



THE AMERICAN PAGEANT

Volume 2
Since **1865**

David M. Kennedy
Lizabeth Cohen

**Sixteenth
Edition**

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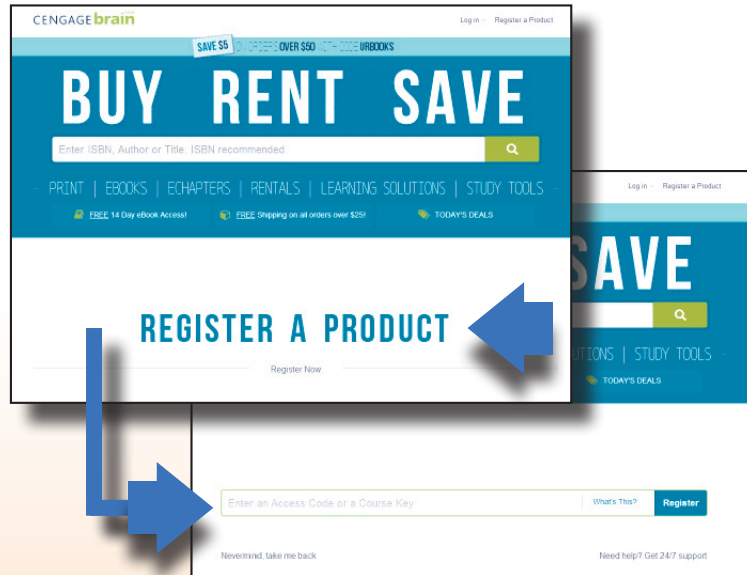
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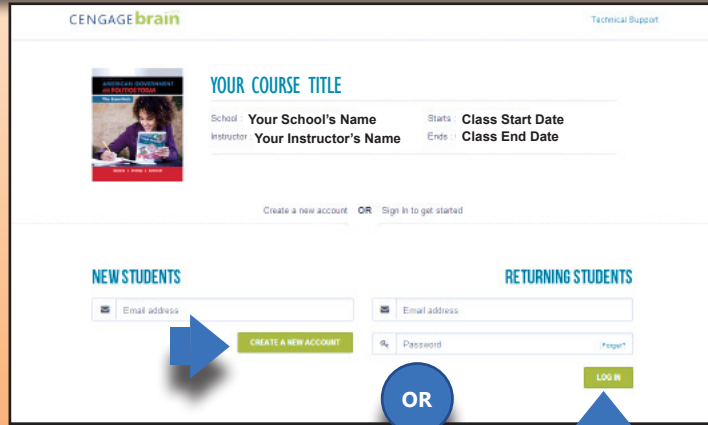
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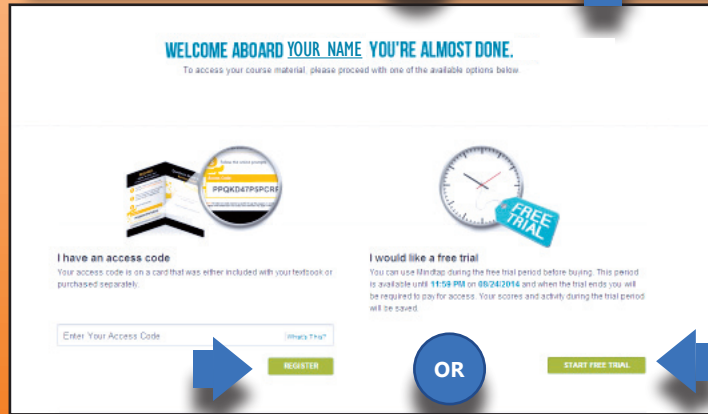
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THE AMERICAN PAGEANT

A History of the American People

SIXTEENTH EDITION
VOLUME 2: SINCE 1865

David M. Kennedy
Stanford University

Lizabeth Cohen
Harvard University



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***The American Pageant: A History of the
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Sixteenth Edition***

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Text Designer: Liz Harasymczuk Design

Cover Designer: Wing Ngan, ink design, inc.

Part-opener design images: Rocky Mountain
Quilt Museum, PQ1991.001.022, photo by
Mellisa Karlin Mahoney

Chapter-opener design images: New England
Quilt Museum, 1991.24, photo by Ken Burris

Cover Image: American calendar art of sailor
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WCN: 02-200-203

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2014936315

Student Edition:

ISBN: 978-1-305-07592-4

Loose-leaf Edition:

ISBN: 978-1-305-65176-0

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David M. Kennedy is the Donald J. McLachlan Professor of History Emeritus and Director Emeritus of The Bill Lane Center for the Study of the American West at Stanford University, where he has taught for more than four decades. 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 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 the World War I era, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (1980; rev. ed., 2005), was a Pulitzer Prize finalist. In 1999 he published *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945*, which won the Pulitzer Prize for History, as well as the Francis Parkman Prize, the English-Speaking Union’s Ambassador’s Prize, and the Commonwealth Club of California’s Gold Medal for Literature. At Stanford he has taught both undergraduate and graduate courses in American political, diplomatic, intellectual, and social history, as well as in American literature. He has received several teaching awards, including the Dean’s Award for Distinguished Teaching and the Hoagland Prize for Excellence in Undergraduate 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 several documentary films, including *The Great War*, *Cadillac Desert*, and *Woodrow Wilson*. From 1990 to 1995 he chaired the Test Development Committee for the Advanced Placement United States History examination. He is an elected Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of



Courtesy of David Kennedy

the American Philosophical Society and served from 2002 to 2011 on the board of the Pulitzer Prizes. Married and the father of two sons and a daughter, in his leisure time he enjoys hiking, bicycling, river-rafting, flying, sea-kayaking, and fly-fishing. His most recent book is *The Modern American Military* (2013).

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Stephanie Mitchell/Harvard Staff Photographer

honored as the best article in urban history by the Urban History Association and received the ABC-CLIO, America: History and Life Award for the journal article that most advances previously unconsidered topics. She is currently writing a book, *Saving America's Cities: Ed Logue and the Struggle to Renew Urban America in the Suburban Age*, about the complexities of urban renewal in American cities after World War II. At Harvard, she has taught courses in twentieth-century American history, with particular attention to the intersection of social and cultural life and politics, and she now oversees the Radcliffe Institute, a major center for scholarly research, creative arts, and public programs. Before attending graduate school, she taught history at the secondary level and worked in history and art museums. She continues to help develop public history programs for general audiences through museums and documentary films. 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, watching films, and reading fiction.

Thomas A. Bailey (1903–1983) was the original author of *The American Pageant* and saw it through its first seven editions. He 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.

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PREFACE

This sixteenth edition of *The American Pageant* reflects our continuing collaboration to bring the most recent scholarship about American history to the broadest possible student audience, while preserving the readability that has long been the *Pageant's* hallmark. We are often told that the *Pageant* stands out as the only American history text with a distinctive personality, an observation that brings us considerable satisfaction. We define the *Pageant's* leading characteristics as clarity, concreteness, a strong emphasis on major themes, integration of a broad range of historical topics into a coherent and clutter-free narrative, attention to a variety of interpretive perspectives, and a colorful writing style leavened, as appropriate, with wit. That personality, we strongly believe, is what has made the *Pageant* both appealing and useful to countless students for more than six decades.

Our collaboration on the *Pageant* reflects our respective scholarly interests, which are complementary to a remarkable degree. While we share broad interests in the evolving character of American society and in its global role, David Kennedy is primarily a political and economic historian, while Lizabeth Cohen's work emphasizes social and cultural history. Together, we have once again revised the *Pageant* chapter by chapter, even paragraph by paragraph, guided by our shared commitment to tell 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.

Goals of *The American Pageant*

Like its predecessors, this edition of *The American Pageant* seeks to cultivate in its readers the critical thinking skills necessary 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 division of the book into six parts, each with an introductory essay, encourages students to understand that the study of history is not just a matter of piling up mountains of facts but is principally concerned with discovering complex patterns of change over time and organizing seemingly disparate events, actions, and ideas into meaningful chains of cause and consequence.

A strong narrative propels the story, reinforced in this edition by a new feature, "Contending Voices,"

that presents paired quotes from the past to encourage critical thinking about controversial issues. Still more highlighted quotes throughout the text help students hear the language of real people who shaped and experienced historical events. In addition, "Examining the Evidence" features enable students to deepen their understanding of the historical craft by conveying how historians develop interpretations of the past through research in many different kinds of primary sources. Here students learn to probe a wide range of historical documents and artifacts: correspondence between Abigail and John Adams in 1776, and what it reveals about women's place in the American Revolution; the Gettysburg Address and the light it sheds not only on President Lincoln's brilliant oratory but also on his vision of the American nation; a letter from a black freedman to his former master in 1865 that illuminates his family's experience in slavery as well as their hopes for a new life; the manuscript census of 1900 and what it teaches us about immigrant households on the Lower East Side of New York at the dawn of the twentieth century; a new kind of architectural structure—the shopping mall—and how it changed both consumers' behavior and politicians' campaign tactics after World War II; and a national security document that gives insight into the foreign policy-making process.

The *Pageant'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 the art of critical thinking 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. We hope, too, that readers will take as much pleasure in reading *The American Pageant* as we have had in writing it.

Changes in the Sixteenth Edition

As in past revisions, we have updated and streamlined the entire text narrative, while our main focus in this new edition is a major revision of Part Six, comprising the seven chapters covering 1945 to the present.

The Post–World War II Era

Making sense of the more recent past poses unique challenges, as scholars assessing events and personalities only just passing into the realm of “history” have had less time to develop an agreed master narrative. But we believe that sufficient time has passed for historians to have reached at least a tentative interpretative framework for understanding the post-1945 period of American history. Accordingly, we have been especially concerned to impart greater thematic coherence to this part of the text in this sixteenth edition.

Reflecting an emerging scholarly consensus, our framework for the post-1945 period roughly divides it into two eras, which can be summarized as follows: a midcentury era defined by sustained economic growth, broadly shared prosperity, and the international context of Cold War confrontation with the Soviet Union, followed by a new historical phase, originating in the pivotal decade of the 1970s, that has seen more fitful growth alongside both decreasing economic equality and increasing social inclusiveness, as well as a struggle to define America’s international role after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The introductory essay to Part Six (Chapters 35–41) clarifies this interpretive scheme and directs students’ attention to significant details in the extensively rewritten chapters that follow. Here, as throughout the text, we believe that anchoring the narrative of events in a coherent interpretive framework facilitates readers’ acquisition of important historical thinking skills, including periodization, synthetic reasoning, and contextual and comparative analysis.

Additional revisions in this section further enhance the development of key historical thinking skills while incorporating the insights of newer scholarship. A new “Thinking Globally” essay, “The Global 1960s” (Chapter 37), places the youth politics of that era in an international and comparative context, while a new “Examining the Evidence” item on a George W. Bush–era national security document (Chapter 41) grapples explicitly with the task of crafting sound arguments from controversial historical evidence. The “Thinking Globally” essay on globalization (now in Chapter 38) has been substantially revised to emphasize the changing international economic context for domestic U.S. developments beginning in the 1970s. “Varying Viewpoints” essays on the 1960s (Chapter 37) and conservatism (Chapter 39) have also been updated extensively to incorporate new historiography and to emphasize the challenges of weighing differing historical interpretations. Finally, we have thoroughly revamped and updated the final chapter (41) to provide a coherent narrative of major events from 2001 through 2014.

“Contending Voices”

We have added a new feature to each chapter, designed to nurture students’ historical thinking skills by exposing them to the contested nature of history as well as historical interpretation. “Contending Voices” offers paired quotes from original historical sources, accompanied by questions that ask students to assess conflicting perspectives on often hotly contested subjects. The feature complements the historiographical debates covered in the “Varying Viewpoints” essays by highlighting the ways in which historical actors themselves have debated the meaning of events in which they played roles.

Global Context

We have once again deepened the *Pageant’s* treatment of the global context of American history. Today, political leaders, capital investment, consumer products, rock bands, the Internet, and much else constantly traverse the globe. But even before sophisticated technology and mass communication, complex exchanges among peoples and nations around the world deeply shaped the course of American history. Students will frequently encounter in these pages the people, ideas, and events that crossed national borders to influence the experience of the United States. They will also be invited to compare salient aspects of American history with developments elsewhere in the world. We believe that a full understanding of what makes America exceptional requires knowing about other societies and knowing when and why America’s path followed or departed from that taken by other nations.

Within each chapter, both text and graphics help students compare American developments to developments around the world. The frontier experience, railroad building, cotton production, city size and urban reform strategies, immigration, automobile ownership, the economic effects of the Great Depression, women’s participation in voting and the work force, the cultural upheavals of the 1960s, and much more should now be understood as parts of world trends, not just as isolated American phenomena. New boxed quotes bring more international voices to the events chronicled in the *Pageant’s* historical narrative. Updated “Varying Viewpoints” essays reflect new interpretations of significant trends and events, emphasizing, when appropriate, their global contexts.

We have revised and expanded the “Thinking Globally” essays, which present different aspects of the American experience contextualized within world history. Readers learn how developments in North America were part of worldwide phenomena,

be it the challenge to empire in the eighteenth century, the rise of socialist ideology in the nineteenth century, or the globalization that followed World War II in the twentieth century. Students also see how key aspects of American history—such as participating in the slave trade and its abolition, making a revolution for independence, creating an integrated national state in the mid-nineteenth century, and struggling to survive the Great Depression and World War II—were encountered by other nations but resolved in distinctive ways according to each country’s history, cultural traditions, and political and economic structures.

This edition also gives renewed attention to teaching strategies and pedagogical materials aimed at helping students deepen their comprehension of American history. New visual materials—documentary images, graphs, and tables—illuminate complex and important historical ideas. Readers will also find redesigned maps with topographical detail and clear labeling to better communicate the text’s analytical points. Key terms are printed in bold in each chapter and defined in a glossary at the end of the book. Every chapter concludes with an expanded chronology and a list of readable books to consult in order “To Learn More.” In addition, a list of the chapter key terms and a list of “People to Know”—created to help students focus on the most significant people introduced in that chapter—appear at the end of each chapter to help students review chapter highlights. A revised Appendix contains annotated copies of the Declaration of Independence and Constitution and key historical events and dates, such as admission of the states and presidential elections.

See the Supplements section that follows for a complete description of the many materials found online. It is our hope that readers will view online resources such as MindTap and Aplia, as an exploratory laboratory enhancing *The American Pageant’s* text.

Notes on Content Revisions

Chapter 1: New World Beginnings 33,000 B.C.E.–1769 C.E.

- New Contending Voices: “Europeans and Indians” (Juan Ginés de Sepulveda, Bartolomé de las Casas)

Chapter 2: The Planting of English America 1500–1733

- New Contending Voices: “Old World Dreams and New World Realities” (Richard Hakluyt, George Percy)

Chapter 3: Settling the Northern Colonies 1619–1700

- New Contending Voices: “Anne Hutchinson Accused and Defended” (John Winthrop, Anne Hutchinson)

Chapter 4: American Life in the Seventeenth Century 1607–1692

- New Contending Voices: “Berkeley Versus Bacon” (Nathaniel Bacon, William Berkeley)

Chapter 5: Colonial Society on the Eve of Revolution 1700–1775

- New Contending Voices: “Race and Slavery” (Samuel Sewall, Virginia slave code of 1705)

Chapter 6: The Duel for North America 1608–1763

- New Contending Voices: “The Proclamation of 1763” (Royal Proclamation of 1763, George Washington)

Chapter 7: The Road to Revolution 1763–1775

- New Contending Voices: “Reconciliation or Independence?” (John Dickinson, Thomas Paine)

Chapter 8: America Secedes from the Empire 1775–1783

- New Contending Voices: “Two Revolutions: French and American” (Friedrich von Gentz, John Quincy Adams)

Chapter 9: The Confederation and the Constitution 1776–1790

- New Contending Voices: “Debating the New Constitution” (Jonathan Smith, Patrick Henry)

Chapter 10: Launching the New Ship of State 1789–1800

- New Contending Voices: “Human Nature and the Nature of Government” (Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson)

Chapter 11: The Triumphs and Travails of the Jeffersonian Republic 1800–1812

- New Contending Voices: “The Divisive Embargo” (Federalist pamphlet, W. B. Giles)

Chapter 12: The Second War for Independence and the Upsurge of Nationalism 1812–1824

- New Contending Voices: “Sizing Up the Monroe Doctrine” (Klemens von Metternich, Colombian newspaper)

Chapter 13: The Rise of a Mass Democracy 1824–1840

- New Contending Voices: “Taking the Measure of Andrew Jackson” (Maryland supporter, Thomas Jefferson)

Chapter 14: Forging the National Economy 1790–1860

- New Contending Voices: “Immigration, Pro and Con” (Know-Nothing party platform, Orestes Brownson)

Chapter 15: The Ferment of Reform and Culture 1790–1860

- Revised and expanded discussion of religion in the early Republic
- New Contending Voices: “The Role of Women” (differing newspaper commentaries on Seneca Falls)

Chapter 16: The South and the Slavery Controversy 1793–1860

- New Contending Voices: “Perspectives on Race and Slavery” (William A. Smith, American Anti-Slavery Society)

Chapter 17: Manifest Destiny and Its Legacy 1841–1848

- New Contending Voices: “Warring over the Mexican War” (*New York Evening Post*, Henry Clay)

Chapter 18: Renewing the Sectional Struggle 1848–1854

- New Contending Voices: “The Compromise of 1850” (John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster)

Chapter 19: Drifting Toward Disunion 1854–1861

- New Contending Voices: “Judging John Brown” (Harriet Tubman, Abraham Lincoln)

Chapter 20: Girding for War: The North and the South 1861–1865

- New Contending Voices: “War Aims: Emancipation or Union?” (Horace Greeley, Abraham Lincoln)

Chapter 21: The Furnace of Civil War 1861–1865

- New Contending Voices: “The Controversy over Emancipation” (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, Abraham Lincoln)

Chapter 22: The Ordeal of Reconstruction 1865–1877

- New Contending Voices: “Radical Republicans and Southern Democrats” (Thaddeus Stephens, James Lawrence Orr)

Chapter 23: Political Paralysis in the Gilded Age 1869–1896

- New Contending Voices: “The Spoils System” (George Washington Plunkitt, Theodore Roosevelt)

Chapter 24: Industry Comes of Age 1865–1900

- New Contending Voices: “Class and the Gilded Age” (Populist platform, William Graham Sumner)

Chapter 25: America Moves to the City 1865–1900

- New Contending Voices: “The New Immigration” (Henry Cabot Lodge, Grover Cleveland)

Chapter 26: The Great West and the Agricultural Revolution 1865–1896

- New Contending Voices: “The Ghost Dance and the Wounded Knee Massacre” (James McLaughlin, Black Elk)

Chapter 27: Empire and Expansion 1890–1909

- New Contending Voices: “Debating Imperialism” (Albert Beveridge, George Hoar)

Chapter 28: Progressivism and the Republican Roosevelt 1901–1912

- New Contending Voices: “Debating the Muckrakers” (Theodore Roosevelt, Ida Tarbell)

Chapter 29: Wilsonian Progressivism in Peace and War 1913–1920

- Material on the Wilson presidency and World War I condensed and consolidated into this new single chapter

- New Contending Voices: “Battle of the Ballot” (Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Barclay Hazard)

NOTE: Due to the consolidation of two chapters (fifteenth edition Chapters 29 and 30) into a single chapter (sixteenth edition Chapter 29), subsequent chapters have been renumbered for a total of 41 chapters in the sixteenth edition.

Chapter 30: American Life in the “Roaring Twenties” 1920–1929

- New Contending Voices: “All That Jazz” (Henry van Dyke, Duke Ellington)

Chapter 31: The Politics of Boom and Bust 1920–1932

- New Contending Voices: “Depression and Protection” (Willis Hawley, economists’ petition)

Chapter 32: The Great Depression and the New Deal 1933–1939

- New Contending Voices: “The New Deal at High Tide” (Franklin Roosevelt, Herbert Hoover)

Chapter 33: Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Shadow of War 1933–1941

- New Contending Voices: “To Intervene or Not to Intervene” (Sterling Morton, Franklin Roosevelt)

Chapter 34: America in World War II 1941–1945

- New Contending Voices: “War and the Color Line” (Franklin Roosevelt, African American soldier)

Part Six

- Revised and updated introductory essay to Part Six to lay out the overarching framework

Chapter 35: The Cold War Begins 1945–1952

- Restructured the order of foreign-policy and domestic sections so that the global setting now provides a clearer context for domestic U.S. developments
- Revised text throughout, including new material on the Cold War’s impact on religion, radical politics, and civil rights
- New Contending Voices: “Debating the Cold War” (George Kennan, Henry Wallace)

Chapter 36: American Zenith 1952–1963

- Retitled chapter, now covering both the Eisenhower and Kennedy presidencies
- Revised section on postwar culture to emphasize common characteristics across the arts
- Revised text throughout to emphasize the unifying theme of the long postwar boom and the international and national factors driving it
- New Contending Voices: “The ‘Kitchen Debate’” (Richard Nixon, Nikita Khrushchev)

Chapter 37: The Stormy Sixties 1963–1973

- Shifted the time frame of the chapter from 1960–1968 in earlier editions to 1963–1973 for this edition
- Includes a new introduction to discuss periodizing “the sixties”