

THE AMERICAN PAGEANT

Sixteenth
Edition

David M. Kennedy
Lizabeth Cohen

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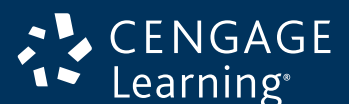
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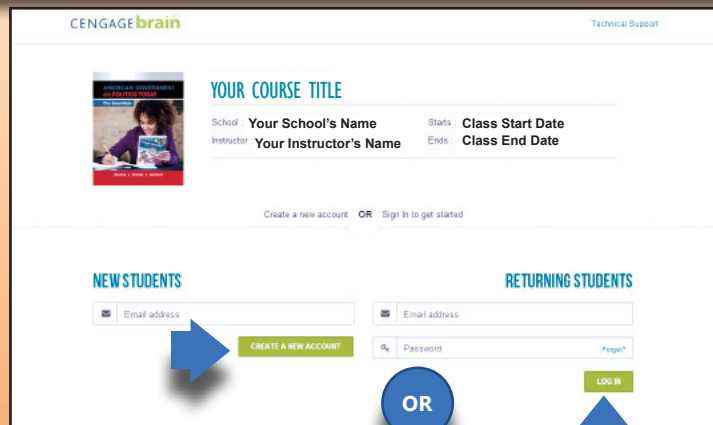
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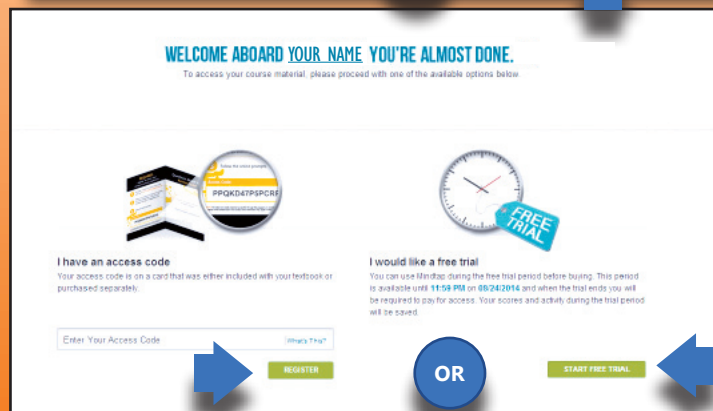
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CANADA

MINNESOTA
1858

WISCONSIN
1848

MICHIGAN
1837

IOWA
1846

ILLINOIS
1818

INDIANA
1816

OHIO
1803

MISSOURI
1821

KENTUCKY
1792

WEST VIRGINIA
1863

36°30'N
MISSOURI
COMPROMISE
LINE
ARKANSAS
1836

MISSISSIPPI
1817

ALABAMA
1819

GEORGIA

LOUISIANA
1812

(Seized from Spain,
1810, 1813)

FLORIDA
(By Treaty with
Spain, 1819)

FLORIDA
1845

NORTH CAROLINA

SOUTH CAROLINA

VIRGINIA

DELAWARE
1790

NEW JERSEY

MASS.
CONN.
R.I.

NEW YORK

VT.
1791

N.H.

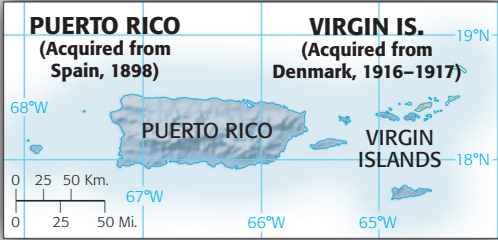
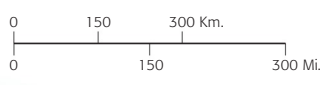
MAINE
1820

ATLANTIC
OCEAN



Territorial Growth of the United States

- 1820 Date of states admission to the Union
- Geographic center of population by decade



BAHAMAS

CUBA

DOMINICAN
REPUBLIC

HAITI

Gulf of Mexico

Lake Superior

Lake Michigan

Lake Huron

Lake Erie

Lake Ontario

St. Lawrence R.

90°W

80°W

70°W

60°W

THE AMERICAN PAGEANT

A History of the American People

SIXTEENTH EDITION

David M. Kennedy

Stanford University

Lizabeth Cohen

Harvard University



Australia • Brazil • Mexico • Singapore • United Kingdom • United States

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David M. Kennedy/Lizabeth Cohen

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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

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

4



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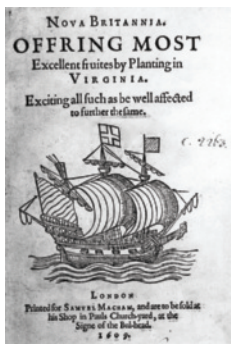
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PREFACE

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”
- Revised text throughout, including new material on postwar conservatism, party realignment, and party nomination reforms
- New “Thinking Globally” essay, “The Global 1960s”

- Revised and updated “Varying Viewpoints” essay on the 1960s that incorporates newer historiography on civil rights
- New Contending Voices: “Differing Visions of Black Freedom” (Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X)

Chapter 38: Challenges to the Postwar Order 1973–1980

- Retitled chapter
- Includes a new introduction laying out the chapter’s key theme: the 1970s as a pivotal, transformative decade for American politics and political economy
- A new section on “The Turn Toward the Market” in U.S. politics, economics, and intellectual currents in the 1970s
- Added material on the conservative movement as well as the cultural impact of second-wave feminism
- Revised “Thinking Globally” essay on globalization, which discusses the changing international economic context for U.S. developments in the 1970s
- New Contending Voices: “The Political Mobilization of Business” (Lewis Powell, Douglas Fraser)

Chapter 39: The Resurgence of Conservatism 1980–1992

- Revised and updated “Varying Viewpoints” essay on conservatism to incorporate the new historiography on the rise of the right
- Revised the text throughout, including new material on the religious right, supply-side economics, and the AIDS epidemic
- New Contending Voices: “Who Ended the Cold War?” (Margaret Thatcher, Mikhail Gorbachev)

Chapter 40: America Confronts the Post–Cold War Era 1992–2000

- Changed the time frame from 1992–2011 in earlier editions to 1992–2000 in this edition
- Includes a new introduction emphasizing the key themes of this 1990s chapter: the search for a post–Cold War global order and political conflict amidst prosperity
- Revised text throughout, including new material on the “Republican Revolution” of 1994, racial politics in the 1990s, globalization, financial deregulation, the computer revolution, and the emergence of anti-American Islamist terrorism
- Revised sections on multiculturalism and post-modernism to emphasize common sources and characteristics of late-twentieth-century cultural developments
- New Contending Voices: “Welfare Reform Divides the Democrats” (Joseph Lieberman, Marion Wright Edelman)

Chapter 41: The American People Face a New Century 2001–2014

- Changed this final chapter from the thematic overview found in previous editions to a narrative

chapter in its own right, covering events from 2001 to 2014

- Includes a new introduction emphasizing deepening political polarization amidst post-9/11 international crises and, later, the global economic crisis of 2008
- New “Examining the Evidence” item on the National Security Strategy of 2002
- Revised, expanded, and updated narrative coverage of the Bush and Obama years, including new material on the politics of immigration reform during both presidencies; the Obama electoral coalition; the Supreme Court under John Roberts; the 2012 election; the budget and debt-ceiling showdowns of 2011 and 2013; and advances for gay rights
- New Contending Voices: “Populist Politics in a Polarized Age” (Tea Party activist, Occupy Wall Street activist)

Supplements Available with *The American Pageant, Sixteenth Edition*

Instructor Resources

MindTap™ MindTap for *The American Pageant: A History of the American People, Sixteenth Edition*, is a personalized, online digital learning platform providing students with an immersive learning experience that builds critical thinking skills. Through a carefully designed chapter-based learning path, MindTap allows students to easily identify the chapter’s learning objectives, complete readings that are organized into short, manageable blocks, and test their content knowledge with Aplia™ Critical Thinking Activities developed for the most important concepts in each chapter (see Aplia description below).

- **Activator:** Each chapter of the MindTap begins with a brief video that introduces the chapter’s major themes in a compelling, visual way that encourages students to think critically about the subject matter.
- **Aplia:** The Aplia Critical Thinking assignments include at least one map-based exercise, one primary source-based exercise, and an exercise summarizing the content and themes of the chapter.
- **Reflection Activity:** Every chapter ends with an assignable, gradable writing assignment, either an essay or discussion board, through which students can apply a theme or idea they’ve just studied.

MindTap also provides a set of web applications known as MindApps to help you create the most engaging course for your students. The MindApps range from ReadSpeaker (which reads the text out-loud to students) to Kaltura (allowing you to insert inline video and audio into your curriculum) to ConnectYard (allowing you to create digital “yards” through social

media—all without “friending” your students). MindTap for *The American Pageant* goes well beyond an eBook, a homework solution/digital supplement, a resource center website, or a Learning Management System (LMS). It is truly a Personal Learning Experience that allows you to synchronize the text reading and engaging assignments. To learn more, ask your Cengage Learning sales representative to demo it for you—or go to www.Cengage.com/MindTap.

Aplia™ Aplia is an online interactive learning solution that improves comprehension and outcomes by increasing student effort and engagement. Founded by a professor to enhance his own courses, Aplia provides automatically graded assignments with detailed, immediate explanations on every question. The interactive assignments have been developed to address the major concepts covered in *The American Pageant* and are designed to promote critical thinking and engage students more fully in learning. Question types include questions built around animated maps, primary sources such as newspaper extracts, or imagined scenarios, like engaging in a conversation with a historical or finding a diary and being asked to fill in some blanks. More in-depth primary source question sets address a major topic with a number of related primary sources and questions that promote deeper analysis of historical evidence. Many of the questions incorporate images, video clips, or audio clips. Students get immediate feedback on their work (not only what they got right or wrong, but also why), and they can choose to see another set of related questions if they want more practice. A searchable eBook is available inside the course as well so that students can easily reference it as they work. Map-reading and writing tutorials are also available to get students off to a good start.

Aplia’s simple-to-use course management interface allows instructors to post announcements, upload course materials, host student discussions, e-mail students, and manage the gradebook. A knowledgeable and friendly support team offers assistance and personalized support in customizing assignments to the instructor’s course schedule. To learn more and view a demo for this book, visit www.aplia.com.

Instructor Companion Website This website is an all-in-one resource for class preparation, presentation, and testing for instructors. Accessible through Cengage.com/login with your faculty account, you will find an Instructor’s Manual, PowerPoint presentations (descriptions below), and test bank files (please see Cognero description).

Instructor’s Manual This manual contains for each chapter: focus questions, chapter themes, a chapter summary, suggested lecture topics, and discussion questions.

PowerPoint® Lecture Tools These presentations are ready-to-use, visual outlines of each chapter. They are easily customized for your lectures. There are presentations of only lectures or only images, as well as combined lecture and image presentations. Also available is a per-chapter JPEG library of images and maps.

Cengage Learning Testing Powered by Cognero® for *The American Pageant* and accessible through Cengage.com/login with your faculty account, this test bank contains multiple-choice and essay questions for each chapter. Cognero is a flexible, online system that allows you to author, edit, and manage test bank content. Create multiple test versions instantly and deliver them through your LMS from your classroom, or wherever you may be, with no special installs or downloads required.

The following format types are available for download from the Instructor Companion website: Blackboard, Angel, Moodle, Canvas, Desire2Learn. You can import these files directly into your LMS to edit, manage questions, and create tests. The test bank is also available in PDF format from the Instructor Companion website.

MindTap Reader MindTap Reader for *The American Pageant: A History of the American People*, Sixteenth Edition, is an eBook specifically designed to address the ways students assimilate content and media assets. MindTap Reader combines thoughtful navigation ergonomics; advanced student annotation, note-taking, and search tools; embedded media assets such as video and MP3 chapter summaries; primary source documents with critical thinking questions; and interactive (zoomable) maps. Students can use the eBook as their primary text or as a multimedia companion to their printed book. The MindTap Reader eBook is available within the MindTap found at www.cengage-brain.com.

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Custom Options Nobody knows your students like you, so why not give them a text that is tailor-fit to their needs? Cengage Learning offers custom solutions for your course—whether it's making a small modification to *The American Pageant* to match your syllabus or combining multiple sources to create something truly unique. You can pick and choose chapters, include your own material, and insert additional exercises along with the Rand McNally Atlas to create a text that fits the way you teach. Ensure that your students get the most out of their textbook dollar by giving them exactly what they need. Contact your Cengage Learning representative to explore custom solutions for your course.

Student Resources

MindTap Reader MindTap Reader is an eBook specifically designed to address the ways students assimilate content and media assets. MindTap Reader combines thoughtful navigation ergonomics; advanced student annotation, note-taking, and search tools; embedded media assets such as video and MP3 chapter summaries; primary source documents with critical thinking questions; and interactive (zoomable) maps. Students can use the eBook as their primary text or as a multimedia companion to their printed book. The MindTap Reader eBook is available within the MindTap found at www.cengagebrain.com.

Reader Program Cengage Learning publishes a number of readers, some containing exclusively primary sources, others a combination of primary and secondary sources, and some designed to guide students through the process of historical inquiry. Visit Cengage.com/history for a complete list of readers.

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Writing for College History, 1e [ISBN: 9780618306039] Prepared by Robert M. Frakes, Clarion University, this brief handbook for survey courses in American history, Western civilization/European history, and world civilization guides students through the various types of writing assignments they encounter in a history class. Providing examples of student writing and candid assessments of student work, this text focuses on the rules and conventions of writing for the college history course.

The History Handbook, 2e [ISBN: 9780495906766] Prepared by Carol Berkin of Baruch College, City University of New York, and Betty Anderson of Boston University, this book teaches students both basic and history-specific study skills such as how to read primary sources, research historical topics, and correctly cite sources. Substantially less expensive than comparable skill-building texts, *The History Handbook* also offers tips for Internet research and evaluating online sources.

Doing History: Research and Writing in the Digital Age, 2e [ISBN: 9781133587880] *Doing History* was prepared by Michael J. Galgano, J. Chris Arndt, and Raymond M. Hyser of James Madison University. Whether you're starting down the path as a history major or simply looking for a straightforward and systematic guide to writing a successful paper, you'll find this text an indispensable handbook to historical research. Its "soup to nuts" approach to researching and writing about history addresses every step of the process, from locating your sources and gathering information to writing clearly and making proper use of various citation styles to avoid plagiarism. You'll also learn how to make the most of every tool available to you—especially the technology that helps you conduct the process efficiently and effectively.

The Modern Researcher, 6e [ISBN: 9780495318705] Prepared by Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff of Columbia University, this classic introduction to the techniques of research and the art of expression is used widely in history courses, but it is also appropriate for writing and research methods courses in other

departments. Barzun and Graff thoroughly cover every aspect of research, from the selection of a topic through the gathering, analysis, writing, revision, and publication of findings, presenting the process not as a set of rules but through actual cases that put the subtleties of research in a useful context. Part One covers the principles and methods of research; Part Two covers writing, speaking, and getting one's work published.

Rand McNally Historical Atlas of the World, 2e [ISBN: 9780618841912] This valuable resource features more than 70 maps that portray the rich panoply of the world's history from preliterate times to the present. The maps show how cultures and civilization were linked and how they interacted, making it clear that history is not static but rather is about change and movement across time. The maps show change by presenting the dynamics of expansion, cooperation, and conflict. This atlas includes maps that display the world from the beginning of civilization; maps of the political development of all major areas of the world; expanded coverage of Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East; maps of the current Islamic world; and maps of world population changes in 1900 and 2000.

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.

Reviewers for the Sixteenth Edition

We are especially indebted to our colleagues who helped us think through the extensive revisions to Part Six: Mark Brilliant, University of California, Berkeley; Jennifer Burns, Stanford University; and Bruce Schulman, Boston University.

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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

THE AMERICAN PAGEANT

Founding the New Nation

ca. 33,000 B.C.E.–1783 C.E.

The European explorers who followed Christopher Columbus to North America in the sixteenth century had no notion of founding a new nation. Neither did the first European settlers who peopled the thirteen English colonies on the eastern shores of the continent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These original colonists may have fled poverty or religious persecution in the Old World, but they continued to view themselves as Europeans and as subjects of the English king. They regarded America as but the westernmost rim of a transatlantic European world.

Yet life in the New World gradually made the colonists different from their European cousins, and eventually, during the American Revolution, the Americans came to embrace a vision of their country as an independent nation. How did this epochal transformation come about? How did the colonists overcome the conflicts that divided them, unite against Britain, and declare themselves at great cost to be an “American” people?

They had much in common to begin with. Most were English-speaking. Most came determined to

create an agricultural society modeled on English customs. Conditions in the New World deepened their common bonds. Most colonists strove to live lives unfettered by the tyrannies of royal authority, official religion, and social hierarchies that they had left behind. They grew to cherish ideals that became synonymous with American life—reverence for individual liberty, self-government, religious tolerance, and economic opportunity. They also commonly displayed a willingness to subjugate outsiders—first Indians, who were nearly annihilated through war and disease, and then Africans, who were brought in chains to serve as enslaved workers, especially on the tobacco, rice, and indigo plantations of the southern colonies.

But if the settlement experience gave people a common stock of values, both good and bad, it also divided them. The thirteen colonies were quite different from one another. Puritans carved tight, pious, and relatively democratic communities of small family farms out of rocky-soiled New England. Theirs was a close-knit, homogeneous world in comparison to most of the southern colonies,



The New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY

The Town of Secota, Engraving, by Theodore de Bry, 1590, after John White Painting John White was an English watercolorist who accompanied the first English expedition to Roanoke Island (later part of Virginia) in 1585. His paintings faithfully recorded the Indian way of life that was now imperiled by the arrival of the Europeans.

where large landholders, mostly Anglicans, built plantations along the coast from which they lorded over a labor force of enslaved blacks and looked down upon the poor white farmers who settled the backcountry. Different still were the middle colonies stretching from New York to Delaware. There diversity reigned. Well-to-do merchants put their stamp on New York City, as Quakers did on Philadelphia, while out in the countryside sprawling estates were interspersed with modest homesteads. Within individual colonies, conflicts festered over economic interests, ethnic rivalries, and religious practices. All those clashes long made it difficult for colonists to imagine that they were a single people with a common destiny, much less that they ought to break free from Britain.

The American colonists in fact had little reason to complain about Britain. Each of the thirteen colonies enjoyed a good deal of self-rule. Many colonists profited from trade within the British Empire. But by the 1760s, this stable arrangement began to crumble, a victim of the imperial rivalry between France and Britain. Their struggle for supremacy in North America began in the late seventeenth century and finally dragged in the colonists during the French and Indian War from 1756 to 1763. That war in one sense strengthened ties with Britain because colonial militias fought triumphantly alongside the British army against their mutual French and Indian enemies. But once the French were driven from the North American continent and new Anglo-Indian peace treaties were forged, the colonists no longer felt that they needed the British army for protection.

Indeed, they increasingly resented British efforts to prevent them from encroaching on Indian lands west of the Appalachians. More important still, after 1763 a financially overstretched British government made the fateful choice of imposing new taxes on colonies that had been accustomed to answering mainly to their own colonial assemblies. By the 1770s issues of taxation, self-rule, western expansion, and trade restrictions brought the crisis of imperial authority to a head. Although as late as 1775 most people in the colonies clung to the hope of some kind of accommodation short of outright independence, royal intransigence soon thrust the colonists into a war of independence that neither antagonist could have anticipated just a few years before.

Eight years of revolutionary war did more than anything in the colonial past to bring Americans together as a nation. Comradeship-in-arms and the struggle to shape a national government forced Americans to subdue their differences as best they could. But the spirit of national unity was hardly universal. One in five colonists sided with the British as “Loyalists,” and a generation would pass before the wounds of this first American “civil war” fully healed. Yet in the end, Americans won the Revolution, with no small measure of help from the French, because in every colony people shared a firm belief that they were fighting for the “unalienable rights” of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” in the words of Thomas Jefferson’s magnificent Declaration of Independence. Almost two hundred years of living a new life had prepared Americans to found a new nation.



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Philadelphia, Corner of Second and High Streets Delegates to the Constitutional Convention in 1787 gathered in Philadelphia, the largest city in North America, a vivid symbol of the rise of American society from its precarious beginnings at Jamestown and Plymouth nearly two centuries earlier.



Chapter 1

New World Beginnings

33,000 B.C.E.–1769 C.E.

I have come to believe that this is a mighty continent which was hitherto unknown. . . . Your Highnesses have an Other World here.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, 1498

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

About six thousand years ago—only a minute in geological time—recorded history of the Western world began. Certain peoples of the Middle East, developing a written culture, gradually emerged from the haze of the past.

Five hundred years ago—only a few seconds figuratively speaking—European explorers stumbled on the Americas. This dramatic accident forever altered the future of both the Old World and the New, and of Africa and Asia as well (see Figure 1.1).

★ The Shaping of North America

Planet earth took on its present form slowly. Some 225 million years ago, a single supercontinent, called Pangaea by geologists, contained all the world's dry land. Then enormous chunks of terrain began to drift away from this colossal landmass, opening the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, narrowing the Pacific Ocean, and forming the great continents of Eurasia, Africa, Australia, Antarctica, and the Americas. The existence of a single original continent has been proved in part by the discovery of nearly identical species of fish that swim today in long-separated freshwater lakes throughout the world.

Continued shifting and folding of the earth's crust thrust up mountain ranges. The Appalachians were probably formed even before continental separation,

perhaps 350 million years ago. The majestic ranges of western North America—the Rockies, the Sierra Nevada, the Cascades, and the Coast Ranges—arose much more recently, geologically speaking, some 135 million to 25 million years ago. They are truly “American” mountains, born after the continent took on its own separate geological identity.

By about 10 million years ago, nature had sculpted the basic geological shape of North America. The continent was anchored in its northeastern corner by the massive **Canadian Shield**—a zone undergirded by ancient rock, probably the first part of what became the North American landmass to have emerged above sea level. A narrow eastern coastal plain, or “tidewater” region, creased by many river valleys, sloped gently upward to the timeworn ridges of the Appalachians. Those ancient mountains slanted away on their western side into the huge midcontinental basin that rolled downward to the Mississippi Valley bottom and then rose relentlessly to the towering peaks of the Rockies. From the Rocky Mountain crest—the “roof of America”—the land fell off jaggedly into the intermountain Great Basin, bounded by the Rockies on the east and the Sierra and Cascade ranges on the west. The valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers and the Willamette–Puget Sound trough seamed the interiors of present-day California, Oregon, and Washington. The land at last met the foaming Pacific, where the Coast Ranges rose steeply from the sea.

Nature laid a chill hand over much of this terrain in the Great Ice Age, beginning about 2 million years ago. Two-mile-thick ice sheets crept from the

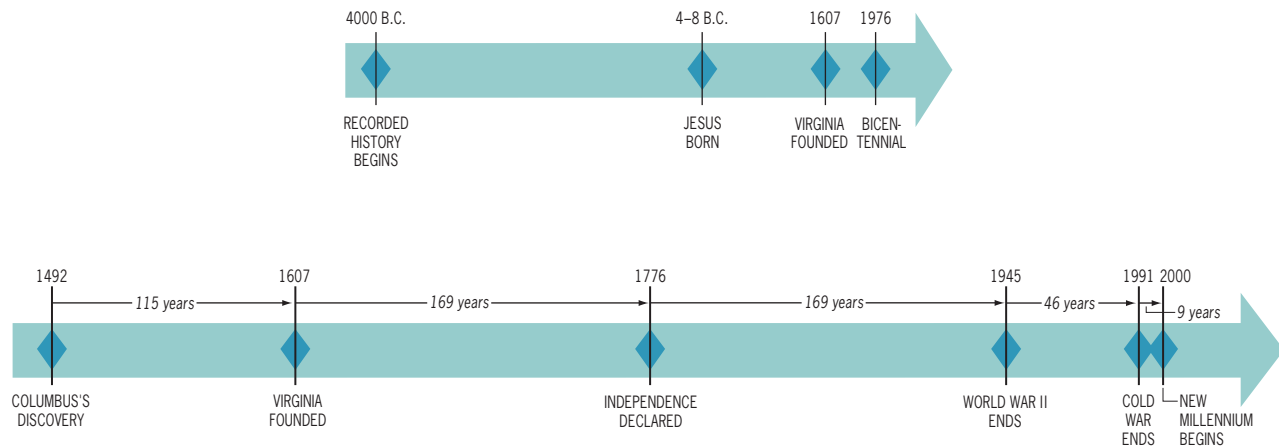


FIGURE 1.1 The Arc of Time © 2016 Cengage Learning

polar regions to blanket parts of Europe, Asia, and the Americas. In North America the great glaciers carpeted most of present-day Canada and the United States as far southward as a line stretching from Pennsylvania through the Ohio Country and the Dakotas to the Pacific Northwest.

When the glaciers finally retreated about ten thousand years ago, they left the North American landscape transformed and much as we know it today. The weight of the gargantuan ice mantle had depressed the level of the Canadian Shield. The grinding and flushing action of the moving and melting ice had scoured away the shield's topsoil, pitting its rocky surface with thousands of shallow depressions into which the melting glaciers flowed to form lakes. The same glacial action scooped out and filled the Great Lakes. They originally drained southward through the Mississippi River system to the Gulf of Mexico. When the melting ice unblocked the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the lake water sought the St. Lawrence River outlet to the Atlantic Ocean, lowering the Great Lakes' level and leaving the Missouri-Mississippi-Ohio system to drain the enormous midcontinental basin between the Appalachians and the Rockies. Similarly, in the West, water from the melting glaciers filled sprawling Lake Bonneville, covering much of present-day Utah, Nevada, and Idaho. It drained to the Pacific Ocean through the Snake and Columbia River systems until diminishing rainfall from the ebbing ice cap lowered the water level, cutting off access to the Snake River outlet. Deprived of both inflow and drainage, the giant lake became a gradually shrinking inland sea. It grew increasingly saline, slowly evaporated, and left an arid, mineral-rich desert. Only the Great Salt Lake remains as a relic of Bonneville's former vastness. Today Lake Bonneville's ancient beaches are visible on

mountainsides up to 1,000 feet above the dry floor of the Great Basin.

★ Peopling the Americas

The Great Ice Age shaped more than the geological history of North America. It also contributed to the origins of the continent's human history. Though recent (and still highly controversial) evidence suggests that some early peoples may have reached the Americas in crude boats, most probably came by land. Some thirty-five thousand years ago, the Ice Age congealed much of the world's oceans into massive ice-pack glaciers, lowering the level of the sea. As the sea level dropped, it exposed a land bridge connecting Eurasia with North America in the area of the present-day Bering Sea between Siberia and Alaska. Across that bridge, probably following migratory herds of game, ventured small bands of nomadic Asian hunters—the “immigrant” ancestors of the Native Americans. They continued to trek across the Bering isthmus for some 250 centuries, slowly peopling the American continents (see Map 1.1).

As the Ice Age ended and the glaciers melted, the sea level rose again, inundating the land bridge about ten thousand years ago. Nature thus barred the door to further immigration for many thousands of years, leaving this part of the human family marooned for millennia on the now-isolated American continents.

Time did not stand still for these original Americans. The same climatic warming that melted the ice and drowned the bridge to Eurasia gradually opened ice-free valleys through which vanguard bands groped their way southward and eastward across the Americas. Roaming slowly through this awesome wilderness, they eventually reached the far tip of South America, some



fifteen thousand miles from Siberia. By the time Europeans arrived in America in 1492, perhaps 54 million people inhabited the two American continents.* Over the centuries they split into countless tribes, evolved

more than two thousand separate languages, and developed many diverse religions, cultures, and ways of life.

Incas in Peru, **Mayans** in Central America, and **Aztecs** in Mexico shaped stunningly sophisticated civilizations. Their advanced agricultural practices, based primarily on the cultivation of maize, which is Indian corn, fed large populations, perhaps as many

*Much controversy surrounds estimates of the pre-Columbian Native American population. The figures here are from William M. Denevan, ed., *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492*, rev. ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992).

Examining the Evidence

Making Sense of the New World

This map from 1546 by Sebastian Münster represents one of the earliest efforts to make geographic sense out of the New World (*Nouus Orbis* and *Die Nüw Welt* on the map). The very phrase *New World* suggests just how staggering a blow to the European imagination was the discovery of the Americas. Europeans reached instinctively for the most expansive of all possible terms—*world*, not simply *places*, or even *continents*—to comprehend Columbus’s startling report that lands and peoples previously unimagined lay beyond the horizon of Europe’s western sea.

Gradually the immense implications of the New World’s existence began to impress themselves on Europe, with consequences for literature, art, politics, the economy, and, of course, cartography. Maps can only be *representations* of reality and are therefore necessarily distortions. This map bears a recognizable resemblance to modern mapmakers’ renderings of the American continents, but it also contains gross geographic inaccuracies (note the location of Japan—*Zipangri*—relative to the North American west coast) as well as telling commentaries on

what sixteenth-century Europeans found remarkable (note the Land of Giants—*Regio Gigantum*—and the indication of cannibals—*Canibali*—in present-day Argentina and Brazil, respectively). What further clues to the European mentality of the time does the map offer? In what ways might misconceptions about the geography of the Americas have influenced further exploration and settlement patterns?



as 20 million in Mexico alone. Although without large draft animals such as horses and oxen, and lacking even the simple technology of the wheel, these peoples built elaborate cities and carried on far-flung commerce. Talented mathematicians, they made strikingly accurate astronomical observations. The Aztecs also routinely sought the favor of their gods by offering human sacrifices, cutting the hearts out of the chests of living victims, who were often captives conquered in battle. By some accounts more than five thousand people were ritually slaughtered to celebrate the crowning of one Aztec chieftain.

★ The Earliest Americans

Agriculture, especially corn growing, accounted for the size and sophistication of the Native American civilizations in Mexico and South America. About 5000 B.C.E. hunter-gatherers in highland Mexico developed a wild grass into the staple crop of corn, which became their staff of life and the foundation of the complex, large-scale, centralized Aztec and Incan civilizations that eventually emerged. Cultivation of corn spread across the Americas from the Mexican heartland. Everywhere it was planted, corn began to transform nomadic hunting bands into settled agricultural villagers, but this process went forward slowly and unevenly.

Corn planting reached the present-day American Southwest as early as 2000 B.C.E. and powerfully molded Pueblo culture. The Pueblo peoples in the Rio Grande valley constructed intricate irrigation systems to water their cornfields. They were dwelling in villages of multi-storied, terraced buildings when Spanish explorers made contact with them in the sixteenth century. (*Pueblo* means “village” in Spanish.)

Corn cultivation reached other parts of North America considerably later. The timing of its arrival in different localities explains much about the relative rates of development of different Native American peoples (see Map 1.2). Throughout the continent to the north and east of the land of the Pueblos, social life was less elaborately developed—indeed “societies” in the modern sense of the word scarcely existed. No dense concentrations of population or complex



Corn Culture This statue of a corn goddess from the Moche culture of present-day coastal Peru, made between 200 and 600 B.C.E., vividly illustrates the centrality of corn to Native American peoples a thousand years before the rise of the great Incan and Aztec empires that the Europeans later encountered.

tpk, Berlin/Art Resource, NY

nation-states comparable to the Aztec empire existed in North America outside of Mexico at the time of the Europeans’ arrival—one of the reasons for the relative ease with which the European colonizers subdued the native North Americans.

The Mound Builders of the Ohio River valley, the Mississippian culture of the lower Midwest, and the desert-dwelling Anasazi peoples of the Southwest did sustain some large settlements after the incorporation of corn planting into their ways of life during the first millennium C.E. The Mississippian settlement at **Cahokia**, near present-day East St. Louis, was at one time home to as many as twenty-five thousand people. The Anasazis built an elaborate pueblo of more than six hundred interconnected rooms at Chaco Canyon in modern-day New Mexico. But mysteriously, perhaps due to prolonged

drought, all those ancient cultures fell into decline by about 1300 C.E.

The cultivation of maize, as well as of high-yielding strains of beans and squash, reached the southeastern Atlantic seaboard region of North America about 1000 C.E. These plants made possible **three-sister farming**, with beans growing on the trellis of the cornstalks and squash covering the planting mounds to retain moisture in the soil. The rich diet provided by this environmentally clever farming technique produced some of the highest population densities on the continent, among them the Creek, Choctaw, and Cherokee peoples.

The Iroquois in the northeastern woodlands, inspired by a legendary leader named Hiawatha, created in the sixteenth century perhaps the closest North American approximation to the great empires of Mexico and Peru. The Iroquois Confederacy developed the political and organizational skills to sustain a robust military alliance that menaced its neighbors, Native American and European alike, for well over a century (see “Makers of America: The Iroquois,” pp. 38–39).

But for the most part, the native peoples of North America were living in small, scattered, and impermanent settlements on the eve of the Europeans’ arrival. In more settled agricultural groups, women tended the crops while men hunted, fished, gathered fuel, and cleared fields for planting. This pattern of life frequently conferred substantial authority on women,



MAP 1.2 North American Indian Peoples at the Time of First Contact with Europeans Because this map depicts the location of various Indian peoples *at the time of their first contact with Europeans*, and because initial contacts ranged from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, it is necessarily subject to considerable chronological skewing and is only a crude approximation of the “original” territory of any given group. The map also cannot capture the fluidity and dynamism of Native American life even before Columbus’s “discovery.” For example, the Navajo and Apache peoples had migrated from present-day northern Canada only shortly before the Spanish first encountered them in the present-day American Southwest in the 1500s. The map also places the Sioux on the Great Plains, where Europeans met up with them in the early nineteenth century—but the Sioux had spilled onto the plains not long before then from the forests surrounding the Great Lakes. The indigenous populations of the southeastern and mid-Atlantic regions are especially difficult to represent accurately in a map like this because pre-Columbian intertribal conflicts had so scrambled the native inhabitants that it is virtually impossible to determine which groups were originally where. © 2016 Cengage Learning