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A HISTORY of the AMERICAN PEOPLE

Volume II  *since 1865*

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Harry J. Carman

Harold C. Syrett & Bernard W. Wishy

C O L U M B I A U N I V E R S I T Y

SECOND EDITION, REVISED

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T O

M. M. C. & P. M. S.

To an Anxious Friend

You tell me that law is above freedom of utterance. And I reply that you can have no wise laws nor free enforcement of wise laws unless there is free expression of the wisdom of the people—and, alas, their folly with it. But if there is freedom, folly will die of its own poison, and the wisdom will survive. That is the history of the race. It is the proof of Man's kinship with God. You say that freedom of utterance is not for time of stress, and I reply with the sad truth that only in time of stress is freedom of utterance in danger. No one questions it in calm days, because it is not needed. And the reverse is true also; only when free utterance is suppressed is it needed and when it is needed, it is most vital to justice. Peace is good. But if you are interested in peace through force and without discussion, that is to say, free utterance decently and in order—your interest in justice is slight. And peace without justice is tyranny, no matter how you may sugar coat it with expediency. This state today is in more danger from suppression than from violence, because, in the end, suppression leads to violence. Violence, indeed, is the child of suppression. Whoever pleads for justice helps to keep the peace; and whoever tramples upon the plea for justice, temperately made in the name of peace, only outrages peace and kills something fine in the heart of man which God put there when we got our manhood. When that is killed, brute meets brute on each side of the line.

So, dear friend, put fear out of your heart. This nation will survive, this state will prosper, the orderly business of life will go forward if only men can speak in whatever way given them to utter what their hearts hold—by voice, by posted card, by letter or by press. Reason never has failed men. Only force and repression have made the wrecks in the world.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE
Emporia Gazette, July 27, 1922

A Note on the Revised Edition

IN THE YEARS since the first edition of this volume appeared there has been an impressive revaluation of much American history, and substantial scholarship has been published to support ideas that were largely suggestive and tentative at the end of the 1940's. This revision attempts to balance this newer scholarship against traditional interpretations but without, it is hoped, emphasizing what may turn out to be mere fashions in contemporary history. The book remains loyal to the original intention of providing a full analysis of American history that is true to the complexity of events and a fair test of the student's best possibilities as a serious scholar.

HARRY J. CARMAN

HAROLD C. SYRETT

BERNARD W. WISHY

Preface

J. B. Black in *The Art of History* contends that every age interprets "the record of the past in the light of its own ideas." We have preferred to take Black's words as a warning to historians rather than as a definition of written history, for we have made a conscious effort to judge the past in the light of the past and to avoid imposing the standards of our generation upon preceding generations. On the other hand, we have not renounced our right to interpret the past, for we have constantly tried to present the events of American history with a thesis in mind and to point out what we think is the significance of these events.

Our approach to history is eclectic. We do not think that the past should be studied from a single viewpoint or that it can be explained by one theory to the exclusion of all other theories. But, while rejecting any over-all thesis, we have not failed to take a stand on controversial issues. In each instance the nature of the issue has helped to determine our stand; and the fact that we have advanced a succession of different interpretations rather than used the same interpretations for a succession of events accurately reflects our conviction that every historical event is unique.

The organization of these volumes represents a compromise between the chronological and topical approaches to the material under consideration. We have divided American history into a number of comparatively large periods, and within each period we have dealt with a series of major topics. This method necessitates some repetition, but in a book that is designed for students repetition, in our view, is an asset rather

§ *Preface*

than a defect. We have proceeded on the hypothesis that no part or period of American history is inherently more important than any other, and we have therefore sought to present in all its aspects the history of the American people.

HARRY J. CARMAN

HAROLD C. SYRETT

BERNARD W. WISHY

Acknowledgments

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE is an outgrowth of Professor Carman's *Economic and Social History of the United States*. We have used the earlier work, which covers the period from the first settlements in America to 1876, as a point of departure for our first volume. At some points we have expanded Professor Carman's material, and at others we have cut those portions of it that seemed unsuitable for a general textbook, but in every instance we have subjected it to extensive revisions. In addition, we have supplemented it with a full account of American diplomatic and political history.

Throughout the preparation of these two volumes we received considerable assistance from a number of friends and colleagues. Professors Herman Ausubel, Donald N. Bigelow, Henry F. Graff, and Cnilton Williamson of Columbia University, Professors Michael Kraus and Oscar Zeichner of the College of the City of New York, Professor Oscar Handlin of Harvard University, Professors Frank Freidel and Fred A. Shannon of the University of Illinois, Professor James A. Barnes of Temple University, Professor Joe L. Norris of Wayne University, Professor R. J. Ferguson of the University of Pittsburgh, Professor Burke M. Hermann of Pennsylvania State College, and Mr. Thomas R. Hay furnished us with invaluable criticisms and suggestions. Lois Green Clark of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. read the entire manuscript and showed unusual skill and knowledge in criticizing both its form and content. Mrs. Patricia Syrett typed most of the manuscript, and both Mrs. Syrett and Miss Margaret Carscadden per-

formed a variety of generally unpleasant tasks associated with the work on this book. Both, moreover, treated its authors with remarkable tolerance and patience. Mr. James P. Shenton and Dr. Walter P. Metzger of Columbia University helped us in the preparation of the bibliography. We are also indebted to Professor Bigelow and Mr. Charles E. McCarthy for the assistance they gave us in checking the proof.

In the preparation of the revised edition our special thanks go to now Professor Shenton for help with the bibliography, to Mr. Morton Klevan for aid on research for the photographs and charts, and to Mrs. Frank Slater and Mr. Joseph Plut for their patience and precision in typing the manuscript. Along with Mrs. Slater, Barry Augenbraun and Stephen Lerner have our special thanks for their help in completing this second volume in its final stages. The fine craftsmanship of Theodore Miller is responsible for the new maps and charts in Volume II. The common sense and forbearance of Phyllis Sherman of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. were indispensable in the preparation of the entire revised edition.

We are jointly responsible for whatever errors this book may contain.

HARRY J. CARMAN

HAROLD C. SYRETT

BERNARD W. WISHY

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