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THE AMERICAN PAGEANT

DAVID M. KENNEDY
LIZABETH COHEN

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THE AMERICAN PAGEANT

A History of the American People

SEVENTEENTH EDITION

David M. Kennedy
Stanford University

Lizabeth Cohen
Harvard University

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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 training at Yale in American Studies, combining the fields of history, economics, and literature. His first book, *Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger* (1970), was honored with both the Bancroft Prize and the John Gilmary Shea Prize. His study of the World War I era, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (1980; rev. ed., 2005), was a Pulitzer Prize finalist. In 1999 he published *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945*, which won the Pulitzer Prize for History, as well as the Francis Parkman Prize, the English-Speaking Union's Ambassador's Prize, and the Commonwealth Club of California's Gold Medal for Literature. At Stanford he has taught both undergraduate and graduate courses in American political, diplomatic, intellectual, and social history, as well as in American literature. He has received several teaching awards, including the Dean's Award for Distinguished Teaching and the Hoagland Prize for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching. He has been a visiting professor at the University of Florence, Italy, and in 1995–1996 served as the Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford University. He has also served on the Advisory Board for the PBS television series, *The American Experience*, and as a consultant to several documentary films, including *The Great War*, *Cadillac Desert*, and *Woodrow Wilson*. From 1990 to 1995 he chaired the Test Development Committee for the Advanced Placement United States History examination. He is an elected Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of 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).

Lizabeth Cohen is the Howard Mumford Jones Professor of American Studies in the history department at Harvard University. In 2007–2008 she was the Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford University. Previously she taught at New York University (1992–1997) and Carnegie Mellon University (1986–1992). Born and raised in the New York metropolitan area, she received her A.B. from Princeton University and her M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley. Her first book, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (1990), won the Bancroft Prize in American History and the Philip Taft Labor History Award and was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize. In 2008 it was reissued in a second edition with a new introduction, 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.

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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 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, 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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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

Part One

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.

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

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 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 developed 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

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 outmatched 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).

Chapter 1

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.

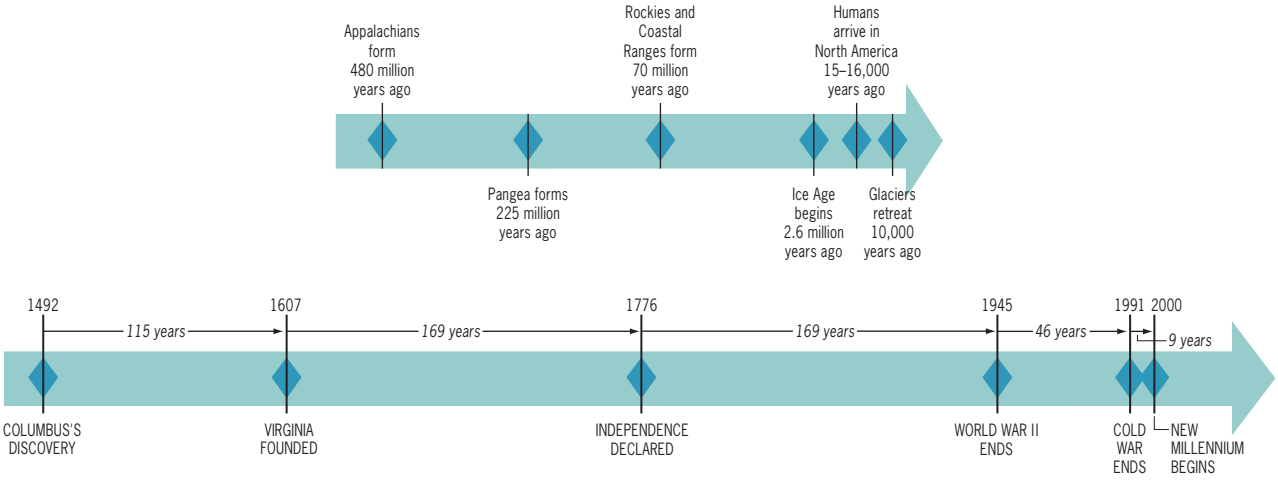


FIGURE 1.1 **The Arc of Time**

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).

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?

National Archives of Canada

1.1

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.

1.2 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

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.)

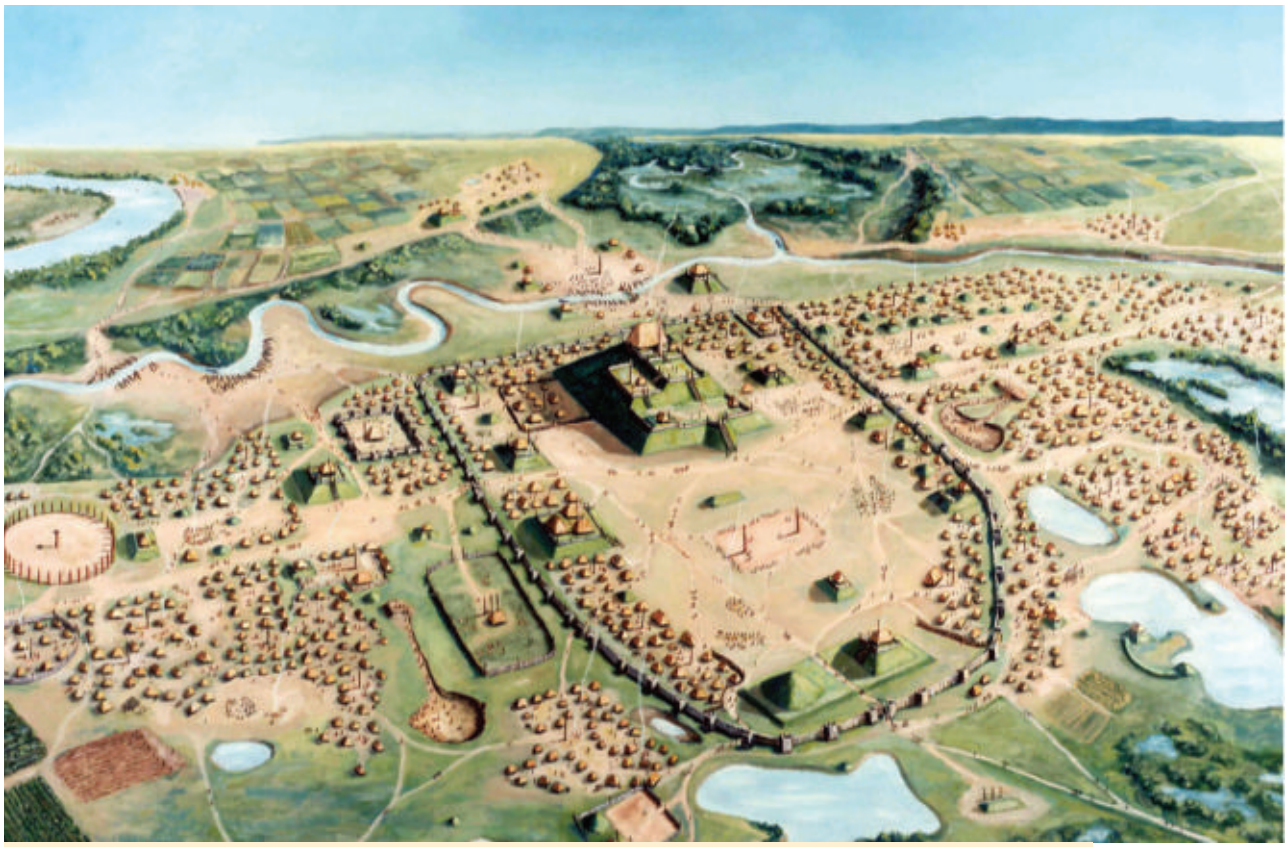
Corn cultivation reached other parts of North America considerably later. The timing of its arrival in different localities explains much about how different Native American societies evolved (see Map 1.2). Throughout the continent to the north and east of the land of the Pueblos, Native American settlements tended to be smaller and less dependent on planted crops. Some Native Americans fished and whaled; some hunted deer 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 Anasazis (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.



Cahokia Mounds Historic Site, painting by William R. Iseminger

1.3 Cahokia Houses and mounds dot the landscape in an artist's rendering of ancient Cahokia circa 1150, when its population of twenty thousand exceeded London's.

European alike, for centuries (see "Makers of America: The Iroquois," Section 2-12, pp. 40–41).

The Iroquois relied heavily on agriculture to feed themselves, as did their Huron rivals in the Great Lakes region; the Pueblo peoples of the Southwest; and the Creek, Cherokee, and other Native American groups of the Southeast. These Native Americans lived in sedentary, permanent villages, but elsewhere on the continent, other ways of life persisted. In parts of present-day Canada and the Great Plains, many Native American groups roamed in search of game, fish, and the iconic buffalo. In the northeast, some Indians maintained summer and winter villages, moving between them as the seasons changed. 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, and many North American native peoples, including the Iroquois, developed matrilineal cultures, in which power and possessions passed down the female side of the family line. Trade between native groups spread exotic goods to the far corners of the continent: shells, shark and alligator teeth, copper, silver, furs, obsidian, mica, and pottery.

Many native cultures expressed strong reverence for the natural environment through their religions and oral traditions, often endowing the physical world with spiritual properties. Yet, like humans everywhere, they also manipulated and sometimes dramatically altered their worlds. Many used fire as a tool, deliberately torching thousands of acres of trees to create better hunting habitats, especially for deer. This practice accounted for the open, parklike appearance of the eastern woodlands that so amazed early European explorers. The Mayans of Central America also deforested their land, inadvertently exacerbating the damage from a prolonged drought in the ninth century C.E., forcing them to abandon cities that had housed tens of thousands of residents.

But in a broad sense, the land did not feel the hand of the Native Americans heavy upon it, partly because they were so few in number. They were so thinly spread across the continent that vast areas were virtually untouched by a human presence. In the fateful year 1492, perhaps 10 million Native Americans padded through the whispering, primeval forests and paddled across the sparkling waters of the continent north of Mexico. Little did they realize that the historic isolation of the Americas was about to end forever, as the land and the native peoples alike felt the full shock of the European "discovery."

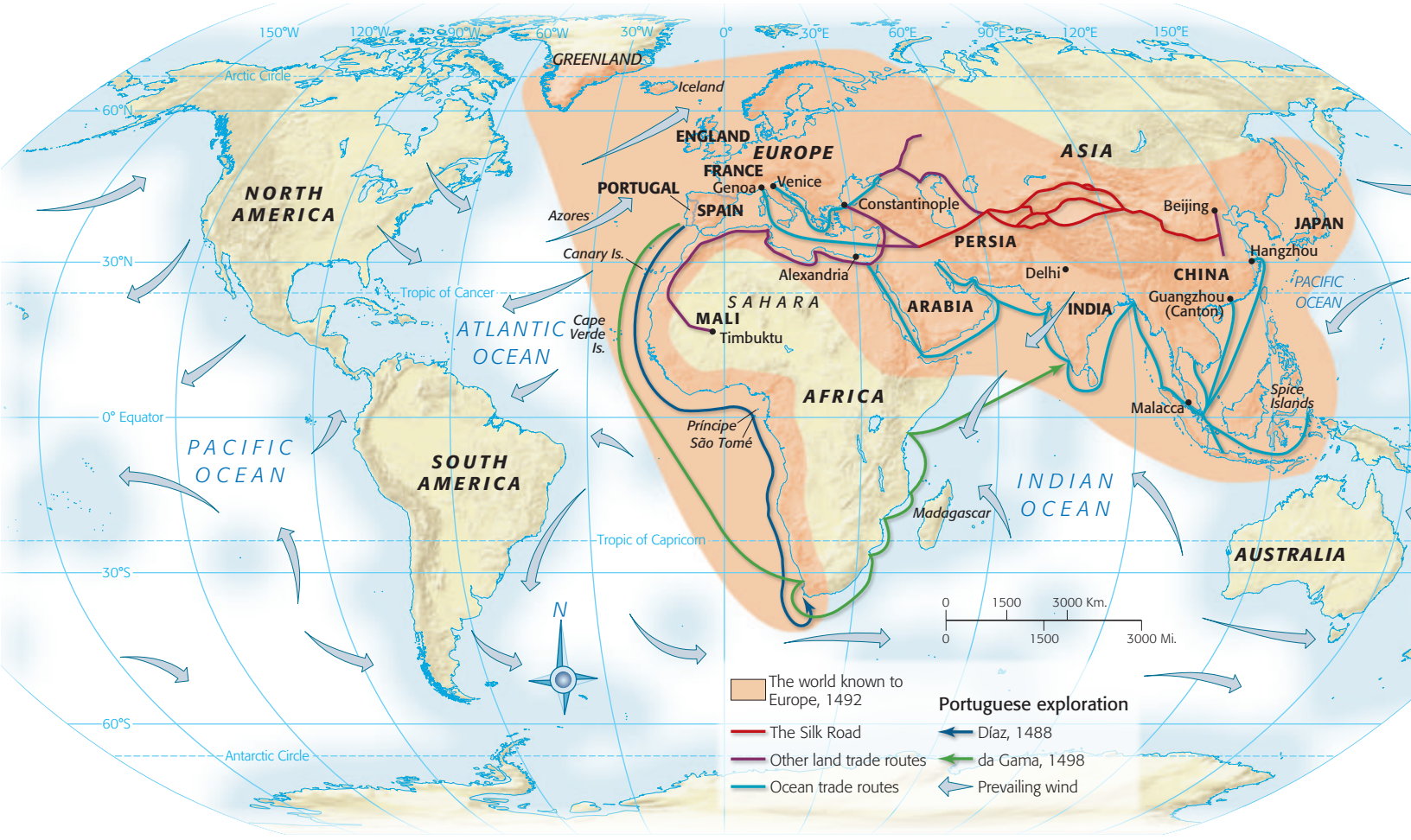
1-4 Indirect Discoverers of the New World

Europeans, for their part, were equally unaware of the existence of the Americas. Blond-bearded Norse seafarers from Scandinavia had chanced upon the northeastern shoulder of North America about 1000 C.E. They landed at a place near L'Anse aux Meadows in present-day Newfoundland that abounded in wild grapes, which led them to name the spot Vinland. But no strong nation-state, yearning to expand, supported these venturesome voyagers. Their flimsy settlements consequently were soon abandoned, and their discovery was forgotten, except in Scandinavian saga and song.

For several centuries thereafter, other restless Europeans, with the growing power of ambitious governments behind them, sought contact with a wider world, whether for conquest or trade. They thus set in motion the chain of events that led to a drive toward Asia, the penetration of Africa, and the completely accidental discovery of the New World.

Christian crusaders must rank high among America's indirect discoverers. Clad in shining armor, tens of thousands of these European warriors tried from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries to wrest their Holy Land from Muslim control. Foiled in their military assaults, the crusaders nevertheless acquired a taste for the exotic delights of Asia. Goods once unknown in Europe were now craved—silk for clothing, drugs for aching flesh, perfumes for unbathed bodies, colorful draperies for gloomy castles, and spices (especially sugar, a rare luxury in Europe before the crusades) for preserving and flavoring food. Europe's developing sweet tooth would have momentous implications for world history.

The luxuries of the East were prohibitively expensive in Europe. They had to be transported enormous distances from the Spice Islands (Indonesia), China, and India, in creaking ships and on swaying camel back. The journey led across the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea or along the tortuous caravan routes of Asia or the Arabian Peninsula, ending at the ports of the eastern Mediterranean (see Map 1.3). Muslim middlemen exacted a heavy toll en



MAP 1.3 The World Known to Europe and Major Trade Routes with Asia, 1492 Goods on the early routes passed through so many hands along the way that their ultimate source remained mysterious to Europeans.

route. By the time the strange-smelling goods reached Italian merchants at Venice and Genoa, they were so costly that purchasers and profits alike were narrowly limited. European consumers and distributors were naturally eager to find a less expensive route to the riches of Asia or to develop alternate sources of supply.

1-5 Europeans Enter Africa

European appetites were further whetted when footloose Marco Polo, an Italian adventurer, returned to Europe in 1295 and began telling tales of his nearly twenty-year sojourn in China. Though he may in fact never have seen China (legend to the contrary, the hard evidence is sketchy), he must be regarded as an indirect discoverer of the New World, for his book, with its descriptions of rose-tinted pearls and golden pagodas, stimulated European desires for a cheaper route to the treasures of the East.

These accumulating pressures eventually brought a breakthrough for European expansion. Before the middle of the fifteenth century, European sailors refused to sail southward along the coast of West Africa because they could not beat their way home against the prevailing northerly winds and south-flowing currents. About 1450, Portuguese mariners overcame those obstacles. Not only had they developed the **caravel**, a ship that could sail more closely into the wind, but they had discovered that they could return to Europe by sailing northwesterly from the African coast toward the Azores, where the prevailing westward breezes would carry them home.

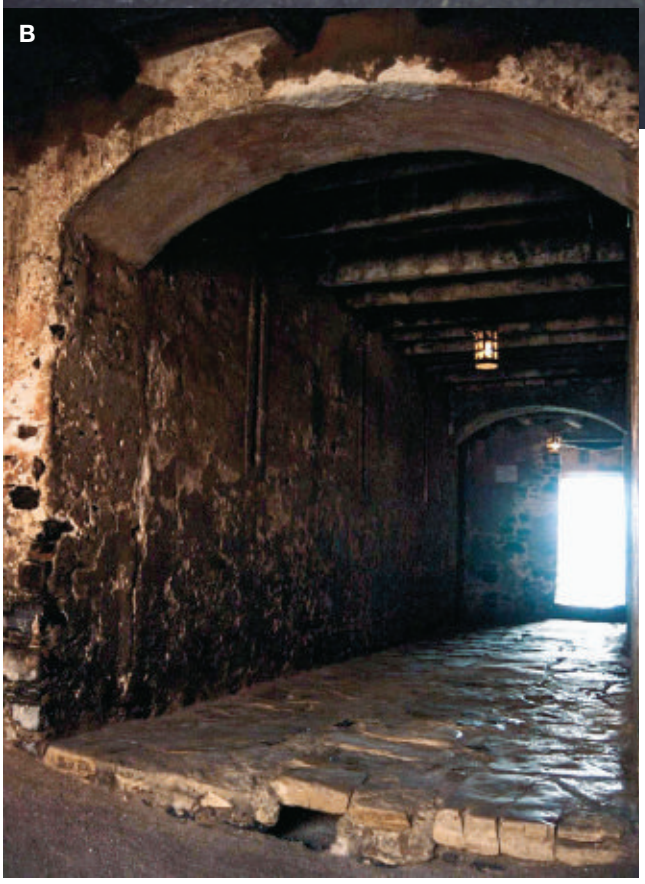
The new world of sub-Saharan Africa now came within the grasp of questing Europeans. The northern shore of Africa, as part of the Mediterranean world, had been known to Europe since antiquity. But because sea travel down the African coast had been virtually impossible, Africa south of the forbidding Sahara Desert barrier had remained remote and mysterious. African gold, perhaps two-thirds of Europe's supply, crossed the Sahara on camelback, and shadowy tales may have reached Europe about the flourishing West African kingdom of Mali in the Niger River valley, with its impressive Islamic university at Timbuktu. But Europeans had no direct access to sub-Saharan Africa until the Portuguese navigators began to creep down the West African coast in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The Portuguese promptly set up trading posts along the African shore for the purchase of gold—and slaves. Arab flesh merchants and Africans themselves had traded slaves for centuries before the Europeans arrived. The slavers routinely charged higher prices for

Ms Fr 2810 f.114v Marco Polo with elephants and camels arriving at Hormuz on the Gulf of Persia from India, from the 'Livre des Merveilles du Monde', c. 1410–1412 (vellum), Boucicaut Master, (fl. 1390–1430) (and workshop)/Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, France/The Bridgeman Art Library

1.4 Marco Polo Passing Through the Strait of Hormuz This illustration, from the first printed edition of *The Travels of Marco Polo* in 1477, shows the traveler crossing the Persian Gulf between the Arabian Peninsula and Persia (present-day Iran).

Veronique DURRUTY/Getty Images



SEYLLOU DIALLO/Getty Images

1.5A & B Gorée Island Slave Fortress From this holding station off the coast of Senegal (see 1.5A), thousands of African captives passed through the "Door of No Return" (see 1.5B) into a lifetime of slavery in the New World.

captives from distant sources because they could not easily flee to their native villages or be easily rescued by their kin. Slave brokers also deliberately separated persons from the same tribes and mixed unlike people together to frustrate organized resistance. Thus from its earliest days, slavery by its very nature disrupted African communities and inhibited the expression of regional African cultures and tribal identities.

The Portuguese adopted these Arab and African practices. They built up their own systematic traffic in slaves to work the sugar plantations that Portugal, and later Spain, established on the African coastal islands of Madeira, the Canaries, São Tomé, and Principe. The enormous Portuguese appetite for slaves dwarfed the modest scale of the pre-European traffic. Slave trading became a big business. Some forty thousand Africans were carried away to the Atlantic sugar islands in the last half of the fifteenth century. Millions more were to be wrenched from their home continent after the discovery of the Americas. In these fifteenth-century Portuguese experiments in Africa were to be found the origins of the modern **plantation** system, based on large-scale commercial agriculture and the wholesale exploitation of slave labor. This kind of plantation economy would shape the destiny of much of the New World.

The seafaring Portuguese pushed still farther southward in search of the water route to Asia. Edging

cautiously down the African coast, Bartholomeu Dias rounded the southernmost tip of the "Dark Continent" in 1488. Ten years later Vasco da Gama finally reached India (hence the name "Indies," given by Europeans to all the mysterious lands of the Orient) and returned home with a small but tantalizing cargo of jewels and spices.

Meanwhile, the kingdom of Spain became united in the late fifteenth century—an event pregnant with destiny. This new unity resulted primarily from the marriage of two sovereigns, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, and from the brutal expulsion of the "infidel" Muslim Moors from Spain after centuries of Christian-Islamic warfare. Glorying in their sudden strength, the Spaniards were eager to outstrip their Portuguese rivals in the race to tap the wealth of the Indies. To the south and east, Portugal controlled the African coast and thus the gateway to the round-Africa water route to India. Of necessity, therefore, Spain looked westward.

1-6 Columbus Comes upon a New World

The stage was now set for a cataclysmic shift in the course of history—the history not only of Europe but of all the world. Europeans clamored for more and cheaper products from the lands beyond the Mediterranean. Africa had been established as a source of abundant slave labor for plantation agriculture. The Portuguese voyages had demonstrated the feasibility of long-range ocean navigation. In Spain a modern national state was taking shape, with the unity, wealth, and power to shoulder the formidable tasks of discovery, conquest, and colonization. The dawn of the Renaissance in the fourteenth century nurtured an ambitious spirit of optimism and adventure. Printing presses, introduced about 1450, facilitated the spread of scientific knowledge. The mariner's compass, possibly borrowed from the Arabs, eliminated some of the uncertainties of sea travel. Meanwhile, across the ocean, the unsuspecting peoples of the New World lived and labored unaware of their European "discoverers."

Onto this stage stepped Christopher Columbus. This skilled Italian seafarer persuaded the Spanish monarchs to outfit him with three tiny but seaworthy ships, manned by a motley crew. Daringly, he unfurled the sails of his cockleshell craft and headed westward. His superstitious sailors, fearful of venturing into the oceanic unknown, grew increasingly mutinous. After six weeks at sea, failure loomed until, on October 12, 1492, the crew sighted an island in the Bahamas. A new world thus swam within the vision of Europeans.

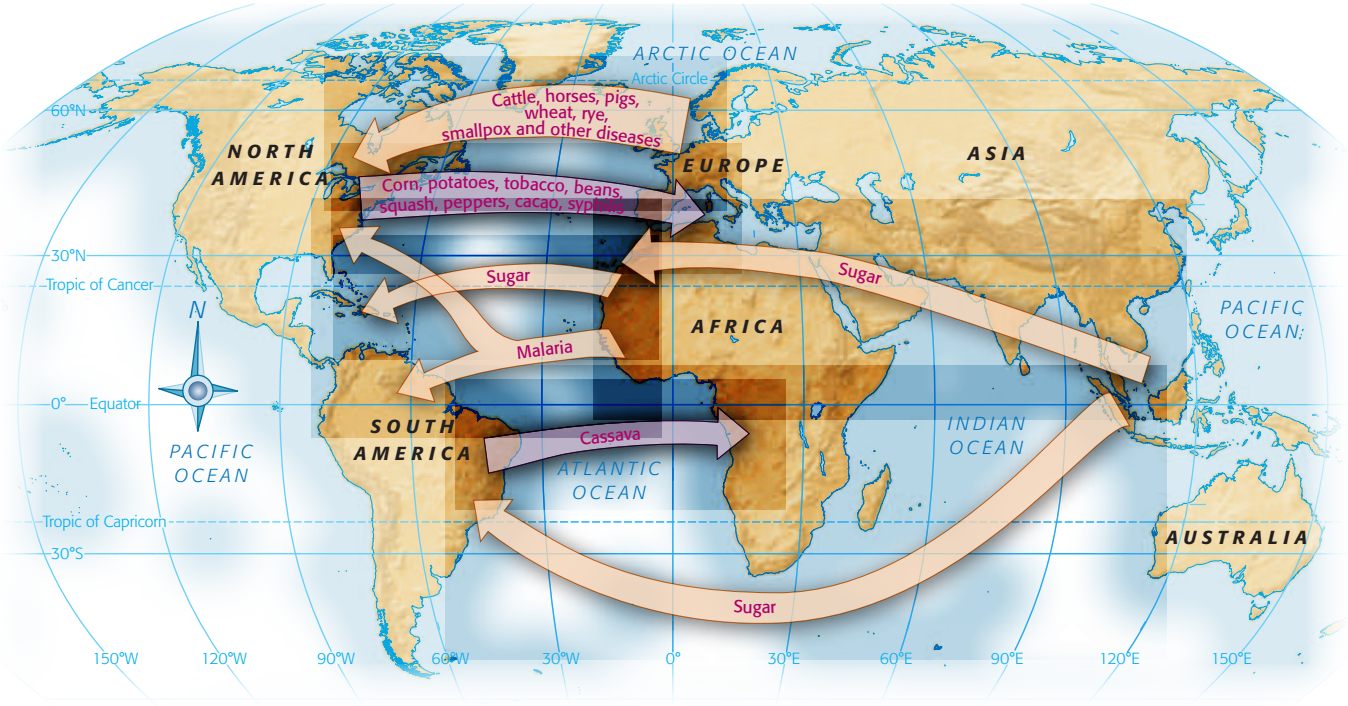
Columbus's sensational achievement obscures the fact that he was one of the most successful failures in history. Seeking a new water route to the fabled Indies, he in fact had bumped into an enormous land barrier blocking the ocean pathway. For decades thereafter explorers strove to get through it or around it. The truth gradually dawned that sprawling new continents had been discovered. Yet Columbus was at first so certain that he had skirted the rim of the "Indies" that he called the native peoples Indians, a gross geographical misnomer that somehow stuck.

Columbus's discovery would eventually convulse four continents—Europe, Africa, and the two Americas. Thanks to his epochal voyage, an interdependent global economic system emerged on a scale undreamed-of before he set sail. Its workings touched every shore washed by the Atlantic Ocean. Europe provided the markets, the capital, and the technology; Africa furnished the labor; and the New World offered its raw materials, especially its precious metals and its soil for the cultivation of sugar cane. For Europeans as well as for Africans and Native Americans, the world after 1492 would never be the same, for better or worse.

1-7 When Worlds Collide

Two ecosystems—the fragile, naturally evolved networks of relations among organisms in a stable environment—commingled and clashed when Columbus waded ashore. The reverberations from that historic encounter—often called the **Columbian exchange** (see Map 1.4)—echoed for centuries after 1492. The flora and fauna—as well as the peoples—of the Old and New Worlds had been separated for thousands of years. European explorers marveled at the strange sights that greeted them, including exotic beasts such as iguanas and "snakes with castanets" (rattlesnakes). Native New World plants such as tobacco, maize, beans, tomatoes, and especially the lowly potato eventually revolutionized the international economy as well as the European diet, feeding the rapid population growth of the Old World. These foodstuffs were among the most important Indian gifts to the Europeans and to the rest of the world. Perhaps three-fifths of the crops cultivated around the globe today originated in the Americas. Ironically, the introduction into Africa of New World foodstuffs like maize, manioc, and sweet potatoes may have fed an African population boom that numerically, though not morally, more than offset the losses inflicted by the slave trade.

In exchange the Europeans introduced Old World crops and animals to the Americas. Columbus



MAP 1.4 Major Items in the Columbian Exchange Columbus's discovery initiated the kind of explosion in international commerce that a later age would call "globalization."

returned to the Caribbean island of Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic) in 1493 with seventeen ships that unloaded twelve hundred men and a virtual Noah's Ark of cattle, swine, and horses. The horses soon reached the North American mainland through Mexico. Over the next two centuries, they spread as far as Canada. Southwestern Indian tribes like the Comanche, Apache, and Navajo swiftly adopted the horse; northern tribes like the Lakota, Shoshone, and Blackfeet somewhat later. Horses transformed newly mounted cultures into highly mobile, wide-ranging hunter-warrior societies that roamed the grassy Great Plains in pursuit of the shaggy buffalo and that suppressed unmounted peoples like the Paiute. Columbus also brought seedlings of sugar cane, which thrived in the warm Caribbean climate. A "sugar revolution" consequently took place in the European diet, fueled by the forced migration of millions of Africans to work the canefields and sugar mills of the New World.

Unwittingly, the Europeans also brought other organisms in the dirt on their boots and the dust on their clothes, such as the seeds of Kentucky bluegrass, dandelions, and daisies. Most ominous of all, in their bodies they carried the germs that caused smallpox, yellow fever, and malaria. Old World diseases quickly devastated the Native Americans. During the Indians' millennia of isolation in the Americas, most of the Old World's killer maladies had disappeared from among them. But generations of freedom from those illnesses had also wiped out protective antibodies. Devoid of natural resistance to Old World sicknesses, Indians died in droves. Within fifty years of the Spanish arrival, the population of the Taino natives in

1.6 The Scourge of Smallpox These scenes of Aztec Indians afflicted with smallpox contracted from the Spaniards were drawn by a native artist to illustrate Father Bernardino de Sahagun's remarkable sixteenth-century treatise, "General History of the Things of New Spain," a pioneering work of ethnography and anthropology.

Hispaniola dwindled from some 1 million people to about 200. Enslavement and armed aggression took their toll, but the deadliest killers were microbes, not muskets. The lethal germs spread among the New World peoples with the speed and force of a hurricane, swiftly sweeping far ahead of the human invaders; most of those afflicted never laid eyes on a European. In the centuries after Columbus's landfall, as many as 90 percent of the Native Americans perished from disease, violence, and enslavement—a demographic catastrophe without parallel in human history. This depopulation was surely not intended by the Spanish, but it was nevertheless so severe that entire cultures and ancient ways of life were extinguished forever. Baffled, enraged, and vengeful, Indian slaves sometimes kneaded tainted blood into their masters' bread, to little effect. Perhaps it was poetic justice that the Indians unintentionally took revenge by infecting the early explorers with syphilis, injecting that lethal sexually transmitted disease for the first time into Europe.

☆ 1-8 The Conquest of Mexico and Peru

Gradually, Europeans realized that the American continents held rich prizes, especially the gold and silver of the advanced Indian civilizations in Mexico and Peru. Spain secured its claim to Columbus's discovery in the **Treaty of Tordesillas** (1494), dividing with Portugal the "heathen lands" of the New World (see Map 1.5). The lion's share went to Spain, but Portugal received compensating territory in Africa and Asia, as well as title to lands that one day would be Brazil.

Contending Voices
Europeans and Indians

In 1550–1551, two renowned scholars in Valladolid, Spain, formally debated whether the native peoples of the New World were "true men," capable of governing themselves and becoming Christians. Juan Ginés de Sepulveda (1489–1573), who had never seen the New World, believed that:

"The Spanish have a perfect right to rule these barbarians of the New World and the adjacent islands, who in prudence, skill, virtues, and humanity are as inferior to the Spanish as children to adults, or women to men, for there exists between the two as great a difference as between . . . apes and men."

The Dominican friar Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484–1566), who had long labored among the Indians, replied:

"I call the Spaniards who plunder that unhappy people torturers. . . . The Indians are our brothers, and Christ has given his life for them. Why, then, do we persecute them with such inhuman savagery when they do not deserve such treatment?"

To what extent did attitudes like those persist over the next several centuries?

The Granger Collection, NYC

1.7 Arrival of Cortés, with Doña Marina, at Tenochtitlán in 1519 This painting by a Mexican artist depicts Cortés in the dress of a Spanish gentleman. His translator Malinche, whose Christian name was Marina, is given an honorable place at the front of the procession. She eventually married one of Cortés's soldiers, with whom she traveled to Spain and was received by the Spanish court.

MAP 1.5 Principal Voyages of Discovery Spain, Portugal, France, and England reaped the greatest advantages from the New World, but much of the earliest exploration was done by Italians, notably Christopher Columbus of Genoa. John Cabot, another native of Genoa (his original name was Giovanni Caboto), sailed for England's King Henry VII. Giovanni da Verrazano was a Florentine employed by France.

The islands of the Caribbean Sea—the West Indies as they came to be called, in yet another perpetuation of Columbus's geographic confusion—served as offshore bases for staging the Spanish invasion of the mainland Americas. Here supplies could be stored, and men and horses could be rested and acclimated, before proceeding to the conquest of the continents. The loosely organized and vulnerable native communities of the West Indies also provided laboratories for testing the techniques that would eventually subdue the advanced Indian civilizations of Mexico and Peru. The most important such technique was the institution known as the ***encomienda***. It allowed the government to "commend," or give, Indians to certain colonists in return for the promise to try to Christianize them. In all but name, it was slavery. Spanish missionary Bartolomé de Las Casas, appalled by the *encomienda* system in Hispaniola, called it "a moral pestilence invented by Satan."

In 1519 Hernán Cortés set sail from Cuba with sixteen fresh horses and several hundred men aboard eleven ships, bound for Mexico—and for the annals of history. On the island of Cozumel off the Yucatán Peninsula, he rescued a Spanish castaway who had been enslaved for several years by the Mayan-speaking Indians. A short distance farther on, he picked up the female Indian slave Malinche, who knew both Mayan and Nahuatl, the language of the powerful Aztec rulers of the great empire in the highlands of central Mexico. In addition to his superior firepower, Cortés now had the advantage, through these two interpreters, of understanding the speech of the native peoples whom he was about to encounter, including the Aztecs. Malinche eventually learned Spanish and was baptized with the Spanish name of Doña Marina.

Near present-day Veracruz, Cortés made his final landfall. He had heard alluring tales of the gold and other wealth stored up in the legendary Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán and lusted to tear open the coffers of

The Spanish *Conquistadores*

In 1492, the same year that Columbus sighted America, the great Moorish city of Granada, in Spain, fell after a ten-year siege. For five centuries the Christian kingdoms of Spain had been trying to drive the North African Muslim *Moors* ("the Dark Ones," in Spanish) off the Iberian Peninsula, and with the fall of Granada, they succeeded. But the lengthy *Reconquista* had left its mark on Spanish society. Centuries of military and religious confrontation nurtured an obsession with status and honor, bred religious zealotry and intolerance, and created a large class of men who regarded manual labor and commerce contemptuously. With the *Reconquista* ended, some of these men turned their restless gaze to Spain's New World frontier.

At first Spanish hopes for America focused on the Caribbean and on finding a sea route to Asia. Gradually, however, word filtered back of rich kingdoms on the mainland. Between 1519 and 1540, Spanish *conquistadores* swept across the Americas in two wide arcs of conquest—one driving from Cuba through Mexico into what is now the southwestern United States; the other starting from Panama and pushing south into Peru. Within half a century of Columbus's arrival in the Americas, the *conquistadores* had extinguished the great Aztec and Incan empires and claimed for church and crown a territory that extended from Colorado to Argentina, including much of what is now the continental United States.

1.8 *Conquistadores*, ca. 1534 This illustration for a book called the *Köhler Codex of Nuremberg* may be the earliest depiction of the *conquistadores* in the Americas. It portrays men and horses alike as steadfast and self-assured in their work of conquest.

The military conquest of this vast region was achieved by just ten thousand men, organized in a series of private expeditions. Hernán Cortés, Francisco Pizarro, and other aspiring conquerors signed contracts with the Spanish monarch, raised money from investors, and then went about recruiting an army. Only a small minority of the *conquistadores*—leaders or followers—were nobles. About half were professional soldiers and sailors; the rest comprised peasants, artisans, and members of the middling classes. Most were in their twenties and early thirties, and all knew how to wield a sword.

Diverse motives spurred these motley adventurers. Some hoped to win royal titles and favors by bringing new peoples under the Spanish flag. Others sought to ensure God's favor by

the Aztec kingdom. To quell his mutinous troops, he boldly burned his ships, cutting off any hope of retreat. Through his interpreters, Cortés learned that the Aztec had consolidated their power and wealth by subjugating rival city-states, antagonizing many of their neighbors. Promising revenge to these Aztec rivals, Cortés gathered a force of some twenty thousand Indian allies and marched on Tenochtitlán and toward one of history's most dramatic and fateful encounters.

As Cortés proceeded, the Aztec chieftain Moctezuma sent ambassadors bearing fabulous gifts to welcome the approaching Spaniards. These only whetted the *conquistador's* appetite. "We Spanish suffer from a strange disease of the heart," Cortés allegedly informed the emissaries, "for which the only known remedy is gold." The ambassadors reported this comment to Moctezuma, along with the astonishing fact that the newcomers rode on the backs of "deer"

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division

1.9 An Aztec View of the Conquest, 1531 Produced just a dozen years after Cortés's arrival in 1519, this drawing by an Aztec artist pictures the Indians rendering tribute to their conquerors. The inclusion of the banner showing the Madonna and child also illustrates the early incorporation of Christian beliefs by the Indians.

spreading Christianity to the pagans. Some men hoped to escape dubious pasts, and others sought the kind of historical adventure experienced by heroes of classical antiquity. Nearly all shared a lust for gold. As one of Cortés's foot soldiers put it, "We came here to serve God and the king, and also to get rich." One historian adds that the *conquistadores* first fell on their knees and then fell upon the aborigines.

Armed with horses and gunpowder and preceded by disease, the *conquistadores* capitalized on local Indian rivalries, as Cortes had in central Mexico, to overpower the Indians. But most never achieved their dreams of glory. Few received titles of nobility, and many of the rank and file remained permanently indebted to the absentee investors who paid for their equipment. Even when an expedition captured exceptionally rich booty, the spoils were unevenly divided: men from the commander's home region often received more, and men on horseback generally got two shares to the infantryman's one. The *conquistadores* lost still more power as the crown gradually tightened its control in the New World. By the 1530s in Mexico and the 1550s in Peru, colorless colonial administrators had replaced the freebooting *conquistadores*.

Nevertheless, the *conquistadores* achieved a kind of immortality. Because of a scarcity of Spanish women in the early days of the conquest, many of the *conquistadores* married Indian women. The soldiers who conquered Paraguay received three native women each, and Cortés's soldiers in Mexico—who were forbidden to consort with pagan women—quickly had their lovers baptized into the Catholic faith. Their offspring, the "new race" of *mestizos*, formed a cultural and a biological bridge between Latin America's European and Indian races.

(horses). The superstitious Moctezuma also believed that Cortés was the god Quetzalcoatl, whose return from the eastern sea was predicted in Aztec legends. Expectant yet apprehensive, Moctezuma allowed the *conquistadores* to approach his capital unopposed.

As the Spaniards entered the Valley of Mexico, the sight of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán amazed them. With 300,000 inhabitants spread over ten square miles, it rivaled in size and pomp any city in contemporary Europe. The Aztec metropolis rose from an island in the center of a lake, surrounded by floating gardens of extraordinary beauty. It was connected to the mainland by a series of causeways and supplied with fresh water by an artfully designed aqueduct.

Moctezuma treated Cortés hospitably at first, but soon the Spaniards' hunger for gold and power exhausted their welcome. "They thirsted mightily for

Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484–1566), a reform-minded Dominican friar, wrote The Destruction of the Indies *in 1542 to chronicle the awful fate of the Native Americans and to protest Spanish policies in the New World. He was especially horrified at the catastrophic effects of disease on the native peoples:*

"Who of those in future centuries will believe this? I myself who am writing this and saw it and know the most about it can hardly believe that such was possible."

gold; they stuffed themselves with it; they starved for it; they lusted for it like pigs," said one Aztec. On the ***noche triste*** (sad night) of June 30, 1520, the Aztecs attacked, driving the Spanish down the causeways from Tenochtitlán in a frantic, bloody retreat. Cortés then laid siege to the city, and it capitulated on August 13, 1521. That same year a smallpox epidemic burned through the Valley of Mexico. The combination of conquest and disease took a grisly toll. The Aztec empire gave way to three centuries of Spanish rule. The temples of Tenochtitlán were destroyed to make way for the Christian cathedrals of Mexico City, built on the site of the ruined Indian capital. And the native population of Mexico, winnowed mercilessly by the invaders' diseases and the violence of slavery, shrank from some 20 million to 2 million people in less than a century.

Shortly thereafter in South America, the ironfisted conqueror Francisco Pizarro crushed the Incas of Peru in 1532, adding a huge hoard of booty to Spanish coffers. By 1600 Spain was swimming in New World silver, mostly from the fabulously rich mines at Potosí in present-day Bolivia, where enslaved Native Americans labored under Spanish control. This flood of precious metal touched off a price revolution in Europe that increased consumer costs by as much as 500 percent in the hundred years after the mid-sixteenth century. Some scholars see in this ballooning European money supply the fuel that fed the growth of the economic system known as **capitalism**. Certainly, New World bullion helped transform the world economy. It filled the vaults of bankers from Spain to Italy, laying the foundations of the modern banking system. It clinked in the purses of merchants in France and Holland,

Wil Meinderts/Buiten-beeld/Minden Pictures

1.10 Pueblo Bonito, Chaco Canyon Native Americans inhabited Chaco Canyon for thousands of years, between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. Here they built enormous "great houses" like this complex that covered nearly two acres and included over six hundred rooms.