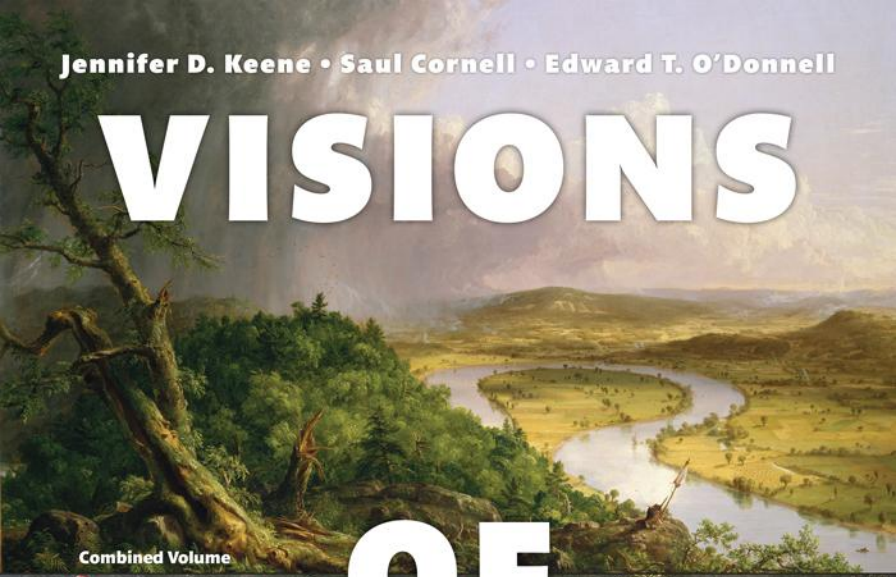
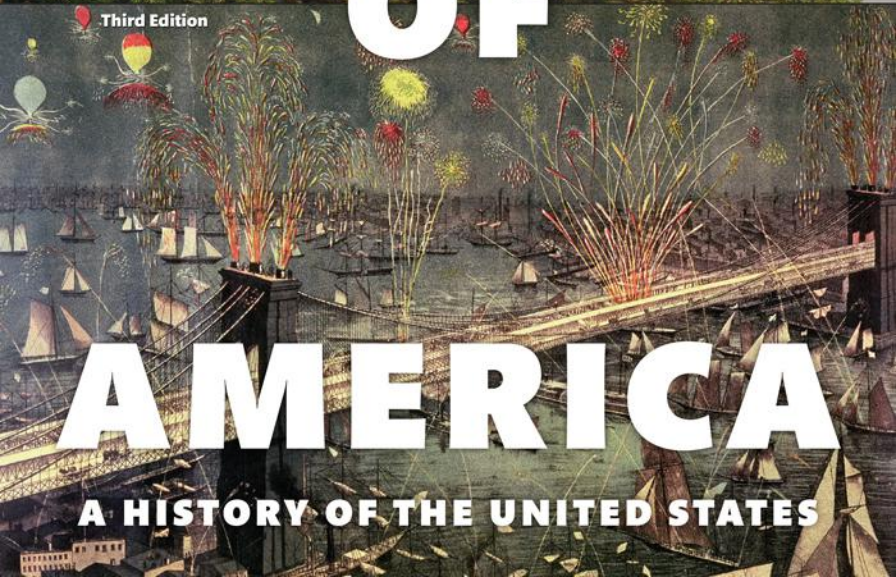
Jennifer D. Keene • Saul Cornell • Edward T. O'Donnell

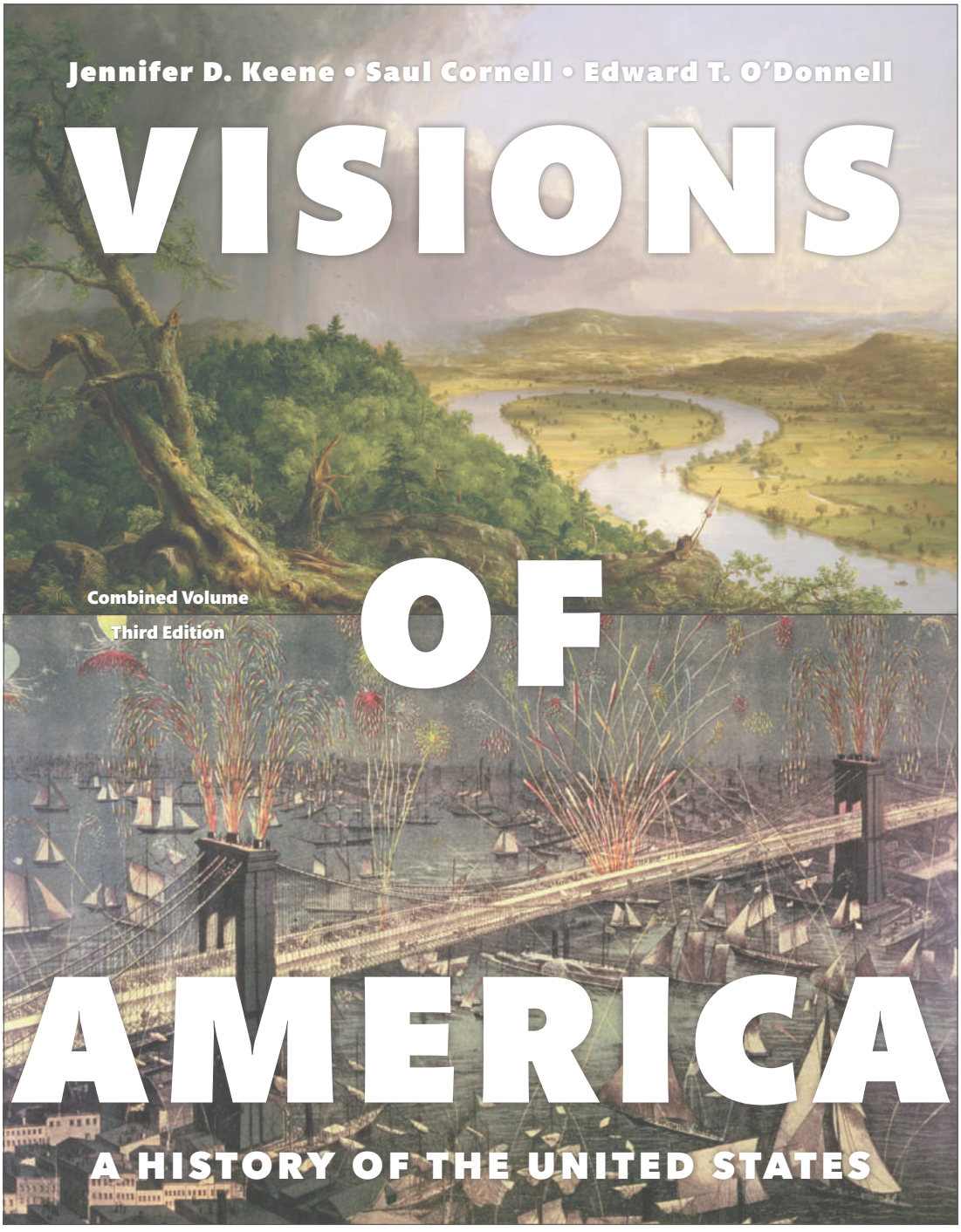
VISIONS OF AMERICA

Combined Volume
Third Edition





A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



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Dedication

To our parents, who imbued us with a love of history; our spouses, who have learned to share this passion; and our children, students of American history.

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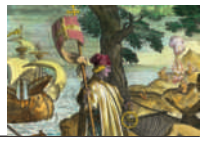

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Preface

Now in its third edition, *Visions of America* offers its path-breaking visual pedagogy within a state-of-the-art learning technology, delivering the most effective learning program for instructors and students in the U.S. Survey course.

See History; Understand History

Using images as primary historical evidence, *Visions of America* brings history to life for a generation of visual learners and shows how key choices and competing visions of America shaped our nation's past.

We conceived of *Visions of America* while teaching in the kinds of classrooms familiar to most of the instructors and students who will use this book.

We live in an intensely visual culture, and students are always fascinated to discover the "truth" about the images they have long associated with key periods in American history, or to learn about new ones. Images have powerfully influenced national debates, but history textbooks typically use them as mere illustrations. Our approach is different. We selected the nearly 700 paintings, photographs, line drawings, woodcuts, advertisements, engravings, film stills, political cartoons, and other images in the text. Each one is discussed and treated as historical evidence. Our innovative design integrates images across the pages in a way that shows detail and invites scrutiny.

Many of our students have an incomplete view of history. Students often see history as a series of events that unfolded as if preordained. The colonists defeated the British; the Civil War held the Union together and abolished slavery; America defeated Nazi Germany and then prevailed in the Cold War. Yet as historians we know that history is never inevitable, that vehement disagreements have shaped the past and continue to influence the present, that events are driven by choices, and that outcomes are unknowable to those who make those choices. We wrote *Visions of America* to make those perceptions just as obvious to our students.

History professors and textbooks need to be good storytellers. *Visions of America's* lively writing style—active, engaging, and full of anecdotes—brings history to life. Students will enjoy reading a text that shows them history is a living vibrant narrative open to interpretation and the product of decisions people made in the past. Long after they finish the course, students may not recall the exact terms of the Versailles Treaty or the Reconstruction Acts, but they will remember that people making individual choices are the driving force of history. When participating in the political or cultural debates of their own era, they will recall that competing visions have been a staple of the nation's historical development. Years from now, they will know how to analyze and consume images intelligently. Most important, students will remember the moment when they realized that history was not just an endless list of names and dates but the fascinating tale of human experience.

Visions of America's Learning Outcomes

On many university campuses professors now must articulate exactly what students are learning in a course and then demonstrate that students have actually acquired this knowledge. *Visions of America's* Learning Outcomes encapsulate the book's major pedagogical goals. Each chapter includes chapter-specific Learning Outcomes that connect the material in each chapter to the book's overall Learning Outcomes. The online assessment tools available for chapter-level Learning Outcomes give instructors multiple resources for evaluating how well students have learned what the book aspires to teach.

Visions of America's Learning Outcomes are:

Images as History: Contextualize and evaluate the historical meaning and significance of a wide range of visual images.
Choices and Consequences: Explore human agency through the choices that individuals and/or groups have made and the consequences of those decisions for American history.
Competing Visions: Interpret evidence to analyze the essential competing visions that have shaped political, social, economic, and cultural life throughout American history.
Historical Literacy: Demonstrate knowledge of the key events, people, institutions, and chronology of U.S. history.
Historical Argument: Formulate historical arguments that take into account Americans' competing visions and draw upon written and visual historical evidence.

Key Features of *Visions*

Several key features define the text's distinctive approach.

Images as History

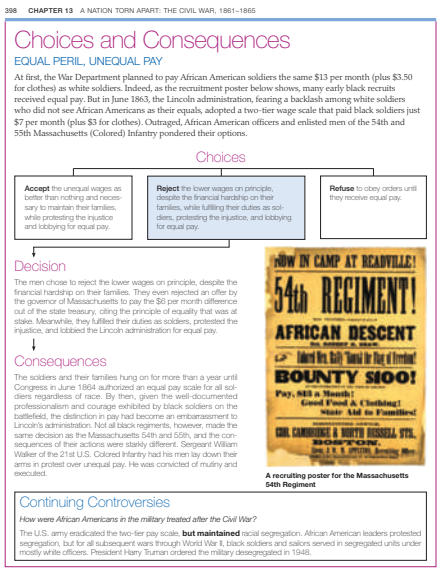
Beyond the analysis of images in the narrative, in each chapter the Images as History feature focuses on one or two images in depth. This feature encourages students to "read" images as texts with multiple meanings that speak to both the past and the present. Images as History unpacks the meaning and purpose of images—including cartoons, posters, magazine illustrations, fine art, and photographs.

Other visual elements of *Visions* also serve distinct pedagogical functions.

- Dynamic **chapter openings** combine a vivid image with a narrative introduction and a **quotation** that immediately places the student in the era, and a **visual outline** previews the chapter's major topics.
- Historical **images** are imaginatively displayed throughout the text and analyzed to reveal how they were used to express opinions, shape perceptions, and influence policy.
- Visually engaging **maps, graphs, and charts** make data accessible and provide geographical context.
- **Enlarged quotations**, spread throughout each chapter, give voice to the major issues of the day.

Choices and Consequences

The choices confronting political leaders and ordinary people, and the consequences of their decisions, are a consistent theme of the narrative. In each chapter, the innovative Choices and Consequences feature diagrams the choices leaders and ordinary people grappled with at key moments in America's history. By helping students to visualize complex and sometimes agonizing choices, the Choices and Consequences feature underscores the point that historical events are the products of human agency.


398 CHAPTER 13 A NATION TORN APART: THE CIVIL WAR, 1861–1865

Choices and Consequences

EQUAL PERIL, UNEQUAL PAY

At first, the War Department planned to pay African American soldiers the same $13 per month (plus $3.50 for clothes) as white soldiers. Indeed, as the recruitment poster below shows, many early black recruits received equal pay. But in June 1863, the Lincoln administration, fearing a backlash among white soldiers who did not see African Americans as their equals, adopted a two-tier wage scale that paid black soldiers just $7 per month (plus $3 for clothes). Outraged, African American officers and enlisted men of the 54th and 55th Massachusetts (Colored) Infantry pondered their options.

Choices

Accept the unequal wages as better than nothing and necessary to maintain their families, while protesting the injustice and lobbying for equal pay.

Reject the lower wages on principle, despite the financial hardship on their families, while fulfilling their duties as soldiers, protesting the injustice, and lobbying for equal pay.

Refuse to obey orders until they receive equal pay.

Decision

The men chose to reject the lower wages on principle, despite the financial hardship on their families. They even rejected an offer by the governor of Massachusetts to pay the $6 per month difference out of the state treasury, citing the principle of equality that was at stake. Meanwhile, they fulfilled their duties as soldiers, protested the injustice, and lobbied the Lincoln administration for equal pay.

Consequences

The soldiers and their families hung on for more than a year until Congress in June 1864 authorized an equal pay scale for all soldiers regardless of race. By then, given the well-documented professionalism and courage exhibited by black soldiers on the battlefield, the distinction in pay had become an embarrassment to Lincoln's administration. Not all black regiments, however, made the same decision as the Massachusetts 54th and 55th, and the consequences of their actions were starkly different. Sergeant William Walker of the 21st U.S. Colored Infantry had his men lay down their arms in protest over unequal pay. He was convicted of mutiny and executed.

A recruiting poster for the Massachusetts 54th Regiment

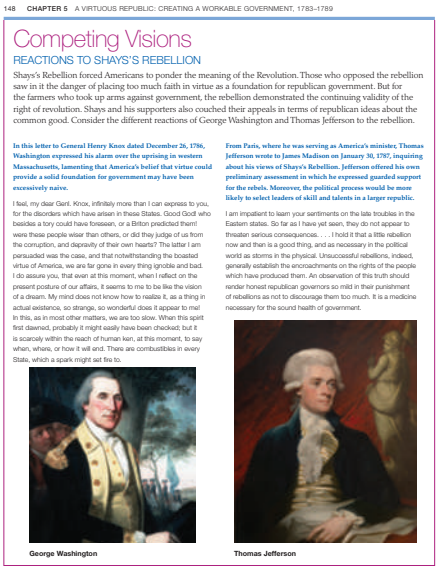
Continuing Controversies

How were African Americans in the military treated after the Civil War?

The U.S. army eradicated the two-tier pay scale, **but maintained** racial segregation. African American leaders protested segregation, but for all subsequent wars through World War II, black soldiers and sailors served in segregated units under mostly white officers. President Harry Truman ordered the military desegregated in 1948.

Competing Visions

The title of the book captures our unique approach. *Visions of America* explores the competing political, social, and cultural visions for America that have generated conflicts in virtually every period of U.S. history. We focused on competing visions so that students can learn to appreciate the dynamic debates that shaped our nation. Every element of the text reinforces the competing visions theme, from the narrative and images to the highlighted quotations and features.


148 CHAPTER 5 A VIRTUOUS REPUBLIC: CREATING A WORKABLE GOVERNMENT, 1783–1789

Competing Visions

REACTIONS TO SHAYS'S REBELLION

Shays's Rebellion forced Americans to ponder the meaning of the Revolution. Those who opposed the rebellion saw in it the danger of placing too much faith in virtue as a foundation for republican government. But for the farmers who took up arms against government, the rebellion demonstrated the continuing validity of the right of revolution. Shays and his supporters also couched their appeals in terms of republican ideas about the common good. Consider the different reactions of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson to the rebellion.

In this letter to General Henry Knox dated December 26, 1786, Washington expressed his alarm over the uprising in western Massachusetts, lamenting that America's belief that virtue could provide a solid foundation for government may have been excessively naive.

I feel, my dear Genl. Knox, infinitely more than I can express to you, for the disorders which have arisen in these States. Good God! who besides a tory could have foreseen, or a Briton predicted them! were these people wiser than others, or did they judge of us from the corruption, and depravity of their own hearts? The latter I am persuaded was the case, and that notwithstanding the boasted virtue of America, we are far gone in every thing ignoble and bad. I do assure you, that even at this moment, when I reflect on the present posture of our affairs, it seems to me to be like the vision of a dream. My mind does not know how to realize it, as a thing in actual existence, so strange, so wonderful does it appear to me! in this, as in most other matters, we are too slow. When this spirit first dawned, probably it might easily have been checked; but it is scarcely within the reach of human ken, at this moment, to say when, where, or how it will end. There are combustibles in every State, which a spark might set fire to.

George Washington

From Paris, where he was serving as America's minister, Thomas Jefferson wrote to James Madison on January 30, 1787, inquiring about his views of Shays's Rebellion. Jefferson offered his own preliminary assessment in which he expressed guarded support for the rebels. Moreover, the political process would be more likely to select leaders of skill and talents in a larger republic.

I am impatient to learn your sentiments on the late troubles in the Eastern states. So far as I have yet seen, they do not appear to threaten serious consequences. . . . I hold it that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical. Unsuccessful rebellions, indeed, generally establish the encroachments on the rights of the people which have produced them. An observation of this truth should render honest republican governors so mild in their punishment of rebellions as not to discourage them too much. It is a medicine necessary for the sound health of government.

Thomas Jefferson

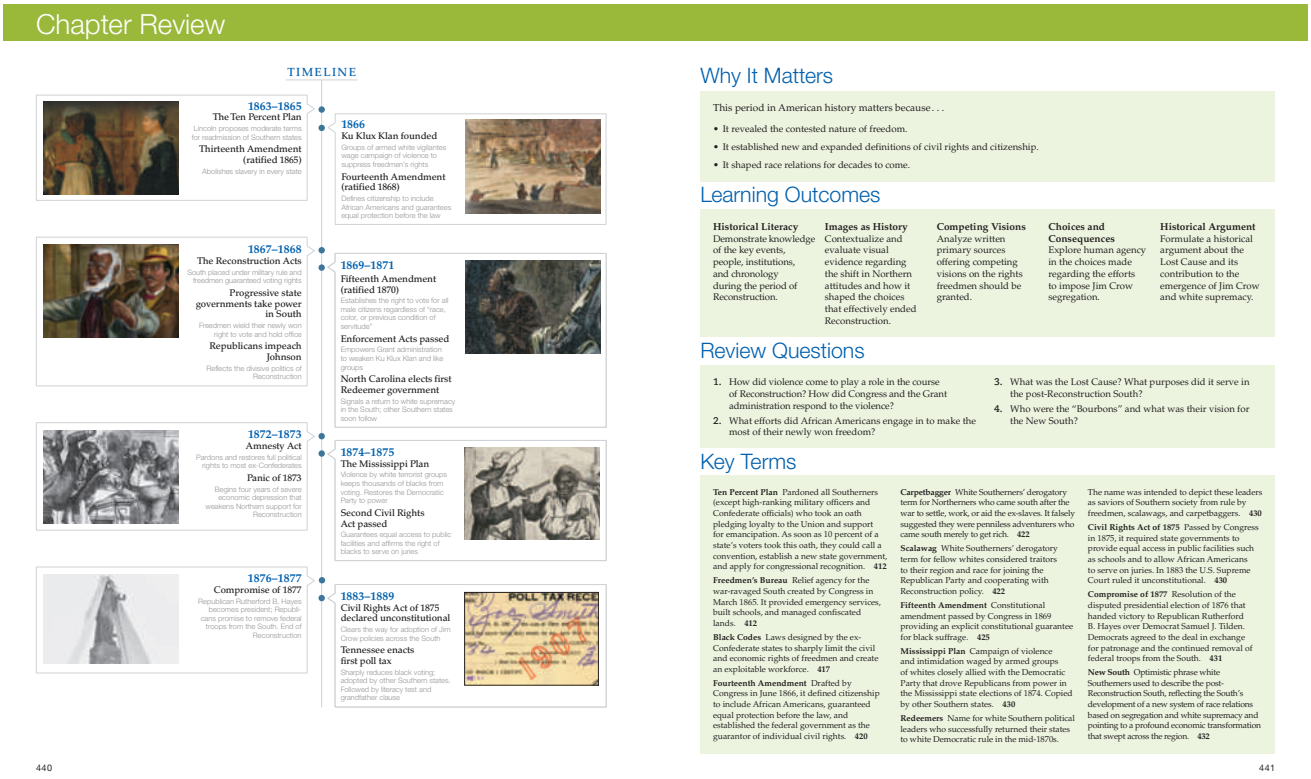
The Competing Visions feature presents excerpts from key primary source documents to exemplify conflicting visions for America. In each chapter, excerpts from personal letters, diary entries, speeches, editorials, and other written documents highlight the competing visions that shaped every period of American history.

Envisioning Evidence

Envisioning Evidence uses graphics and illustrations to help students organize and analyze complex information on key topics. The graphics and illustrations range from public opinion polls, household budgets, and economic figures to shipping logs, battlefield trenches, crime statistics, and maps showing living patterns.

Chapter Review

The Chapter Review provides a **visual summary** of key events, thought-provoking **review questions**, chapter **Learning Outcomes, key terms** with definitions and page references, and a **Why It Matters** box that succinctly outlines the historical importance of the era.



Chapter Review

TIMELINE

1863–1865
The Ten Percent Plan
Lincoln proposes moderate terms for readmission of Southern states
Thirteenth Amendment (ratified 1865)
Abolishes slavery in every state

1866
Ku Klux Klan founded
Groups of armed white vigilantes wage campaign of violence to suppress freedmen's rights
Fourteenth Amendment (ratified 1868)
Defines citizenship to include African Americans and guarantees equal protection before the law

1867–1868
The Reconstruction Acts
South placed under military rule and freedmen guaranteed voting rights
Progressive state governments take power in South
Freedmen wield their newly won right to vote and hold office
Republicans impeach Johnson
Reflects the divisive politics of Reconstruction

1869–1871
Fifteenth Amendment (ratified 1870)
Establishes the right to vote for all male citizens regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude"
Enforcement Acts passed
Empowers Grant administration to weaken Ku Klux Klan and like groups
North Carolina elects first Redeemer government
Signals a return to white supremacy in the South; other Southern states soon follow

1872–1873
Amnesty Act
Pardons and restores full political rights to most ex-Confederates
Panic of 1873
Begins four years of severe economic depression that weakens Northern support for Reconstruction

1874–1875
The Mississippi Plan
Violence by white terrorist groups keeps thousands of blacks from voting. Restores the Democratic Party to power
Second Civil Rights Act passed
Guarantees equal access to public facilities and affirms the right of blacks to serve on juries

1876–1877
Compromise of 1877
Republican Rutherford B. Hayes becomes president; Republicans promise to remove federal troops from the South. End of Reconstruction

1883–1889
Civil Rights Act of 1875 declared unconstitutional
Clears the way for adoption of Jim Crow policies across the South
Tennessee enacts first poll tax
Sharply reduces black voting; adopted by other Southern states. Followed by literacy test and grandfather clause

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Why It Matters

This period in American history matters because . . .

- It revealed the contested nature of freedom.
- It established new and expanded definitions of civil rights and citizenship.
- It shaped race relations for decades to come.

Learning Outcomes

Historical Literacy Demonstrate knowledge of the key events, people, institutions, and chronology during the period of Reconstruction.

Images as History Contextualize and evaluate visual evidence regarding the shift in Northern attitudes and how it shaped the choices that effectively ended Reconstruction.

Competing Visions Analyze written primary sources offering competing visions on the rights freedmen should be granted.

Choices and Consequences Explore human agency in the choices made regarding the efforts to impose Jim Crow segregation.

Historical Argument Formulate a historical argument about the Lost Cause and its contribution to the emergence of Jim Crow and white supremacy.

Review Questions

1. How did violence come to play a role in the course of Reconstruction? How did Congress and the Grant administration respond to the violence?
2. What efforts did African Americans engage in to make the most of their newly won freedom?
3. What was the Lost Cause? What purposes did it serve in the post-Reconstruction South?
4. Who were the "Bourbons" and what was their vision for the New South?

Key Terms

Ten Percent Plan Pardoned all Southerners (except high-ranking military officers and Confederate officials) who took an oath pledging loyalty to the Union and support for emancipation. As soon as 10 percent of a state's voters took this oath, they could call a convention, establish a new state government, and apply for congressional recognition. **412**

Freedmen's Bureau Relief agency for the war-ravaged South created by Congress in March 1865. It provided emergency services, built schools, and managed confiscated lands. **412**

Black Codes Laws designed by the ex-Confederate states to sharply limit the civil and economic rights of freedmen and create an exploitable workforce. **417**

Fourteenth Amendment Drafted by Congress in June 1866, it defined citizenship to include African Americans, guaranteed equal protection before the law, and established the federal government as the guarantor of individual civil rights. **420**

Carpetbagger White Southerners' derogatory term for Northerners who came south after the war to settle, work, or aid the ex-slaves. It falsely suggested they were penniless adventurers who came south merely to get rich. **422**

Scalawag White Southerners' derogatory term for fellow whites considered traitors to their region and race for joining the Republican Party and cooperating with Reconstruction policy. **422**

Fifteenth Amendment Constitutional amendment passed by Congress in 1869 providing an explicit constitutional guarantee for black suffrage. **425**

Mississippi Plan Campaign of violence and intimidation waged by armed groups of whites closely allied with the Democratic Party that drove Republicans from power in the Mississippi state elections of 1874. Copied by other Southern states. **430**

Redeemers Name for white Southern political leaders who successfully returned their states to white Democratic rule in the mid-1870s. The name was intended to depict these leaders as saviors of Southern society from rule by freedmen, scalawags, and carpetbaggers. **430**

Civil Rights Act of 1875 Passed by Congress in 1875, it required state governments to provide equal access in public facilities such as schools and to allow African Americans to serve on juries. In 1883 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled it unconstitutional. **430**

Compromise of 1877 Resolution of the disputed presidential election of 1876 that handed victory to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes over Democrat Samuel J. Tilden. Democrats agreed to the deal in exchange for patronage and the continued removal of federal troops from the South. **431**

New South Optimistic phrase white Southerners used to describe the post-Reconstruction South, reflecting the South's development of a new system of race relations based on segregation and white supremacy and pointing to a profound economic transformation that swept across the region. **432**

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Educational technology designed for the way today's students read, think, and learn

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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 primary and secondary 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.

New to This Edition

This third edition contains numerous exciting enhancements.

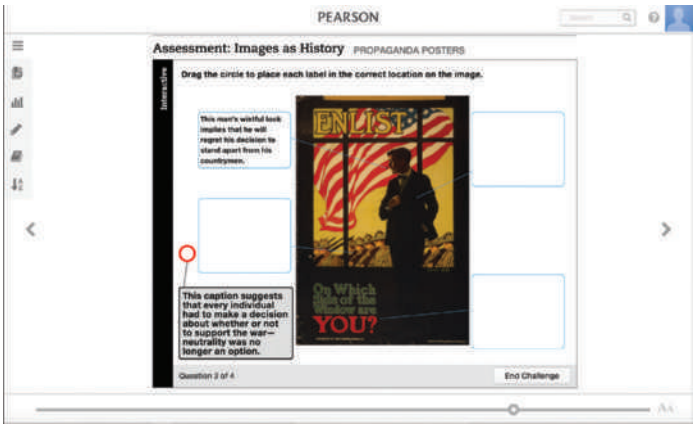
In Print

- *Visions of America* **Learning Outcomes** encapsulate the book's pedagogical goals.
- Chapter-specific **Learning Outcomes** correspond with the book's learning outcomes.
- **Review Questions** at the end of each subsection facilitate reading retention.
- New images, tables, charts, and documents.
- A refreshed design.
- **Why It Matters** box added to the Chapter Review to help students evaluate the overall importance of an era in American history.
- Revised content reflects new scholarship, images, figures and feedback from students and instructors.

In REVEL

- *Images as History* and *Choices and Consequences* redesigned as interactive exercises within the text.
- Enhanced images that allow for individual exploration of details.
- **Author video introductions** of chapter openers and every major section of a chapter, which highlight relevant competing visions and key images.
- **Why It Matters** videos to help students evaluate the overall importance of an era in American history.
- **Think about It** videos that investigate key historical questions.
- **Teaching with Visuals** videos for instructors seeking new techniques for incorporating images into their classroom teaching.

- **Online assessment instruments** for each chapter learning outcome.
  - *Choices and Consequences:* The assessment tests students' understanding of the choices facing historical actors.
  - *Competing Visions:* The assessment checks students' reading of primary sources.
  - *Images as History:* The assessment evaluates students' ability to analyze an image.



- **Integrated Writing Opportunities** help students reason more logically and write more clearly. Each chapter offers three varieties of writing prompts that measure historical literacy and students' ability to formulate a historical argument.
  - The *Journal* prompt elicits free-form, topic-specific responses addressing topics covered within each subsection.
  - The *Shared Writing* prompt encourages students to address multiple sides of an issue by sharing and responding to each other's viewpoints, encouraging all to critically analyze a historical event, text, or question.
  - The *Essay* prompt in each chapter is from Pearson's Writing Space, where instructors can assign both automatic-graded and instructor-graded prompts. The book-specific essay prompts assess either the Historical Argument or Historical Literacy outcome.

For more information about all the tools and resources in REVEL and access to your own REVEL account for *Visions of America: A History of the United States*, go to www.pearsonhighered.com/REVEL.

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VISIONS *of* AMERICA

A History of the United States

CHAPTER 1

People in Motion

The Atlantic World to 1590

CONTENTS

To the people who had lived in the Americas for millennia, the idea that theirs was a "New World" would have seemed strange. Scientists continue to debate when the first people arrived in the Americas from Asia, but estimates range from between 40,000 and 14,000 years ago. In the millennia that followed, the peoples of the Americas fanned out and established a range of societies.

Yet to the Europeans who arrived in the Americas toward the end of the fifteenth century, America was indeed a "brave new world," as William Shakespeare wrote, inhabited by exotic plants, animals, and peoples. In images and words Europeans portrayed this extraordinary land in the most fantastic terms. Some accounts spoke of America as an Eden-like earthly paradise inhabited by good-natured, but primitive, peoples. Others emphasized themes like those featured in this engraving, *Amerigo Vespucci Awakens a Sleeping America*. Vespucci, an Italian-Spanish navigator from whose first name the New World came to be called the Americas, gazes upon a naked native woman rising from her hammock. Her nudity symbolizes the wild sexuality Europeans believed characterized the native inhabitants of the Americas. The cannibals behind her, devouring human flesh, represent savagery, a second prominent element of the European vision of the New World. Neither vision of the Americas was accurate, but both would greatly complicate Europeans' understanding of the American civilizations they encountered, leading to a legacy of violence, exploitation, and conquest.

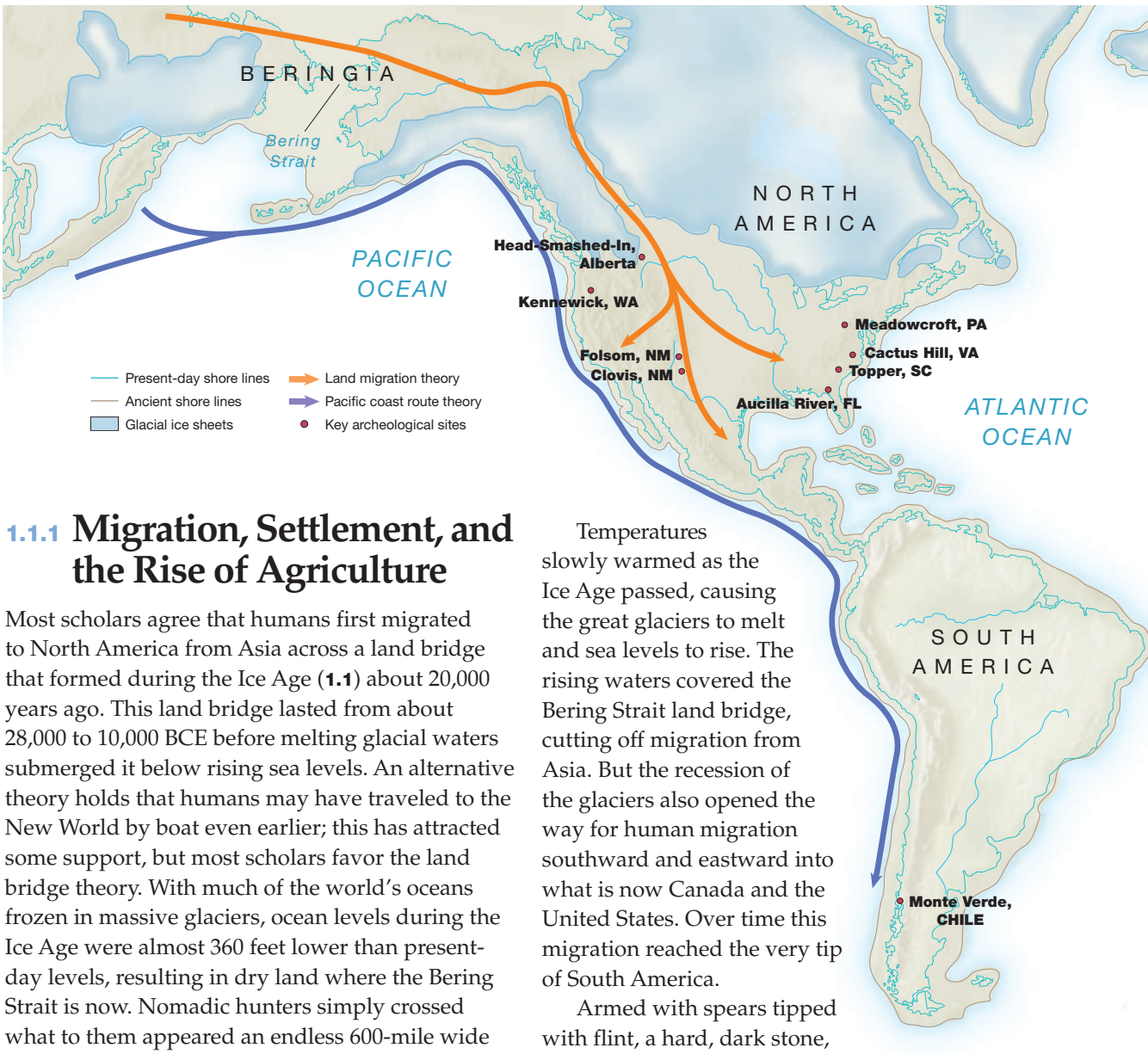
The European arrival in the Americas was part of a process of exploration and colonization pursued primarily by Portugal, Spain, France, and England. This impulse was driven both by a hunger for riches as well as by profound changes in European society, religion, economics, and politics brought on by the Renaissance and Reformation. Africa was eventually drawn into this vast trading network encompassing the entire Atlantic world. Colonization almost always involved the severe exploitation of native peoples, including dispossession of land and coerced labor. Eventually Europeans turned to the international slave trade and the labor of enslaved Africans to draw the wealth from the mines and fields of the New World.

"Your Magnificence must know that herein they are so inhuman that they outdo every custom (even) of beasts; for they eat all their enemies whom they kill or capture . . . and are libidinous beyond measure."

AMERIGO VESPUCCI, 1497

1.1 The First Americans

In one sense America was the New World—or at least a newer one in terms of human habitation. The oldest traces of human life have been found in Africa, where the earliest human fossil remains unearthed date to somewhere between 190,000 and 160,000 years ago. In contrast the oldest human fossils found in North America are roughly 14,000 years old, far more recent than those found in Europe, Asia, or Australia. The ancient inhabitants of America, **Paleo-Indians,** were an Ice Age people who survived largely by hunting big game and to a lesser extent by fishing and collecting edible plants. Within a few thousand years of their arrival in America from Asia, they had fanned out across the Americas.



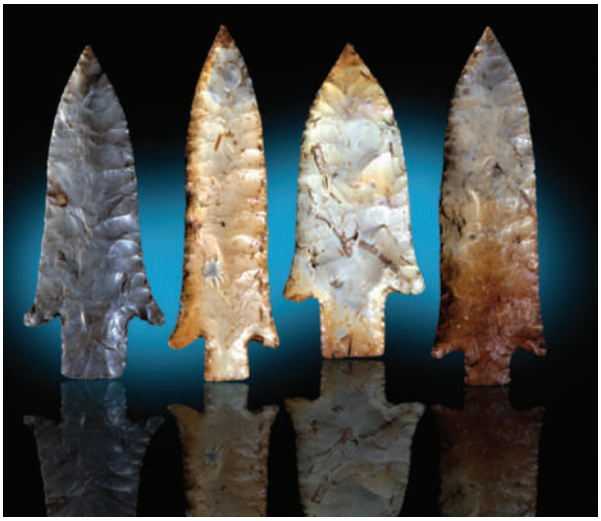
1.1 Migration from Asia to America
Most scholars believe the first inhabitants of America migrated from Asia across the Bering Strait by way of the land bridge that once connected Asia and North America.

1.1.1 Migration, Settlement, and the Rise of Agriculture

Most scholars agree that humans first migrated to North America from Asia across a land bridge that formed during the Ice Age (**1.1**) about 20,000 years ago. This land bridge lasted from about 28,000 to 10,000 BCE before melting glacial waters submerged it below rising sea levels. An alternative theory holds that humans may have traveled to the New World by boat even earlier; this has attracted some support, but most scholars favor the land bridge theory. With much of the world's oceans frozen in massive glaciers, ocean levels during the Ice Age were almost 360 feet lower than present-day levels, resulting in dry land where the Bering Strait is now. Nomadic hunters simply crossed what to them appeared an endless 600-mile wide tundra in pursuit of migratory big game animals like the woolly mammoths—huge, long-tusked members of the elephant family that provided furs for warm clothing and ample stocks of meat.

Temperatures slowly warmed as the Ice Age passed, causing the great glaciers to melt and sea levels to rise. The rising waters covered the Bering Strait land bridge, cutting off migration from Asia. But the recession of the glaciers also opened the way for human migration southward and eastward into what is now Canada and the United States. Over time this migration reached the very tip of South America.

Armed with spears tipped with flint, a hard, dark stone, Paleo-Indians roamed in search of big game. These spearheads, called Clovis points, named after the New Mexico town in which scientists first discovered them, were one of the



1.2 Clovis Point

The range of tools available to Paleo-Indians was limited, but included stone tools, such as arrowheads, axes, scrapers, bone needles, and harpoons. Clovis point arrowheads, such as these shown here, were attached to spears for hunting.

Stone Age tools used by the ancient inhabitants of America. Clovis point arrowheads (like those shown in **1.2**) were lashed to poles to make simple spears. Paleo-Indians also used other simple stone tools such as stone axes and scrapers for hunting and preparing meat, a variety of bone tools such as antler harpoons for fishing, and bone needles for sewing hides. These ancient peoples generally hunted in small bands of perhaps 20 to 30 people in cooperative kin groups. Hunting parties pursued a wide range of prey, including primitive horses and the oversized ancestors of many modern species, such as beaver, bison, caribou, and forerunners of the camel. Hunting, gathering, and other activities among Stone Age peoples were probably divided along gender lines. Men hunted and fished, while women reared children, gathered nuts and berries, and made clothing.

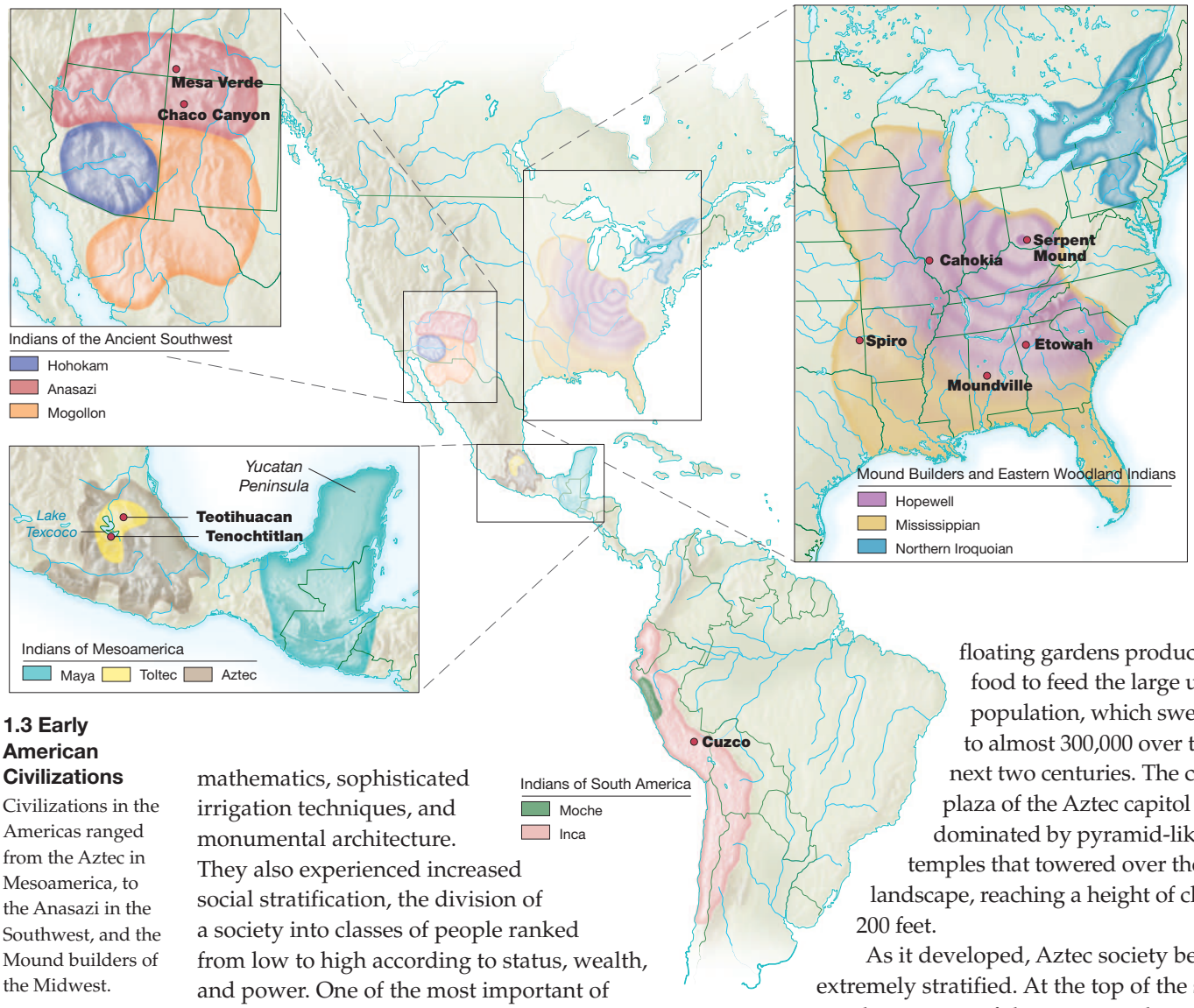
Many of the mammals that Paleo-Indians hunted, including horses and camels, eventually became extinct (the Spanish reintroduced modern horses from Europe thousands of years later). Three competing scientific theories attempt to explain the mass extinctions of large mammals in the Americas. Some scientists believe overhunting led to the demise of the large mammals. Others argue that dramatic climate change—the rising temperatures that accompanied the passing of the Ice Age—killed off animals that were unable to adapt to the new warmer environments. The most recent explanation focuses on diseases that may have been brought to the New World by humans and the animals that accompanied them, most notably dogs and possibly rats. Whatever the cause of the mass extinctions, the decline in large game eventually led Paleo-Indians to search for new food sources and develop new modes of providing food and other necessities.

Approximately 9,000 years ago, a period known as the **Archaic Era** began. Lasting approximately 6,000 years, it ushered in significant social changes that began with increased efforts by native peoples to shape the environment to enhance food production. At first these efforts were primitive. Archaic Era Indians, for example, burned forest underbrush to provide better habitats for smaller mammals such as deer, which they hunted. They also relied increasingly on gathering nuts and berries and, in some cases, on harvesting shellfish from lakes, streams, or coastal waters. The gendered division of labor found in Stone Age societies persisted into the Archaic Era: women cared for children and did much of the gathering and preparing of food while men hunted and fished.

Some Archaic Era Indians even took the first steps toward agriculture. At first they encouraged the growth of edible plants, such as sunflowers and wild onions, by simply weeding out inedible plants around them. Over time Archaic Era Indians learned how to collect and plant seeds and developed basic ideas about irrigation. These primitive cultivation techniques led to increased food supplies and diminished reliance on hunting.

By about 5000 BCE fixed agricultural settlements appeared in what is now Mexico. There native people learned how to grow maize (corn), squash, and beans, leading to the development of food surpluses and consequently large increases in population. Planting, tending, and defending crops necessitated the creation of larger permanent settlements, leading to urbanization, the creation of towns and cities. Increased food surpluses allowed the ancient peoples of the Americas to devote more resources to a variety of cultural, artistic, and engineering projects. The combination of agriculture, urbanism, and increasing social complexity set the foundation for the emergence of the first great civilizations of the southern region of North America, an area stretching from modern Mexico to Nicaragua known as Mesoamerica.

The most advanced societies in Mesoamerica included the Olmecs (1150 BCE to about 800 BCE), Maya (peaked in 300 BCE–900 CE), and Toltecs (900 CE–1200 CE). These complex societies developed written languages, systems of



1.3 Early American Civilizations
Civilizations in the Americas ranged from the Aztec in Mesoamerica, to the Anasazi in the Southwest, and the Mound builders of the Midwest.

mathematics, sophisticated irrigation techniques, and monumental architecture. They also experienced increased social stratification, the division of a society into classes of people ranked from low to high according to status, wealth, and power. One of the most important of these societies, the Aztec (1300 CE to 1521 CE), created a powerful empire in what is now Mexico (**1.3**).

What theories have been proposed to account for the migration of Paleo-Indians to North America?

1.1.2 The Aztec

The rise of the immensely powerful Aztec Confederacy transformed Mesoamerica. By the time the Spanish arrived in the early sixteenth century, the Aztecs controlled a vast empire of between 10 and 20 million people. The **Aztec** Empire's capital, the great city of Tenochtitlán, was built on an island in Lake Texcoco in 1325 on the site of today's Mexico City. Causeways connected the city to the mainland. An elaborate system of dams controlled the water level of the lake, while aqueducts carried fresh water to the city. A sophisticated system of floating gardens produced food to feed the large urban population, which swelled to almost 300,000 over the next two centuries. The central plaza of the Aztec capitol was dominated by pyramid-like temples that towered over the landscape, reaching a height of close to 200 feet.

As it developed, Aztec society became extremely stratified. At the top of the social pyramid sat a powerful emperor. Below the emperor were a class of nobles, a priestly class, a warrior class, and an administrative class that collected taxes and tributes. The foundation of this vast pyramid comprised merchants, artisans, and farmers. At the very bottom were slaves. Some were Aztec-born and became slaves temporarily as punishment for crime. Prisoners of war also added to the slave population, and human chattel was provided as part of tax debts owed to the Aztec Empire by its many conquered peoples.

Gender roles were sharply defined among the Aztec. Women helped men tend the fields but were primarily responsible for child rearing, cooking, weaving cloth, and shopping in the markets. Although the priests were invariably men, Aztec religion accorded women an important role in the family, including making religious offerings to the gods.

> **"Begin with the dealers in gold, silver, precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. . . . But why waste so many words in recounting what they sell in their great market? If I describe everything in detail I shall never be finished."**
>
> **BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, Spanish historian of the conquest of Mexico, 1568**

Trade and commerce were crucial to the Aztec economy. In the smaller towns daily markets provided a wide array of goods, but these markets were miniscule compared to the great open-air market in Tenochtitlán. Countless foods, textiles, ceramics, and other goods were available for trade, illustrating the richness and complexity of the Aztec economy.

The Aztecs were a warlike society. Conquered peoples were forced to pay tribute in the form of textiles, agricultural products, precious stones, and ceramics, and even provide slaves for human sacrifices. For the Aztecs human sacrifice was a central religious ritual necessary to appease the gods, especially the gods of rain and war.

What role did commerce play in Aztec culture?

1.1.3 Mound Builders and Pueblo Dwellers

Urban settlements also appeared in other regions of North America (1.3). One group, the mound-building societies, created monumental earthen burial mounds as part of their religious practices. Some 2,000 years ago, the Adena of what is now southern Ohio built the Great Serpent Mound. Still visible, it resembles a giant snake. Excavations of this and other mounds have unearthed a host of artifacts used for religious purposes and personal adornment. We can also conclude that these inland people acquired the conch shells and shark teeth found at their sites from other cultures, as part of a trade network that extended to the Atlantic coast.

The most complex mound-building society, the Mississippian, developed in the Mississippi Valley (1.3). The central city of this civilization, Cahokia, arose in what is now southern Illinois near St. Louis. Cahokia developed a stratified society with a chief at the top, followed by an elite class and a lower class that provided labor for agriculture and building projects. At its height about 700–1,000 years ago, Cahokia's population ranged between 20,000 and 40,000. The city was protected by a huge wooden palisade and featured at its center a massive terraced earthwork mound that covered 16 acres and rose over 100 feet above the ground. Capping this mound was a wooden temple that would have been among the tallest human-made structures in the Americas, exceeded only by the pyramids of Mesoamerica. Other Mississippian communities developed in present-day Alabama, Georgia, and Oklahoma.

In the American Southwest, the Anasazi peoples created another complex civilization marked by a sophisticated urban culture that included a series of towns interconnected by roads (1.3). To survive in the arid climate of the Southwest, the Anasazi developed impressive engineering skills to build their cities and construct complex irrigation systems to supply water for drinking and agriculture. Using adobe (clay) bricks, they built large dwellings later known by their Spanish name, *pueblos*. At Chaco Canyon in what is now northwest New Mexico, the Anasazi built Pueblo Bonito. This dwelling contained hundreds of rooms including dozens of kivas, or circular rooms intended for religious ceremonies. Until the development of modern apartment buildings in the late nineteenth century, this was the largest human dwelling in history.

The Anasazi also developed skills in making pottery and textiles, some of which they used in a vast trade network that stretched hundreds of miles to the south. The most valuable commodity they traded was turquoise, a bright blue-green stone used to make jewelry. In exchange for it, the Anasazi acquired prized luxuries such as sea shells from as far away as the Gulf of California to the west and carved images and feathers from Mesoamerica.

What role did trade play in ancient American societies?

1.4 Engraving Based on John White's Painting of Secoton

John White's painting of the Eastern Woodlands Indian village of Secoton was adapted by printer and engraver Theodore de Bry and annotated by Englishman Thomas Hariot. The letters in the drawing were added to identify the different parts of the village. The structure labeled "A" was used for religious ceremonies.

1.1.4 Eastern Woodlands Indian Societies

A different type of society developed in a region encompassing what is now the Eastern United States and Canada. In contrast to the native societies of the Southwest and Mesoamerica, Eastern Woodlands societies were neither highly urban nor stratified. Organized into tribes, these Eastern Woodlands Indian peoples lived as hunters and gatherers as well as agriculturalists. Most spoke a dialect of one of two major Indian languages, Iroquois and Algonquian.

Instead of living in urban settlements, Eastern Woodlands Indians moved with the seasons to take advantage of different food sources, tracking animals in forest regions or fishing in lakes, streams, and rivers. Consequently, as this image, one of the earliest European views of an actual Indian village (**1.4**), shows, their villages were composed of wood and bark structures that were easily disassembled and reassembled to make seasonal movement possible. Dwelling in small villages rather than settled urban areas, Eastern Woodlands Indians avoided many of the sanitation problems and diseases that periodically afflicted ancient cities such as Tenochtitlán and Cahokia.

The complex religious life of Eastern Woodlands Indians embraced the concept of a supreme being, the great Manitou, but also included animism, or the belief that everything in nature possessed a spirit that had to be respected. Rather than seeking to own land and subdue the world around them in the manner of European societies, Eastern Woodlands Indians sought to inhabit the land and to live in dynamic relationship with it. These beliefs, however, did not keep them from actively altering or managing their environments to their advantage. Indians adopted strategies such as controlled burning of brush, a technique that encouraged the growth of habitats for the deer they hunted. This type of strategy contrasted with European agriculture, which used clear cutting to make land available for farming.

The tribal societies of the Eastern seaboard had a relatively egalitarian political and social structure. Apart from the chief and a religious figure known as a shaman, most members of a tribe enjoyed a rough equality. While many indigenous societies in the Americas, particularly the more hierarchical ones of Mesoamerica, were patrilineal, with inheritance and decision making residing in the male line, some Eastern Woodlands societies were matrilineal, tracing descent and determining inheritance from ancestors on the female side. In some tribes women enjoyed significant roles in

tribal governance. When captives were taken in war, for example, women often decided whether to adopt or execute them. Nonetheless, Woodlands Indians divided labor along gender lines, with women consigned to the fields, planting beans, corn, and squash, while men tracked and hunted animals for food, hides, and pelts.

> **"They are not delighted in baubles, but in useful things. . . . I have observed that they will not be troubled with superfluous commodities."**
>
> **THOMAS MORTON, English lawyer, 1637**

Eastern Woodlands Indians were more communal than individualistic in outlook. Although trade was important and individuals might own some goods, accumulating material wealth was not an important goal, as it was in the more stratified Mesoamerican societies. Individual tribes controlled territory, but the notion of owning land as private property was alien to most of these tribal societies.

Warfare among many Eastern Woodlands tribes was intermittent but common. They often fought over control of tribal territory or hunting rights. Warfare typically consisted of skirmishes between rival war parties, a style of combat that usually kept casualties low. Casualties suffered in war, however, might trigger further military actions, or "mourning wars," intended to replenish the population reduced by fighting. In such a war some prisoners taken captive might be tortured and killed, while others deemed suitable could be adopted by the tribe.

The persistent warfare among tribes led to the creation of the powerful Iroquois League of Five Nations, an organization that sought to reduce conflict among its members: the Seneca, Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Oneida nations. Women played a significant role in the governance of the league. Female elders from each of the individual nations selected the men who formed the league's Great Council, a body that met to discuss matters of common concern, especially war and peace.

What is the central belief of animism?

1.1.5 American Societies on the Eve of European Contact

American Indian societies were socially and culturally diverse, ranging from the highly stratified and urban Aztec in Mesoamerica to the relatively egalitarian hunter-farmer Iroquois in the Northeast. The peoples of the Americas spoke a host of different languages, developed distinctive religious traditions, and created different political models to govern themselves.

These societies shared many characteristics among themselves and with peoples in other parts of the world. Like their Asian and European contemporaries, the societies of the Americas were premodern, with limited scientific knowledge and widespread belief in magic. Most people worked the land, struggling to provide the basics needed to support life. Except for the privileged few, life was hard, sometimes brutal, and short.

In the Andes Mountains of South America, alpaca and llamas were domesticated, providing wool or food and, in the case of the llama, serving as a pack animal. But in contrast to Africa, Asia, or Europe, in North America and Mesoamerica there were no large domesticated animals, such as horses (extinct after the Paleo-Indian period), cattle, or camels. Without such animals the people of these regions lacked the mobility and power that horses afforded Europeans, Africans, and Asians and that camels provided for North Africans and Asians.

American societies on the eve of contact with Europeans were distinctive in another way. While African and Asian societies had developed considerable trade with Europe, the peoples of the Americas had remained largely cut off from contact with other parts of the world for thousands of years. This isolation had prevented their exposure to a host of diseases. By the time of the first contact between Europe and America in the late 1400s, many of the inhabitants of Asia, Africa, and Europe, long exposed to a common pool of diseases because of their extensive trade contacts, had developed immunity to many virulent pathogens. In their relative isolation, however, the indigenous societies of the Americas were highly susceptible to the microbial invaders introduced by Europeans.

What were some of the distinctive characteristics shared by pre-modern societies, including those of the Americas?

1.2 European Civilization in Turmoil

As the Aztec Empire was reaching the height of its power at the close of the fifteenth century, European society was in the midst of a profound transformation. This period of cultural, intellectual, scientific, and commercial flourishing is known as the Renaissance. The revival of interest in ancient Greek and Latin not only led to renewed interest in the civilizations of Greece and Rome but also caused Renaissance thinkers to re-examine the early history of the church and its teachings. Reformers drawing on these traditions and reacting to the corruption of the Roman Catholic Church challenged the authority of the church. The rise of a new strain of Christian thought, Protestantism, led to creation of a host of new Christian sects. Amid this tumult powerful monarchs across Europe forged new nation-states out of the relatively weak decentralized governments of Europe. Modern nations such as England, France, and Spain were born in this era. State building required money, and the monarchs of these nations were eager to increase their wealth and power, a desire that ultimately led to the colonization and exploration of Africa and the Americas.

1.2.1 The Allure of the East and the Challenge of Islam

The leading European powers' decision to explore, conquer, and exploit lands in the Atlantic world was facilitated by a host of economic, technological, and cultural changes. Contact with Asia led to major changes in taste and patterns of consumption during the early modern period, from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries. Europeans looked beyond their borders, particularly to China and the Far East, for spices to enrich their bland foods and for luxury goods, especially exotic textiles such as silk and cotton, to enliven their fashions. These commodities, not native to Europe, had to be obtained from Asia.

The overland trade routes to the East were controlled by Muslims, adherents of Islam, a monotheistic faith shaped by the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. Since its emergence in the seventh century Middle East, Muslim influence spread, stretching from Europe to parts of Africa and Asia. Europeans resented the economic power of Muslim rulers who controlled the lucrative trade routes to the East.

European antagonism toward the Muslim world also sprang from an intense religious animosity. For almost 300 years, Christian Europe had waged a holy war against Islam, launching Crusades to regain control of Jerusalem, a city sacred to Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Islam's influence in Europe was most pronounced in the Ottoman Empire, whose power eventually spread across the Eastern Mediterranean and Balkans.

What trade goods from Asia were most sought after by Europeans?

1.2.2 Trade, Commerce, and Urbanization

Among the important changes in Europe during this period was the dramatic growth of the economy. The Black Death, a pandemic that spread to Europe between 1347 and 1352, wiped out about half of Europe's population. In the centuries following the Black Death, Europe's population began to expand again, eventually becoming larger than it had been before the epidemic. The economies of Europe also recovered. By 1400, the Italian city-states, especially Venice, dominated trade and finance, particularly trade with the East. In part, Venice's dominance resulted from its proximity to the lucrative eastern trade routes. Italy also dominated textile production, and Florence became Europe's leading producer of woolen cloth. Slowly the economic center of Europe shifted west and north. By about 1500, the city of Antwerp in what is today Belgium had become the leading commercial center of Europe but was eventually surpassed by the Dutch port of Amsterdam.

As trade and commerce expanded, innovative financial practices and services facilitated continued economic growth. New accounting methods

helped merchants keep track of inventories and profits and losses. Marine insurance reduced the risks of maritime trade. A more elaborate banking system also helped finance trade. The growth of deposit banking, a system in which merchants could deposit funds with bankers and then draw on written checks instead of presenting gold or silver coins for payment of goods, greatly bolstered trade and commerce. All these developments made economic ventures more secure and encouraged investment, some of which was directed toward overseas trade and exploration. Together the new commercial and financial practices were key elements in the growth of capitalism. Simply put, **capitalism** is an economic system in which a market economy, geared toward the maximization of profit, determines the prices of goods and services. This new, profit-driven capitalist ethos slowly transformed European life beginning in the fifteenth century.

Capitalism also transformed rural Europe. European culture had always viewed nature as something to be tamed and exploited (see *Competing Visions: European and Huron Views of Nature*, page 12). Rather than simply produce food for themselves, the new capitalist ethos led some farmers to seek the maximum yield from their land and plant crops that would fetch a higher price at market. In other cases landowners evicted farmers from their lands, so that they could graze sheep on the land and produce wool that would be turned into cloth. This latter change in agriculture forced many to leave the countryside and seek employment in towns and cities.

Migration from the countryside and commercial development led to greater urbanization in Europe. In the two centuries after the Black Death, the population of London increased from 50,000 to more than 200,000. Outside of London, England's changes were less dramatic, but no less significant. Populations mushroomed in ports such as Bristol, regional market towns such as Cambridge, and the new textile centers such as Norwich.

Technological improvements and new inventions also spurred economic growth. The printing press transformed the way knowledge was produced and disseminated. While a scribe hand-copying a book onto parchment might turn out two or three books a year, the typical print run of a book produced on paper by a printing press was between 100 and 1,000. Printed books not only made it easier to preserve knowledge but also encouraged advances in science and in geographic exploration by making it easier to collect, organize, and analyze information. Printed texts and engraved images also whet the appetites of Europeans for exploration by making accounts of exotic places such as India and China more accessible. Marco Polo's (1254?–1324) influential text about his adventures in China, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, circulated widely in manuscript form for more than a century before a printed edition appeared in 1477.

Printing created an entire new industry for the production, dissemination, and sale of books. The new technology also transformed visual culture, making it possible to create cheap images. The new technique of engraving (**1.5**) was a multistep process. On the right a skilled craftsman gouges out an image on a copper plate. In the center the plates are inked and then wiped clean. On the left the final stages in the engraving process are demonstrated, including the giant press used to create the final image.

How did printing affect European society?

1.5 Copper Engraving
The many steps used to make an engraving, from the artist's hand to the final drying of the printed page, are illustrated in this early image.

Competing Visions

EUROPEAN AND HURON VIEWS OF NATURE

European capitalism was built on deeply rooted beliefs, including the notion of private property and the belief that nature existed as a resource for humans to tame and exploit. European and Eastern Woodlands Indian cultures had starkly different attitudes toward the natural world. Following a mandate laid down in the biblical Book of Genesis, Europeans believed that they had a God-given right to rule over nature. The Huron, an Eastern Woodlands Indian tribe from Canada, approached nature in a radically different way that reflected their animist belief that all living things had spiritual power. What ecological consequences flowed from the Huron view of nature? How might this view have shaped the European impression of Indians? What ecological consequences follow from the Western view?

In Genesis God gave humans complete control over nature. According to this view humanity was not simply enjoined to "subdue nature" but to make sure that the "fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth."

And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.

King James Bible, Genesis 1:28 (1611)

Lucas Cranach, *Adam and Eve*

One of the best sources for understanding Indian views of nature can be found in the writings of Jesuit missionaries, a Catholic order active in the French colonization of Canada. In this selection a Jesuit recounts his exchange with a Huron Indian about the proper treatment of animal bones, which Hurons believed had to be treated with respect to avoid angering the animal spirits that might take offense and make hunting more difficult.

It is remarkable how they gather and collect these bones, and preserve them with so much care, that you would say their game would be lost if they violated their superstitions. As I was laughing at them, and telling them that Beavers do not know what is done with their bones, they answered me, "Thou dost not know how to take Beavers, and thou wishest to talk about it." Before the Beaver was entirely dead, they told me, its soul comes to make the round of the Cabin of him who has killed it, and looks very carefully to see what is done with its bones; if they are given to the dogs, the other Beavers would be apprised of it and therefore they would make themselves hard to capture. (*Paul le Jeune*, 1633)

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610–1791 (1896–1901) 6: 211.

John White, *Indians Fishing*

1.2.3 Renaissance and Reformation

A revival of interest in the cultures of Greek and Roman antiquity, arising first in Italy, spread across Europe at the end of the fifteenth century. This rebirth of classical learning, the Renaissance, transformed the way Europeans thought about art, architecture, science, and political philosophy. The most significant change was the shift from theology, the primary scholarly subject in the Middle Ages, to the study of the liberal arts, including poetry, history, and philosophy. Much like the ancient Greeks, Renaissance scholars emphasized the human capacity for self-improvement and exalted the beauty of the human body in painting and sculpture. For these scholars, known as **humanists**, humans were the masters of their world and obligated to study it. These Renaissance values, in particular the spirit of exploration, would soon inspire explorers to seek out new lands and trade routes.

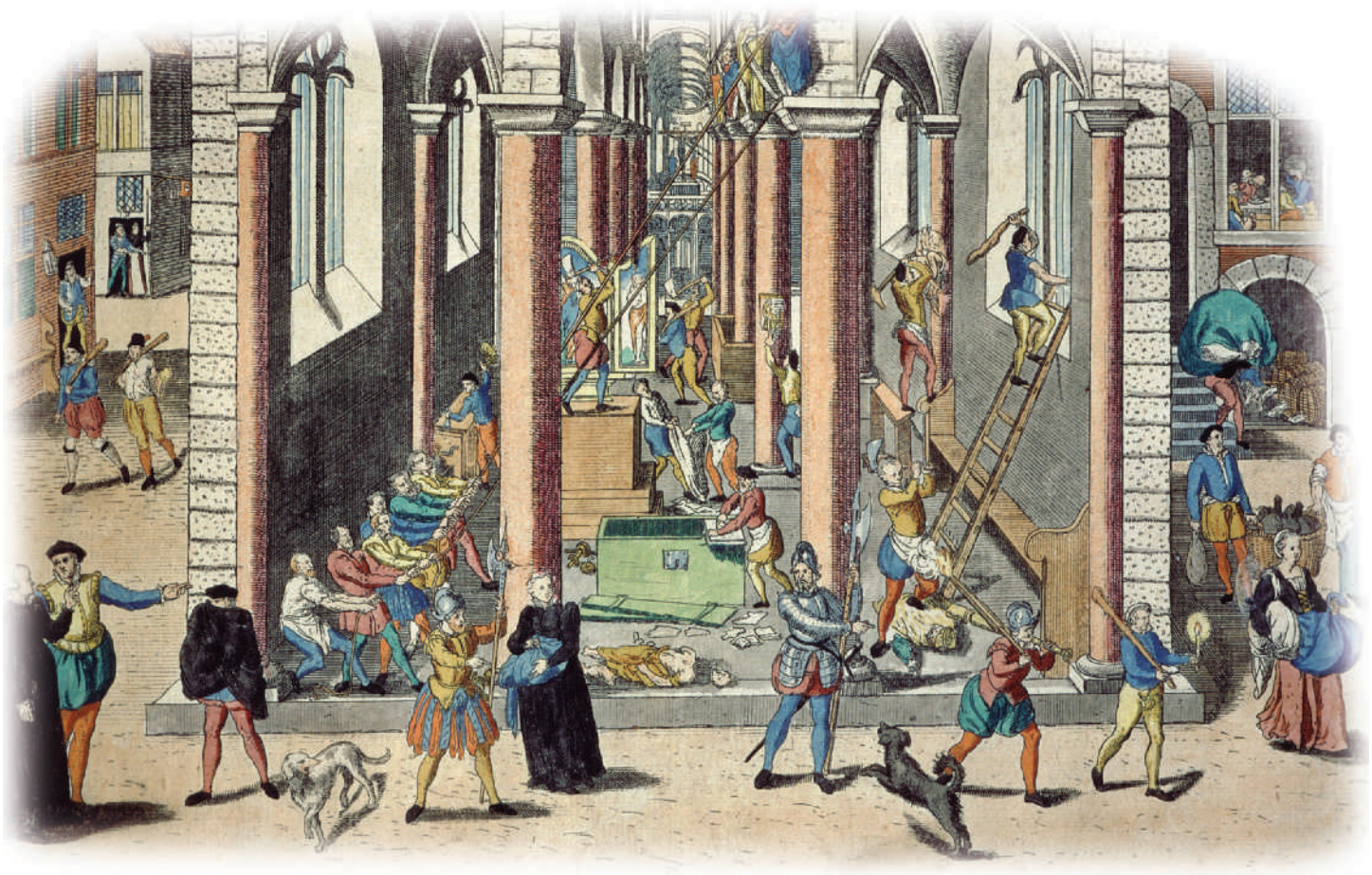
In contrast to medieval Europe, with its cloistered monasteries where monks prayed and copied texts for their own libraries, the Renaissance placed a high value on public art, architecture, and philosophical thought aimed at civilizing humanity. Civic humanism, the new philosophy of the Renaissance, encouraged artists and philosophers to participate in public life, especially in cities, which replaced monasteries as the ideal place to encourage learning and glorify God.

The study of ancient languages fostered a new interest in the early church and inspired some religious figures to call for reforms in the Roman Catholic Church. One church practice that drew intense criticism was the sale of indulgences. Money donated to the Church could buy forgiveness for sin in this life. In 1517 a young German monk named Martin Luther attacked the sale of indulgences and other key elements of Catholic doctrine and practice. Luther eventually developed a new theological alternative to Catholicism. Rejecting the Catholic Church's focus on good works as the key to achieving salvation, Luther argued that only faith could bring salvation. Luther also argued that ordinary people did not need to depend on the clergy to gain access to God's word; they could and should read the Bible themselves. Luther translated the Bible from Greek and Latin to German, and the newly invented printing press made it widely accessible. Anyone who could read could now receive the word of God in his or her own home. Luther championed the idea of the priesthood of all true believers—the notion that everyone could experience salvation directly. Priests would continue to preach the word of God and perform rituals such as baptizing infants and marriage ceremonies, but Luther would dispense with the Catholic ritual of going to a priest for confession, penance, and absolution for sins. Luther also rejected monasticism. The place for the committed Christian was in this world, not cloistered away in a monastery.

Luther also urged Christian monarchs to take up the cause of religious reform and reject the authority of the Pope. His attack on the political power of the Roman Catholic Church appealed to some European rulers eager to strengthen their power. Luther was summarily excommunicated by the Church, but his calls for reform had wide appeal, especially in what is now Germany and Scandinavia. His supporters, known as Protestants, began a movement for religious reform known as the **Reformation**.

Protestantism found an especially receptive home in Geneva, a French-speaking city in Switzerland. Here the French reformer John Calvin (1509–1564) articulated a new variant of Protestantism with a different theological emphasis from Luther's version. Calvin's theology stressed the doctrine of predestination, the notion that God had destined people to salvation or damnation prior to their birth no matter how righteously or wickedly they lived. He also maintained that the true church was not embodied in any official organization, including the Roman Catholic Church, but rather in a group of the "elect," or those chosen by God for salvation. According to this ideal the elect could continue to act as a reformed church even if they had no physical place of worship or formal ministry to serve their spiritual needs. With the Bible and personal faith, argued Calvin, Protestants could constitute a true church wherever they lived, including, eventually, a wilderness like America.

Calvinists in Switzerland and elsewhere took their critique of Catholic worship a step further than Lutherans, becoming iconoclasts, or image breakers. They took the biblical injunction in Exodus to avoid "graven" or carved images literally: decrying them as sacrilegious and a form of idolatry, Calvinists smashed the stained glass windows and religious carvings that adorned churches. One Catholic nun described a Protestant rampage in Geneva in



1.6 Protestants Stripping a Church of Images
This image depicts Calvinist iconoclasm, the destruction of "graven" images such as religious statues and stained glass windows.

these terms: "Like enraged wolves, they destroyed those fine images with great axes, and hammers, especially going after the blessed crucifix, and the image of Our Lady [Mary]." This contemporary image of one such rampage shows Protestants pulling down sculptures and smashing stained glass windows (**1.6**). Once purged of all such Catholic images, religious worship, Calvinists believed, could focus on the words of the Bible alone. In 1560 English Calvinists published the Geneva Bible, a text that would become the most important text for English-speaking Protestants.

What were the essential teachings of Calvinism?

1.2.4 New Monarchs and the Rise of the Nation-State

By 1500, the kingdoms of France, England, Portugal, and Spain had evolved into sovereign nation-states. Powerful monarchs consolidated their power, eliminated rivals to their thrones, created administrative bureaucracies to rule, and built larger, more effective armies. Paying for these required huge sums of money, and if they could not raise what they needed at home, some monarchs began to look abroad. Territorial expansion and exploration of new regions, they reasoned, would increase both trade and revenues.

In England, Henry VII (r. 1485–1509) established the House of Tudor as the ruling family of England. His son, Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547), expanded the power of the monarchy. His most important act as king of England was his break with Rome when the Pope refused to dissolve his marriage to the Spanish princess Catherine of Aragon. After failing to obtain an annulment, Henry declared himself head of his own independent English church. He rejected the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, confiscated the monastic lands, and sold them for a handsome profit or gave them to favored supporters. The intensity of Henry's anti-Catholic feeling (and his particular hostility to the Pope) is evident in this portrait painted by an

unknown artist in 1570 (**1.7**). Henry VIII lies in bed, pointing to his son and successor Edward VI (r. 1547–1553). The Pope collapses in the foreground and two monks flee the scene, while a monastery is sacked in the background.

Perhaps the most ambitious of the new monarchies was Spain's, created by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile in 1469. When they became joint rulers of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella followed a strategy common to all the new monarchs: they reduced the power of the nobility and strengthened their own control over the military. They also boosted crown revenue by raising taxes and making tax collection more efficient.

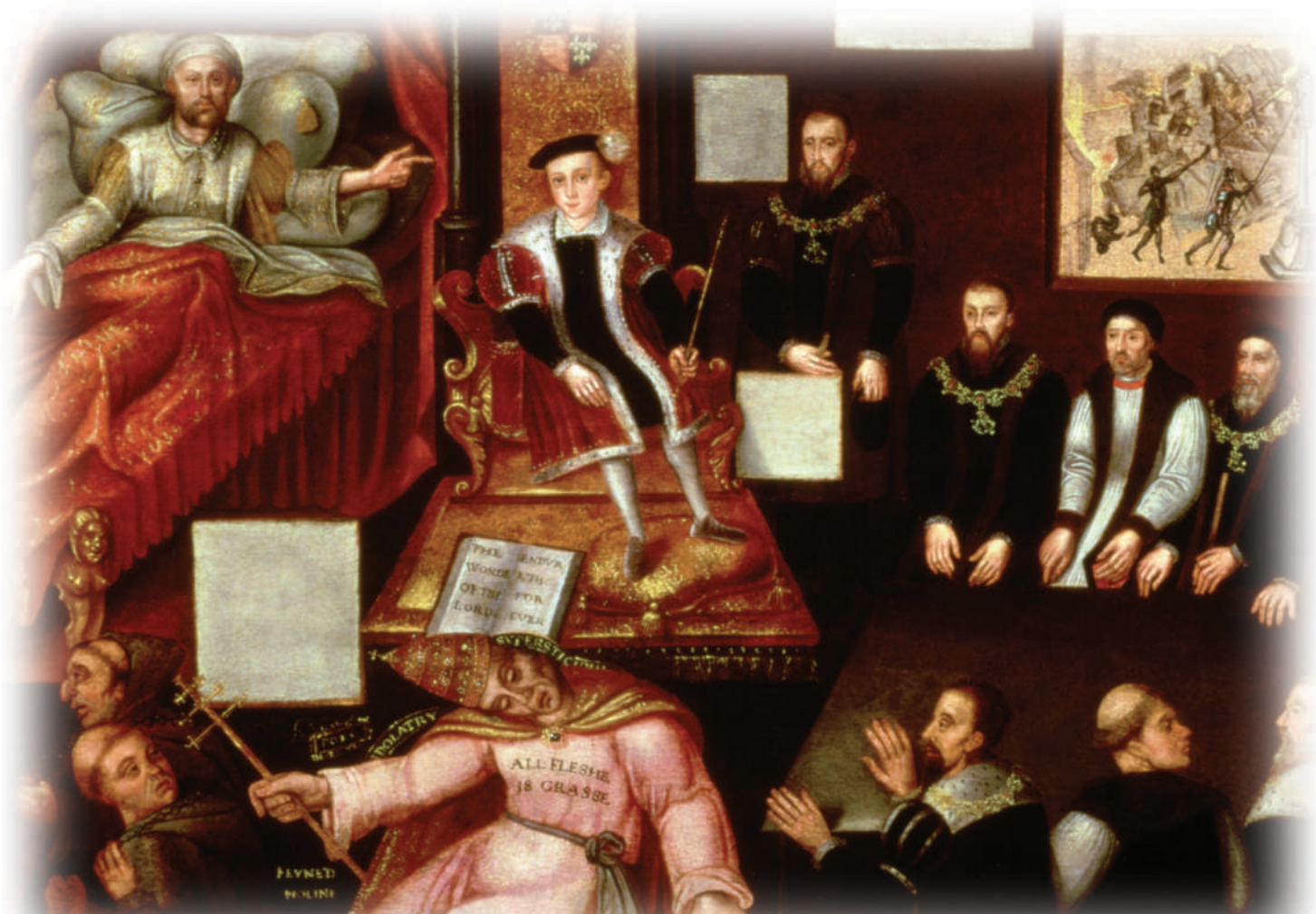
As part of their effort to transform Spain into a world power, Ferdinand and Isabella sought to strengthen the power of the Roman Catholic Church and ally its interests with those of the state. In 1478 the Spanish monarchy sought the Pope's approval to create the **Spanish Inquisition**, a religious tribunal charged with finding and punishing heresy, or unorthodox beliefs among Christians, and for eliminating non-Christians, most notably Muslims and Jews, from Spain. Thousands of suspected heretics were arrested, tortured, and imprisoned. Estimates of the number of executions vary among scholars, but the tally may have been as high as several thousand. Eventually in 1492 the government ordered all Jews, except those who converted to Christianity, expelled from Spain. That same year Ferdinand and Isabella achieved another goal in their effort to strengthen Church and state by conquering Granada, the last remaining Islamic state in Spain.

The conquest of the last Muslim kingdom in Spain in 1492 was the final phase of this *reconquista* ("re-conquest"). Spain's holy war united state and Church in a single purpose. This partnership between a militant clergy and an equally aggressive military would serve Spain well when its attention moved beyond Europe to the wider Atlantic world.

How was the English Reformation different from the Continental Reformation?

1.7 Henry VIII and Edward the VI

In this unfinished painting England's Henry VIII passes on his authority to his son Edward VI, including his role as head of the new Church of England. In the upper right English Protestant iconoclasts attack a monastery. At the bottom of the image the Pope collapses and monks flee from the "worde of the Lorde."



1.3 Columbus and the Columbian Exchange

In 1492, Queen Isabella agreed to outfit a small expedition to find a quicker route to Asia. The expedition's leader, an Italian sailor named Christopher Columbus, was an experienced mariner who had worked in the Portuguese seagoing trade to Africa and the Atlantic islands. Familiar with Marco Polo's written accounts of China, Columbus believed he could find a faster and more direct route to Asia than traveling around the tip of Africa by simply crossing the Atlantic. He first asked the King of Portugal to fund the voyage, but the king's advisers warned Columbus that he had greatly underestimated the circumference of the Earth and would certainly perish long before he reached Asia. Undeterred, Columbus turned to Queen Isabella, who consented to fund his expedition.

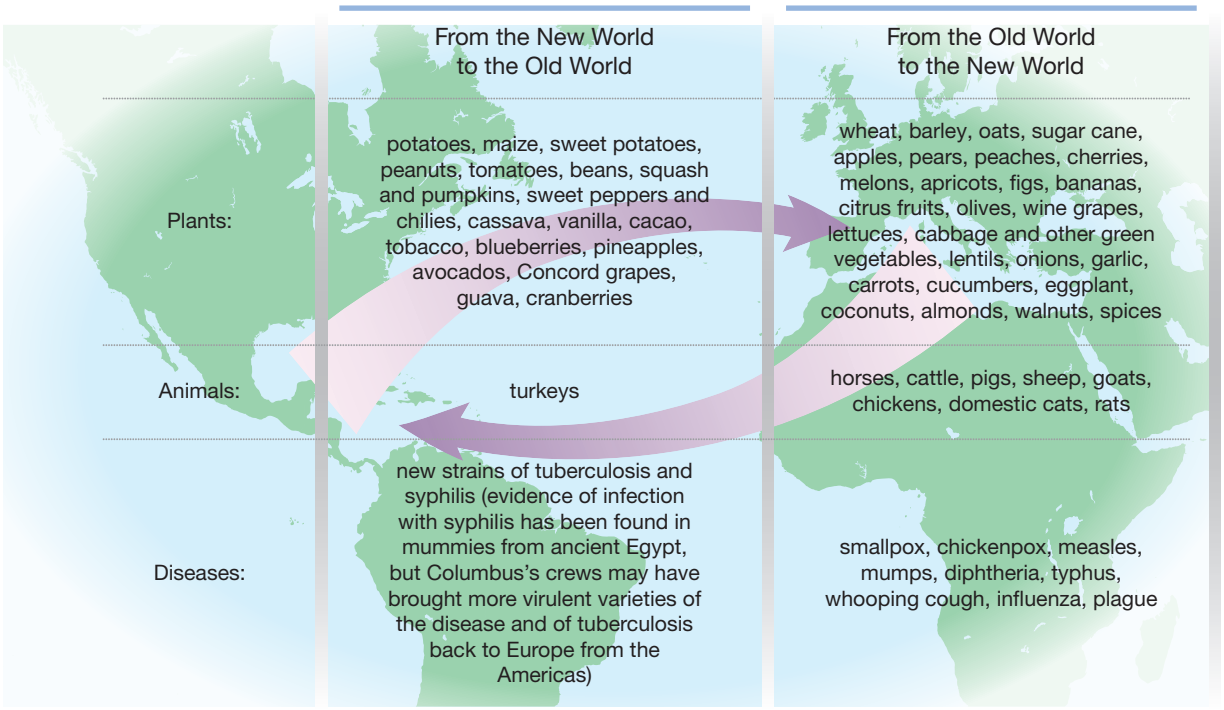
1.3.1 Columbus Encounters the "Indians"

After sailing for 33 days, Columbus reached the Caribbean islands, most likely the Bahamas. Mistakenly convinced that he had arrived in India, he called the native peoples "Indians." Columbus claimed all the lands he visited for Spain. Concluding that the native people were savages, he believed that they were "fit to be ordered about, and made to work, plant, and do everything else that may be needed, and build towns and be taught our customs." Returning to Spain with captive Indians, exotic plants, and gold, Columbus was greeted as a hero and secured funding for additional voyages of exploration.

Columbus was not the first European to cross the Atlantic, nor was he the first to create a small European outpost in America. The Vikings had sailed from Iceland almost 400 years earlier, establishing small fishing outposts in what is now Newfoundland, Canada. Nevertheless, Columbus's voyage to the Americas brought the two worlds together in ways that Viking ventures had not. Europe's printing presses would make accounts of his voyage widely available, providing a model for later explorers, conquerors, and settlers. Columbus's voyage also began one of the most complex ecological changes in modern history. The worlds on both sides of the Atlantic were suddenly reconnected, a development that would have far-reaching biological consequences for Europe, Africa, and America.

Modern scholars have described the biological encounter between the two sides of the Atlantic as the **Columbian Exchange** (**1.8**), a name that acknowledges the crucial role that Columbus played in instigating this transformation. This exchange involved a range of foods, plants, animals, and diseases. Moving from the Americas to Europe by way of Columbus and the Europeans who followed him were a host of foods now closely identified with European cuisine. Before Columbus Italian cuisine had no tomatoes, Irish and German food no potatoes, and Switzerland no chocolate. Moving in the other direction were animals, including the horse (long extinct in the Americas but reintroduced by the Spanish), sheep, cattle, and swine.

> **"As soon as I arrived in the Indies, in the first island which I found, I took by force some of them, in order that they might learn and give me information."**
>
> CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, 1493



1.8 Columbian Exchange
This table shows the most important crops and animals involved in the Columbian Exchange. A host of pathogens, mostly of Old World origin, were also part of the Columbian Exchange.

Diseases also crossed the Atlantic. Europeans may have brought back a plague in the form of a more deadly strain of the sexually transmitted disease syphilis that sailors picked up on the Caribbean islands. Far more devastating were the diseases like smallpox brought to the New World. These diseases killed huge numbers of Indian men, women, and children.

What was the Columbian Exchange?

1.3.2 European Technology in the Era of the Columbian Exchange

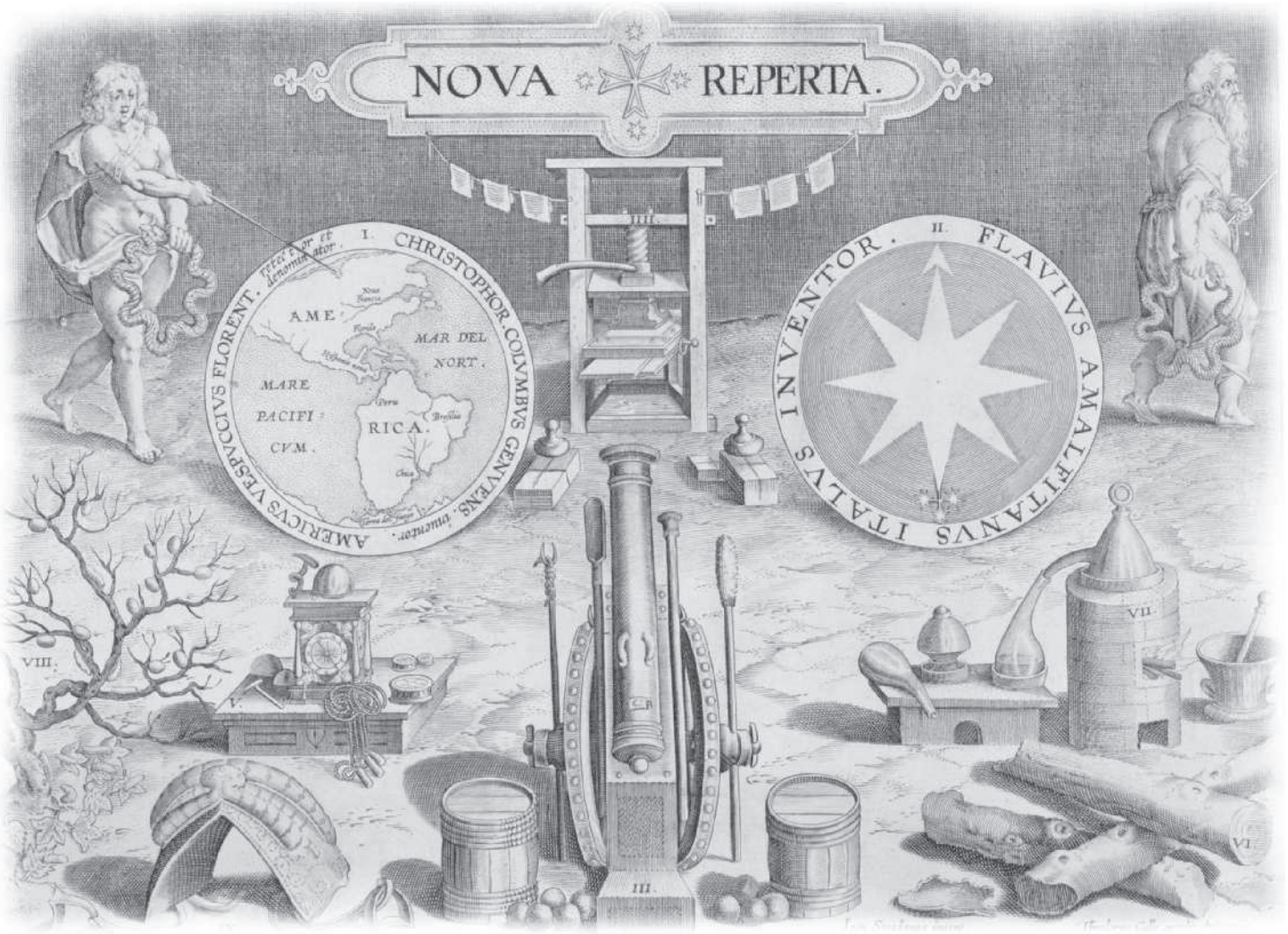
Columbus and the Europeans who led the exploration of the Atlantic world benefited from technological changes developed in Europe in the fifteenth century. Improvements in map making and the introduction of navigational devices that allowed mariners to calculate latitude more accurately aided exploration. Europeans borrowed technology from the Islamic world and Asia to improve their ships. The Portuguese also made important strides in ship-building with the caravel, a vessel whose lateen (triangular) sails were better suited to catching wind than were those of traditional European ships.

Europeans enjoyed a clear technological and military advantage over the peoples of America, a disparity that would profoundly affect European interactions with the Aztec, and later with Eastern Woodlands Indian peoples. Foremost among these advantages were the metallurgical techniques that allowed Europeans to forge iron weapons that were stronger than those of the Aztec and other Indians. Domesticated horses allowed Europeans to support their armies with swift-moving cavalry. Through trade with China, Europeans had learned about gunpowder and developed powerful cannons and firearms such as the arquebus, a forerunner of the musket and rifle. Among the inventions depicted in this engraving, "Nova Reperta," ("New Discoveries") (1584), by artist Johannes Stradanus, are the compass, the mechanical clock, cannons and gunpowder, and a saddle with stirrups (**1.9** on page 18).

What role did military technology play in the Spanish conquest of the Americas?

1.3.3 The Conquest of the Aztec and Inca Empires

Columbus's successful voyage in 1492 was followed by waves of Spanish explorers and



1.9 Nova Reperta

In this drawing, the artist links new scientific and technological discoveries with the exploration of the "New World." A printing press stands between a map of the Americas and a compass. The image is anchored by a cannon and casks of gunpowder, symbolic of European military technology.

conquerors (*conquistadores* in Spanish), who soon seized control of the islands of the Caribbean. The harsh labor regime and the deadly diseases the Spanish brought nearly wiped out these indigenous populations. On the island of Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic), 95 percent of the native peoples died within 25 years. Faced with the loss of this indigenous labor force, the Spanish turned to the African slave trade to supply the labor they demanded for the production of lucrative cash crops such as sugar.

Spanish *conquistadores*, lured by rumors of a fabulous empire possessing great wealth, eventually turned their attention to the mainland of what is now Mexico. In 1519, eager to acquire this wealth for himself and Spain, Hernán Cortés, a brash and ambitious protégé of the Spanish governor of Hispaniola, embarked on an expedition to find the famed capital of the Aztec Empire and conquer it. Landing on Mexico's southeast coast with over 500 men and 16 horses, he burned his ships, depriving his men of any opportunity to retreat. He forced his men to push forward to conquer or die in the attempt.

Although vastly outnumbered by the Aztecs, Cortés and his men had military advantages. First, they possessed horses, firearms, and steel weapons. Second, they quickly gained allies among the peoples conquered by the Aztecs. After years of subjugation in which they were forced to provide the Aztecs with victims for human sacrifice, these exploited peoples now willingly sided with the Spanish. Finally, the

"Cacao by itself, largely being eaten raw, causes all this harm of which we spoke, but that toasted and incorporated with warm spices, as it is mixed in chocolate, it has great benefits for everything."

JUAN DE CÁRDENAS, *Marvelous Problems and Secrets of the Indies*, 1591

Spanish unknowingly carried with them a host of diseases, in particular the deadly smallpox virus that infected and killed vast numbers of Aztecs. By 1521, just two years after his arrival, Cortés had subdued the once mighty Aztec Empire. A decade later other Spanish conquistadors led by Francisco Pizarro toppled the similarly powerful Inca Empire, which stretched from present-day Ecuador to what is now Chile.

To many people of the Americas, who had never seen anything like firearms before, the Spanish *did* seem to have god-like power. European firearms left an indelible impression on South American cultures. Created centuries after European contact, this Peruvian painting (**1.10**) shows an angel carrying an arquebus, the type of firearm used by the Spanish during their conquest of Central and South America.

The Spanish took advantage of the existing systems of tribute and taxation created by the Aztec to extract the maximum amount of wealth from the region. Spanish America yielded a glittering array of valuable items, from gold to pearls. The Spanish also began exporting prized dyes such as the brilliant red cochineal and indigo. The latter blue dye was used to produce a type of cloth associated with the Italian city of Genoa. The French name for this cloth, "bleu de Gênes," is the origin of the modern term blue jeans.

Among the agricultural products exported, cacao, the key ingredient in chocolate, helped spur a Spanish obsession with drinking chocolate. In contrast to the Aztecs, the Spanish preferred to drink their chocolate with an added sweetener, such as honey and eventually sugar.

In the 1540s, the discovery of silver in what is now Peru generated what became the most profitable American commodity for export. Silver would become the cornerstone of Spain's new-found wealth. Silver was a mixed blessing for the Spanish economy. The influx of large amounts of silver into the Spanish economy helped some become rich, but others suffered as prices were inflated as more and more of the precious metal was introduced into the economy.

1.10 Heavenly Militia

This South American painting done hundreds of years after the conquest shows an angel with an arquebus, a precursor of the modern rifle. The image shows the awesome power that Spanish weaponry had on the consciousness of the conquered peoples of Central and South America.

What role did disease play in the Spanish conquest of the Aztecs?

1.4 West African Worlds

Africa, the world's second largest continent in terms of land mass, is home to some of the most ancient civilizations in the world. The range of societies in Africa in the sixteenth century rivaled those of the Americas in social complexity and cultural and religious diversity. Africa featured class-stratified urban civilizations alongside more simple egalitarian societies. Monotheistic faiths, including Christianity and Islam, flourished in parts of Africa, as did religions closer in principle to the animist beliefs of Eastern Woodlands Indians.

The North African states on the Mediterranean had been trading with Europe since the founding of the great ancient port of Carthage (814 BCE) near modern Tunis. Africans possessed many commodities sought by Europeans, including salt, gold, ivory, and exotic woods. But the development of a direct sea route from Europe to West Africa in the fifteenth century greatly increased trade and contact between Europeans and Africans. The most profound consequence of the sea routes to West Africa was the development of the international slave trade, a process that changed virtually every society in the Atlantic world.

1.4.1 West African Societies, Islam, and Trade

The civilizations of Africa south of the Sahara Desert, including those with Atlantic ports, were socially and culturally diverse. The powerful Songhai Empire (1370–1591) extended from the Atlantic inward to the Sudan. Primarily agricultural, the empire included urban centers and a highly organized military and administrative bureaucracy. In the great city of Timbuktu, an Islamic university rivaled many European centers of learning.

Other peoples, such as the Igbos of West Africa, lived in smaller, autonomous villages. These simpler, more egalitarian societies were organized mainly around kinship, more like America's Eastern Woodlands Indians than the empires of Mesoamerica or the rising nation-states of Europe. Local rulers consulted with a council of elders before making decisions affecting the community. Societies such as the Igbos were matrilineal, whereas other African societies traced descent and organized inheritance through the paternal line.

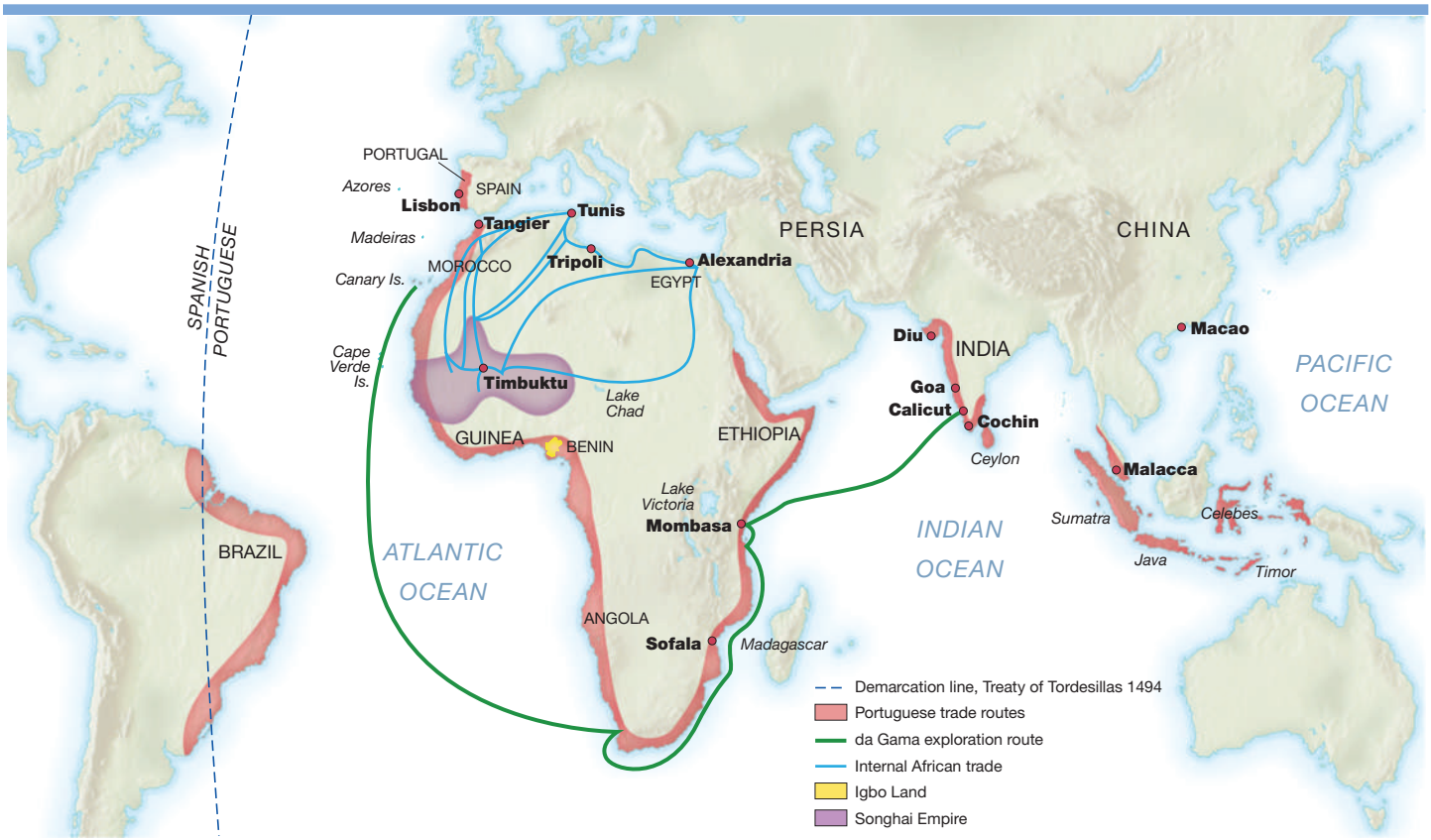
Before the seventh century most societies of West Africa practiced animist religions. These polytheistic faiths considered aspects of nature, such as the sun, wind, and animals, to be gods and spirits. Ancestor worship also played a prominent role in many West African religious traditions. But beginning in the mid-seventh century, the faith of Islam began spreading via trade routes through northern, western, and eastern Africa. Islam eventually became the dominant religion in these areas, especially in trading centers.

Trade played a key role in the economic life of both North and West Africa. Trade goods included salt, ivory, and precious metals. While salt was an essential ingredient for cooking and preserving food, the other items were sought by artists and artisans who fashioned them into luxury goods such as jewelry. An extensive network of caravan routes linked West Africa to the North African ports of Tangier, Tunis, Tripoli, and Alexandria. But Portuguese exploration of the African coast in the late 1400s soon led to the development of direct trade between Europeans and Africans (**1.11**).

What were the major religious traditions of Africa?

1.4.2 The Portuguese-African Connection

Portugal took the lead in exploring an Atlantic route to Asia, which provided Europe with spices and exotic fabrics such as silk and cotton. Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), a member of the Portuguese royal family, used his wealth and power to encourage exploration of the West African coast. Even after his death Portugal continued to explore the West African coast, leading to Vasco da Gama's voyage (1497–1499) around the Horn of Africa and arrival on the southwest coast of India (1.11). Portuguese traders then established a lucrative trade with India and began to explore trading



1.11 Internal African Trade Routes and Portuguese Trade with Africa

West African kingdoms were linked by several different inland trade routes to North Africa and the Mediterranean. The Portuguese traded with the Atlantic islands and the west coast of Africa.

possibilities with Africa, seeking such prized goods as ivory and gold. After 1470, Portuguese trade with West Africa increased, and within a decade the Portuguese had established forts along the African coasts to facilitate further trading opportunities.

At approximately the same time that the Portuguese were exploring the African coast, they were embarking on an ambitious but ruthless plan of conquest and colonization in the Atlantic island groups of the Madeiras, Azores, and Cape Verde, (1.11). These Atlantic outposts were converted into sugar-producing plantation economies. The Portuguese also vied with the Spanish for preeminence in the Canary Islands. The Pope eventually brokered a treaty between these two Iberian powers, giving control to the Spanish. The biggest losers were the indigenous populations of the Canary Islands, the Guanche—a North African people who had settled the islands thousands of years earlier. The semitropical climate of the Canaries was ideal for sugar cultivation. The Pope blessed the Guanche enslavement, which was entirely justified because the Guanche were, in his words, "infidels and savages." The model developed in the Canaries foreshadowed European interactions with the peoples of the Americas.

With no previous exposure to the diseases carried by Europeans, thousands of Guanche people became ill and died. Unable to rely on an indigenous source of labor, Europeans eventually turned to Africa for slaves to provide the back-breaking labor they demanded for cultivating, harvesting, and processing sugar.

What arguments were used to justify the enslavement of the Guanche?

1.4.3 African Slavery

Slavery was widely practiced in Africa long before the arrival of the Portuguese. Rival tribes usually took slaves as spoils of war; but some prisoners attained privileged positions as petty officials, military leaders, and, in rare cases, political advisers to rulers. In Africa slavery was not always a permanent or hereditary condition, and slaves were sometimes absorbed into the societies that held them.

> **"[T]hey kidnap even noblemen, and the sons of noblemen, and our relatives, and take them to be sold to the white men who are in our Kingdoms . . . and as soon as they are taken . . . they are immediately ironed and branded with fire."**
>
> **NZINGA MBEMBA (King Afonso of the Kongo, Central Africa), 1526**

Initially controlled by Muslim traders, the slave trade after 1600 came increasingly under European domination. The ever-rising demand for labor in the Americas, fueled by extraordinary profits from slave-based sugar plantations, prompted rival European powers to compete with one another for a share of this lucrative trade. As the value of slaves increased, Africans began raiding neighboring territories with the express purpose of obtaining slaves.

European involvement in the African slave trade transformed this centuries-old institution into one of the most exploitative labor systems in world history. Europeans developed a racist conception of slavery that declared people of dark skin to be inferior beings for whom slavery was a natural and proper condition. As a consequence Europeans treated slaves as property with few legal rights or protections. Masters were free to extract the maximum amount of labor from them with minimal regard for their humanity. Slaves taken by Europeans to the Americas were often worked literally to death in the sugar fields. Those who survived found that slavery in the New World was a permanent and hereditary condition. They and their descendants faced a lifetime of slavery with no hope of ever obtaining freedom.

Some West African nations managed to fend off the ravages of the slave trade. Benin, a well-organized nation-state ruled by a powerful monarch, traded slaves captured during war to the Portuguese in the fifteenth century but gradually withdrew from the slave trade (see *Choices and Consequences: Benin, Portugal, and the International Slave Trade*). Benin continued to trade with the Portuguese on its own terms. Among the goods sought by the Portuguese were a type of pepper and ivory; the Benin sought bronze from the Portuguese. Among the most visually impressive uses of this bronze were the finely crafted panels created for the walls of the royal palace (**1.12**).

What roles did slaves play in African societies?

1.12 Benin Bronze Panel
The artists of Benin were widely admired for their finely crafted bronze plaques and sculptures which decorated the walls of the royal palace. The panel depicts two Portuguese traders, possibly a father and son, holding hands.