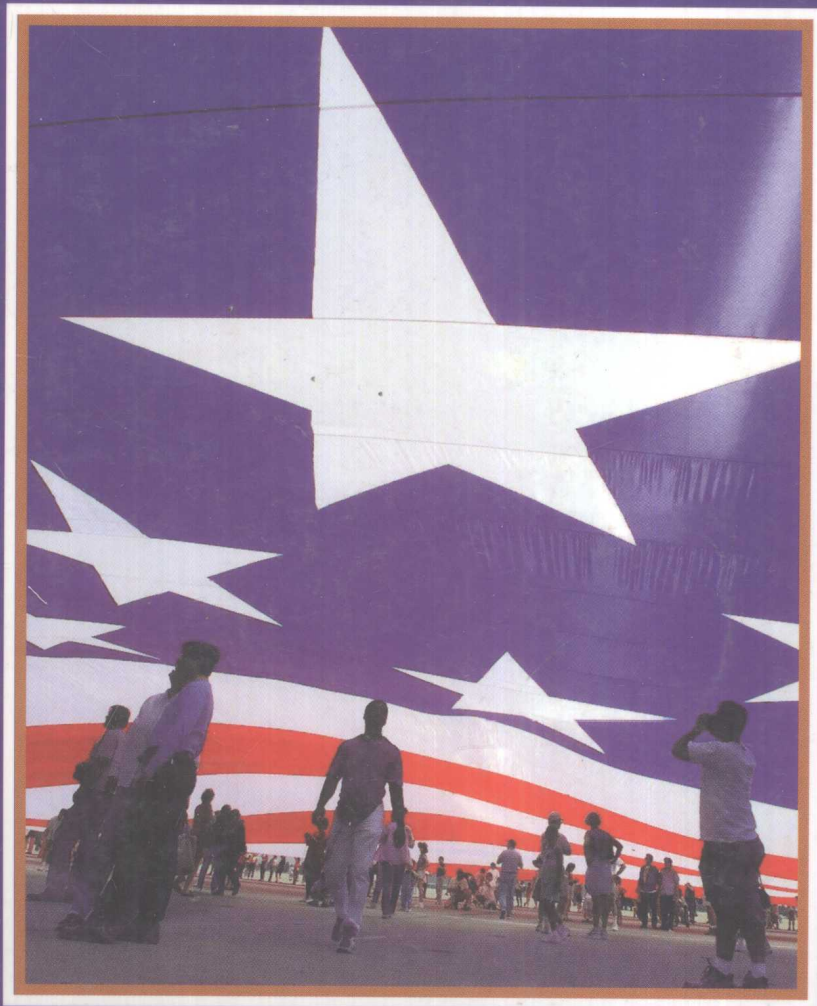


THE UNITED STATES

Becoming a World Power

Volume II

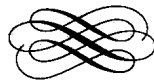


Leon F. Litwack
Winthrop D. Jordan

THE UNITED STATES

Becoming a World Power

Volume II



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North
West
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A NOTE OF INTRODUCTION

A word about history. The word *history* has a double meaning. It refers to what did in fact take place in the past. It also refers to our study and understanding of those events and how we talk and write about them.

These two meanings are often confused. We all have met such expressions as “history tells us . . .,” “history shows . . .,” and “the lessons of history are. . .” These expressions assume that the actual events of the past can themselves teach us about the present and perhaps even the future. However, past events cannot themselves speak, let alone teach. But we can and do learn from what has been said and written about them. We learn from what other people today are saying about what went on in the past, as well as from what people in *our* past said about *their* past.

Here things get tricky, simply because historians are people. No two historians look at past events in exactly the same manner. They draw differing conclusions about the meaning of what went on and sometimes about what actually did go on. They also disagree about what was important enough to bother discussing. For example, historians still disagree as to exactly when President Woodrow Wilson suffered his first stroke. At a different level of inquiry, they disagree about the causes and consequences of the American Civil War and the Cold War. Today, much more than they used to, historians are learning and writing about the lives of ordinary men and women. Whether Joe and Josephine Smith went to the supermarket on October 4, 1958, is in itself obviously not of great importance, but the fact that millions of Americans were getting their food in such a manner obviously is, especially since we know that the Smiths’ parents

could not have fed themselves or their families in that manner.

Why bother with the past in any form? The most basic answer is that we cannot do without it. As individuals, we use it all the time. Each of us lives in the present, but our immediate experiences, thoughts, and perceptions are shaped by our previous ones. We are what we have been—and what we think we have been. An important part of our present is our awareness of our past. Similarly, an entire society is shaped by its past and by its consciousness of that past. As individuals and as a nation, we cannot tell where we are (much less where we are going) without knowing where we have been. And because the United States is a vast and profoundly complex entity, including over the years more than half a billion individual lives and millions of groups, the task of understanding this nation is not an easy one. But it can be very rewarding and even fun.

This book has a number of thematic chapters, such as those dealing with important intellectual and literary developments. Nonetheless we have adhered to a fundamentally chronological structure, an approach that is dictated by the unfolding of events. We are convinced that anyone who thinks that the U.S. Constitution was adopted before the American Revolution is not going to be able to understand either of those two major developments. The same may be said of the Vietnam War and World War II, or of the invention of the atomic bomb and the creation of the steam engine.

A few words about this substantially revised edition of *The United States*. We have tried to convey both the personalities and importance of such public leaders as George Whitefield, John

Calhoun, and Dorothea Dix; of Franklin Roosevelt, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Ronald Reagan. We have also emphasized the history of less powerful people. The ordinary folk who have made up the great bulk of American society expressed themselves in various ways in the past, as they still do today. We have stressed their experiences and their voices—the lives of Indians, blacks, Hispanic Americans, and dozens of immigrant groups from Europe and Asia, as well as working people in the fields, boats, shops, factories, mines, and homes of the nation.

This edition has much more about women because a solid body of scholarship in women's history has emerged in very recent years. We have dealt with women in such various roles as young daughters and child laborers, mothers and grandmothers, factory and office workers, farmers and westward pioneers, reformers, intellectuals, professionals, and politicians. As we have with ethnic, racial, and religious groups, we have dealt with the record of women's achievements and with the record of the obstacles and defeats that barred their way.

This edition also includes a unique feature—a series of boxes entitled “Words and Names in American History.” These are miniature essays about the specifically American background of words that are in common use today, or were until quite recently. Some are political, such as *lobby*, *logrolling*, *gerrymander*, and *platform*; others are geographical, such as *Mississippi*, *Wall Street*, and the *Mason-Dixon line*; still others defy classification, such as *Uncle Sam*, *cafeteria*, *deadline*, *lynch*, and *hazing*. All of them cast small shafts of light on the American past.

Finally, we have tried to set American history into the context of global history, to convey American developments as they related to the ongoing development of the rapidly modernizing society in which the inhabitants of the world are participants, whether they wish to be or not.

This book derives from one first published in 1957 by Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron. Since then it has been successively revised, after 1976 by the present two authors. As with the previous edition, the text of the chapters through the Civil War is by Winthrop Jordan; those from Reconstruction and Restoration to the present, by Leon Litwack.

Both of us hope that readers of this book will gain more than a formal knowledge of American history. We hope they will also gain an appreciation of the richness and diversity of American

cultural expression, and a deeper, more subtle sense of what it means to live in this somewhat ambiguous, ever-changing nation.

A number of teaching and learning aids are available with the text. These include a **Two-Volume Study Guide**, prepared by Elizabeth Neumeyer of Kellogg Community College, Battle Creek, Michigan. An **Instructor's Manual**, authored by Robert Tomes of St. John's University, Staten Island, New York and a **Test Item File** by Paul Harvey of the University of California at Berkeley provide, respectively, teaching suggestions, chapter outlines, and film lists, and over one thousand objective-test and essay questions. The material in the **Test Item File** is also available on CD.

Many instructors read the manuscript of the text and offered helpful suggestions for improvement. They include William C. Hine, South Carolina State College; Roger L. Nichols, University of Arizona; George H. Skau, Bergen Community College; Alwyn Barr, Texas Tech University; Robert Haws, University of Mississippi; Robert D. Cross, University of Virginia; Leonard L. Richards, University of Massachusetts; Peyton McCrary, University of South Alabama; Richard Wightman Fox, Yale University; Robert G. Pope, State University of New York at Buffalo; Joseph C. Morton, Northeastern Illinois University; Thomas A. Drueger, University of Illinois at Urbana; John Mayfield, University of Kentucky; Linda Dudik Guerrero, Palomar College; Bradley R. Rice, Clayton Junior College; David C. Hammack, Princeton University; Alasdair Macphail, Connecticut College; Harvey H. Jackson, Clayton Junior College; Jerry Rodnitzky, University of Texas at Arlington; Michael L. Lanza, University of New Orleans; Clarence F. Walker, University of California at Davis; and Ray White, Ball State University. We would especially like to thank our editors at Northwest Publishing, as well as the many others whose hard work is reflected in this new edition.

Winthrop D. Jordan

Leon F. Litwack

CONTENTS

MAPS AND CHARTS xi

WORDS AND NAMES IN AMERICAN HISTORY xii

A NOTE OF INTRODUCTION xiii

CHAPTER 18

AFTER THE WAR: RECONSTRUCTION AND RESTORATION 377

THE DEFEATED SOUTH 378

 Aftermath of Slavery 379

 Lincoln's Plan 381

 The Radical Plan 382

 Johnsonian Restoration 383

THE RADICAL CONGRESS 384

 The Fourteenth Amendment 385

 The Reconstruction Acts and
 Impeachment 386

 The Election of 1868: Grant 387

RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION: LEGEND
AND REALITY 388

 Radical Rule in the South 389

 The End of Reconstruction:

 The Shotgun Policy 393

THE GRANT PRESIDENCY 395

 The First Term: The Great Barbecue 395

 Grant's Second Term: Disenchantment 397

 The Election of 1876: Hayes 397

THE NEW SOUTH 399

 The Economics of Dependency:

 Agriculture 400

 The Economics of Dependency:

 Industry 402

 A Closed Society: Disfranchisement,

 Jim Crow, and Repression 403

SUMMARY 406

SUGGESTED READINGS 407

CHAPTER 19

THE LAST AMERICAN WEST 411

THE INDIANS: CONCENTRATION AND REPRESSION	412
The Plains Indians	412
The Indian Wars	413
The Dawes Act and After	418
THE GREAT AMERICAN WEST: MINERS, RANCHERS, FARMERS	419

The Mining Frontier	419
The Cattle Frontier	421
The Agricultural Frontier	423
SUMMARY	427
SUGGESTED READINGS	428

CHAPTER 20

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY 431

THE GOSPEL OF SUCCESS	432
THE RAILROAD: MASS TRANSPORTATION AND BIG MONEY	434
The Battle for the East	435
The Transcontinental Railroads	436
The Battle for the West	436
THE AGE OF ENTERPRISE: HEAVY INDUSTRY	437
Petroleum: Rockefeller and Standard Oil	438
Steel: Andrew Carnegie	439
The New Technology: The Telephone, the Telegraph, and Electric Light	440
PANICS, TRUSTS, AND THE BANKS: CONGLOMERATION	441

The Panic of 1873	441
Trusts and Pools	441
The Panic of 1893: Banker Control	442
THE WORKERS	443
Women and Work	444
The Great Strike of 1877	446
National Unions	448
The Black Worker	449
Strikes and Confrontation: Haymarket, Homestead, Pullman	450
The Industrial Workers of the World	452
Aspirations and Accommodations	454
SUMMARY	455
SUGGESTED READINGS	456

CHAPTER 21

PARTIES, POLITICS, AND REFORM 459

THE PARTIES	460
Republicans: Stalwarts, Half Breeds, and Mugwumps	460
Democrats: Southern Conservatives and City Bosses	461
Party Unity	461
The Reformers	462
THE REPUBLICAN YEARS: HARD TIMES AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM	463
Hayes and Monetary Policy	463
Garfield and Arthur: Civil Service Reform	465

THE DEMOCRATIC YEARS: REGULATION AND PROTECTION	466
The Campaign of 1884: Cleveland	467
Railroad Regulation	468
Protection: The Tariff	469
Republican Interlude	469
The Election of 1892: Cleveland Again	471
THE POPULISTS AND THE SILVER CRUSADE	471
The Farmers	472
The Origins of Populism	473
The People's Party	474

The Crash of 1893 476
Silver versus Gold 477
The Election of 1896:
The Cross of Gold 478

Republican "Good Times" 480
SUMMARY 482
SUGGESTED READINGS 483

CHAPTER 22

THE EMERGENCE OF URBAN AMERICA 487

URBAN GROWTH 488
Why the Cities Grew 488
The Lure of the City: Immigration 489
CITY LIFE: GROWTH AND DECAY 496
Political Corruption 496
Technical Advances 498
Housing 499
The Black Ghetto 500
The Elite 501

VIEWS OF THE CITY: EDITORS
AND ARCHITECTS 502
Urban Journalism 502
The New Urban Landscape 503
URBAN REFORMERS 504
The Humanitarian Response 504
The Role of the Churches 505
SUMMARY 506
SUGGESTED READINGS 508

CHAPTER 23

CULTURE AND THOUGHT 511

SOCIAL DARWINISM 512
Darwin's Popularizers 512
Critics and Dissenters 512
Academic Rebels 513
NEW IDEAS: PHILOSOPHY, LAW,
HISTORY 514
Philosophy: Pragmatism 514
The Law: Holmes and Brandeis 515
History: Frederick Jackson Turner 516
EDUCATION 516
Public Education 517
Educating Blacks 517

Higher Education 519
Educating Women 520
LITERATURE IN THE GILDED AGE 522
Mark Twain 522
Realists and Naturalists 523
POPULAR CULTURE 525
Popular Literature: The Romantics 525
Popular Literature: The Dime Novels 526
Popular Theater 527
Sports 528
SUMMARY 530
SUGGESTED READINGS 531

CHAPTER 24

THE AMERICAN EMPIRE 535

THE NEW EXPANSIONISM 536
Mexico and Alaska 536
Canada 537
THE PACIFIC: TRADE AND EMPIRE 538
Samoa 538
Hawaii 539
DIPLOMACY AND POWER 540

Latin America 540
Sea Power and Trade 540
Hemispheric Diplomacy 541
THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR 542
The Cuban Crisis 542
American Intervention 543
The "Splendid Little War" 544

The Peace and the Philippines	544
The Imperialist Policy	547
POWER POLITICS	548
China and the Open Door	549
Japan: The Russo-Japanese War	549

The Panama Canal	550
The Caribbean	551
Wilson in Mexico	553
SUMMARY	554
SUGGESTED READINGS	556

CHAPTER 25

PEOPLE AND POLITICS: THE PROGRESSIVE ERA 559

THE PROGRESSIVE SPIRIT	560	The Bull Moose Party	572
The Reform Commitment	560	The Democrats: Wilson	572
Business and Reform	561	The New Freedom	573
The Muckrakers	562	WOMEN AND PROGRESSIVISM	575
PROGRESSIVISM IN POLITICS	564	The Suffrage	577
City Politics	564	Feminists and Suffragists	579
The State Governments	565	BLACKS AND PROGRESSIVISM	580
Social Legislation	566	Booker T. Washington:	
Prohibition	567	Strategy for Survival	581
PROGRESSIVISM AND THE PARTIES	568	W. E. B. Du Bois: The Talented Tenth	582
The Republicans: Roosevelt	568	Betrayal of Expectations	583
Roosevelt and Big Business	569	SUMMARY	585
The Square Deal	570	SUGGESTED READINGS	587
Taft	571		

CHAPTER 26

WORLD WAR AND WORLD REVOLUTION 591

TOWARD INTERVENTION	592	The Fourteen Points	601
The Economy and Freedom of the Seas	592	Intervention in Russia	602
The War at Sea	593	The Versailles Treaty	603
The Decision to Fight	594	PEACE AT HOME: WILSON, THE LEAGUE,	
THE WAR AT HOME AND OVERSEAS	597	AND THE SENATE	604
Mobilization	597	The Senate Debate	605
Propaganda and Civil Liberties	598	The Election of 1920	605
The Army in Action	600	SUMMARY	606
PEACEMAKING AND REVOLUTION	601	SUGGESTED READINGS	607

CHAPTER 27

THE TWENTIES: BUSINESS AND CULTURE 611

AFTER THE WAR: REPRESSION AND		The "Race Suicide" Alarm: Immigration	615
INTOLERANCE	612	The Great Black Migration	616
The Red Scare	613	The Ku Klux Klan	619

The Dry Decade	620	THE POLITICS OF COMPLACENCY	632
Fundamentalism and Civil Liberties	621	The Tragedy of Harding	633
THE CULTURE OF DISSENT	622	"Normalcy" in Government: Economic Policies	634
Prelude to Rebellion: The Optimistic Years	623	"COOLIDGE PROSPERITY"	636
Disillusion and Disenchantment	623	New Industries	636
The Harlem Renaissance	627	An Electrochemical Revolution	637
THE POPULAR ARTS	629	The Automobile Age	637
The Movies	630	The Election of 1928	638
The Phonograph: Ragtime and Jazz	631	SUMMARY	638
Radio	632	SUGGESTED READINGS	640

CHAPTER 28

THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE NEW DEAL 643

THE CRASH	644	Critics and Crusaders	654
A Flawed Economy	644	New Directions: The 1935 Reforms	658
Hoover and the Depression	645	Labor	659
The Election of 1932	646	The Roosevelt Coalition: White and Black	660
FDR'S NEW DEAL	646	The Election of 1936	661
The Bank Crisis	647	THE CLIMAX OF THE NEW DEAL	662
Playing with Money	648	The Court Fight	662
Business: The NRA	648	Housing and Labor Standards	663
Agriculture: The AAA	649	Farewell to Reform	663
Rural Redevelopment: The TVA	651	The New Deal: An Assessment	664
Unemployment: The CCC, PWA, and WPA	652	SUMMARY	665
CHALLENGE AND RESPONSE	654	SUGGESTED READINGS	667

CHAPTER 29

THE AGE OF VIOLENCE: WORLD WAR II 671

BETWEEN THE WARS: 1920–1937	672	Black Americans	683
Disarmament and Stability: The Washington Conference, 1921–1922	673	Mobilization and Politics	684
Japan in China	673	THE WAR FRONTS	687
The Soviet Union	674	North Africa and the Casablanca Conference	689
Latin America	674	The Italian Campaign	690
Neutrality and Aggression	675	Conference Diplomacy: Cairo and Teheran	691
THE ROAD TO WAR	677	D-Day and the German Defeat	692
The Crisis in Europe	678	The War in the Pacific	694
Aid Short of War	679	The Atomic Victory	697
Toward Pearl Harbor	681	SUMMARY	698
THE HOME FRONT	682	SUGGESTED READINGS	700
Japanese Americans	683		

CHAPTER 30

THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY 703

- THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER 704
 - The United Nations 704
 - Atomic Energy 705
 - The Conquered Nations 706
- THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION
 - AT HOME 706
 - Demobilization 708
 - The Economy 708
 - The Eightieth Congress 711
 - The Election of 1948 and the Fair Deal 711
- THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE COLD WAR 713
 - Containment through Foreign Aid 713
 - Containment through Military Alliances:
 - NATO 716
 - Latin America 716
 - The People's Republic of China 717
 - The Korean Conflict 719
- McCARTHYISM: REPRESSION AT HOME 721
 - Loyalty Tests 722
 - HUAC 723
 - McCarthy and McCarthyism 725
 - The McCarran Acts 725
 - The Election of 1952: Eisenhower 726
- SUMMARY 727
- SUGGESTED READINGS 729

CHAPTER 31

SUPERPOWERS IN THE MISSILE AGE 733

- CONSERVATIVES IN POWER 735
 - The Businessman's Government 735
 - The Decline of McCarthy 736
 - Black Rights and White Laws 737
- THE NEW LOOK IN FOREIGN POLICY 740
 - Diplomacy by Rhetoric 741
 - The New Nationalism: Iran, Guatemala, and Vietnam 741
 - Diplomacy by Alliance 743
- CONCILIATION AND CONFRONTATION 746
 - The Second Eisenhower Administration 746
 - Coexistence and New Tensions 747
 - Cuba and Castro 748
 - Eisenhower's Farewell 749
- JFK AND THE NEW FRONTIER 750
 - Civil Rights and Civil Conflict 751
 - Space, Militarism, and Prosperity 753
- THE DIPLOMACY OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE 754
 - Cuba: The Bay of Pigs and the Missile Crisis 754
 - Kennedy and Southeast Asia 756
 - Death of the President 757
- SUMMARY 758
- SUGGESTED READINGS 760

CHAPTER 32

CRUMBLING CONSENSUS 763

- THE GREAT SOCIETY 765
 - The Transition Years 765
 - Great Society Legislation 766
 - The Black Revolution 768
 - La Raza* 771
 - Native Americans 773
- LBJ AND THE WORLD 774
 - Intervention in the Dominican Republic 775
 - The Middle East: Seeds of Future Conflict 776
 - The Lengthening Shadow of Vietnam 776

The "Silent Majority" on Trial:
The Election of 1968 781
THE DISSENTING GENERATION 783
Sources of Disillusionment 783

The Counterculture 784
SUMMARY 788
SUGGESTED READINGS 790

CHAPTER 33

THE POLITICS OF RIGHTEOUSNESS: NIXON AND CARTER 795

RICHARD NIXON IN POWER 796
Retreat from Liberalism 796
Economic Game Plans 797
THE PRESIDENT AT WAR 798
Initiatives for Peace 799
Toward Vietnamization 799
The War at Home 800
How Many My Lais? 800
From "War by Tantrum" to "Peace
with Honor" 801
The Election of 1972 802
ABUSE OF POWER 803
Break-in and Cover-up 803
Revelations and Purges 804
The Ellsberg Case 805
Crisis of Credibility 805
The Undoing of Spiro Agnew 806
The Saturday Night Massacre 806
Toward Impeachment 807
The Downfall 808
The Legacy of Watergate 808
In the Name of National Security 809
THE FORD PRESIDENCY 809
Middle America in Power 809
Vietnam: End of an Era 809
The Bicentennial Election: 1976 810
THE CRISIS OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT:
JIMMY CARTER 811
The Outsider in Power 811
The Misery Index 813
THE REEMERGENCE OF THE WOMEN'S
MOVEMENT 814
The Feminine Mystique 814
Organization and Agitation 815
The Equal Rights Amendment 816
The Supreme Court and Women 817
SUMMARY 818
SUGGESTED READINGS 819

CHAPTER 34

ASSERTING AMERICAN CONFIDENCE: THE REAGAN-BUSH YEARS 823

REAGANISM TRIUMPHANT:
NEW DEPARTURES 824
The Election of 1980 825
The Domestic Program: Reaganomics 827
The Domestic Program: Reordering
Priorities 827
Civil Rights 830
FOREIGN POLICY: PEACE THROUGH
STRENGTH 831
Farewell to Détente 831
International Tensions, Old and New 832
REAGAN'S "POLITICAL REVOLUTION":
THE SECOND TERM 834
Reagan's Referendum: The Election
of 1984 834
Farewell to the New Deal 835
Moral Revolution and the Courts 836
FOREIGN POLICY: NEW CHALLENGES
AND OPPORTUNITIES 838
The Varied Meanings of Terrorism: The
Middle East and Central America 838
Gorbachev and the Cold War 839
Reagan's Farewell 840
The Reagan Referendum: The Election
of 1988 840
THE BUSH PRESIDENCY 841
Domestic Priorities 841
Combating Illegal Drugs 842
Combating AIDS 843
Americans with Disabilities Act 843

The Fire This Time	843	The Controversy over Abortion	850
FAREWELL TO THE COLD WAR	846	Advances and Reversals	851
Central America: Panama, Nicaragua, and El Salvador	846	THE AMERICAN DREAM UNDER REAGAN AND BUSH	852
The New Europe	847	Inequalities of Wealth	854
The Gulf War and a New World Order	848	The New Immigrants	855
THE AMERICAN WOMAN IN THE 1980s	849	SUMMARY	857
Strides Toward Equality	850	SUGGESTED READINGS	859

CHAPTER 35

AMERICA AT THE TURN OF THE MILLENNIUM 861

THE CLINTON YEARS	862	Computers and the Internet	868
The Election of 1992	862	The "Trial of the Century"	869
Clinton Takes Charge	863	A White House Besieged	870
Setbacks for the Clinton Agenda	863	A SECOND BUSH PRESIDENCY	872
The "Gingrich Revolution" and Clinton's Comeback	864	The Election of 2000	872
Clinton and the World	865	The Bush Domestic Agenda	874
Terrorism: At Home and Abroad	867	9/11 and the American Respose	875
		SUGGESTED READING	879

APPENDIX	881
----------	-----

INDEX	893
-------	-----

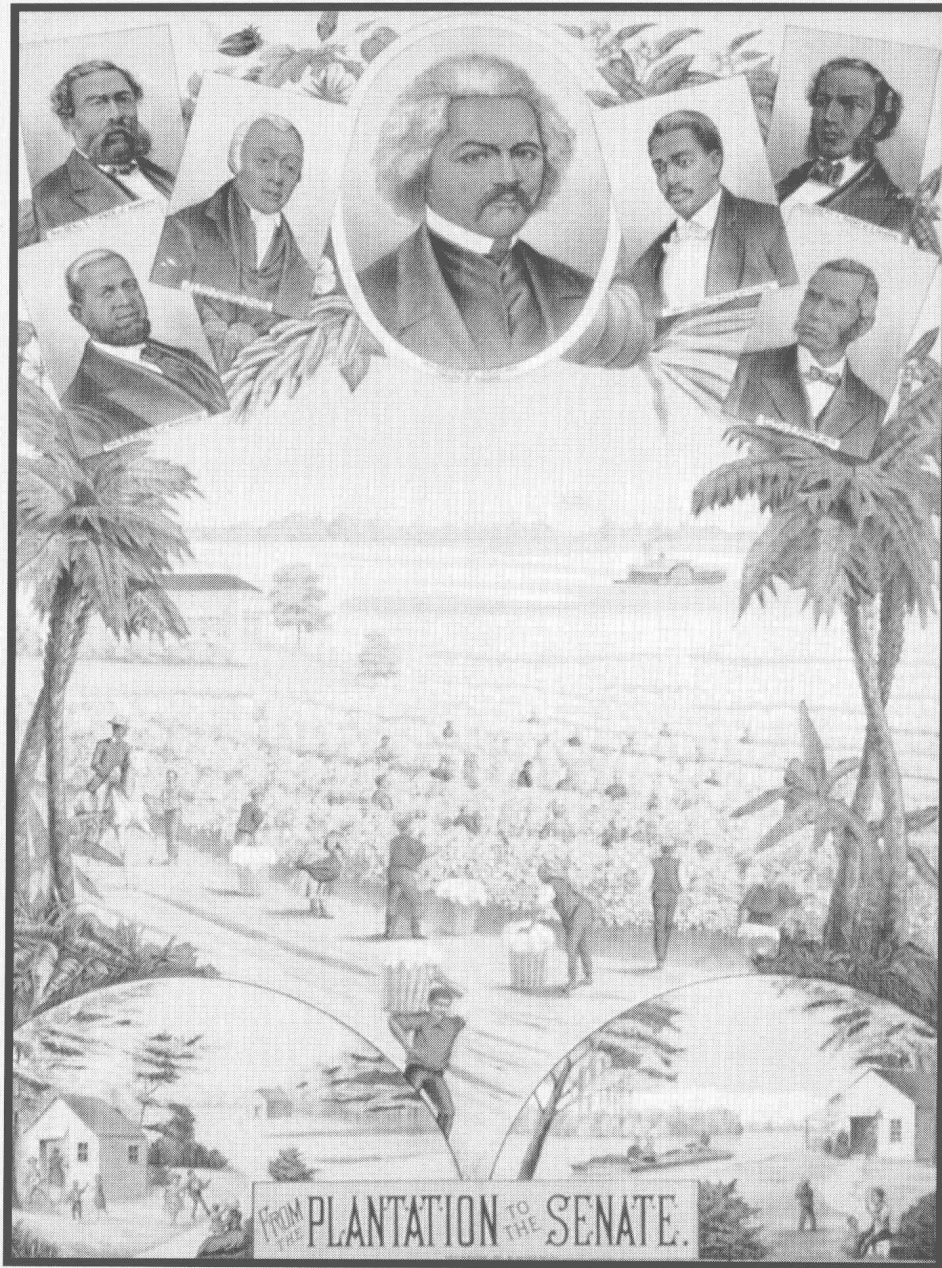
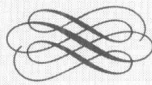
MAPS AND CHARTS

Reconstruction	393	World War I	595
The election of 1876	398	World War I: the western front	599
Indian relations beyond the Mississippi, 1850–1890	414	Europe after Versailles	603
The mining bonanza and the cattle kingdom	421	The European theater, 1939–1942	677
Agricultural regions of the United States	424	The European theater, 1942–1945	688
The railroad network, 1885	434	The war in the Pacific	695
Percentage of farm and nonfarm workers, 1840–1920	444	The United States population, 1950–1960	707
Populist strength, 1892	475	Population density of the United States, 1900 and 1960	709
The election of 1896	481	The election of 1948	712
Rural and urban population trends, 1860–1940	489	NATO and Eastern Europe	715
Sources of immigrants, 1900–1920	489	The Korean War	721
The United States in the Pacific	548	Postwar alliances	744
The United States and Latin America	552	The election of 1960	749
The election of 1912	574	The two Vietnams	756
Women's suffrage before the Nineteenth Amendment	577	The election of 1968	782
		The misery index: inflation and recession	813

WORDS AND NAMES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

miscegenation 379
Jim Crow 404
sidetrack 425
refrigerator 440
pork 454
favorite son 470
deadline 519
lynch 584
running mate 594

brand names 633
lobby 644
Wall Street 644
unconditional surrender 690
cafeteria 726
Yankee 748
grapevine 767
haze 806



From the plantation to the Senate. (Library of Congress)

AFTER THE WAR: RECONSTRUCTION AND RESTORATION



After four years of warfare, the Union had withstood its most serious challenge. Measured in physical devastation and human lives, the Civil War remains the costliest war in the experience of the American people. When it ended, in April 1865, 620,000 men (in a nation of 35 million) had been killed, at least that many more had been wounded, and portions of the Confederacy lay in ruins. Two questions were firmly settled: the right of a state to secede and the right to own slaves. But new problems soon surfaced that would plunge the nation into still another period of turmoil and uncertainty.

Having won the war, the victors had no rules to guide them in how to reconstruct the South and ensure its future loyalty. Under what conditions should the former Confederate states be permitted to return? What if any punishment should be meted out to those southerners who had led their states out of the Union? Were the nearly 4 million freed slaves entitled to the same rights as white citizens? Finally, where did the responsibility lie for resolving these difficult questions—with the president or with Congress?

Lincoln's view of reconstruction was consistent with his theory of secession and re-

bellion. He held from the outset that states could not break away from the Union. The Civil War, then, had been an illegal rebellion waged by disloyal men. Now that the rebellion was over, the task of reconstruction consisted simply of restoring loyal governments to the former Confederate states. The rebels themselves could be quickly reinstated as citizens by presidential pardon, and they could then take part in the establishment of the new governments. Although this became known as the "moderate" approach to reconstruction, stressing the president's generous spirit and statesmanship, the meaning of Lincoln's "moderation" should be clearly understood: After agreeing to repudiate secession and to recognize the abolition of slavery, the newly restored southern states would retain the same powers of decision enjoyed by all states, including the right to determine the status of their black residents.

The Radical Republicans, a faction within the party, believed Lincoln's program would hamper their objective; they wanted to rebuild southern society around the equality of newly freed slaves and whites. The rebel states, they argued, had been reduced to the status of territories because of their "rebellion." In seeking statehood once again, they