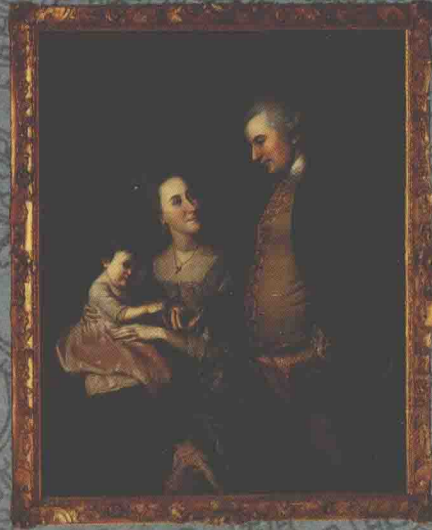
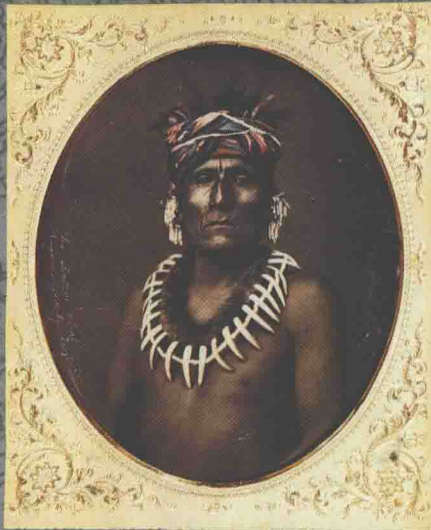


# *The American Pageant*

**Thomas A. Bailey  
David M. Kennedy**

**Tenth Edition**

**Volume II**





# *The American Pageant*

A History of the Republic

Volume II

Tenth Edition

Thomas A. Bailey  
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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** is Donald J. McLachlan Professor of History and American Studies at Stanford University, where he has taught since 1967. A native of Seattle, he received his undergraduate education at Stanford and 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 finalist. He is currently working on a volume in *The Oxford History of the United States* covering the period from 1929 to 1945. Kennedy has twice been recognized by Stanford's graduating class for the effectiveness of his teaching and in 1988 was presented with the Dean's Award for Distinguished Teaching. He has chaired Stanford's program in international relations, served as Associate Dean of the School of Humanities and Sciences, and is currently the chair of the Stanford History Department. He has lectured at many schools and universities in the United States, as well as in Italy, Turkey, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, England, and Germany. He serves on the advisory board to the PBS television program, "The American Experience," and has been designated the 1995–1996 holder of the Harmsworth Professorship of American History at Oxford University, England. Married and the father of three children, in his leisure time he enjoys hiking, river-running, and fly-fishing and still foolishly attempts an occasional game of soccer.

# Preface

This tenth edition of *The American Pageant* provides a fitting occasion to reflect on the changes in history—and in historical scholarship—that have occurred in the nearly four decades since the book was first published. When Thomas A. Bailey wrote the original version of the *Pageant* in the 1950s, post-World War II euphoria still nourished an indomitable sense of national self-confidence; the postwar economic boom was rapidly gathering steam; the Cold War was at its height; immigration was at a standstill; the civil rights era was just dawning; television was an exotic electronic technology; air travel was a luxury; and the coming upheaval in women's status was only barely visible to even the most astute observer.

As this tenth edition of *The American Pageant* appears, World War II has faded from memory as the shadows of Vietnam and Watergate still darken the Republic's spirit; the economy has failed fully to regain the momentum it lost in the 1970s; the Cold War is over; immigration stands at record-high levels; race relations stubbornly persist as the nation's most mysterious and intractable problem; the electronics revolution has been joined by the biotechnology revolution; air travel is commonplace; and far-reaching changes in women's roles and in the nature of family life are transforming American society. These developments would have confounded any predictions made in the 1950s. As a noted historian has observed, the future will always surprise even those who see most deeply into it.

Why should one study history, then, if it provides no reliable guide to the future? The Philadelphia author Agnes Repplier had an answer to that question nearly a century ago: "I used to think that ignorance of history meant only a lack of cultivation and a loss of pleasure," she wrote. "Now I am sure that such ignorance impairs our judgment by impairing our understanding, by depriving us of standards, of the power to contrast, and the right to estimate."

Those are the intellectual assets that *The American Pageant* tries to cultivate. It seeks to develop in 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. Its goal is to teach not the art of prophecy but the much subtler and more difficult arts of seeing things in context, of understanding the roots and nature and pace of change, and of being able to distinguish 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 for all time.

*The American Pageant* seeks to help readers think critically about where the United States is today by examining where it has been. In its journey across the centuries, American history has taken twists and turns embracing the full range of human experiences, from the highest idealism to the most shameful injustice, from soaring accomplishments to bitter defeats, from foul crimes to fabulous inventions. The *Pageant* tries to portray all these dramas from the American past vividly, without sacrificing a sense of the often sobering seriousness of history, and of its rich and sometimes contradictory complexity.

Much has happened in history over the last forty years. For that very reason, much has changed, too, in the ways that history is studied and written. Few of the verities of yesteryear have gone unchallenged. Scholars are less confident than they once were that American history traces an ever-ascending trajectory of moral, social, and economic progress. The civil rights and feminist revolutions have fueled an explosion of scholarship about race, gender, and class relations in the past. The environmental movement has spawned a keen interest in the physical history of North America as it has been shaped by human hands, tools, and technologies over the last five centuries. What might be called the finger-pointing schools of thought about the Cold War, which tried to fix the blame for that protracted conflict on one side or the other, have given way to more balanced and textured accounts of the long Soviet-American rivalry, and indeed of U.S. foreign relations from the early days of the Republic to the present.

This tenth edition of *The American Pageant* incorporates this exciting new scholarship. In fact, this edition differs so fundamentally from the original edition of 1956 that it is in many ways another book altogether. It contains extensive new discussions of the pre-Columbian era, the spread of Spanish America, Native Americans, environmental history, the Jacksonian movement, the nature of slavery and its political consequences, the role of religion in American life, the Civil War and Reconstruction, urbanization and immigration in the late nineteenth century, World Wars I and II, the emergence of a consumer economy in the twentieth century, women's history, the Cold War, and of course all the major developments of the last several decades: the civil rights movement, the feminist revolution, the resurgence of immigration, the Vietnam War, Watergate, the post-World War II changes in America's international position, the "Reagan Revolution," the Persian Gulf War, and the election of the first president from the "baby-boom" generation.

Readers will also find in this edition several new "Makers of America" essays, focusing on the diverse ethnic and racial groups that compose our strikingly pluralistic society. I have also revised many of the end-of-chapter "Varying Viewpoints" essays on historiography and added numerous boxed quotations, which serve as mini-documents illustrating themes discussed in the text narrative. All bibliographies have been updated, and many new maps and illustrations have been added.

But if much is new in *The American Pageant*, much remains the same. In particular, I have strived to preserve all those elements that have long distinguished the *Pageant* from other American history textbooks and made it interesting and useful to countless students: clarity, concreteness, a strong chronological narrative, and a lively writing style leavened with an occasional dollop of wit.

Like earlier revisions, this one has been guided by two principles: first, the obligation to incorporate into the historical record the histories of many peoples who have become visible to historians only in the last generation or so—including women, the working class, Native Americans, African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, Asian-Americans, and certain religious communities; second, the belief that the main drama and the urgent interest of American history reside in the public arena, where individuals from these and other

groups have cooperated and contended with one another. In that noisy public forum, Americans for some four centuries have molded the civic cultures in which they all necessarily have lived. Thus this tenth edition of *The American Pageant*, like its predecessors, lays special emphasis on the great public issues that have dominated American history: the clash and commingling of cultures that shaped colonial settlement; the role of religion in civic life; the Revolution and the making of the Constitution; the building of a national economy; slavery and the Civil War; the struggles of minorities for full access to the American dream; the transformation of the economy from an agricultural to an industrial to a postindustrial basis; relations with other nations, including wars; the evolution of political parties; and the never-ending debates about the character of government and social justice. Public affairs, in short, form the spine of the *Pageant's* account, but that spine is firmly connected to the full body of social, economic, and intellectual history that makes up the organic whole of the American past.

I hope that readers of this book will take from it a renewed appreciation of what has gone before and a seasoned perspective on what is to come. And I hope that they will both learn from and enjoy reading it, as I have gained both understanding and pleasure from writing it.

## *Supplements Available with The American Pageant, Tenth Edition*

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

### For Students:

- **The American Spirit, 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
- **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**

### For Instructors:

- **Instructor's Resource Guide**
- **Instructor's Toolkit** (lecture outlines)
- **Quizbook** (test item file)

- **Computerized Testing** for Macintosh, IBM, and Apple computers
- **The D. C. Heath U.S. History Transparency Set, 1994 Edition, Volumes I and II**
- **Audiocassette for U.S. History**

A **videodisc** for instructors also accompanies *The American Pageant*, Tenth Edition. Entitled *An American Portfolio*, it is a CAV-format disc, providing thousands of still images of historic events, personages, and artifacts; twenty-seven minutes of full-motion historic video footage; and numerous animated maps showing change over time. It is my hope that the *American Portfolio* videodisc will be a powerful aid to bringing history and the historian's craft alive for students.

## The American Pageant, *Interactive Edition*— *A Pathbreaking CD ROM Resource*

*The American Pageant* is also available in a multimedia, CD ROM–based interactive edition, giving learners an integrated set of tools and resources for studying United States history.

The interactive edition of *The American Pageant* comprises the complete text of the book; illustrations from the book as well as from 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. In addition, the interactive edition offers self-tests, a glossary, chronologies, and a notebook.

The interactive edition of *The American Pageant* benefits students in all phases of the survey course. They can prepare to study a chapter by watching a multimedia overview. While reading the chapter, they can access audio and video, consult a glossary, refer to a chronology, and read relevant primary sources. After studying the chapter, learners can take a self-test and receive suggestions for further study. In short, the interactive edition of *The American Pageant* adds exciting new dimensions to the study of United States history.

## *Acknowledgments*

Many people contributed to this revision of *The American Pageant*. Foremost among them are the countless students and teachers who over the years have written unsolicited letters of comment or inquiry. I have learned from every one of them. Several colleagues also gave me the benefit of their assistance, including the following:

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David M. Kennedy

*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*

# Contents

- CHAPTER 24** *The Ordeal of Reconstruction, 1865–1877* **487**
- The defeated South • The freed slaves • President Andrew Johnson’s Reconstruction policies • Moderate and radical Republicans • Congressional Reconstruction policies • Johnson clashes with Congress • Military Reconstruction, 1867–1877 • “Black Reconstruction” and the Ku Klux Klan • The impeachment of Andrew Johnson • The legacy of Reconstruction
- CHAPTER 25** *Politics in the Gilded Age, 1869–1889* **509**
- Ulysses S. Grant, soldier-president • Corruption and reform in the post-Civil War era • The depression of the 1870s • Political parties and partisans • The Compromise of 1877 and the end of Reconstruction • Immigrants from China • Civil-service reform • Grover Cleveland and the tariff
- Makers of America:** The Chinese **520**
- CHAPTER 26** *Industry Comes of Age, 1865–1900* **535**
- The railroad boom • Speculators and financiers • Early efforts at government regulation • Lords of industry • Industry in the South • The laboring class • The rise of trade unions
- Makers of America:** The Poles **556**
- CHAPTER 27** *America Moves to the City, 1865–1900* **564**
- The rise of the city • Skyscrapers, tenements, and suburbs • The “New Immigrants” • Settlement houses and social workers • Nativists and immigration restriction • Churches in the city • Black leaders: Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois • Literary achievements • The urban family • The “New Woman” and the new morality • Art and entertainment in urban America
- Makers of America:** The Italians **570**

CHAPTER 28	<i>The Great West and the Agricultural Revolution, 1865–1890</i>	597
	The conquest of the Indians • The mining and cattle frontiers • Free lands and fraud • The industrialization of agriculture • Frontier, West, and nation • The Populist protest	
	<b>Makers of America:</b> The Plains Indians	604
CHAPTER 29	<i>The Revolt of the Debtor, 1889–1900</i>	623
	President Harrison and the “Billion-Dollar Congress” • Cleveland regains the White House, 1892 • The panic of 1893 • The Pullman strike, 1894 • The Wilson-Gorman Tariff, 1894 • Bryan versus McKinley, 1896	
CHAPTER 30	<i>The Path of Empire, 1890–1899</i>	641
	The sources of American expansionism • Cleveland and the Venezuelan boundary dispute, 1895–1896 • The explosion of the <i>Maine</i> , February 15, 1898 • The Spanish-American War, 1898 • The liberation of Cuba • Acquiring Hawaii (1898) and the Philippines (1899)	
	<b>Makers of America:</b> The Puerto Ricans	656
CHAPTER 31	<i>America on the World Stage, 1899–1909</i>	662
	Crushing the Filipino insurrection • The Open Door notes, 1899 and 1900 • TR becomes president, 1901 • The Panama Canal • The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, 1904 • Roosevelt and the Far East	
	<b>Makers of America:</b> The Filipinos	666

**CHAPTER 32** *Progressivism and the Republican Roosevelt, 1901–1912* **681**

The muckrakers • The politics of progressivism • Roosevelt, labor, and the trusts • Consumer protection • Conservation • Roosevelt's legacy • The troubled presidency of William Howard Taft • Taft's "dollar diplomacy" • Roosevelt breaks with Taft

**CHAPTER 33** *Wilsonian Progressivism at Home and Abroad, 1912–1916* **703**

The election of 1912: The New Freedom versus the New Nationalism • Wilson, the tariff, the banks, and the trusts • Wilson's diplomacy in Mexico • War in Europe and American neutrality • The reelection of Wilson, 1916

**CHAPTER 34** *The War to End War, 1917–1918* **722**

German submarines push America into war, 1917 • Wilsonian idealism and the Fourteen Points • Mobilizing minds and machines • Propaganda and civil liberties • The American Expeditionary Force fights in France • Wilsonian peacemaking at Paris • The Senate rejects the Versailles Treaty

**CHAPTER 35** *American Life in the "Roaring Twenties," 1919–1929* **745**

The "red scare," 1919–1920 • Immigration restriction, 1921–1924 • Prohibition and gangsterism • The emergence of a mass-consumption economy • The automobile age • Radio and the movies • Music and literature in the "delirious decade" • The economic boom

CHAPTER 36 *The Politics of Boom and Bust, 1920–1932* 768

The Republicans return to power, 1921 • Disarmament and isolation •  
The Harding scandals • Calvin Coolidge's foreign policies • The  
international debt snarl • Herbert Hoover, cautious progressive •  
The great crash, 1929 • Hoover and the Great Depression

CHAPTER 37 *The Great Depression and the New Deal, 1933–1938* 794

The Hundred Days Congress, 1933 • The National Recovery  
Administration, 1933–1935 • The Agricultural Adjustment  
Administration, 1933–1936 • The Social Security Act, 1935 •  
Gains for organized labor • The election of 1936 and the  
“Roosevelt coalition” • The Supreme Court fight, 1937

**Makers of America:** The Dust Bowl Migrants 808

CHAPTER 38 *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Shadow of War, 1933–1941* 824

Roosevelt's early foreign policies • German and Japanese aggression •  
The Neutrality Acts, 1935–1939 • The destroyer-bases deal with Britain,  
1940 • The Lend-Lease Act, 1941 • The Atlantic Charter, 1941 •  
The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941

**Makers of America:** Refugees from the Holocaust 832

## CHAPTER 39 *America in World War II, 1941–1945* 847

The internment of Japanese-Americans • The war ends the New Deal • Mobilizing the economy • Women, blacks, and minorities in wartime • The economic and social impact of war • Turning the Japanese tide in the Pacific • Campaigns in North Africa (1942) and Italy (1943) • “D-Day” in Normandy (France), June 6, 1944 • Germany surrenders, May 1945 • The atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, August 1945

**Makers of America:** The Japanese 850

## CHAPTER 40 *The Cold War Begins, 1945–1952* 876

Postwar prosperity • The rise of the “Sunbelt” • The rush to the suburbs • The postwar baby boom • Harry S Truman as president • The Yalta Conference, February 1945 • Origins of the Cold War • The International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the United Nations • The containment doctrine • The Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and NATO • The Truman administration at home • The outbreak of the Korean War, 1950

**Makers of America:** The Great African-American Migration 884

## CHAPTER 41 *The Eisenhower Era, 1952–1960* 906

The election of Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1952 • Eisenhower’s leadership style • The menace of McCarthyism • Desegregating the South • *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and the seeds of the civil rights revolution • The emergence of Martin Luther King, Jr. • John Foster Dulles and the “new look” in foreign policy • The Suez Canal crisis, 1956 • John F. Kennedy defeats Richard Nixon for the presidency, 1960 • The flowering of consumer culture in the 1950s

## CHAPTER 42 *The Stormy Sixties, 1960–1968* 930

The Kennedy spirit • The abortive Bay of Pigs invasion (1961) and the missile crisis (1962) in Cuba • The struggle for civil rights • Kennedy assassinated, November 22, 1963 • Lyndon Baines Johnson and the “Great Society” • The civil rights revolution explodes • The Vietnam disaster • The election of Richard Nixon, 1968 • The cultural upheaval of the 1960s

## CHAPTER 43 *The Stalemated Seventies, 1968–1980* 958

The end of the postwar economic boom • Nixon and the Vietnam War • New policies toward the Soviet Union and China • Nixon and the Supreme Court • Nixon trounces McGovern, 1972 • The Watergate scandal • Israelis, Arabs, and oil • Nixon resigns, August 9, 1974 • The Ford interlude • The election of Jimmy Carter, 1976 • Carter’s diplomatic successes in Panama and the Middle East • The energy crisis and inflation • The Iranian hostage humiliation

**Makers of America:** The Vietnamese 974

## CHAPTER 44 *The Resurgence of Conservatism, 1981–1992* 985

The “new right” and Reagan’s election, 1980 • Budget battles and tax cuts • Reagan and the Soviets • Mikhail Gorbachev, Ronald Reagan, and the thawing of the Cold War • The Iran-contra scandal • Reagan’s economic legacy • Reagan and the “social issues” • The election of George Bush, 1988 • The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe • The Persian Gulf War, 1991 • The dissolution of the Soviet Union, 1991 • The election of Bill Clinton, 1992



CHAPTER <b>45</b>	<i>The American People Face a New Century</i>	<b>1015</b>
	The past and the future • The emergence of a “postindustrial” economy • America’s new international economic role • The feminist revolution • The transformation of the family • The newest immigrants • Minorities in modern America • American culture at century’s end • The American prospect	
	<b>Makers of America: The Latinos</b>	<b>1028</b>
APPENDIX	Declaration of Independence	<b>A1</b>
	Constitution of the United States of America	<b>A5</b>
	An American Profile: The United States and Its People	<b>A23</b>
	Growth of U.S. Population and Area • Characteristics of the U.S. Population • Changing Life-styles in the Twentieth Century • Characteristics of the U.S. Labor Force • Leading Economic Sectors • Per Capita Disposable Personal Income in Constant (1982) Dollars, 1929–1990 • Comparative Tax Burdens • Value of Imports by Place of Origin • Value of U.S. Exports by Destination • Principal Exports, 1900–1989 • U.S. Foreign Trade, Ratio of Raw Materials to Manufactured Goods • The U.S. Balance of Trade, 1900–1991 • Tariff Levies on Dutiable Imports, 1821–1990 • Gross National Product in Current and Constant (1982) Dollars, 1900–1989 • Presidential Elections • Presidents and Vice Presidents • Admission of States • Estimates of Total Costs and Number of Battle Deaths of Major U.S. Wars	
INDEX		<b>A35</b>