VOLUME TWO: FROM 1865

THE

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

ENDURING

CONCISE THIRD EDITION

VISION

BOYER

GLARK

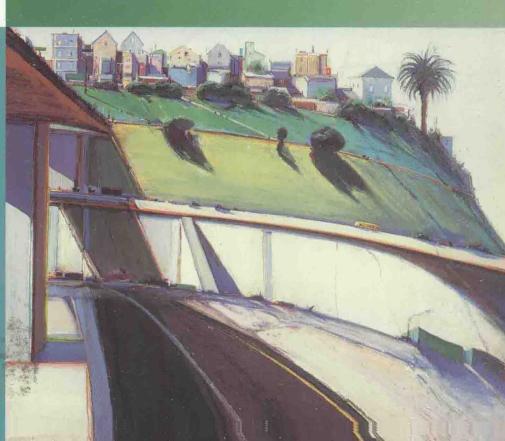
HAWLEY

KETT

SALISBURY

SITKOFF

WOLOCH



The Enduring Vision

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
Concise Third Edition

VOLUME 2: FROM 1865



Paul S. Boyer University of Wisconsin, Madison

Clifford E. Clark, Jr.
Carleton College

Sandra McNair Hawley
San Jacinto College

Joseph F. Kett University of Virginia

Neal Salisbury
Smith College

Harvard Sitkoff
University of New Hampshire

Nancy Woloch
Barnard College

Sponsoring editor: Pat Coryell
Associate editor: Jeffrey Greene
Senior project editor: Rosemary Winfield
Production/design coordinator: Jennifer Meyer
Senior designer: Henry Rachlin
Manufacturing coordinator: Sally Culler
Marketing manager: Charles Cavaliere

Cover: design by Len Massiglia; cover image: Potrero Hill by Wane Thieband, 1976, San Antonio Museum of Art.

Copyright © 1998 by Houghton Mifflin Company. All rights reserved.

No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by any information storage or retrieval system without the prior written permission of Houghton Mifflin Company unless such copying is expressly permitted by federal copyright law. Address inquiries to College Permissions, Houghton Mifflin Company, 222 Berkeley Street, Boston, MA 02116-3764.

Printed in the U.S.A.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 97-72446

ISBN: 0-395-85828-3

23456789-VH-01 00 99 98

Preface

In this new concise edition of *The Enduring Vision* we have tried to maintain the strengths of the previous edition—a strong narrative that interweaves political, diplomatic, and economic history with social, cultural, and environmental analysis in a brief but thorough text that reflects both traditional concerns and the cutting edge of contemporary historical research. We have tried to use a readable style throughout, eliminating the social science jargon that both instructors and students (quite correctly) dislike.

This concise edition of *The Enduring Vision* interweaves traditional and more recent approaches to the study of history. In addition to political, diplomatic, and economic history, for example, the book examines and integrates social history, cultural history, the histories of the diverse peoples who make up our pluralistic society, and environmental history. We have maintained a balance that reflects the best of both traditional and the new emphases in historical scholarship, a blend that will serve the modern student well.

Like its predecessor, this is not a "lite" version of American history. We have retained all the major topics and issues from the original text to make this a book suitable for any introductory United States history course at the freshman or sophomore level, whether in four-year colleges and universities or two-year community and junior colleges. With nearly 40 percent fewer pages than the longer book, this concise edition affords the instructor the opportunity to assign more outside readings for greater depth.

Throughout this third edition the reader will encounter substantial changes, changes meant to deepen, broaden, and clarify our discussion of major issues. For example, Chapters 2 and 3 have been extensively reordered to bring together diverse aspects

of early colonization and to strengthen the discussion of slavery and its transfer across the Atlantic. Other significant changes include greater discussion of the Taos pueblo and the Pueblo Revolt; British perspectives of the coming of the American Revolution; the rise of the Republican party; the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi West; shifting attitudes toward the environment; fuller analysis of both Keynesianism and the roots of isolationist ideology; the Kennedy presidency; recent social and cultural trends such as mass marketing, mass entertainment. and the growing political clout of evangelical Christians; and the complexities and paradoxes of the first Clinton administration, the "Republican Revolution," the new worlds of the post-Cold War era and the postindustrial economy, and the 1996 presidential election. Chronologies and suggested readings have been brought up to date as well.

This concise edition features a generous array of maps. Reproduced in two colors, they vividly establish the physical and spatial setting of American history, enabling the student to grasp both the immensity of the United States and of the North American continent and the complexities of Native American and European settlement of that continent. We chose photographs not only for their freshness and visual impact but also for their complementarity with the text. Clear, easily understood charts and other graphics round out the illustrations. Each chapter has an extensive chronology at the end to help the student to set events in historical context, and an extensive annotated bibliography of the works for further reading or research.

A wide range of ancillaries to aid both instructor and student is available with *The Enduring Vision*, Concise Third Edition. They include the *Instructor's Resource Manual with Test Items*, the *Study Guide with Map Exercises*, and a computerized test bank for

Macintosh and IBM-compatible computers. The instructor may also opt to use some of the following additional supplements for the course and should contact a Houghton Mifflin sales representative for more information:

- Getting the Most out of Your U.S. History Course: The History Student's Vade Mecum by Neil R. Stout—a handy, concise student guide to getting the most out of the U.S. history survey course
- Reading and Writing American History by Peter Charles Hoffer and William W. Stueck, Volumes 1 and 2—a skills-based sourcebook for U.S. history students
- Map transparencies
- Enduring Voices Document Sets by James J. Lorence, Volumes 1 and 2
- Surveying the Land: Skills and Exercises in U.S. Historical Geography by Robert B. Grant, Volumes 1 and 2
- Atlas of American History
- The Houghton Mifflin Guide to the Internet for History

Writing and publishing a book of this complexity is never easy, and I would like to thank those individuals whose support and help has made this revised edition possible with minimum stress: my daughter, Lee Anne Hawley; my friends, especially James D. Heil; my colleagues, especially James A. Hall; and the editorial and production staff at Houghton Mifflin. We changed publishers in the midst of

preparations for this third edition, and the hard work and intelligence of the Houghton Mifflin people made what could have been a logistical nightmare into a smooth transition. My special thanks to Pat Coryell, senior sponsoring editor; Jeff Greene, senior associate editor; and Rosemary Winfield, senior project editor.

Finally, reviewers at all stages of the revision process have made this a stronger and better book through their suggestions and their general enthusiasm. However, we must note that errors are ours alone.

Robert H. Tomlinson, Southwest Virginia Community College

Ronald C. McArthur, Atlantic Community College

James W. McKee, Jr., East Tennessee State University

George C. Rable, Anderson University

Karin A. Wulf, American University

Martin B. Cohen, George Mason University

Geoffrey Plank, University of Cincinnati

Michael J. Morgan, Rose State College

We are most grateful to them all.

We welcome all our readers' suggestions, queries, and criticisms. Please send them to Houghton Mifflin at this e-mail address: history@hmco.com.

S. M. H.

The Enduring Vision Volume 2: From 1865

Contents

PREFACE V

MAPS xxi

CHARTS, GRAPHS, AND TABLES XXII



The Crises of Reconstruction, 1865–1877

341

Reconstruction Politics 342

Lincoln's Plan 342 • Presidential Reconstruction Under Johnson 343 • Congress Versus Johnson 344 • The Fourteenth Amendment 345 • Congressional Reconstruction 345 • The Impeachment Crisis 347 • The Fifteenth Amendment 347

Reconstruction Governments 349

A New Electorate 349 • Republican Rule 350 • Counterattacks 350

The Impact of Emancipation 352

Confronting Freedom 352 • African-American Institutions 353 • Land, Labor, and Sharecropping 354 • Toward a Crop-Lien Economy 355

New Concerns in the North 356

Grantism 356 • The Liberals' Revolt 357 • The Panic of 1873 358 • Reconstruction and the Constitution 358 • Republicans in Retreat 359

Reconstruction Abandoned 359

"Redeeming" the South 360 • The Election of 1876 361



The Trans-Mississippi West

365

Native Americans and the Frontier 366

The Plains Indians 366 • The Transformation of Indian Life 368 • Custer's Last Stand 369 • "Saving" the Indians 371 • The Ghost Dance and the End of Indian Resistance on the Great Plains 373

Settling the West 374

The First Transcontinental Railroad and the Movement West 374 • Homesteaders on the Great Plains 376 • New Farms, New Markets 376 • Building a Society and Achieving Statehood 377 • The Grange 378 • The Southwestern Frontier 378

Exploiting the West 379

The Mining Frontier 380 • Cowboys and the Cattle Frontier 382 • Bonanza Farms on the Plains 383 • The Oklahoma Land Rush 384

The West of Life and Legend 384

The American Adam and the Dime-Novel Hero 384 • Revitalizing the Frontier Legend 385 • Beginning a Conservation Movement 385



The Rise of Industrial America

389

The Character of Industrial Change 390

Railroad Innovations 390 • Creativity, Cooperation, and Competition 391 • Applying the Lessons of the Railroads to Steel 392 • Consolidating the Industrial Order 393 • The Triumph of Technology 395 • Mass Production, Mass Marketing 396 • Industrialization: Costs and Benefits 397

The New South 398

Obstacles to Southern Economic Development 398 • The New South Creed and Southern Industrialization 398 • The Southern Mill Economy 399 • The Southern Industrial Lag 400

Industrial Work and the Work Force 400

From Workshop to Factory 400 • The Hardships of Industrial Labor 401 • Immigrant Labor 402 • Women and Work in Industrializing America 402 • Hard Work and the Gospel of Success 403

Labor Unions and Industrial Conflict 404

Organizing the Workers 404 • Strikes and Labor Violence 406 • Social Thinkers Probe for Alternatives 408



The Transformation of Urban America

411

Urban Expansion 412

The New Urban World 412 • A Revolution in Transportation 412 • A Mobile Population 413 • Migrants and Immigrants 413 • Adjusting to Urban Society 416 • Slums and Ghettos 417 • Fashionable Avenues and Suburbs 418

The Urban Challenge 418

Policing the City 418 • Governing the City 419 • Battling Poverty 421 • New Approaches to Social Work 422 • The Moral-Purity Campaign 423 • The Social Gospel 423 • The Settlement-House Movement 424

Reshaping the Urban Environment 425

Parks and Public Spaces 425 • Boston's Back Bay 425 • Rebuilding Chicago 426 • Toward a Metropolitan America 427



Daily Life, Popular Culture, and the Arts, 1860–1900

430

Everyday Life in Flux 431

Rising Standards of Living 431 • Bringing New Commodities to Rural and Small-Town America 431 • A Shifting Class Structure 432 • The Changing Family 433 • Working-Class Family Life 433

Middle-Class Society and Culture 435

Manners and Morals 435 • The Cult of Domesticity 436 • Department Stores and Hotels 436 • The Transformation of Higher Education 437

Working-Class Leisure in the Immigrant City 438

Streets, Saloons, and Boxing Matches 439 • The Rise of Professional Sports 439 • Vaudeville, Amusement Parks, and Dance Halls 440 • Ragtime 441

Cultures in Conflict 441

The Genteel Tradition and Its Critics 441 • Modernism in Architecture and Painting 443 • From Victorian Lady to New Woman 444 • Public Education as an Arena of Class Conflict 446



Politics and Expansion in an Industrializing Age

450

Politics in an Era of Social and Economic Upheaval 451

Patterns of Party Strength 451 • The Stakes of Politics 451 • The Hayes White House: Virtue Restored 453 • Regulating the Money Supply 453 • The Spoils System 454 • Civil-Service Reform 454

Politics of Privilege, Politics of Exclusion 455

The Election of 1884: Cleveland Victorious 455 • Tarriffs and Pensions 456 • 1888: Big Business and the GAR Strike Back 456 • Western Farmers Organize 457 • African-Americans After Reconstruction 459

The 1890s: Politics in a Depression Decade 461

1892: Populists Challenge the Status Quo 462 • The Panic of 1893: Capitalism in Crisis 462 • The Depression of 1893–1897 462 • Conservatives Hunker Down 463

The Watershed Election of 1896 464

1894: Protest Grows Louder 464 • The Silver Issue 464 • Silver Advocates Capture the Democratic Party 464 • 1896: Conservatism Triumphant 465

Expansionist Stirrings and War with Spain 467

Roots of Expansionist Sentiment 467 • Pacific Expansion 468 • Crisis over Cuba 468 • The Spanish-American War 469

Deepening Imperialist Ventures: The Philippines, China, and Panama 469

The Platt Amendment 470 • Guerrilla War in the Philippines 470 • Critics of Empire 471 • The Open Door Notes: Competing for the China Market 471 • The Panama Canal: Hard-Ball Diplomacy 472



The Progressive Era

475

A Changing American Society and Economy 476

Immigrant Masses and a New Urban Middle Class 476 • African-Americans in a Racist Age 478 • Corporate Boardrooms, Factory Floors 478 • Workers Organize; Socialism Advances 479

The Progressive Movement Takes Shape 480

Progressivism: An Overview 480 • Intellectuals Lay the Groundwork 481 • New Ideas About Education and the Law 482 • Novelists and Journalists

Spread the Word 482 • Reforming the Political Process 483 • Protecting Workers and Beautifying the City 484 • Corporate Regulation 485

Progressivism and Social Control: The Movement's Coercive Dimension 485

Moral Control in the Cities 485 • Immigration Restriction and Eugenics 486 • Racism and Progressivism 487

African-Americans and Women Organize 487

Controversy Among African-Americans 487 • The Founding of the NAACP 488 • Revival of the Woman-Suffrage Movement 488 • Breaking out of the "Woman's Sphere" 489

National Progressivism—Phase I: Roosevelt and Taft 490

Roosevelt's Path to the White House 491 • Labor Disputes and Corporate
Regulation 491 • Consumer Protection and Racial Issues 492 • The Conservation
Movement 494 • Taft in the White House 495 • A Divided Republican Party 495

National Progressivism—Phase II: Woodrow Wilson 496

The Four-Way Election of 1912 496 • Woodrow Wilson: The Scholar as President 497 • Tariff and Banking Reform 497 • Corporate Regulation 498 • Labor Legislation and Farm Aid 498 • Progressivism and the Constitution 498 • 1916: Wilson Edges out Hughes 499



World War I

502

Defining America's World Role 503

The Roosevelt Corollary in Latin America and the Balance of Power in Asia 503 • Dollar Diplomacy in China and Nicaragua 504 • Wilson and Latin America 504

War in Europe 505

The Coming of War 505 • The American People's Initial Responses 506 • The Perils of Neutrality 506 • Stalemate in the Trenches 508 • The United States Enters the War 508

Mobilizing at Home, Fighting in France 509

Raising an Army 509 • Organizing the Economy for War 509 • With the AEF in France 511 • Turning the Tide 512 • African-Americans in the AEF 512

Promoting the War and Suppressing Dissent 513

Advertising the War 513 • Intellectuals, Cultural Leaders, and Reformers

Present Arms 513 • Wartime Intolerance and Hysteria 514 • Opponents of the

War 514 • Suppressing Dissent by Law 515

Economic and Social Trends in Wartime America 515

Boom Times in Industry and Agriculture 515 • African-Americans Migrate Northward 516 • Women and the War 516 • The War and Progressivism 517

Joyous Armistice, Bitter Aftermath 518

Wilson's Fourteen Points 518 • Armistice 518 • The Versailles Peace Conference 518 • The Fight over the League of Nations 519 • Racism and Red Scare 520 • The Election of 1920 521



The 1920s

524

A New Economic Order 525

A Decade of Prosperity 525 • New Modes of Producing, Managing, and Selling 525 • Women in the New Economic Era 527 • Workers in a Business Age 528 • Agriculture: The Economy's Ailing Sector 528

Republicans in Power 528

Scandals and Silences: The Harding and Coolidge Years 529 • Foreign Policy in an Isolationist Age 529 • Progressive Stirrings, Democratic Divisions 530 • Women and Politics in the 1920s: A Dream Deferred 531

Mass Society, Mass Culture 531

A Nation of Cities, Consumer Goods, and Automobiles 531 • Soaring Energy Consumption and a Threatened Environment 532 • Routinized Work, Mass-Produced Pleasure 533 • Fads, Celebrities, and Heroes 534

Cultural Ferment and Creativity 535

The Jazz Age and the Postwar Crisis of Values 535 • Other American Writers of the Twenties 537 • Achievements in Architecture, Painting, and Music 537 • The Harlem Renaissance 538 • Advances in Science and Medicine 539

A Society in Conflict 539

Immigration Restriction 539 • The Sacco-Vanzetti Case 540 • The Ku Klux Klan 540 • The Garvey Movement 541 • Fundamentalism and the Scopes Trial 542 • Prohibition 543

Hoover at the Helm 544

The Election of 1928 544 • Herbert Hoover's Social Thought 544



Crash, Depression, and New Deal

547

Crash and Depression 548

The Crash 548 • Onset of the Depression 549 • The Depression's Human Toll 549 • Hoover's Response 550 • Mounting Discontent and Protest 551 • The Election of 1932 551

The New Deal Takes Shape 551

New Beginnings 551 • The Hundred Days 553 • The NRA Bogs Down 555 • Troubled Agriculture 556 • Controversy over Relief Strategy 556 • The New Deal in Midstream: Popularity and Problems 557

The New Deal Changes Course 557

Challenges from Right and Left 557 • The Second New Deal: Expanding Federal Relief 558 • The Second New Deal: Turning Leftward 559 • The Election of 1936: The New Deal at High Tide 561 • The New Democratic Coalition 561 • The New Deal and the Environment 563

The New Deal Draws to a Close 563

FDR and the Supreme Court 564 • The Roosevelt Recession 564 • The End of the New Deal 565

American Life in a Decade of Crisis at Home and Abroad

569

The American People in the Depression Decade 570

The Plight of the People 570 • Industrial Workers Unionize 570 • Mixed Blessings for Women 572 • African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and Native Americans Cope with Hard Times 573 • Family Life and Population Trends 575

The American Cultural Scene in the Thirties 575

The Golden Age of Radio 576 • The Silver Screen 576 • The Literature of the Early Thirties 577 • The Later Thirties: The Popular Front and Cultural Nationalism 578 • The Age of Streamlining 579 • Undercurrents of Apprehension 580

The United States in a Menacing World 580

FDR's Nationalism and the Good Neighbor Policy 581 • The Rise of Fascism in Europe and Asia 581 • The American Mood: No More War 583 • Hesitant Response to the Fascist Challenge 584 • 1938–1939: The Gathering Storm 585 • America and the Jewish Refugees 585



Waging Global War, 1939–1945

589

Into the Storm, 1939-1941 590

Storm in Europe 590 • The Election of 1940 591 • From Isolation to Intervention 591 • Toward Pearl Harbor 592 • On the Defensive 593

America Mobilizes for War 593

Organizing for Victory 594 • A War Economy 595 • Science and the War 596 • Propaganda and Politics 596

War and American Society 597

The New Mobility 597 • Education and Entertainment 598 • Women and the Family 599 • African-Americans and the War 600 • Native Americans,

xiv

Mexican-Americans, and Jews in Wartime 602 . The Internment of Japanese-Americans 603

The Battlefront, 1942–1944 604

The Allied Drive in Europe 604 • The War in the Pacific 606 • The Grand Alliance 607 • The Election of 1944 608

Triumph and Tragedy, 1945 609

The Yalta Conference 609 • The Defeat of Germany 610 • A New President 610 • The Atomic Bombs 611



Cold War America. 1945-1952

614

The Postwar Political Setting 615

Demobilization and Reconversion 615 • Truman's Troubles 616

Anticommunism and Containment 617

Confrontation and Polarization 617 • The Cold War Begins 618 • European Crisis, American Commitment 619 • Confrontation 620 • The Cold War in Asia 622 • The Korean War 623

The Truman Administration at Home 625

The Eightieth Congress 626 • The Politics of Civil Rights 626 • The Election of 1948 627 • The Fair Deal 628

The Politics of Anticommunism 628

Loyalty and Security 629 • The Anticommunist Crusade 629 • Hiss and the Rosenbergs 630 • McCarthyism 631 • The Election of 1952 632

29

America at Midcentury

635

The Eisenhower Presidency 636

The General as Chief Executive 636 • "Dynamic Conservatism" 636 • The Downfall of Joseph McCarthy 637 • The Warren Court 638 • The Laws of the Land 639

The Cold War Continues 639

Truce in Korea 639 • Ike and Dulles 639 • Waging Peace 640 • The Clandestine CIA 640 • Conflict in Vietnam 641 • Antiwesternism in the Middle East 642 • Frustration Abroad 642 • The Eisenhower Legacy 642

The Affluent Society 643

The New Industrial Society 643 • The Age of Computers 644 • Concentration and Consolidation in Industry and Agriculture 644 • Blue-Collar Blues 645 • Prosperity, Suburbanization, and Mobility 645

Consensus and Conservatism 647

Togetherness and the "Baby Boom" 647 • Domesticity 647 • Religion and Education 648 • Affirmation and Anxiety: The Culture of the Fifties 648 • The Message of the Medium 649

The Other America 650

Poverty and Urban Blight 650 • African-Americans' Struggle for Justice 651 • The Hispanic-American and Native American Predicament 652

Seeds of Disquiet 653

Sputnik 653 • A Rebellion of Youth 654 • Portents of Change 654



The Turbulent Sixties

657

The New Frontier, 1960–1963 658

The Election of 1960 658 • Kennedy's Domestic Record 659 • Kennedy and Civil Rights 660 • The African-American Revolution 661