

JAMES L. ROARK ■ MICHAEL P. JOHNSON ■ PATRICIA CLINE COHEN  
SARAH STAGE ■ ALAN LAWSON ■ SUSAN M. HARTMANN



---

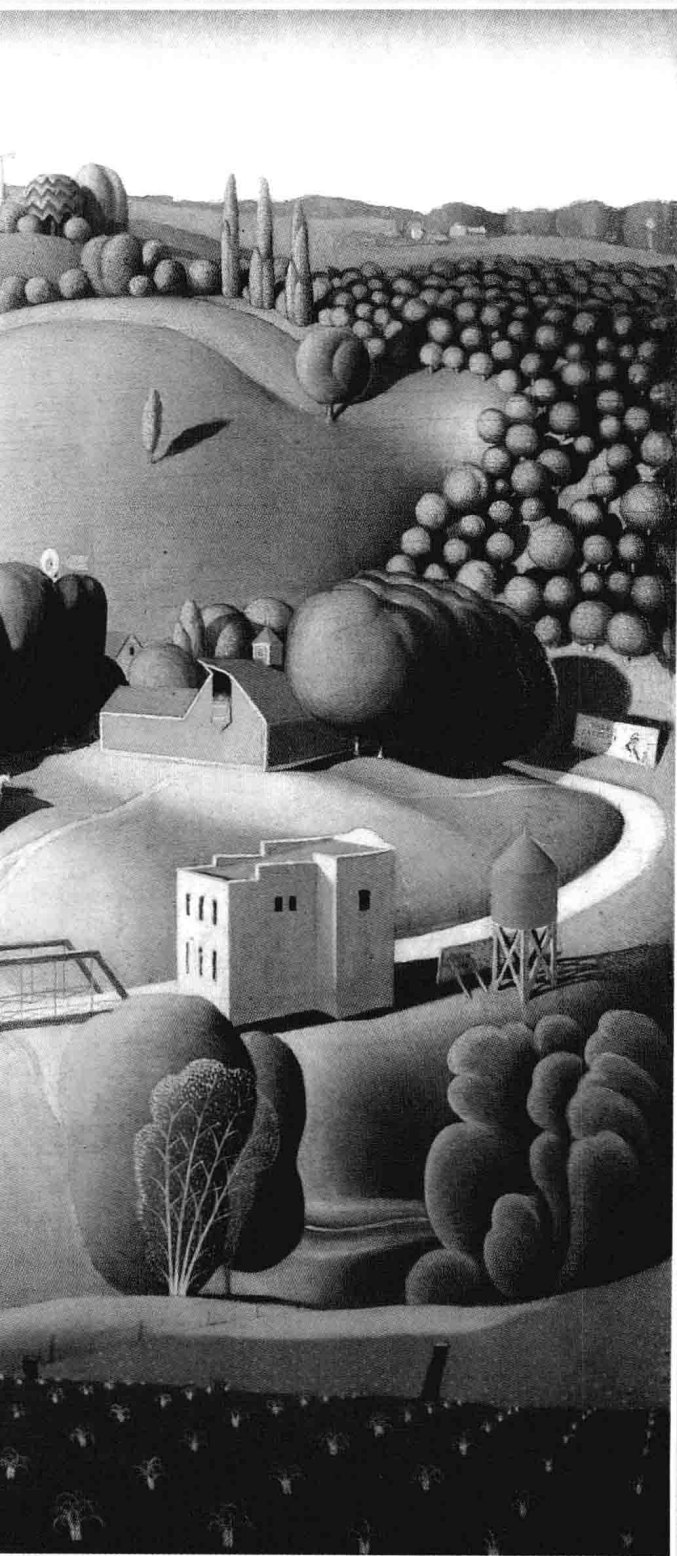
# THE AMERICAN PROMISE

---

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1865

---

VOLUME II



# THE AMERICAN PROMISE

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

Volume II: From 1865

JAMES L. ROARK  
Emory University

MICHAEL P. JOHNSON  
Johns Hopkins University

PATRICIA CLINE COHEN  
University of California at Santa Barbara

SARAH STAGE  
University of Arizona, West

ALAN LAWSON  
Boston College

SUSAN M. HARTMANN  
The Ohio State University

**For Bedford Books**

*President and Publisher:* Charles H. Christensen

*General Manager and Associate Publisher:* Joan E. Feinberg

*History Editor:* Katherine E. Kurzman

*Project Manager:* Tina Samaha

*Developmental Editors:* Louise D. Townsend and Barbara Muller

*Editorial Assistant:* Thomas Pierce

*Managing Editor:* Elizabeth M. Schaaf

*Production Assistants:* Ellen C. Thibault and Deborah A. Baker

*Copyeditor:* Barbara G. Flanagan

*Proofreaders:* Mary Lou Wilshaw and Lisa Wehrle

*Text Design:* Wanda Kossak

*Photo Researcher:* Pembroke Herbert/Sandi Rygiel, Picture Research Consultants & Archives, Inc.

*Cartography:* Mapping Specialists Limited

*Page Layout:* DeNee Reiton Skipper

*Indexer:* Steve Csipke

*Cover Design:* Wanda Kossak

*Cover Art:* Colbar Art, Incorporated, Long Island City, New York

*Composition:* York Graphics Services, Inc.

*Printing and Binding:* R. R. Donnelley & Sons

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 97-72376

Copyright © 1998 by Bedford Books

A Division of St. Martin's Press, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted by any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, except as may be expressly permitted by the applicable copyright statutes or in writing by the Publisher.

Manufactured in the United States of America.

2 1 0 9 8 7  
f e d c b a

*For information, write:* Bedford Books, 75 Arlington Street, Boston, MA 02116 (617-426-7440)

ISBN: 0-312-09525-2 (hardcover)

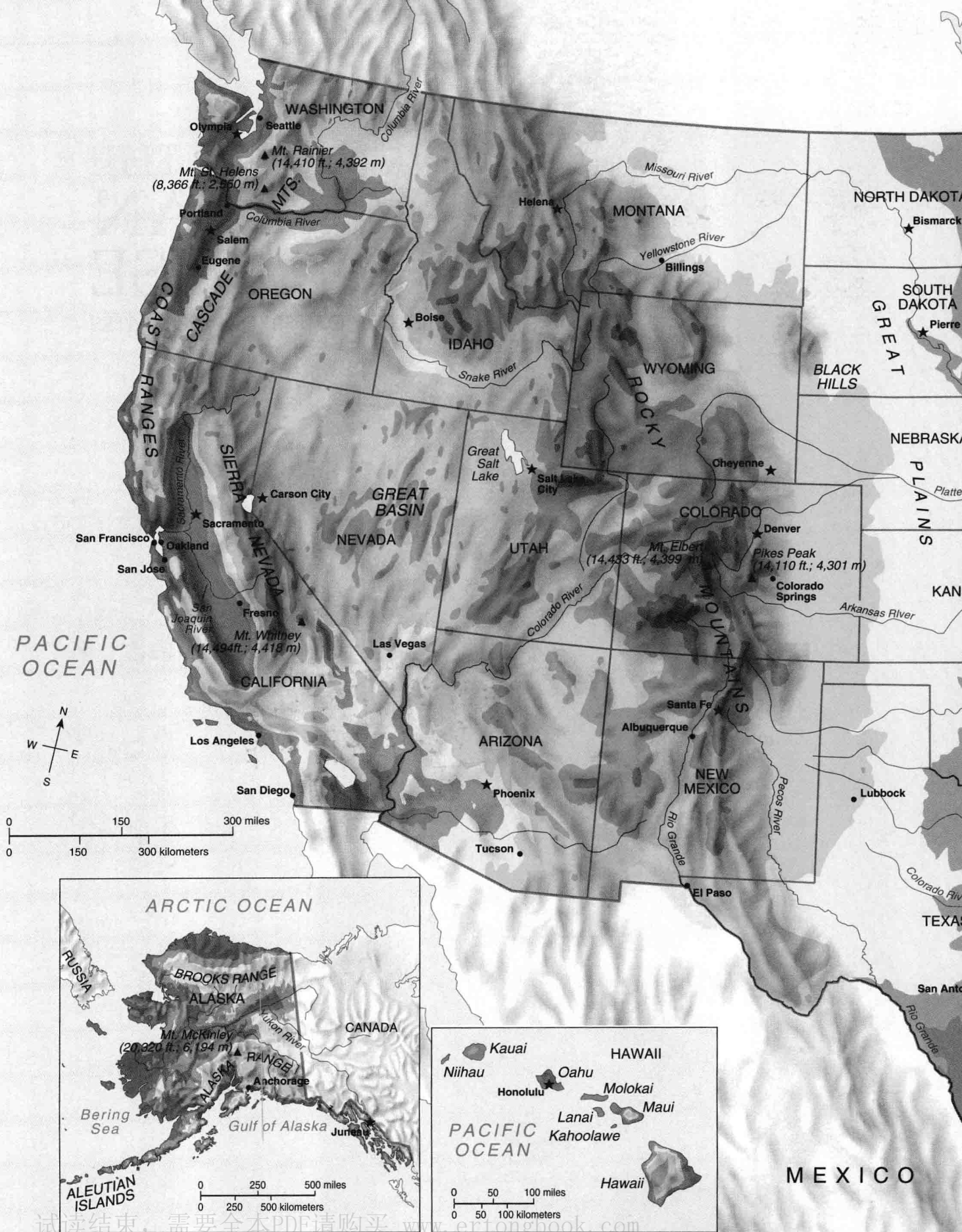
ISBN: 0-312-11196-7 (paperback Vol. 1)

ISBN: 0-312-11197-5 (paperback Vol. 2)

**Cover art:** Statue of Liberty souvenir bust (1997), manufactured by Colbar Art, Incorporated.

# THE AMERICAN PROMISE

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES





CANADA











---

## 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.)

## 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.

## 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.)

## 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.  
**January.** Congress passes Reconstruction Act.  
**February.** President Johnson vetoes Reconstruction Act.  
**March.** Congress overrides Johnson's veto.

**1866 April.** Congress passes Reconstruction Act.  
**May.** President Johnson vetoes Reconstruction Act.  
**June.** Congress overrides Johnson's veto.

## 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.)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### GENERAL WORKS

W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America* (1935).

Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (1988).

John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction after the Civil War* (1961).

James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (1982).

Rembert W. Patrick, *The Reconstruction of the Nation* (1967).

J. G. Randall and David Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (1967).

### WARTIME RECONSTRUCTION

Richard H. Abbott, *The Reconstruction of the Southern States, 1861–1865*.

Herman Belz, *Emancipation and Reconstruction*.

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

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

Peyton McCrary, *Abraham Lincoln and the Louisiana Experiment*.



## 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.

(For this photo, see page 1154.)



**FIGHTING THE CLIMATE AND GEOGRAPHY**  
*Steamy tropical conditions and an inhospitable terrain were among the nonhuman enemies U.S. troops faced in Vietnam. Soldiers were making their way through the mud.*

### *Chapter-opening artifacts*

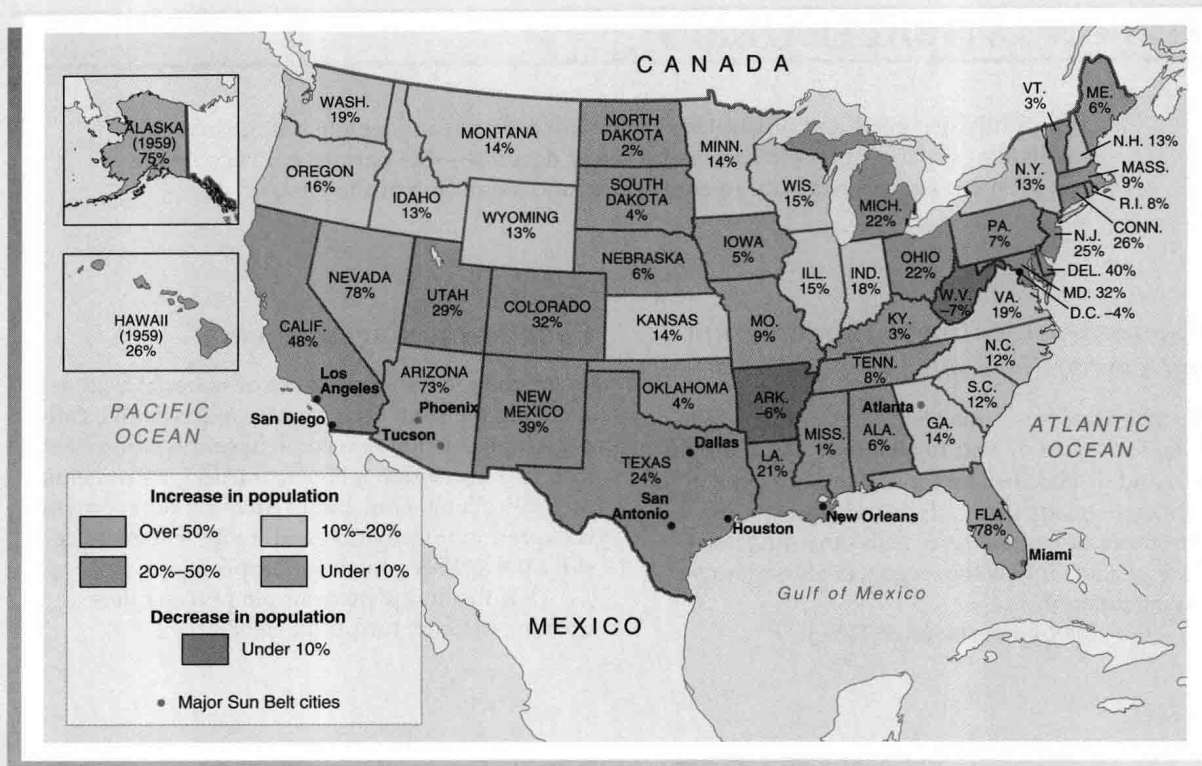
To emphasize the importance of material culture in studying the past, each chapter opens with a full-page reproduction of a contemporary cultural artifact, such as clothing, books, musical instruments, or political emblems. Informative captions provide background information and invite readers to consider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

(For the complete example of a chapter-opening artifact, turn to page 688.)



**CAMPAIGN LANTERN**

Political parties gave out novelty items like this paper lantern from Republican Benjamin Harrison's 1888 presidential campaign. The log cabin, a staple political icon, celebrates the candidate's humble origins, while the reference to Tippecanoe highlights his relationship to President William Henry Harrison, his grandfather, the victor of the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811. "Protection" in bold letters underscores the Republican Party's perennial support for a tariff to protect the country from foreign competition.



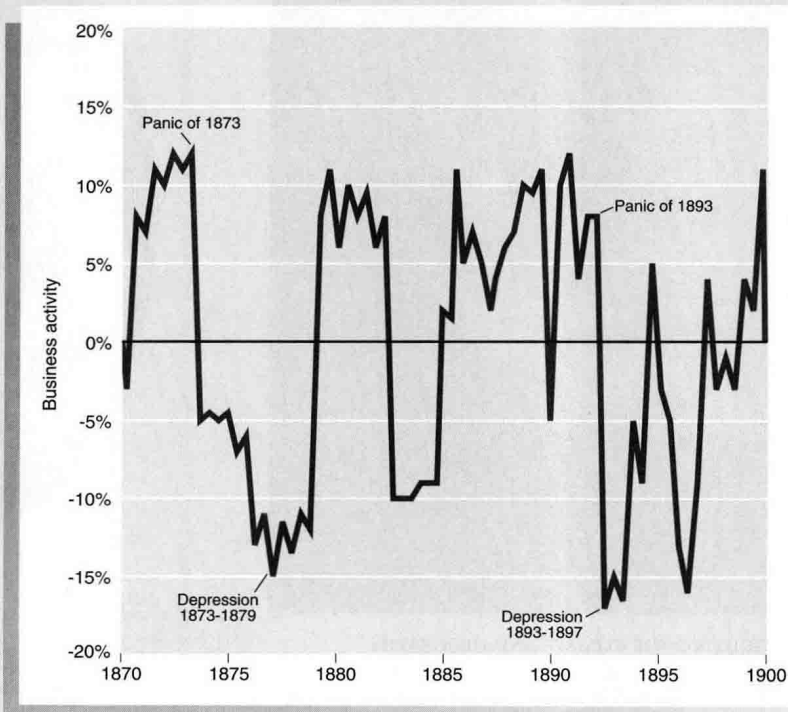
*The Rise of the Sun Belt, 1940–1960*

### *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 1079; turn to page 729 for this graph.)

*The U.S. Business Cycle, 1870–1890*



## 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

#### *Japanese Internment*

**A**ngrily determined that the bombing of Pearl Harbor would not be followed by more sneak attacks, military and political leaders on the West Coast targeted persons of Japanese descent—alien and citizen alike—as potential saboteurs. Early in 1942, General John DeWitt, commander of the Western Defense Command, persuaded President Franklin Roosevelt to issue an executive order authorizing the removal of the Japanese. Subsequently, some 110,000 Japanese Americans were confined to relocation camps in remote areas, surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards. DeWitt's recommendation expressed concern for military security within racist conceptions long used to curb Asian immigration.

**DOCUMENT 1. Final Recommendations  
of the Commanding General,  
Western Defense Command and Fourth Army,  
Submitted to the Secretary of War**

February 14, 1942

Memorandum for the Secretary of War.

Subject: Evacuation of Japanese and Other Subversive Persons from the Pacific Coast.

1. In presenting a recommendation for the evacuation of Japanese and other subversive persons from the Pacific Coast, the following facts have been considered:

— Mic... of the Western Defense Com-

particular

througho

Hosti  
enemy ag  
vicinity th  
sisting er

In the  
affinities  
race is an  
third gen  
possessed  
"America  
conclude  
of white  
affinity a  
to fight a  
against th

It, th  
Coast ov  
extraction  
that thes  
action at  
no sabot  
and conf  
taken. . .

*I*mpriso  
Japanes  
Looking b  
her confin

#### *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 1000–1001.)



## 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 952–953.)

## 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 1010.)

## HISTORICAL QUESTION

### *Huey Long: Demagogue or Champion of the Dispossessed?*

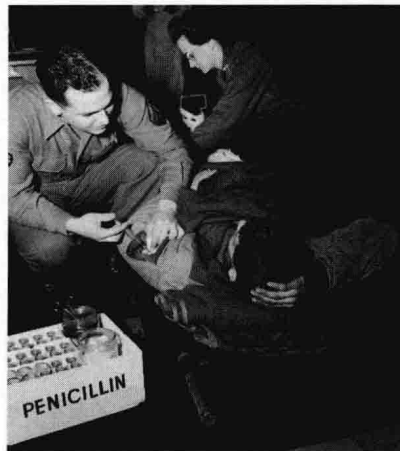
FROM THE TIME HE HAD BEEN A SMALL CHILD, Huey P. Long was what one exasperated neighbor called a “pesterance.” Defiant at school, artful at avoiding any disagreeable chores, ruthlessly driven to be the center of attention, Long had gotten ahead through the shrewdness of his extraordinary intelligence and brash willingness to flout conventional rules. Though he spent only brief periods at the University of Oklahoma and Tulane University, he cajoled a judge to convene a special bar examination, which he passed easily at the age of twenty-one. Declaring that he came out of that examination

that you have never ways that y are the ins abled?” W Louisiana l side the cit the country cent of tho by 1920, th including 3

Long a poor peop ruthlessly. in 1929, Lo used to try he said. “7 miter. I dy Long com around the dictator of his power. ume in his

## TECHNOLOGY IN AMERICA

### *Penicillin*



National Archives.

The antibacterial drug, penicillin, shown being injected into a soldier, did more than any other medical advance to save lives on the battlefield during World War II.

to fruition just in time to meet the desperate need for drugs to fight infection. In 1928, British biochemist, Alexander Fleming, discovered that mold left on laboratory plates could kill bacteria. Subsequently, using the organic form of arsenic extracted from the mold, which Fleming called penicillin, he found it highly effective against a wide variety of infections. These experiments succeeded just as the Battle of Britain against the German bombing blitz was reaching its climax. The lifesaving use of penicillin on wounded soldiers later on in North Africa, a time when researchers rushed to the United States to urge mass production of the drug. It came to a dramatic conclusion when the British team was to present its case at a conference on medicine being held in Honolulu. American authorities moved cautiously, but the British team's astonishingly successful results convinced them to urge all nations to use penicillin “without hesitation.” The final tally of the war's damage, deaths were half those of World War I, and the cause of penicillin's mortality reduction

## 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.

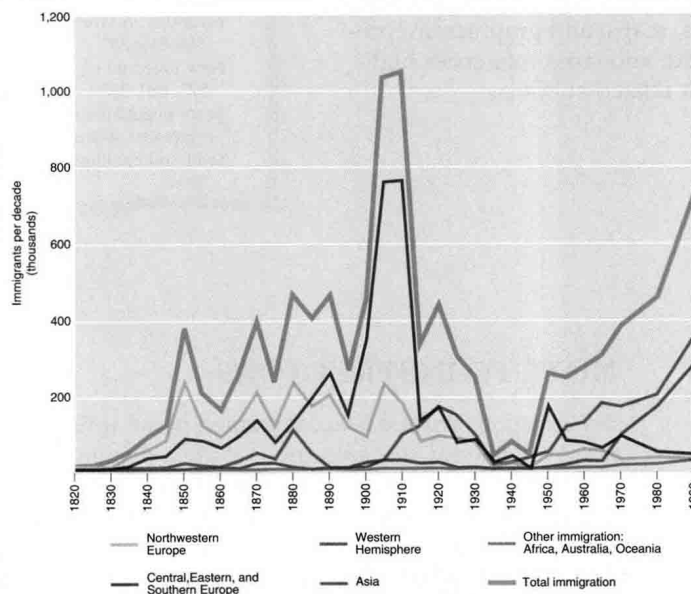


*In the years before the Revolution, the houses, barns, stores, and warehouses of American colonists were ransacked by British authorities under "writs of assistance" or general warrants. The British, thus empowered, searched for seditious material or smuggled goods that could then be used as evidence 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 and find out 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.

Willard, Frances (1839–1898), 761, 762–764  
Willkie, Wendell (1892–1944), 986, 998  
Wilson, Edith Galt (1872–1961), 855  
Wilson, Edmund (1895–1972), 919  
Wilson, Woodrow (1856–1924), 821, 827–830, 831(i), 913, 934, 939, 980  
America's entry in World War I and, 852–853  
election of 1912 and, 824, 825–827, 827(m)  
election of 1916 and, 866  
election of 1920 and, 889  
neutrality in World War I and, 845–846, 849–852  
New Freedom of, 826–827, 829, 830, 873, 880, 937  
peace negotiations and, 872–874  
progressive reform and, 829–830  
tariff and banking reform of, 828–829

Women's Bureau, 1103  
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), 863  
Women's movement, 1179–1185  
abortion rights and, 1182–1184, 1228, 1228(i)  
African American women in, 1180  
beginnings of, 1129–1130  
Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and, 891, 1182–1184, 1184(m), 1217, 1228  
gamut of activism in, 1180–1181  
Reagan presidency and, 1229  
Women's Peace Party, 863  
Women's Political Council (WPC), 1093  
Women's rights. *See also* Feminist movement  
Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and, 891, 1182–1184, 1184(m), 1217  
voting and, 762, 764, 832–836, 836(m), 858, 858(i), 859(i)

## 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.