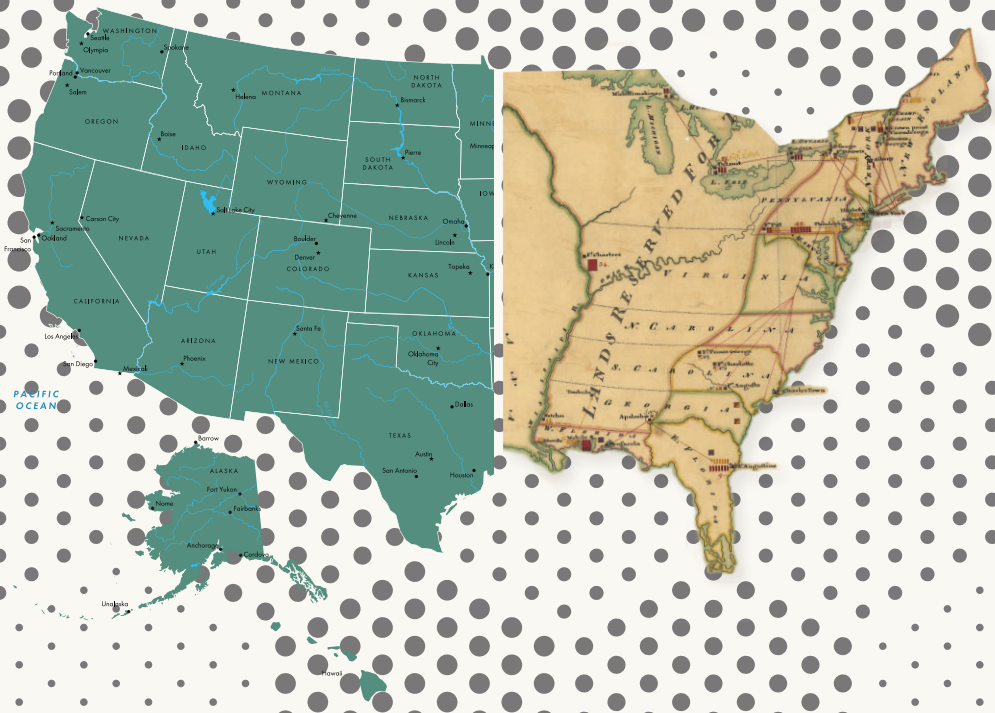
NINTH EDITION

THE UNFINISHED NATION

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



ALAN BRINKLEY
ANDREW HUEBNER
JOHN GIGGIE

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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John Giggie is associate professor of history and African American studies at the University of Alabama where he also serves as director of the Summersell Center for the Study of the South. He is the author of *After Redemption: Jim Crow and the Transformation of African American Religion in the Delta, 1875–1917,* editor of *America Firsthand,* and editor of *Faith in the Market: Religion and the Rise of Commercial Culture*. He is currently preparing a book on civil rights protests in west Alabama. He has been widely honored for his teaching, most recently with a Distinguished Fellow in Teaching Award and Excellence in Community Engagement Award from the University of Alabama. He received his PhD from Princeton University.

Andrew Huebner is associate professor of history at the University of Alabama. He is the author of *Love and Death in the Great War* (2018) and *The Warrior Image: Soldiers in American Culture from the Second World War to the Vietnam Era* (2008). He has written and spoken widely on the subject of war and society in the twentieth-century United States. In 2017, he was named an Organization of American Historians (OAH) Distinguished Lecturer. He received his PhD from Brown University.

THE UNFINISHED NATION

A Concise History of the American People

Ninth Edition

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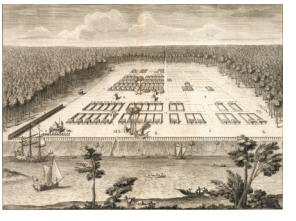

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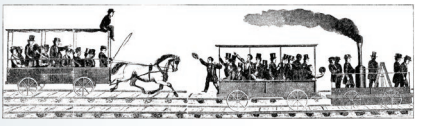

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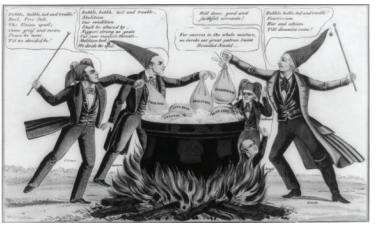

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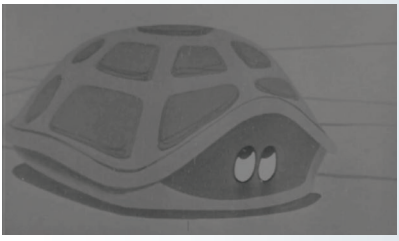

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PREFACE

The title *The Unfinished Nation* is meant to suggest several things. It is a reminder of America's exceptional diversity—of the degree to which, despite all the many efforts to build a single, uniform definition of the meaning of American nationhood, that meaning remains contested. It is a reference to the centrality of change in American history—to the ways in which the nation has continually transformed itself and continues to do so in our own time. And it is also a description of the writing of American history itself—of the ways in which historians are engaged in a continuing, ever unfinished process of asking new questions.

Like any history, *The Unfinished Nation* is a product of its time and reflects the views of the past that historians of recent generations have developed. The writing of our nation's history—like our nation itself—changes constantly. It is not, of course, the past that changes. Rather, historians adjust their perspectives and priorities, ask different kinds of questions, and uncover and incorporate new historical evidence. There are now, as there have always been, critics of changes in historical understanding who argue that history is a collection of facts and should not be subject to "interpretation" or "revision." But historians insist that history is not simply a collection of facts. Names and dates and a record of events are only the beginning of historical understanding. Writers and readers of history interpret the evidence before them, and inevitably bring to the task their own questions, concerns, and experiences.

This edition brings two new authors and therefore a revised and broadened set of ambitions to *The Unfinished Nation.* John Giggie is a historian of race and religion, Andrew Huebner is a historian of war and society, and both more generally study and teach American social and cultural history. Their interests join and complement Alan Brinkley's expansive base of knowledge in the history of American politics, society, and culture. Alan's scholarship inspired John and Andrew as graduate students and they are honored to join him as authors of *The Unfinished Nation.* They endeavor to bring their own scholarly interests and sensitivities to an already vibrant, clear, concise, and balanced survey of American history. The result, we hope, is a text that explores the great range of ideas, institutions, individuals, and events that make up the fabric of society in the United States.

It is a daunting task to attempt to convey the history of the United States in a single book, and the ninth edition of *The Unfinished Nation* has, as have all previous editions, been carefully written and edited to keep the book as concise and readable as possible. It features most notably an enlarged focus on the history of Native Americans, the meaning of the American Revolution, the transformative effects of modern warfare on everyday life, the far-reaching effects of the civil rights movement, and dramatic political and technological change in the twenty-first century. Across these subjects, we recognize that to understand the full complexity of the American past it is necessary to understand both the forces that divide Americans and the forces that draw them together. Thus we've sought to explore the development of foundational ideals like democracy and equality as well as the ways that our nation's fulfillment of those ideals remains, like so much else, unfinished.

AMERICA'S HISTORY IS STILL UNFOLDING

Is American History finished? Not yet! *The Unfinished Nation* shows that as more details are uncovered, dates may not change—but perceptions and reality definitely can. America and her history are in a constant state of change.

Just like America, this edition evolves with two new authors to further Alan Brinkley's established tradition. John Giggie and Andrew Huebner bring expertise and new voices, shedding light on perspectives that will shape an examination of the past. Their aim is to help you, the reader, ask new questions. By doing so, you will find your own answer to the question: is American History finished?

PRIMARY SOURCES HELP STUDENTS THINK CRITICALLY ABOUT HISTORY

Primary sources help students think critically about history and expose them to contrasting perspectives of key events. The Ninth Edition of *The Unfinished Nation* provides three different ways to use primary source documents in your course.

Power of Process for Primary Sources is a critical thinking tool for reading and writing about primary sources. As part of Connect History, McGraw-Hill Education's learning platform Power of Process contains a database of over 400 searchable primary sources in addition to the capability for instructors to upload their own sources. Instructors can then select a series of strategies for students to use to analyze and comment on a source. The Power of Process framework helps students develop essential academic skills such as understanding, analyzing, and synthesizing readings and visuals such as maps, leading students toward higher order thinking and writing.

Features that offer contrasting perspectives or showcase historical artifacts. Within the print or eBook, the Ninth Edition of *The Unfinished Nation* offers the following features:

CONSIDER THE SOURCE

In every chapter, Consider the Source features guide students through careful analysis of historical documents and prompt them to closely examine the ideas expressed, as well as the historical circumstances. Among the classic sources included are Benjamin Franklin's testimony against the Stamp Act, the Gettysburg Address, a radio address from FDR, and Ronald Reagan on the role of government. Concise introductions provide context, and concluding questions prompt students to understand, analyze, and evaluate each source.


CONSIDER THE SOURCE

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, "OF THE ISLAND OF HISPANIOLA" (1542)

Bartolomé de Las Casas, a Dominican friar from Spain, was actively involved in settling of the Americas. He was also a prolific writer and his life was filled with the influence of native peoples and shocking the many abuses they suffered at the hands of their colonizers. This excerpt is from a letter he addressed to Spain's Prince Philip.

God has created all these numberless people to be quite the simplest, without malice or duplicity, most obedient, most faithful to their natural Lords, and to the Christians, whom they serve, the most humble, most patient, most peaceful and most free from strife-or-tumult, not wrangling, nor querulous, are free from uproar, hate and desire of revenge as any in the world. . . . Among these gentle sheep, gifted by their Maker with the above qualities, the Spaniards entered as soon as they knew them, like wolves, tigers and lions which had been starving for many days, and since forty years they have done nothing else, nor do they effect, torment, and destroy them with strange and new, and divers kinds of torments never before seen, nor heard of, nor read of.

The Christians, with their horses and swords and lances, began to slaughter and practice strange cruelty among them. They penetrated into the country and spared neither children nor the aged, nor pregnant women, nor those in childbirth, all of whom they ran through the body and lacerated, as though they were assaulting so many lambs herded in their sheepfold. They made bets as to who would slit a man in two, or cut off his head at one blow or they opened up his bowels. They tore the babes from the mothers breast by the feet, and dashed their heads against the rocks. Others they seized by the shoulders and threw into the river, laughing and jeering at the splash; and those who fell into they exclaimed: "boil body of so and so!" They spitted the bodies of other babes, together with their mothers and all who were before them, on their swords.

They made a gallows just high enough for the feet to nearly touch the ground, and by thirteens, in honor and reverence of our Redeemer and the twelve Apostles, they put wood underneath and, with fire, they burned the Indians alive.

To others whom they wished to leave alive they cut off both hands and threw them, thus, with the hands all of they wished to take alive, made them carry them fastened on to them, and said: "Go and carry letters": that is, take the news to those who have fled to the mountains.

They generally killed the lords and nobles in the following way. They made wooden gridirons of stakes, bound them upon them, and made a slow fire beneath; thus the victims gave up the spirit by degrees, emitting cries of despair in their torments.

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, & EVALUATE

1. How did Bartolomé de Las Casas characterize the indigenous people of Hispaniola? How do you think they would have responded to this description?
2. What metaphor did Las Casas use to describe the native peoples and where does this metaphor come from?
3. What role did Las Casas expect the Spaniards to play on Hispaniola? *What did they do instead?*

DEBATING THE PAST

Debating the Past essays introduce students to the contested quality of much of the American past, and they provide a sense of the evolving nature of historical scholarship. From examining specific differences in historical understandings of the Constitution, to exploring the causes of the Civil War and the significance of Watergate, these essays familiarize students with the interpretive character of historical understanding.


DEBATING THE PAST

THE DECISION TO DROP THE ATOMIC BOMB

There has been continuing disagreement since 1945 among historians—and many others—about how to explain and evaluate President Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb against Japan. . . .

Truman himself, both at the time and in his 1955 memoirs, maintained that the decision was a simple and straightforward one. Japan was not ready to surrender in the summer of 1945. The alternative to using atomic weapons, he claimed, was an American invasion of mainland Japan that might have cost hundreds of thousands of American lives. Secretary of War Henry Stimson supported this argument in an article in the "Saturday Evening Post" in February 1947, and in Harper's Magazine. That view received considerable support from historians. Herbert Feis argued in *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II* (1966) that Truman made his decision on purely military grounds—to ensure a speedy American victory.

(CBSNewsroom/Getty Images)

MASSACRE SURVIVORS A Japanese woman and child look gravely at a Japanese soldier standing on a pile of dead in the aftermath of the dropping of the second American

Others strongly disagreed. As early as 1946, British physicist P. M. S. Blackett wrote in *Fear, War, and the Bomb* that the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was "not so much the last military act of the second World War as the first major operation of the cold diplomatic war with Russia." The most important "revisionist" critique of Truman's decision is the historian Gar Alperovitz, the author of two influential books on the subject: *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam* (1965) and *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb* (1995). Alperovitz dismissed the argument that the bomb was used to shorten the war and save lives. Japan was likely to have surrendered soon even if the bomb had not been used, he claimed. Instead, he argued, the United States used the bomb less to influence Japan than for the purpose of influencing—or, to intimidate the Soviet Union and "make Russia more manageable in Europe." In *A World Destroyed: The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance* (1975), Alperovitz argued that the bomb's diplomatic significance was that it granted the orthodox position that Truman dropped them to end the war quickly.

Other critics of the Truman administration suggested that race played a role in the decision to drop atomic weapons on Japan. These include John Dower's *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (1986), Ronald Takaki's *Hiroshima: Why America Dropped the Atomic Bomb* (1995), and Tsuyoshi Hasegawa's *Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan* (2005). These writers contend that racial stereotyping and racial hostility among Americans extended not only Hiroshima and Nagasaki but also the broader character of the war in the Pacific. But there is much disagreement within the revisionist camp. Takaki and Hasegawa agreed with Alperovitz, for instance, that anti-Soviet impulses motivated the deployment of the bomb, but they parted company over other matters including race. Alperovitz wrote that it is "all but impossible to find specific evidence that racial issues an important factor in the decision to attack Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

Orthodox scholars, in turn, reasserted their opposition to Alperovitz's idea of "atomic diplomacy," in the 1990s and 2000s with a similar charge that revisionist scholars misread the evidence or wrote before the release of important new documents. Declassified reports suggested the United States knew in 1945 that Japan was readying itself for an American invasion. Two scholars, Robert H. Ferrell, in Harry S. Truman: A Life (1994) and Harry S. Truman and the Cold War Era (1998), and Michael Kort, in The Columbia Guide to Harry S. Truman (1993), defended Truman's decision to drop the bomb on military grounds. They cited Japan's unwillingness to surrender and Truman's belief that an invasion would be costly, thus denying the place of atomic diplomacy in that attack. "One can understand and respect honesty in Truman," Hamby concluded. "The longer the war lasted, the more Americans killed." In *The Most Controversial Decision: Truman, the Atomic Bombs, and the Defeat of Japan* (2011), Wilson Miscamble likewise called it a "myth" that Japan was ready to give up before Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

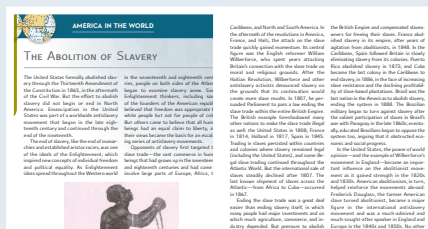
The debate over Truman's decision to drop the bomb has generated bitter and even personal exchanges, because at their heart, those exchanges pivot around a wrenching and divisive question: Were Hiroshima and Nagasaki brutal, unnecessary tragedies that killed thousands of innocent people, or terrible but justifiable acts that shortened a war and saved many thousands more? •

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, & EVALUATE

1. The United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan, one on Hiroshima and the other on Nagasaki. Was dropping the bomb on Hiroshima necessary? Was it justifiable? Do the reasons for dropping the bomb on Hiroshima apply equally to the bombing of Nagasaki?
2. How might the war in the Pacific have been different if the United States had decided not to drop the bombs?

AMERICA IN THE WORLD

America in the World essays focus on specific parallels between American history and those of other nations and demonstrate the importance of the many global influences on the American story. Topics such as the global Industrial Revolution, the abolition of slavery, and the global depression of the 1920s provide concrete examples of the connections between the history of the United States and the history of other nations.


AMERICA IN THE WORLD

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

The United States formally abolished slavery through the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution in 1865, in the aftermath of the Civil War. But the effort to abolish slavery did not begin or end in North America. Emancipation in the United States was part of a worldwide antislavery movement that began in the late eighteenth century and continued through the end of the nineteenth. . . .

The antislavery impulse, like the end of monarchism, and established antiracist ideas, was one of the ideals of the Enlightenment, which inspired new concepts of individual freedom and political equality. As Enlightenment ideas spread throughout the Western world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, people on both sides of the Atlantic began to examine slavery anew. Some Enlightenment thinkers, including one of the founders of the American republic, believed that freedom was appropriate for white people but not for people of color. But others came to believe that all human beings had an equal claim to liberty, a claim that their views became the basis for an enduring antislavery movement. . . .

Opponents of slavery first targeted the slave trade—the sea commerce in human beings that had grown up in the seventeen and eighteenth centuries and had come to involve large parts of Europe, Africa, the Caribbean, and North and South America. In the aftermath of the revolutions in America, France, and Haiti, the attack on the slave trade quickly gained momentum. Its central figure was the English reformer William Wilberforce, who spent years attacking Britain's connection with the slave trade on moral and religious grounds. When the Haitian Revolution, Wilberforce and other opponents of the slave trade argued that it was the grounds that a connection would help to create more slave revolts. In 1807, he persuaded Parliament to pass a law ending the slave trade within the entire British Empire. The British example foreshadowed many other nations to make the slave trade illegal as well: the United States in 1808, France in 1814, Holland in 1817, Spain in 1845. Trading in slaves persisted within countries and colonies where slavery remained legal (including the United States), and some illegal slave trading continued throughout the nineteenth century. But the international slave trade was clearly declined after 1807. The last known shipment of slaves across the Atlantic—from Africa to Cuba—occurred in 1862.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ANTISLAVERY MESSAGE The image of an enslaved man praying to God was popular in both British and American antislavery circles. It began as the seal of the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, a Britis abolitionist group formed in 1787, accompanied by the quote, "Am I not a man and a brother?" This example

Ending the slave trade was a great deal easier than ending slavery itself, in which many people had investments and on which much agriculture, commerce, and industry depended. But pressure to abolish slavery grew steadily throughout the nineteenth century, with antislavery societies helping to lead the international outcry against the institution. In Haiti, the slave revolts that began in 1791 eventually abolished not only slavery but also French rule. In some parts of South America, slavery came to an end with the overthrow of Spanish rule in the 1820s. Simón Bolívar, the great leader of Latin American independence, considered abolishing slavery an important part of his mission, freeing those who joined his armies and promising freedom to all children born to slaves. Slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire and compensated slaveowners for freeing their slaves. France abolished slavery in its empire, after years of agitation from abolitionists, in 1848. In the Caribbean, Spain followed Britain in slowly eliminating slavery from its colonies. Puerto Rico abolished slavery in 1873, and Cuba became the last colony in the Caribbean to end slavery, in 1886, in the face of increasing pressure from Cuban nationalists and the majority of Cuban people. Brazil was the last nation in the Americas to abolish slavery, ending the system in 1888. The Brazilian military began to turn against slavery after the valiant participation of Brazil's army in war with Paraguay in the late 1860s; eventually, educated Brazilians began to oppose the system too, arguing that it obstructed economic and social progress. . . .

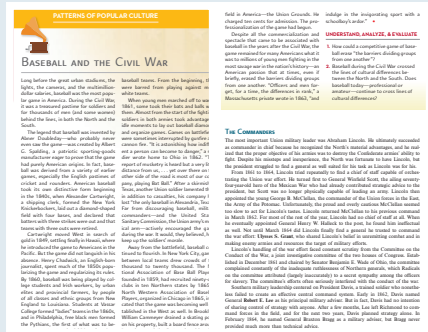
In the United States, the power of world opinion—and the example of Wilberforce's movement in England—became an important factor in the antislavery movement as it gained strength in the 1820s and 1830s. American abolitionists, in turn, helped reinforce the movements abroad. Frederick Douglass, the former American slave turned abolitionist, became a major figure in the international antislavery movement and was a much-admired and much-sought-after speaker in England and Europe in the 1840s and 1850s. No other nation paid such a terrible price for abolition as the United States did in the Civil War during its Civil War, but American opinion was nevertheless part of a worldwide movement toward emancipation. •

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, & EVALUATE

1. Why did opponents of slavery focus first on ending the slave trade, rather than abolishing slavery itself? Why was ending the slave trade easier than ending slavery?
2. How do William Wilberforce's arguments against slavery compare with those of the abolitionists in the United States?

PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE

Patterns of Popular Culture essays bring fads, crazes, hangouts, hobbies, and entertainment into the story of American history, encouraging students to expand their definition of what constitutes history and gain a new understanding of what popular culture reveals about a society.


PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE

BASEBALL AND THE CIVIL WAR

Long before the great urban stadiums, the lights, the cameras, and the multimillion-dollar salaries, baseball was the most popular game in America. During the Civil War, it was a treasured pastime for soldiers and for thousands of men (and some women) behind the lines, in both the North and the South. . . .

The legend that baseball was invented by Abner Doubleday in Cooperstown, New York, even was the game—was created by Albert G. Spalding, a patriotic sporting-goods manufacturer eager to prove that the game had purely American origins. In fact, baseball was derived from a variety of earlier games, especially the English pastimes of cricket and rounders. American baseball took its own distinctive form beginning in the 1840s, when Alexander Cartwright, a shipping clerk, formed the New York Knickerbocker baseball club. Playing on a field with four bases, and declared that batters with three strikes were out and that teams with three outs were retired. . . .

Cartwright moved West in search of gold in 1849, settling finally in Hawaii, where he introduced the game to Americans in the Pacific. But the game did not languish in his absence. Henry Chadwick, an English-born journalist, spent much of the 1850s popularizing the game and regularizing its rules.

By the 1860s baseball was popular on college campuses and Irish workers, in urban cities and provincial farmers, by people of all classes and ethnic groups from New England to Louisiana. Students at Vassar College learned "ladies" teams in the 1860s, and in Philadelphia, free black men formed the Pythians, the first of what was to become baseball teams. From the beginning, women were banned from playing against white teams.

When young men marched off to war in 1861, some took their bats and balls with them. Almost from the start of the fighting, soldiers in both armies took advantage of idle moments to lay out baseball diamonds and organize games. Games on battlefields were sometimes interrupted by artillery or cannon fire. "It is astonishing how rapidly even a partisan can become to danger," a writer wrote home to Ohio in 1862. "I report of musketry is heard but a very few distance from us, . . . yet scarce there any other side of the road is out of our camp ball." After a skirmish in Texas, another Union soldier lamented that in addition to casualties, his company had "the only baseball in Alexandria, Texas." Even prisoners of war sometimes played baseball—and the United States Sanitary Commission, the Union army's civil arm—actively encouraged the game during the war. It would, they believed, help keep up the soldiers' morale.

Away from the battlefield, baseball continued its flourish. In New York City, games between local teams drew crowds of a thousand or twenty thousand. The National Association of Base Ball Players (NABBP), which had seventeen baseball clubs in two Northern states by 1861. The North Western Association of Base Ball Players, organized in Chicago in 1865, indicated that the game was becoming well established in the West as well. In Brooklyn William Cammeyer drained a skating pond on his property, built a board fence around the field in America—the Union Grounds. He charged ten cents for admission. The professionalization of the game had begun. . . .

Despite all the commercialization and change, baseball has remained the national pastime of the past, after the Civil War, the game remained for many Americans what it was to millions of young men fighting in the most savage war in the nation's history—an American passion that at times, even if briefly, erased the barriers dividing groups from one another. "Officers and men forget, for a time, the differences in rank," a Massachusetts private wrote in 1863, "and indulge in the invigorating sport with a schoolboy's ardor." •

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, & EVALUATE

1. How could a competitive game of baseball erase "the barriers dividing groups from one another"?
2. Baseball during the Civil War crossed the lines of cultural differences between the North and the South. Does baseball today—professional or amateur—continue to cross lines of cultural differences?

THE COMMANDERS

The most important Union military leader was Abraham Lincoln. He ultimately succeeded as commander in chief because he recognized the North's material advantages, and he realized that the war could be won only by defeating the Confederate armies and destroying their will to fight. Despite his initial strategic and tactical ignorance, the North's most famous leader, by the president struggled to find a general as well suited for his task as Lincoln was for his. . . .

From 1861 to 1864 Lincoln tried repeatedly to find a chief of staff capable of orchestrating the Union war effort. He turned first to General Winfield Scott, the ailing seventy-year-old hero of the Mexican War who had already contributed strategic advice to the president, but Scott was no longer physically capable of leading an army. Lincoln then appointed the young George B. McClellan, the commander of the Union forces in the East, the Army of the Potomac. Unfortunately, the proud and overly cautious McClellan seemed too slow to act for Lincoln's tastes. Lincoln returned McClellan to his previous command in March 1862. For most of the rest of the year, Lincoln had no chief of staff at all. When he eventually appointed General Henry W. Halleck to the post, he found him ineffectual as well. Not until March 1864 did Lincoln finally find a general he trusted to command all the Union armies. That general was Ulysses S. Grant, a determined fighter and tireless leader of leading enemy armies and overcome the target of military efforts. . . .

Lincoln's handling of the war effort faced constant scrutiny from the Committee on the Conduct of the War, a joint investigative committee of the two houses of Congress. Established in December 1861 and chaired by Senator Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, the committee complained constantly of the inadequate ruthlessness of Northern generals, which Radicals on the committee attributed (largely inaccurately) to a secret sympathy among the officers for slavery. The committee's efforts often seriously interfered with the conduct of the war.

Southern military leadership centered on President Davis, a trained soldier who nonetheless failed to create an effective central command system. Early in 1861, Davis named General **Robert E. Lee** as his principal military adviser. But in fact, Davis had no intention of relinquishing his own command responsibilities. Lee, a brilliant field commander, remained forever in the field, and for the next two years, Davis planned strategy alone. In February 1864, he named General Braxton Bragg as a military adviser, but Bragg never provided much more than technical advice.

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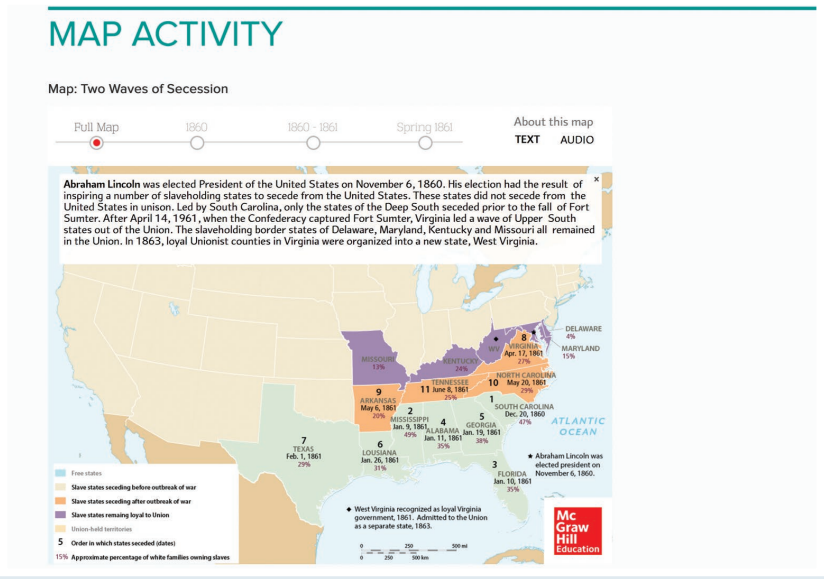

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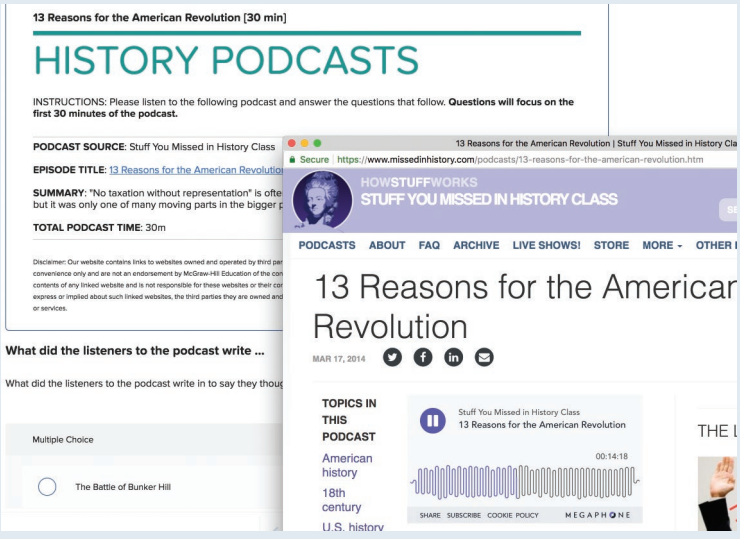

CHAPTER-BY-CHAPTER CHANGES

We have extensively revised the narrative and features in this ninth edition to bring in new scholarship, particularly as it relates to the experiences and perspectives of Native Americans, African Americans, and women throughout American history. On the advice of other professors using the book, we have removed the former Chapter 25 on global events from 1921 to 1941 and instead integrated the coverage within chapters on the 1920s, 1930s, and World War II. Another major change in this edition is pedagogical—boldfacing within each chapter all words in the end-of-chapter Key Terms/People/Places/Events list, and creating glossary entries for these boldfaced words. (In the Connect eBook, these definitions will pop up when

students click on bolded words; in print, students can find them in the end-of-book glossary.) We have also revised every chapter in response to heat map data that pointed to passages where students were struggling. On a chapter-by-chapter basis, major changes include:

Chapter 1, The Collision of Cultures

- Revised timeline with broader representation of cultures involved in the early contact story.
- Updated discussions of Olmecs, Mayas, Mexicas, ancient Pueblo peoples, and the people of Cahokia.
- Revised discussion of women's roles and power in North and South America.
- Revised map of European exploration and conquest to include Native American tribes populating North America.
- Fuller discussion of Oñate's colonizing methods and reactions from native peoples.
- Fuller discussion of Popé's rebellion.
- Revised discussion of the spread of infection among native peoples.
- Updated Debating the Past box on contemporary debates among historians.
- Revised America in the World box, now titled "The International Context of the Early History of the Americas."
- Revised and reorganized discussion of early English exploration and colonization for clarity and flow, including a focus on the Caribbean.

Chapter 2, Transplantations and Borderlands

- Expanded chapter introduction to include the topic of slavery across the colonies.
- Thoroughly revised discussion within "The Early Chesapeake," with an improved narrative sequence, updated scholarship, and greater attention to the agency and contributions of the Powhatans, including a more nuanced discussion of Pocahontas and her life both in North America and in England.
- Fuller treatment of the development of slave codes in the Virginia colony.
- Added recognition of the participation of black men in Bacon's Rebellion and the significance of the rebellion to the further development of slavery in the colony.
- Greater specificity about the variety of Indian communities in New England.
- Improved discussion of Roger Williams's arguments about tolerance and respect for Narragansett peoples.
- Greater clarity on Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian heresy.
- Revised discussion of King Philip's War, with a more nuanced discussion of Indian participation and greater attention to the significance of the conflict and its aftermath.
- Revised discussion of the English Civil War and aftermath, with greater attention to its significance for the Caribbean and mainland colonies.
- New information on the role of slaves in the origin and growth of the rice economy of Carolina.
- New discussion of slavery in New York and New York's first free black community.
- Fuller discussion of English colonies in the Caribbean, including slave codes, the social practices developed by slaves, and the economic importance of those colonies.
- Greater specificity on native peoples in "The Southwest Borderlands."
- Updated discussion in "Middle Grounds" about the balance of power between Europeans and Indians.
- Updated Debating the Past box on Native Americans and the Middle Ground.

Chapter 3, Society and Culture in Provincial America

- Expanded chapter introduction, with greater attention to the role of African slaves in colonial life and the interplay of colonists and Indians.
- Fuller discussion clarifies Africans did not journey to the colonies as voluntary immigrants.
- Greater attention to the transition from indentured servant to slave labor in the Chesapeake colonies.
- Expanded coverage of the legal rights of colonial women.
- Better detail on the middle passage, including a description by Olaudah Equiano.
- Updated discussion regarding the evolution of slave codes.
- Revised organization within "The Colonial Economies" to recognize the varieties of slave labor throughout the colonies, North and South.
- Revised map of immigrant groups in colonial America, adding the presence of indigenous peoples.
- Revised map of slavery in colonial America, adding northern colonies.
- Revised description of the realities of plantation life.
- Revised organization of "Patterns of Society" into "Southern Communities" and "Northern Communities."
- Fuller discussion of witchcraft accusations in Salem and beyond.

- Added discussion of the religious heritage of slaves, including the example of Muslim slave Ayuba Suleiman Diallo.
- Revised discussion of the Great Awakening, including its appeal to women and enslaved people.
- Added the role of Cotton Mather's slave Onesimus in fighting smallpox in the colonies.
- Revised chapter conclusion to reflect the many changes within the chapter.

Chapter 4, The Empire in Transition

- Expanded chapter introduction on the changing relationship between the American colonists and their British rulers in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War, and on Native Americans as participants in the war and postwar dynamics.
- Fuller treatment of Native Americans as participants in the French and Indian War, including the following new or expanded topics: role of the Indian leader Tanaghrisson; how Indians viewed alliances with the British and French; the effects of combat and the British victory on Indians; Indian acts of resistance to British power in the Ohio Valley, including Pontiac's rebellion.
- New information on how the Peace of Paris dealt with the enslaved peoples of the Caribbean.
- Clearer discussion of the reasons for colonial resistance to the Sugar Act and the Tea Act.
- Fully rewritten section "The Philosophy of Revolt" for greater clarity and a more nuanced discussion of different revolutionary impulses and the limits of democracy within colonial assemblies.

Chapter 5, The American Revolution

- Revised discussion in "Defining American War Aims" on the effect of Lord Dunmore's Proclamation and on the purpose of Paine's *Common Sense*.
- Thoroughly updated and clarified the Debating the Past box on how historians have characterized the American Revolution.
- Thoroughly revised section "The War for Independence," with a new organization by region and new material on the combatants, including Native Americans, soldiers of color, and Loyalists.
- In the American in the World box "The Age of Revolutions," expanded discussion of the slave revolt in Saint-Domingue.
- Thoroughly revised "War and Society," with greater detail on how enslaved people, women, and Native Americans participated in and were affected by the Revolution and its outcome.
- Extensively revised discussion in "The Principles of Republicanism" and the limits of democracy.
- Revised discussion of tensions at play in Shays's rebellion.

Chapter 6, The Constitution and the New Republic

- Revised chapter introduction to better establish the context for the Continental Congress and the issues it faced.
- Fuller explanation of the reasons for and functioning of the electoral college.
- New discussion of the limited form of democracy in the early republic, the evolution of citizenship and suffrage rights, and early attempts by free blacks to gain rights.
- Added discussion of the debate over the "necessary and proper" clause.
- Clarified explanation of the quasi war with France.

Chapter 7, The Jeffersonian Era

- Expanded discussion of Native Americans in the lands covered by the Louisiana Purchase.

Chapter 8, Expansion and Division in the Early Republic (previously "Varieties of American Nationalism")

- Expanded chapter introduction to set up chapter themes.
- Improved coverage of New Spain, Mexican independence, and the relationship between American settlers and the Mexican state.
- Added information on the significance of the Mason-Dixon line.
- Added explanation for the demise of the Federalist Party and the emergence of the new two-party system.

Chapter 9, Jacksonian America

- Expanded chapter introduction to frame the goals and attitudes of Jackson and his followers.
- Fuller explanation of the change in the method of choosing electors for the electoral college.
- Added background on Jackson's rise from modest beginnings to plantation owner and a fuller discussion of his ideas about democracy.
- Revised discussion of the Webster-Hayne debate to underscore the issues at stake.
- Improved coverage of the removal of the Indians.

- New Consider the Source box primary source document by Chief John Ross of the Cherokee Nation.
- Revised discussion of the Bank War and the reasons for Jackson's opposition to the Bank of the United States.
- New editorial cartoons illustrating pro and con views of Jackson's economic policies.

Chapter 10, America's Economic Revolution

- Enhanced discussion of the reasons for Irish and German immigration to the United States.
- New coverage of the environmental costs of industrialization.
- Fuller treatment of the Female Labor Reform Association.
- Added explanation of the benefits of new farm tools.

Chapter 11, Cotton, Slavery, and the Old South

- New discussion of northern participation in the international slave trade and indirect support of slavery after the international slave trade was abolished.
- Revised discussion of the priorities and limits of southern transportation systems.
- Revised introduction to "Southern White Society," with a fuller, more nuanced discussion of the sources of southern differences.
- Revised examination of the mythology and sources of power in "The Planter Class."
- Reorganized discussion in "Slave Culture" to include the topic of slave resistance.

Chapter 12, Antebellum Culture and Reform

- New discussion of Margaret Fuller's contribution to transcendentalism and feminist thought.
- Revised explanation of the ideas and appeals of Mormonism.
- Added descriptions of Native Americans.
- Improved connections between sections within the chapter overall.

Chapter 13, The Impending Crisis

- Expanded chapter introduction to preview the issues and stakeholders in the conflict over slavery in the territories.
- New illustrations from the period that show how gold prospects in California were promoted and how the sectional crisis was portrayed.
- Clearer explanation of the free soil and free labor arguments.

Chapter 14, The Civil War

- Clarified discussion of the Union draft.
- Expanded discussion of the economic and social effects of the war for women and enslaved people.
- More nuanced description of the First Battle of Bull Run.

Chapter 15, Reconstruction and the New South

- Revised discussion of Special Field Order No. 15.
- Revised explanation of Lincoln's plans for Reconstruction.
- Fuller description of the rise to power of the Radical Republicans.
- More nuanced view of Grant's presidency and his efforts to protect democracy for black Americans.
- Revised explanation of the rise of Jim Crow.

Chapter 16, The Conquest of the Far West

- Sequence of chapter topics modified for improved connection and flow.
- More clarification regarding nineteenth-century terms.
- Revised description of the military advantages of U.S. forces versus Indians.

Chapter 17, Industrial Supremacy

- Revised section "Making Production More Efficient" (previously titled "The Science of Production") for greater clarity.
- Revised section "Railroad Expansion and the Corporation," with an improved discussion of the importance of government subsidies.

Chapter 18, The Age of the City

- Expanded chapter introduction previewing the problems and attractions of cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- Revised discussion of the importance of cultural ties to ethnic communities.
- Added to references in America in the World, "Global Migrations" feature.
- More cohesive discussion in "Health and Safety in the Built Environment" (previously headed "Fire and Disease" and "Environmental Degradation").

Chapter 19, From Crisis to Empire

- Improved explanation of the "free silver" debate.
- Thoroughly revised narrative in "The Battle for Cuba."
- Greater attention to the effects of the Philippine War on Filipinos.

Chapter 20, The Progressives

- Fuller explanation for the decline of party influence, including disfranchisement.
- Expanded discussion of McKinley's assassination and the creation of the Secret Service.
- Revised map of national parks, adding ten sites that have been designated since 1992.

Chapter 21, America and the Great War

- Expanded chapter introduction to offer a fuller preview of chapter topics.
- Revised description of Pershing's expedition in Mexico.
- Fuller treatment of African American veterans and the interwar civil rights movement.

Chapter 22, The New Era

- New Consider the Source box titled "American Print Advertisements."
- Thoroughly revised section on the Republican administrations of Harding and Coolidge, now including coverage of the major foreign policy initiatives of the 1920s.

Chapter 23, The Great Depression

- Expanded chapter introduction previewing the effects of the Great Depression and Hoover's response.
- Added discussion of the international context in "The Popular Front and the Left."
- Revised explanation of the limitations of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.
- "Hoover and the World Crisis" on the rise of fascism added to the discussion of Hoover's presidency.

Chapter 24, The New Deal Era

- Expanded chapter introduction previewing the phases of the New Deal and how it was received.
- New Consider the Source box on Eleanor Roosevelt and civil rights.
- "Isolationism and Internationalism" on Roosevelt's foreign policy and U.S. attitudes toward fascist aggression added to the chapter.

Chapter 25, America in a World at War

- New chapter introduction on the evolution of American foreign policy in the interwar period as a context for World War II.
- New first section "From Neutrality to Intervention" on the events leading up to the American declaration of war.
- Revised narrative of the Allied invasion of Italy.
- New discussion "The Soldier's Experience" under "War on Two Fronts," including the experiences of African American, Native American, and Chinese American soldiers.
- New section "Minority Groups and the War Effort" focusing on the home front.
- Revised discussion of the internment of Japanese Americans.
- Thoroughly revised and updated Debating the Past box on the decision to drop the atomic bomb.

Chapter 26, The Cold War

- Expanded chapter introduction on the context for and main ideas of the Cold War.
- Updated Debating the Past box on how historians have viewed the Cold War.
- Fuller discussion of the implications of the civil war in China.
- Greater context on Soviet expansion and the containment doctrine.
- New Consider the Source box using the "Bert the Turtle (Duck and Cover)."

Chapter 27, The Affluent Society

- Expanded chapter introduction on the forces shaping domestic affairs in the 1950s and early 1960s.
- Fuller explanation of the connection between economic growth and government spending in the postwar period.
- Revised discussion of the reasons for the rise of the modern West.
- Patterns of Popular Culture box "Lucy and Desi" replaces "On the Road."
- Thoroughly revised and expanded section, "The Rise of the Civil Rights Movement," including new material on the Woman's Political Committee and the history of bus boycotts prior to Montgomery.

Chapter 28, The Turbulent Sixties

- Expanded chapter introduction on the social and political issues defining the decade.
- Clearer contrast of JFK's and Nixon's visions of the role of government and of Kennedy's strengths as a candidate.
- Fuller explanation of the New Frontier.
- Revised discussion of how Johnson was able to win support for domestic reform, including the role of Martin Luther King Jr.
- Thoroughly revised section "The Battle for Racial Equality," including vivid accounts of the attack on Freedom Riders in May 1961, the standoff over integration at the University of Alabama, the March on Washington, and the battle for voting rights during Freedom Summer.
- Expanded discussion of the black power movement, the Black Panthers, and Malcolm X. Added discussion regarding Malcolm X's murder.

- Added explanation of the Cold War context for foreign aid initiatives during the Kennedy administration.
- New coverage of the experience of the Vietnam War for the people of South Vietnam.

Chapter 29, The Crisis of Authority

- Expanded chapter introduction previewing the social and cultural revolutions of the 1960s and 1970s.
- Fuller account of the Free Speech Movement and its philosophy.
- Revised section now titled "Women and Social Change," with improved coverage of modern feminism and the abortion issue.
- More accessible explanations of *Furman v. Georgia* and *Roe v. Wade*.
- Revised narrative of the 1972 presidential contest.
- Updated Debating the Past box on Watergate.
- New material on Barbara Jordan's role in calling for Nixon's impeachment.

Chapter 30, From "the Age of Limits" to the Age of Reagan

- Revised description of Ford's pardon of Nixon.
- Added material on Carter's civil rights record.
- Revised discussions of the Sunbelt and religious revivalism in "The Rise of the Conservative Movement."

Chapter 31, The Age of Globalization

- Thoroughly updated chapter on the contemporary period, including the Obama and Trump presidencies and new social, cultural, technological, environmental, and diplomatic trends.
- New coverage of Black Lives Matter and the AIDS epidemic.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to express our deep appreciation to the following individuals who contributed to the development of *The Unfinished Nation*, *Ninth Edition*:

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1 THE COLLISION OF CULTURES

AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS
EUROPE LOOKS WESTWARD
THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH

LOOKING AHEAD

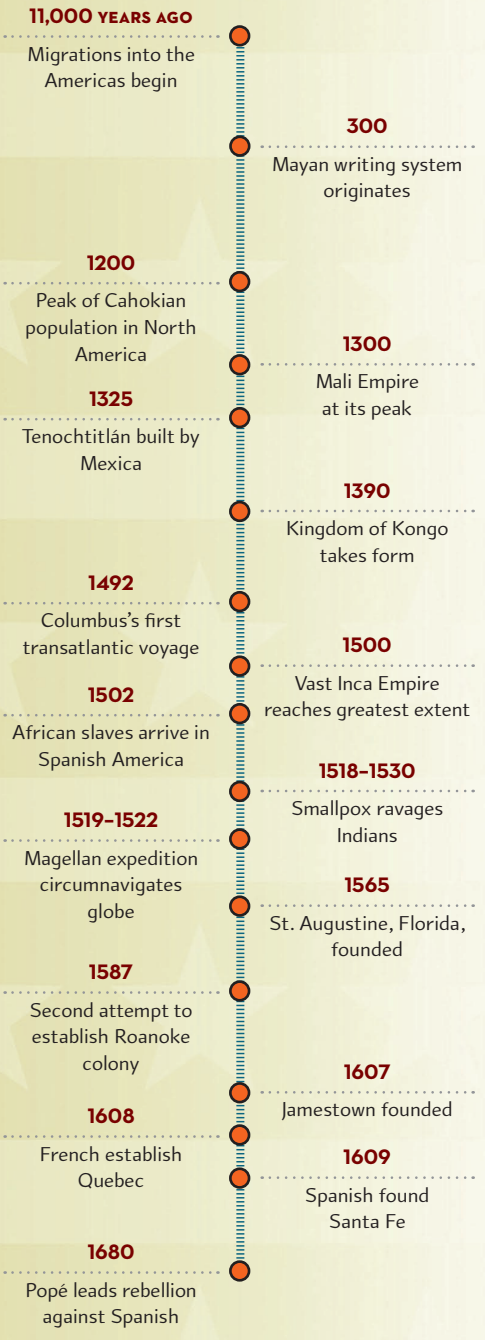
1. How did the societies of native people in the South differ from those in the North in the precontact period (before the arrival of the Europeans)?
2. What effects did the arrival of Europeans have on the native peoples of the Americas?
3. How did patterns of settlement differ within the Americas?

THE DISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAS did not begin with Christopher Columbus. It began many thousands of years earlier, when human beings first crossed into the new continents and began to people them. By the end of the fifteenth century A.D., when the first important contact with Europeans occurred, the Americas were already home to millions of men and women.

These ancient civilizations experienced many changes and many catastrophes during their long history. But it is likely that none of these experiences was as tragically transforming as the arrival of Europeans. In the first violent years of Spanish and Portuguese exploration, the impact of the new arrivals was profound. Europeans brought with them diseases (most notably smallpox) to which native peoples, unlike the invaders, had no experience or immunity. The result was a great demographic catastrophe that killed millions of people, weakened existing societies, and greatly aided the Spanish and Portuguese in their rapid and devastating takeover of the existing American empires.

But the European immigrants were never able to eliminate the influence of the indigenous peoples (whom they came to call "Indians"). In their many interactions, whether beneficial or ruinous, these very different civilizations shaped one another, learned from one another, and changed one another forever.

TIME LINE



AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS

We know relatively little about the first peoples in the Americas, but archaeologists continue to discover ancient artifacts that enlarge our knowledge about the earliest Americans.

The Peoples of the Precontact Americas

For many decades, scholars believed that all early migrations into the Americas came from humans crossing an ancient land bridge over the Bering Strait into what is now Alaska, approximately 11,000 years ago. The migrations were probably a result of the development of new stone tools—spears and other hunting implements—used to pursue the large animals that crossed between Asia and North America. All of these land-based migrants are thought to have come from a Mongolian stock related to that of modern-day Siberia. Scholars refer to these migrants as the **"Clovis" people**, so named for a town in New Mexico where archaeologists first discovered evidence of their tools and weapons in the 1930s.

More recent archaeological evidence suggests that not all the early migrants to the Americas came across the Bering Strait. Some migrants from Asia appear to have settled as far south as modern-day Chile and Peru even before people began moving into North America by land. These first South Americans may have come not by land but by sea, using boats.

This new evidence suggests that the early population of the Americas was more diverse and more scattered than scholars used to believe. Recent DNA evidence has identified a possible early population group that does not seem to have Asian characteristics. This suggests that thousands of years before Columbus, there may have been some migration from Europe.

NORTH AMERICAN MIGRATIONS **This map tracks some of the very early migrations into, and within, North America in the centuries preceding contact with Europe. It shows the now-vanished land bridge between Siberia and Alaska over which thousands, perhaps millions, of migrating people passed into the Americas. It also shows the locations of some of the earliest settlements in North America.** • ***What role did the extended glacial field in what is now Canada play in residential patterns in the ancient American world?***

The *Archaic period* is a scholarly term for the early history of humans in America, beginning around 8000 B.C. In the first part of this period, most humans supported themselves through hunting and gathering, using the same stone tools that earlier Americans had brought with them from Asia.

Later in the Archaic period, population groups began to expand their activities and to develop new tools, such as nets and hooks for fishing, traps for smaller animals, and baskets for gathering berries, nuts, seeds, and other plants. Still later, some groups began to farm. Farming, of course, requires people to stay in one place. In agricultural areas, the first sedentary settlements slowly began to form, creating the basis for larger civilizations.

The Growth of Civilizations: The South

The most elaborate early civilizations emerged in South and Central America and in Mexico. In Peru, the Incas created the largest empire in the Americas, stretching almost 2,000 miles along western South America. The Incas developed a complex administrative state, an irrigation system, and a large network of paved roads that welded together the populations of many tribes under a single government.

Organized societies emerged around 10,000 B.C. in **Mesoamerica**, a region comprising Mexico and much of Central America. The Olmec people, whose roots trace back to between 1600 and 1500 B.C., were the first complex society in the region. A more sophisticated culture grew up in parts of Central America and in the Yucatán peninsula of Mexico, in an area known as Maya. Mayan civilization, which stretched back to 1800 B.C. and was at its most powerful about A.D. 300, developed a written language, a numerical system similar to the Arabic numeral system, an accurate calendar, an advanced agricultural system, and important trade routes into other areas of the continents.

Gradually, the societies of the Maya region were superseded by other Mesoamerican tribes, who have become known collectively (and somewhat inaccurately) as the Aztecs. They called themselves Mexica. In about A.D. 1325, the Mexicas built the city of Tenochtitlán on a large island in a lake in central Mexico, the site of present-day Mexico City. With a population as high as 100,000 by 1500, Tenochtitlán featured large and impressive public buildings, schools that all male children attended, an organized military, a medical system, and a slave workforce drawn from conquered tribes. It was a city built over water and featuring a sophisticated water navigation system, much like Venice, Italy, but larger. The Mexicas gradually established their dominance over almost all of central Mexico.

The Mesoamerican civilizations were for many centuries the center of civilized life in North and Central America—the hub of culture and trade.

The Civilizations of the North

The peoples north of Mexico developed less elaborate but still substantial civilizations. Inhabitants of the northern regions of the continent subsisted on combinations of hunting, gathering, and fishing. They included the Inuit of the Arctic Circle, who fished and hunted seals; big-game hunters of the northern forests, who led nomadic lives based on the pursuit of moose and caribou; tribes of the Pacific Northwest, whose principal occupation was salmon fishing and who created substantial permanent settlements along the coast; and a group of tribes spread through relatively arid regions of the Far West, who developed successful communities based on fishing, hunting small game, and gathering edible plants.

Other societies in North America were agricultural. Among the most developed were those in the Southwest. Between A.D. 900 and 1150, the ancient Pueblo people developed a thriving center of culture and commerce in Chaco Canyon, in modern-day northwestern New Mexico. At its apex, Chaco Canyon boasted a population of 15,000, 12 towns, and 200 villages—one of the largest of which was Pueblo Bonita. Composed of sandstone, timber, and adobe, it soared five stories high and had 600 rooms. There would not be another structure of this size in North America until the 1880s. At roughly the same period, the Hopis lived in small masonry villages, farmed corn, and developed an elaborate irrigation system, ceremonial culture, and trade network stretching across what is now Arizona. And the Zunis, based in the desert areas of present-day Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico, built large stone and adobe villages centered on a plaza, created elaborate pottery, and farmed corn and other grains.

HOW THE EARLY NORTH AMERICANS LIVED This map shows the various ways in which the native tribes of North America supported themselves before the arrival of European civilization. The Native Americans survived largely on the resources available in their immediate surroundings. Note, for example, the reliance on the products of the sea of the tribes along the northern coastlines of the continent, and the way in which tribes in relatively inhospitable climates in the North—where agriculture was difficult—relied on hunting large game. Most Native Americans were farmers. • ***What different kinds of farming would have emerged in the very different climates of the agricultural regions shown on this map?***

The eastern third of what is now the United States—much of it covered with forests and inhabited by the Woodland Indians—had the greatest food resources of any area of the continent. Most of the many tribes of the region engaged in farming, hunting, gathering, and fishing simultaneously. In the South there were permanent settlements and large trading networks based on the corn, legumes, and squash grown in the rich lands of the Mississippi River valley. **Cahokia**, a trading center located near present-day St. Louis, had a population of 40,000 at its peak in A.D.1200. Residents traded not only their crops but also hand tools and pottery they made. Occupying six square miles, Cahokia was the largest and most populous urban center north of Tenochtitlán and would remain so until Philadelphia in 1780.

(©Don Mammoser/Shutterstock)

PUEBLO VILLAGE OF THE SOUTHWEST

The agricultural societies of the Northeast were more mobile. Farming techniques there were designed to exploit the land quickly rather than to develop permanent settlements. Many of the tribes living east of the Mississippi River were linked together loosely by common linguistic roots. The largest of these language groups consisted of the Algonquian tribes, who lived along the Atlantic seaboard from Canada to Virginia; the Iroquois Confederacy, which was centered in what is now upstate New York; and the Muskogean tribes, which consisted of the tribes in the southernmost regions of the eastern seaboard.

Most tribes were matrilineal societies, meaning that family association and clan membership flowed through the mother's heritage. In contrast, in Europe ancestral descent followed paternal lines. All tribes assigned women the majority of work to care for children, prepare meals, and gather certain foods. But the allocation of other tasks varied from one society to another. In the case of the Hopi, women and men shared cultural authority. Women assumed leadership roles in the household, economy, and social system; men tended to predominate in religion and politics. Yet women reserved the power to negate or renegotiate trade or land deals forged by men if they deemed them unjust or imbalanced.

EUROPE LOOKS WESTWARD

Europeans were almost entirely unaware of the existence of the Americas before the fifteenth century. A few early wanderers—Leif Eriksson, an eleventh-century Norse seaman, and others—had glimpsed parts of the eastern Atlantic on their voyages. But even if their discoveries had become common knowledge (and they did not), there would have been little incentive for others to follow. Europe in the Middle Ages (roughly A.D. 500–1500) was too weak, divided, and decentralized to inspire many great ventures. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, conditions in Europe had changed and the incentive for overseas exploration had grown.

Commerce and Sea Travel

Two important social changes encouraged Europeans to look toward new lands. The first was the significant growth in Europe's population in the fifteenth century. The Black Death, a catastrophic epidemic of the bubonic plague that began in Constantinople in 1347, had killed more than a third of the people on the Continent (according to some estimates). But a century and a half later, the population had rebounded. With that growth came a reawakening of commerce. A new merchant class was emerging to meet the rising demand for goods from abroad. As trade increased, and as advances in navigation made long-distance sea travel more feasible, interest in expanding trade grew even more quickly. The second change was the emergence of new governments that were more united and powerful than the feeble political entities of the feudal past. In the western areas of Europe in particular, strong new monarchs were eager to enhance the commercial development of their nations.

Above all, Europeans who craved commercial glory had dreamed of trade with the East. It was not a new dream. In the early fourteenth century, Marco Polo and other adventurers had returned from Asia bearing exotic spices, cloths, and dyes and even more exotic tales. Yet for two centuries, that trade had been limited by the difficulties of the long overland journey to the Asian courts. But in the fourteenth century, talk of finding a faster, safer sea route to East Asia began.

The Portuguese were the preeminent maritime power in the fifteenth century, largely because of Prince Henry the Navigator, who devoted much of his life to the promotion of exploration. In 1486, after Henry's death, the Portuguese explorer Bartholomeu Dias rounded the southern tip of Africa (the Cape of Good Hope). In 1497–1498, Vasco da Gama proceeded all the way around the cape to India. But the Spanish, not the Portuguese, were the first to encounter the *New World,* the term Europeans applied to the ancient lands previously unknown to them.

Christopher Columbus

Christopher Columbus was born and reared in Genoa, Italy. He spent his early seafaring years in the service of the Portuguese, stoking his ambitions of undertaking a great voyage of discovery. By the time he was a young man, he believed he could reach East Asia by sailing west, across the Atlantic, rather than east, around Africa. Columbus thought the world was far smaller than it actually is. He also was convinced that the Asian continent extended farther eastward than it actually does. Most important, he did not realize that anything lay to the west between Europe and the lands of Asia.

Columbus failed to enlist the leaders of Portugal to back his plan, so he turned instead to Spain. The marriage of Spain's two most powerful regional rulers, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, had produced the strongest and most ambitious monarchy in Europe. Columbus appealed to Queen Isabella for support for his proposed westward voyage, and in 1492, she agreed. Commanding ninety men and three ships—the *Niña,* the *Pinta,* and the *Santa María*—Columbus left Spain in August 1492 and sailed west into the Atlantic. Ten weeks later, he sighted land and assumed he had reached an island off Asia. In fact, he had landed in the Bahamas. When he pushed on and encountered Cuba, he assumed he had reached Japan. He returned to Spain, bringing with him several captured native people as evidence of his achievement. (He called the indigenous people "Indians" because he believed they were from the East Indies in the Pacific.)

But Columbus did not, of course, bring back news of the great khan's court in China or any samples of the fabled wealth of the Indies. And so a year later he tried again, only this time with a much larger expedition. As before, he headed into the Caribbean, discovering several other islands and leaving a small and short-lived **colony** on Hispaniola. On a third voyage, in 1498, he finally reached the mainland and cruised along the northern coast of South America. He then realized, for the first time, that he had encountered not a part of Asia but a separate continent.

Columbus ended his life in obscurity. Ultimately, he was even unable to give his name to the land he had revealed to the Europeans. That distinction went instead to a Florentine merchant, Amerigo Vespucci, who wrote a series of vivid descriptions of the lands he visited on a later expedition to the New World and helped popularize the idea that the Americas were new continents.

Partly as a result of Columbus's initiative, Spain began to devote greater resources and energy to maritime exploration. In 1513, the Spaniard Vasco de Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama and became the first known European to gaze westward upon the great ocean

EUROPEAN EXPLORATION AND CONQUEST, 1492–1583 This map shows the many voyages of exploration to and conquest of North America launched by Europeans in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Note how Columbus and the Spanish explorers who followed him tended to move quickly into the lands of Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central and South America, while the English and French explored the northern territories of North America. In all cases they encountered Indians, whose roots trace back centuries before the arrival of the Europeans. • *What factors might have led these various nations to explore and colonize different areas of the New World?*

that separated America from China. Seeking access to that ocean, Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese in Spanish employ, found the strait that now bears his name at the southern end of South America, struggled through the stormy narrows and into the ocean (so calm by contrast that he christened it the *Pacific*), and then proceeded to the Philippines.

There Magellan died in a conflict with local Indians, but his expedition went on to complete the first known circumnavigation of the globe (1519–1522). By 1550, Spaniards had explored the coasts of North America as far north as Oregon in the west and Labrador in the east.

The Spanish Empire

In time, Spanish explorers in the New World stopped thinking of America simply as an obstacle to their search for a route to Asia and began instead to consider it a possible source of wealth in itself. The Spanish claimed for themselves the whole of the New World, except for a large part of the east coast of South America (today's Brazil) that was reserved by a papal decree for the Portuguese.

In 1518, Hernando Cortés, who had been an unsuccessful Spanish government official in Cuba for fourteen years, led a small military expedition of about 600 men against the Aztecs in Mexico and their powerful emperor, Montezuma, after hearing stories of their great treasures. Moving his warriors through Mexico, he befriended a native tribe that he labeled the Tlaxcalans, who were rivals of the Aztecs and would become crucial military allies. Approaching Tenochtitlán, Cortés benefited from perfect timing. His arrival seemed to fulfill a popular Aztec prophecy that claimed the god Quetsalcoatl was to return to Earth. The Aztecs mistook Cortés and his fighters—mysterious light skinned men—as divine company and greeted them as honored figures. Cortés, with the support of the Tlaxcalans, quickly took control of the city. Key to his success was the use of body armor that repelled or blunted arrows, steel swords, lances with iron or steel points, and a type of early musket called harquebus—all weapons unknown to the Aztecs. An Aztec counterrebellion, however, soon restored them to power. But not for long.

A smallpox epidemic, begun when a Spanish soldier died from the disease while in Tenochtitlán, spread among the Aztecs and gutted the population. When Cortés re-attacked, again with the backing of the Tlaxcalans, he now fought a depleted people. Even more significantly, he employed a series of new and aggressive military tactics—blocking delivery of food and water to the city, choking off canals, destroying aqueducts—that brought the city to its knees after 75 days. Cortés laid claim to Tenochtitlán, ruthlessly destroying temples and homes and establishing himself as one of the most brutal of the Spanish **conquistadores** (conquerors). Twenty years later, Francisco Pizarro overpowered the Incas in Peru and opened the way for other Spanish advances into South America.

The first Spanish settlers in America were interested largely in exploiting the American stores of gold and silver, and they were fabulously successful. For 300 years, beginning in the sixteenth century, the mines of Spanish America yielded more than ten times as much gold and silver as all the rest of the world's mines combined. Before long, however, most Spanish settlers in America traveled to the New World for other reasons. Many went in hopes of profiting from agriculture. They helped establish elements of European civilization permanently in America. Other Spaniards—priests, friars, and missionaries—went to America to spread Catholicism; through their efforts, the influence of the Catholic Church ultimately extended throughout South and Central America and Mexico. They sometimes evangelized, however, with an iron fist, forcing whole families to forsake their sacred beliefs and practices, be baptized, and adopt the teachings of the Catholic Church or face physical punishment and even death. Yet one of the first friars to work in the colonies, **Bartolomé de Las Casas**, fought for the fair treatment of native peoples by the Spanish as part of his ministry. (See "Consider the Source: Bartolomé de Las Casas, 'Of the Island of Hispaniola.'")

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, "OF THE ISLAND OF HISPANIOLA" (1542)

Bartolomé de Las Casas, a Dominican friar from Spain, was an early European settler of the West Indies. He devoted much of his life to describing the culture of native peoples and chronicling the many abuses they suffered at the hands of their colonizers. This excerpt is from a letter he addressed to Spain's Prince Philip.

God has created all these numberless people to be quite the simplest, without malice or duplicity, most obedient, most faithful to their natural Lords, and to the Christians, whom they serve; the most humble, most patient, most peaceful and calm, without strife nor tumults; not wrangling, nor querulous, as free from uproar, hate and desire of revenge as any in the world. . . . Among these gentle sheep, gifted by their Maker with the above qualities, the Spaniards entered as soon as they knew them, like wolves, tigers and lions which had been starving for many days, and since forty years they have done nothing else; nor do they afflict, torment, and destroy them with strange and new, and divers kinds of cruelty, never before seen, nor heard of, nor read of. . . .

The Christians, with their horses and swords and lances, began to slaughter and practice strange cruelty among them. They penetrated into the country and spared neither children nor the aged, nor pregnant women, nor those in child labour, all of whom they ran through the body and lacerated, as though they were assaulting so many lambs herded in their sheepfold. They made bets as to who would slit a man in two, or cut off his head at one blow: or they opened up his bowels. They tore the babes from their mothers' breast by the feet, and dashed their heads against the rocks. Others they seized by the shoulders and threw into the rivers, laughing and joking, and when they fell into the water they exclaimed: "boil body of so and so!" They spitted the bodies of other babes, together with their mothers and all who were before them, on their swords.

They made a gallows just high enough for the feet to nearly touch the ground, and by thirteens, in honor and reverence of our Redeemer and the twelve Apostles, they put wood underneath and, with fire, they burned the Indians alive.

They wrapped the bodies of others entirely in dry straw, binding them in it and setting fire to it; and so they burned them. They cut off the hands of all they wished to take alive, made them carry them fastened on to them, and said: "Go and carry letters": that is; take the news to those who have fled to the mountains.

They generally killed the lords and nobles in the following way. They made wooden gridirons of stakes, bound them upon them, and made a slow fire beneath; thus the victims gave up the spirit by degrees, emitting cries of despair in their torture.

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, & EVALUATE

1. How did Bartolomé de Las Casas characterize the indigenous people of Hispaniola? How do you think they would have responded to this description?
2. What metaphor did Las Casas use to describe the native peoples and where does this metaphor come from?
3. What role did Las Casas expect the Spaniards to play on Hispaniola? What did they do instead?

Source: MacNutt, Francis Augustus, *Bartholomew de Las Casas: His Life, His Apostolate, and His Writings.* New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1909, 14.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the Spanish Empire included the Caribbean islands, Mexico, and southern North America. It also spread into South America and included what is now Chile, Argentina, and Peru. In 1580, when the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies temporarily united, Brazil came under Spanish jurisdiction as well.

Northern Outposts

In 1565, the Spanish established the fort of St. Augustine in Florida, their first permanent settlement in what is now the United States. But it was little more than a small military outpost. A more substantial colonizing venture began in the Southwest in 1598, when Don Juan de Oñate traveled north from Mexico with a party between 600 and 700, claimed for Spain some of the lands of the Pueblo Indians in what is now New Mexico, and began to establish a colony. It was a bloody affair. In October 1898, the Acoma Pueblos refused to turn over food to Oñate's soldiers and, in a small battle killed as many as 13 of them, including Oñate's nephew. In January of the next year, Oñate ordered retribution. His men lay siege to the Acoma village, killing at least 800. They enslaved all survivors older than 12 years for a period of 20 years and cut off the right foot of all men of fighting age.

Oñate granted **encomiendas** (the right to exact tribute and labor from native peoples on large tracts of land) to favored Spaniards. In 1609, Spanish colonists founded Santa Fe. By 1680, there were over 2,000 Spanish colonists living among about 30,000 Pueblos. The economic heart of the colony was cattle and sheep, raised on the *ranchos* that stretched out around the small towns Spanish settlers established.

Part of the Spanish expansion in the North included converting native peoples to Catholicism. As in the South, it met with uneven results. Many native peoples simply rejected the attempt, mixed the precepts and practices of their own faith with Catholicism, or only selectively adopted Catholic rituals and teachings. At other times native peoples and Spanish officials differed over what constituted conversion. Matters came to a head in 1680, when Spanish priests and the colonial government tried to suppress native rituals. In response, **Popé**, an Indian religious leader, led an uprising that killed hundreds of European settlers, captured Santa Fe, and drove the Spanish from the region. Ironically, the rebellion was so widespread and included so many different Indian groups that the native revolutionaries used Spanish as their common language in order to communicate with one other. Twelve years later, however, the Spanish returned and crushed a last revolt in 1696.

Many Spanish colonists now realized that they could not hope to prosper in New Mexico while in constant conflict with a native population that greatly outnumbered them. Although the Spanish intensified their efforts to assimilate the Indians, they also now permitted the Pueblos to own land. They stopped commandeering Indian labor, and they tolerated the survival of tribal religious rituals. There was significant intermarriage between Europeans and Indians. By 1750, the Spanish population had grown to about 4,000. The Pueblo population had declined (through disease, war, and migration) to about 13,000—less than half what it had been in 1680. New Mexico had by then become a reasonably stable but still weak and isolated outpost of the Spanish Empire.

Biological and Cultural Exchanges

European and native cultures never entirely merged in the Spanish Empire. Nevertheless, the arrival of whites launched a process of interaction between diverse peoples that left

SPANISH AMERICA From the time of Columbus's initial voyage in 1492 until the mid-nineteenth century, Spain was the dominant colonial power in the New World. From the southern regions of South America to the northern regions of the Pacific Northwest, Spain controlled one of the world's vastest empires. Note how much of the Spanish Empire was simply grafted upon the earlier empires of native peoples—the Incas in what is today Chile and Peru and the Aztecs across much of the rest of South America, Mexico, and the Southwest of what is now the United States. • ***What characteristics of Spanish colonization would account for their preference for already settled regions?***

no one unchanged. That Europeans were exploring the Americas at all was a result of early contacts with the native peoples, from whom they had learned of the rich deposits of gold and silver. From then on, the history of the Americas became one of increasing levels of exchanges—some beneficial, others catastrophic—among different peoples and cultures.

(©Dorling Kindersley/Getty Images)

SMALLPOX AMONG THE AZTECS This illustration by a Spanish missionary in the fifteenth century depicts victims of smallpox in various stages of the disease, which was introduced to the Americas by Europeans.

The first and perhaps most profound result of this exchange was the importation of European diseases to the New World. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences of the exposure of Native Americans to such illnesses as influenza, measles, typhus, and above all smallpox. Although historians have debated the question of how many people lived in the Americas before the arrival of Europeans, it is estimated that millions died. (See "Debating the Past: Why Do Historians So Often Differ?") Part of the issue was how native cultures traditionally cared for the very ill. They tended to surround the sick with constant companions and visitors as a way to encourage healing—a practice that inadvertently helped spread the highly contagious diseases they were encountering for the first time. Unlike in Europe, where experience with the bubonic plague had taught the benefits of socially isolating the infected, there was no corresponding notion of quarantine among native tribes of the Americas. In some areas, then, native populations were virtually wiped out within a few decades of their first contact with whites. On Hispaniola, where Columbus had landed in the 1490s, the native population quickly declined from approximately one million to about five hundred. In the Maya area of Mexico, as much as 95 percent of the population perished within a few years of the native peoples' first contact with the Spanish. Still, not everyone died, not every community was ravaged, and some rebuilt over time. And many of the tribes north of Mexico were spared the worst of the epidemics. But for other areas of the New World, this was a disaster at least as grave as, and in some places far worse than, the Black Death that had killed over one-third of the population of Europe two centuries before. Some Europeans, watching this biological catastrophe, saw it as evidence of God's will that they should dominate the New World—and its native population.

Why Do Historians So Often Differ?

Early in the twentieth century, when the professional study of history was still relatively new, many historians believed that questions about the past could be answered with the same certainty and precision as questions in more-scientific fields. By sifting through available records, using precise methods of research and analysis, and producing careful, closely argued accounts of the past, they believed they could create definitive histories that would survive without controversy. Scholars who adhered to this view believed that real knowledge can be derived only from direct, scientific observation of clear "fact." They were known as "positivists."

A vigorous debate continues to this day over whether historical research can ever be truly objective. Almost no historian any longer accepts the positivist claim that history could ever be an exact science. Disagreement about the past is, in fact, at the heart of the effort to understand history. Critics of contemporary historical scholarship often denounce the way historians are constantly revising earlier interpretations. Some denounce the act of interpretation itself. History, they claim, is "what happened," and historians should "stick to the facts."

Historians, however, continue to differ with one another both because the facts are seldom as straightforward as their critics claim and because facts by themselves mean almost nothing without an effort to assign meaning to them. Some historical facts, of course, are not in dispute. Everyone agrees, for example, that the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and that Abraham Lincoln was elected president in 1860. But many other facts are much harder to determine—among them, for example, the question of how large the American population was before the arrival of Columbus, or how many slaves resisted slavery. This sounds like a reasonably straightforward question, but it is almost impossible to answer with any certainty—because the records of slave resistance are spotty and the definition of "resistance" is a matter of considerable dispute.

Even when a set of facts is clear and straightforward, historians disagree—sometimes quite radically—over what they mean. Those disagreements can be the result of political and ideological disagreements. Some of the most vigorous debates in recent decades have been between scholars who believe that economic interests and class divisions are the key to understanding the past, and those who believe that ideas and culture are at least as important as material interests. Debates can also occur over differences in methodology—between those who believe that quantitative studies can answer important historical questions and those who believe that other methods come closer to the truth.

Most of all, historical interpretation changes in response to the time in which it is written. Historians may strive to be objective in their work, but no one can be entirely free from the assumptions and political concerns of the present. In the 1950s, the omnipresent shadow of the Cold War shaped histories of Communist countries

and a view of them as engaged in a war to end democracy. The civil rights movements prompted scholars to reconsider what they knew about the lives and achievements of black Americans, women, Hispanics, and gays and lesbians. The rise of postcolonial societies pushed historians to reexamine assumptions built into the telling of the rise and fall of empires—that they were the products of an elite cadre of men—and rethink the role of workers and the less powerful in influencing the course of events. The "cultural turn" at the end of the twentieth century placed a newfound stress on examining how various forces of culture—gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, language—deeply affected the ways in which people experienced and understood the world. Its effects are still rippling through the academy, asking historians to ever widen their lens of analysis when seeking to explain people's motivations and actions.

Historians regularly debate over which types of interpretation come closest to capturing the truth of the past with no clear-cut consensus likely to come into focus any time soon. Such debate, though, is a sign of the health of the profession. Scholars need to constantly revisit how they talk about the past and be challenged to defend their decisions in order to make sure they are capturing the full range of human experience when writing their histories. Indeed, understanding the past is a forever continuing—and forever contested—process.

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, & EVALUATE

1. What are some of the reasons historians so often disagree?
2. Is there ever a right or wrong in historical interpretation? What value might historical inquiry have other than reaching a right or wrong conclusion?
3. If historians so often disagree, how should a student of history approach historical content? How might disagreement expand our understanding of history?

Not all aspects of the exchange were disastrous to the Indians. The Europeans introduced important new crops (among them sugar and bananas), domestic livestock (cattle, pigs, and sheep), and, perhaps most significantly, the horse, which gradually became central to the lives of many native peoples and transformed their societies. Less beneficially, the transfer of European grass seed and the grazing and feeding habits of European animals devastated local flora.

The exchange was at least as important (and more advantageous) to the Europeans. In both North and South America, the arriving white peoples learned from the natives new agricultural techniques appropriate to the demands of the new land. They discovered new crops–above all maize (corn), which Columbus took back to Europe from his first trip to America. Such foods as squash, pumpkins, beans, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, and potatoes also found their way into European diets.

In South America, Central America, and Mexico, Europeans and native groups lived in intimate, if unequal, contact with one another. Many native people gradually came to speak Spanish or Portuguese, but they created a range of dialects fusing the European languages with elements of their own. European men outnumbered European women by at least ten to one. Intermarriage–often forcible–became frequent between Spanish immigrants and native women. Before long, the population of the colonies came to be dominated (numerically, at least) by people of mixed race, or **mestizos**.

Virtually all the enterprises of the Spanish and Portuguese colonists depended on Indian workforces. In some places, Indians were sold into slavery. More often, colonists used a

The International Context of the Early History of the Americas

Most Americans understand that our nation of late has become intimately bound up with the rest of the world—that we live in what many call the "age of **globalization**." But few extend that idea backward in time and consider how the story of America before Columbus and the effort by European powers to settle it was also part of a global current of ideas and events. Indeed, until recently historians typically studied these early chapters from the nation's past mostly in isolation from larger world events and non-European societies. By contrast today, scholars of early American history now examine what happened in the New World from a broadly international perspective.

That perspective is often called the "**Atlantic World**" and it explores history as the intermingling of peoples from Africa, Europe, and the Americas and the profound effects of those interactions. The phrase has a long intellectual genealogy, stretching back to the foundational work of C. L. R. James, W. E. B. Du Bois, Frantz Fanon, and Eric Williams. They demonstrated that the origins of the New World were deeply enmeshed in the practice and institution of slavery, on the one hand, and that African (and later African American) culture lay at the root of the evolution of culture in the Americas, on the other.

The idea of an Atlantic World rests in part on the obvious connections between western Europe and the Spanish, British, French, and Dutch colonies in North and South America. All the early European civilizations of the Americas were part of a great imperial project launched by the major powers of Europe. The European immigrations to the Americas beginning in the sixteenth century, the advance of slavery and the introduction of it in the New World, the defeat and devastation of native populations, the creation of European agricultural and urban settlements, and the imposition of imperial regulations on trade, commerce, landowning, and political life—all of these forces reveal the influence of Old World **imperialism** on the history of the New World.

But the expansion of empires is only one part of the creation of the Atlantic World. At least equally important—and closely related—is the expansion of commerce from Europe and Africa to the Americas. Although some northern and southern Europeans traveled to the New World in search of religious freedom, or to escape oppression, or to search for adventure, the great majority were in search of economic opportunity. Not surprisingly, therefore, their settlements in the Americas were almost from the start intimately connected to Europe through the growth of commerce between them and to Africa through the capture and import of slaves. This international commercial dynamic between America and Europe was responsible not just for the growth of trade, but also for the increases in migration over time—as the demand for labor in the New World drew more and more settlers from the Old World. Commerce was also a principal reason for the rise of slavery in the Americas, and for the growth of the slave trade between European America and Africa.

Religion was also a powerful force influencing migration to the New World and shaping human interactions there. Depending on the decade, some Europeans—Puritans, Anabaptists—relocated in part to

escape persecution for their principles. At other times, Catholics and members of the Church of England built settlements to win converts and extend their religious empires. Significantly, European transplants had to come to terms with the religion of the Indians they encountered, which led to a variety of responses: indifference, evangelism, repression, or the growth of hybrid sacred practices and convictions. Adding to the mix were African slaves, who brought their own indigenous religions. They found themselves the subjects of intense and sometimes brutal proselytizing attempts by Europeans, which met with only uneven success. Some slaves adopted the faith of their owners. But African American religion as a whole generally emerged as a series of spiritual beliefs and rituals that mixed African, European, and sometimes Indian beliefs. It also influenced the religion of Europeans and (to a lesser extent) Indians, particularly in the evolution of their public revivals and preaching traditions in the New World.

The early history of the Americas was also closely bound up with the intellectual life of northern and southern Europe and Latin America. The Enlightenment—the cluster of ideas that emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries emphasizing the power of human reason—moved quickly to the Americas, producing intellectual ferment throughout the New World. Thinkers from Britain and Spain, for example, stressed the sanctity of individual rights, the proper nature and role of representative government, and the fairness of law that eventually undergirded the history of the American Revolution, the Haitian Revolution, and Latin American revolutions of the eighteenth century. Scientific and technological knowledge—another product of the Enlightenment—traveled constantly across the Atlantic and back. Americans borrowed industrial technology from Britain. Europe acquired much of its early knowledge of electricity from experiments done in America. But the Enlightenment was only one part of the continuing intellectual connections within the Atlantic World, connections that spread artistic, scholarly, and political ideas widely through the lands bordering the ocean.

Instead of thinking of the early history of what became the United States simply as the story of the growth of thirteen small colonies along the Atlantic seaboard of North America, the idea of the Atlantic World encourages us to think of early American history as a vast pattern of exchanges and interactions—trade, migration, religious and intellectual exchange, and many other relationships—among all the societies bordering the Atlantic: northern and southern Europe, western Africa, the Caribbean, and North and South America.

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, & EVALUATE

1. What is the Atlantic World?
2. What has led historians to begin studying the idea of an Atlantic World?

coercive (or "indentured") wage system, under which Indians worked in the mines and on the plantations under duress for fixed periods. That was not, in the end, enough to meet the labor needs of the colonists. As early as 1502, European settlers began importing slaves from Africa.

Africa and America

Over one-half of all the immigrants to the New World between 1500 and 1800 were Africans, sent against their will. Most came from West and Central Africa.

Europeans and white Americans came to portray African society as primitive and uncivilized. But most Africans were, in fact, highly civilized peoples with well-developed

economies and political systems. The residents of the Gold Coast had substantial commercial contact with the Mediterranean world—trading ivory, gold, and slaves for finished goods—and, largely as a result, became early converts to Islam. After the collapse of the ancient kingdom of Ghana around A.D. 1100, they created the even larger empire of Mali, whose trading center at Timbuktu became fabled as a learned meeting place of the peoples of many lands. In West Central Africa, the Kingdom of Kongo flourished. It was a regional center for trade, where residents sold goods they manufactured, such as pottery and copper and iron goods. By early 1500, the majority of the ruling class had converted to Catholicism and the Kingdom was sending a formal emissary to the Vatican. And by the end of the sixteenth century its population was nearly 500,000.

As in many Indian societies in America, African families tended to be matrilineal. Women played a major role, often the dominant role, in trade. In many areas, they were also the principal farmers while the men hunted, fished, raised livestock, fought battles; in these areas women choose their own leaders to make decisions and policies for the community as a whole. Everywhere women managed child care and food preparation.

Small elites of priests and nobles stood at the top of many African societies. Most people belonged to a large middle group of farmers, traders, crafts workers, and others. At the bottom of society were slaves—men and women, not all of them African, who were put into bondage after being captured in wars, because of criminal behavior, or as a result of unpaid debts. Slaves in Africa were generally in bondage for a fixed term, and in the meantime they retained certain legal protections (including the right to marry). Children did not inherit their parents' condition of bondage.

The African slave trade long preceded European settlement in the New World. As early as the eighth century, West Africans began selling small numbers of slaves to traders from the Mediterranean and later to the Portuguese. In the sixteenth century, however, the market for slaves increased dramatically as a result of the growing European demand for sugarcane. The small areas of sugar cultivation in the Mediterranean could not meet the demand, and production soon spread to new areas: to the island of Madeira off the African coast, which became a Portuguese colony, and not long thereafter (still in the sixteenth century) to the Caribbean islands and Brazil. Sugar was a labor-intensive crop, and the demand for African workers in these new areas of cultivation was high. At first the slave traders were overwhelmingly Portuguese. By the seventeenth century, though, the Dutch had won control of most of the market. And in the eighteenth century, the English dominated it. By 1700, slavery had spread well beyond its original locations in the Caribbean and South America and into the English colonies to the north. The relationship among European, African, and native peoples—however unequal—reminds us of the global context to the history of America. (See "America in the World: The International Context of the Early History of the Americas.")

THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH

England's first documented contact with the New World came only five years after Spain's. In 1497, John Cabot (like Columbus, a native of Genoa) sailed to the northeastern coast of North America on an expedition sponsored by King Henry VII, in an unsuccessful search for a northwest passage through the New World to the Orient. But nearly a century passed before the English made any serious efforts to establish colonies in America.

Significantly, England's first experience with colonization came not in the New World but in neighboring Ireland. The English had long laid claim to the island, but only in the

late sixteenth century did serious efforts at colonization begin. The long, brutal process by which the English attempted to subdue the Irish created an important assumption about colonization: the belief that settlements in foreign lands must retain a rigid separation from the native populations. Unlike the Spanish in America, the English in Ireland tried to build a separate society of their own, peopled with emigrants from England itself. They would take that concept with them to the New World.

Incentives for Colonization

Interest in **colonization** grew in part as a response to social and economic problems in sixteenth-century England. The English people faced frequent and costly European wars as well as almost constant religious strife within their own land. Many suffered, too, from harsh economic changes in their countryside. Because the worldwide demand for wool was growing rapidly, landowners were converting their land from fields for crops to pastures for sheep. The result was a reduction in the amount of land available for growing food. England's food supply declined at the same time that the English population was growing—from 3 million in 1485 to 4 million in 1603. To some of the English, the New World began to seem attractive because it offered something that was growing scarce in England: land.

At the same time, new merchant capitalists were prospering by selling the products of England's growing wool-cloth industry abroad. At first, most exporters did business almost entirely as individuals. In time, however, merchants formed companies, whose **charters** from the king gave them monopolies for trading in particular regions. Investors in these companies often made fantastic profits, and they were eager to expand their trade.

Central to this trading drive was the emergence of a new concept of economic life known as **mercantilism**. Mercantilism rested on the belief that one person or nation could grow rich only at the expense of another, and that a nation's economic health depended, therefore, on selling as much as possible to foreign lands and buying as little as possible from them. The principles of mercantilism spread throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One result was the increased attractiveness of acquiring colonies, which became the source of raw materials and a market for the colonizing power's goods.

In England, the mercantilistic program thrived at first on the basis of the flourishing wool trade with the European continent, and particularly with the great cloth market in Antwerp. In the 1550s, however, that glutted market began to collapse, and English merchants had to look elsewhere for overseas trade. Some English believed colonies would solve their problems.

There were also religious motives for colonization—a result of the **Protestant Reformation**. Protestantism began in Germany in 1517, when Martin Luther challenged some of the basic practices and beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church. Luther quickly won a wide following among ordinary men and women in northern Europe. When the pope excommunicated him in 1520, Luther began leading his followers out of the Catholic Church entirely.

The Swiss theologian John Calvin went even further in rejecting the Catholic belief that human behavior could affect an individual's prospects for salvation. Calvin introduced the doctrine of predestination. God "elected" some people to be saved and condemned others to damnation; each person's destiny was determined before birth, and no one could change that predetermined fate. But those who accepted Calvin's teachings came to believe that the way they led their lives might reveal to them their chances of salvation. A wicked or useless existence would be a sign of damnation; saintliness, diligence, and possibly signs of grace. The new creed spread rapidly throughout northern Europe.

In 1529, King Henry VIII of England, angered by the refusal of the pope to grant him a divorce from his Spanish wife, broke England's ties with the Catholic Church and established himself as the head of the Christian faith in his country. This was known as the English Reformation. After Henry's death, his Catholic daughter, Queen Mary, restored England's allegiance to Rome and persecuted Protestants. But when Mary died in 1558, her half sister, **Elizabeth I**, became England's sovereign and once again severed the nation's connection with the Catholic Church, this time for good.

To many English people, however, the new Church of England was not reformed enough. They clamored for changes that would "purify" the church and quickly became knows as **Puritans**. Most only wanted to simplify worship and reform the leadership of the church. Their frustration mounted steadily as political and ecclesiastical authorities refused to respond to their demands.

Puritan discontent grew rapidly, however, after the death of Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors, and the accession of James I, the first of the Stuarts, in 1603. Convinced that kings ruled by divine right, James quickly antagonized the Puritans by resorting to illegal and arbitrary taxation, favoring English Catholics in the granting of charters and other favors, and supporting "high-church" forms of ceremony, meaning a strong stress on traditional and very formal liturgical practices. By the early seventeenth century, some Puritans were beginning to look for places of refuge outside the kingdom.

The First English Settlements

The first permanent English settlement in the New World was established at Jamestown, in Virginia, in 1607. But for nearly thirty years before that, English merchants and adventurers had been engaged in a series of failed efforts to create colonies in America.

Through much of the sixteenth century, the English had harbored mixed feelings about the New World. They were intrigued by its possibilities, but they were also fearful of Spain, which remained the dominant force in America. In 1588, however, King Philip II of Spain sent one of the largest military fleets in the history of warfare—the Spanish Armada—across the English Channel to attack England itself. The smaller English fleet, taking advantage of its greater maneuverability, defeated the armada and, in a single stroke, ended Spain's domination of the Atlantic. This great shift in naval power caused English interest in colonizing the New World to grow quickly.

The pioneers of English colonization were Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half brother Sir Walter Raleigh—both veterans of earlier colonial efforts in Ireland. In 1578, Gilbert obtained from Queen Elizabeth a six-year patent granting him the exclusive right "to inhabit and possess any remote and heathen lands not already in the possession of any Christian prince." Five years later, after several setbacks, he led an expedition to Newfoundland, looking for a good place to build a profitable colony. But a storm sank his ship, and he was lost at sea. The next year, Sir Walter Raleigh secured his own six-year grant from the queen and sent a small group of men on an expedition to explore the North American coast. When they returned, Raleigh named the region they had explored Virginia, in honor of Elizabeth, who was known as the "Virgin Queen."

In 1585, Raleigh recruited his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, to lead a group of men to the island of **Roanoke**, off the coast of what is now North Carolina, to establish a colony. Grenville deposited the settlers on the island, destroyed an Indian village as retaliation for a minor theft, and returned to England. The following spring, with long-overdue supplies and reinforcements from England, Sir Francis Drake unexpectedly arrived in Roanoke. The dispirited colonists boarded his ships and left.

(©The Gallery Collection/Corbis)

ROANOKE **A drawing by one of the colonists in the ill-fated Roanoke expedition of 1585 became the basis for this engraving by Theodor de Bry, published in England in 1590. A small European ship approaches the island of Roanoke, in the center. The wreckage of several larger vessels farther out to sea suggests the danger of the journey while the presence of Indian settlements on the mainland and on Roanoke itself reflects the contact between two different cultures to come.**

Raleigh tried again in 1587, sending an expedition to Roanoke carrying ninety-one men, seventeen women, and nine children. The settlers attempted to take up where the first group of colonists had left off. John White, the commander of the expedition, returned to England after several weeks, in search of supplies and additional settlers. Because of a war with Spain, he was unable to return to Roanoke for three years. When he did, in 1590, he found the island deserted, with no clue to the fate of the settlers other than the cryptic inscription "Croatoan" carved on a post.

The Roanoke disaster marked the end of Sir Walter Raleigh's involvement in English colonization of the New World. No later colonizers would receive grants of land in America as vast or undefined as those Raleigh and Gilbert had acquired. Yet the colonizing impulse remained very much alive. In the early years of the seventeenth century, a group of London merchants decided to renew the attempt at colonization in Virginia. A rival group of merchants, from the area around Plymouth, was also interested in American ventures and was sponsoring voyages of exploration farther north. In 1606, James I issued a new charter, which divided North America between the two groups. The London group got the exclusive right to colonize the south, and the Plymouth merchants received the same right in the north. Through the efforts of these and other companies, the first enduring English colonies would soon be established in North America.

The French and the Dutch in America

English settlers in North America encountered not only native groups but also other Europeans who were, like them, driven by mercantilist ideas. There were scattered North American outposts of the Spanish Empire and, more important, there were French and Dutch settlers who were also vying for a stake in the New World.

In the early sixteenth century, eager to discover new trade routes across the Atlantic and locate a new corridor to the Pacific, the French King, Francis I, turned to Giovanni da Verrazzano, an Italian explorer. After rough seas forced him to abort his maiden voyage in 1523, Verrazano set sail the next year and successfully landed at Cape Fear. He charted his way north along the Atlantic Coast, including stops in New York Bay, Long Island, Narraganset Bay, Cape Cod, and finally Newfoundland. Crafting detailed maps and providing accounts of his interactions with Indians, Verrazano laid the pathway for future generations of European explorers.

Nearly 40 years later, in 1562, Frenchman Jean Ribault established a small settlement he called Charlesfort in present-day Parris Island, South Carolina. Poor leadership, inadequate supplies, and a lack of cooperation with local Indians ushered its demise after only a year. But in 1564, Rene Goulaine de Laudonniere, an officer in Ribault's original force, built Fort Caroline, near what is now Jacksonville, Florida. It too nearly collapsed within a year for similar reasons, but a fortuitous stop-over by an English ship allowed residents to trade for much needed supplies. Fort Caroline, however, quickly became entangled in larger territorial conflicts between French and the Spanish, who sacked the fort in 1565, killed most of its residents, and built their own fortification, Fort San Mateo. It lasted until 1569, when a vengeful French force burned it to the ground.

Samuel de Champlain founded the first permanent French settlement in North America at Quebec in 1608, less than a year after the English started their first at Jamestown. Central to its success was Champlain's winning effort to form strong political partnerships with the Montagnais, Algonquins, and Hurons, even going to war with them against the Iroquois. These bonds facilitated the expansion of the French fur trade in the region. Champlain also promoted close interaction between *coureurs de bois*—male French fur traders and trappers—and Indians as a way of knitting together the different cultures. The *coureurs de bois* settled deep in the region, learned Indian languages and customs, and sometimes intermarried. They enlarged the network of fur trading, which helped open the way for French agricultural estates (or *seigneuries*) along the St. Lawrence River and for the development of trade and military centers at Quebec and Montreal.

Jesuit missionaries spread French influence as well. These members of the male-only Catholic Society of Jesus arrived in 1634 and five years later founded the Sainte-Marie-aux-Huron, which as the name suggests was meant to encourage cooperation and conversion among the Hurons. The Jesuits soon expanded the mission, adding a farm, hospital, mill, and church to introduce the Indians to their faith, way of life, and skills like blacksmithing. They learned the local tongue and customs to build new degrees of trust and collaboration and they eventually launched new missions in the region. While their work certainly enhanced relationships with the Indians, the Jesuits faced limits in what they could accomplish. The Hurons, like Indians from other parts of the New World, often challenged attempts to make them into Catholics and farm and live like Frenchmen. They sometimes flat-out resisted or instead sought to mix their traditional religion with Catholicism and create a new faith hybrid, often to the anger of the Jesuits.