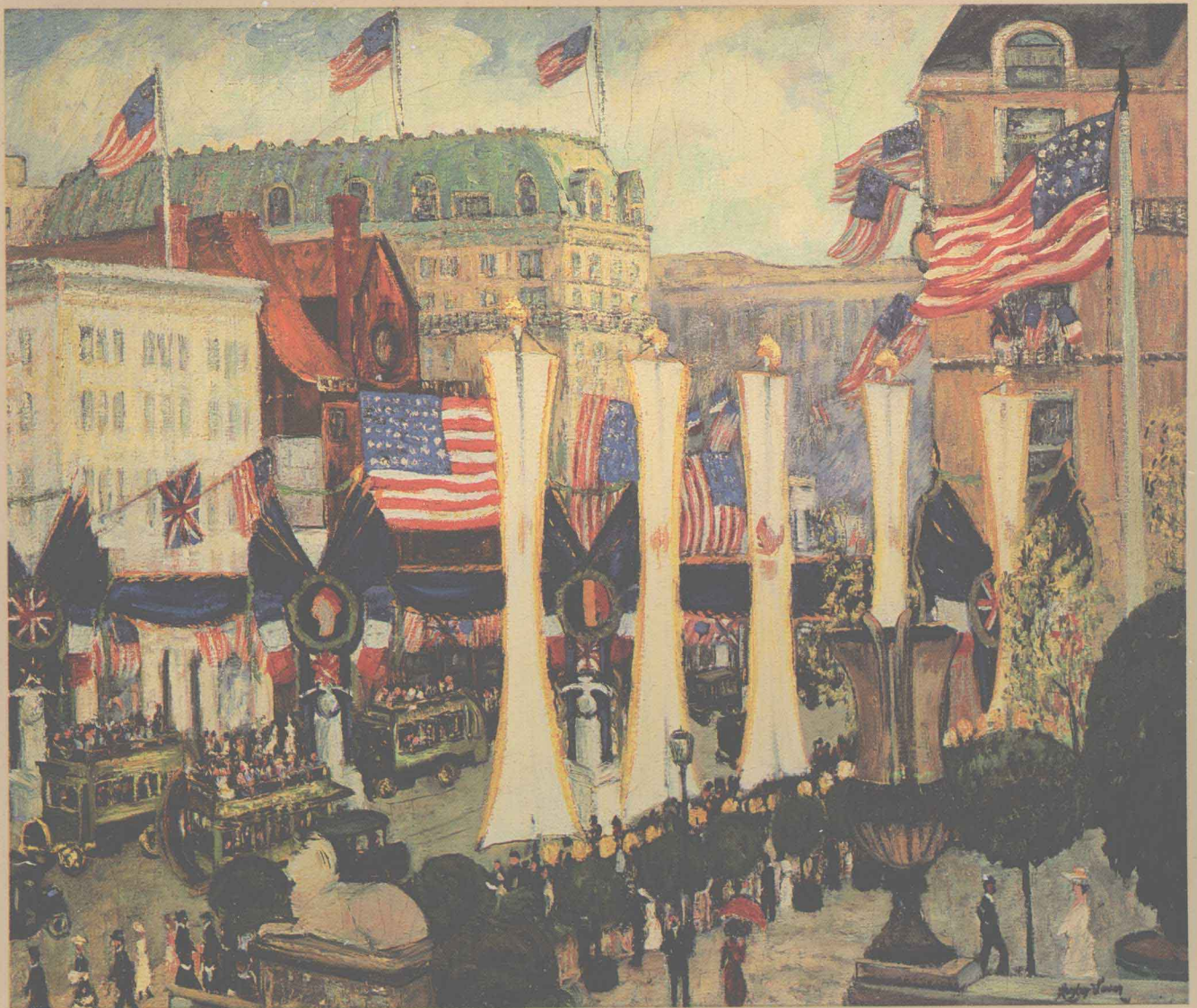


# *The American Pageant*

Thomas A. Bailey

David M. Kennedy



Volume I

Eighth Edition



*8th Edition*

*The American  
Pageant*

*A History of the Republic*

*Volume I*

Thomas A. Bailey

David M. Kennedy

*Stanford University*

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COVER: *Armistice Celebration Parade, Fifth Avenue, 1919*, by Hayley Lever, Sotheby's, New York.

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Published simultaneously in Canada.

Printed in the United States of America.

International Standard Book Number: 0-669-10811-1

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 86-80502

# 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.

DAVID M. KENNEDY  
*Stanford University*

# *Acknowledgments*

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.

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# 1

## *New World Beginnings*

*... For I shall yet live to see it [Virginia] an Inglishe nation.  
Sir Walter Raleigh, 1602*

### **Planetary Perspectives**

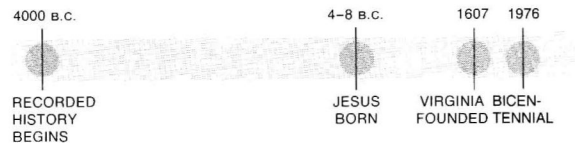
Several billion years ago that whirling speck of dust known as the earth, fifth in size among the planets, came into being.

About six thousand years ago—only the day before yesterday geologically—recorded history of the Western world began. Certain peoples of the Middle East, developing a primitive culture, gradually emerged from the haze of the past.

Nearly five hundred years ago—only yesterday—European explorers stumbled on the American continents. This epochal achievement, one of the most dramatic in the chronicles of humankind, opened breathtaking new vistas and forever altered the future of both the Old World and the New.

The two new American continents eventually brought forth a score of sovereign republics. By far the most influential of this brood—the United States—was born a pygmy and grew to be a giant. It was destined to leave a deep imprint upon the rest of the world as a result of its

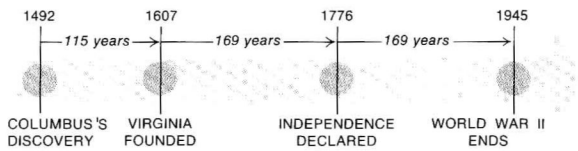
refreshingly liberal ideals, its revolutionary democratic experiment, and its boundless opportunities for the common folk of foreign lands. The enormous output of its robust economy ultimately made it a decisive weight in the world balance of power. Its achievements in science, technology, and the arts shaped people's lives in every corner of the planet.



The American Republic, which is still relatively young when compared with the Old World, was from the outset richly favored. It started from scratch on a vast and virgin continent, which was so sparsely peopled by Indians that they could be eliminated or shouldered aside. This unique opportunity for a great social and political experiment may never come again,



for no other huge, fertile, and relatively uninhabited areas are left in the temperate zones of this increasingly crowded planet.



Despite its marvelous development, the United States will one day reach its peak, like Greece and Rome. Its glory will eventually fade, as did theirs. But whatever uncertainties the future may hold, the past at least is secure and will richly repay examination.

### *Indirect Discoverers of the New World*

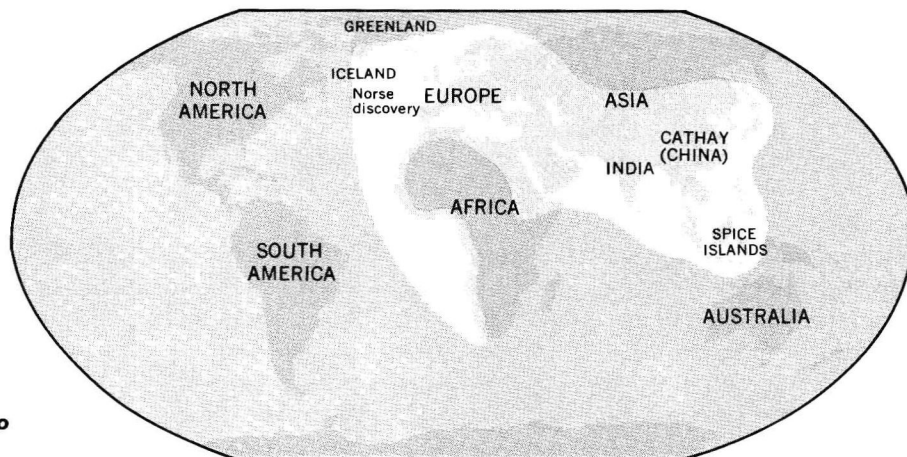
The American continents were slow to yield their virginity. The all-conquering Romans, a half century after the birth of Christ, expanded their empire northwestward as far as Britain. But for nearly fifteen hundred years thereafter, the New World lay unknown and unsuspected to Europeans, awaiting its discoverers. Blond-bearded Norse seafarers from Scandinavia chanced upon the northeastern shoulder of North America about A.D. 1000. They landed at a place abounding in wild grapes, which they named Vinland. But their settlements were

soon abandoned, and the discovery was forgotten, except in Scandinavian saga and song.

America was to be mainly a child of Europe, not of a specific country, such as England. One must seek in the Old World that momentous chain of events which led to a drive toward the Far East—and a completely accidental discovery of the New World.

Christian Crusaders must take high rank among the indirect discoverers of America. Tens of thousands of these European warriors, clad in shining armor, invaded Palestine from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. They were avowedly attempting to wrest the Holy Land from the polluting hand of the Moslem "infidel." Foiled in their repeated assaults, these Christian soldiers did manage to come into closer contact with the exotic delights of Asia—delights already introduced to Europe on a limited scale. European "barbarians" learned more fully the value of spices for spoiled and monotonous food; of silk for rough skins; of drugs for aching flesh; of perfumes for unbathed bodies; and of colorful draperies for gloomy castles.

But the luxuries of the Far East were prohibitively expensive in Europe. They had to be transported enormous distances from the Spice Islands (Indonesia), China, and India, in creaking ships and on swaying camel back, to the ports of the eastern Mediterranean. Moslem middlemen exacted a heavy toll en route. By the time the strange-smelling goods reached the Italian merchants at Venice and Genoa, they



**The World Known to Europe, 1492**