FOURTH EDITION

AMERICAN STORIES

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

H. W. BRANDS • T. H. BREEN • ARIELA J. GROSS • R. HAL WILLIAMS

American Stories

A History of the United States

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Volume 1: To 1877

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Preface

In This Edition

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

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

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

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

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

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

ENGAGE STUDENTS AND IMPROVE CRITICAL THINKING

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

SUPPORT INSTRUCTORS

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

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

SUPPLEMENTS FOR INSTRUCTORS

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

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

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

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

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

A Note to My Fellow Teachers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PEDAGOGICAL FEATURES

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

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

A FINAL WORD

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

A Note to Students: Tips for Studying History

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

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

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

To summarize, when approaching a history course:

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

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

Best wishes,
H. W. Brands

About the Authors

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

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

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

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

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Chapter 1

New World Encounters Preconquest–1608

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

Contents and Focus Questions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.1 Native Americans before the Conquest

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.1.1 The Environmental Challenge: Food, Climate, and Culture

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

MAP 1.1 ROUTES OF THE FIRST AMERICANS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Quick Check

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

1.1.2 Mexico's Aztec Empire

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

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

Quick Check

What most impressed Spanish explorers about Aztec culture?

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

1.1.3 Eastern Woodland Cultures

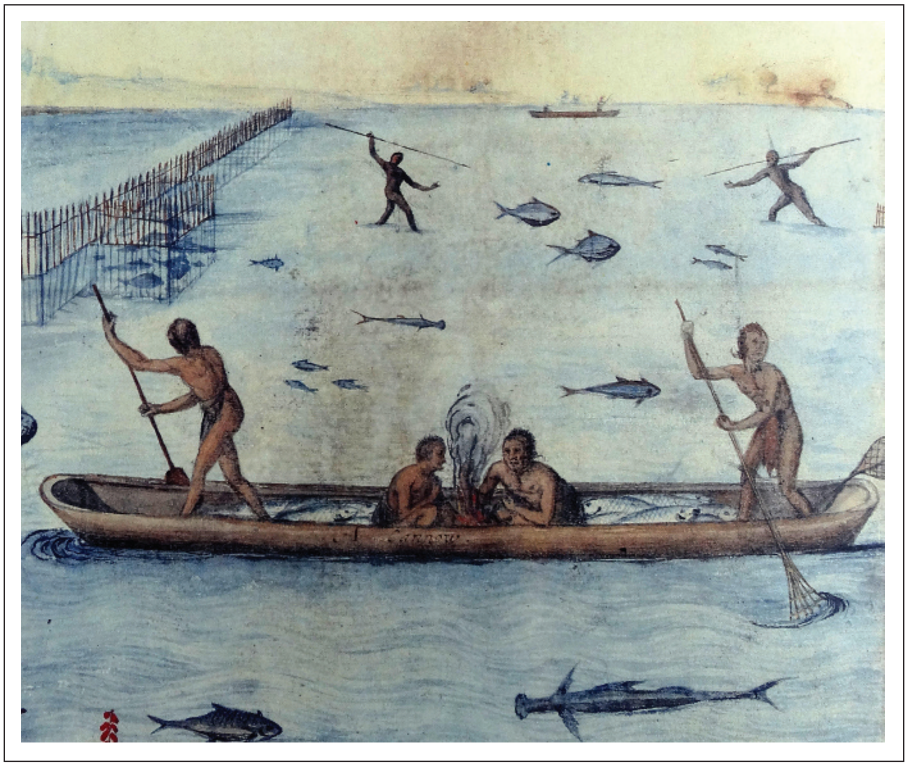
Eastern Woodland Cultures Term given to Indians from the Northeast region who lived on the Atlantic coast and supplemented farming with seasonal hunting and gathering.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

Quick Check

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

1.2 Conditions of Conquest

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

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

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

1.2.1 West Africa: Ancient and Complex Societies

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

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

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

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

MAP 1.3 TRADE ROUTES IN AFRICA

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

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

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

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

1.2.2 Cultural Negotiations in the Americas

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

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

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

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

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