusions** summarize the main themes and events and provide a bridge to upcoming material, **chronologies** provide a handy review of significant events and dates, and extensive **bibliographies** provide an up-to-date listing of recommended works of scholarship for additional reading and research.

Because students learn more when they're interested in the subject matter, we've made a special effort to incorporate features that bring American history to life. **Chapter-opening vignettes** invite students into the narrative with a compelling account of a person or event that embodies some of the chapter's main themes. **Historical Questions** pose and investigate specific questions of continuing interest to demonstrate to students the depth and variety of possible answers. **Texts in Historical Context** reprint primary documents that illustrate the social impact of major events and issues, and **Technology in America** highlights the ramifications

that new inventions and processes—most of which we now take for granted—had when they were introduced.

Finally, we are especially proud of our art program. The publisher has provided **an impressive collection of illustrations**—many of them never published before in a survey text—that supplement the narrative, drawing students in and encouraging them to engage the visual material. Rather than leave students to make what they can from these illustrations, we offer a lot of guidance. **Comprehensive captions** unpack the layers of meaning in the pictures, supplement the information in the chapter, raise questions that challenge students to use their historical imaginations, and help students view the images analytically.

Our title, *The American Promise*, reflects our conviction that American history is an unfinished story. From the beginning, Americans have differed profoundly over the meaning of the nation's promise. Yet few doubted that unusual opportunities beckoned in America. In many ways, these potential opportunities intensified conflict over the direction of change, as Americans sought to realize a measure of the promise they sensed around them. For millions, the nation held out the promise of a better life, unfettered worship, representative government, democratic politics, and other freedoms seldom found elsewhere on the globe. But none of these promises came with guarantees. And promises fulfilled for some meant promises denied to others. As we see it, much of American history is a continuing struggle over the definition and realization of the nation's promise. Abraham Lincoln, in the midst of what he termed the "fiery trial" of the Civil War, pronounced the nation "the last best hope of Earth." That hope, kept alive by countless sacrifices, has been marred by compromises, disappointments, and denials, but it lives still. Ideally, *The American Promise* will help students become aware of the legacy of hope bequeathed to them by previous generations of Americans stretching back nearly four centuries, a legacy that is theirs to preserve and to build upon.

Supplements

A comprehensive collection of supplements, every one of them created specifically to accompany *The American Promise*, provides an integrated support system for classroom success. All of the expected el-

ements are included, but in every case we have tried to raise the bar a notch higher, adding new features to help instructors teach and students learn American history. We've also provided some new items: a guide for teaching assistants, an unusually full set of transparencies accompanied by teaching suggestions, and a map workbook that provides in-depth exercises on maps in the text.

For Students

Reading the American Past: Selected Historical Documents. This affordable two-volume collection of primary sources—selected and edited by Michael P. Johnson (Johns Hopkins University) specifically to accompany *The American Promise*—permits students to go beyond the textbook narrative and puzzle out the meanings of historical documents. Paralleling the organization of the text, each chapter includes substantial passages from several documents—including presidential speeches, court records, estate inventories, private diaries, personal letters, and oral histories. Each document is introduced by a brief headnote and followed by questions that help students understand both what the document says and what its historical significance is.

Making the Most of THE AMERICAN PROMISE: A Study Guide. This essential supplement for students, prepared by John Moretta and David Wilcox (both of Houston Community College), provides practice opportunities to reinforce the main themes and ideas from the text's narrative. For each chapter in *The American Promise*, a corresponding chapter in the study guide includes learning objectives, a brief summary, a timeline with questions on important dates, a glossary of terms, map exercises with location and analysis questions, multiple-choice questions, and essay questions. An answer key allows students to test themselves.

Mapping THE AMERICAN PROMISE: Historical Geography Workbook. Prepared by Mark Newman (University of Illinois, Chicago), this stand-alone supplement provides additional exercises using maps drawn from *The American Promise*. Because a knowledge of geography is crucial to understanding the way our country has grown over five hundred years, we make this supplement available to students free with the purchase of the text. Each exercise asks students to label landmarks on the American continent and then analyze the significance of geography in the unfolding of historical events.

Working to suggest the implications of geography for history, these exercises also reinforce basic place names in a way that helps students remember them and understand why they should.

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

For Instructors

Teaching THE AMERICAN PROMISE: A Hands-On Guide for Instructors. Written by Michael Gagnon (Emory University) and Sarah E. Gardner (Mercer University), this practical two-volume guide provides myriad suggestions and resources for teaching *The American Promise*. Each of its thirty-two chapters includes an outline (in the form of questions) of the text's narrative, three lecture strategies, multiple-choice questions, a list of video and film resources, and suggestions for incorporating sources from *READING THE AMERICAN PAST* or from the Bedford Series in History and Culture. A particularly useful new feature for first-time teachers anticipates some of the most common misconceptions undergraduates have about each chapter's topics.

Testbank to Accompany THE AMERICAN PROMISE. Written by two longtime teachers of the

American history survey, John Moretta and David Wilcox (both of Houston Community College), this set provides 70–80 multiple-choice, true/false, short-answer, identification, and essay questions for each of the thirty-two chapters in *The American Promise*. The testbank is available either on disk (Macintosh and Windows), with a function that allows users to customize the exams, or in booklet form.

Discussing THE AMERICAN PROMISE: A Survival Guide for First-Time Teaching Assistants. Tied directly to *The American Promise*, this unique resource provides a wealth of practical suggestions to help first-time teaching assistants develop their skills and succeed in the classroom. Written by experienced TA adviser Michael A. Bellesiles (Emory University), this brief supplement offers concrete advice on teaching from *The American Promise*, working with professors, dealing with difficult students, running discussion sections, designing assignments, grading tests and papers, relating research to classroom experience, overcoming common problems, and more.

Transparencies to Accompany THE AMERICAN PROMISE (with Teaching Suggestions). More than 150 images are available as full-color acetates to adopters of *The American Promise*. For each chapter a set of five transparencies has been assembled to highlight the chapter-opening artifacts, important maps and graphs, and striking illustrations. We have also selected additional illustrations that are not included in the text. To assist teachers in presenting these images, a guide provides background and elaborates on teaching possibilities.

Acknowledgments

We owe a great debt to the community of scholars who took time away from their own teaching and research to help us complete *The American Promise*. Many people have read chapters and offered valuable criticism; others have listened patiently and provided important advice. The authors would like to express their gratitude to:

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