THE AMERICAN PROMISE

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

SECOND COMPACT EDITION
VOLUME I: TO 1877



JAMES L. ROARK • MICHAEL P. JOHNSON • PATRICIA CLINE COHEN SARAH STAGE • ALAN LAWSON • SUSAN M. HARTMANN

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Cover Art: American Fantasy, a cutwork picture. Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, c. 1840–1860. Layered cut paper and applique on original vibrant blue paper background. Courtesy, David Schorsch/American Antiques, Inc.

PREFACE

 \blacksquare HE COMPACT EDITION OF The American Promise: A History of the United States grew from the authors' desire to provide a fresh alternative for fellow instructors searching for the most teachable and readable text available: a unique midsized book that pairs all the color, pedagogy, and features of a fulllength text with a briefer narrative at a lower price. The unique size of the Compact Edition allows us to meet the needs of students and instructors who want the flexibility of a briefer text without sacrificing coverage or readability. In writing the Second Compact Edition, we continued to draw from our experiences as longtime teachers of the survey course to help us identify the essentials of American history as well as the stories and voices that make this history memorable for students. Our collective experience teaching introductory American history in a wide range of institutions, from community colleges and state universities to private colleges and research institutions, taught us that the survey course is the most difficult to teach and the most difficult to take. It is this knowledge that has informed every decision we have made in creating this text.

Our teaching experience was invaluable in making the choices necessary to create the Second Compact Edition from its parent text, *The American Promise*, Second Edition. To preserve the narrative strengths of *The American Promise*, all of the authors revised their own chapters. To maintain the strong story line and balanced narrative in a midsized format, we reorganized material and combined thematically related sections throughout the text. In short, we did not create the Second Compact Edition simply by cutting; we also reimagined, reorganized, and rewrote.

Our experience as teachers also informed the framework of our text. Most survey texts emphasize either a social or political approach to history; by focusing on one, they inevitably slight the other. In our classrooms, students need **both** the structure a political narrative provides and the insights gained from examining social and cultural experiences. To write a comprehensive, balanced account

of American history, we focused on the public arena—the place where politics intersects social and cultural developments—to show how Americans confronted the major issues of their day and created far-reaching historical change.

We also thought hard about the concerns most frequently voiced by instructors: that students often find history boring, unfocused, and difficult and their textbooks similarly lifeless and overwhelming. How could our text address these concerns and help introductory students understand and remember American history's main events and developments? We decided to explore fully the political, social, economic, and cultural changes that students need to understand by connecting them to individuals who experienced history as it happened. To make each chapter more memorable and to portray the diversity of the American experience, we stitched into the narrative the voices of hundreds of contemporaries—from presidents to pipefitters—whose ideas and actions shaped their times and whose efforts still affect our lives. By incorporating a rich selection of authentic American voices, we sought to create a vivid and compelling narrative that captures students' interest and sparks their historical imagination.

Our title, The American Promise, reflects our emphasis on the power of human agency and our conviction that American history is an unfinished story. For millions, the nation held out the promise of a better life, unfettered worship, representative government, democratic politics, and other freedoms seldom found elsewhere around the world. But none of these promises came with guarantees. And promises fulfilled for some meant promises denied to others. As we see it, much of American history is a continuing struggle over the definition and realization of the nation's promise. That hope, kept alive by countless sacrifices, has been marred by compromises, disappointments, and denials, but it lives today. Abraham Lincoln, in the midst of what he termed the "fiery trial" of the Civil War, pronounced the nation "the last best hope of Earth." Ideally, The American Promise, Second Compact Edition, will help students become aware of the legacy of hope bequeathed to them by previous generations of Americans, a legacy that is theirs to preserve and to build on.

Features

Because students learn best when they find a subject engaging, we have made a special effort to incorporate features that bring American history to life and make it memorable. Chapter-opening vignettes invite students into the narrative with vivid accounts of individuals or groups who embody each chapter's main themes. Vignettes new to this edition include Pocahontas's "rescue" of John Smith, Nat Turner's war on slavery, and Fannie Lou Hamer's civil rights struggles. Twotiered running heads on every page remind students where the sections they read fall chronologically. At the close of each chapter, strengthened conclusions critically reexamine central ideas and provide a bridge to the next chapter, and annotated chronologies review the key events and developments explored in the chapter. We have enhanced the well-received appendices by extending our collection of reference materials in a new Online Appendix that contains such important documents as the Articles of Confederation, the Seneca Falls Resolution, the Confederate Constitution, and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech. Cross-references to the new Online Study Guide in each chapter encourage mastery of visual and text material and development of

FOR FURTHER READING ABOUT THE TOPICS IN THIS CHAPTER. see the Online Bibliography at FOR ADDITIONAL FIRST-HAND ACCOUNTS OF THIS PERIOD, See pages 181-195 in Michael Johnson, ed., Reading the American Past, Second Edition, Volume I. TO ASSESS YOUR MASTERY OF THE MATERIAL IN THIS CHAPTER, see the Online Study Guide at

critical-thinking skills. Additional text crossreferences to Online Bibliographies, organized by chapter and topic, provide students with detailed suggestions for additional reading and research.

An enriched array of special features re-

inforces the narrative and offers teachers more points of departure for assignments and discussion. With the addition of sixteen new boxed features, this edition provides a wider variety of choices for sparking students' interest while helping them understand that history is both a body of knowledge and an ongoing process of investigation. The allnew Promise of Technology features examine the ramifications—positive and negative—of technological developments in American society and culture such as the cultivation of corn, the printing press, hydraulic mining, and air conditioning. Documenting the American Promise features (formerly "Texts in Historical Context") combine three or four primary documents that dramatize the human dimension of major events and controversies with interpretive commentary. New topics in this edition include "King Philip Considers Christianity," "The Destruction of the Tea," "Rockefeller and His Critics," and "The Emerging Cold War." Questions for Analysis and Debate now follow the documents to help students analyze and squeeze meaning from primary sources. Illustrated Historical Questions pose and interpret specific questions of continuing interest so as to demonstrate the depth and variety of possible answers, thereby countering the belief of many beginning students that historians simply gather facts and string them together into a chronological narrative. New Historical Questions in this edition include "Did Terrorists Sink the Maine?" and "Was Prohibition a Bad Joke?"

We take great pride as well in our full-color design and rich art program. We have preserved the award-winning design and added many new illustrations to make The American Promise a visual feast. In all, more than 350 images, many in full color and all large enough to study in detail, reinforce and extend the narrative. An illustration accompanies each chapter-opening vignette, providing a visual supplement to the narrative portrait that opens every chapter. All pictures are contemporaneous with the period of the chapter, with comprehensive captions that draw students into active engagement with the images and help



This advertisement for vacationing in the mountainous Indian country of New Mexico implies the benefits of high altitude for health. But commerce in native crafts is also an objective. Others at the time headed to New Mexico to attain quite different benefits. Attracted by anthropologists studying na tive culture and a coterie of painters and writers who began an artists' colony near the ancient pueblo at Taos, disillusioned strivers and other refugees from the stresses of modern life hoped to find a spiritual inner wisdom within Pueblo culture that would reconnect them with nature and the

Private collection

Guide for more help in analyzing this image.



them unpack the layers of meaning. Full-page **chapter-opening artifacts** combine with many other illustrations of artifacts to emphasize the importance of material culture in the study of the past.

Finally, we have extended and expanded our highly regarded map program to offer the most effective set of maps available in a

survey text. Each chapter offers, on average, three **full-size maps** showing major developments in a wide range of areas, from environmental and technological issues to political, social, cultural, and diplomatic matters. New maps reflect this edition's

CUBA
HISPANIOLA ATLANTIC
SAINT SANTO
DOMINGUE Caribbean Sea

Beginning of slave revolt, 1791
Border of Saint Domingue/
Santo Domingo, 1790
Border of Haiti/
Santo Domingo, 1820

Haitian Revolution, 1790-1804

increased attention to Native American peoples and to a sustained continental perspective. Each chapter includes as well an average of two new "spot maps," small, single-concept maps embedded in pertinent passages of the narrative to increase students' grasp of crucial issues. Unique to The American Promise, the spot maps highlight such topics as ancient

California, Pontiac's rebellion, the Haitian revolution, the Vicksburg campaign, Pullman's company town, the Dust Bowl, the creation of Israel, the breakup of Yugoslavia, and the recent conflict in Afghanistan. In addition, critical-thinking map exercises—one per chapter—combine for an embedded map workbook.

Textual Changes

A new edition of a textbook is cause for celebration, for it proudly announces the successful reception of the previous edition. But as authors, we found little time for complacency, for we welcomed this opportunity to reconsider the original text, to take stock of what worked and what could be improved. In addition to the many changes already mentioned to condense the text, we

made other major revisions in organization and coverage.

To mesh better with most course calendars and to provide a more focused narrative, we reduced the number of chapters from 32 to 31. We also shortened the text by an additional 5 percent from the First Compact Edition (making it 30 percent shorter than its parent, The American Promise, Second Edition), in the process highlighting a stronger thematic development. Specifically, coverage of ancient America now appears in a refashioned and richly illustrated chapter on ancient America, to show students how and why the discussion of this crucial but obscured history differs from the historical narrative that follows in the remainder of the book. Discussion of antebellum society has been reorganized and revised to ensure a smooth, unified narrative. Throughout the text we have incorporated the most important recent scholarship, as reflected in chapter bibliographies on the companion Web site (www.bedfordstmartins.com/roarkcompact).

To provide an even more dynamic and memorable narrative while reinforcing the text's central theme, we expanded the number of historical actors whose interpretations of "the American promise" sometimes shared, often competing—drove historical change. More succinct coverage of politics also permitted us to expand discussion of cultural and social topics such as the diversity of West Africa, the experience of Native Americans, and Western history. We have also made an effort to better place American history in a global context. Discussions of early modern Europe's westward expansion and the Haitian revolution, for example, strengthen the text's balanced, braided international coverage. Revised conclusions focus on and extend the chapter's central ideas, contributing to our effort to provide the introductory classroom the most teachable and readable text available.

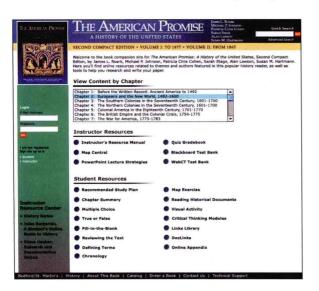
Supplements

Developed with the guidance of the author team and thoroughly revised to reflect changes in the new edition, our comprehensive collection of print and electronic resources provides a host of practical learning and teaching aids. Cross-references in the textbook to the groundbreaking Online Study Guide and the primary-source reader reflect the tight integration of core text with supplements.

For Students

Reading the American Past: Selected Historical Documents, Second Edition. This highly regarded primary-source collection, edited by Michael Johnson (Johns Hopkins University), one of the authors of The American Promise, complements the textbook by offering 4 or 5 documents for each chapter. The new edition provides a host of compelling features while retaining its low cost and brevity: a rich selection of over 125 documents (one-quarter of them new to this edition), balancing accounts by wellknown figures with the voices of ordinary people; a wide array of sources that vividly illustrate the diversity of materials with which historians work; and user-friendly editorial apparatus such as chapter introductions, headnotes, questions, and an Introduction for Students on the goals and methods of source analysis.

online Study Guide www.bedfordstmartins.com/roarkcompact. For each chapter, our free Online Study Guide offers an initial multiple-choice test that allows students to assess their comprehension of the material and a Recommended Study Plan that suggests specific exercises on the subject areas students still need to master. Two follow-up multiple-choice tests per chapter help students judge their command of the material. Additional exercises encourage students to think about chapter themes as well as help them develop skills of analysis. Password-protected reports for instructors allow them to monitor students' activity easily.



The Bedford Series in History and Culture. Over fifty American titles in this highly praised series combine first-rate scholarship, historical narrative, and important primary documents for undergraduate courses. Each book is brief, inexpensive, and focused on a specific topic or period. Package discounts are available.

Historians at Work Series. Brief enough for a single assignment yet substantive enough to provoke thoughtful discussion, each volume in this series combines the best thinking about an important historical issue with helpful learning aids. Selections by distinguished historians, each with a differing perspective, provide a unique structure within which to examine a single question. With headnotes and questions to guide their reading and the complete original footnotes, students are able to engage in discussion that captures the intellectual excitement of historical research and interpretation. Package discounts are available.

Links Library www.bedfordstmartins.com/historylinks. Links Library is a database of more than 350 carefully reviewed and annotated U.S. and Western history links searchable by historical topic and textbook chapter. Spanning history from ancient Mesopotamia to the present, the database contains diverse links to resources such as historical archaeology sites, primary documents collections, photograph and illustration galleries, map collections, secondary sources, and audio.

DocLinks www.bedfordstmartins.com/doclinks.

DocLinks is a database of over 1000 annotated Web links to primary documents online for the study of U.S. and Western history. Documents in this database include speeches, legislation, U.S. Supreme Court decisions, essays, traveler's accounts, personal narratives and testimony, essays, e-books, manifestos, visual artifacts, songs, and poems. Documents are searchable by topic and date and are also indexed to the chapters of our major survey textbooks.

For Instructors

Instructor's Resource Manual. This popular manual by Sarah E. Gardner (Mercer University) offers

extensive information for each chapter in the text-book: outlines of chapter themes and topics, lecture and discussion strategies, multiple-choice questions for quizzing, video and film resources, and advice on outside readings. In addition, the new edition offers suggestions on incorporating all the supplements for the Second Compact Edition of *The American Promise* into teaching plans; including Bedford series books relevant to each chapter; and assigning Using the Internet exercises that reinforce and extend the text. It also includes a wealth of practical suggestions for first-time teaching assistants, from suggestions on running discussion sections and designing assignments to advice on dealing with difficult students.

Online Instructor's Resource Manual www.bed-fordstmartins.com/roarkcompact. The Online Instructor's Resource Manual combines all of the advantages of the print Instructor's Resource Manual along with links for Using the Internet exercises, annotated Web links for each chapter, PowerPoint slides for lectures, syllabus hosting, and the ability to track student work.

Videos. Available to all adopters of the text are two hours of video delivered in fifteen brief clips that allow instructors to intersperse their lectures with images and audio designed to engage students by giving voice to the history of early America. These segments are drawn from the award-winning telecourse "Shaping America," developed and distributed by the LeCroy Center for Educational Telecommunications, Dallas County Community College District. Bedford/St. Martin's is proud to announce that *The American Promise: To 1877*, Second Edition, has been selected for use in this distinguished distance learning program.

Computerized Test Bank CD-ROM for Windows or Macintosh. This thoroughly revised test bank by Valerie Hinton (Richland College) and Norman C. McLeod (Dixie State College) provides easy-to-use software to create and administer tests on paper or over a network. Instructors can generate exams and quizzes from the print test bank or write their own. A grade-management function helps keep track of student progress. It includes for each chapter in the text fifty multiple-choice questions, ten short-

answer questions, four essay questions (all ranked as easy, medium, or difficult); an exercise in which students match important terms with definitions or examples; a chronology exercise; and a multipart map exercise. Also included are twenty-five black outline map quizzes. Answers for objective questions are provided.

Map Transparencies. Full-color transparencies of full-size maps from both the full and compact editions of *The American Promise* help instructors present the materials and teach students important map-reading skills.

Instructor Resources CD-ROM. This new CD-ROM offers all the maps and figures and numerous illustrations from the text in PowerPoint-ready files designed to enhance class presentations.

Using the Bedford Series in the U.S. History Survey www.bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries. This short guide by Scott Hovey (Boston University) gives practical suggestions for using more than sixty volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and the Historians at Work Series with a core text in the survey classroom. The guide not only supplies links between the text and the supplements but also provides ideas for starting discussions focused on a single primary-source volume.

Map Central www.bedfordstmartins.com/map-central. Bedford/St. Martin's is proud to announce Map Central, a database of the more than 450 maps that appear in *The American Promise* and its other history survey texts. Designed to help instructors create more effective lecture presentations, Map Central is easily searchable by specific chapter or by keyword. Maps are in full color and downloadable for use in PowerPoint or other presentation software.

e-Content for Online Learning. e-Content for Online Learning helps instructors using *The American Promise*, Second Compact Edition, develop custom Web sites with WebCT, Blackboard, and other coursebuilding systems.

Acknowledgments

We gratefully acknowledge all of the helpful suggestions that have come from those who have read and taught the previous editions of The American Promise, and we hope that our many classroom collaborators will see their influence in the Second Compact Edition. In particular, we wish to thank the talented scholars and teachers who gave generously of their time and knowledge to review this book; their critiques and suggestions have contributed greatly to the published work: Robert Allison, Suffolk University; Edward Baptist, University of Miami; Vernon Burton, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Manuel Callahan, University of Texas; Marvin Cann, Lander University; Robert Cormier, Shrewsbury High School; Dolores Davison Peterson, Foothill College; Alan C. Downs, Georgia Southern University; Frederick Fausz, University of Missouri-St. Louis; Richard M. Filipink, SUNY College at Freedonia; Randy Finley, Georgia Perimeter College; Ellen Fitzpatrick, University of New Hampshire; John M. Giggie, University of Texas at San Antonio; Valerie Hinton, Richland College; Tim Koerner, Oakland Community College; Jill Lepore, Boston University; Mike Light, Grand Rapids Community College; Barbara Loomis, San Francisco State University; Norman Love, El Paso Community College; Joanne Maypole, Front Range Community College; Tom Nierman, University of Kansas; Robert Olwell, University of Texas at Austin; Terry Perrin, Austin Community College; Nicolas W. Proctor, Simpson College; Peggy Renner, Glendale Community College; James Schick, Pittsburgh State University; Michael Searles, Augusta State University; Rebecca Shoemaker, Indiana State University; Rachel Standish, Foothill College; Richard M. Ugland, The Ohio State University; Elizabeth Van Beek, San Jose State University; Pamela West, Jefferson State Community College; Thomas Winn, Austin Peay State University; Molly M. Wood, Wittenberg University; Laura Woodward-Ney, Idaho State University; and William D. Young, Maple Woods Community College.

A project as complex as this requires the talents of many individuals. First, the authors would like to acknowledge our families for their support, forbearance, and toleration of our textbook responsibilities. Pembroke Herbert and Sandi Rygiel of Picture Research Consultants, Inc., contributed their imagination and research to make possible the extraordinary illustration program.

We would also like to thank the many people at Bedford/St. Martin's who have been crucial to this project. First we want to thank both Editor Heidi L. Hood, who coordinated the editorial process, and Editor Gretchen Boger, for their intelligence and commitment to excellence that guided every step of this revision. Thanks are also due to Editor Louise Townsend, whose accomplished editing of this and previous editions greatly improved our textbook. Special thanks also go to our friend, Executive Editor Elizabeth M. Welch, who contributed invaluably to past editions and advised on this revision. Brianna Germain, Rachel L. Siegel, and Elisabeth Stark helped with countless editorial tasks. Jane Knetzger, Director of Development for History, supported the efforts of the editorial team. We thank as well Patricia Rossi, Publisher for History and Communications, and Jenna Bookin Barry, Marketing Manager, for their tireless efforts in marketing the book. With great skill and professionalism, Project Manager Tina Samaha pulled all the pieces together with the assistance of Kerri Cardone. Managing Editor Elizabeth Schaaf, Assistant Managing Editor John Amburg, and Senior Production Supervisor Joe Ford oversaw production of the book. Our copy editor, Lisa Wehrle, improved our best efforts. Thanks also go to Associate Editor for New Media William J. Lombardo who guided the development of the companion Web site and supervised the editing of the book's supplements. New Media Production Coordinator Coleen O'Hanley helped transform the Companion Web site and other electronic supplements into reality. Director of New Media Denise Wydra provided support for these new media resources for history. Joan E. Feinberg, President, and Charles H. Christensen, former president, have taken a personal interest in The American Promise from the start and have guided all its editions through every stage of development.

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Born in Eunice, Louisiana, and raised in the West, James L. Roark received his B.A. from the University of California, Davis, in 1963 and his Ph.D. from Stanford University in 1973. His dissertation won the Allan Nevins Prize. He has taught at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka; the University of Nairobi, Kenya; the University of Missouri, St. Louis; and, since 1983, Emory University, where he is Samuel Candler Dobbs Professor of American History. In 1993, he received the Emory Williams Distinguished Teaching Award, and in 2001-2002 he was Pitt Professor of American Institutions at Cambridge University. He has written Masters without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction (1977). With Michael P. Johnson, he is author of Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South (1984) and editor of No Chariot Let Down: Charleston's Free People of Color on the Eve of the Civil War (1984). He has received research assistance from the American Philosophical Society, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. Active in the Organization of American Historians and the Southern Historical Association, he is also a fellow of the Society of American Historians.

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Alan Lawson

Born in Providence, Rhode Island, Alan Lawson received his B.A. from Brown University in 1955 and his M.A. from the University of Wisconsin in 1956. After Army service and experience as a high school teacher, he earned his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1967. Since winning the Allan Nevins Prize for his dissertation, Lawson has served on the faculties of the University of California, Irvine; Smith College; and, currently, Boston College. He has written *The Failure of Independent Liberalism* (1971) and coedited *From Revolution to Republic* (1976). While completing the forthcoming *Ideas in Crisis: The New Deal and the Mobilization of Progressive Experience*, he has published book chapters and essays on political economy, the cultural legacy of the New Deal, multiculturalism, and the arts in public

life. He has served as editor of the *Review of Education* and the *Intellectual History Newsletter* and contributed articles to those journals as well as to the *History of Education Quarterly*. He has been active in the field of American Studies as director of the Boston College American Studies program and as a contributor to the *American Quarterly*. Under the auspices of the United States Information Agency, Lawson has been coordinator and lecturer for programs to instruct faculty from foreign nations in the state of American historical scholarship and teaching.

Susan M. Hartmann

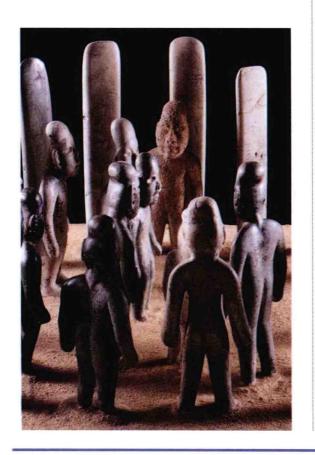
Professor of history at Ohio State University, Susan M. Hartmann received her B.A. from Washington University in 1961 and her Ph.D. from the University of Missouri in 1966. After specializing in the political economy of the post-World War II period and publishing Truman and the 80th Congress (1971), she expanded her interests to the field of women's history, publishing many articles and three books: The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s (1982); From Margin to Mainstream: American Women and Politics since 1960 (1989); and The Other Feminists: Activists in the Liberal Establishment (1998). Her work has been supported by the Truman Library Institute, the Rockefeller Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the American Council of Learned Societies. At Ohio State she has served as director of women's studies, and in 1995 she won the Exemplary Faculty Award in the College of Humanities. Hartmann has taught at the University of Missouri, St. Louis, and Boston University, and she has lectured on American history in Australia, Austria, France, Germany, Greece, Nepal, and New Zealand. She has served on award committees of the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, the American Studies Association, and the National Women's Studies Association and currently is on the Board of Directors at the Truman Library Institute. Her current research is on gender and the transformation of politics since 1945.

BRIEF CONTENTS

1	Before the Written Record: Ancient America to 1492	3
2	Europeans and the New World, 1492-1600	23
3	The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1601–1700	45
4	The Northern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1601–1700	67
5	Colonial America in the Eighteenth Century, 1701-1770	89
6	The British Empire and the Colonial Crisis, 1754–1775	115
7	The War for America, 1775–1783	141
8	Building a Republic, 1775–1789	167
9	The New Nation Takes Form, 1789-1800	189
10	Republican Ascendancy, 1800–1824	211
11	The Expanding Republic, 1815–1840	235
12	The Free North and West, 1840-1860	263
13	The Slave South, 1820–1860	293
14	The House Divided, 1846–1861	321
15	The Crucible of War, 1861–1865	353
16	Reconstruction, 1863–1877	387
Appendices		A-1
Bibliographies and additional Online Appendix materials are available at www.bedfordstmartins.com/roarkcompact.		
Index		I-1

CONTENTS

Maps, Figures, and Tables xxiii
Special Features xxvii
Preface xxix
About the Authors xxxv





CHAPTER 1

Before the Written Record: Ancient America to 1492 3

Opening Vignette: Archaeological discovery proves that humans inhabited America for more than 10,000 years 3

Archaeology and History 4

The First Americans 5
Asian Origins 5 • Paleo-Indian Hunters 7

Archaic Hunters and Gatherers 8
Great Plains Bison Hunters 8 • Great Basin
Cultures 10 • Pacific Coast Cultures 10 • Eastern
Woodland Cultures 11

Agricultural Settlements and Chiefdoms 11 Southwestern Cultures 12 • Burial Mounds and Chiefdoms 14

Native Americans in 1492 15

The Mexica: A Meso-American Culture 17

Historical Question: Why Did the Mexica Practice Human Sacrifice? 18

Conclusion: The World of Ancient Americans 20



CHAPTER 2

Europeans and the New World, 1492–1600 23

Opening Vignette: Christopher Columbus encounters the Tainos of San Salvador 23

Europe in the Age of Exploration 24
Mediterranean Trade and European
Expansion 24 • A Century of Portuguese
Exploration 26

A Surprising New World in the Western Atlantic 27

The Explorations of Columbus 27 • The Geographic Revolution and the Columbian Exchange 28

Spanish Exploration and Conquest 31
The Conquest of Mexico 31 • The Search for
Other Mexicos 32 • New Spain in the Sixteenth
Century 33 • The Toll of Spanish Conquest and
Colonization 36 • Northern Outposts in Florida
and New Mexico 37

Documenting the American Promise: Justifying Conquest 38

The New World and Europe 40
The Protestant Reformation and the European
Order 40 • Europe and the Spanish Example 40

Conclusion: The Promise of the New World for Europeans 42

Chronology 43



CHAPTER 3

The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1601–1700 45

Opening Vignette: Pocahontas "rescues" John Smith 45

An English Colony on the Chesapeake
The Fragile Jamestown Settlement 48 •
Cooperation and Conflict between Natives and
Newcomers 48 • From Private Company to Royal
Government 52

The Promise of Technology: Corn, the "Life-Giver" 50

A Tobacco Society 52
A Servant Labor System 54 • Cultivating Land and Faith 56

The Evolution of Chesapeake Society
Social and Economic Polarization 57 •
Government Policies and Political Conflict 58 •
Bacon's Rebellion 58

Toward a Slave Labor System 59
The West Indies: Sugar and Slavery 60 • Carolina:
A West Indian Frontier 62 • Slave Labor Emerges in the Chesapeake 62

Conclusion: The Growth of the English Colonies Based on Export Crops and Slave Labor 63



CHAPTER 4

The Northern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1601–1700 67

Opening Vignette: Anne Hutchinson is accused of heresy 67

Puritan Origins: The English Reformation 68

Puritans and the Settlement of New

England 70

The Pilgrims and Plymouth Colony 70 • The Founding of Massachusetts Bay Colony 70

Documenting the American Promise: King Philip Considers Christianity 74

The Evolution of New England Society
Church, Covenant, and Conformity 72 •
Government by Puritans for Puritanism 76 •
The Splintering of Puritanism 77 • Religious
Controversies and Economic Changes 77

The Founding of the Middle Colonies 79
From New Netherland to New York 79 • New
Jersey and Pennsylvania 80 • Toleration and
Diversity in Pennsylvania 81

The Colonies and the British Empire
Royal Regulation of Colonial Trade 82 •
Consolidation of Royal Authority 84

Conclusion: An English Model of Colonization in North America 85

Chronology 87



CHAPTER 5 Colonial America in the

Eighteenth Century,

Opening Vignette: Young Benjamin Franklin arrives in Philadelphia 89

A Growing Population and Expanding Economy 91

New England: From Puritan Settlers to Yankee Traders 92

Natural Increase and Land Distribution 92 • Farms, Fish, and Trade 92

The Middle Colonies: Immigrants, Wheat, and Work 94

German and Scots-Irish Immigrants 94 • Pennsylvania: "The Best Poor [White] Man's Country" 95

The Southern Colonies: Land of Slavery 98
The Atlantic Slave Trade and the Growth of
Slavery 98 • Slave Labor and African American
Culture 102 • Tobacco, Rice, and Prosperity 103

Unifying Experiences 104

Commerce and Consumption 104 • Religion, Enlightenment, and Revival 108 • Bonds of Empire 110

The Promise of Technology: The Printing Press 106

Conclusion: The Dual Identity of British North American Colonists 112



CHAPTER 6

The British Empire and the Colonial Crisis, 1754–1775 115

Opening Vignette: Loyalist governor Thomas Hutchinson stands his ground in radical Massachusetts 115

The French and Indian War, 1754–1763 116
French-English Rivalry in the Ohio Valley 116 •
The Albany Congress and Intercolonial Defense
117 • The War and Its Consequences 118

Tightening the Bonds of Empire 121
British Leadership and the Indian Question 121 • Growing Resentment of British Authority 122

The Stamp Act Crisis, 1765 123

Taxation and Consent 123 • Resistance Strategies and Crowd Politics 124 • Liberty and Property 126

The Townshend Acts and Economic Retaliation, 1767–1770 127

The Townshend Duties 127 • Nonconsumption and the Daughters of Liberty 127 • Military Occupation and "Massacre" in Boston 129

The Tea Party and the Coercive Acts, 1770–1774 130

The Calm before the Storm 130 • Tea in Boston Harbor 131 • The Coercive Acts 132 • The First Continental Congress 133

Documenting the American Promise: The Destruction of the Tea 134

Domestic Insurrections, 1774–1775 136 Lexington and Concord 136 • Another Rebellion against Slavery 136

Conclusion: How Far Does Liberty Go? 138

Chronology 139



CHAPTER 7

The War for America, 1775–1783 141

Opening Vignette: Abigail Adams eagerly awaits independence 141

The Second Continental Congress 142
Assuming Political and Military Authority 142 •
Pursuing Both War and Peace 143 • Thomas Paine and the Case for Independence 144

The First Year of War, 1775-1776 147

The American Military Forces 147 • The British Strategy 150 • Quebec, New York, and New Jersey 150

The Promise of Technology: Arming the Soldiers: Muskets and Rifles 148

The Home Front 151

Patriotism at the Local Level 151 • The Loyalists 153 • Who Is a Traitor? 155 • Financial Instability and Corruption 156

The Campaigns of 1777–1779: Highs and Lows 156

Burgoyne's Army and the Battle of Saratoga 156 • The War in Indian Country 158 • The French Alliance 159

The Southern Strategy and the End of the War 159

Georgia and South Carolina 159 • The Other Southern War: Guerrillas 161 • Surrender at Yorktown 162 • The Losers and the Winners 162

Conclusion: Why the British Lost 163