

**John A. Garraty**



# **The American Nation**

**A History of the United States Since 1865**

**Volume Two**

**Ninth Edition**

VOLUME TWO

NINTH EDITION

# *The American Nation*



---

**A HISTORY OF THE UNITED  
STATES SINCE 1865**

***John A. Garraty***

Gouverneur Morris Professor of History  
Columbia University



LONGMAN

---

An imprint of Addison Wesley Longman, Inc.

New York • Reading, Massachusetts • Menlo Park, California • Harlow, England  
Don Mills, Ontario • Sydney • Mexico City • Madrid • Amsterdam

## *For Kathy, Jack, and Sarah*

Executive Editor: Pam Gordon  
Acquisitions Editor: Bruce Borland  
Development Manager: Betty Slack  
Developmental Editor: Judith Anderson  
Project Management and Text Design: Ruttle, Shaw & Wetherill, Inc.  
Senior Marketing Manager: Sue Westmoreland  
Supplements Manager: Jennifer McCaffery  
Cover Designer: Rubina Yeh  
Cover: *Achelous and Hercules*, 1947, by Thomas Hart Benton. National Museum of Art, Washington, D.C.  
Photo Researcher: Leslie Coopersmith  
Electronic Production Manager: Christine Pearson  
Manufacturing Manager: Willie Lane  
Electronic Page Makeup: Ruttle, Shaw & Wetherill, Inc.  
Printer and Binder: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company  
Cover Printer: The Lehigh Press, Inc.

For permission to use copyrighted material, grateful acknowledgment is made to the copyright holders on pp. C1–C2, which are hereby made part of this copyright page.

The author makes grateful acknowledgment to:

New Directions Publishing Corporation for permission to quote from “Hugh Selwyn Mauberley” by Ezra Pound. From Ezra Pound, *Personae*. Copyright © 1926 by Ezra Pound. Reprinted by permission of New Directions Publishing Corporation. U.S. and Canadian rights.

Liveright Publishing Corporation for permission to quote from “the first president to be loved by his . . .” by e. e. cummings. Reprinted from *ViVa*, poems by e. e. cummings, edited by George James Firmage, by permission of Liveright Publishing Corporation. Copyright © 1931, 1959 by e. e. cummings. Copyright © 1979, 1973 by the Trustees for the e. e. cummings Trust. Copyright © 1979, 1973 by George James Firmage.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Garraty, John Arthur

The American nation : a history of the United States / John A. Garraty.— 9th ed.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-321-01312-3 (vol. 1)—ISBN 0-321-01313-1 (vol. 2)

1. United States—History. I. Title.

E178.1.G24 1998

973—dc21 97-4106

CIP

Copyright © 1998 by John A. Garraty. Maps, graphs, and all illustration captions and related text copyright © 1998 by Addison-Wesley Educational Publishers Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher. Printed in the United States.

ISBN 0-321-01313-1

12345678910—DOW—00999897

*The  
American  
Nation*



# Preface

This is the ninth edition of *The American Nation*, the eighth time I have revised it, and the process remains for me both challenging and endlessly fascinating. Historians try to explain what happened in the past, and of course “what happened” does not change. But what is important to point out about the past is that it changes constantly as more information about past events comes to light and as current events raise new questions about the events and people of earlier times. Year by year hundreds of new books and articles are published about various aspects of American history; when those dealing with any particular subject have been digested and synthesized and combined with already existing knowledge, a new, “up-to-date” description of that topic results. This process keeps authors like me who write American history textbooks very busy.

## Goals of This Revision

The work of revising a survey of all American history takes many forms. First there are the small alterations involved in incorporating new details and examples, and in clarifying obscurities that have previously escaped notice. Then there is the matter of bringing the narrative as close to the present as possible, something that is relatively easy to do, but difficult to do well. Nearly always revision also involves changes in emphasis—some subjects need to be condensed or eliminated; others require more space either because more has been discovered about them or because recent developments make them seem more significant. Finally, and most important, are the larger

changes made necessary because historians, responding to contemporary interests, to noteworthy work being done by colleagues and other specialists, and to the questions and interests of their students, have produced persuasive new interpretations and even opened up entirely new subjects. Dealing with this work, in turn, requires more of the simpler kinds of revisions just mentioned.

This revision of *The American Nation* contains many examples of all these types of change.

To improve the flow of topics, I have reversed the order of the chapters “From Isolation to Empire” (Chapter 22 in the eighth edition) and “The Age of Reform” (Chapter 23 in the eighth edition).

As in every new edition of *The American Nation*, I have paid a good deal of attention also to the “Supplementary Reading” that follow each chapter. I have eliminated many older titles that, although valuable, are out of print, and I have substituted more recent and in most instances equally worthwhile volumes that are readily available, often in paperback.

## Approach

In making all these changes and others less important, I have not, I trust, altered my basic approach to American history, which is to deal with the subject in narrative fashion and to use the political history of the nation as the frame or skeleton on which social, economic, and cultural developments depend. The American nation (the United States) is, after all, a political institution.

The people of the United States, in their infinite variety, also remain central to my account. The theory that a few great individuals, cut from larger cloth than the general run of human beings, have shaped the course of past events oversimplifies history. But the past becomes more comprehensible when attention is paid to how the major figures on the historical stage have reacted to events and to one another. Since generalizations require concrete illustration if they are to be grasped fully, readers will find many anecdotes and quotations on the following pages, along with the facts and dates and statistics every good history must contain. This illustrative material is interesting, and most of it is entertaining, but I believe it is instructive as well.

I also believe that one need not be an uncritical admirer of the American nation and its people to recognize that the history of the United States deserves to be treated with dignity and respect. Individually and as a society, we have rarely lived up perfectly to the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, but recent events in Eastern Europe demonstrate how cherished these "American" values are by people who have been deprived of them. American values are not well served by patriotic hoopla or by slighting or excusing dark and discreditable aspects of the American past. The English radical Oliver Cromwell is said to have told an artist who was painting his picture to portray him "warts and all." Cromwell wanted to be remembered as he was, confident that, on balance, history would judge him fairly. This is another principle on which *The American Nation* continues to be based.

## ***Supplements For Instructors***

### ***Instructor's Resource Manual***

Written by Michael Mayer of the University of Montana, this *Instructor's Resource Manual* has been designed to aid both the novice and the experienced instructor in teaching American history. Each chapter includes a concise chapter overview, a list of points for student mastery, lecture supplements, and questions for class discussion. A special feature of each chapter is a set of excerpted documents with accompanying questions for student analysis.

## ***America Through the Eyes of Its People: Primary Sources in American History, Second Edition***

This one-volume collection of primary documents reflects the rich and varied tapestry of American life. The revised edition includes more social history and enhanced pedagogy. It is available shrink-wrapped with *The American Nation* at no charge.

## ***Comprehensive American History Transparency Set***

This vast collection of American history transparencies is a necessary teaching aid. It includes over 200 map transparencies covering social trends, wars, elections, immigration, and demographics. Included are a set of reproducible map exercises. It is available to qualified college adopters.

## ***Discovering American History Through Maps and Views***

Created by Gerald Danzer of the University of Illinois at Chicago, the recipient of the AHA's 1990 James Harvey Robinson Prize for his work in the development of map transparencies, this set of 140 four-color acetates is a unique instructional tool. It contains an introduction on teaching history through maps and a detailed commentary on each transparency. The collection includes cartographic and pictorial maps, views and photos, urban plans, building diagrams, and works of art. It is available to qualified college adopters.

## ***A Guide to Teaching American History Through Film***

Created by Randy Roberts of Purdue University, this guide provides instructors with a creative and practical tool for stimulating classroom discussions. The sections include: "American Films: A Historian's Perspective," a listing of "Films for Specific Periods of American History," "Practical Suggestions," and "Bibliography." The film listing is in a narrative form, explaining the connection between each film and the topics being studied.

## ***Video Lecture Launchers***

Prepared by Mark Newman of the University of Illinois at Chicago, these video lecture launchers

(each 2 to 5 minutes in duration) cover key issues in American history from 1877 to the present. The launchers are accompanied by an Instructor's Manual and are available to qualified college adopters.

### ***American Impressions: A CD-ROM for U.S. History***

This unique, ground-breaking product for the U.S. history survey course is organized in a thematic framework that allows in-depth coverage of each topic. Hundreds of photos, maps, art, graphics, and historical film clips are organized into narrated vignettes and interactive activities to create a tool for both professors and students. Topics include: When Three Cultures Meet, The Constitution, Labor and Reform, and Democracy and Diversity: The History of Civil Rights. In both Macintosh and Windows formats, it is available to qualified college adopters.

### ***Visual Archives of American History, Second Edition***

This two-sided video laserdisc is an encyclopedic chronology of U.S. history, with hundreds of photographs and illustrations, a variety of source and reference maps—several of which are animated—plus 50 minutes of video clips. For ease in planning lectures, a manual listing barcodes for scanning and frame numbers for all the content is provided. It is available to qualified college adopters.

### ***"This Is America" Immigration Video***

Produced by the Museum of Immigration, this video tells the story of immigrant America and the personal stories and accomplishments of immigrants. The video explores the contributions of millions of immigrants to American culture.

### ***Transparencies***

A set of over 30 map transparencies drawn from the text is available.

### ***Test Bank***

This Test Bank, prepared by Larry Peterson of North Dakota State University and Priscilla Benham of North Harris Community College, contains over

2,000 test items, including multiple-choice, true/false, essay questions, and map exercises. The questions are keyed to topic, difficulty level, cognitive type, and relevant text page.

### ***TestGen EQ Computerized Testing System***

This flexible, easy-to-master computer test bank includes all the test items in the printed test bank. The software allows you to edit existing questions and add your own items. Tests can be printed in several different formats and can include figures such as graphs and tables. It is available for Windows and Macintosh formats.

### ***QuizMaster***

This new program enables you to design TestGen EQ generated tests that your students can take on a computer rather than in printed form. QuizMaster can be obtained free through your sales representative.

### ***Grades***

A grade-keeping and classroom management software program that maintains data for up to 200 students is available.

### ***For Students***

#### ***Study Guide and Practice Tests***

This two-volume study guide, co-authored by Ken L. Weatherbie of Del Mar College and Billy Hathorn of Laredo Community College, is designed to provide students with a comprehensive review of text material and to encourage application and critical analysis of the material. Each chapter contains a chapter overview, learning objectives, important glossary terms, identification, map and critical thinking exercises, and multiple-choice and essay questions.

#### ***Learning to Think Critically: Films and Myths About American History***

Randy Roberts and Robert May of Purdue University use well-known films such as *Gone with the Wind* and *Casablanca* to explore some common myths about America and its past. Many widely held assumptions

about our country's past come from or are perpetuated by popular films. Which are true? Which are patently not true? And how does a student of history approach documents, sources, and textbooks with a critical and discerning eye? This short handbook subjects some popular beliefs to historical scrutiny in order to help students develop a method of inquiry for approaching the subject of history in general.

***Mapping America: A Guide to Historical Geography, Second Edition, Volumes I and II***

Written by Ken L. Weatherbie of Del Mar College, these textbooks contain 35 exercises correlated to the text which review basic American historical geography and ask students to interpret the role geography has played in American history. Available free shrink-wrapped with the text.

***Mapping American History: Student Activities***

Written by Gerald Danzer of the University of Illinois at Chicago, this free map workbook for students features exercises designed to teach students to interpret and analyze cartographic materials as historical documents. The instructor is entitled to a free copy of the workbook for each copy of the text purchased from Longman.

***Longman American History Atlas***

This full color historical atlas includes more than 100 maps—all designed especially for this volume. This valuable reference tool is available shrink-wrapped with *The American Nation* at a low cost.

***SuperShell II Computerized Tutorial***

Prepared by Ken L. Weatherbie of Del Mar College, this interactive program for DOS helps students learn major facts and concepts through drill and practice exercises and diagnostic feedback. SuperShell II provides immediate correct answers, the text page number on which the material is discussed, and a running

score of the student's performance maintained on the screen throughout the session. This free supplement is available to instructors through their sales representative.

***TimeLink Computer Atlas of American History***

This atlas, compiled by William Hamblin of Brigham Young University, is an introductory software tutorial and textbook companion. This Macintosh Hypercard program presents the historical geography of the continental United States from colonial times to the admission of the last continental state in 1912. The program covers territories in different time periods, provides quizzes, and includes a special Civil War module.

***Acknowledgments***

I wish to thank the many friends, colleagues, and students who, over the years, have given me the benefit of their advice and encouragement in keeping this book up to date. In particular I am grateful to the following reviewers for their comments and suggestions regarding the revision: Margaret E. Armbruster, University of Alabama at Birmingham; Bruce Barney, Central Texas State College; Virginia Pagganelli Caruso, Henry Ford Community College; John T. Duke, Alvin Community College; Michelle M. Espinosa, St. Philip's College; Jay Fraser, Georgia Southern University; William Gudelunas, College of the Desert; Harold Grantham, El Camino College; Susan Hult, Houston Community College; Barbara A. Klemm, Broward Community College; Justin H. Libby, Indiana University at Indianapolis; Timothy Mahoney, University of Nebraska at Lincoln; Don Rakestraw, Georgia Southern University; Phillip Whigham, Georgia Military College; Roger Young, Westark Community College.

John A. Garraty  
Gouverneur Morris Professor of History  
Columbia University



# Contents in Brief

*Contents* vii  
*Maps and Graphs* xiii  
*Preface* xv

<b>XVI</b>	Reconstruction and the South	416
<b>XVII</b>	In the Wake of War	446
<b>XVIII</b>	An Industrial Giant	478
<b>XIX</b>	American Society in the Industrial Age	504
<b>XX</b>	Intellectual and Cultural Trends	528
<b>XXI</b>	Politics: Local, State, and National	550
<b>XXII</b>	The Age of Reform	572
<b>XXIII</b>	From Isolation to Empire	602
<b>XXIV</b>	Woodrow Wilson and the Great War	636
<b>XXV</b>	Postwar Society and Culture: Change and Adjustment	666
<b>XXVI</b>	The New Era: 1921–1933	692

<b>XXVII</b>	The New Deal: 1933–1941	714
<b>XXVIII</b>	War and Peace	742
<b>XXIX</b>	The American Century	766
<b>XXX</b>	The Best of Times, the Worst of Times	792
<b>XXXI</b>	Society in Flux	822
<b>XXXII</b>	Our Times	856
<i>The Declaration of Independence</i> A1		
<i>The Constitution of the United States</i> A3		
<i>Presidential Elections, 1789–1996</i> A12		
<i>Vice-Presidents and Cabinet Members, by Administration</i> A17		
<i>Justices of the Supreme Court</i> A29		
<i>Territorial Expansion</i> A31		
<i>Population, 1790–1990</i> A31		
<i>Picture Credits</i> C1		
<i>Index</i> II		



# Contents

*Maps and Graphs*    *xiii*

*Preface*    *xv*

## CHAPTER XVI *Reconstruction and the South* 416

Presidential Reconstruction    417  
Republican Radicals    419  
The Fourteenth Amendment    422  
The Reconstruction Acts    422  
Congress Takes Charge    423  
The Fifteenth Amendment    424  
“Black Republican” Reconstruction: Scalawags and Carpetbaggers    425  
The Ravaged Land    428  
Sharecropping and the Crop-Lien System    430  
The White Backlash    432  
Grant as President    433  
The Disputed Election of 1876    435  
The Compromise of 1877    436

## PORTFOLIO TWO *Blacks in Slavery and Freedom*    440

## CHAPTER XVII *In the Wake of War*    446

The American Commonwealth    447  
“Root, Hog, or Die”    447

The Shape of Politics    449  
Issues of the Gilded Age    450  
Blacks After Reconstruction    452  
Booker T. Washington and the Atlanta Compromise    453  
The West After the Civil War    455  
The Plains Indians    456  
Indian Wars    457  
The Destruction of Tribal Life    460  
Exploiting Mineral Wealth in the West    461  
The Land Bonanza    464  
Western Railroad Building    466  
The Cattle Kingdom    469  
Open-Range Ranching    470  
Barbed-Wire Warfare    472

## AMERICAN LIVES *Clement Vann Rogers and George William Norris*    475

## CHAPTER XVIII *An Industrial Giant*    478

Industrial Growth: An Overview    479  
Railroads: The First Big Business    480  
Iron, Oil, and Electricity    483  
Competition and Monopoly: The Railroads    485  
Competition and Monopoly: Steel    487  
Competition and Monopoly: Oil    488  
Competition and Monopoly: Utilities and Retailing    490

Americans React to Big Business	491
Reformers: George, Bellamy, Lloyd	492
Reformers: The Marxists	494
The Government Reacts to Big Business: Railroad Regulation	494
The Government Reacts to Big Business: The Sherman Antitrust Act	495
Labor Organizes	496
The American Federation of Labor	498
Labor Militancy Rebuffed	498
Whither America, Whither Democracy?	500

## AMERICAN LIVES

<i>The Steltzles and the Smiths</i>	502
-------------------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER XIX

### *American Society in the Industrial Age* 504

Middle-Class Life	505
Wage Earners	505
Working Women	506
Farmers	507
Working-Class Family Life	508
Working-Class Attitudes	509
Mobility: Social, Economic, and Educational	510
The "New" Immigration	512
The Old Immigrants and the New	513
The Expanding City and Its Problems	515
The Urban Infrastructure	516
The Cities Modernize	518
Leisure Activities: More Fun and Games	520
The Churches Respond to Industrial Society	523
The Settlement Houses	524
Civilization and Its Discontents	526

## CHAPTER XX

### *Intellectual and Cultural Trends* 528

The Pursuit of Knowledge	529
Magazine Journalism	531
Colleges and Universities	532
Scientific Advances	535
The New Social Sciences	535

Progressive Education	537
Law and History	538
Realism in Literature	539
Mark Twain	539
William Dean Howells	541
Henry James	542
Realism in Art	543
The Pragmatic Approach	545

## AMERICAN LIVES

<i>The Johnson Family of Nebraska</i>	548
---------------------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER XXI

### *Politics: Local, State, and National* 550

Political Strategy and Tactics	551
Political Decision Making: Ethnic and Religious Issues	551
City Government	552
Republicans and Democrats	554
The Men in the White House	554
Congressional Leaders	559
Agricultural Discontent	560
The Populist Movement	561
Showdown on Silver	564
The Election of 1896	567
The Meaning of the Election	569

## CHAPTER XXII

### *The Age of Reform* 572

Roots of Progressivism	573
The Muckrakers	574
The Progressive Mind	576
"Radical" Progressives: The Wave of the Future	577
Political Reform: Cities First	578
Political Reform: The States	579
State Social Legislation	580
Political Reform in Washington	582
Theodore Roosevelt: Cowboy in the White House	585
Roosevelt and Big Business	586
Square Dealing	588

T.R.: President in His Own Right	588
Tilting Left	590
William Howard Taft: The Listless Progressive	590
Breakup of the Republican Party	591
The Election of 1912	592
Wilson: The New Freedom	594
The Progressives and Minority Rights	596
Black Militancy	597

## CHAPTER XXIII

### *From Isolation to Empire* 602

America's Divided View of the World	603
Origins of the Large Policy	604
The Course of Empire in the Pacific	606
The Course of Empire in Latin America	607
The Cuban Revolution	609
The "Splendid Little" Spanish-American War	612
Developing a Colonial Policy	614
The Anti-Imperialists	615
The Philippine Insurrection	616
Cuba and the United States	617
The United States in the Caribbean	618
The Open Door Policy	620
The Isthmian Canal	621
"Non-Colonial Imperial Expansion"	623

## AMERICAN LIVES

### *Emma Goldman* 626

## PORTFOLIO THREE

### *Women in the Workplace* 628

## CHAPTER XXIV

### *Woodrow Wilson and the Great War* 636

Missionary Diplomacy	637
Outbreak of the Great War	639
Freedom of the Seas	640
The Election of 1916	642
The Road to War	643
Mobilizing the Economy	644

Workers in Wartime	646
Paying for the War	646
Propaganda and Civil Liberties	647
Wartime Reforms	648
Women and Blacks in Wartime	649
"Over There"	651
Preparing for Peace	653
The Paris Peace Conference	654
The Senate and the League of Nations	656
Demobilization	659
The Red Scare	659
The Election of 1920	661

## AMERICAN LIVES

### *Harry S Truman* 663

## CHAPTER XXV

### *Postwar Society and Culture: Change and Adjustment* 666

Closing the Gates	667
New Urban Social Patterns	668
The Younger Generation	670
The "New" Woman	671
Popular Culture: Movies and Radio	673
The Golden Age of Sports	674
Urban-Rural Conflicts: Fundamentalism	675
Urban-Rural Conflicts: Prohibition	678
The Ku Klux Klan	679
Sacco and Vanzetti	680
Literary Trends	681
The "New Negro"	683
The "New Era"	685
The Age of the Consumer	686
Henry Ford	687
The Airplane	688

## CHAPTER XXVI

### *The New Era: 1921-1933* 692

"Normalcy"	693
"Regulating" Business	694
The Harding Scandals	695
Coolidge Prosperity	696
Peace Without a Sword	697

The Peace Movement	698
The Good Neighbor Policy	700
The Totalitarian Challenge	700
War Debts and Reparations	701
The Election of 1928	702
Economic Problems	703
The Crash of 1929	705
Hoover and the Depression	705
Hitting Bottom	708
The Depression and Its Victims	709
The Election of 1932	711

## CHAPTER XXVII

### *The New Deal: 1933–1941* 714

The Hundred Days	715
The National Recovery Administration (NRA)	716
The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA)	717
The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)	718
The New Deal Spirit	719
The Unemployed	719
Literature in the Depression	720
The Extremists	722
The Second New Deal	724
The Election of 1936	726
Roosevelt and the “Nine Old Men”	727
The New Deal Winds Down	728
Significance of the New Deal	730
Women as New Dealers: The Network	732
Blacks During the New Deal	732
A New Deal for Indians	733
The Role of Roosevelt	734
The Triumph of Isolationism	735
War Again in Europe	737
A Third Term for FDR	739
The Undeclared War	740

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### *War and Peace* 742

The Road to Pearl Harbor	743
Mobilizing the Home Front	744
The War Economy	746
War and Social Change	747

Minorities in Time of War: Blacks, Hispanics, and Indians	747
The Treatment of German-, Italian-, and Japanese-Americans	750
Women’s Contribution to the War Effort	751
Allied Strategy: Europe First	753
Germany Overwhelmed	754
The Naval War in the Pacific	756
Island Hopping	757
“The Shatterer of Worlds”	758
Wartime Diplomacy	760
Mounting Suspicions	762
Yalta and Potsdam	762

## CHAPTER XXIX

### *The American Century* 766

The Postwar Economy	767
Postwar Society: The Baby Boomers	768
The Containment Policy	770
The Marshall Plan	771
Dealing with Japan and China	773
The Election of 1948	774
Containing Communism Abroad	775
Hot War in Korea	775
The Communist Issue at Home	777
McCarthyism	778
Dwight D. Eisenhower	779
The Eisenhower-Dulles Foreign Policy	781
McCarthy Self-Destructs	782
Asian Policy After Korea	783
The Middle East Cauldron	783
Eisenhower and the Soviet Union	784
Latin America Aroused	786
The Politics of Civil Rights	786
The Election of 1960	789

## CHAPTER XXX

### *The Best of Times, the Worst of Times* 792

John Fitzgerald Kennedy	793
The Cuban Crises	793
Kennedy’s Domestic Program	795
Tragedy in Dallas	796

Lyndon Baines Johnson	796
"We Shall Overcome"	797
The Great Society	799
War in Vietnam	802
Hawks and Doves	803
The Election of 1968	804
Nixon as President: "Vietnamizing" the War	807
The Cambodian "Incursion"	809
Détente	810
Nixon in Triumph	811
The Economy Under Nixon	812
The Watergate Break-In	814
More Troubles	815
The Oil Crisis	816
The Judgment: "Expletive Deleted"	817
The Meaning of Watergate	818

## CHAPTER XXXI

### *Society in Flux* 822

A Changing Society	823
Television	824
"A Nation of Sheep"	825
Religion in Changing Times	825
Literature and Art	827
Two Dilemmas	830
The Costs of Prosperity	831
New Racial Turmoil	832
Native-Born Ethnics	834
Rethinking Public Education	836
Students in Revolt	838
The Counterculture	840
The Sexual Revolution	841
Women's Liberation	842

## PORTFOLIO FOUR

### *America's Changing Environment* 848

## CHAPTER XXXII

### *Our Times* 856

Ford as President	857
The Carter Presidency	859
Cold War or Détente?	859
A Time of Troubles	860
Double-Digit Inflation	861
The Carter Recession	861
The Iran Crisis: Origins	862
The Iran Crisis: Carter's Dilemma	863
The Election of 1980	863
Reagan as President	864
Four More Years	866
"The Reagan Revolution"	868
Change and Uncertainty	870
The Merger Movement	872
The Iran-Contra Arms Deal	872
The Election of 1988	873
The End of the Cold War	874
Domestic Problems and Possibilities	876
The War in the Persian Gulf	876
Things Go Wrong	877
The Election of 1992	878
A New Start	878
The Imponderable Future	881

<i>The Declaration of Independence</i>	A1
<i>The Constitution of the United States</i>	A3
<i>Presidential Elections, 1789–1996</i>	A12
<i>Vice-Presidents and Cabinet Members, by Administration</i>	A17
<i>Justices of the Supreme Court</i>	A29
<i>Territorial Expansion</i>	A31
<i>Population, 1790–1990</i>	A31
<i>Picture Credits</i>	C1
<i>Index</i>	I1



# *Maps and Graphs*

## *Maps*

The Compromise of 1877	437	Europe After World War I	656
Major Indian Battles and Reservations	458	Election of 1928	703
The West: Cattle, Railroads, and Mining, 1850–1893	471	The Tennessee Valley Authority	718
Primary Railroads, 1890	481	Japanese-American Internment Camps	750
Los Angeles Area Street Railway Network, 1909	519	World War II, European Theater	753
The Election of 1896	568	Nazi Concentration Camps	756
Suffrage and Prohibition, 1917	584	World War II, Pacific Theater	758
The Election of 1912	593	Europe After World War II	772
Spanish American War, Caribbean Theater	613	The Korean War, 1950–1953	776
The United States in the Caribbean	619	Southeast Asia, 1954–1975	803
The Panama Canal Zone	623	The Election of 1968	806
The Western Front, 1918	652	The Middle East	863
		The Election of 1996	880

## *Graphs*

Southern Agriculture, 1850–1900	431	Men and Women in the Labor Force, 1940–1945	745
Iron Ore Shipments, 1870–1900	483	United States Foreign Aid, 1945–1984	773
Immigration, 1860–1910	512	Immigration, 1920–1980	802
Rural and Urban Population, 1860–1910	515	Republican Advance Checked	813
American Foreign Trade, 1870–1914	604	Population Growth by Region, 1900–1980	824
U-Boat Campaign, 1914–1918	640	High School and College Graduates, 1870–1983	837
Casualties of the Great War	653	The Reagan Revolution	868
Unemployment and Federal Action, 1929–1941	720	Changing Standards of Living 1979–1994	870
Civilian Labor Force and Labor Union Membership, 1929–1941	726		



# *The Declaration of Independence*

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws of Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislature, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and

has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

John Hancock,

Josiah Bartlett, Wm Whipple, Saml Adams, John Adams, Robt Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry, Steph. Hopkins, William Ellery, Roger Sherman, Samel Huntington, Wm Williams, Oliver Wolcott, Matthew Thornton, Wm Floyd, Phil Livingston, Frans Lewis, Lewis Morris, Richd Stockton, Jno Witherspoon, Frs Hopkinson, John Hart, Abra Clark, Robt Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benja Franklin, John Morton, Geo Clymer, Jas Smith, Geo. Taylor, James Wilson, Geo. Ross, Caesar Rodney, Geo Read, Thos M:Kean, Samuel Chase, Wm Paca, Thos Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Th. Jefferson, Benja Harrison, Thos Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton, Wm Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn, Edward Rutledge, Thos Heyward, Junr., Thomas Lynch, Junor., Arthur Middleton, Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, Geo Walton.