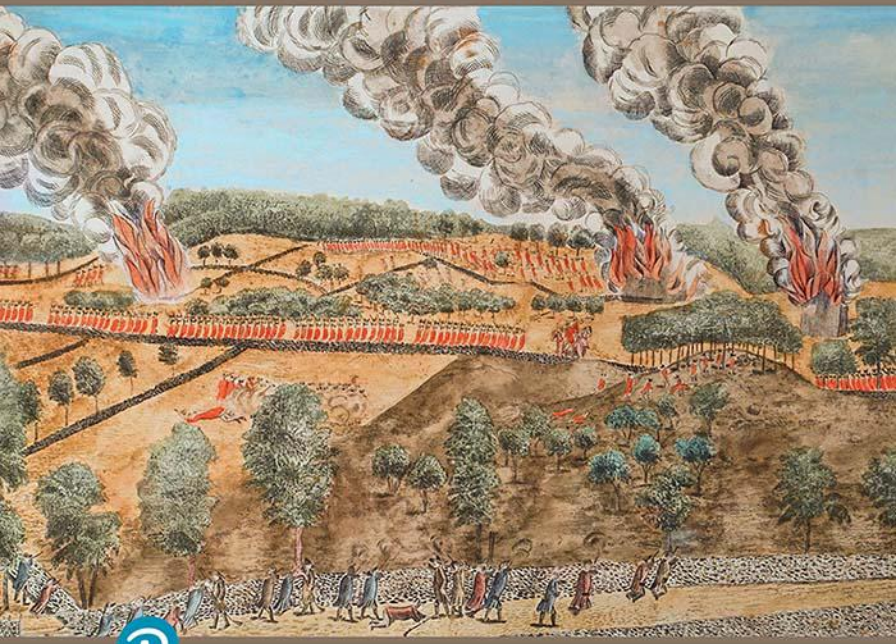
FOURTH EDITION

AMERICAN STORIES

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES • VOLUME 1: TO 1877



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American Stories

A History of the United States

FOURTH EDITION
Volume 1: To 1877

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Detailed Contents

At the end of each chapter, both Charting the Past and Source Collections are only available in the Revel version of American Stories, *Fourth Edition.*

Special Features

Maps

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Tables

Revel™ Videos

The following videos are available in the Revel version of *American Stories*, Fourth Edition:

Chapter 1 Introduction
Artifacts as Evidence: Corncob Salt Jar
Artifacts as Evidence: *Codex Tetlapalco/Codex Saville*
Bill Brands: How to Avoid Getting Sick: Don't Go Near People

Revel™ Source Collection Documents

The following documents are available in the Revel version of *American Stories*, Fourth Edition, at the end of each chapter. They do not appear in the print version of the book.

- Benjamin Franklin on George Whitefield, 1771
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Preface

In This Edition

Teachers familiar with previous editions of *American Stories* will find that this fourth edition expands impressively on its predecessors. The major changes include:

Revel for *American Stories*
Revel™

Revel is an interactive learning environment that deeply engages students and prepares them for class. Media and assessment integrated directly within the authors' narrative lets students read, explore interactive content, and practice in one continuous learning path. Thanks to the dynamic reading experience in Revel, students come to class prepared to discuss, apply, and learn from instructors and from each other.

Learn More about Revel
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Rather than simply offering opportunities to read about and study U.S. history, Revel facilitates deep, engaging interactions with the concepts that matter most. By providing opportunities to improve skills in analyzing and interpreting sources of historical evidence, for example, Revel engages students directly and immediately, which leads to a better understanding of course material. A wealth of student and instructor resources and interactive materials can be found within Revel. Some of our favorites are mentioned in the information that follows.

For more information about all the tools and resources in Revel and access to your own Revel account for *American Stories*, go to www.pearsonhighered.com/revel.

American Stories, 4e, features many of the dynamic interactive elements that make Revel unique. In addition to the rich narrative content, *American Stories* includes the following:

- Engaging Video Program:
  - Chapter opening videos. These videos capture the attention of todays' students and provide a brief introduction to the key themes and content in the chapter.
  - Author guided videos. Videos, featuring author Bill Brands, presented in a friendly and inviting style, provide learners with complementary and compelling content not in the narrative.
  - Artifacts as Evidence videos. Created in partnership with the Smithsonian Institution, these videos focus on a wide range of unique artifacts from the Smithsonian collection, using these artifacts as starting points for explaining and illuminating the American historical experience.
- *Charting the Past* modules combine interactive maps, documents, and images to create in-depth opportunities for students to explore the relationship between geography, demography, and history.
- Key Term Definitions: Key Terms appear in bold and include pop-up definitions inline that allow students to see the meaning of a word or phrase while reading the text, providing context.
- Interactive Maps: Interactive maps throughout the text include a pan/zoom feature and an additional feature that allows students to toggle on and off map details.
- Assessments: Multiple-choice end-of-module and end-of-chapter quizzes test student's knowledge of the chapter content, including dates, concepts, and major events.
- Chapter Review: The Chapter Review—which contains a timeline, Key Term flashcards, an image gallery, video gallery and review questions—is laid out using interactive features that allow students to click on specific topics to learn more or test their knowledge about concepts covered in the chapter.
- Source Collections: An end-of-chapter source collection includes three to five documents relevant to the chapter content. Each document includes header notes, questions, and audio. Students can highlight and make notes on the documents.
- Journal Prompts: Revel is rich in opportunities for writing about topics and concepts and the Journal Prompts included are one way in which students can explore themes presented in the chapter. The ungraded Journal Prompts are included inline with content and can be shared with instructors.
- Shared Writing Prompts: These prompts provide peer-to-peer feedback in a discussion board, developing critical thinking skills and fostering collaboration among a specific class. These prompts appear between modules.
- Essay Prompts: These prompts appear in Pearson's Writing Space and can be assigned and graded by instructors.

ENGAGE STUDENTS AND IMPROVE CRITICAL THINKING

- **Chapter introductory vignettes**
- **Chapter images, maps, and figures** are bigger, visually interesting, and informative. Photographs and pieces of fine art encapsulate emotional and historical meaning. Captions provide valuable information that allows for a fuller understanding of the people who lived the American story.
- **Quick Check Questions** give students the opportunity to review as they read, leading to a more complete understanding of chapter content.

SUPPORT INSTRUCTORS

- **Learning Objective questions** highlight the important issues and themes. Each is linked to one of the chapter's main sections, and they are all emphasized in the chapter overview.

- **Key Terms** throughout the chapters highlight important topics as they are introduced.
- The **thematic timeline** ending each chapter reinforces the essential points of the narrative.

SUPPLEMENTS FOR INSTRUCTORS

Instructor's Resource Center. www.pearsonhighered.com/irc. This website provides instructors with additional text-specific resources that can be downloaded for classroom use. Resources include the Instructor's Resource Manual, PowerPoint presentations, and the Test Bank. Register online for access to the resources for *American Stories*.

Instructor's Resource Manual. Available at the Instructor's Resource Center for download, www.pearsonhighered.com/irc, the Instructor's Resource Manual includes an Introduction to Revel section that walks the user through the Revel product using screen shots that identify and explain the numerous Revel features, detailed chapter overviews, and discussion questions.

Test Bank. Available at the Instructor's Resource Center for download, www.pearsonhighered.com/irc, the Test Bank contains more than 1,700 multiple-choice, and essay test questions.

PowerPoint Presentations. Strong PowerPoint presentations make lectures more engaging for students. Available at the Instructor's Resource Center for download, www.pearsonhighered.com/irc, the PowerPoints contain chapter outlines and full-color images of maps and art. All PowerPoints are ADA compliant

MyTest Test Bank. Available at www.pearsonmytest.com, MyTest is a powerful assessment generation program that helps instructors easily create and print quizzes and exams. Questions and tests can be authored online, allowing instructors ultimate flexibility and the ability to efficiently manage assessments anytime, anywhere! Instructors can easily access existing questions and edit, create, and store using simple drag-and-drop and Word-like controls.

A Note to My Fellow Teachers

H.W. Brands I've been teaching American history for thirty-five years now, and in that time I've noticed something. Our students come to our classrooms with increasingly varied backgrounds. Some students are better prepared, having taken A.P. courses and acquired a solid grounding in historical facts, interpretations, and methods. Other students arrive less well prepared. Many of these are international students; some are students for whom English is a second or third language. Some of these, and some others, simply never took American history in high school.

Different students require different methods of teaching. Students well versed in American history do best with a book that presupposes their preparation and takes them beyond it. Students for whom the subject is new or otherwise challenging are more likely to succeed with a book that focuses on essential themes, and offers features designed to facilitate the learning process. Any textbook can be intimidating, as even my best students have reminded me over the years. For that reason, whatever reduces the intimidation factor can help students succeed.

This is the philosophy behind *American Stories: A History of the United States*. A single purpose has motivated the creation of this book: to enhance the accessibility of American history and thereby increase students' chances of success. This goal is what brought me to the classroom, and it's one I think I share with you. If *American Stories: A History of the United States* contributes to achieving this goal, we all—teachers and students—will be the winners.

The most frequent complaint I get from students regarding history textbooks is that the mass of information is overwhelming. This complaint provided the starting point for *American Stories*, which differs from standard textbooks in two fundamental respects.

First, we reduced the number of topics covered, only retaining the essential elements of the American story. We surveyed over five hundred instructors from across the country to find out what topics were most commonly covered in a typical survey classroom. Once we received the results, we culled the most commonly taught topics and selected them for inclusion in *American Stories*.

Second, we integrated a variety of study aids into the text. These were originally developed with the assistance of Dr. Kathleen T. McWhorter and Debby Kalk. Kathleen is a professor and author with more than 40 years of experience who specializes in developmental reading, writing, composition, and study skills. Debby is an instructional designer and author with more than 20 years of experience producing materials. With the help of both Kathleen and Debby, *American Stories* is the first college-level U.S. history survey completely designed to meet the needs of the instructor and the student.

Beyond this, *American Stories* places great emphasis on a compelling narrative. We—I and my fellow authors—have used significant incidents and episodes to reflect the dilemmas, the choices, and the decisions made by the American people as well as by their leaders. Our story of the American past includes the major events that have shaped the nation. We examine the ways in which the big events influenced the lives of ordinary people. How did the American Revolution alter the fortunes and prospects of men, women, and children around the country? What was it like for blacks and whites to live in a plantation society?

Each chapter begins with a vignette that launches the narrative of that chapter and identifies its themes. Some of the vignettes have special meaning for the authors. The vignette that opens Chapter 26, on the Great Depression of the 1930s, reminds me of the stories my father used to tell about his experiences during that trying decade. His family wasn't nearly as hard hit as many in the 1930; Like Pauline Kael, he was a college student and like her, he saw how hard it was for many of his classmates to stay in school. He himself was always working at odd jobs, trying to make ends meet. Times were hard, yet he learned the value of a dollar—something he impressed on me as I was growing up.

By these means and others, I and my fellow authors have attempted to bring history to life for students. We believe that while history rarely repeats itself, the story of the American past is profoundly relevant to the problems and challenges facing the nation today.

PEDAGOGICAL FEATURES

The pedagogical elements in *American Stories* have been carefully constructed to be accessible to students and to support a better, deeper understanding of U.S. history. These elements fall into two categories, Narrative Pedagogy that appears throughout the main body of each chapter, and Study Resources collected at the ends of chapters.

- **Narrative Pedagogy** Each chapter follows a consistent pedagogy that maximizes student learning. *Foucs Questions* in the chapter openers preview the main idea for each major section and provide a framework for the entire chapter. As a reminder to students, these questions are repeated in the margins after each major section. *Quick Check Questions* follow each subsection for immediate reinforcement. *Key Terms* are highlighted throughout each chapter and are defined in the text's glossary.
- **Study Resources** Each chapter concludes with series of study resources. A chapter *Timeline* surveys the chronology of key events with page references for easy look-up of information. The *Chapter Review* connects back to the Spotlight Questions, providing brief answers that summarize the main points of each section.

A FINAL WORD

My fellow authors and I, with the assistance of the professionals at Pearson, have devoted a great deal of effort to making a textbook of which we are all very proud. Our goal with *American Stories* is to convey our excitement for history to our students in the most accessible manner possible. We've done what we can toward this goal, but we realize that our success depends on you, the classroom instructors. Our job is to make your job easier. All of us—authors and instructors—are in this together. So keep up the good work, and thanks!

A Note to Students: Tips for Studying History

Nearly every semester for many years I have taught an introductory course in American history. Over that time I've come to appreciate the value of devoting the first class session to the fundamentals of studying and learning. Different students have different learning styles, but the experiences of the many students I've taught have convinced me that certain general techniques produce good results.

I always tell students that these techniques aren't the only way to study; they may have their own methods. But I also tell them that these techniques have worked for a lot of students in the past, and might work for them. Here they are:

1. **History is a *story***, not just an assortment of facts. The connections are critical. How do the events and people you are reading or hearing about relate to one another? This is what historians want to know.
   Therefore:
   Find the story line, the plot. Identify the main characters, the turning points. How did the story turn out? Why did it turn out that way and not some other?
2. **Dates matter, but order matters more.** Students often get the idea that history is all about dates. It's not. It's about what caused what (as in a story: see Rule 1 above). Dates are useful only in that they help you remember what happened before what else. This is crucial, because the thing that came first might have caused, or at least influenced, the thing that came later.
   Therefore:
   Concentrate on the order of events. If you do, the dates will fall into place by themselves.
3. **History takes time** —to happen, and to learn. History is a story. But like any richly detailed story, it can take time to absorb.
   Therefore:
   Spread out your studying. If you have three hours of reading to do, do it over three days for an hour a day. If you have a test coming up, give yourself two weeks to study, allocating a half hour each day. You'll learn more easily; you'll retain more. And you'll have a better chance to enjoy the story.
4. **History's stories are both spoken and written.** That's why most classes involve both lectures and readings.
   Therefore:
   Read the assigned materials before the corresponding lectures. It's tempting not to—to let the reading slide. But resist the temptation. Advance reading makes the lectures far more understandable—and far more enjoyable.
5. **Less is more,** at least in note-taking. Not every word in the text or lecture is equally important. The point of notes is to distill a chapter or a lecture into a smaller, more manageable size.
   Therefore:
   Hit the high points. Focus on where the text and lecture overlap. Write down key phrases and words; don't write complete sentences. And if you are using a highlighter on a book, be sparing.
6. **History is a twice-told tale.** History is both what happened and how we've remembered what happened. Think of your first exposure to a particular historical topic as history *happening*, and your second exposure as history *being remembered*. An awareness of both is necessary to making the history stick in your head.
   Therefore:
   Take a rest after reading a chapter or attending a lecture. **Then go back and review**. Your class notes should not be comprehensive (see Rule 5), but as you go back over them, you will remember details that will help you fill out your notes. While you are reviewing a chapter, ask yourself what your notes on the chapter mean, and why you highlighted this particular phrase or that.

To summarize, when approaching a history course:

- **Find the story line.**
- **Concentrate on the order of events.**
- **Spread out your studying.**
- **Read the assignments before the lectures.**
- **Hit the high points in taking notes.**
- **Take a rest, then review.**

A final suggestion: Allow enough time for this course so you aren't rushed. If you give yourself time to get into the story, you'll come to enjoy it. And what you enjoy, you'll remember.

Best wishes,
H. W. Brands

About the Authors

H.W. Brands Henry William Brands was born in Oregon, went to college in California, sold cutlery across the American West, and earned graduate degrees in mathematics and history in Oregon and Texas. He taught at Vanderbilt University and Texas A&M University before joining the faculty at the University of Texas at Austin, where he holds the Jack S. Blanton Sr. Chair in History. He writes on American history and politics, with books including *The General vs. the President, Reagan, The Man Who Saved the Union, Traitor to His Class, Andrew Jackson, The Age of Gold, The First American*, and *TR*. Several of his books have been bestsellers; two, *Traitor to His Class* and *The First American*, were finalists for the Pulitzer Prize. He lectures frequently on historical and current events, and can be seen and heard on national and international television and radio programs. His writings have been translated into Spanish, French, German, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Ukrainian.

T. H. Breen T.H. Breen, currently the William Smith Mason Professor of American History at Northwestern University Emeritus, the James Marsh Professor At-Large at the University of Vermont, and the John Kluge Professor of American Law and Governance at the Library of Congress, received a Ph.D. from Yale University. At Northwestern, he was the founding director of the Kaplan Center for the Humanities and the Chabraja Center for Historical Studies. Breen has published eight books on Early American and Revolutionary History, including, "*Marketplace of Revolution*," "*American Insurgents: American Partriots*," and "*George Washington's Journey: The President Forges a New Nation.*" His writings have won awards from the Historic Preservation Society, Society of Colonial Wars, and Society of the Cincinnati. Several foundations and libraries have supported his research: Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton), Humboldt Foundation, Guggenheim Foundation, National Endowment for the Humanities, Colonial Williamsburg, and Huntington Library. Breen has held appointments at the California Institute of Technology, Chicago University, Yale University, Oxford University, and Cambridge University. He is now completing a study of the American Revolution for Harvard University Press entitled "*An Appeal to Heaven: The American Revolution.*"

Ariela J. Gross Ariela Gross is John B. and Alice R. Sharp Professor of Law and History, and Co-Director of the Center for Law, History and Culture, at the University of Southern California. She has been a visiting Professor at Stanford University, Tel Aviv University, the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, the Université de Paris 8, and Kyoto University. Her book *What Blood Won't Tell: A History of Race on Trial in America* (Harvard University Press, 2008, ppb. 2010), a Choice Outstanding Academic Title for 2009, was awarded the J. Willard Hurst Prize for outstanding scholarship in sociolegal history by the Law and Society Association, the Lillian Smith Book Award for a book that illuminates the people and problems of the South, and the American Political Science Association's award for the best book on race, ethnicity, and politics. Gross is also the author of *Double Character: Slavery and Mastery in the Antebellum Southern Courtroom* (Princeton University Press, 2000; ppb., University of Georgia Press, 2006), and numerous articles and book chapters. She edited a symposium in the February 2017 issue of *Law and History Review on Slavery and The Boundaries of Legality, Past and Present*. Her research has been supported by a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship, an American Council for Learned Societies Collaborative Research Fellowship in 2017-19 and a Frederick J. Burkhardt Fellowship in 2003-04, a Stanford Center for the Advanced Study of the Behavioral Sciences Fellowship, as well as an NEH Long-Term Fellowship at the Huntington Library. She is currently working on a comparative history of law, race, slavery and freedom in the Americas with Alejandro De La Fuente, the Robert Woods Bliss Professor of Latin American History and Economics at Harvard University.

R. Hal Williams R. Hal Williams was professor of history emeritus at Southern Methodist University. He received his A.B. from Princeton University in 1963 and his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1968. His books include *The Democratic Party and California Politics, 1880–1896 (1973); Years of Decision: American Politics in the 1890s (1978); The Manhattan Project: A Documentary Introduction to the Atomic Age (1990)*; and *Realigning America: McKinley, Bryan, and the Remarkable Election of 1896 (2010)*. A specialist in American political history, he taught at Yale University from 1968 to 1975 and came to SMU in 1975 as chair of the Department of History. From 1980 to 1988, he served as dean of Dedman College, the school of humanities and sciences, and then as dean of Research and Graduate Studies. In 1980, he was a visiting professor at University College, Oxford University. Williams has received grants from the American Philosophical Society and the National Endowment for the Humanities, and he has served on the Texas Committee for the Humanities. Mr. Williams passed away in February of 2016.

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Chapter 1

New World Encounters Preconquest–1608

CABEZA DE VACA AND HIS FELLOW SHIPWRECK SURVIVORS
In 1528, a hurricane destroyed a fleet transporting over 300 Spanish soldiers. Later, shipwrecked on the Texas coast, the survivors set out over land for Spain's holdings in Mexico. Eight years later, only Cabeza de Vaca and three companions survived to stumble into the Spanish outpost at Culiacán.

Contents and Focus Questions

Diverse Cultures: Cabeza de Vaca's Journey through Native America

The diversity of Native American peoples astonished the Europeans who first voyaged to the New World. Early sixteenth-century Spanish adventurer Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca offered a sample of this striking diversity in his *La Relacion* (*The Account*). After surviving a failed Spanish expedition to explore Florida in 1527–28, Cabeza de Vaca made his way overland to Texas. During his eight-year trek, Cabeza de Vaca met and lived among Indians belonging to over twenty unique cultures.

The Apalachees of Florida cultivated "great fields of maize" as well as beans and squash. The Indians of southeastern Texas, whom Cabeza de Vaca called "the People of the Figs," did not cultivate the soil. Instead, they relied on fishing and gathering the fruit of the prickly pear cactus, which Cabeza de Vaca called "figs." To harvest this fruit, the "fig" people traveled great distances, trading with other Indians along their journey. On the plains of northern Mexico, Cabeza de Vaca encountered the "People of the Cows," who hunted bison for food and clothing.

Other Europeans echoed Cabeza de Vaca's observations. Throughout the Americas, they encountered rich cultural diversity. Language, physical attributes, social organization, and local foodways separated the Indians of North America into unique nations. Each of these nations, in its own way, would have to come to terms with the arrival of Europeans.

Europeans sailing in the wake of Admiral Christopher Columbus—explorers and conquerors like Cabeza de Vaca—constructed a narrative of superiority that survived long after they passed from the scene. The standard narrative recounted first in Europe and then in the United States depicted heroic adventurers, missionaries, and soldiers sharing Western civilization with the peoples of the New World and opening a vast virgin land to economic development. This familiar tale celebrated material progress, the inevitable spread of European values, and the taming of frontiers. It was a history crafted by the victors and their descendants to explain how they had come to inherit the land.

This narrative of events no longer provides an adequate explanation for European conquest and settlement. It is not so much wrong as self-serving, incomplete, even offensive. History recounted from the perspective of the victors inevitably silences the voices of the victims—the peoples who, in the victors' view, foolishly resisted economic and technological progress. Heroic tales of the advance of Western values only deflect modern attention away from the rich cultural and racial diversity that characterized North American societies for a very long time. More disturbing, traditional tales of European conquest also obscure the sufferings of the millions of Native Americans who perished and the millions of Africans sold in the New World as slaves.

By placing these complex, often unsettling, experiences within an interpretive framework of *creative adaptations*—rather than of *exploration* or *settlement*—we go a long way toward recapturing the full human dimensions of conquest and resistance. While the New World often witnessed tragic violence and systematic betrayal, it allowed ordinary people of three different races and many different ethnic identities opportunities to shape their own lives as best they could within diverse, often hostile environments.

Neither the Native Americans nor the Africans were passive victims of European exploitation. Within their own families and communities, they made choices, sometimes rebelling, sometimes accommodating, but always trying to make sense in terms of their own cultures of what was happening to them.

1.1 Native Americans before the Conquest

What explains cultural differences among Native American groups before European conquest?

As almost any Native American could have informed the first European adventurers, the peopling of America did not begin in 1492. In fact, although the Spanish invaders who followed Columbus proclaimed the discovery of a "New World," they really brought into contact three worlds—Europe, Africa, and the Americas—that had existed for thousands of years. Indeed, the first migrants from Asia reached the North American continent some 15,000–20,000 years ago.

Environmental conditions played a major part in this great human trek. Twenty thousand years ago, during the last Ice Age, the earth's climate was colder than it is today. Huge glaciers, often more than a mile thick, extended as far south as the present states of Illinois and Ohio and covered much of western Canada. Much of the world's moisture was transformed into ice, and the oceans dropped hundreds of feet below their current levels. The receding waters created a land bridge connecting Asia and North America, a region now submerged beneath the Bering Sea that archaeologists named **Beringia**.

Beringia
Land bridge formerly connecting Asia and North America that is now submerged beneath the Bering Sea.

Even at the height of the last Ice Age, much of the far north remained free of glaciers. Small bands of spear-throwing Paleo-Indians pursued giant mammals (megafauna)—woolly mammoths and mastodons, for example—across the vast tundra of Beringia. These hunters were the first human beings to set foot on a vast, uninhabited continent. Because these migrations took place over a long time and involved small, independent bands of highly nomadic people, the Paleo-Indians never developed a sense of common identity. Each group focused on its own immediate survival, adjusting to the opportunities presented by various microenvironments.

The tools and weapons of the Paleo-Indians differed little from those of other Stone Age peoples found in Asia, Africa, and Europe. In terms of human health, however, something occurred on the Beringian tundra that forever altered the history of Native Americans. The members of these small migrating groups stopped hosting a number of communicable diseases—smallpox and measles being the deadliest. Although Native Americans experienced illnesses such as tuberculosis, they no longer suffered the major epidemics that under normal conditions would have killed much of their population every year. The physical isolation of these bands may have protected them from the spread of contagious disease. Another theory notes that epidemics have frequently been associated with prolonged contact with domestic animals such as cattle and pigs. Since the Paleo-Indians did not domesticate animals, not even horses, they may have avoided the microbes that caused virulent European and African diseases.

Whatever the explanation for this curious epidemiological record, Native American populations lost immunities that later might have protected them from many contagious germs. Thus, when they first came into contact with Europeans and Africans, Native Americans had no defense against the great killers of the early modern world. And, as medical researchers have discovered, dislocations resulting from war and famine made the Indians even more vulnerable to infectious disease.

1.1.1 The Environmental Challenge: Food, Climate, and Culture

Some 12,000 years ago, global warming reduced the glaciers, allowing nomadic hunters to pour into the heart of North America (see Map 1.1). Within just a few thousand years, Native Americans had journeyed from Colorado to the southern tip of South America.

MAP 1.1 ROUTES OF THE FIRST AMERICANS

The peopling of North America began about 20,000 years ago, during the last Ice Age, and continued for millennia.

Blessed with a seemingly inexhaustible supply of meat, the early migrants experienced rapid population growth. As archaeologists have discovered, however, the sudden expansion in human population coincided with the loss of scores of large mammal species, many of them the spear-throwers' favorite sources of food: mammoths and mastodons, camels, and, amazingly, horses were eradicated from the land. The peoples of the Great Plains did not obtain horses until the Spanish reintroduced them into the New World in 1547. Some archaeologists have suggested that the early Paleo-Indian hunters were responsible for the mass extinction of so many animals. However, climatic warming, which transformed well-watered regions into arid territories, probably put the large mammals under severe stress. Early humans simply contributed to an ecological process over which they ultimately had little control.

The Indian peoples adjusted to the changing environment. As they dispersed across North America, they developed new food sources—at first, smaller mammals, fish, nuts, and berries; and then about 7,000 years ago, they discovered how to cultivate certain plants. Knowledge of maize (corn), squash, and beans spread north from central Mexico. The peoples living in the Southwest acquired cultivation skills long before the bands living along the Atlantic coast. The shift to basic crops—a transformation that is sometimes termed the **Agricultural Revolution**—profoundly altered Native American societies.

Agricultural Revolution
The gradual shift from hunting and gathering to cultivating basic food crops that occurred worldwide about 7,000 years ago.

The availability of a more reliable store of food helped liberate nomadic groups from the insecurities of hunting and gathering. During this period, Native Americans began to produce ceramics, a valuable technology for storing grain. The harvest made possible permanent villages, which often were governed by clearly defined hierarchies of elders and kings; and as the food supply increased, the population greatly expanded, especially around urban centers in the Southwest and the Mississippi Valley. Although the evidence is patchy, scholars currently estimate that approximately 4 million Native Americans lived north of Mexico when the Europeans arrived.

The vast distances and varied climates of North America gave rise to a great diversity of human cultures employing a wide variety of ingenious strategies for dealing with their unique regional environments (see Map 1.2). Some native peoples were unable to take advantage of the Agricultural Revolution. In the harsh climate of the far north, Inuit living in small autonomous kin-based bands developed watertight vessels called kayaks that allowed them to travel and hunt seals in frigid Arctic waters. Many Indian peoples, like those of the Great Plains, combined agriculture with hunting, living most of the year in permanent villages built along river valleys, with the men dispersing to seasonal hunting camps at certain times. To attract game animals, especially

MAP 1.2 THE FIRST AMERICANS: LOCATIONS OF MAJOR INDIAN GROUPS AND CULTURE AREAS IN THE 1600S

The Native American groups scattered across North America into the 1600s had strikingly diverse cultures.

the buffalo, Plains Indian communities burned the grasslands annually to promote the growth of fresh, green vegetation. Some Native American groups were even more dramatic in their efforts to reshape their natural environment. In the Southwest, in what would become New Mexico, the Anasazi culture built massive pueblo villages and overcame the aridity of their desert home by developing a complex society that could sustain a huge, technologically sophisticated network of irrigation canals.

Quick Check

What was life like for the first humans living in North America, and what role did the Earth's climate play in shaping their experiences?

1.1.2 Mexico's Aztec Empire

As with the Anasazi, the stability the Agricultural Revolution brought allowed the Indians of Mexico and Central America to structure more complex societies. Like the Inca—who lived in what is now Ecuador, Peru, and northern Chile—the Mayan and Toltec peoples of Central Mexico built vast cities, formed government bureaucracies that dominated large tributary populations, and developed hieroglyphic writing and an accurate solar calendar. Their cities, which housed several hundred thousand people, impressed the Spanish conquerors. Bernal Díaz del Castillo reported, "When we saw all those [Aztec] towns and villages built in the water, and other great towns on dry land, and that straight and level causeway leading to Mexico, we were astounded. . . . Indeed, some of our soldiers asked whether it was not all a dream."

Not long before Columbus's first voyage across the Atlantic, the Aztec, an aggressive, warlike people, swept through the Valley of Mexico, conquering the great cities that their enemies had constructed. Aztec warriors ruled by force, reducing defeated rivals to tributary status. In 1519, the Aztecs' main ceremonial center, Tenochtitlán (on the site of modern Mexico City), contained as many as 250,000 people, compared with only 50,000 in Seville, the port from which the early Spanish explorers of the Americas

Quick Check

What most impressed Spanish explorers about Aztec culture?

had sailed. Elaborate human sacrifice associated with Huitzilopochtli, the Aztec sun god, horrified Europeans, who apparently did not find the savagery of their own civilization so objectionable. The Aztec ritual killings were connected to the agricultural cycle, and the Indians believed the blood of their victims possessed extraordinary fertility powers.

1.1.3 Eastern Woodland Cultures

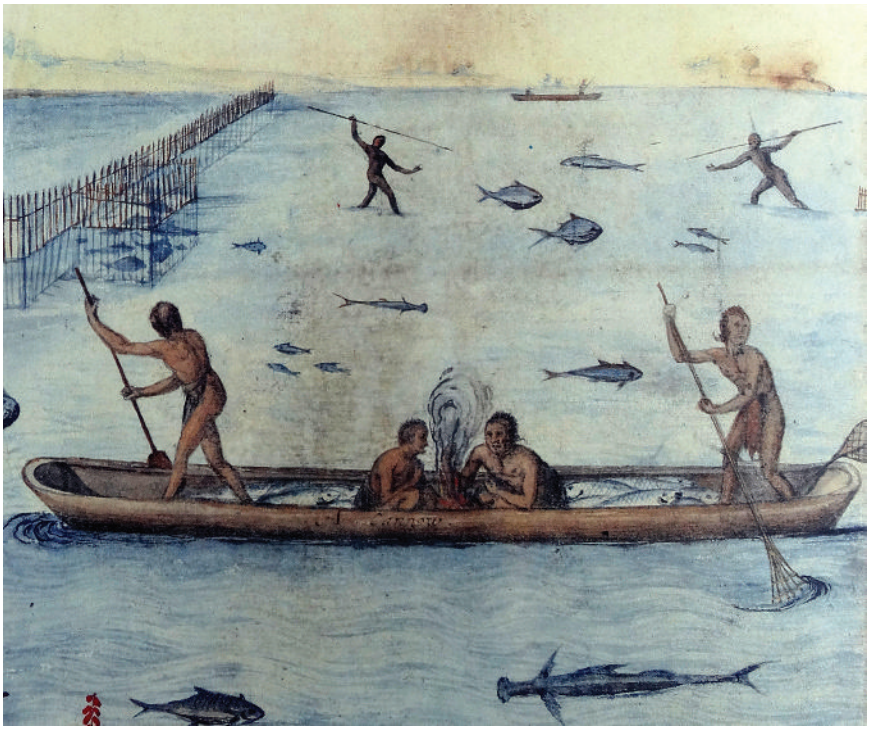
In northeastern North America along the Atlantic coast, the Indians did not practice intensive agriculture. These peoples, numbering less than a million at the time of conquest, generally supplemented farming with seasonal hunting and gathering. Most belonged to what ethnographers term the **Eastern Woodland Cultures**. Small bands formed villages during the summer. The women cultivated maize and other crops, while the men hunted and fished. During the winter, difficulties associated with feeding so many people forced the communities to disperse. Each family lived off the land as best it could.

Eastern Woodland Cultures
Term given to Indians from the Northeast region who lived on the Atlantic coast and supplemented farming with seasonal hunting and gathering.

Seventeenth-century English settlers were most likely to have encountered the Algonquian-speaking peoples who occupied much of the Atlantic coast from North Carolina to Maine. Included in this large linguistic family were the Powhatan of Tidewater, Virginia; the Narragansett of Rhode Island; and the Abenaki of northern New England.

Algonquian groups exploited different resources in different regions and spoke different dialects. They did not develop strong ties of mutual identity. When their own interests were involved, they were more than willing to ally themselves with Europeans or "foreign" Indians against other Algonquian speakers. Divisions among Indian groups would facilitate European conquest. Native American peoples greatly outnumbered the first settlers, and had the Europeans not forged alliances with the Indians, they could not so easily have gained a foothold on the continent.

However divided the Indians of eastern North America may have been, they shared many cultural values and assumptions. Most Native Americans, for example, defined their place in society through kinship. Such personal bonds determined the



ALGONQUIAN FISHERMEN The English artist John White was part of an 1585 expedition to North America. His sketches and drawings offer invaluable insights into Algonquian life.

character of economic and political relations. The farming bands living in areas eventually claimed by England were often matrilineal, which meant in effect that the women owned the fields and houses, maintained tribal customs, and had a role in tribal government. Among the native communities of Canada and the northern Great Lakes, patrilineal forms were more common. In these groups, the men owned the hunting grounds that the family needed to survive.

Eastern Woodland communities organized diplomacy, trade, and war around reciprocal relationships that impressed Europeans as being extraordinarily egalitarian, even democratic. Chains of native authority were loosely structured. Native leaders were such renowned public speakers because persuasive rhetoric was often their only effective source of power. It required considerable oratorical skills for an Indian leader to persuade independent-minded warriors to support a proposed policy.

Before the arrival of the white settlers, Indian wars were seldom very lethal. Young warriors attacked neighboring bands largely to exact revenge for an insult or the death of a relative, or to secure captives. Fatalities, when they did occur, sparked cycles of revenge. Some captives were tortured to death; others were adopted into the community to replace fallen relatives.

Quick Check

How was society structured among the Eastern Woodland Indians before the arrival of Europeans?

1.2 Conditions of Conquest

How did Europeans interact with West Africans and Native Americans during the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries?

Portuguese explorers began venturing south in the fifteenth century, searching for a sea route around the continent of Africa. They hoped establishing direct trading contacts with the civilizations of central and eastern Asia would allow Portuguese merchants to bypass middlemen in the Middle East who had long dominated the trade in luxury goods like silk and spice. Christopher Columbus shared this dream. Sailing under the patronage of Spain, Columbus famously set off toward the west in search of a new route to these eastern markets. Both the Portuguese sailing along the coast of Africa and those sailors who followed Columbus to the Americas encountered a multitude of new and ancient cultures. And all of these cultures—European, African, and Native American—entered an era of tumultuous change as a result of these encounters.

SLAVE FACTORIES Cape Coast Castle was one of many so-called slave factories European traders built on the West African coast.

1.2.1 West Africa: Ancient and Complex Societies

The first Portuguese who explored the African coast during the fifteenth century encountered many different political and religious cultures. Centuries earlier, Africans in this region had come into contact with Islam, the religion the Prophet Muhammad founded in the seventh century. Islam spread slowly from Arabia into West Africa. Not until 1030 A.D. did a kingdom in the Senegal Valley accept Islam. Many other West Africans, such as those in ancient Ghana, continued to observe traditional religions.

As Muslim traders from North Africa and the Middle East brought a new religion to West Africa, they expanded sophisticated trade networks that linked the villagers of Senegambia with urban centers in northwest Africa, Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya. Camel caravans regularly crossed the Sahara carrying goods that were exchanged for gold and slaves. Sub-Saharan Africa's well-developed links with Islam surprised a French priest who in 1686 observed African pilgrims going "to visit Mecca to visit Mahomet's tomb, although they are eleven or twelve hundred leagues distance from it."

West Africans spoke many languages and organized themselves into diverse political systems. Several populous states, sometimes termed "empires," exercised loose control over large areas. Ancient African empires such as Ghana were vulnerable to external attack and internal rebellion, and the oral and written histories of this region record the rise and fall of several large kingdoms. When European traders first arrived, the major states would have included Mali, Benin, and Kongo. Many other Africans lived in what are known as stateless societies, largely autonomous communities organized around lineage structures. In these respects, African and Native American cultures had much in common.

The Portuguese journeyed to Africa in search of gold and slaves. Mali and Joloff officials (see Map 1.3) were willing partners in this commerce but insisted that Europeans respect African trade regulations. They required the Europeans to pay tolls and other fees and restricted the conduct of their business to small forts or castles on the coast. Local merchants acquired slaves and gold in the interior and transported them to the coast, where they exchanged them for European manufactures. Transactions were calculated in local African currencies: A slave would be offered to a European trader for so many bars of iron or ounces of gold.

MAP 1.3 TRADE ROUTES IN AFRICA

This map of African trade routes in the 1600s illustrates the existence of a complex economic system.

European slave traders accepted these terms, largely because they had no other choice. The African states fielded formidable armies, and outsiders soon discovered they could not impose their will on the region simply through force. Moreover, local diseases such as malaria and yellow fever proved so lethal for Europeans—six out of ten of whom would die within a single year's stay in Africa—that they were happy to avoid dangerous trips to the interior. Most slaves were men and women taken captive during wars; others were victims of judicial practices designed specifically to supply the growing American market. By 1650, most West African slaves were destined for the New World rather than the Middle East.

Even before Europeans colonized the New World, the Portuguese were purchasing almost 1,000 slaves a year on the West African coast. The slaves were frequently forced to work on the sugar plantations of Madeira (Portuguese) and the Canaries (Spanish)—Atlantic islands on which Europeans experimented with forms of unfree labor that would later be more fully and ruthlessly established in the American colonies. Approximately 10.7 million Africans were taken to the New World as slaves. The figure for the eighteenth century alone is about 5.5 million, of whom more than one-third came from West Central Africa. The Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra, and the Gold Coast supplied most of the others.

The peopling of the New World is usually seen as a story of European migrations. But in fact, during every year between 1650 and 1831, more Africans than Europeans came to the Americas. As historian Davis Eltis wrote, "In terms of immigration alone . . . America was an extension of Africa rather than Europe until late in the nineteenth century."

1.2.2 Cultural Negotiations in the Americas

The arrival of large numbers of white men and women on the North American continent profoundly altered Native American cultures. Change did not occur at the same rates in all places. Indian villages on the Atlantic coast came under severe pressure almost immediately; inland groups had more time to adjust. Wherever Indians lived, however, conquest strained traditional ways of life, and as daily patterns of experience changed almost beyond recognition, native peoples had to devise new answers, responses, and ways to survive in physical and social environments that eroded tradition.

Native Americans were not passive victims of geopolitical forces beyond their control. As long as they remained healthy, they held their own in the early exchanges, and although they eagerly accepted certain trade goods, they generally resisted other aspects of European cultures. The earliest recorded contacts between Indians and explorers suggest curiosity and surprise rather than hostility.

What Indians desired most was peaceful trade. The earliest French explorers reported that natives waved from shore, urging the Europeans to exchange metal items for beaver skins. In fact, the Indians did not perceive themselves at a disadvantage in these dealings. They could readily see the technological advantage of guns over bows and arrows. Metal knives made daily tasks much easier. And to acquire such goods they gave up pelts, which to them seemed in abundant supply. "The English have no sense," one Indian informed a French priest. "They give us twenty knives like this for one Beaver skin." Another native announced that "the Beaver does everything perfectly well: it makes kettles, hatchets, swords, knives, bread . . . in short, it makes everything." The man who recorded these observations reminded French readers—in case they had missed the point—that the Indian was "making sport of us Europeans."

Trading sessions along the eastern frontier were really cultural seminars. The Europeans tried to make sense out of Indian customs, and although they may have called the natives "savages," they quickly discovered that the Indians drove hard bargains. They demanded gifts; they set the time and place of trade.

Communicating with the Indians was always difficult for the Europeans, who did not understand the alien sounds and gestures of the Native American cultures. In the

absence of meaningful conversation, Europeans often concluded that the Indians held them in high regard, and perhaps even saw them as gods. Such one-sided encounters involved a lot of projection, a mental process of translating alien sounds and gestures into what Europeans wanted to hear. Sometimes the adventurers did not even try to communicate with the Indians, assuming from superficial observation—as did the sixteenth-century explorer Giovanni da Verrazzano—"that they have no religion, and that they live in absolute freedom, and that everything they do proceeds from Ignorance."

Ethnocentric Europeans tried repeatedly to "civilize" the Indians. In practice that meant persuading natives to dress like the colonists, attend white schools, live in permanent structures, and, most important, accept Christianity. The Indians listened more or less patiently, but in the end, they usually rejected European values. One South Carolina trader explained that when Indians were asked to become more English, they said no, "for they thought it hard, that we should desire them to change their manners and customs, since they did not desire us to turn Indians."

Some Indians were attracted to Christianity, but most paid it lip service or found it irrelevant to their needs. As one Huron told a French priest, "It would be useless for me to repent having sinned, seeing that I never have sinned." Another Huron announced that he did not fear punishment after death since "we cannot tell whether everything that appears faulty to Men, is so in the Eyes of God."

Among some Indian groups, gender figured significantly in a person's willingness to convert to Christianity. Native men who traded animal skins for European goods had more frequent contact with the whites and proved more receptive to the missionaries' arguments. But native women jealously guarded traditional culture, a system that often sanctioned polygamy—a husband having several wives—and gave women substantial authority over the distribution of food within the village.

The white settlers' educational system proved no more successful than their religion in winning cultural converts. Young Indians deserted stuffy classrooms at the first opportunity. In 1744, Virginia offered several Iroquois boys a free education at the College of William and Mary. The Iroquois leaders rejected the invitation because they found that boys who had gone to college "were absolutely good for nothing being neither acquainted with the true methods of killing deer, catching beaver, or surprising an enemy."

Even matrimony seldom eroded the Indians' attachment to their own customs. When Native Americans and whites married—unions the English found less desirable than did the French or Spanish—the European partner usually elected to live among the Indians. Impatient settlers who regarded the Indians simply as an obstruction to progress sometimes developed more coercive methods, such as enslavement, to achieve cultural conversion. Again, from the white perspective, the results were disappointing. Indian slaves ran away or died. In either case, they did not become Europeans.

Quick Check

Why did Europeans insist on trying to "civilize" the Indians?

1.2.3 Columbian Exchange: Plants, Animals, and Disease

Over time, cooperative encounters between the Native Americans and Europeans became less frequent. The Europeans found it almost impossible to understand the Indians' relation to the land and other natural resources. English planters cleared the forests and fenced the fields and, in the process, radically altered the ecological systems on which the Indians depended. The European system of land use inevitably reduced the supply of deer and other animals essential to traditional native cultures.

Dependency also came in more subtle forms. The Indians welcomed European commerce, but like so many consumers throughout history, they discovered that the objects they most coveted inevitably brought them into debt. To pay for the trade goods, the Indians hunted more aggressively and even further reduced the population of fur-bearing mammals.

TABLE 1.1 NEW OPPORTUNITIES, NEW THREATS: THE COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE

From the Americas to Eurasia and Africa
maize, potatoes, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, cinchona tree (the source of quinine), many types of beans, pineapples, blueberries, papayas, pecans, tobacco, cacao (the source of chocolate), vanilla, peanuts, peppers, cassava, squash, avocadoes, sunflowers, turkeys, and (maybe) syphilis
From Eurasia and Africa to the Americas
cereals (wheat, rice, barley, etc.), sugar, bananas, coconuts, orchard trees (apples, oranges, lemons, etc.), olives, wine grapes, coffee, lettuces, black pepper, livestock (horses, sheep, swine, cattle, goats, chickens, etc.), honey bees, many epidemic diseases (smallpox, influenza, chicken pox, etc.)

Commerce eroded Indian independence in other ways. After several disastrous wars—the Yamasee War in South Carolina (1715), for example—the natives learned that demonstrations of force usually resulted in the suspension of normal trade, on which the Indians had grown dependent for guns and ammunition, among other things. A hardened English businessman made the point bluntly. When asked if the Catawba Indians would harm his traders, he responded that "the danger would be . . . little from them, because they are too fond of our trade to lose it for the pleasure of shedding a little English blood."

It was disease, however, that ultimately destroyed the cultural integrity of many North American tribes. European adventurers exposed the Indians to bacteria and viruses against which they possessed no natural immunity. Smallpox, measles, and influenza decimated the Native American population. Other diseases such as alcoholism took a terrible toll.

The decimation of Native American peoples was an aspect of ecological transformation known as the **Columbian Exchange**. European conquerors exposed the Indians to new fatal diseases; the Indians adopted European plants and domestic animals and introduced the invaders to marvelous plants such as corn and potatoes that changed European history (see Table 1.1).

Columbian Exchange
The exchange of plants, animals, and diseases between Europe and the Americas from first contact throughout the era of exploration.

The Algonquian communities of New England experienced appalling death rates. One Massachusetts colonist reported in 1630 that the Indian peoples of his region "above twelve years since were swept away by a great & grievous Plague . . . so that there are verie few left to inhabite the Country." Settlers possessed no knowledge of germ theory—it was not formulated until the mid-nineteenth century—and speculated that the Christian God had providentially cleared the wilderness of heathens.

Historical demographers now estimate that some tribes suffered a 90- to 95-percent population loss within the first century of European contact. The population of the Arawak Indians of the island of Hispaniola (modern Haiti and the Dominican Republic), for example, dropped from about 3,770,000 in 1496 to only 125 in 1570. The death of so many Indians decreased the supply of indigenous laborers, whom the Europeans needed to work the mines and grow staple crops such as sugar and tobacco. The decimation of native populations may have persuaded colonists throughout the New World to seek a substitute labor force in Africa. Indeed, the enslavement of blacks has been described as an effort by Europeans to "repopulate" the New World.

Indians who survived the epidemics often found that the fabric of traditional culture had come unraveled. The enormity of the death toll and the agony that accompanied it called traditional religious beliefs and practices into question. The survivors lost not only members of their families, but also elders who might have told them how to bury the dead properly and give spiritual comfort to the living.

Some native peoples, such as the Iroquois, who lived a long way from the coast and thus had more time to adjust to the challenge, withstood the crisis better than did those who immediately confronted the Europeans and Africans. Refugee Indians from the hardest-hit eastern communities were absorbed into healthier western groups. However horrific the crisis may have been, it demonstrated just how much the environment—a source of opportunity as well as devastation—shaped human encounters throughout the New World.

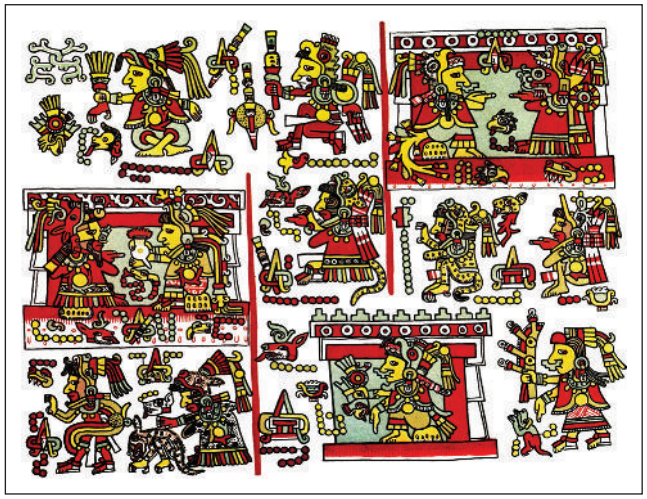
Quick Check

What effect did the introduction of Old World diseases such as smallpox have on Native American societies and cultures?

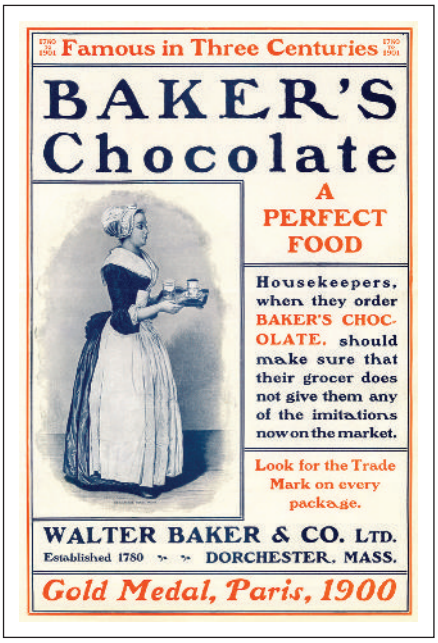
1.2.4 Past and Present

NEW WORLD EXPLORATION AND THE MODERN AMERICAN DIET

New Englanders credited Scotch-Irish migrants in 1719 with introducing the potato into British America. At the time, no one commented on the irony of the situation. The potato already had a long history in the New World, having been cultivated for at least 8000 years by the Inca in Peru. During the late 16th-century fishermen carried the plant to Ireland, where it quickly became a staple of the regional diet. The potato was only one of the many vegetables transferred from the New World to Europe. The extraordinary list includes chocolate, chili peppers, tomatoes, squash, peanuts, many beans, and perhaps most important for countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea, maize (corn). This vast transformation of food cultures is known as "The Columbian Exchange." Within a relative short time after the return of Christopher Columbus to Spain, the American crops spread across Europe. Today, it is hard to imagine an Irish meal without potatoes or an Italian dish that does not include tomatoes. These vegetables not only were tasty, but also provided valuable new sources of caloric energy in the form of starches that may have allowed marginal European food producers to leave the farms, move to cities, and participate as laborers in another great transformation—the Industrial Revolution.



AZTEC CHOCOLATE Chocolate played an important role in Aztec religious life, as reflected in this Aztec codex.



BAKER'S CHOCOLATE As a result of the Columbian exchange, chocolate became a global product, made and consumed around the world.

1.3 Europe on the Eve of Conquest

What factors explain Spain's early dominance in New World exploration and colonization?

In the tenth century, Scandinavian seafarers known as Norsemen or Vikings established settlements in the New World, but almost 1,000 years passed before they received credit for their accomplishment. In 984, a band of Vikings led by Eric the Red sailed west from Iceland to a large island in the North Atlantic. Eric, who possessed a fine sense of public relations, named the island Greenland, reasoning that others would more willingly colonize the icebound region "if the country had a good name." A few years later, Eric's son Leif Ericson founded a small settlement he named Vinland at a location in northern Newfoundland now called L'Anse aux Meadows. At the time, the Norse voyages went unnoticed by other Europeans. The hostility of Native Americans, poor lines of communication, climatic cooling, and political upheavals in Scandinavia made it impossible to maintain these distant outposts.

COLUMBUS Cristoforo Colombo, better known to Americans as Christopher Columbus, was a fifteenth-century sailor from Genoa. Dreaming of reaching the rich markets of Asia by sailing west from Europe, he instead stumbled upon the islands of the Caribbean Sea. In doing so, he ushered in a new age of sustained contact between the peoples of the Americas and the peoples of Europe, Africa, and Asia.

At the time of his first voyage in 1492, Christopher Columbus seems to have been unaware of these earlier exploits. His expeditions had to wait for a different political climate in Europe in which a newly united Spain took the lead in New World conquest.

1.3.1 Spanish Expansion

By 1500, centralization of political authority and advances in geographic knowledge were making Spain a formidable world power. In the early fifteenth century, though, Spain consisted of several autonomous kingdoms. It lacked rich natural resources and possessed few good seaports. In fact, little about this land suggested its people would take the lead in conquering and colonizing the New World.

By the end of the 1400s, however, Spain suddenly came alive with creative energy. The marriage of Spain's two principal Christian rulers, King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile, sparked a drive for political consolidation that, because of the monarchs' fervid Catholicism, took on the characteristics of a religious crusade. Spurred by the militant faith of their monarchs, the armies of Castile and Aragon waged holy war—known as the *Reconquista*—against the kingdom of Granada, the last independent Muslim state in Spain. In 1492, Granada fell, and, for the first time in seven centuries, the entire Iberian Peninsula was under Christian rulers. Spanish authorities showed no tolerance for people who rejected the Catholic faith.

During the *Reconquista*, thousands of Jews and Moors (Spanish Muslims) were driven from the country. Indeed, Columbus undoubtedly encountered such refugees as he was preparing for his famous voyage. From this volatile social and political environment came the ***conquistadores***, men eager for personal glory and material gain, uncompromising in religion, and loyal to the crown. They were prepared to employ fire

conquistadores Sixteenth-century Spanish adventurers, often of noble birth, who subdued the Native Americans and created the Spanish empire in the New World.

and sword in any cause sanctioned by God and king, and these adventurers carried European culture to the most populous regions of the New World.

Long before Spaniards ever reached the West Indies, they conquered the indigenous peoples of the Canary Islands, a strategically located archipelago in the eastern Atlantic. The harsh labor systems the Spanish developed in the Canaries served as models of subjugation in America. An early fifteenth-century Spanish chronicle described the Canary natives as "miscreants . . . [who] do not acknowledge their creator and live in part like beasts." Many islanders died of disease; others were killed in battle or enslaved. The new Spanish landholders introduced sugar, a labor-intensive plantation crop. They forced slaves captured in Africa to provide the labor. Dreams of wealth drove this oppressive process. Through the centuries, European colonists would repeat it many times.

Quick Check

Who were the conquistadores, and what were their motivations in the Americas?

1.3.2 Christopher Columbus: Journeys to a "New World"

If it had not been for Christopher Columbus (Cristoforo Colombo), Spain might never have gained an American empire. Little is known about his early life. Born in the Italian city of Genoa in 1451 of humble parentage, Columbus soon devoured the classical learning that had so recently been rediscovered and made available in print. He mastered geography, and—perhaps while sailing the coast of West Africa—he became obsessed with the idea of voyaging west across the Atlantic Ocean to reach Cathay, as China was then known to Europeans.

In 1484, Columbus presented his plan to the king of Portugal. However, while the Portuguese were just as interested as Columbus in reaching Cathay, they elected to voyage around the continent of Africa instead of following the route Columbus suggested. They suspected that Columbus had underestimated the circumference of the earth and that he would starve before reaching Asia. The Portuguese decision eventually paid off handsomely. In 1498, one of their captains, Vasco da Gama, returned from India with a fortune in spices and other luxury goods.

Undaunted by rejection, Columbus petitioned Isabella and Ferdinand for financial backing. They were initially no more interested in his grand design than the Portuguese had been. But time was on Columbus's side. Spain's aggressive new monarchs envied the success of their neighbor, Portugal. Columbus played on the rivalry between the countries, talking of wealth and empire. Indeed, for a person with little success or apparent support, he was supremely confident. One contemporary reported that when Columbus "made up his mind, he was as sure he would discover what he did discover, and find what he did find, as if he held it in a chamber under lock and key."

Columbus's persistent lobbying for the "Enterprise of the Indies" wore down opposition in the Spanish court, and the two sovereigns provided him with a small fleet of three ships: the *Niña*, the *Pinta*, and the *Santa Maria*. The indomitable admiral set sail for Cathay in August 1492, the same year that Grenada fell.

Educated Europeans of the fifteenth century knew the world was round. No one seriously believed that Columbus and his crew would tumble off the edge of the earth. The concern was with size, not shape. Columbus estimated the distance to the mainland of Asia to be about 3,000 nautical miles, a voyage his small ships would have no difficulty completing. The actual distance is 10,600 nautical miles, however, and had the New World not been in his way, he and his crew would have run out of food and water long before they reached China, as the Portuguese had predicted.

After stopping in the Canary Islands to refit the ships, Columbus continued westward in early September. When the tiny Spanish fleet sighted an island in the Bahamas after only 33 days at sea, the admiral concluded he had reached Asia. Since his mathematical calculations had obviously been correct, he assumed he would soon encounter

the Chinese. It never occurred to Columbus that he had stumbled upon a new world unknown to Europeans. He assured his men, his patrons, and perhaps himself that the islands were indeed part of the fabled Indies. Or, if not the Indies themselves, then they were surely an extension of the great Asian landmass. He searched for the splendid cities Marco Polo had described in his accounts of China in the thirteenth century, but instead of wealthy Chinese, Columbus encountered Native Americans, whom he appropriately, if mistakenly, called "Indians." Columbus and the Spanish who followed treated these American Indians as lesser beings as well as heathens, a perception they used to justify seizing indigenous land and reducing natives to vassalage or slavery.

After his first voyage of discovery, Columbus returned to the Caribbean three more times. But despite his courage and ingenuity, he could never find the treasure his financial supporters in Spain demanded. Columbus died in 1506 a frustrated but wealthy entrepreneur, unaware that he had reached a previously unknown continent separating Asia from Europe. The final disgrace came in December 1500 when an ambitious falsifier, Amerigo Vespucci, published a sensational account of his travels across the Atlantic that convinced German mapmakers he had proved America was distinct from Asia. Before the misconception could be corrected, the name *America* gained general acceptance throughout Europe.

Quick Check

What did educated Europeans believe about the shape and size of the earth prior to 1492?

1.4 Spain in the Americas

How did Spanish conquest of Central and South America transform Native American cultures?

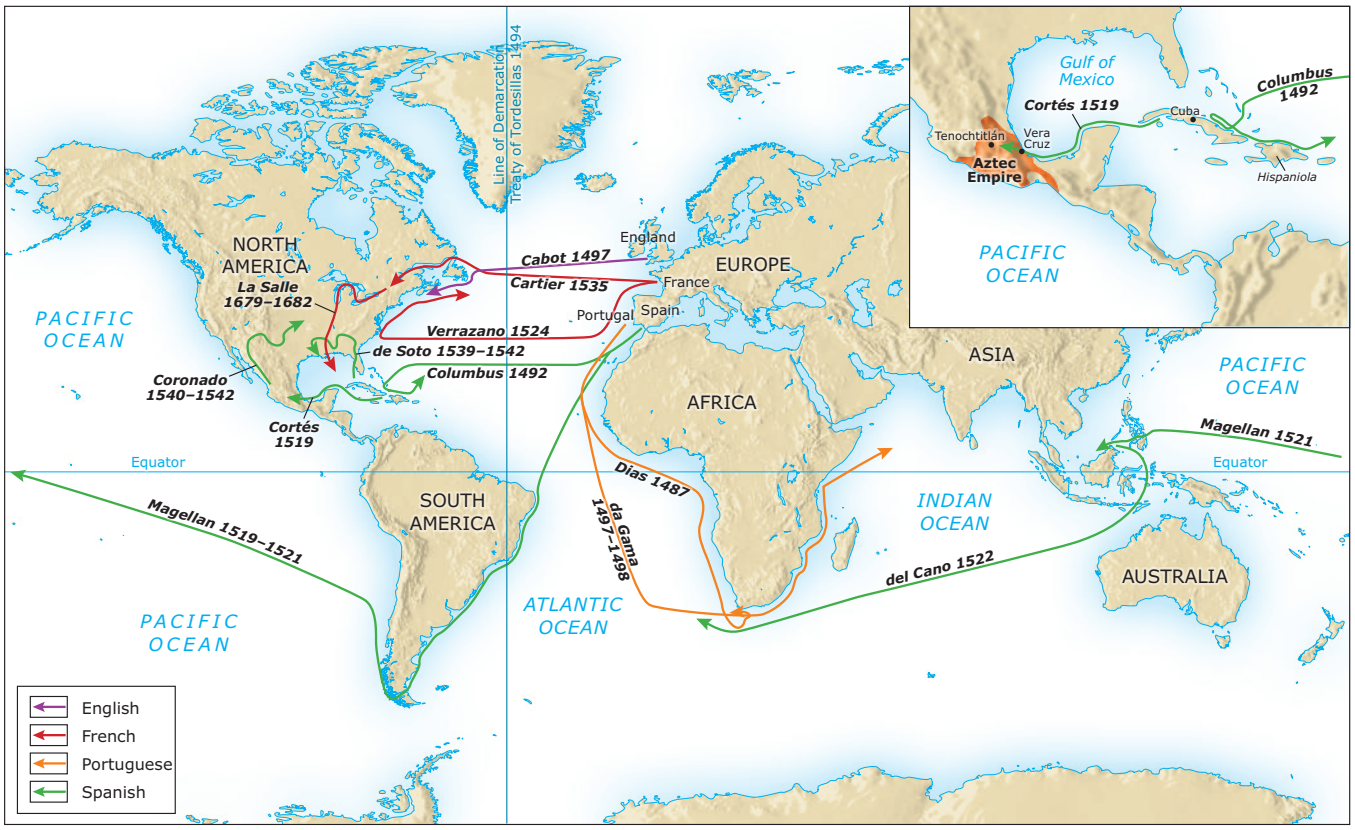
Only two years after Columbus's first voyage, Spain and Portugal almost went to war over the anticipated treasure of Asia. Pope Alexander VI negotiated a settlement that pleased both kingdoms. Portugal wanted to exclude the Spanish from the west coast of Africa and, what was more important, from Columbus's new route to "India." Spain insisted on maintaining complete control over lands discovered by Columbus, which were still regarded as extensions of China. The **Treaty of Tordesillas** (1494) divided the entire world along a line located 270 leagues west of the Azores. Any lands discovered west of the line belonged to Spain. At the time, no European had ever seen Brazil, which turned out to be on Portugal's side of the line. (Brazilians speak Portuguese.) The treaty failed to discourage future English, Dutch, and French adventurers from trying their luck in the New World.

Treaty of Tordesillas
Spain and Portugal signed this treaty in 1494. The treaty formally recognized a bull issued by Pope Alexander VI the previous year that had divided all newly discovered lands outside of Europe between these two Catholic nations.

1.4.1 The Conquistadores: Faith and Greed

Spain's new discoveries unleashed a horde of conquistadores on the Caribbean. These independent adventurers carved out small settlements on Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico in the 1490s and early 1500s. They were not interested in creating a permanent society in the New World. Rather, they came for instant wealth, preferably in gold, and were not squeamish about the means they used to get it. Bernal Díaz, one of the first Spaniards to migrate to the region, explained he had traveled to America "to serve God and His Majesty, to give light to those who were in darkness, and to grow rich, as all men desire to do." In less than two decades, the Indians who had inhabited the Caribbean islands had been exterminated, victims of exploitation and disease.

For a quarter century, the conquistadores concentrated their energies on the major islands that Columbus had discovered. Rumors of fabulous wealth in Mexico, however, aroused the interest of many Spaniards, including Hernán Cortés, a minor government functionary in Cuba. Like so many members of his class, he dreamed of glory, military adventure, and riches that would transform him from an ambitious court



MAP 1.4 VOYAGES OF EUROPEAN EXPLORATION

New World discovery sparked intense competition among the major European states.

clerk into an honored nobleman, or *hidalgo*. On November 18, 1518, Cortés and a small army left Cuba to verify the stories of Mexico's treasure. Events soon demonstrated that Cortés was a leader of extraordinary ability.

His adversary was the legendary Aztec emperor Montezuma. The confrontation between the two powerful personalities is one of the more dramatic stories of early American history. A fear of competition from rival conquistadores coupled with a burning desire to conquer a new empire drove Cortés forward. Determined to push his men through any obstacle, he burned the ships that had carried them to Mexico to prevent them from retreating. Cortés led his 600 followers across rugged mountains and gathered allies from among the Tlaxcalans, a tributary people eager to free themselves from Aztec domination.

In war, Cortés possessed obvious technological superiority over the Aztecs. The sound of gunfire initially frightened the Indians. Moreover, Aztec troops had never seen horses, much less armored horses carrying sword-wielding Spaniards. But these elements would have counted for little had Cortés not also gained a psychological advantage over his opponents. At first, Montezuma thought that the Spaniards might be representatives of the fearful plumed serpent god, Quetzalcoatl. Instead of resisting, the emperor hesitated. When Montezuma's resolve hardened, it was too late. Cortés's victory in Mexico, coupled with other conquests in South America, transformed Spain, at least temporarily, into the wealthiest state in Europe (see Map 1.4).

Quick Check

How did Cortés and his small band of Spanish soldiers manage to conquer the Aztec Empire?

1.4.2 From Plunder to Settlement

With the conquest of Mexico, renamed New Spain, the Spanish crown confronted a difficult problem. Ambitious conquistadores, interested chiefly in their own wealth and glory, had to be brought under royal authority. Adventurers like Cortés were

stubbornly independent, quick to take offense, and thousands of miles away from the seat of imperial government.

The crown found a partial solution in the ***encomienda* system**. The monarch rewarded the leaders of the conquest with Indian villages. The people who lived in the settlements provided the *encomenderos* with labor tribute in exchange for legal protection and religious guidance. The system, of course, cruelly exploited Indian laborers. One historian concluded, "The first *encomenderos*, without known exception, understood Spanish authority as provision for unlimited personal opportunism." Cortés alone was granted the services of more than 23,000 Indian workers. The *encomienda* system made the colonizers more dependent on the king, for it was he who legitimized their title. The new economic structure helped to transform "a frontier of plunder into a frontier of settlement."

***encomienda* system**
An exploitative system by Spanish rulers that granted conquistadores control of Native American villages and their inhabitants' labor.

Spain's rulers attempted to maintain tight control over their American possessions. The volume of correspondence between the two continents, much of it concerning mundane matters, was staggering. All documents were duplicated several times by hand. Because the trip to Madrid took months, a year often passed before a simple request was answered. But somehow the cumbersome system worked. In Mexico, officials appointed in Spain established a rigid hierarchical order, directing the affairs of the countryside from urban centers.

The Spanish also brought Catholicism to the New World. The Dominicans and Franciscans, the two largest religious orders, established Indian missions throughout New Spain. Some friars tried to protect the Native Americans from the worst exploitation. One courageous Dominican, Fra Bartolomé de las Casas, published an eloquent defense of Indian rights, *Historia de las Indias*, which questioned the legitimacy of European conquest of the New World. Las Casas's work provoked heated debate in Spain and initiated reforms designed to bring greater "love and moderation" to Spanish–Indian relations. It is impossible to ascertain how many converts the friars made. In 1531, however, a newly converted Christian Indian reported a vision of the Virgin Mary, a dark-skinned woman of obvious Indian ancestry, who became known throughout the region as the **Virgin of Guadalupe**. This figure—the result of

Virgin of Guadalupe
Apparition of the Virgin Mary that has become a symbol of Mexican nationalism.

INDIAN SLAVES In 1595, Theodore de Bry depicted the harsh Spanish labor discipline on a sugar plantation on the Island of Hispaniola.

a creative blending of Indian and European cultures—became a powerful symbol of Mexican nationalism in the wars for independence fought against Spain almost three centuries later.

About 250,000 Spaniards migrated to the New World during the sixteenth century. Another 200,000 made the journey between 1600 and 1650. Most colonists were single males in their late twenties seeking economic opportunities. They generally came from the poorest agricultural regions of southern Spain—almost 40 percent migrating from Andalusia. Since so few Spanish women migrated, especially in the sixteenth century, the men often married Indians and blacks, unions that produced mixed-race descendents known as *mestizos* and *mulattos*. The frequency of interracial marriage indicated that the people of New Spain were more tolerant of racial differences than were the English who settled in North America. For the people of New Spain, economic worth affected social standing as much if not more than skin color did. Persons born in the New World, even those of Spanish parentage (*criollos*), were regarded as socially inferior to natives of the mother country (*peninsulares*).

THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE The Virgin of Guadalupe, depicted here in a 1531 representation, is a popular religious symbol of Mexico. Like the Indian Juan Diego, to whom she is said to have appeared and offered comfort, the Virgin is dark skinned.

Spain claimed far more of the New World than it could manage. Spain's rulers regarded the American colonies primarily as a source of precious metals, and between 1500 and 1650, an estimated 200 tons of gold and 16,000 tons of silver were shipped back to the Spanish treasury in Madrid. This great wealth, however, proved a mixed blessing. The sudden acquisition of so much money stimulated a horrendous inflation that hurt ordinary Spaniards. They were hurt further by long, debilitating European wars funded by American gold and silver. Moreover, instead of developing its own industry, Spain became dependent on the annual shipment of bullion from America. In 1603, one insightful Spaniard declared, "The New World conquered by you, has conquered you in its turn." This weakened, although still formidable, empire would eventually extend its territorial claims north to California and the Southwest (see Chapter 4).

Quick Check

Describe the character of Spanish–Indian relations following the conquest of Mexico.

1.5 The French Claim Canada

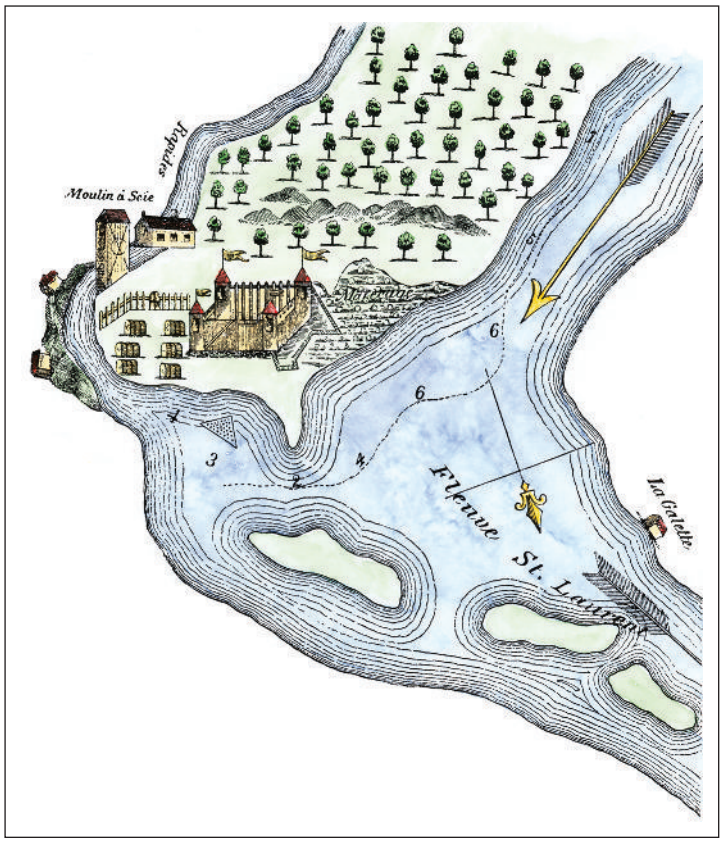
What was the character of the French empire in Canada?

French interest in the New World developed slowly. More than three decades after Columbus's discovery, King Francis I sponsored the unsuccessful efforts of Giovanni da Verrazzano to find a short water route to China via a northwest passage around or through North America. In 1534, the king sent Jacques Cartier on a similar quest. The rocky, barren coast of Labrador depressed the explorer. He grumbled, "I am rather inclined to believe that this is the land God gave to Cain."

coureurs de bois
Fur trappers in French Canada who lived among the Native Americans.

Discovery of a large, promising waterway the following year raised Cartier's spirits. He reconnoitered the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, traveling up the magnificent river as far as modern Montreal. But Cartier got no closer to China, and, discouraged by the harsh winters, he headed home in 1542. Not until 65 years later did Samuel de Champlain resettle this region for France. He founded Quebec in 1608.

MONTREAL In 1611, Samuel de Champlain established a fur trading post on the island of Montreal. The fur trade would become central to the econoomy of New France.



As with other colonial powers, the French declared they had migrated to the New World in search of wealth and to convert the Indians to Christianity. As it turned out, these economic and spiritual goals required full cooperation between the French and the Native Americans. In contrast to the English settlers, who established independent farms and regarded the Indians at best as obstacles to civilization, the French viewed the natives as necessary economic partners. Furs were Canada's most valuable export, and to obtain the pelts of beavers and other animals, the French were absolutely dependent on Indian hunters and trappers. French traders lived among the Indians, often taking native wives and studying local cultures.

Frenchmen known as ***coureurs de bois***, following Canada's great river networks, paddled deep into the heart of the continent for fresh sources of furs. Some intrepid traders penetrated beyond the Great Lakes into the Mississippi Valley. In 1673, Père Jacques Marquette journeyed down the Mississippi River, and nine years later, Sieur Robert de La Salle reached the Gulf of Mexico. In the early eighteenth century, the French established small settlements in Louisiana, the most important being New Orleans. The spreading French influence worried English colonists living

along the Atlantic coast, for the French seemed to be cutting them off from the trans-Appalachian west.

Catholic missionaries also depended on Indian cooperation. Canadian priests were drawn from two orders, the Jesuits and the Recollects, and although measuring their success in the New World is difficult, it seems they converted more Indians than did their English Protestant counterparts to the south. Like the fur traders, the missionaries lived among the Indians and learned their languages.

The French dream of a vast American empire suffered from serious flaws. The crown remained largely indifferent to Canadian affairs. Royal officials in New France received limited and sporadic support from Paris. An even greater problem was the decision to settle what many peasants and artisans considered a cold, inhospitable land. Throughout the colonial period, Canada's European population remained small. A census of 1663 recorded only 3,035 French residents. By 1700, there were only 15,000. Men far outnumbered women, thus making it hard for settlers to form new families. Moreover, because of the colony's geography, all exports and imports had to go through Quebec. It was relatively easy, therefore, for crown officials to control that traffic, usually by awarding fur-trading monopolies to court favorites. Such practices created political tensions and hindered economic growth.

1.6 The English Take Up the Challenge

Why did England not participate in the early competition for New World colonies?

The first English visit to North America remains shrouded in mystery. Fishermen working out of Bristol and other western English ports may have landed in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland as early as the 1480s. The huge stock of codfish of the Grand Banks undoubtedly drew vessels of many nations, and during summers sailors probably dried and salted their catches on Canada's convenient shores. John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto), a Venetian sea captain, completed the first recorded transatlantic voyage by an English vessel in 1497, while attempting to find a northwest passage to Asia.

Cabot died during a second voyage in 1498. Although Sebastian Cabot continued his father's explorations in the Hudson Bay region in 1508–1509, England's interest in the New World waned. For the next three-quarters of a century, the English people were preoccupied with more pressing domestic and religious concerns. When curiosity about the New World revived, however, Cabot's voyages established England's belated claim to American territory.

1.6.1 Birth of English Protestantism

At the time of Cabot's death, England was not prepared to compete with Spain and Portugal for the riches of eastern Asia. Although Henry VII, the first Tudor monarch, brought peace to England in 1485 after a bitter civil war, the country still contained too many "over-mighty subjects," powerful local magnates who maintained armed retainers and often paid little attention to royal authority. Henry possessed no standing army; his small navy intimidated no one. The Tudors gave nominal allegiance to the pope in Rome, but unlike the rulers of Spain, they were not crusaders for Catholicism.

International diplomacy also worked against England's early entry into New World colonization. In 1509, to cement an alliance between Spain and England, the future Henry VIII married Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. As a result of this marital arrangement, English merchants enjoyed limited rights to trade in Spain's American colonies, but any attempt by England at independent colonization would have threatened those rights and jeopardized the alliance.

HENRY SEIZES THE THRONE King Henry VII's seizure of the throne of England in 1485 brought an end to a series of civil wars that had torn England apart for almost 30 years. Along with bringing stability to the kingdom, Henry VII also established England's first claims to the Americas by sponsoring the explorations of Captain John Cabot.

By the end of the sixteenth century, however, conditions within England had changed dramatically, in part because of the **Protestant Reformation**. The English began to consider their former ally, Spain, to be the greatest threat to English aspirations. Tudor monarchs, especially Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547) and his daughter Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603), developed a strong central administration, while England became increasingly Protestant. The merger of English Protestantism and English nationalism helped propel England into a central role in European affairs and was crucial in creating a powerful sense of an English identity among all classes of people.

Protestant Reformation
Sixteenth-century religious movement to reform and challenge the spiritual authority of the Roman Catholic Church.

Popular anticlericalism helped spark religious reformation in England. Although they observed traditional Catholic ritual, the English people had long resented paying monies to a pope who lived in far-off Rome. Early in the sixteenth century, criticism of the clergy grew increasingly vocal. Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, the most powerful prelate in England, flaunted his immense wealth and unwittingly became a symbol of spiritual corruption. Parish priests were objects of ridicule; they seemed theologically ignorant and eager to line their own pockets. Anticlericalism did not run as deep in England as it had in Martin Luther's Germany, but by the late 1520s, the Catholic Church could no longer take for granted the allegiance of the great mass of the population. The people's growing anger is central to understanding the English Reformation. Put simply, if ordinary English men and women had not accepted separation from Rome, then Henry VIII could not have forced them to leave the church.

The catalyst for the Protestant Reformation in England was the king's desire to rid himself of his wife, Catherine of Aragon. Their marriage had produced a daughter, Mary, but no son. The need for a male heir obsessed Henry. He and his counselors assumed a female ruler could not maintain domestic peace, and England would fall again into civil war. The answer seemed to be remarriage. Henry petitioned Pope Clement VII for a divorce (technically, an annulment), but the Spanish were unwilling to tolerate the public humiliation of Catherine. They forced the pope to procrastinate. In 1527, time ran out. The king fell in love with Anne Boleyn and moved to divorce Catherine with or without papal consent. Anne would become his second wife in 1533 and would later deliver a daughter, Elizabeth.

The final break with Rome came swiftly. Between 1529 and 1536, the king, acting through Parliament, severed all ties with the pope, seized church lands, and dissolved many of the monasteries. In March 1534, the Act of Supremacy announced, "The King's Majesty justly and rightfully is supreme head of the Church of England." The entire process, which one historian termed a "state reformation," was conducted with impressive efficiency. Land formerly owned by the Catholic Church passed quickly into private hands, and within a short period, property holders throughout England had acquired a vested interest in Protestantism. Beyond breaking with the papacy, Henry showed little enthusiasm for theological change. Many Catholic ceremonies survived.

The split with Rome, however, opened the door to increasingly radical religious ideas. In 1539, an English translation of the Bible first appeared in print. Before then, Scripture had been widely available only in Latin, the language of an educated elite. For the first time in English history, ordinary people could read the word of God in the vernacular. It was a liberating experience that persuaded some men and women that Henry had not sufficiently reformed the English church.

With Henry's death in 1547, England entered a period of political and religious instability. Edward VI, Henry's young son by his third wife, Jane Seymour, came to the throne, but he was a sickly child. Militant Protestants took control, insisting the Church of England remove every trace of its Catholic origins. When young Edward died in 1553, these ambitious efforts came to a sudden halt. Henry's eldest daughter, Mary I, ascended the throne. Fiercely loyal to the Catholic faith of her mother, Catherine of Aragon, Mary vowed to return England to the pope.

Hundreds of Protestants were executed; others scurried off to the safety of Geneva and Frankfurt, where they absorbed the most radical Calvinist doctrines of the day. When Mary died in 1558 and was succeeded by Elizabeth I, the "Marian exiles" flocked back to England, more eager than ever to rid the Tudor church of Catholicism. Queen Elizabeth governed the English people from 1558 to 1603, an intellectually exciting period during which some of her subjects took the first halting steps toward colonizing the New World. Elizabeth recognized that her most urgent duty as queen was to end the religious turmoil that had divided the country for a generation. She established a unique church, Catholic in much of its ceremony and government but clearly Protestant in doctrine. Under her so-called Elizabethan Settlement, the queen assumed the title "Supreme Governor of the Church in England." Some churchmen urged her to abolish all Catholic rituals, but she ignored these strident reformers. The young queen understood that she could not rule effectively without the full support of her people, and that neither radical change nor widespread persecution would gain a monarch lasting popularity.

Quick Check

What was the impact of the Protestant Reformation on English politics?

1.6.2 Religion, War, and Nationalism

Slowly, but steadily, English Protestantism and English national identity merged. A loyal English subject in the late sixteenth century loved the queen, supported the Church of England, and hated Catholics, especially those who lived in Spain. Elizabeth

herself came to symbolize this militant new chauvinism. Her subjects adored the Virgin Queen and applauded when her famed "Sea Dogs"—dashing figures such as Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins—seized Spanish treasure ships in American waters. These raids were little more than piracy, but in this undeclared state of war, such harassment passed for national victories. There seemed to be no reason patriotic Elizabethans should not share in the wealth of the New World. With each engagement, each threat, each plot, English nationalism took deeper root. By the 1570s, it had become obvious that powerful ideological forces similar to those that had moved the Spanish subjects of Isabella and Ferdinand almost a century earlier were driving the English people.

ELIZABETH I Elizabeth I helped establish England as a naval power. Note the depiction of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in the upper right hand corner of this portrait of the Queen.

In the mid-1580s, Philip II, who had united the empires of Spain and Portugal in 1580, decided that England's arrogantly Protestant queen could be tolerated no longer. He ordered the construction of a mighty fleet, hundreds of transport vessels designed to carry Spain's finest infantry across the English Channel. When one of Philip's lieutenants viewed the Armada at Lisbon in May 1588, he described it as *la felicissima armada*, the invincible fleet. The king believed that with the support of England's oppressed Catholics, Spanish troops would sweep Elizabeth from power.

The Spanish Armada was a grand scheme; it was an even grander failure. In 1588, a smaller, more maneuverable English navy dispersed Philip's Armada, and severe storms finished it off. Spanish hopes for a Catholic England lay wrecked along the rocky coasts of Scotland and Ireland. English Protestants interpreted victory in providential terms: "God breathed and they were scattered."

The Spanish Armada
Spanish fleet sent to invade England in 1588.

Even as the Spanish military threat grew, Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the queen's favorite courtiers, launched a settlement in North America. He diplomatically named his enterprise Virginia, in honor of his patron Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen. In 1587, Raleigh dispatched colonists under the command of John White to Roanoke, a site on the coast of present-day North Carolina; but poor planning, preparation for war with Spain, and hostilities with Native Americans doomed the experiment. When English vessels finally returned to Roanoke in 1590, the settlers had disappeared. No one has ever explained what happened to the "lost" colonists.

Quick Check

How did Protestantism and English national identity become merged under Queen Elizabeth I?

Conclusion: Campaign to Sell America

Had it not been for Richard Hakluyt the Younger, who publicized explorers' accounts of the New World, the dream of American colonization might have died in England. Hakluyt never saw America. Nevertheless, his vision of the New World powerfully shaped English public opinion. He interviewed captains and sailors and collected their stories in a massive book titled *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589).

The work appeared to be a straightforward description of what these sailors had seen across the sea. That was its strength. In reality, Hakluyt edited each piece so it would drive home the book's central point: England needed American colonies. Indeed, they were essential to the nation's prosperity and independence. In Hakluyt's America, there were no losers. "The earth bringeth fourth all things in aboundance, as in the first creations without toil or labour," he wrote of Virginia. His blend of piety, patriotism, and self-interest proved popular, and his *Voyages* went through many editions.

Hakluyt's enthusiasm for the spread of English trade throughout the world may have blinded him to the aspirations of other peoples who actually inhabited those distant lands. He continued to collect testimony from adventurers and sailors who claimed to have visited Asia and America. In a popular new edition of his work published between 1598 and 1600 and entitled *The Voyages*, he catalogued in extraordinary detail the commercial opportunities awaiting courageous and ambitious English colonizers. Hakluyt's entrepreneurial perspective obscured other aspects of the European conquest, which would soon transform the face of the New World. He paid little attention, for example, to the rich cultural diversity of the Native Americans; he said not a word about the pain of the Africans who traveled to North and South America as slaves. Instead, he and many other polemicists for English colonization led the ordinary men and women who crossed the Atlantic to expect a paradise on earth. By fanning such unrealistic expectations, Hakluyt persuaded European settlers that the New World was theirs for the taking, a self-serving view that invited ecological disaster and human suffering.

TIMELINE Chapter 1

24,000–17,000 B.C.

Paleo-Indians cross the Bering Strait into North America

During the Ice Age, reduced sea levels exposed a land bridge in the Bering Strait between Asia and Alaska. Groups of Paleo-Indian hunters crossed the land bridge into North America in pursuit of large game such as mammoths and mastodons, eventually fanning out into all areas of North and South America.

c. 5000 B.C.

Agricultural Revolution transforms Native American life

As they dispersed across North America, Indian people developed new food sources, at first smaller mammals and fish and nuts and berries; then, about 7,000 years ago, they discovered how to cultivate certain plants. Knowledge of maize (corn), squash, and beans spread north from central Mexico. The people living in the Southwest acquired cultivation skills long before the bands living along the Atlantic coast.

1469

Marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand unites Spain

The marriage of Spain's two principal Christian rulers, King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile, sparked a drive for political consolidation that, because of the monarchs' fervid Catholicism, took on the characteristics of a religious crusade. Spurred by the militant faith of their monarchs, the armies of Castile and Aragon waged holy war—known as the *Reconquista*—against the kingdom of Granada, the last independent Muslim state in Spain.

1492

Columbus lands at San Salvador

Christopher Columbus set sail from Spain in August 1492. After a stop in the Canary Islands, his three ships sailed for 33 days before reaching the island of San Salvador in the Caribbean Sea on October 12.

1497

Cabot leads first English exploration of North America

John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto), a Venetian sea captain, completed the first recorded transatlantic voyage by an English vessel in 1497, while attempting to find a northwest passage to Asia.

1521

Cortés defeats the Aztecs at Tenochtitlán

Though vastly outnumbered, the small band of Spanish lead by Hernan Cortés had the help of Indian allies disgruntled with Aztec rule and benefited from an outbreak of smallpox (introduced by the Spanish during a visit to the Aztec capital) among their enemies. After a two month siege, the Spanish defeated the Aztecs and conquered Tenochtitlán.

1529–1536

Henry VIII begins the English Reformation

Henry VIII's decision to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon percipitated the English Reformation. In 1534, Parliament acknowledged his position as supreme head of the church in England.

1534

Cartier claims Canada for France

Jacques Cartier explored the Labrador coast in 1534, claiming the land of Canada for France. In a voyage the next year, Cartier discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, sailing up the river as far as Montreal. He mistakenly believed that he had found the Northwest Passage to Asia.

1585

First Roanoke settlement established on coast of North Carolina

Sir Walter Raleigh established the first English settlement in the New World on Roanoke Island, in what we now call North Carolina, under the leadership of John White. When additional English vessels sailed to Roanoke, the settlers had disappeared. No one has ever explained what happened to the "lost" colonists.

1608

Champlain founds Quebec

Samuel de Champlain founded the first permanent French settlement at the site of present-day Quebec City.

Chapter Review

Key terms

Agricultural Revolution, p. 4
The gradual shift from hunting and gathering to cultivating basic food crops that occurred worldwide about 7,000 years ago.

Beringia, p. 3
Land bridge formerly connecting Asia and North America that is now submerged beneath the Bering Sea.

Columbian Exchange, p. 11
The exchange of plants, animals, and diseases between Europe and the Americas from first contact throughout the era of exploration

***conquistadores*, p. 13**
Sixteenth-century Spanish adventurers, often of the noble birth, who subdued the Native Americans and created the Spanish empire in the New World.

***coureurs de bois*, p. 19**
Fur trappers in French Canada who lived among the Native Americans.

Easter Woodland Cultures, p. 6
Term given to Indians from the Northeast region who lived on the Atlantic coast and supplemented farming with seasonal hunting and gathering.

***encomienda* system, p. 17**
An exploitative system by Spanish rulers that granted conquistadores control of Native American villages and their inhabitants' labor.

Protestant Reformation, p. 21
Sixteenth-century religious movement to reform and challenge the spiritual authority of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Spanish Armada, p. 23
Spanish fleet sent to invade England in 1588.

Treaty of Tordesillas, p. 15
Spain and Portugal signed this treaty in 1494. The treaty formally recognized a bull issued by Pope Alexander VI the previous year that had divided all newly discovered lands outside of Europe between these two Catholic nations.

Virgin of Guadalupe, p. 17
Apparition of the Virgin Mary that has become a symbol of Mexican nationalism.

Chapter Review Questions

1. How did Native American societies experience substantial change prior to European conquest?

2. How would you compare the relationships Europeans formed with West Africans to the ones they formed with Native Americans?

3. How would you contrast the role of religion and economics in the development of the Spanish, French, and English empires in the Americas?

4. What important events shaped English society and government in the decades before it embarked on American colonization?

5. Why did the Spanish, French, and English settlements in the New World develop in such different ways?

6. How and why did England break with the Roman Catholic Church?

Chapter 2

England's New World Experiments 1607–1732

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH AND POWHATAN
The story of Pocahontas rescuing Capt. John Smith just as he was about to be executed by her father Powhatan is well known. In all likelihood the ceremony, pictured here, was never intended to end in Smith's death. Instead, Powhatan symbolically spared Smith's life in order to emphasize the werowance's authority over Smith and the Jamestown settlers who had come to live in his lands.

Contents and Focus Questions

Profit and Piety: Competing Visions for English Settlement

In spring 1644, John Winthrop, governor of Massachusetts Bay, learned that Native Americans had overrun the scattered tobacco plantations of Virginia, killing some 500 colonists. Winthrop never thought much of the Chesapeake settlements. He regarded the people who had migrated to that part of America as grossly materialistic, and because Virginia had recently expelled several Puritan ministers, Winthrop decided the hostilities were God's way of punishing the tobacco planters for their worldliness: "It was observable that this massacre came upon them soon after they had driven out the godly ministers we had sent to them." When Virginians appealed to Massachusetts for military supplies, they received a cool reception. "We were weakly provided ourselves," Winthrop explained, "and so could not afford them any help of that kind."

In 1675, the tables turned. Native Americans declared all-out war against the New Englanders, and soon reports of the destruction of Puritan communities reached Virginia. "The Indians in New England have burned Considerable Villages," wrote one leading tobacco planter, "and have made them [the New Englanders] desert more than one hundred and fifty miles of those places they had formerly seated."

News of New England's adversity did not displease Sir William Berkeley, Virginia's royal governor. He and his friends held the Puritans in contempt. Indeed, the New Englanders reminded them of the religious fanatics who had provoked civil war in England and who in 1649 had executed King Charles I. Berkeley noted that he might have shown more pity for the New Englanders "had they deserved it of the King." The governor, sounding like a Puritan himself, described the Indians as the "Instruments" with which God intended "to destroy the King's Enemies." For good measure, Virginia outlawed the export of foodstuffs to its embattled northern neighbors.

Such extraordinary disunity in the colonies—not to mention lack of compassion—may surprise anyone searching for the roots of modern nationalism in this early period. English colonization in the seventeenth century did not spring from a desire to build a centralized empire in the New World similar to that of Spain or France. Instead, the English crown awarded colonial charters to a wide variety of entrepreneurs, religious idealists, and aristocratic adventurers who established separate and profoundly different colonies. Not only did New Englanders have little in common with the earliest Virginians and Carolinians, but they were often divided among themselves.

Migration itself helps to explain this striking competition and diversity. At different times, different colonies appealed to different sorts of people. Men and women moved to the New World for various reasons, and as economic, political, and religious conditions changed on both sides of the Atlantic during the seventeenth century, so too did patterns of English migration.

2.1 Hard Decisions: Moving to America

Why did the Chesapeake colonies not prosper during the earliest years of their settlement?

English colonists crossed the Atlantic for many reasons. Some wanted to institute a purer form of worship, more closely based on their interpretation of Scripture. Others dreamed of owning land and improving their social position. A few came to the New World to escape bad marriages, jail terms, or the dreary prospect of lifelong

poverty. Since most seventeenth-century migrants, especially those who transferred to the Chesapeake colonies, left almost no records of their lives in England, it is futile to try to isolate a single cause or explanation for their decision to leave home.

In the absence of detailed personal information, historians usually have assumed that poverty, or the fear of soon falling into poverty, drove people across the Atlantic. No doubt economic considerations figured heavily in the final decision to leave England. But so did religion, and the poor of early modern England were often among those demanding the most radical ecclesiastical reform. As a recent historian of seventeenth-century migration concluded, "Individuals left for a variety of motives, some idealistic, others practical, some simple, others complex, many perhaps contradictory and imperfectly understood by the migrants themselves."

Whatever their reasons for crossing the ocean, English migrants to America in this period left a nation wracked by recurrent, often violent, political and religious controversy. During the 1620s, autocratic Stuart monarchs—James I (r. 1603–1625) and his son Charles I (r. 1625–1649)—who succeeded Queen Elizabeth I on the English throne fought constantly with the members of Parliament over rival notions of constitutional and representative government.

JAMES I (R. 1603–1625) James I and his son Charles I were at the center of political and religious conflict that contributed to English migration to North America.

Regardless of the exact timing of departure, English settlers brought with them ideas and assumptions that helped them make sense of their everyday experiences in an unfamiliar environment. Their values were tested and sometimes transformed in the New World, but they were seldom destroyed. Settlement involved a complex process of adjustment. The colonists developed different subcultures in America, and in each it is possible to trace the interaction between the settlers' values and the physical elements, such as the climate, crops, and soil, of their new surroundings. The Chesapeake, the New England colonies, the middle colonies, and the southern colonies formed distinct regional identities that have survived to the present day.

2.1.1 The Chesapeake: Dreams of Wealth

After the Roanoke debacle in 1590, English interest in American settlement declined, and only a few aging visionaries such as Richard Hakluyt kept alive the dream of colonies in the New World. These advocates argued that the North American mainland contained resources of incalculable value. An innovative group, they insisted, might reap great profits and supply England with raw materials that it would otherwise be forced to purchase from European rivals like Holland, France, and Spain.

Moreover, any enterprise that annoyed Catholic Spain or revealed its weakness in America seemed a desirable end in itself to patriotic English Protestants. Anti-Catholicism and hatred of Spain became an integral part of English national identity during this period, and unless one appreciates just how deeply those sentiments ran in the popular mind, one cannot fully understand why ordinary people who had no direct financial stake in the New World so generously supported English efforts to colonize America. Soon after James I ascended to the throne 1603),

adventurers were given an opportunity to put their theories into practice in the colonies of Virginia and Maryland—an area known as the Chesapeake, or later, as the Tobacco Coast.

During Elizabeth I's reign, the major obstacle to successful colonization of the New World had been raising money. No single person, no matter how rich or well connected, could underwrite the vast expenses a New World settlement required. The solution to this financial problem was the **joint-stock company**, a business organization in which many people could invest without fear of bankruptcy. A merchant or landowner could purchase a share of stock at a stated price, and at the end of several years, the investor could anticipate recovering the initial amount plus a portion of whatever profits the company had made. Joint-stock ventures sprang up like mushrooms. Affluent English citizens, and even some of more modest fortunes, rushed to invest in the companies, and, as a result, some projects amassed large amounts of capital—enough certainly to launch a new colony in Virginia.

joint-stock company
Business enterprise that enabled investors to pool money for commerce and funding for colonies.

On April 10, 1606, King James issued the first Virginia charter, which authorized the London Company to establish plantations in Virginia. The London Company was an ambitious business venture. Its leader, Sir Thomas Smith, was reputedly London's wealthiest merchant. Smith and his partners gained possession of the territory lying between present-day North Carolina and the Hudson River. These were generous but vague boundaries, to be sure, but the Virginia Company—as the London Company soon called itself—set out immediately to find the treasures Hakluyt had promised.

In December 1606, the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed*, and the *Discovery* sailed for America. The ships carried 104 men and boys who had been instructed to establish a fortified outpost some 100 miles up a large navigable river. The natural beauty and economic potential of the region were apparent to everyone. A voyager on the expedition reported seeing "faire meaddowes and goodly tall trees, with such fresh waters running through the woods, as almost ravished [us] at first sight."

The leaders of the colony selected—without consulting resident Native Americans—what the Europeans considered a promising location more than 30 miles from the mouth of the James River. A marshy peninsula jutting out into the river became the site for one of America's most unsuccessful villages, Jamestown. Modern historians have criticized the choice, for the low-lying ground proved to be a disease-ridden death trap; even the drinking water was contaminated with salt. But Jamestown seemed the ideal place to build a fort, since surprise attack by Spaniards or Native Americans rather than sickness appeared the more serious threat in the early months of settlement.

However, avarice soon became an issue. Virginia's adventurers had traveled to the New World in search of the sort of instant wealth they imagined the Spaniards had found in Mexico and Peru. Tales of rubies and diamonds lying on the beach probably inflamed their expectations. Even when it must have been apparent that such expectations were unfounded, the first settlers often behaved in Virginia as if they expected to become rich. Instead of cooperating for the common good—guarding or farming, for example—individuals pursued personal interests. They searched for gold when they might have helped plant corn. No one would take orders, and those charged with governing the colony looked after their own private welfare while disease and war ravaged the settlement. Since the first adventurers neglected to grow food, some settlers actually starved, and during the so-called starving time, a few desperate people engaged in cannibalism.

Quick Check

For English colonists, what was the appeal of migrating to America?

2.1.2 Threat of Anarchy

Virginia might have failed had it not been for Captain John Smith. Before coming to Jamestown, he had traveled throughout Europe and fought with the Hungarian army against the Turks—and, if Smith is to be believed, he was saved from certain death

JOHN SMITH John Smith (c. 1580–1630) was a professional mercenary and adventurer who fought against both the Spanish and the Ottomans before being hired by the Virginia Company to assist in the establishment of its new colony at Jamestown.

by various beautiful women. Because of his reputation for boasting, historians have discounted Smith's account of life in early Virginia. Recent scholarship, however, has affirmed the truthfulness of his curious story.

In Virginia, Smith brought order out of anarchy. While members of the council in Jamestown debated petty politics, he traded with the local Indians for food, mapped the Chesapeake Bay, and may even have been rescued from execution by a young Indian girl, Pocahontas. In the fall of 1608, he seized control of the ruling council and instituted tough military discipline. Under Smith, no one enjoyed special privilege. Those whom he forced to work came to hate him. But he managed to keep them alive, no small achievement in such a deadly environment.

Leaders of the Virginia Company in London recognized the need to reform the entire enterprise. After all, they had spent considerable sums and had received nothing in return. In 1609, the company directors obtained a new charter from the king, which completely reorganized the Virginia government. Henceforth all commercial and political decisions affecting the colonists rested with the company, a fact that had not been made sufficiently clear in the 1606 charter. Moreover, in an effort to raise scarce capital, the original partners opened the joint-stock company to the general public. For a little more than £12—approximately one year's wages for an unskilled English laborer—a person or group of persons could purchase a stake in Virginia. It was anticipated that in 1616 the profits from the colony would be distributed among

the shareholders. The company sponsored a publicity campaign; pamphlets and sermons extolled the colony's potential and exhorted patriotic English citizens to invest in the enterprise.

The burst of energy came to nothing. Bad luck and poor planning plagued the Virginia Company. A vessel carrying additional settlers and supplies went aground in Bermuda, and while this misadventure did little to help the people at Jamestown, it provided Shakespeare with the idea for his play *The Tempest.*

Between 1609 and 1611, the remaining Virginia settlers lacked capable leadership, and, perhaps as a result, they lacked food. The terrible winter of 1609–1610 was termed the "starving time." A few desperate colonists were driven to cannibalism—an ironic situation since early explorers had assumed that only Native Americans would eat human flesh. In England, Smith heard that one colonist had killed his wife, "powdered" (salted) her, and "had eaten part of her before it was known; for which he was executed." The captain, who possessed a droll sense of humor, observed, "Now, whether she was better roasted, broiled, or carbonadoed [sliced], I know not, but such a dish as powdered wife I never heard of." Other settlers simply lost the will to live.

The presence of so many Native Americans was an additional threat to Virginia's survival. The first colonists found themselves living—or attempting to live—in territory controlled by what was probably the most powerful Indian confederation east of the Mississippi River. Under the leadership of their paramount chief, or *werowance*, Powhatan, these Indians had by 1608 created a loose association of some 30 tribes. When Captain John Smith arrived to lead several hundred adventurers, the Powhatans (named for their *werowance*) numbered some 14,000 people, including 3,200 warriors. These people hoped to enlist the Europeans as allies against native enemies.

When it became clear that the two groups—holding such different notions about labor and property and about exploiting the natural environment—could not coexist in peace, the Powhatans tried to drive the invaders out of Virginia, once in 1622 and again in 1644. Their numbers sapped by losses from European diseases, the Powhatans failed both times. The failure of the second campaign destroyed the Powhatan empire.

In June 1610, the settlers who had survived despite starvation and conflicts with the Indians actually abandoned Virginia. Through a stroke of luck, however, a new governor and new colonists arrived from England just as they were sailing down the James River. The governor and the deputy governors who succeeded him, Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale, ruled by martial law. The new colonists, many of them male and female servants employed by the company, were marched to work by the beat of the drum. Such methods saved the colony but could not make it flourish. In 1616, company shareholders received no profits. Their only reward was the right to a piece of unsurveyed land located 3,000 miles from London.

Quick Check

Why did the first Virginia settlers not cooperate for the common good?

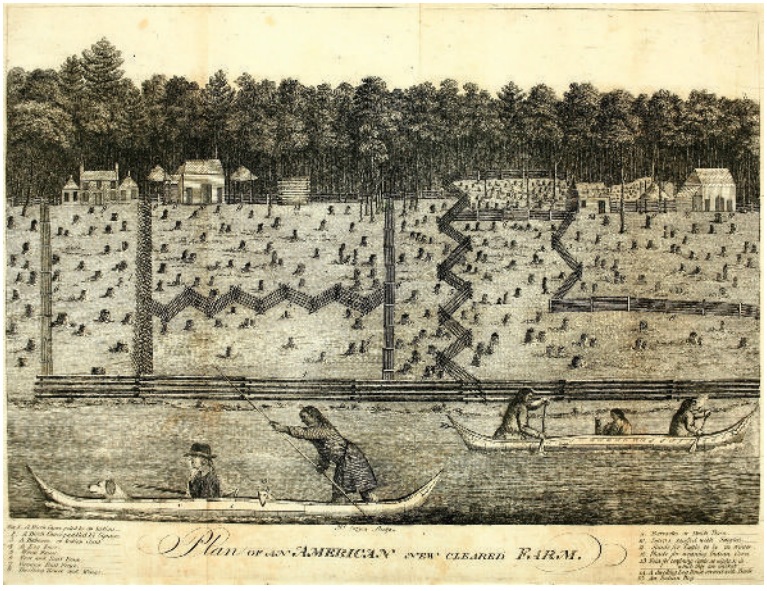
2.1.3 Tobacco Saves Virginia

The economic solution to Virginia's problems grew in the vacant lots of Jamestown. Only Indians bothered to cultivate tobacco until John Rolfe, a settler who achieved notoriety by marrying Pocahontas, realized this local weed might be a valuable export. Rolfe experimented with the crop, eventually growing in Virginia a milder variety that had been developed in the West Indies that was more appealing to European smokers.

Virginians suddenly possessed a means to make money. Tobacco proved relatively easy to grow, and settlers who had avoided work now threw themselves into its production with single-minded diligence. In 1617, one observer found that Jamestown's "streets and all other spare places [are] planted with tobacco . . . the Colony dispersed all about planting tobacco." Although King James I originally

considered smoking immoral and unhealthy, he changed his mind when the duties he collected on tobacco imports began to mount.

The Virginia Company sponsored another ambitious effort to transform the colony into a profitable enterprise. In 1618, Sir Edwin Sandys (pronounced "Sands") led a faction of stockholders that began to pump life into the dying organization by instituting sweeping reforms and eventually ousting Sir Thomas Smith and his friends. Sandys wanted private investors to develop their own estates in Virginia. Before 1618, there had been little incentive to do so, but by relaxing Dale's martial law and promising an elective representative assembly called the **House of Burgesses**, Sandys thought he could make the colony more attractive to wealthy speculators.



PLAN OF A NEWLY CLEARED FARM The establishment of new farms in Virginia required enormous effort. Note the many tree stumps within the fenced area.

Even more important was Sandys's method for distributing land. Colonists who covered their own transportation cost to America were guaranteed a **headright**, a 50-acre lot for which they paid only a small annual rent. Adventurers were granted additional headrights for each servant they brought to the colony. This allowed prosperous planters to build up huge estates while they also acquired dependent laborers. This land system persisted long after the company's collapse. So too did the notion that the wealth of a few justified the exploitation of many others.

Sandys also urged the settlers to diversify their economy. Tobacco alone, he argued, was not a sufficient base. He envisioned colonists busily producing iron and tar, silk and glass, sugar and cotton. There was no end to his suggestions. He scoured Europe for skilled artisans and exotic plants. To finance such a huge project, Sandys relied on a lottery, a game of chance that promised a continuous flow of capital into the company's treasury. The final element in the grand scheme was people. Sandys sent English settlers by the thousand to Jamestown—ordinary men and women swept up by the same hopes that had carried the colonists of 1607 to the New World.

House of Burgesses
The elective representative assembly in colonial Virginia.

headright
System of land distribution in which settlers were granted a 50-acre plot of land by the colonial government for each servant or dependent they transported to the New World. It encouraged the recruitment of a large servile labor force.

2.1.4 Time of Reckoning

Company records reveal that between 1619 and 1622, 3,570 individuals were sent to the colony. People seldom moved to Virginia as families. Although the first women arrived in Jamestown in 1608, most emigrants were single males in their teens or early twenties who came to the New World as **indentured servants**. In exchange for transportation across the Atlantic, they agreed to serve a master for a stated number of years. The length of service depended in part on the age of the servant. The younger the servant, the longer he or she served. In return, the master promised to give the laborers proper care and, at the conclusion of their contracts, provide them with tools and clothes according to "the custom of the country."

Powerful Virginians corrupted the system. Poor servants wanted to establish independent tobacco farms. As they discovered, however, headrights were awarded not to the newly freed servant, but to the great planter who had paid for the servant's transportation to the New World and for his or her food and clothing during the indenture. And even though indentured servants were promised land when they were freed, they were most often cheated, becoming members of a growing, disaffected landless class in seventeenth-century Virginia.

Quick Check

In what sense did tobacco save the Chesapeake colonies?

indentured servants
Persons who agreed to serve a master for a set number of years in exchange for the cost of transport to America. Indentured servitude was the dominant form of labor in the Chesapeake colonies before slavery.

Whenever possible, planters in Virginia purchased able-bodied workers—in other words, persons (preferably male) capable of hard agricultural labor. This preference skewed the colony's sex ratio. In the early decades, men outnumbered women by as much as six to one. Such gender imbalance meant that even if a male servant lived to the end of his indenture—an unlikely prospect—he could not realistically expect to start his own family. Moreover, despite apparent legal safeguards, masters could treat dependent workers as they pleased; after all, these people were legally considered property. Servants were sold, traded, even gambled away. It does not require much imagination to see that a society that tolerated such an exploitative labor system might later embrace slavery.

Most Virginians did not live long enough to worry about marriage. Death was omnipresent. Indeed, extraordinarily high mortality was a major reason the Chesapeake colonies developed so differently from those of New England. On the eve of the 1618 reforms, Virginia's population stood at approximately 700. The Virginia Company sent at least 3,500 more people, but by 1622 only 1,240 were still alive. "It Consequentilie followes," declared one angry shareholder, "that we had then lost 3,000 persons within those 3 yeares." The major killers were contagious diseases. Salt in the water supply also took a toll. And on Good Friday March 22, 1622, the Powhatan Indians slew 347 Europeans in a well-coordinated surprise attack.

No one knows for certain how such a horrendous mortality rate affected the survivors. At the least, it must have created a sense of impermanence, a desire to escape Virginia with a little money before sickness or violence ended the adventure. The settlers who drank to excess aboard the tavern ships anchored in the James River described the colony "not as a place of Habitacion but only of a short sojourninge."

On both sides of the Atlantic people wondered whom to blame. The burden of responsibility lay largely with the Virginia Company. In fact, its scandalous mismanagement embarrassed James I, and in 1624 he dissolved the bankrupt enterprise and transformed Virginia into a royal colony. The crown appointed a governor and a council. No provision was made, however, for continuing the House of Burgesses. While elections to the Burgesses were hardly democratic, it did provide wealthy planters a voice in government. Even without the king's authorization, the representatives gathered annually after 1629, and in 1639, King Charles I recognized the body's existence.

Quick Check

What explains the extraordinary death rate in early Virginia?

2.1.5 Maryland: A Catholic Refuge

By the end of the seventeenth century, Maryland society looked remarkably like that of its Chesapeake neighbor, Virginia. At the time of its first settlement in 1634, however, no one would have predicted that Maryland, a colony wholly owned by a Catholic nobleman, would have survived, much less become a flourishing tobacco colony.

The driving force behind the founding of Maryland was Sir George Calvert, later Lord Baltimore. Calvert, a talented and well-educated man, enjoyed the patronage of James I. He was awarded lucrative positions in the government, the most important being the king's secretary of state. In 1625, however, Calvert shocked almost everyone by publicly declaring his Catholicism; in this fiercely anti-Catholic society, persons who openly supported the Church of Rome were immediately stripped of civil office. Although forced to resign as secretary of state, Calvert retained the crown's favor.

Before resigning, Calvert sponsored a settlement on the coast of Newfoundland, but after visiting it, he concluded that no English person, whatever his or her religion,

would transfer to a place where the "ayre [is] so intolerably cold." He turned his attention to the Chesapeake, and on June 30, 1632, Charles I granted George Calvert's son, Cecilius, a charter for a colony to be located north of Virginia. The boundaries of the settlement, named Maryland in honor of Charles's queen, were so vaguely defined that they generated legal controversies not fully resolved until the 1760s when Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon surveyed their famous boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland.

Cecilius, the second Lord Baltimore, wanted to create a sanctuary for England's persecuted Catholics. He also intended to make money. Without Protestant settlers, it seemed unlikely Maryland would prosper, and Cecilius instructed his brother Leonard, the colony's governor, to do nothing that might frighten off hypersensitive Protestants. The governor was ordered to "cause all Acts of the Roman Catholic Religion to be

REPRODUCTION OF THE *DOVE* The first settlers in Maryland arrived in 1534 aboard the *Ark* and the *Dove*.

done as privately as may be and . . . [to] instruct all Roman Catholics to be silent upon all occasions of discourse concerning matters of Religion." On March 25, 1634, the *Ark* and the *Dove*, carrying about 150 settlers, landed safely, and within days, the governor purchased from the Yaocomico Indians a village that became St. Mary's City, the first capital of Maryland.

The colony's charter was a throwback to an earlier feudal age. It transformed Lord Baltimore into a "palatine lord," a proprietor with almost royal powers. Settlers swore an oath of allegiance not to the king of England but to Lord Baltimore. In England, such practices had long ago been abandoned. As the proprietor, Lord Baltimore owned outright almost 6 million acres and had absolute authority over anyone living in his domain.

On paper, at least, everyone in Maryland was assigned a place in an elaborate social hierarchy. Members of a colonial ruling class—persons who purchased 6,000 acres from Baltimore—were called lords of the manor. These landed aristocrats were permitted to establish local courts of law. People holding less acreage enjoyed fewer privileges, particularly in government. Baltimore figured that land sales and rents would finance the entire venture.

Baltimore's feudal system never took root in Chesapeake soil. People refused to play the social roles the lord proprietor had assigned them. These tensions affected Maryland's government. Baltimore assumed that his brother, acting as his deputy in America, and a small appointed council of local aristocrats would pass laws and carry out routine administration. When an elected assembly first convened in 1635, Baltimore allowed the delegates to discuss only those acts he had prepared. The members of the assembly bridled at such restrictions, insisting on exercising traditional parliamentary privileges. Neither side gained a clear victory in the assembly, and for almost 25 years, legislative squabbling contributed to the political instability that almost destroyed Maryland.

The colony drew both Protestants and Catholics, and the two groups might have lived in harmony had civil war not broken out in England in the 1640s. When Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan faction executed King Charles I in 1649, transforming England briefly into a republic, it seemed Baltimore might lose his colony. To head this off and placate Maryland's restless Protestants, the proprietor drafted the famous "Act concerning Religion" in 1649, which extended toleration to everyone who accepted the divinity of Christ. At a time when European rulers regularly persecuted people for their religious beliefs, Baltimore championed liberty of conscience.

However laudable the act may have been, it did not heal religious divisions in Maryland, and when local Puritans seized the colony's government in 1650, they repealed the act. For almost two decades, vigilantes roamed the countryside, and one armed group temporarily drove Leonard Calvert out of Maryland. In 1655, civil war flared again, and the Calvert family did not regain control until 1658.

In this troubled sanctuary, ordinary planters and their workers cultivated tobacco on plantations dispersed along riverfronts. In 1678, Baltimore complained that he could not find 50 houses in a space of 30 miles. "In Virginia and Maryland," one member of the Calvert family explained, "Tobacco, as our Staple, is our all, and indeed leaves no room for anything Else." Tobacco affected almost every aspect of local culture. A steady stream of indentured servants supplied the plantations with dependent laborers—until African slaves replaced them at the end of the seventeenth century.

Quick Check

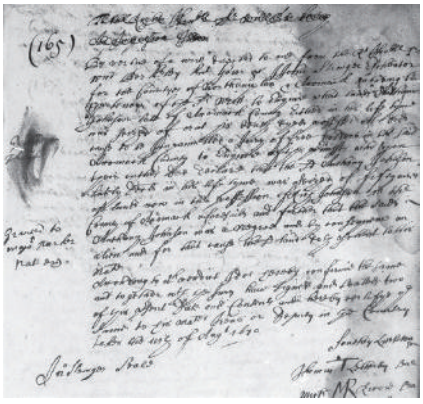
What motives led Lord Baltimore to establish the colony of Maryland?

Europeans sacrificed much by coming to the Chesapeake. For most of the seventeenth century, their standard of living there was primitive compared with that of people of the same social class who had remained in England. Two-thirds of the planters, for example, lived in houses of only two rooms and of a type associated with the poorest classes in contemporary English society.

2.1.6 Past and Present

AFRICAN-AMERICAN FREEDOM IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VIRGINIA

In 1619, a Dutch ship delivered the first African slaves to English North America. One slave, Anthony Johnson, worked so extraordinarily hard on a tiny plot of land that he managed to purchase his own freedom and that of his wife, Mary. The couple joined other free blacks in founding a community on Virginia's Pungoteague Creek. For several decades they flourished. Free blacks even took white planters to court, winning as many cases as they lost. But over time, an increasingly racist society tightened the laws governing blacks. By 1700, the world the Johnsons had struggled to create had disappeared. White planters assumed they could forever deprive African Americans of freedom. The colony's lieutenant governor knew better, and warned complacent Virginians that "freedom. . . Can Without a Tongue, Call Together all Those who Long to Shake off the fetters of Slavery." The demand for full freedom has echoed throughout American history. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and other civil rights leaders gave fresh voice to Anthony Johnson's dream. For many the election of President Barack Obama marked the realization of this dream; but the death of a disturbing number of black men at the hands of police during his second term reminded the nation that the full equality sought by the community on Pungoteague Creek remains elusive.



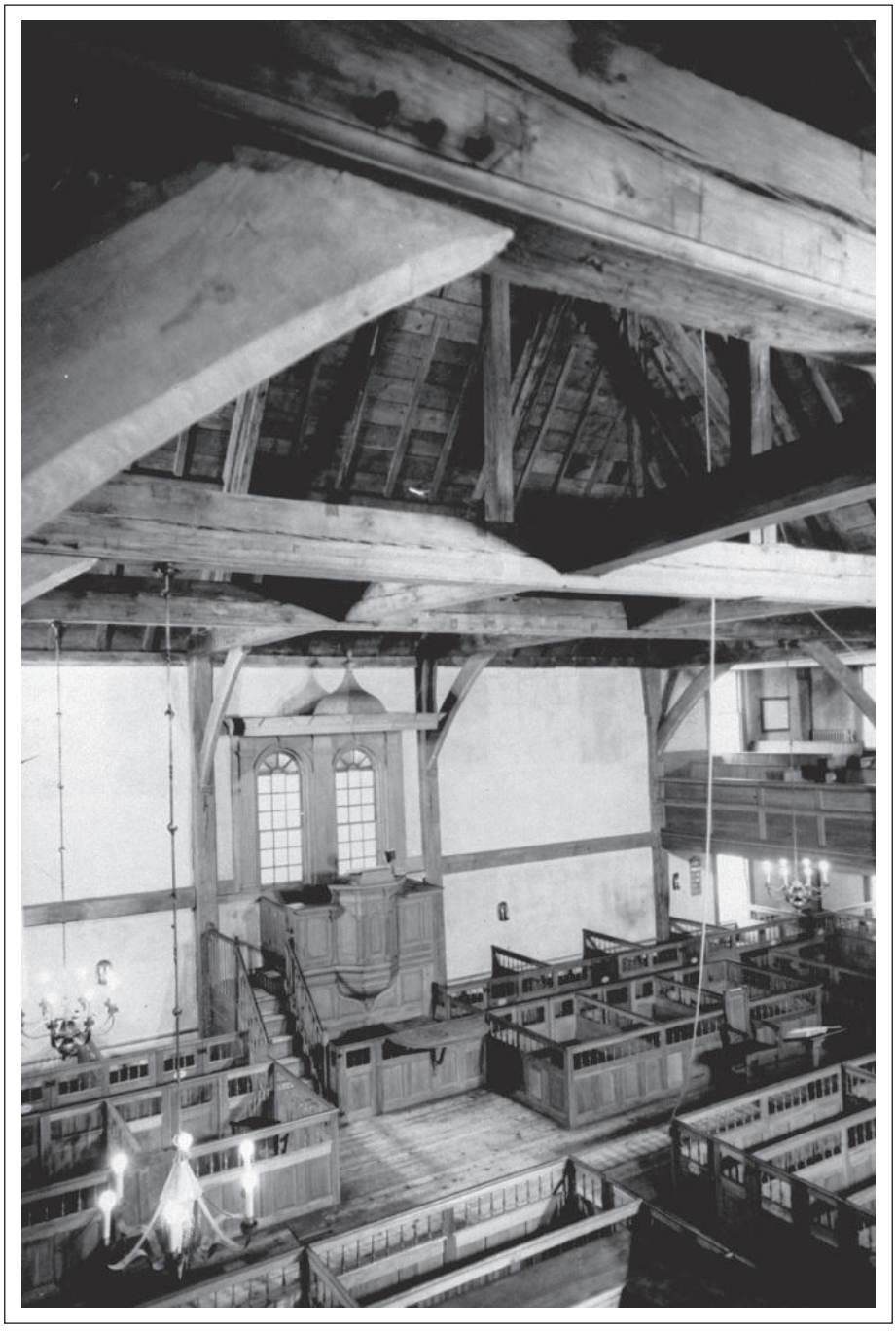
ANTHONY JOHNSON COURT RECORDS Court documents attest to Anthony Johnson's success in helping to build a free black community in Virginia.

BLACK LIVES MATTER PROTEST With the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement, allegations of police brutality have moved to the center of the debate about race in the United States.

2.2 Reforming England in America

How did differences in religion affect the founding of the New England colonies?

A desire for religious purity inspired the founding of the first permanent and successful English colonies in the region that would become known as New England. English merchants and adventurers had established a few scattered outposts in the region in order to trade with local Indian peoples, but it was not until the arrival of the so-called Pilgrims in 1620 and the Puritans in the 1630s, that English efforts at colonization really began in earnest. Both of these groups believed that the established Church of England tolerated too many vestiges of Catholicism. James I and his son Charles I showed no interest in further reform, and in many cases chose instead to suppress criticism. Facing persecution at home, many Pilgrims and Puritans looked to America as a land in which they could prosper as farmers and traders while also building a "New" England, purified of the spiritual corruption of the old. While the migrants to New England disputed details of theology—sometimes violently—they all insisted that they had created new societies based on the proper reading of Scripture, and hoped their example would provide those back in England with a model for religious purity.



OLD SHIP MEETINGHOUSE This early Puritan meetinghouse in Hingham, Massachusetts, was called the Old Ship Meetinghouse because its interior design resembled the hull of a ship. Its interior is sparse and devoid of decorations – such as crosses or icons of saints – in keeping with the Puritan goal of "purifying" the Church of England of any remaining vestiges of Catholicism. The oldest surviving wooden church in the United States, it could accommodate about 700 people.

2.2.1 Pilgrims in Search of a New Home

The Pilgrims enjoy almost mythic status in American history. These brave refugees crossed the cold Atlantic in search of religious liberty, signed a democratic compact aboard the *Mayflower*, landed at Plymouth Rock, and gave us our Thanksgiving Day. As with most legends, this one contains only a core of truth.

The Pilgrims were not crusaders out to change the world. Rather, they were humble English farmers. Their story began in the early 1600s in Scrooby Manor, a small community located approximately 150 miles north of London. Many people in this area believed the Church of England, or Anglican Church, retained too many traces of its Catholic origin. Its very rituals compromised God's true believers. So, early in the reign of James I, the Scrooby congregation formally left the established state church. Like others who followed this logic, they were called Separatists. Since English