

AMERICA

A NARRATIVE HISTORY • 10E

DAVID EMORY SHI • GEORGE BROWN TINDALL



tenth edition

AMERICA A Narrative History

David Emory Shi George Brown Tindall



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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 FOR MY WIFE, ANGELA HALFACRE SHI

DAVID E. SHI is a professor of history and the president emeritus of Furman University. He is the author of several books on American cultural history, including the award-winning *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture* and *Facing Facts: Realism in American Thought and Culture, 1850–1920.*

GEORGE B. TINDALL, recently of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, was an award-winning historian of the South with a number of major books to his credit, including *The Emergence of the New South, 1913–1945* and *The Disruption of the Solid South.*

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PREFACE

his Tenth Edition of *America: A Narrative History* seeks to improve upon a textbook grounded in a compelling narrative history of the American experience. From the start of our collaboration in 1984, George Tindall and I strove to write an engaging book focused on political and economic developments but animated by colorful characters, informed by balanced analysis and social texture, and guided by the unfolding of key events. Those classic principles, combined with a handy format and low price, have helped make *America: A Narrative History* one of the most popular and well-respected American history textbooks.

This Tenth Edition of *America* features a number of important changes designed to make the text more teachable and classroom-friendly. Chief among them are major structural changes, including the joining of several chapters to reduce the overall number from thirty-four to thirty-two as well as the resequencing of several chapters to make the narrative flow more smoothly for students. Major organizational changes include:

- New Chapter 6, *Strengthening the New Nation*, combines *Shaping a Federal Union* and *The Federalist Era* from previous editions to better integrate the events after the Revolution.
- New Chapter 19, *Political Stalemate and Rural Revolt, 1865–1900* combines *The Emergence of Urban America* and *Gilded Age Politics and Agrarian Revolt* from previous editions to connect the clash of urban and rural cultures.

In terms of content changes, the overarching theme of the new edition is the importance of the culture of everyday life in understanding American history. While an introductory textbook must necessarily focus on major political, constitutional, diplomatic, economic, and social changes, it is also important to understand how ordinary people managed everyday concerns: housing, jobs, food, recreation, religion, and entertainment.

I have looked to broaden the political narrative by incorporating more social and cultural history into the text, primarily using the refreshed and expanded coverage of the culture of everyday life as the main vehicle for doing so. Key new discussions include:

- Chapter 1, *The Collision of Cultures*, features new material about Native American religious beliefs and practices as well as aspects of everyday life.
- Chapter 2, *England's Colonies*, provides additional insights into the status of indentured servants and slavery in the colonies.
- Chapter 3, *Colonial Ways of Life*, includes a new portrait of Antonio, an enslaved African brutalized by his Dutch owner in Maryland in the mid-seventeenth century. There is also new material about colonial houses, taverns, diets, and the competition among American colonists for British luxury goods in the 1760s and 1770s.
- Chapter 4, *From Colonies to States*, has more material on the non importation efforts (boycotts of British goods imported into America) led by ordinary Americans. It also includes new material about the conversion of farmers into soldiers after the shooting at Lexington and Concord.
- Chapter 5, *The American Revolution*, *1776–1783*, includes more material about slaves who took advantage of the war to escape or join the British forces, and about the ways in which women, Native Americans, and slaves became engaged in the war effort.
- Chapter 6, *Strengthening the New Nation*, includes more about Shays's Rebellion and other expressions of agrarian discontent across the nation that occurred after the Revolution, and more on how women, Native Americans, and slaves figured into the thinking of the Founding Fathers during the Constitutional Convention in 1787.
- Chapter 7, *The Early Republic, 1800–1815*, has new material on the way in which the War of 1812 affected slavery/blacks.
- Chapter 8, *The Emergence of a Market Economy, 1815–1850*, includes new discussions of the emergence of the cotton culture in the South, the nature of farming, canals, boats, and steamship travel, and the plight of the Irish fleeing the famine at home and heading to America.
- Chapter 9, *Nationalism and Sectionalism*, *1815–1828*, more fully fleshes out the role of labor advocates and unions in helping to forge what would become the Jacksonian movement.
- Chapter 10, *The Jacksonian Era*, *1828–1840*, describes the effects of the Panic of 1837 and the ensuing depression on the working poor.
- Chapter 11, *The South, Slavery, and King Cotton, 1800–1860*, has substantial new material related to slavery, cotton, and everyday life within African American society. There is also a new discussion of a New Orleans slave uprising led by Charles Deslondes in 1811, the largest slave revolt in American history.

- Chapter 12, *Religion, Romanticism, and Reform, 1800–1860*, includes enriched treatment of the revivalism of the Second Great Awakening, a rewritten discussion of Mormonism, and a new section on Sylvester Graham and his health reform movement (Grahamism).
- Chapter 13, *Western Expansion*, *1830-1848*, is enlivened by textured portraits of John Fremont and Sam Houston and a much fuller profile of James K. Polk.
- Chapter 15, *The War of the Union, 1861–1865*, includes new material about the social history of the Civil War, including more material on the everyday life of common soldiers, rioting in opposition to the military draft, and backwoods violence rarely included in discussions of the war, such as the summary of the execution of thirteen Unionists in Madison County, North Carolina.
- Chapter 16, *The Era of Reconstruction*, *1865–1877*, has more material about former slaves—from their perspective. It also includes new examples of the ways in which the Freedmen's Bureau helped negotiate labor contracts between white planters and freedmen.
- Chapter 17, *Business and Labor in the Industrial Era*, *1860–1900*, discusses the emergence of a new middle class during the Gilded Age, and includes substantially revised material on women's and labor history.
- Chapter 18, *The New South and the New West*, *1865–1900*, includes a rewritten section on the emergence of new racial segregation in the South, and also new material about the everyday realities of Western expansion.
- Chapter 21, *The Progressive Era*, 1890–1920, includes new sections on the attitudes of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson concerning race.
- Chapter 22, *America and the Great War, 1914–1920*, now discusses the war's social effects in the United States, with special attention to women, blacks, and Mexican Americans. There is also new material about the grim nature of trench warfare.
- Chapter 23, *A Clash of Cultures*, 1920–1929, includes new material on the consumer culture, women's history, and revised material on the Harlem Renaissance with a new profile of Zora Neale Hurston. There are also fresh treatments of the impact of the radio, automobiles, cinema, and airplanes.
- Chapter 26, *The Second World War*, 1933–1945, includes new material about the social effects of the war at home, including the wartime experience of Mexican Americans.
- Chapter 27, *The Cold War and the Fair Deal*, *1945–1952*, includes new coverage of George Kennan's role in inspiring the containment doctrine, women industrial workers, and also the efforts of Latinos to gain equal rights in the aftermath of World War II.

- Chapter 28, *Cold War America*, 1950-1959, features enhanced treatments of the emerging civil rights movement.
- Chapter 29, *A New Frontier and a Great Society*, 1960–1968, includes a new portrait of Fannie Lou Hamer, a black Mississippi activist, in the section on the early civil rights movements.
- Chapter 30, *Rebellion and Reaction, 1960s and 1970s*, includes new material on the women's movement, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans.
- Chapter 32, *Twenty-First-Century America*, 1993–Present, features developments in the twenty-first century—the presidency of Barack Obama , the killing of al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, the emergence of the Tea Party and the Occupy Wall Street movements—as well as the stagnant economy in the aftermath of the Great Recession.

In addition, I have incorporated throughout this edition fresh insights from important new scholarly works dealing with many significant topics. Whether you consider yourself a political, social, cultural, or economic historian, you'll find new material to consider and share with your students.

As part of making the new editions even more teachable and classroom friendly, the new Tenth Edition of *America: A Narrative History* also makes history an immersive experience through its innovative pedagogy and digital resources. Norton InQuizitive for History—Norton's groundbreaking, formative, and adaptive new learning program—enables both students and instructors to assess learning progress at the individual and classroom level. The Norton Coursepack provides an array of support materials—free to instructors—who adopt the text for integration into their local learningmanagement system. The Norton Coursepack includes valuable assessment and skill-building activities like new primary source exercises, guided reading exercises, review quizzes, and interactive map resources. In addition, we've created new Office Hours videos that help students understand the Focus Questions and make history relevant for them (see pages xxv–xxvii for information about student and instructor resources).

MEDIA RESOURCES FOR INSTRUCTORS AND STUDENTS

America's new student resources are designed to make them better readers, guiding them through the narrative while at the same time developing their critical thinking and history skills.

The comprehensive ancillary package features a groundbreaking new formative and adaptive system, as well as innovative interactive resources, including maps and primary sources, to help students master the Focus Questions in each chapter and continue to strengthen the skills they need to do the work of historians. Norton is unique in partnering exclusively with subject-matter experts who teach the course to author these resources. As a result, instructors have all of the course materials they need to successfully manage their U.S. history survey course, whether they are teaching face-to-face, online, or in a hybrid setting.

INSTRUCTOR RESOURCES

LEARNING MANAGEMENT SYSTEM NORTON COURSEPACKS: STRONG ASSESSMENT AND LECTURE TOOLS

- New! Office Hour Videos: These segments feature David Shi speaking for 90 seconds on the Focus Questions of each chapter. There are over 100 of these new video segments.
- New! Primary Source Exercises: These activities feature several primary sources with multiple-choice and short essay questions to encourage close reading and analysis.
- Guided Reading Exercises: These exercises are designed by P. Scott Corbett (Ventura College) to help students learn how to read a textbook and, more important, comprehend what they are reading. The reading exercises instill a three-step Note-Summarize-Assess pedagogy. Exercises are based on actual passages from the textbook, and sample feedback is provided to model responses.
- Interactive iMaps: These interactive tools challenge students to better understand the nature of change over time by allowing them to explore the different layers of the maps from the book. Follow-up map worksheets help build geography skills by allowing students to test their knowledge by labeling.
- **Review Quizzes:** Multiple-choice, true/false, and chronological-sequence questions allow students to test their knowledge of the chapter content and identify where they need to focus their attention to better understand difficult concepts.
- **Primary Sources:** Over 400 primary source documents and images are available on the Student Site that accompanies *America: A Narrative History*, Tenth Edition. Instructors and students can use these resources for assignments and further research on each chapter.

• Norton American History Digital Archive: The Digital Archive offers roughly 2,000 images and audio and video files spanning American history. The comprehensive collection provides endless opportunities to enhance lecture presentations, build new assignments, and expand your students' comprehension through visual history and artifacts. From government documents, to personal artifacts, this collection enhances students' understanding of history.

INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL

The Instructor's Manual for *America: A Narrative History*, Tenth Edition, is designed to help instructors prepare lectures and exams. The Instructor's Manual contains detailed chapter outlines, lecture ideas, in-class activities, discussion questions, as well as chapter concept maps.

Test Bank

The Test Bank contains over 2,000 multiple-choice, true/false, and essay questions. This edition of the Test Bank has been completely revised for content and accuracy. All test questions are now aligned with Bloom's Taxonomy for greater ease of assessment.

LECTURE POWERPOINT SLIDES

These ready-made presentations provide comprehensive outlines of each chapter, as well as discussion prompts to encourage student comprehension and engagement.

STUDENT RESOURCES

New! Norton InQuizitive for History

This groundbreaking formative, adaptive learning tool improves student understanding of the Focus Questions in each chapter. Students receive personalized quiz questions on the topics with which they need the most help. Questions range from vocabulary and concepts to interactive maps and primary sources that challenge students to begin developing the skills necessary to do the work of a historian. Engaging game-like elements motivate students as they learn. As a result, students come to class better prepared to participate in discussions and activities.

New! Student Site

wwnorton.com/college/history/America10

Free and open to all students, Norton Student Site includes additional resources and tools to ensure they come to class prepared and ready to actively participate.

- Office Hour Videos: These segments feature David Shi speaking for 90 seconds on the Focus Questions of each chapter. There are over 100 of these new video segments.
- **iMaps:** Interactive maps challenge students to explore change over time by navigating the different layers of the maps from the book. Practice worksheets help students build their geography skills by labeling the locations.
- **Online Reader:** The online reader offers a diverse collection of primary source readings for use in assignments and activities.

PRIMARY SOURCE READERS TO ACCOMPANY America: A Narrative History

- New sixth edition of *For the Record: A Documentary History of America*, by David E. Shi and Holly A. Mayer (Duquesne University), is the perfect companion reader for *America: A Narrative History. For the Record* now has 250 primary-source readings from diaries, journals, newspaper articles, speeches, government documents, and novels, including a number of readings that highlight the substantially updated theme of African American history in this new edition of *America.* If you haven't scanned *For the Record* in a while, now would be a good time to take a look.
- New Norton Mix: American History enables instructors to build their own custom reader from a database of nearly 300 primary- and secondary-source selections. The custom readings can be packaged as a standalone reader or integrated with chapters from *America* into a custom textbook.

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Finally, I have dedicated this Tenth Edition of *America* to Angela Halfacre Shi, my radiant wife who makes the present as fascinating as the past.



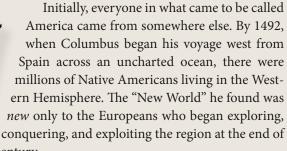


A NOT-SO-"NEW" NORLD



History is filled with ironies. Luck and accidents—the unexpected and unplanned happenings of life—often shape events

more than intentions. Long before Christopher Columbus lucked upon the Caribbean Sea and an unexpected continent in his effort to find a westward passage to the Indies (east Asia), the native peoples he mislabeled "Indians" had occupied and transformed the lands of the Western Hemisphere (also called the Americas— North, Central, and South).



the fifteenth century.

Over thousands of years, Native American peoples had developed highly sophisticated societies. Some were rooted in agriculture; others focused on trade or the conquest of others. Many Native Americans were healthier, better fed, and lived longer than Europeans, but they and their cultures were almost destroyed by the arrival of Europeans and Africans. As the two different societies—European and Native American—collided, each having its own distinct heritage and worldview, Indian peoples were exploited, infected, enslaved, displaced, and exterminated.

Yet the conventional story of invasion and occupation oversimplifies the complex process by which Indians, Europeans, and Africans interacted in the colonial period. The Native Americans, also called First Peoples, were more than passive victims of European power; they were also trading partners and military allies of the transatlantic newcomers. They became neighbors and advisers, religious converts and loving spouses. As such, they participated actively in the creation of the new society known as America.

The Europeans who risked their lives to settle in the Western Hemisphere were themselves a diverse lot. Young and old, men and women, they came from Spain, Portugal, France, the British Isles, the Netherlands (Holland), Scandinavia, Italy, and the German states (Germany would not become a united nation until the mid–nineteenth century).

A variety of motives inspired Europeans to undertake the often-harrowing transatlantic voyage. Some were fortune seekers lusting for gold, silver, and spices. Others were passionate Christians eager to create kingdoms of God in the New World. Still others were adventurers, convicts, debtors, servants, landless peasants, and political or religious exiles. Many were simply seeking opportunities for a better way of life. A settler in Pennsylvania noted that "poor people of all kinds can here get three times the wages for their labor than they can in England."

Yet such wages never attracted sufficient numbers of workers to keep up with the rapidly expanding colonial economies, so Europeans early in the seventeenth century turned to Africa for their labor needs. In 1619, a Dutch warship brought the first twenty Africans to the English settlement at Jamestown, near the coast of Virginia, and exchanged that human cargo for food and supplies.

This first of many transactions involving enslaved people in British America would transform American society in ways that no one at the time envisioned. Few Europeans during the colonial era saw the contradiction between the promise of freedom in America for themselves and the bondage of slavery for Africans and Indians.

The intermingling of people, cultures, plants, animals, germs, and diseases from the continents of Africa, Europe, and the Western Hemisphere gave colonial American society its distinctive vitality and variety. In turn, the diversity of the environment and the varying climate spawned different economies and patterns of living in the various regions of North America. As the original settlements grew into prosperous and populous colonies, the transplanted Europeans had to create new communities and political systems to manage growth and control rising tensions.

At the same time, bitter rivalries among the Spanish, French, English, and Dutch triggered costly wars in Europe and around the world. The monarchs of Europe struggled to manage often-unruly colonies, which, they discovered, played crucial roles in their frequent wars.

Many of the colonists had brought with them to America a feisty independence, which led them to resent government interference in their affairs. A British official in North Carolina reported that the colonists were "without any Law or Order. Impudence is so very high, as to be past bearing." The Americans and their British rulers maintained an uneasy partnership throughout the seventeenth century. But as the royal authorities tightened their control during the mid–eighteenth century, they met resistance from colonists, which exploded into revolution.

1 The Collision of Cultures



De Soto and the Incas This 1596 color engraving shows Spanish conquistador Hernando de Soto's first encounter with King Atahualpa of the Inca Empire. Although artist Theodor de Bry never set foot in North America, his engravings helped shape European perceptions of Native Americans in the sixteenth century. merica was born in melting ice. Tens of thousands of years ago, during a long period known as the Ice Age, vast glaciers some two miles thick inched their way southward from the Arctic Circle at the top of the globe. Their awesome power crushed hills, rerouted rivers, and scraped bare all the land in their path.

Vast glacial ice sheets eventually covered much of North America—Canada, Alaska, the Upper Midwest, New England, Montana, and Washington. Then, as the continent's climate began to warm, the ice started to melt, year after year, century after century. So much of the world's water was bound up in glacial ice that the slow melt ultimately caused sea levels to rise more than 400 feet.

As the ice sheets receded, they left behind in the Midwest a thick blanket of fertile topsoil that had been scoured from Canada and pushed down the continent, creating what would become the world's richest farmland. The shrinking glaciers also opened valley pathways for the first immigrants to begin a process of crossing the continent.

The American past belongs to many different peoples. Debate still rages about when and how humans first arrived in North America. Until recently, archaeologists and anthropologists had assumed that ancient peoples, risktakers from northeast Asia, clothed in animal hides and furs, began following big game animals across the Bering Strait, a sixty-mile-wide waterway that now connects the Arctic and Pacific Oceans. During the Ice Age, however, the Bering Strait was dry—a vast treeless, windswept landmass (Beringia) that served as a wide, inviting bridge connecting eastern Siberia with Alaska. The oldest place in the Bering region with traces of early human activity is Broken

focus questions

1. Why were there so many diverse societies in the Americas before Europeans arrived?

 What were the major developments in Europe that enabled the Age of Exploration?

3. How were the Spanish able to conquer and colonize the Americas?

4. How did the Columbian Exchange between the "Old" and "New" Worlds affect both societies?

5. In what ways did the Spanish form of colonization shape North American history?



Why did those people travel to North America?

Mammoth, a 14,000-year-old site in central Alaska where the first aboriginal peoples, called Paleo-Indians (Old Indians), arrived in North America. More recently, archaeologists in central Texas unearthed evidence of people dating back almost 16,000 years.

Over hundreds of years, as the climate kept warming and the glaciers continued to melt, small hunting groups, carrying their few possessions with them, crossed into Alaska and then fanned out during the summers southward across the entire Western Hemisphere, from the Arctic Circle to the tip of South America. Some of them may also have traveled by boats hugging the coast. One major land pathway followed the Pacific coast while the other used an open land corridor between two ice sheets east of the Rocky Mountains. Paleo-Indians were risk-taking pioneers, skilled hunters and gatherers who moved in search of large grazing mammals, rabbits, whales, seals, fish, and wild plants, berries, nuts, roots, and seeds. As they moved southward toward warmer weather, they trekked across the prairies and the plains, encountering massive animals unlike any found there today: mastodons, giant sloths, camels, bison (buffalos), lions, saber-toothed tigers, cheetahs, and giant wolves, beavers, and bears.

Recent archaeological discoveries in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Chile, however, suggest that prehistoric humans may have arrived much earlier from various parts of Asia—and some may even have crossed the Atlantic Ocean from southwestern Europe. Regardless of when humans first set foot in North America, the continent eventually became a crossroads for various adventurous peoples from around the world: Europeans, Africans, Asians, and others, all bringing with them distinctive backgrounds, cultures, technologies, religions, and motivations that helped form the multicultural society known as America.

EARLY CULTURES IN AMERICA

Archaeologists have labeled the earliest humans in North America the *Clovis* peoples, named after a site in New Mexico where ancient hunters around 9500 B.C.E. (before the Common Era) killed tusked woolly mammoths using distinctive "Clovis" stone spearheads. They also used a wooden device called an *atlatl*, which gave them added leverage to hurl spears farther and more accurately. Over many centuries, as the climate warmed, days grew hotter and many of the largest mammals—mammoths, mastodons, giant bison, and single-hump camels—died and grew extinct.

Skeletal remains of Paleo-Indians reveal that the women were much smaller than the men, who were bold, aggressive, and hypermasculine. More than half of the male skeletons show signs of injuries caused by violence. Four out of ten have fractured skulls. The physical evidence is clear: Paleo-Indian men assaulted and killed each other with regularity.

Over time, the ancient Indians adapted to their diverse environments coastal forests, grassy plains, southwestern deserts, eastern woodlands. Some continued to hunt large animals; others fished and trapped small game. Some gathered wild plants and herbs and collected acorns and seeds; others farmed. Many did some of each.

Contrary to the romantic myth of early Indian civilizations living in perfect harmony with nature and one another, they in fact often engaged in warfare, exploited the environment by burning large wooded areas to plant fields, and overhunted large game animals. They also mastered the use of fire; improved technology such as spear points, basketry, and pottery; and developed their own nature-centered religions.

By about 5000 B.C.E., Native Americans had adapted to the warmer climate by transforming themselves into farming societies. Agriculture provided reliable, nutritious food, which accelerated population growth and enabled a once nomadic (wandering) people to settle down in villages. Indigenous peoples became expert at growing the plants that would become the primary food crops of the entire hemisphere, chiefly **maize** (corn), beans, and squash, but also chili peppers, avocados, and pumpkins. Many of them also grew cotton. The annual cultivation of such crops enabled Indian societies to grow larger and more complex, with their own distinctive social, economic, and political institutions.

THE MAYAS, INCAS, AND MEXICA

Around 1500 B.C.E., farming towns first appeared in what is now Mexico. Agriculture supported the development of sophisticated communities complete with gigantic temple-topped pyramids, palaces, and bridges in Middle



Mayan society A fresco depicting the social divisions of Mayan society. A Mayan lord, at the center, receives offerings.

America (*Mesoamerica*, what is now Mexico and Central America, where North and South America meet). The Mayas, who dominated Central America for more than 600 years, developed a rich written language and elaborate works of art. They also used sophisticated mathematics and astronomy to create a yearly calendar more accurate than the one the Europeans were using at the time of Columbus.

THE INCAS Much farther south, as many as 12 million people speaking at least twenty different languages made up the sprawling Inca Empire. By the fifteenth century, the Incas' vast realm stretched some 2,500 miles along the Andes Mountains in the western part of South America. The mountainous Inca Empire featured irrigated farms, enduring stone buildings, and interconnected networks of roads made of stone.

THE MEXICA (AZTECS) During the twelfth century, the **Mexica** (Me-SHEE-ka)—whom Europeans later called Aztecs ("People from Aztlán," the place they claimed as their original homeland)—began drifting southward



Aztec sacrifices to the gods Renowned for their military prowess, Aztecs preferred to capture and then sacrifice their enemies.