

THE AMERICAN PAGEANT

VOLUME 1 ★ To 1877



DAVID M. KENNEDY
LIZABETH COHEN



WASHINGTON
1889

OREGON COUNTRY
(By Agreement
with Britain, 1846)

OREGON
1859

IDAHO
1890

MONTANA
1889

WYOMING
1890

NORTH DAKOTA
1889

SOUTH DAKOTA
1889

NEVADA
1864

MEXICAN CESSION
(1848)

CALIFORNIA
1850

UTAH
1896

ARIZONA
1912

NEBRASKA
1867

LOUISIANA PURCHASE
(From France, 1803)

KANSAS
1861

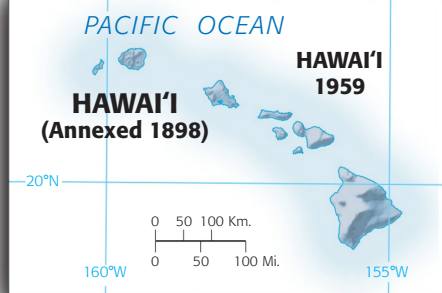
OKLAHOMA
1907

GADSDEN PURCHASE
(From Mexico, 1853)

NEW MEXICO
1912

TEXAS
(Independent Republic,
Annexed 1845)

TEXAS
1845



ALASKA PURCHASE
(From Russia, 1867)

MEXICO



CANADA

MAINE
1820

VT.
1791

N.H.

MASS.

CONN.

R.I.

NEW YORK

PENNSYLVANIA

NEW JERSEY

DELAWARE

MARYLAND

OHIO
1803

INDIANA
1816

ILLINOIS
1818

MISSOURI
1821

KENTUCKY
1792

WEST VIRGINIA
1863

VIRGINIA

NORTH CAROLINA

TENNESSEE
1796

SOUTH CAROLINA

GEORGIA

ALABAMA
1819

LOUISIANA
1812

MISSISSIPPI
1817

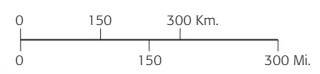
FLORIDA
(By Treaty with Spain, 1819)

FLORIDA
1845

ATLANTIC OCEAN

Territorial Growth of the United States

1820 Date of state's admission to the Union
● Geographic center of population by decade



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THE AMERICAN PAGEANT

A History of the American People

Volume 1: To 1877

SEVENTEENTH EDITION

David M. Kennedy
Stanford University

Lizabeth Cohen
Harvard University



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

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THE AMERICAN PAGEANT

Volume 1: To 1877

About The Authors

David M. Kennedy is the Donald J. McLachlan Professor of History Emeritus and Director Emeritus of The Bill Lane Center for the American West at Stanford University, where he has taught for more than five decades. Born and raised in Seattle, he received his undergraduate education at Stanford and did his graduate



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the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of 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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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, and in 2014 it appeared in Cambridge University Press’s Canto Classic Series. 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 next 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. Her latest book, *Saving America's Cities: Ed Logue and the Struggle to Renew Urban America in the Suburban Age* (2019), probes 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. From 2011 to 2018 she served as the Dean of the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard, a major center for scholarly research, creative arts, and public programs. Before attending graduate school, she taught history at the secondary level and worked in history and art museums. She continues to help develop public history programs for general audiences through museums and documentary films. She is married to an

historian of modern France, with whom she has two daughters. For leisure, she enjoys swimming and hiking with her family, watching films, traveling, and reading fiction.

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

Brief Contents

Maps xvii
Tables xix
Figures xxi
Preface xxiii

Part One Peopling a Continent

C. 33,000 B.C.E.–1700 C.E.

-
- 1 New World Beginnings
33,000 B.C.E.–1680 C.E. 4
 - 2 The Contest for North
America 1500–1664 26
 - 3 Settling the English
Colonies 1619–1700 44

Part Two Building British North America

1607–1775

-
- 4 American Life in the Seventeenth
Century 1607–1692 68
 - 5 Colonial Society on the Eve of
Revolution 1700–1775 84
 - 6 The Road to
Revolution 1754–1775 107

Part Three Founding a New Nation

1775–1800

-
- 7 America Secedes from the
Empire 1775–1783 138
 - 8 The Confederation and the
Constitution 1776–1790 161

- 9 Launching the New Ship
of State 1789–1800 184

Part Four Building the New Nation

1800–1860

-
- 10 The Triumphs and Travails
of the Jeffersonian Republic
1800–1812 210
 - 11 The War of 1812 and the
Upsurge of Nationalism
1812–1824 232
 - 12 The Rise of a Mass
Democracy 1824–1840 253
 - 13 Forging the National
Economy 1790–1860 284
 - 14 The Ferment of Reform and
Culture 1790–1860 313
 - 15 The South and Slavery
1793–1860 342

Part Five Testing the New Nation

1841–1877

-
- 16 Manifest Destiny and Its
Legacy 1841–1848 366
 - 17 Renewing the Sectional
Struggle 1848–1854 385
 - 18 Drifting Toward
Disunion 1854–1861 404

- 19 Girding for War: The North and
the South 1861–1865 427
- 20 The Furnace of Civil
War 1861–1865 445
- 21 The Ordeal of Reconstruction
1865–1877 473

- APPENDIX
- Documents A-1
- Tables A-21
- Glossary of Key Terms A-27
- Index I-1

Contents

Maps xvii
Tables xix
Figures xxi
Preface xxiii

Part One Peopling a Continent

c. 33,000 B.C.E.–1700 C.E.

2

1 New World Beginnings 33,000 B.C.E.–1680 C.E. 4



The geology of the Americas • Native Americans before Columbus • Europe's widening world • Columbus and the early explorers • The Columbian Exchange • Spain's New World empire • The legacy of Spanish conquest

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 23–25

✦ EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE Making Sense of the New World 7

✦ CONTENDING VOICES Europeans and Indians 16

✦ MAKERS OF AMERICA The Spanish *Conquistadores* 18

2 The Contest for North America 1500–1664 26



New France • Fur-traders and Indians • Elizabethan England expands • England on the eve of empire • The founding of Jamestown, 1607 • English settlers and Native Americans • New Netherland becomes New York • Native Americans and Europeans: conflict and accommodation

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 42–43

✦ CONTENDING VOICES Old World Dreams and New World Realities 31

✦ MAKERS OF AMERICA The Iroquois 40

3 Settling the English Colonies 1619–1700 44



The growth of Virginia and Maryland • Plantation slavery develops in the Caribbean and the Carolinas • The Puritan faith • Plymouth Colony, 1620 • The Puritan Commonwealth of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1630 • Religious dissent and the expansion of New England • Pennsylvania, the Quaker colony

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 64–65

✦ CONTENDING VOICES Anne Hutchinson Accused and Defended 55

✦ EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE A Seventeenth-Century Valuables Cabinet 62

✦ VARYING VIEWPOINTS Boundaries or Borderlands in the Colonial Americas? 63

Part Two

Building British North America

1607–1775

66

4 American Life in the Seventeenth Century 1607–1692 68



Life and labor in the Chesapeake tobacco region • Indentured servants and Bacon’s Rebellion • The spread of slavery • African American culture • Southern society • Families in New England • Declining Puritan piety • The Salem witchcraft trials, 1692 • Daily life in the colonies

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 82–83

- ✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Berkeley Versus Bacon 70
- ✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** An Indentured Servant’s Contract, 1746 71
- ✦ **THINKING GLOBALLY** The Atlantic Slave Trade, 1500–1860 72

5 Colonial Society on the Eve of Revolution 1700–1775 84

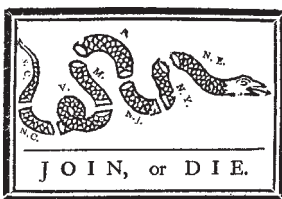


The borderlands of European and Native American settlements • Immigration and population growth • Slave society and revolts • The Atlantic economy • The role of religion • The Great Awakening of the 1730s • Education and culture • Politics and the press • The development of an American culture

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 105–106

- ✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Race and Slavery 89
- ✦ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** From African to African American 90

6 The Road to Revolution 1754–1775 107



Anglo-French colonial rivalries • The Seven Years’ War • Pontiac’s uprising and the Proclamation of 1763 • Roots of Revolution • Stamp Act Crisis, 1765 • The Boston Tea Party, 1773 • The Intolerable Acts and the Continental Congress, 1774 • Lexington, Concord, and the beginning of war • The rebel army

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 134–135

- ✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Reconciliation or Independence? 121
- ✦ **THINKING GLOBALLY** Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Revolt 130

Part Three

Founding a New Nation

1775–1800

136

7 America Secedes from the Empire 1775–1783 138



Early skirmishes, 1775 • American “republicanism” • The Declaration of Independence, 1776 • Patriots and Loyalists • Battles in the middle colonies • The French alliance, 1778 • Yorktown, 1781 • The Peace of Paris, 1783

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 159–160

- ✦ EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE A Revolution for Women? Abigail Adams Chides Her Husband, 1776 145
- ✦ CONTENDING VOICES Two Revolutions: French and American 156
- ✦ VARYING VIEWPOINTS Whose Revolution? 158

8 The Confederation and the Constitution 1776–1790 161



State constitutions and identities • The Articles of Confederation, 1781–1788 • The Northwest Ordinance, 1787 • Shays’s Rebellion, 1786 • The Constitutional Convention, 1787 • Ratifying the Constitution, 1787–1790

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 182–183

- ✦ EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE Quock Walker Case, 1783 163
- ✦ CONTENDING VOICES Debating the New Constitution 179
- ✦ VARYING VIEWPOINTS The Constitution: Revolutionary or Counterrevolutionary? 181

9 Launching the New Ship of State 1789–1800 184



Problems of the young republic • The first presidency, 1789–1793 • The Bill of Rights, 1791 • Hamiltonian economic policies • Conflict in the West • The emergence of political parties • The shadow of the French Revolution • The Jay Treaty, 1794, and Washington’s Farewell, 1797 • John Adams and the Alien and Sedition Acts • Federalists versus Republicans

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 206–207

- ✦ CONTENDING VOICES Human Nature and the Nature of Government 191
- ✦ THINKING GLOBALLY Two Revolutions 194

Part Four

Building the New Nation

1800–1860

208

10 The Triumphs and Travails of the Jeffersonian Republic 1800–1812 210



The “Revolution of 1800” • The Jeffersonian Presidency • John Marshall and the Supreme Court • Barbary pirates • The Native American West and the Louisiana Purchase, 1803 • The Embargo, 1807–1809 • Tecumseh’s dream of Native American solidarity • A Declaration of War with Britain

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 230–231

✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** The Thomas Jefferson–Sally Hemings Controversy 213

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** War in 1812? 229

11 The War of 1812 and the Upsurge of Nationalism 1812–1824 232



The invasion of Canada, 1812 • War on land and sea • The Treaty of Ghent, 1814 • The Hartford Convention, 1814–1815 and the death of the Federalist party • War and national identity • The Era of Good Feelings • The Missouri Compromise, 1820 • Marshall’s Supreme Court • Oregon and Florida acquired • The Monroe Doctrine, 1823

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 251–252

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Sizing Up the Monroe Doctrine 250

12 The Rise of a Mass Democracy 1824–1840 253



The “corrupt bargain” and President John Quincy Adams • The “Five Civilized Tribes” of the Southeast • The triumph of Andrew Jackson, 1828 • The spoils system • The “Tariff of Abominations,” 1828 • The South Carolina nullification crisis, 1832–1833 • Indian removal • Jackson’s war on the Bank of the United States • The Whig party • Revolution in Texas • William Henry Harrison’s “log cabin” campaign, 1840 • Mass democracy and the two-party system

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 282–283

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Taking the Measure of Andrew Jackson 258

✦ **THINKING GLOBALLY** Alexis de Tocqueville on Democracy in America and Europe 260

✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Satiric Bank Note, 1837 271

✦ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** Mexican or Texican? 276

✦ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** What Was Jacksonian Democracy? 281

13 Forging the National Economy 1790–1860 284



The westward movement • European immigration • The Irish and the Germans • Nativism and assimilation • The coming of the factory system • Industrial workers • Women and the economy • The ripening of commercial agriculture • The transportation revolution • A continental economy

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 311–312

- ✦ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Irish 290
- ✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Immigration, Pro and Con 293
- ✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** The Invention of the Sewing Machine 298

14 The Ferment of Reform and Culture 1790–1860 313



Religious revivals • The Mormons • The creation of an education system • The roots of reform • Temperance • Women’s roles and women’s rights • Utopian experiments • Scientific progress • Artistic expressions • A national literature • Transcendentalism • Poets, novelists, and historians

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 340–341

- ✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Dress as Reform 325
- ✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** The Role of Women 326
- ✦ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Oneida Community 328
- ✦ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** Reform: Who? What? How? and Why? 339

15 The South and Slavery 1793–1860 342



Capitalism in the Cotton Kingdom • Southern social structure • Poor whites and free blacks • Life under slavery • Slave resistance • The abolitionist crusade • The white Southern response • Abolition and the Northern conscience

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 362–363

- ✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Debating Slavery 354
- ✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Bellegrave Plantation, Donaldsville, Louisiana, Built 1857 356
- ✦ **THINKING GLOBALLY** The Struggle to Abolish Slavery 358
- ✦ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** What Was the True Nature of Slavery? 361

Part Five

Testing the New Nation

1841–1877

364

16 Manifest Destiny and Its Legacy 1841–1848 366



“Tyler too” becomes president • Negotiating the Maine boundary, 1842 • The annexation of Texas, 1845 • Oregon Fever • Manifest Destiny and James K. Polk, the “dark horse” of 1844 • War with Mexico, 1846–1848 • The Wilmot Proviso

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 383–384

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Warring over the Mexican War 378

✦ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** The Californios 380

17 Renewing the Sectional Struggle 1848–1854 385



“Popular sovereignty” • California’s rush to statehood • The underground railroad • Sectional division and the Compromise of 1850 • The Fugitive Slave Law • Domestic and overseas expansion • Senator Douglas and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 402–403

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** The Compromise of 1850 396

18 Drifting Toward Disunion 1854–1861 404



Uncle Tom’s Cabin and the spread of abolitionist sentiment in the North • The contest for Kansas • The election of James Buchanan, 1856 • The Dred Scott case, 1857 • The Lincoln-Douglas debates, 1858 • John Brown’s raid on Harpers Ferry, 1859 • Lincoln and Republican victory, 1860 • Secession

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 425–426

✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* 406

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Judging John Brown 416

✦ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** The Civil War: Repressible or Irrepressible? 424

19 Girding for War: The North and the South 1861–1865 427



The attack on Fort Sumter, April 1861 • The crucial border states • The balance of forces • Diplomacy and the specter of European intervention • Lincoln and civil liberties • Men in uniform • Financing the Blue and Gray • The economic impact of the war • Women and the war • The fate of the South

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 443–444

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** War Aims: Emancipation or Union? 430

✦ **MAKERS OF AMERICA** Billy Yank and Johnny Reb 432

20 The Furnace of Civil War 1861–1865 445



Bull Run ends the “ninety-day war” • The Peninsula Campaign • The war in the West • The North’s naval advantage • Antietam, 1862 • The Emancipation Proclamation, 1863 • Black soldiers • Confederate high tide at Gettysburg, 1863 • Sherman marches through Georgia • Wartime politics • Appomattox, 1865 • The assassination of Lincoln, April 1865 • The legacy of war

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 471–472

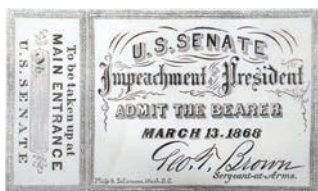
✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** The Controversy over Emancipation 454

✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address 459

✦ **THINKING GLOBALLY** The Era of Nationalism 468

✦ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** What Were the Consequences of the Civil War? 470

21 The Ordeal of Reconstruction 1865–1877 473



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 Colfax Massacre and the limits of Reconstruction • The impeachment of Andrew Johnson • The legacy of Reconstruction

CHRONOLOGY / KEY TERMS / PEOPLE TO KNOW / TO LEARN MORE 492–493

✦ **EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE** Letter from a Freedman to His Old Master, 1865 476

✦ **CONTENDING VOICES** Radical Republicans and Southern Democrats 481

✦ **VARYING VIEWPOINTS** Did Reconstruction Fail? 492

APPENDIX

Documents A-1

Declaration of Independence • Constitution of the United States of America

Tables A-21

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 A-27

Index I-1

Maps

- 1.1** The First Discoverers of America 6
- 1.2** Native North Americans ca. 1500 9
- 1.3** The World Known to Europe and Major Trade Routes with Asia, 1492 11
- 1.4** Major Items in the Columbian Exchange 15
- 1.5** Principal Voyages of Discovery 17
- 1.6** Spain's North American Frontier, 1542–1823 22
- 1.7** The Spread of the Horse in North America, to 1750 23
- 2.1** France's American Empire at Its Greatest Extent, 1700 27
- 2.2** French Claims and Settlements in North America, 1715 29
- 2.3** Early Maryland and Virginia 33
- 2.4** Early Settlements in the Middle Colonies Amidst Native Peoples, 1600–1653 36
- 2.5** Iroquois Lands and European Trade Centers, ca. 1590–1650 40
- 3.1** Early Carolina and Georgia Settlements 48
- 3.2a** Sources of the Puritan “Great English Migration” to New England, c. 1620–1640 52
- 3.2b** The Great English Migration, ca. 1630–1642 52
- 3.3** Seventeenth-Century New England Settlements 55
- 3.4** Andros's Dominion of New England 58
- 4.1** Main Sources and Destinations of African Slaves, ca. 1500–1860 73
- 5.1** North American Rivals 85
- 5.2** Immigrant Groups in 1775 87
- 5.3** The Colonial Economy 93
- 5.4** Colonial Trade Patterns, ca. 1770 94
- 6.1** Scenes of the French Wars 108
- 6.2** North America After Two Wars, 1713 109
- 6.3** The French and Indian War in North America, 1754–1760 110
- 6.4** Global Scale of the Seven Years' War 111
- 6.5a** European Claims in North America Before 1754 114
- 6.5b** European Claims in North America After 1763 (after French losses) 114
- 6.6** British Colonies at End of the Seven Years' War, 1763 117
- 6.7** Québec Before and After 1774 126
- 7.1** Revolution in the North, 1775–1776 141
- 7.2** War in the South, 1780–1781 153
- 7.3** George Rogers Clark's Campaign, 1778–1779 154
- 8.1** Western Land Cessions to the United States, 1782–1802 165
- 8.2** Surveying the Old Northwest Under the Land Ordinance of 1785 167
- 8.3** Main Centers of Spanish and British Influence After 1783 168
- 8.4** The Struggle over Ratification 176
- 9.1** American Posts Held by the British and British-American Clashes After 1783 196
- 10.1** Presidential Election of 1800 (with electoral vote by state) 212
- 10.2** The Barbary States of North Africa and the Tripolitan War 218
- 10.3** Exploring the Louisiana Purchase and the West 222
- 11.1** Battles in the War of 1812 233
- 11.2** Presidential Election of 1812 (with electoral vote by state) 237
- 11.3** The Missouri Compromise and Slavery, 1820–1821 244
- 11.4** U.S.-British Boundary Settlement, 1818 247
- 11.5** Andrew Jackson's Southeastern Campaigns, 1810–1819 247
- 11.6** The West and Northwest, 1818–1824 251
- 12.1** Presidential Election of 1828 (with electoral vote by state) 257
- 12.2** Indian Removals, 1830–1846 265
- 12.3** The Texas Revolution, 1836 275
- 13.1** Westward Movement of Center of Population, 1790–2010 285
- 13.2** Major Rivers, Roads, and Canals, 1825–1860 304
- 13.3** The Railroad Revolution 305
- 13.4** Main Routes West Before the Civil War 307
- 13.5** Industry and Agriculture, 1860 309
- 14.1** The Mormon World 317
- 15.1** Southern Cotton Production and Distribution of Slaves, 1820 and 1860 346
- 15.2** Early Emancipation in the North 353
- 16.1** Maine Boundary Settlement, 1842 369
- 16.2** The Oregon Controversy, 1846 374
- 16.3** Major Campaigns of the Mexican War 377
- 16.4** Spanish Missions and Presidios 381
- 17.1** California Gold Rush Country 387

- 17.2** Texas and the Disputed Area Before the Compromise of 1850 389
- 17.3** Slavery After the Compromise of 1850 393
- 17.4** The Legal Status of Slavery, from the Revolution to the Civil War 395
- 17.5** Central America, ca. 1850, Showing British Possessions and Proposed Canal Routes 397
- 17.6** The Gadsden Purchase, 1853 400
- 17.7** Kansas and Nebraska, 1854 401
- 18.1** Bleeding Kansas, 1854–1860 407
- 18.2** Presidential Election of 1856 (electoral vote by state) 411
- 18.3** Presidential Election of 1860: Electoral Vote by State (top) and Popular Vote by County (bottom) 419
- 18.4** Southern Opposition to Secession, 1860–1861 (showing vote by county) 420
- 19.1** Seceding States (with dates and order of secession) 429
- 20.1** Peninsula Campaign, 1862 447
- 20.2** Main Thrusts, 1861–1865 448
- 20.3** Emancipation in the South 453
- 20.4** The Battle of Gettysburg, 1863 457
- 20.5** The Mississippi River and Tennessee, 1862–1863 458
- 20.6** Sherman’s March, 1864–1865 461
- 20.7** Presidential Election of 1864 (showing popular vote by county) 463
- 20.8** Grant’s Virginia Campaign, 1864–1865 464
- 21.1** Military Reconstruction, 1867 (five districts and commanding generals) 484
- 21.2** Alaska and the Lower Forty-Eight States (a size comparison) 490

Tables

- 3.1** The Original English Colonies on the Mainland of North America 47
- 3.2** The Stuart Dynasty in England 57
- 5.1** Established (Tax-Supported) Churches in the Colonies, 1775 97
- 5.2** Estimated Religious Census, 1775 97
- 6.1** The Nine World Wars Since 1688 109
- 7.1** Britain Against the World 152
- 8.1** Evolution of Federal Union 172
- 8.2** Slavery and the Constitution 174
- 8.3** Strengthening the Central Government 175
- 8.4** Ratification of the Constitution 176
- 9.1** Evolution of the Cabinet 185
- 9.2** Evolution of Major Parties 191
- 9.3** The Two Political Parties, 1793–1800 204
- 12.1** Election of 1824 254
- 12.2** Voter Turnout by Country, 1840–2008 261
- 12.3** Presidential Vetoes, 1789–1837 267
- 13.1** Irish and German Immigration by Decade, 1830–1900 287
- 15.1** Comparative Abolition of Slavery 359
- 16.1** House Vote on Tariff of 1846 374
- 17.1** Compromise of 1850 392
- 18.1** Election of 1860 418
- 19.1** Manufacturing by Sections, 1860 431
- 19.2** Immigration to United States, 1860–1866 434
- 19.3** Number of Men in Uniform at Date Given 440
- 21.1** Principal Reconstruction Proposals and Plans 479
- 21.2** Southern Reconstruction by State 485

Figures

- 1.1** The Arc of Time 5
- 5.1** Ethnic and Racial Composition of the American People, 1790 88
- 9.1** Hamilton’s Financial Structure Supported by Revenues 188
- 13.1** Population Increase, Including Slaves and Indians, 1790–1860 287
- 15.1** Slaveowning Families, 1850 345
- 20.1** Union Party, 1864 462

Preface

This seventeenth 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 Elizabeth 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, clearly, and responsibly 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. This new edition now divides the narrative of American history into nine parts, instead of the six featured in previous editions, to better reflect the ways in which American history is being taught today. Each of the nine parts opens with an introductory essay highlighting major themes and perspectives, essentially posing the question, "What's the story?" in the chapters that follow. Those essays are meant to help students to understand that 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. For this edition, we have also added concluding focus questions to the nine introductory essays to encourage students to bring a set of probing inquiries into the chapters that compose each section.

A strong narrative propels the story, reinforced by the feature, "Contending Voices." Here we pair conflicting quotations from original historical sources, accompanied by questions that encourage critical thinking by asking students to assess how people in the historical past understood hotly contested subjects. Still more highlighted quotes throughout the text help students hear the language of real people who shaped and experienced historical events. This edition incorporates many new, diverse voices into these features. They complement the historiographical debates covered in the "Varying Viewpoints" essays by highlighting how historical actors themselves debated the meaning of the events they experienced.

In addition, "Examining the Evidence" enables 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 era of 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; the neighborhood rating system of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) of the 1930s, which institutionalized the "redlining" that starved inner-city neighborhoods of capital for decades afterward; 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 historical developments 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. 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.

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 Seventeenth Edition

This edition now breaks the narrative into nine historical periods, rather than six, a restructuring designed to help students understand critical themes and changes over time, and to provide instructors with an organizational framework in tune with broader learning goals.

As in past revisions, we have updated and streamlined the entire text narrative, focusing especially on four matters: (1) the colonial and early national periods, including fresh discussion of Spanish and French colonial ambitions and imperial rivalries for dominance in North America; (2) significantly enhanced attention to Native American history, from the European arrival into the twenty-first century; (3) expanded examination of the conquest of the West and its human and environmental consequences; and (4) the history of American capitalism.

We have substantially revised and reorganized the *Pageant's* discussion of the colonial period to emphasize uncertainties and potentialities during the eras of exploration and early settlement, relying especially on the wealth of recent scholarship on the American West and southwestern borderlands to expand the geographical and conceptual scope of our treatment of that consequential period. Parts One and Two now help students reflect on Native American perspectives and priorities, while encouraging them to understand the colonization of North America as a more precarious—and contested—project carried out by competing European powers. This spatial reorientation allows for a renewed emphasis on the histories of Native American civilizations and their role in a rapidly changing North America. Finally, new material in chapters on the early national and antebellum eras incorporate important scholarship on capitalism and the role of finance and speculation in the growth of the nation's political and social institutions, particularly slavery.

We have also made major revisions to our treatment of the entire post-Civil War era—from Reconstruction

through the election of 2016. Coverage of the Gilded Age now begins with a chapter emphasizing the centrality of the Industrial Revolution to an understanding of the course of American history in the late nineteenth century. Subsequent chapters in that section trace the ways in which the scale, speed, and complexity of industrial modernization triggered social, environmental, and political upheavals throughout American society, culminating in the Populist uprising at century's end. The same section also contains a fresh discussion of the conquest of the Great American West, conspicuously including substantial new material on the responses of Native Americans to relentless settler encroachment on their ancestral lands. We have updated the history of the twentieth century as well. A new chapter on the 1920s highlights the transformative technologies that emerged during that pivotal decade and foreshadowed the sweeping changes in behaviors, values, and attitudes that evolved as the century advanced. We have also added new material on the final years of the Obama presidency, as well as the election of 2016, and the myriad ways that technological and cultural innovations have deeply disrupted American political culture in the early twenty-first century.

Global Context

Recognizing that we inhabit an increasingly interconnected planet, we have continued to deepen 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.

“Thinking Globally” essays 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, lists of Key Terms and “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. An 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 as an exploratory laboratory enhancing *The American Pageant's* text.

Notes on Content Revisions

Part One—Peopling a Continent

c. 33,000 B.C.E.–1700 C.E.

Chapter 1 New World Beginnings 33,000 B.C.E.–1680 C.E.

- Chapter substantially updated and expanded to more effectively address Native American history, particularly before European contact

- Updated geological information in “The Shaping of North America” section
- Substantial update to and expansion of material on pre-Columbian Native American economies and cultures in the “The Earliest Americans” section
- Further updates to post-contact Native American history throughout the chapter, with new material in “Exploration and Rivalry” section
- New epigraph quote from an Apache origin story

Chapter 2 The Contest for North America 1500–1664

- Chapter reorganized to discuss French, English, and Dutch colonialism, as well as to incorporate more Native American history. More attention to the contest for North America among competing empires than assumption of British hegemony.
- First two sections of previous edition Chapter 6 revised and moved to opening section of this chapter
- New boxed quote from Montagnais in “New France Fans Out” section
- New boxed quote from Narragansett in “Indians’ New World” section
- Brief new section “The Spanish in North America” describing Spanish colonial ventures on the continent, fitting with new emphasis on non-English and Western history
- “Old Netherlanders at New Amsterdam,” “Friction with English and Swedish Neighbors,” and “Dutch Residues in New York” sections relocated from previous edition Chapter 3

Chapter 3 Settling the English Colonies 1619–1700

- Chapter reorganized to discuss the seventeenth century English plantations together, with a new emphasis on contingency
- Previous edition Chapter 2 sections “Virginia: Child of Tobacco,” “Maryland: Catholic Haven,” “The West Indies: Waystation to America,” “Colonizing the Carolinas,” “The Emergence of North Carolina,” “Late-Coming Georgia: The Buffer Colony,” and “Plantation Colonies” relocated to this chapter
- Condensed discussion of seventeenth century intercolonial politics in “English Interference and Neglect” section
- New boxed quote from William Penn’s Frame of Government in “Quaker Pennsylvania and its Neighbors” section
- New Varying Viewpoints: “Boundaries or Borderlands in the Colonial Americas.” This feature reflects recent scholarship on borderlands, and helps move the textbook toward a less confined understanding of colonial history and Western history.

Part Two—Building British North America 1607–1775

Chapter 4 American Life in the Seventeenth Century 1607–1692

- “Frustrated Freemen and Bacon’s Rebellion” section updated with new perspectives on gender and Bacon’s Rebellion

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

- New material to strengthen analysis of Native American history
- New section, “A Continent in Flux” added to return to Native American history and Western history. This material also emphasizes the ongoing continental rivalry among European powers. Includes new boxed quote from George Vancouver on Indians and epidemics.
- Updated Contending Voices feature, adding an African American voice
- New boxed quote in “The Great Awakening” section from Hannah Heaton (a New York churchgoer)
- “Clerics, Physicians, and Jurists” section relocated within chapter

Chapter 6 The Road to Revolution 1754–1775

- Chapter now combines material on Seven Years War with pre-Revolutionary unrest, giving international context to the imperial crisis, combining material from previous edition Chapters 6 and 7. Descriptions of pre-Revolutionary politics substantially tightened.
- Added new material on Native American history and the continental competition of European powers, particularly in “War’s Fateful Aftermath” section

Part Three—Founding a New Nation 1775–1800

Chapter 7 America Secedes from the Empire 1775–1783

- New boxed quote from early draft of Declaration of Independence on the slave trade in “Jefferson’s ‘Explanation’ of Independence” section
- New boxed quote from black Loyalist Boston King in “The Loyalist Exodus” section
- Updated Varying Viewpoints on “Whose Revolution?”

Chapter 8 The Confederation and the Constitution 1776–1790

- New Examining the Evidence feature on Quock Walker, an enslaved man who successfully appealed to the Massachusetts Constitution for his freedom
- Updates to “Landmarks in Land Laws” section explaining Native American perspective, including a new boxed quote from the Northwest Ordinance

Chapter 9 Launching the New Ship of State 1789–1800

- New section “The Edges of the Nation” expanding on Western and Native American histories
- New material on Haitian Revolution in “The Impact of the French Revolution” section

- New boxed quote from George Washington on partisanship in “John Adams Becomes President” section
- New boxed quote from Judith Sargent Murray on women’s education in “Federalists Versus Democratic-Republicans” section

Part Four—Building the New Nation 1800–1860

Chapter 10 The Triumphs and Travails of the Jeffersonian Republic 1800–1812

- Revised “Aaron Burr Conspiracies” section into “Changes in the West,” with new material on Western and Native American history
- New Contending Voices feature on the War of 1812

Chapter 11 The War of 1812 and the Upsurge of Nationalism 1812–1824

- “The Second American War for Independence” section revised into “The Aftermath of the War,” emphasizing the impact on Native Americans and changes to continental politics

Chapter 12 The Rise of a Mass Democracy 1824–1840

- New section “Land and the ‘Five Civilized Tribes’” combines existing and new material to give Southeastern Indians greater agency in the chapter. “Trail of Tears” section revised to “Indian Removal” with new content to provide Native American perspective.
- Varying Viewpoints on “What Was Jacksonian Democracy?” updated

Chapter 13 Forging the National Economy 1790–1860

- “Whitney Ends the Fiber Famine” section updated to discuss cotton capitalism and female mill workers
- New boxed quote by Orestes Brownson on wage slavery added to “Workers and ‘Wage Slaves’” section

Chapter 14 The Ferment of Reform and Culture 1790–1860

- Added two female voices (Catharine Beecher and Angelina Grimke) to Contending Voices section on “The Role of Women”
- Varying Viewpoints on “Reform: Who? What? How? and Why?” updated

Chapter 15 The South and Slavery 1793–1860

- Significantly revised and reorganized chapter to emphasize the capitalist values of slavery, as well as African American agency and voices
- New epigraph and Contending Voices material from Frederick Douglass
- New boxed quote from Sojourner Truth in “Radical Abolitionism” section

Part Five—Testing the New Nation 1841–1877

Chapter 16 Manifest Destiny and Its Legacy 1841–1848

- New material in Contending Voices feature “Warring over the Mexican War” from Lucretia Mott, abolitionist and women’s rights advocate
- Modest changes to “Profit and Loss in Mexico” section emphasizing Native American history

Chapter 17 Renewing the Sectional Struggle 1848–1854

- Broadened discussion of racial diversity—and friction—in California’s mining camps

Chapter 18 Drifting Toward Disunion 1854–1861

- New boxed quote in “Stowe and Helper: Literary Incendiaries” section from Harriet Beecher Stowe on women’s activism

Chapter 19 Girding for War: The North and the South 1861–1865

- New material on Homestead Act and Pacific Railroad Act in “The North’s Economic Boom” section

Chapter 20 The Furnace of Civil War 1861–1865

- Reorganized discussion of Western theater, giving it more coverage and a more logical order, as well as incorporating Native American history
- New boxed quote in “A Proclamation without Emancipation” section from Annie Davis, an enslaved Maryland woman
- Updated Varying Viewpoints feature “What Were the Consequences of the Civil War?”

Chapter 21 The Ordeal of Reconstruction 1865–1877

- New discussion of Colfax massacre and *U.S. v. Cruikshank*
- Revisions emphasize the significance of military reconstruction

Part Six—Forging an Industrial Society 1865–1900

Chapter 22 The Industrial Era Dawns 1865–1900

- Chapter now opens the section on the “Gilded Age” with discussion of economic changes
- Revised to convey the ambiguities and pitfalls of industrial progress
- Discussion of Knights of Labor revised to acknowledge the Knights’ antipathy toward Chinese labor despite their progressive position on other issues

Chapter 23 Political Paralysis in the Gilded Age 1869–1896

- Sections on Populists and Cleveland moved to Chapter 26
- Added material on debt peonage system
- Expanded discussion of the Great Strike of 1877

Chapter 24 America Moves to the City 1865–1900

- Expanded discussion of urban/immigrant politics
- New material on popular culture, including Karl May and baseball history

Chapter 25 The Conquest of the West 1865–1896

- Material significantly enhanced to incorporate more Native American history
- Red Cloud and Sitting Bull added to “People to Know”; Sand Creek Massacre added as new key term
- New discussion of Grant’s Peace Policy, also added as key term
- Updated Contending Voices section with a new quote from Cheyenne Indian, Porcupine

Chapter 26 Rumbles of Discontent 1865–1900

- New chapter emphasizing the social and economic stresses of the “Gilded Age”
- Added condensed material on Populists and Cleveland from Chapter 23
- Fresh discussion of Populism

Part Seven—Struggling for Justice at Home and Abroad 1890–1945

Chapter 27 Empire and Expansion 1890–1909

- Modified discussion of Hawaii and the Philippines to reflect indigenous resistance
- Revised Varying Viewpoints essay “Why Did America Become a Colonial Power?” to incorporate new material on settler colonialism

Chapter 28 Progressivism and the Republican Roosevelt 1901–1912

- New material on TR’s treatment of African-Americans; Brownsville Affair added as new key term
- New discussion of global warming
- Updated Varying Viewpoints essay “Who Were the Progressives?” to include discussion of segregation

Chapter 29 Wilsonian Progressivism in Peace and War 1913–1920

- Added new material on the 1919 Seattle General Strike

Chapter 30 American Life in the “Roaring Twenties” 1920–1932

- New chapter on the 1920s consolidates material from previous edition Chapters 30 and 31, better integrating political, economic, and cultural history
- Fresh emphasis on emergence of consumer economy and new technologies
- Sharpened analysis on the causes of the Great Depression

Chapter 31 The Great Depression and the New Deal 1933–1939

- Revised sections on Hoover, FDR, and the New Deal
- New paragraph on FDR’s Indian policy; Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 added as new key term

Chapter 32 Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Shadow of War 1933–1941

- Revisions emphasize global context of World War II

Chapter 33 America in World War II 1941–1945

- Revisions highlight uniqueness of America's experience in WWII

Part Eight—Making an American Superpower 1945–1980**Chapter 34** The Cold War Begins 1945–1952

- Revisions highlight suburbanization and housing as major issues responsible for growing inequality and social conflict
- Condensed material on Truman's political career
- New Examining the Evidence feature on redlining, "Government Policy and Homeownership"

Chapter 35 American Zenith 1952–1963

- New material on IBM and postwar managerial capitalism
- Enhanced material on civil rights; more coverage of Emmett Till and Ella Baker

Chapter 36 The Stormy Sixties 1963–1973

- New graphics illustrating the decline of trust in U.S. public institutions
- Updated and condensed sections on LBJ and Great Society
- Expanded concluding section discusses rise of Asian powers

Chapter 37 A Sea of Troubles 1973–1980

- Updated Table 37.1, "International Trade," to reflect 2015 data
- Revised Figure 37.1, "Median Household Income," and updated to reflect 2016 data

Part Nine—Sustaining Democracy in a Global Age 1980 to the present

- New essay on period since 1980; stresses inequality and polarization at home, globalization and terrorism abroad

Chapter 38 The Resurgence of Conservatism 1980–1992

- Added new chapter-opening quote from Ronald Reagan
- Added Tax Reform Act as new key term and added Corazon Aquino to "People to Know"
- Revised Figure 38.1, "The National Debt," to reflect 2018 data
- Revised Varying Viewpoints essay reflects recent scholarship on conservatism

Chapter 39 America Confronts the Post–Cold War Era 1992–2000

- Updated concluding sections on postmodernism and popular culture to discuss more recent works

Chapter 40 The American People Face a New Century 2001–2018

- Added substantial new material on Obama's second term, 2016 election, and Trump's first eighteen months in office
- New sections on "An Age of Distrust," "Obama's Troubled Last Years," "The Astonishing Election of 2016," "Trump in Power," and "The World Warily Watches Washington"
- New section on Edward Snowden and privacy/security issues in the digital age
- Expanded discussion of Mexican immigration and its political consequences
- New boxed quote from Justice Kennedy from *Obergefell v. Hodges*

MindTap for *The American Pageant: A History of the American People*

MindTap for *The American Pageant: A History of the American People*, Seventeenth Edition, is a flexible online learning platform that provides students with a relevant and engaging learning experience that builds their critical thinking skills and fosters their argumentation and analysis skills. Through a carefully designed chapter-based learning path, MindTap supports students as they develop historical understanding, improve their reading and writing skills, and practice critical thinking by making connections between ideas.

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The additional content available in MindTap mirrors and complements the authors' narrative, but also includes primary-source content and assessments not found in the printed text. To learn more, ask your Cengage Learning sales representative to demo it for you, or go to www.cengage.com/mindtap.

Supplements

Instructor Resources

Instructor's Companion Website. The Instructor's Companion Website, accessed through the Instructor Resource Center (login.cengage.com), houses all of the supplemental materials you can use for your course. This includes a Test Bank, Instructor's Manual, and PowerPoint Lecture Presentations. The Test Bank contains multiple-choice and true-or-false questions for each chapter. The Instructor's Resource Manual includes chapter summaries, suggested lecture topics, map exercises, discussion questions for the primary sources, topics for student research, relevant websites, suggestions for additional videos, and online resources for information on historical sites. Finally, the PowerPoint Lectures are ADA-compliant slides that collate the key takeaways from the chapter in concise visual formats perfect for in-class presentations or for student review.

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*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

Volume 1: To 1877

Peopling a Continent

C. 33,000 B.C.E.–1700 C.E.

The history of the United States is but the briefest of chapters in the more than fourteen thousand years of human habitation in the American continents. By the time Christopher Columbus waded onto a Caribbean beach in 1492, migrants from the great Eurasian land mass had long since spread themselves from the icy shores of the Arctic Ocean to the wind-blasted expanse of Tierra del Fuego. Some of those earliest Americans had developed stunningly sophisticated civilizations, especially in the Valley of Mexico and in the highlands and coastal plain of present-day Peru. There the Spanish *conquistadores* and Christian missionaries who followed Columbus across the ocean encountered peoples living in great cities, with monumental architecture, elaborate religious practices, and far-flung networks of commerce and communication. What was a New World for the Europeans was a very old world for those who had dwelled in it for hundreds of generations.

Europeans saw the New World as a virgin land open to conquest, its resources ripe for exploitation, its peoples candidates for conversion to Christianity. Yet Native Americans thought of their homelands as productive and even sacred landscapes, already shaped by centuries of human activity. The



Island Capital of the Aztecs, Tenochtitlan (mural)/Covarrubias, Luis (1919–1987)/MEXICOLORE/Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City, Mexico/Bridgeman Images

contest for control of the Americas pitted natives against newcomers in often-bloody clashes. Soon enough, it generated violent struggles among the Europeans themselves.

Growing European populations, faster sailing ships, and a hunger for riches had propelled Columbus across the Atlantic. The same forces pushed European and Arab traders east along Asia's Silk Road and drove Portuguese caravels down the coast of West Africa, where white flesh-merchants devel-

oped an obscenely lucrative trade in black human slaves. Enterprising Europeans were soon trafficking in enslaved Africans by the millions, as well as in conquered Native Americans. The fortunes they made laid the foundations of modern capitalism. The racial distinctions they drew left a legacy of inhumanity and oppression that would endure for centuries.

In the titanic contest among European states to determine the destiny of the New World, Spain was at first the most powerful. Spaniards vanquished the great empires of the Incas and the Aztecs. They intermarried with their conquered subjects to create a *mestizo* “new race” that blended the cultures of the two worlds. They planted towns and cities along the spine of Central and South America, their street plans standardized by kingly decree, their

streets standardized by kingly decree, their

I.1 Tenochtitlan This Aztec city, built on an island in Lake Texcoco, was the capital of the most powerful empire yet to arise in central Mexico. Aqueducts provided the city with fresh water, and three causeways connected the city to the mainland.

grand stucco squares built upon the ruined foundations of ancient temples. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Catholic Spain, dominant in South America, sought to foil the colonization of North America by its great Protestant rival, England, by sending expeditions north from Mexico and up the coast of California. In 1565, Spain also fortified St. Augustine on the coast of Florida. The struggle for North America had begun in earnest.

Other contestants soon entered the field. As early as the 1530s, seeking wealth from the fur trade and souls for Christ, France dispatched rugged trappers and pious priests deep into the North American interior. French forts and missions spread from the mouth of the St. Lawrence River to the banks of the Mississippi, pushing French claims through the territories of powerful indigenous empires and menacing the borders of New Spain. Meanwhile, Dutch traders established a busy trading post on the thicketed island of Manhattan. Swedish settlements dotted the fertile plain along the Delaware River.

England was a relative latecomer to the grand project of North American conquest. Until the late sixteenth century, England had been preoccupied with conflicts closer to home. First came the Protestant Reformation, then the violent subjugation of Catholic Ireland. The first English settlement to prove permanent, founded at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, suffered cruelly from disease, starvation,

and cannibalism, barely surviving its first few winters. Tense relations with Native Americans—who vastly outnumbered the colonists in numbers and might—periodically exploded into armed conflict.

During these first centuries of European presence in the Americas, it was by no means clear which, if any, Europeans would prevail. Few signs indicated that the English-speaking colonies would come to dominate North America. Yet hardships and an ocean's distance strengthened common bonds in the English colonies, even though colonists came to the New World for very different reasons. These original colonists may have viewed themselves as Europeans, but the lived experience of the New World—including conspicuously the mingling of several different European, Native, and African peoples—gradually shaped distinctly *American* identities.

Focus Questions

1. How did the networks of trade and the cultures of native peoples enable and shape European settlement in the Americas?
2. What were the ideas about racial difference constructed during the period of European global exploration, and why did they persist?

A



SamAntonioPhotography/Getty Images

B



Panoramic Images/Getty Images

I.2A & B Canyon de Chelly For thousands of years, Puebloans raised corn and other crops in the base of this canyon in northeastern Arizona (see I.2A). Here they built homes and carved their history onto the walls (see I.2B).

New World Beginnings

33,000 B.C.E.–1680 C.E.

*The supreme god, Yi-Na-yes-gon-I, directed the people westward, as they journeyed,
small parties became separated, and settled by the wayside.
These were given different names and languages.*

APACHE ORIGIN TALE, N.D.*

*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 sixteen thousand years ago—a short time ago, geologically speaking—the first humans settled the North American continent. Ten thousand years later, the recorded history of the Western world began, as some Middle Eastern societies began developing the first systems of writing around 3500 B.C.E.

A mere five hundred years ago, 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).

★ 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. That today's

continents separated from a single supercontinent 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, while volcanic activity added new topography to the land. The Appalachians were probably formed even before continental separation, perhaps as many as 480 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, beginning some 70 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 time-worn 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

*Frank Russell, “Myths of the Jicarilla Apaches,” *Journal of American Folklore* 11, no. 43 (1898). 255.

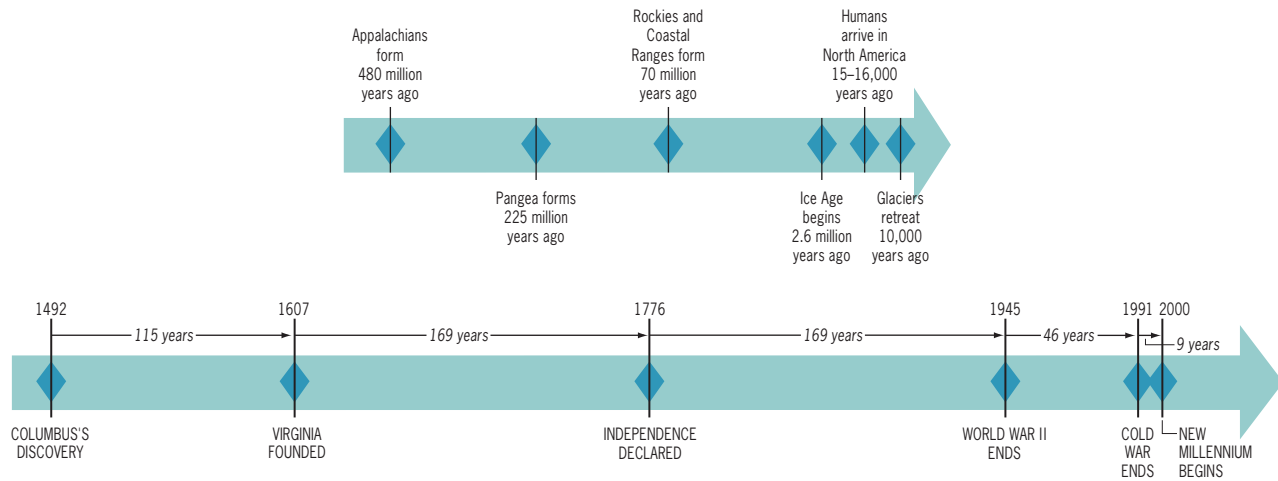


FIGURE 1.1 The Arc of Time

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 most recent Ice Age, beginning about 2.6 million years ago. Ice sheets up to two miles thick crept from the 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 eventually 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 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 1000 feet above the dry floor of the Great Basin.

★ 1-2 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, a glacial advance congealed a significant portion 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. The first of these newcomers likely headed into the Americas fifteen thousand to sixteen thousand years ago. From the Alaskan region they moved southward, 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 in relative isolation on the 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



MAP 1.1 The First Discoverers of America The precise origins of the first Americans remain something of a mystery. This map shows possible routes of migration from Asia. The newcomers gradually dispersed southward down ice-free valleys, populating both the American continents.

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?



1.1

National Archives of Canada

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.

★ 1-3 The Earliest Americans

Native American societies were as diverse as the jungles, deserts, mountains, and plains of the North American continent they inhabited. They included urban dwellers in the teeming valley of central Mexico; nomadic hunter-gatherers in subarctic Canada; maritime seafarers in the Pacific Northwest; and farming villagers in the Southeast. From powerful empires of millions to itinerant bands no larger than an extended family, each Native American culture had its distinct history, traditions, rivalries, and economies long before the first Europeans set foot upon the continent.

The most densely populated Native American societies, in Mexico and South America, relied on large-scale agriculture, particularly corn-growing. By at least 5000 B.C.E., if not earlier, hunter-gatherers in highland Mexico developed a wild grass into the staple crop of maize. It became their staff of life and the foundation of the complex, centralized Aztec and Incan civilizations that eventually emerged. Cultivation of corn spread across the Americas from the Mexican heartland.

Corn-planting reached the present-day American Southwest as early as 2000 B.C.E. The Pueblo peoples in the Rio Grande Valley eventually constructed intricate irrigation systems to water their cornfields. They were dwelling in villages of multistoried, terraced buildings when Spanish explorers encountered 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 how different Native American societies evolved (see Map 1.2). Throughout the continent to the north and east of the land of the Pueblos, Native American settlements tended to be smaller and less dependent on planted crops. Some Native Americans fished and whaled; some hunted deer



1.2 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.

bpk, Berlin/Art Resource, NY

and buffalo, and trapped small mammals; others supplemented their maize harvests by digging for shellfish and gathering acorns, wild rice, berries, roots, and wild plants. No dense concentrations of population or complex **nation-states** comparable to the Aztec empire existed in North America outside of Mexico at the time of the Europeans' arrival. Instead, a variety of leagues, confederations, and chiefdoms created a patchwork of large and small communities.

Native American civilizations rose and fell in the many millennia before Europeans reached North America. The Anasazi (the Navajo word for “ancient ones”) built impressive cliff-dwellings throughout the present-day Southwest, including 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, those ancient cultures fell into decline by about 1300 C.E. The

Mound Builders of the Ohio River Valley constructed enormous earthen monuments, which served at once as temples, town squares, and burial sites. The Mississippian settlement at **Cahokia**, near present-day East St. Louis, was at one time home to as many as twenty-five thousand people. Its central mound rose to a height of one hundred feet and covered sixteen acres at its base. Mississippian settlements, including Cahokia, began to disappear between 1100 C.E. and 1300 C.E., possibly devastated by flooding caused by climate change and deforestation.

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—likely descendants of the scattered Mississippians.

In the northeastern woodlands, the Haudenosaunee League, known to their enemies as the Iroquois, inspired by a legendary leader named Hiawatha, had created 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



MAP 1.2 Native North Americans ca. 1500 This map depicts the location of various Indian peoples when Europeans began arriving in North America. Initial contacts between Indians and Europeans took place between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, as both populations moved dynamically over the continent, thereby varying when their paths crossed. This map contains only a crude approximation of the “original” territory of any particular Indian group, unable to capture the fluidity of Native American life. 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 indigenous populations of the southeastern and mid-Atlantic regions are especially difficult to represent accurately in a map like this because intertribal conflicts by 1500 had so scrambled the native inhabitants that it is virtually impossible to determine which groups were originally where.