

David M. Kennedy

Lizabeth Cohen

Thomas A. Bailey



The American  
Pageant

Volume II Since 1865

Fourteenth Edition

# THE AMERICAN PAGEANT

*This page intentionally left blank*



# THE AMERICAN PAGEANT

A History of the American People

FOURTEENTH EDITION



VOLUME II: SINCE 1865

David M. Kennedy

*Stanford University*

Lizabeth Cohen

*Harvard University*

Thomas A. Bailey

 WADSWORTH  
CENGAGE Learning

---

Australia • Brazil • Japan • Korea • Mexico • Singapore • Spain • United Kingdom • United States

The American Pageant, 14e  
David M. Kennedy, Elizabeth Cohen,  
Thomas A. Bailey

Senior Acquisitions Editor: Ann West  
Associate Development Editor: Daniel Seibert  
Associate Editor: Adrienne Zicht  
Senior Media Editor: Lisa Ciccolo  
Senior Marketing Manager: Katherine Bates  
Marketing Communications Manager:  
Christine Dobberpuhl  
Senior Content Project Manager: Carol  
Newman

Art Director: Jill Haber

Print Buyer: Miranda Klapper

Permissions Editor: Katie Huha

Text Researcher: Maria Maimone

Text Designer: Henry Rachlin

Photo Manager: Jennifer Meyer Dare

Photo Researcher: Martha Shether

Cover Designer: Wing Ngan

Cover Image: William J. Glackens, 1870–1938.  
Parade, Washington Square, 1912. Oil on  
canvas, 26 x 31 in. The Whitney Museum.  
Gift of Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, 31.215.  
Photograph by Geoffrey Clements.

Compositor: NK Graphics

© 2010, 2006 Wadsworth, Cengage Learning

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. No part of this work covered by the copyright herein may be reproduced, transmitted, stored, or used in any form or by any means graphic, electronic, or mechanical, including but not limited to photocopying, recording, scanning, digitizing, taping, Web distribution, information networks, or information storage and retrieval systems, except as permitted under Section 107 or 108 of the 1976 United States Copyright Act, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

For product information and technology assistance, contact us at  
Cengage Learning Academic Resource Center, 1-800-423-0563

For permission to use material from this text or product,  
submit all requests online at [www.cengage.com/permissions](http://www.cengage.com/permissions).

Further permissions questions can be e-mailed to  
[permissionrequest@cengage.com](mailto:permissionrequest@cengage.com).

Library of Congress Control Number: 2008932269

Student Edition:

ISBN-13: 978-0-547-16658-2

ISBN-10: 0-547-16658-3

Wadsworth  
25 Thomson Place  
Boston, MA 02210-1202  
USA

Cengage Learning is a leading provider of customized learning solutions with office locations around the globe, including Singapore, the United Kingdom, Australia, Mexico, Brazil, and Japan. Locate your office at:  
[international.cengage.com/region](http://international.cengage.com/region).

Cengage Learning products are represented in Canada by Nelson Education, Ltd.

For your course and learning solutions, visit [academic.cengage.com](http://academic.cengage.com).

Purchase any of our products at your local college store  
or at our preferred online store [www.ichapters.com](http://www.ichapters.com).

We have made every effort to trace the ownership of all copyrighted material and to secure permission from copyright holders. In the event of any question arising as to the use of any material, we will be pleased to make the necessary corrections in future printings.

## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**David M. Kennedy** is the Donald J. McLachlan Professor of History and Co-Director of The Bill Lane Center for the Study of the North American West at Stanford University, where he has taught for 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 teaches both undergraduate and graduate courses in American political, diplomatic, intellectual, and social history, and 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 exami-

nation. He is an elected Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the American Philosophical Society and serves 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. He is currently writing a book on the American national character.

**Lizabeth Cohen** is the Howard Mumford Jones Professor of American Studies and chair of the history department of Harvard University. In 2007–2008 she was the Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford 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 received her A.B. from Princeton University and her M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley. Her first 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. In 2008 it was reissued in a second edition with a new introduction. 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. Her most recent book, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (2003) explored how an economy and culture built around mass consumption shaped social life and politics in post-World War II America. An article related

to this book, “From Town Center to Shopping Center: The Reconfiguration of Community Marketplaces in Postwar America,” (1996) was 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 on urban renewal in American cities after World War II. At Harvard, she teaches courses in twentieth-century American history, with particular attention to the intersection of social and cultural life and politics. 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) 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.

# CONTENTS

Maps xiv  
Figures xvi  
Tables xvii  
Preface xxviii

## **22** The Ordeal of Reconstruction 1865–1877 **513**

---

The defeated South • The freed slaves • President Andrew Johnson’s Reconstruction policies • The Black Codes • Congressional Reconstruction policies • Johnson clashes with Congress • Military Reconstruction, 1867–1877 • Freed people enter politics • “Black Reconstruction” and the Ku Klux Klan • The impeachment of Andrew Johnson • The legacy of Reconstruction

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 534–535

■ EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE Letter from a Freedman to His Old Master, 1865 517

■ VARYING VIEWPOINTS How Radical Was Reconstruction? 534

## PART FOUR

### Forging an Industrial Society

1869–1909

---

536

## **23** Political Paralysis in the Gilded Age 1869–1896 **538**

---

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 • The emergence of Jim Crow • Class conflict and ethnic clashes • Grover Cleveland and the tariff • Benjamin Harrison and the “Billion Dollar Congress” • The Homestead Strike • The Populists • Depression and Dissent

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 562–564

■ MAKERS OF AMERICA The Chinese 550

■ VARYING VIEWPOINTS The Populists: Radicals or Reactionaries? 563



## 24 Industry Comes of Age 1865–1900 565

The railroad boom • Speculators and financiers • Early efforts at government regulation • The Rise of Mass Production • Lords of industry • The gospel of wealth • Reining in the Trusts • Industry in the South • The laboring classes • The rise of trade unions

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 593–594

■ EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE The Photography of Lewis W. Hine 585

■ MAKERS OF AMERICA The Knights of Labor 590

■ VARYING VIEWPOINTS Industrialization: Boon or Blight? 593

## 25 America Moves to the City 1865–1900 595



The rise of the city • The “New Immigrants” • Settlement houses and social workers • Nativists and immigration restriction • Churches in the city • Evolution and education • Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois • Literary landmarks and intellectual achievements • The “New Woman” and the new morality • Art, music, architecture, and entertainment in urban America

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 631–632

■ MAKERS OF AMERICA The Italians 602

■ EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE Manuscript Census Data, 1900 605

■ MAKERS OF AMERICA Pioneering Pragmatists 618

## 26 The Great West and the Agricultural Revolution 1865–1896 633

The conquest of the Indians • The mining and cattle frontiers • Free lands and fraud • The fading frontier • The industrialization of agriculture • Farmers protest • The People’s Party • Workers in revolt • Bryan versus McKinley, 1896

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 666–668

■ MAKERS OF AMERICA The Plains Indians 640

■ EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE Robert Louis Stevenson’s Transcontinental Journey, 1879 649

■ THINKING GLOBALLY The Great Frontier 652

■ VARYING VIEWPOINTS Was the West Really “Won”? 667

## 27 Empire and Expansion 1890–1909 669



The sources of American expansionism • The Hawaii Question • The Spanish-American War, 1898 • The invasion of Cuba • Acquiring Puerto Rico (1898) and the Philippines (1899) • Crushing the Filipino insurrection • The Open Door in China • Theodore Roosevelt becomes president, 1901 • The Panama Canal • Roosevelt on the World Stage

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 697–699

■ MAKERS OF AMERICA The Puerto Ricans 680

■ MAKERS OF AMERICA The Filipinos 686

■ THINKING GLOBALLY The Age of Empire 694

■ VARYING VIEWPOINTS Why Did America Become a World Power? 698

## PART FIVE

## Struggling for Justice at Home and Abroad

1900–1945

700

**28** Progressivism and the Republican Roosevelt 1901–1912 702

Campaigning against social injustice • The muckrakers • The politics of progressivism • Women battle for reforms and against the saloon • 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

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 726–727

■ THINKING GLOBALLY “Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?” 706

■ EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE *Muller v. Oregon*, 1908 713

■ MAKERS OF AMERICA The Environmentalists 718

**29** Wilsonian Progressivism at Home and Abroad 1912–1916 728

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

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 744–745

■ VARYING VIEWPOINTS Who Were the Progressives? 744

**30** The War to End War 1917–1918 746

America goes to war, 1917 • Wilsonian idealism and the Fourteen Points • Propaganda and civil liberties • Workers, blacks, and women on the home front • Drafting soldiers • The United States fights in France • Wilsonian peacemaking at Paris • The League of Nations • The Senate rejects the Versailles Treaty

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 768–769

■ EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE “Mademoiselle from Armentières” 759

■ VARYING VIEWPOINTS Woodrow Wilson: Realist or Idealist? 768

## 31 American Life in the “Roaring Twenties” 1919–1929 770



The “red scare,” 1919–1920 • The KKK returns • Immigration restriction, 1921–1924 • Prohibition and gangsterism • The Scopes trial • A mass-consumption economy • The automobile age • Radio and the movies • Jazz age culture, music, and literature • The economic boom

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 796–797

■ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Poles 776

■ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** *The Jazz Singer*, 1927 789

## 32 The Politics of Boom and Bust 1920–1932 798

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 • Hard Times • Aggression in Asia • “Good Neighbors” in Latin America

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 821–822

■ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Lampooning Hoover, 1932 817

## 33 The Great Depression and the New Deal 1933–1939 823

Franklin D. Roosevelt as president • The Hundred Days Congress, 1933 • Relief, Recovery, and Reform • Depression Demagogues • Women in public life • The National Recovery Administration • Aid for Agriculture • The dust bowl and the Tennessee Valley Authority • Housing and Social Security • A new deal for labor • The election of 1936 • The Supreme Court fight, 1937 • The New Deal assessed

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 850–852

■ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** How Radical Was the New Deal? 851

## 34 Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Shadow of War 1933–1941 853



Roosevelt’s early foreign policies • German, Japanese, and Italian aggression • The Neutrality Acts, 1935–1939 • The Spanish Civil War • Isolation and appeasement • The horrors of the Holocaust • France falls and Britain totters • FDR’s historic third term • The Lend-Lease Act and the Atlantic Charter, 1941 • The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 873–874

■ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Public-Opinion Polling in the 1930s 863

## 35 America in World War II 1941–1945

875

The shock of war • The internment of Japanese Americans • Mobilizing the economy • Women in wartime • The war's effect on African Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans • The economic 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 • V-J Day, August 15, 1945

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 904–907

■ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Japanese 878

■ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Franklin Roosevelt at Teheran, 1943 895

■ **THINKING GLOBALLY** America and the World in Depression and War: A Study in Contrasts 902

■ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** The Atomic Bombs: Were They Justified? 905

## PART SIX

### Making Modern America

1945 to the Present

908

## 36 The Cold War Begins 1945–1952

910

Postwar prosperity • The “Sunbelt” and the suburbs • The postwar baby boom • Harry S Truman as president • Origins of the Cold War • The United Nations and the postwar world • Communism and containment • The Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and NATO • Anti-communism at home • The Korean War, 1950–1953

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 940–942

■ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Advertising Prosperity, 1956 913

■ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Suburbanites 918

■ **THINKING GLOBALLY** The Era of Globalization 924

■ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** Who Was to Blame for the Cold War? 941

## 37 The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960 943

Affluent America • Working women and feminism • Consumer culture in the 1950s • The election of Dwight D. Eisenhower • The menace of McCarthyism • Desegregating the South • *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and the civil rights revolution • Eisenhower Republicanism • Cold war crises • The space race and the arms race • The election of John F. Kennedy, 1960 • Postwar literature and culture

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN 970–971

■ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Great African American Migration 954

■ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** The Shopping Mall as New Town Square, 1960 967

## 38 The Stormy Sixties 1960–1968 972



The Kennedy spirit • Kennedy and the Cold War • The Vietnam quagmire • Bay of Pigs Invasion and the Cuban missile crisis • 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 upheavals of the 1960s

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 999–1001

■ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Conflicting Press Accounts of the March on Washington, 1963 983

■ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** The Sixties: Constructive or Destructive? 1000

## 39 The Stalemated Seventies 1968–1980 1002

Economic stagnation • Nixon and the Vietnam War • New policies toward China and the Soviet Union • Nixon and the Supreme Court • Nixon’s domestic program • Nixon trounces McGovern, 1972 • Israelis, Arabs, and oil • The Watergate scandal • Nixon resigns and Ford takes over • Feminism • Desegregation and affirmative action • The election of Jimmy Carter, 1976 • The energy crisis and inflation • The Iranian hostage humiliation

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 1029–1030

■ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** The “Smoking Gun” Tape, June 23, 1972, 10:04–11:39 A.M. 1015

■ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Vietnamese 1018

■ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Feminists 1022

## 40 The Resurgence of Conservatism 1980–1992 1031

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 • The religious right • Conservatism and the courts • The election of George Bush, 1988 • The end of the Cold War • The Persian Gulf War, 1991 • Bush’s battles at home

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 1053–1055

■ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** Where Did Modern Conservatism Come From? 1054

## 41 America Confronts the Post–Cold War Era 1992–2004 1056

The election of Bill Clinton, 1992 • A false start for reform • The politics of distrust • Clinton as president • Post-Cold War foreign policy • The Clinton impeachment trial • The controversial 2000 election • George W. Bush as president • The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 • War in Iraq • The reelection of George W. Bush, 2004 • Democrats retake Congress • The election of 2008

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 1081–1082

■ **THINKING GLOBALLY** America Through Foreign Eyes: Hyperpower or Hapless Power? 1074

## 42 The American People Face a New Century 1083



The high-tech economy • Widening inequality • The feminist revolution • The changing American family • Immigration and assimilation • Cities and suburbs • A multicultural society • American culture at the century's turn • The new media • The American prospect

TO LEARN MORE 1107

■ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** Scientists and Engineers 1088

■ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Latinos 1098

## APPENDIX

### Documents A1

- Declaration of Independence • Constitution of the United States of America
- Presidential Elections • Presidents and Vice Presidents • Admission of States
- Estimates of Total Costs and Number of Battle Deaths of Major U.S. Wars

### Glossary of Key Terms A27

### Photograph Credits A44

### Index I1



You will find many additional text-wide resources, including a complete annotated **Suggested Readings** bibliography, a **Glossary of People to Know**, and **An American Profile: The United States and Its Peoples in Comparative Perspective**, on *The American Pageant* website: [www.cengage.com/history/kennedy/ampageant14e](http://www.cengage.com/history/kennedy/ampageant14e)

# MAPS

- Territorial Growth of the United States 140  
Map of the World 142
- 22.1** Military Reconstruction, 1867 (five districts and commanding generals) 525  
**22.2** Alaska and the Lower Forty-eight States (a size comparison) 532
- 23.1** Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election of 1876 (with electoral vote by state) 545  
**23.2** A Southern Plantation, Before and After the Civil War 548  
**23.3** Presidential Election of 1892 (showing vote by county) 559
- 24.1** Federal Land Grants to Railroads 567  
**24.2** American Industry in 1900 584
- 25.1** Size of World Cities Since 1850 596  
**25.2** Woman Suffrage Before the Nineteenth Amendment 625
- 26.1** Indian Wars, 1860–1890 636  
**26.2** Vanishing Lands 642  
**26.3** Cattle Trails 645  
**26.4** Average Annual Precipitation, with Major Agricultural Products, 1900 647  
**26.5** Myth and Reality in the West 648  
**26.6** Presidential Election of 1896 (with electoral vote by state) 663
- 27.1** United States Expansion, 1857–1917 673  
**27.2** Dewey’s Route in the Philippines 676  
**27.3** The Cuban Campaign, 1898 678  
**27.4** The Great Powers and their Colonial Possessions, 1913 695
- 29.1** Presidential Election of 1912 (showing votes by county, with electoral vote by state) 730  
**29.2** The United State in the Caribbean, 1898–1941 735  
**29.3** British Military Area (declared November 3, 1914) and German Submarine War Zone (declared February 4, 1915) 740
- 29.4** Presidential Election of 1916 (with electoral vote by state) 743
- 30.1** Major U.S. Operations in France, 1918 757
- 32.1** Presidential Election of 1924 (showing popular vote by county) 807  
**32.2** Presidential Election of 1928 (with electoral vote by state) 811
- 33.1** The Extent of Erosion in the 1930’s 838  
**33.2** TVA Area 840
- 34.1** Presidential Election of 1940 (with electoral vote by state) 867  
**34.2** Main Flow of Lend-Lease Aid (width of arrows indicates relative amount) 869
- 35.1** Internal Migration in the United States During World War II 883  
**32.2** Corregidor and Bataan 886  
**35.3** United States Thrusts in the Pacific, 1942–1945 888  
**35.4** World War II in Europe and North Africa, 1939–1945 893  
**35.5** Battle of the Bulge, December 1944–January 1945 896
- 36.1** Distribution of Population Increase, 1950–2005 916  
**36.2** Postwar Partition of Germany 927  
**36.3** United States Foreign Aid, Military and Economic, 1945–1954 930  
**36.4** The Shifting Front in Korea 938
- 37.1** Presidential Election of 1952 (with electoral vote by state) 949  
**37.2** The Far East, 1955–1956 960  
**37.3** Presidential Election of 1960 (with electoral vote by state) 965
- 38.1** Vietnam and Southeast Asia, 1954–1975 977  
**38.2** Presidential Election of 1964 986  
**38.3** Presidential Election of 1968 (with electoral vote by state) 996

- 40.1** Presidential Election of 1980 (with electoral vote by state) 1033
- 40.2** The Middle East 1038
- 40.3** Central America and the Caribbean 1039
- 40.4** The End of the Cold War Changes the Map of Europe 1048
- 40.5** Operation Desert Storm: The Ground War, February 23–27, 1991 1051
- 41.1** Presidential Election of 1992 (with electoral vote by state) 1058
- 41.2** Presidential Election of 1996 (with electoral vote by state) 1060
- 41.3** Presidential Election of 2000 (with electoral vote by state) 1066
- 41.4** America in Red and Blue 1066
- 41.5** Iraq in Transition 1071
- 41.6** Presidential Election of 2004 1076
- 41.7** Presidential Election of 2008 1080
- 42.1** Global Distribution of Wealth 1087



This icon will direct you to interactive versions of all maps on *The American Pageant* website: [www.cengage.com/history/kennedy/ampageant14e](http://www.cengage.com/history/kennedy/ampageant14e)



# FIGURES

- 23.1** Civil Service Employment 553
- 24.1** Railroads Worldwide, 1889 566
- 24.2** Cotton Manufacturing Moves South, 1880–1980 582
- 24.3** World Cotton Production, 1903 583
- 25.1** The Shift to the American City 598
- 25.2** Dumbbell Tenement 599
- 25.3** Annual Immigration, 1860–2006 600
- 25.4** Old and New Immigration (by decade) 601
- 26.1** Homesteads from the Public Lands (acreage legally transferred to private ownership) 646
- 29.1** Organization of Holding Companies 733
- 30.1** Approximate Comparative Losses in World War I 760
- 31.1** Annual Immigration and the Quota Laws 774
- 31.2** The Cost of a Model T Ford, 1908–1924 783
- 31.3** International Comparison of Number of Automobiles 783
- 32.1** Limits Imposed by Washington Conference, 1921–1922 802
- 32.2** Aspects of the Financial Merry-go-round, 1921–1933 808
- 32.3** Index of Common Stock Prices (1926 = 100) 813
- 33.1** Bank Failures Before and After the Glass-Steagall Banking Reform Act of 1933 829
- 33.2** Occupied Households with Electric Service, 1900–2008 840
- 33.3** Labor Union Membership in Selected Countries, 1913–2001 843
- 33.4** Economic Consequences of the Great Depression for the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany, 1929–1940 847
- 35.1** The National Debt, 1930–1950 885
- 36.1** National Defense Budget, 1940–2003 914
- 37.1** Women in the Labor Force, 1900–2005 945
- 37.2** Households with Television Sets, 1946–2009 946
- 38.1** Poverty in the United States, 1960–2006 987
- 39.1** Median Household Income, 1970–2005 1003
- 39.2** The History of the Consumer Price Index, 1967–2005 1026
- 40.1** The National Debt, 1930–2006 1042
- 40.2** Share of Income Received by Families, by Quintile, 1970–2000 1043
- 41.1** Deficits into Surpluses and Back Again 1067
- 41.5** Ethnic and religious groups [in Iraq] by percent of total population (c. 25,000,000) 1071 (*part of Map 41.5*)
- 42.1** The Rise and Fall of the NASDAQ Composite Index, 1994–2004 1085
- 42.2** Demographic Profile of Women, Minorities, and the Foreign-born in Nonacademic Science and Engineering Occupations, 1980–2000 1089
- 42.3** Women in the Work Force Globally, 2004 1090
- 42.4** Government Expenditures for Social Welfare, 1930–2005 1094
- 42.5** Recent Legal Immigration by Area of Origin, 1961–2006 1095
- 42.6** Sources of Latino Population in the United States, 2000 1099
- 42.7** Percent of Total Population Living in Metropolitan Areas and in Their Central Cities and Suburbs, 1910–2000 1100

# TABLES

- 22.1** Principal Reconstruction Proposals and Plans 520
- 22.2** Southern Reconstruction by State 526
- 23.1** Composition of the Electoral Commission, 1877 546
- 23.2** Persons in United States Lynched (by race), 1882–1970 548
- 23.3** Population of Chinese Ancestry in the United States, 1850–2000 551
- 25.1** Educational Levels, 1870–2005 614
- 25.2** Marriages and Divorces, 1890–2006 624
- 29.1** Principal Foreign Elements in the United States, Census of 1910 739
- 29.2** U.S. Exports to Belligerents, 1914–1916 740
- 30.1** A Chronology of Women’s Right to Vote in National Elections in Selected Nations 754
- 33.1** Principal New Deal Acts During Hundred Days Congress, 1933 827
- 33.2** Later Major New Deal Measures, 1933–1939 831
- 35.1** The Comparative Costs of World War II 903
- 36.1** International Trade, 1948–2005 925
- 37.1** Occupational Distribution of Working Women 1900–2000 944
- 41.1** World Public Opinion of the United States 1075
- 42.1** Widening Income Inequality 1087
- 42.2** Who Pays Federal Income Taxes? (share of U.S. income tax, by income percentile) 1090
- 42.3** Percentage of Working Married Women with Children (husband present), 1950–2002 1090
- A.1** Presidential Elections A21
- A.2** Presidents and Vice Presidents A24
- A.3** Admission of States A25
- A.4** Estimates of Total Costs and Number of Battle Deaths of Major U.S. Wars A25

# PREFACE

For this fourteenth edition of *The American Pageant*, we have worked together closely to incorporate the most recent scholarship about American history, and to preserve 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, a personality best defined by clarity, concreteness, a strong emphasis on major themes, a 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 five decades.

Our collaboration on the *Pageant* reflects our respective scholarly interests, which are complementary to a remarkable degree. David Kennedy is primarily a political and economic historian, while Lizabeth Cohen's work emphasizes social and cultural history. Together, we have 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.

## Changes in the Fourteenth Edition

Over the last several editions, we have updated and streamlined the text narrative, with some reorganization of content, expansion of the discussion of social and cultural history, and more in-depth exploration of the cultural innovations and intellectual doctrines that have engaged Americans. The division of the book into six parts, each with an introductory essay, was introduced in the eleventh edition to demonstrate to students 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. "Examining the Evidence" features, first added to the twelfth edition, offered students an opportunity to deepen their understanding of the historical craft in another way, by conveying how historians develop interpretations of the past through research in

many kinds of primary sources. With many revised and some new "Examining the Evidence" topics in the fourteenth edition, students will learn to probe a wide range of historical documents and artifacts to discover: what correspondence between Abigail and John Adams in 1776 reveals about women's place in the American Revolution; why the Gettysburg Address sheds light not only on President Lincoln's brilliant oratory but also his vision of the American nation; how a letter from a black freedman to his former master in 1865 illuminates his family's experience in slavery as well as their hopes for a new life; what the manuscript census teaches us about immigrant households on the Lower East Side of New York in 1900; and how a new kind of architectural structure—the shopping mall—changed both consumers' behavior and politicians' campaign tactics after World War II.

While we have continued to revise features and improve the narrative in this fourteenth edition, our greatest attention has been trained on emphasizing the global context of American history. We have achieved this by highlighting the people, ideas, and events that crossed national borders to influence the experience of the United States and by comparing salient aspects of American history to developments elsewhere in the world. A full understanding of the unique history of the United States requires knowing when America's path followed or departed from that taken by other nations. 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.

We have deepened the global emphasis of the *Pageant* in two distinct ways. First, within *each* chapter, we have revised the text and added new graphics to help students compare American developments to developments around the world. 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, and much more can now be understood as part of world trends, not just as isolated American experiences. Many new box-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, but also our concern for their global context.

Second, we have added a new feature with a global focus. Twelve new “Thinking Globally” essays, two within each of the *Pageant's* six parts, 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. 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 a more united modern 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.

We are deeply indebted to the wise counsel of three professional colleagues as we undertook these revisions: the Latin American historian John Coatsworth, the modern European historian James Sheehan, and Australia's transnationally oriented American historian Ian Tyrrell.

This edition also gives renewed attention to strategies aimed at helping students learn the material presented in the *Pageant*. Much new visual material—documentary images, graphs and tables—illuminates complex and important historical ideas. Readers will also find completely 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 ten readable books to consult “To Learn More.” (A fuller, chapter-by-chapter annotated bibliography suitable for deeper research is provided on the student website.) 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 side by side at the end of the chapter to help students review chapter highlights. Both lists are also included on the student website with expanded definitions. 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. On the website, students will also find an extensive visual profile of the United States with charts and graphs illustrating many aspects of the American historical experience as well as comparisons to other nations.

At the beginning and end of each chapter we remind students to take advantage of the many interactive study materials found on the *American Pageant* website (located at [www.cengage.com/history/kennedy/ampageant14e](http://www.cengage.com/history/kennedy/ampageant14e)). See the Supplements section below for a complete description of the many materials found there. It is our hope that readers will view our website as an exploratory laboratory enhancing *The American Pageant's* text.

## 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*, Fourteenth Edition

*The American Pageant*, fourteenth edition supplements program includes a great variety of learning and teaching aids. The instructor supplements are aimed at providing instructors with useful course management and presentation options. The student supplements are designed to expand learning opportunities—and to provide students with a solid source of review material to assure their success in the course.