

THE AMERICAN PAGEANT

THOMAS A. BAILEY
DAVID M. KENNEDY
LIZABETH COHEN

ELEVENTH EDITION

VOLUME II: SINCE 1865



THE
American Pageant

A History of the Republic

ELEVENTH EDITION

VOLUME II: SINCE 1865



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PREFACE



This eleventh edition of *The American Pageant* introduces a new co-author, Professor Lizabeth Cohen of Harvard University. Together, we have undertaken one of the most thorough revisions of the book since it was first published in 1956. Yet for all the innovations in this edition, it also contains much that is familiar. In particular, we have carefully preserved those elements that have long distinguished the *Pageant* from other American history textbooks and made it both appealing and useful to countless students: clarity, concreteness, a consistent chronological narrative, strong emphasis on major themes, avoidance of clutter, access to a variety of interpretive perspectives, and a colorful writing style leavened, as appropriate, with wit.

To a remarkable degree, our scholarly interests as well as our professional careers mirror one another's. David Kennedy is primarily a political and economic historian who was raised in the West, trained in the East (at Yale), and returned to the West to teach at Stanford. Lizabeth Cohen is primarily a social and cultural historian who was raised in the East, trained in the West (at the University of California at Berkeley), and returned to the East to teach first at Carnegie-Mellon University, then at New York University, and now at Harvard. She has also taught at the middle-school level and has had extensive experience working in historical museums—a background that gives her a practiced teacher's sensitive touch and a keen eye for illustrative material to enhance the teaching purposes of the text. Her book, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939*, a Bancroft Prize winner and Pulitzer Prize finalist, combines the approaches of both social and political history. In undertaking the revisions for this edition, she has been especially concerned with integrating the rich recent scholarship in social history into the *Pageant's* core political narrative. The two of us share a commitment to telling the story of the American past as vividly and clearly as possible,

without sacrificing a sense of the often sobering seriousness of history, and of its sometimes challenging complexity.

Changes in the Eleventh Edition

To help students come to grips with the complexity of the past, we have divided the book into six sections, organized around sets of major issues that shaped successive stages of American history. Each section begins with an essay that establishes the basic thematic contours of the group of chapters that follow. The essay on “Founding a New Society,” for example, introduces the chapters dealing with the settlement and colonial periods. It emphasizes the themes of racial, ethnic, religious, and regional diversity in Britain's North American colonies, and the slow emergence of an “American” national identity, culminating in the Revolution of 1776. To take another example, the essay on “Making Modern America” opens the discussion of the post–World War II years. It highlights the role of that war both in propelling the phenomenal wave of postwar prosperity at home and setting the stage for the Cold War that dominated both the domestic and international scenes for nearly half a century after World War II's conclusion.

The six introductory essays, new in this edition, provide frameworks within which students can better understand the *Pageant's* detailed examinations of the major phases of American history. The essays are intended to guide readers into unfamiliar material, to serve as reference points with which to make sense of the material as they work through it, and as tools for reviewing their understanding of the larger structures and deeper dynamics of history that are often obscured by a preoccupation with discrete facts. The essays reflect our conviction that historical study should strive for synthesis and informed interpretation. Students should not merely seek to memorize mountains of data, but to identify pat-

terns in the often baffling welter of factual detail, and to appreciate complex chains of cause and consequence. Students will learn more effectively, we believe, if they take from these introductory essays a sense of the contexts in which particular historical facts fit, and in which their relative historical significance can be judged.

We have also substantially revised the “Varying Viewpoints” essays. They offer overviews of the scholarly debates that have surrounded major historical issues, and they encourage students to think critically about the ways in which historians disagree. Rather than appearing briefly at the end of each chapter, as in previous editions, the Varying Viewpoints essays have been consolidated into much more substantial discussions of twenty-two major controversies in American history and are found only at the conclusions of relevant chapters.

This edition also contains five new “Makers of America” essays, on the Loyalists during the Revolution, the pioneers of the old Northwest, the Oneida Community, the Knights of Labor, and the suburbanites of the post–World War II era. Along with the twenty-two existing “Makers” essays, these additions help constitute a comprehensive mosaic of the diverse peoples and groups that have composed our strikingly pluralistic society.

Readers will find other new features in this edition of the *Pageant* as well: enriched discussion at many points of the contributions of women; expanded treatment of working-class life; extensive analysis of the concept of republicanism; a thoroughly updated account of Reconstruction; substantial attention to African-American and Native American history; careful integration of social, political, and cultural themes in the post–World War II period; and many fresh voices in the numerous box-quotes. We have also compressed and reorganized the material concerning the period from 1800 to 1824, formerly Chapters 11, 12 and 13. That material is now broken up into two chapters that cover the Jefferson and Madison presidencies, 1800 to 1812 (Chapter 11) and the War of 1812 through the Monroe Doctrine, 1812–1824 (Chapter 12). In addition, the Eleventh Edition features an exciting new design, many revised maps and charts, and several entirely new maps and photographs. Completely updated bibliographies at the conclusion of every chapter and a revised Appendix, with abundant statistical data on many aspects of the

American historical experience, complete the text package.

Goals of *The American Pageant*

Like its predecessors, this edition of *The American Pageant* tries to cultivate in its readers the capacity for balanced judgment and informed understanding about American society by holding up to the present the mirror and measuring rod that is the past. The book's goal is not to teach the art of prophecy but the much subtler and more difficult arts of seeing things in context, of understanding the roots and direction and pace of change, and of distinguishing what is truly new under the sun from what is not. The study of history, it has been rightly said, does not make one smart for the next time, but wise forever.

We hope that the *Pageant* will help to develop those intellectual assets in its readers, and that those who use the book will take from it both a fresh appreciation of what has gone before and a seasoned perspective on what is to come. And we hope, too, that readers will take as much pleasure in reading *The American Pageant* as we have had in writing it.

Supplements Available with *The American Pageant*, Eleventh Edition

A complete supplementary program accompanies the eleventh edition of *The American Pageant*. The supplements comprise the following items.

FOR STUDENTS:

- **The American Spirit, Ninth Edition, Volumes I and II** (primary-source readers)
- **Complete Guidebook** (study guide without answers to exercises)
- **Guidebook, Volumes I and II** (study guides with answers to exercises)
- **Computerized Guidebook**
- **Getting the Most out of Your U.S. History Course: The History Student's Vade Mecum**, Second Edition
- **Rand McNally Atlas of American History**

- **Regional Document Sets:** For the South; Texas and the Southwest; and California and the West
- **Surveying the Land: Skills and Exercises in U.S. Historical Geography, Volumes I and II**
- **The American Pageant Interactive Edition** (comprises the complete text of the book, illustrations from the book and other sources, an extensive collection of maps, some of which are animated to show change over time, multimedia chapter overviews, historical video and audio; tables of numeric data, and an extensive array of documents, as well as self-tests, a glossary, chronologies, and a notebook)

FOR INSTRUCTORS:

- **Instructor's Resource Guide**
- **Quizbook** (test item file)
- **Computerized Testing** for Macintosh, IBM, and Apple computers
- **The Houghton Mifflin U.S. History Transparency Set, Volumes I and II**
- **Videodisk** (*An American Portfolio*, provides thousands of still images of historic events, personages, and artifacts with twenty-seven minutes of full-motion historic video footage and numerous animated maps showing change over time)

@history

The most exciting addition to our ancillary lineup is *@history: an interactive American history source*. This multimedia teaching/learning package combines a variety of material—primary sources (text and graphic), videos, audio, and links to Web sites—with activities that can be used to analyze, interpret, and discuss primary sources; to enhance collaborative learning; and to create multimedia presentations. *@history* provides instructors with an interactive multimedia tool that can improve the analytical skills of students and introduce them to historical sources.

Acknowledgments

Many people have contributed to this revision of *The American Pageant*. Foremost among them are the countless students and teachers who have written unsolicited letters of comment or inquiry. We have learned from every one of them, and encourage all readers to offer us suggestions for improving future editions. Several colleagues have also given us the benefit of their assistance, including:

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Our warm thanks to each of them.

David M. Kennedy

Lizabeth Cohen

*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

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



Thomas A. Bailey, (1903–1983), taught history for nearly forty years at Stanford University, his alma mater. Long regarded as one of the nation's leading historians of American diplomacy, he was honored by his colleagues in 1968 with election to the presidencies of both the Organization of American Historians and the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. He was the author, editor, or co-editor of some twenty books, but the work in which he took most pride was *The American Pageant* through which, he liked to say, he had taught American history to several million students.

David M. Kennedy is the Donald J. McLachlan Professor of History at Stanford University. Born and raised in Seattle, he received his undergraduate education at Stanford and did his graduate training at Yale in American Studies, combining the fields of history, economics, and literature. His 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 finalist. He is currently finishing a volume in the *Oxford History of the United States* series, covering the Great Depression and World War II. At Stanford he teaches courses in American social, political, and diplomatic history, American literature, and the history of American political thought. He is the recipient of several teaching awards, including the Dean's Award for Distinguished Teaching. He has been a visiting professor at the University of Florence, Italy, and in 1995–1996 served as the Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford University. He has also served on the Advisory Board for the PBS television series, *The American Experience*, and as a consultant to documentary films, including *The Great*



War and *Cadillac Desert*. From 1990 to 1995 he chaired the Test Development Committee for the Advanced Placement United States History examination. In 1996 he was elected to membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Married and the father of three children, in his leisure time he enjoys hiking, bicycling, river-rafting, and fly-fishing.

Lizabeth Cohen has recently joined the history department at Harvard University. Previously, she taught at New York University (1992–1997) and Carnegie Mellon University (1986–1992). Born and raised in the New York metropolitan area, she earned her A.B. from Princeton University and her M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley. Her book, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (1990) won the Bancroft Prize in American History and the Philip Taft Labor History Award, and was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize. Her article, "Encountering Mass Culture at the Grassroots: The Experience of Chicago Workers in the 1920s," (1989) was awarded the Constance Roarke Prize of the American Studies Association. Currently, she is writing a book about how an economy, landscape, and culture built around mass consumption have shaped politics and social life in post-World War II America. At Harvard, she teaches courses in twentieth-century America, material and popular culture, and gender and working-class history. Before attending graduate school, she taught history at the secondary level and worked in history and art museums. She continues to write about and develop public history programs for general audiences. She is married to an historian of modern France, with whom she has two daughters. For leisure, she enjoys swimming and bicycling with her family, and reading fiction.



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