

The American Pageant

Thomas A. Bailey
David M. Kennedy



EIGHTH EDITION



8th Edition

*The American
Pageant*

A History of the Republic

Thomas A. Bailey

David M. Kennedy

Stanford University

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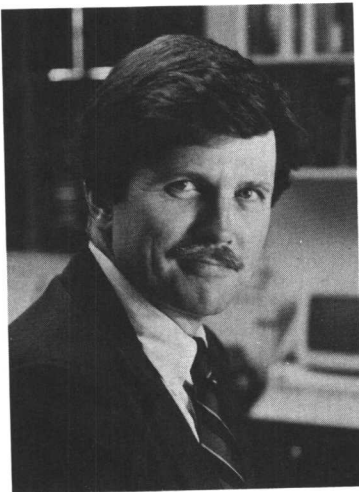
The American Pageant



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THOMAS A. BAILEY, a native Californian, taught American history for nearly forty years at Stanford University, his alma mater. Always a popular teacher, he also served as a visiting professor at Harvard, Cornell, Johns Hopkins, and other institutions. Long regarded as among the nation's leading diplomatic historians, he was honored by his colleagues in 1968 by election to the presidency of the Organization of American Historians. Though he was the author, co-author, or editor of some twenty books in the field of American history, he was most proud of *The American Pageant*, through which, he liked to say, he had taught American history to some two million students.



DAVID M. KENNEDY, a native of Seattle, received his undergraduate education at Stanford University. He earned his Ph.D. at Yale University in American Studies, combining the fields of history, literature, and economics. His first book, *Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger* (1970), was honored with both the Bancroft Prize and the John Gilmary Shea Prize. His study of World War I, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (1980), was a Pulitzer Prize nominee. Kennedy is the 1988–1989 holder of the Harmsworth Professorship of American History at Oxford University. A member of the Stanford History Department since 1967, Kennedy has twice been recognized by the graduating class for the effectiveness of his teaching. He has also chaired the university's program in international relations and served as Associate Dean of the School of Humanities and Sciences. His most recent book is *Power and Responsibility: Case Studies in American Leadership* (1986). He is currently working on a volume covering the Great Depression and World War II in *The Oxford History of the United States*.

Preface

Revising *The American Pageant* for this eighth edition posed the vexing problem of how to make a good thing better. The *Pageant* has long enjoyed a deserved reputation as one of the most accessible, popular, and effective textbooks in the field of American history. Thomas A. Bailey gave to the book a distinctive personality that mirrored the vast learning and the sparkling classroom style that he had cultivated during his nearly four decades of teaching at Stanford University. He stamped every page of the text with the charm of his inventive prose, his passion for clarity, his disdain for clutter, and his mastery of the narrative form.

Clearly, these outstanding attributes of the book had to be preserved, even strengthened. But like the United States itself, sometimes described as the only nation that was born perfect and yet aspired to progress, the *Pageant* presented possibilities for improvement in certain areas. Specifically, I have tried to preserve the book's basic personality while incorporating the rich new scholarship in social, economic, cultural, and intellectual history that has appeared in the last generation. I have been guided in this effort by two principles: first, the desire to bring to light the "inner" histories of people—including women, the poor, blacks, Hispanics, and certain religious communities—who until recently were only imperfectly visible to historians; second, the belief that the main drama and the urgent interest of American history reside in the public arena where these and other groups contend and cooperate with one another. In that sometimes noisy forum, Americans have shaped the civic culture in which they all necessarily live. Thus this eighth edition of *The American Pageant*, like earlier editions, gives special emphasis to the great public issues—such as constitution making, slavery and civil war, the rights of minorities, economic regulation, and foreign policy—that have dominated national life. It also gives considerable attention to tracing the evolution of major public institutions like the agencies of government and political parties. Public affairs, in short, form the spine of the *Pageant's* account of American history.

This edition includes much new material on the history of the family from colonial times to the twentieth century; on the influence of religion in American life; on the role of ideas in the making of the Revolution, the Constitution, and the two-party system, and in the struggle for women's rights; on the effects of urbanization and suburbanization; and on the causes and consequences of immigration, old and new.

In addition, readers will find expanded discussion of pre-Columbian history and Native Americans; an entirely new chapter on colonial life in the seventeenth century; an extensively revised account of Jacksonian America, stressing the novelty of mass-based political parties and the emergence of the two-party system; new treatment of the rise of a market economy and its implications for women and families in antebellum America; an updated ac-

count of the character of slavery and the nature of abolitionism; a completely revised explanation of Reconstruction; and a virtually all-new chapter on the rise of the city in post-Civil War America. The coverage of twentieth-century American history has likewise been revised and now includes a fresh discussion, in a single chapter, of the domestic and diplomatic dimensions of World War I; new material on the home front during World War II, and on the war's shaping influence on postwar society; an updated account of the origins of the Cold War; a substantial reworking of the entire post-1945 portion of the text, including a new chapter on Ronald Reagan and the conservative resurgence; and a thoroughly revised concluding chapter on the character of American society since World War II. I have also woven into the text narrative new biographies of more than a dozen figures, such as Charles Grandison Finney, Jane Addams, and Eleanor Roosevelt, and have expanded the biographical material on many others, including Brigham Young and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Other improvements include the expansion of most "Varying Viewpoints" essays to reflect recent scholarship and to stimulate classroom discussion; updated end-of-chapter bibliographies, with an added subsection recommending primary-source documents for further study; many new boxed quotations; a much-expanded appendix featuring tables and graphics with extensive information on American social and economic history; and, not least, an attractive new text design with full-color maps and illustrations—many of them new—and the generous use of color throughout.

A new text supplement, the *Instructor's Resource Guide*, is also available with this edition. It features summaries of chapter themes, chapter outlines, suggestions and resources for lectures, character sketches of key historical figures, ideas for classroom debates, and discussion questions. The student *Guidebook* and instructor's *Quizbook* have both been completely rewritten and expanded to incorporate a wealth of useful new material. In addition, *The American Spirit*, a companion collection of primary-source documents, has been thoroughly revised to reflect the changes in the *Pageant*.

While undertaking these improvements, I have tried to preserve all the elements that have made the *Pageant* distinctive, especially a strong chronological narrative and a writing style that emphasizes clarity, concreteness, and a measure of wit. I believe that Thomas A. Bailey would have been proud of this new edition of *The American Pageant*. No scholar ever loved his subject with more gusto and devotion than Thomas A. Bailey loved American history. He originally wrote the *Pageant* so that others could share in the sheer delight and rich satisfaction that he took from his scholarship. In keeping with that tradition, I hope that the readers of this book will enjoy learning from it and come to savor, as Thomas A. Bailey so exuberantly did, the pleasures and rewards of historical study.

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Many people contributed to this revision. Foremost among them are the countless students and teachers who have written unsolicited letters of comment or inquiry. I have learned from each of them. I want also to thank the hundreds of current *Pageant* users who generously responded to an extensive mail survey. Too numerous to name here, they provided me with the best possible advice on how to make the book most suitable for classroom use. Several colleagues also gave me the benefit of their expertise in particular areas, including:

Professor Geoffrey Blodgett, Oberlin College
Professor Stuart Bruchey, Columbia University
Professor Michael Holt, University of Virginia
Professor Regina Markell Morantz-Sanchez, University of Kansas
Professor Nell Irvin Painter, University of North Carolina
Professor Mel Piehl, Valparaiso University
Professor Jack N. Rakove, Stanford University

My warm thanks to each of them.

Sail, sail thy best, ship of Democracy,
Of value is thy freight, 'tis not the Present only,
The Past is also stored in thee,
Thou holdest not the venture of thyself alone, not of
the Western continent alone,
Earth's résumé entire floats on thy keel, O ship, is
steadied by thy spars,
With thee Time voyages in trust, the antecedent
nations sink or swim with thee,
With all their ancient struggles, martyrs, heroes, epics,
wars, thou bear'st the other continents,
Theirs, theirs as much as thine, the destination-port
triumphant. . . .

Walt Whitman
Thou Mother with Thy Equal Brood, 1872

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