GIVE ME LIBERTY!

AN AMERICAN HISTORY

BRIEF / 7E VOL. 1

ERIC FONER
KATHLEEN DuVAL
LISA McGIRR

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AN AMERICAN HISTORY

Brief Seventh Edition

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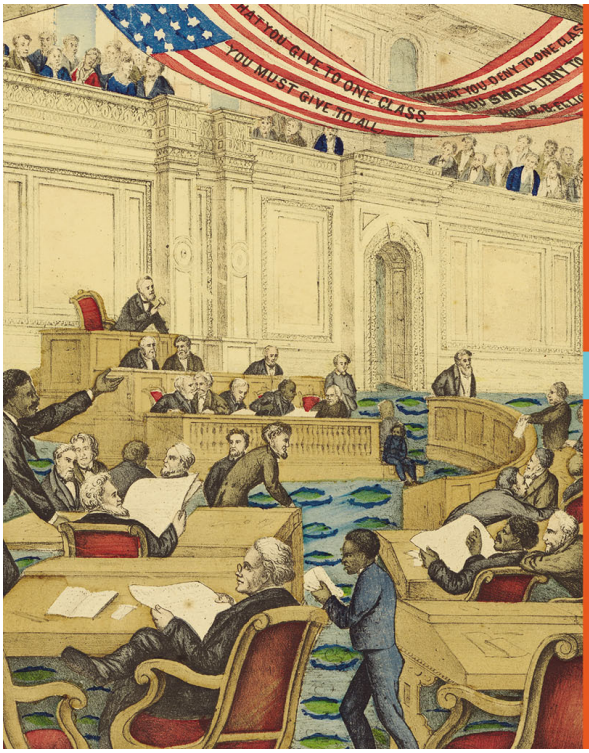
PHYSICAL/POLITICAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES
0 150 300 miles
0 150 300 kilometers
PUERTO RICO
0 50 miles
0 50 kilometers
HAWAII
0 100 miles
0 100 kilometers
0 200 400 miles
0 200 400 kilometers
CANADA
WASHINGTON
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
IDAHO
NEVADA
MONTANA
WYOMING
UTAH
ARIZONA
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
MINNESOTA
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
MICHIGAN
INDIANA
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
WEST VIRGINIA
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
MAINE
VT
NH
MASS.
RHODE ISLAND
CONNECTICUT
NEW JERSEY
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
ALASKA
MEXICO
BAHAMAS
Pacific Ocean
Atlantic Ocean
Gulf of Mexico
Gulf of California
Gulf of Alaska
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
GREAT BASIN
COLORADO PLATEAU
SIERRA MADRE OCCIDENTAL
SIERRA MADRE ORIENTAL
CANADIAN SHIELD
APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS
CENTRAL LOWLANDS
GREAT PLAINS
COASTAL PLAIN


POLITICAL MAP of the WORLD
Scale at equator
0 750 1,500 miles
0 750 1,500 kilometers
THE POLES
0 1,500 miles
0 1,500 kilometers
Arctic Ocean
North Atlantic Ocean
North Pacific Ocean
South Pacific Ocean
South Atlantic Ocean
Indian Ocean
Southern Ocean
Greenland (Denmark)
ICELAND
RUSSIA
CANADA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
BRAZIL
ARGENTINA
CHILE
PERU
COLOMBIA
VENEZUELA
ALGERIA
LIBYA
EGYPT
SUDAN
NIGERIA
ETHIOPIA
KENYA
SOUTH AFRICA
ANGOLA
NAMIBIA
MADAGASCAR
KAZAKHSTAN
MONGOLIA
CHINA
INDIA
IRAN
SAUDI ARABIA
TURKEY
JAPAN
AUSTRALIA
INDONESIA
NEW ZEALAND
Baffin Bay
Hudson Bay
Labrador Sea
Barents Sea
Kara Sea
Laptev Sea
Norwegian Sea
Bering Sea
Beaufort Sea
Chukchi Sea
Gulf of Mexico
Caribbean Sea
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
South China Sea
Tasman Sea
Scotia Sea



GIVE ME LIBERTY!

AN AMERICAN HISTORY

Brief Seventh Edition

Volume 1: To 1877

ERIC FONER
KATHLEEN DuVAL
LISA McGIRR

W. W. NORTON & COMPANY
Celebrating a Century of Independent Publishing

For my mother, Liza Foner (1909–2005), an accomplished artist who lived through most of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first ★ For Calvin and Quentin DuVal-Smith ★ For Noah and Pascal Beckert-McGirr

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

ERIC FONER is DeWitt Clinton Professor Emeritus of History at Columbia University. His teaching and scholarship focus on the Civil War and Reconstruction, slavery, and nineteenth-

century America. He has served as president of the Organization of American Historians, Society of American Historians, and American Historical Association. In 2006 he received the Presidential Award for Outstanding Teaching from Columbia University. His most recent books are *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery*, winner of the Bancroft and Lincoln Prizes and the Pulitzer Prize for History, *Gateway to Freedom: The Hidden History of the Underground Railroad*, winner of the New York Historical Society Book Prize, and *The Second Founding: How the Civil War and Reconstruction Remade the Constitution*.

KATHLEEN DUVAL is Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where she teaches early American history. Her research focuses on how various Native American, European, and African people interacted from the sixteenth through the early nineteenth centuries. Her most recent book, *Independence Lost: Lives on the Edge of the American Revolution*, won multiple awards for its rich retelling of the history of the Revolutionary Era as experienced by enslaved people, Native Americans, and women living in the Gulf South. DuVal has also won the Guggenheim Fellowship in U.S. History, a National Humanities Center Fellowship, and a postdoctoral fellowship from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

LISA MCGIRR is Charles Warren Professor of American History at Harvard University. She specializes in the political and social history of the twentieth-century United States. Her most recent book, *The War on Alcohol: Prohibition and the Rise of the American State*, won acclaim

for excavating the significant but neglected state-building legacies of national Prohibition. Her award-winning first book, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right*, investigates grassroots conservative politics in the post–World War II United States. She has received multiple fellowships, including from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Pew Program for Religion and American History, and the Fulbright Program. She has been a fellow at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Studies and the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies and is a distinguished lecturer for the Organization of American Historians.

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PREFACE

G*ive Me Liberty! An American History* is a survey of American history from the earliest interactions of Indigenous peoples, Europeans, and Africans to the first decades of the twenty-first century. It offers students a clear, concise narrative whose central theme is the changing contours of American freedom.

We are extremely gratified by the response to the first six editions of *Give Me Liberty!*, which have been used in survey courses at many hundreds of two- and four-year colleges and universities throughout the country. The comments we have received from instructors and students encourage us to think that *Give Me Liberty!* has worked well in their classrooms. Their comments have also included many valuable suggestions for revisions, which we greatly appreciate. These have ranged from corrections of typographical and factual errors to thoughts about subjects that needed more extensive treatment. In making revisions for this Seventh Edition, we have tried to take these suggestions into account. We have also incorporated the findings and insights of new scholarship that have appeared since the original edition was written.

The most significant change in this edition, immediately visible on the book's cover and title page, is the addition of two new co-authors, Professor Kathleen DuVal of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Professor Lisa McGirr of Harvard University. Both are accomplished scholars with national and international reputations. For further details about their careers, see About the Authors above.

For the initial edition of *Give Me Liberty!*, which appeared in 2005, and the five subsequent revised editions, Eric Foner was solely responsible for all the writing as well as the choice of images and document excerpts in each chapter. This required, among other tasks, keeping up with the enormous outpouring of significant books covering every aspect of American history. As time went on, this became increasingly difficult for one individual. Professors DuVal and McGirr have now joined the process of revision. For this Seventh Edition, the former is responsible for changes to Chapters 1 to 10, the latter Chapters 18 to 28. Foner took charge of Chapters 11 to 17.

The most important changes in this Seventh Edition involve heightened attention to Native American history and, in keeping with the overall theme of the book, Native Americans' ideas about freedom. This reflects both the recent burgeoning of this long-neglected field, which has produced outstanding works that change our understanding of key moments and processes in American history, and the expertise of our new co-authors.

As the original inhabitants of the lands that would become the United States, Native Americans have had a unique relationship to other Americans and with the federal government. The Constitution recognizes them as inhabitants of their own tribal sovereignties, not members of the national body politic. And sovereignty—control over ancestral lands and the ability to govern their own affairs—has been central to Native definitions of freedom. Over the centuries of American history, Indian sovereignty has eroded considerably, but it has not disappeared. Over time, it was severely challenged by European colonialism and American nationhood. Wars and forced agreements dispossessed Native Americans of much of their land but although treaties were frequently violated, they recognized Native control over the remainder. The quest to exercise authority over their own lives and to maintain traditional languages and forms of governance and social organization has been a central theme of Native American history, as has the effort of outsiders to impose their own ideas about freedom, political power, and cultural life on the Indigenous population. Throughout U.S. history, Native understanding of freedom via sovereignty has clashed with settlers' ambitions for their own freedom.

Since 1924, all Native Americans have been citizens of the United States. Even today, however, many continue to identify as citizens of Native nations as well (or instead of) as American citizens. And many tribes are recognized by U.S. courts as entities distinct from the federal and state governments, even though tribal self-government is constrained by the power of Congress and the Department of the Interior. The changing nature of Native sovereignty and its relationship to concepts of freedom within both Native American tribes and the larger society is a central theme of this Seventh Edition. Building upon past editions' inclusion of Native history and Native voices, this edition narrates the history of American Indians in three stages: a long period in which diverse Indian nations ruled most of the continent; the decline of Native power and self-government from the mid-nineteenth through early twentieth centuries, and the Native revival in the late twentieth century continuing to today.

The major revisions that illuminate the history of these themes are as follows:

Chapters 1 to 4 have been reorganized to give greater emphasis to Native American history. Chapter 1 contains more coverage of the nature of Native American societies before contact with Europeans and, in addition, an expanded discussion of West Africa on the eve of the

Atlantic slave trade. Chapter 2 contains enhanced coverage of armed conflict between British settlers in Virginia and New England and the Native inhabitants, as well as new material on the early Atlantic slave trade, including the role of the Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch, and the origins of slavery in the British colonies. Chapters 3 and 4 contain an expanded discussion of Native-colonial relations in the eighteenth century and the growth of pan-Indian coalitions that sought to halt settler intrusions.

In Chapter 5, there is greater emphasis on how the American Revolution was also a Native struggle for independence and how Native Americans fought on both sides of the conflict in pursuit of that goal. Chapter 7 contains a new section on Native nations in the West and their relations with the early American republic, which most did not wish to join. Chapters 9 and 10 deal in more detail with Indian removal in the 1830s, including how this policy was linked to the expansion of cotton production and slavery in the South, and how Native nations responded to being forced from their ancestral lands.

Chapter 14 expands the discussion of the Civil War in Indian Territory and contains a new subsection on the Dakota War, which led to the largest mass execution in American history. Chapters 15 and 16 contain new subsections on Reconstruction in Indian Territory and President Grant's attempted peace policy. In Chapter 18, there is an expanded discussion of Native American Progressivism set against the background of the continuing dispossession of Indian lands and efforts to forcibly assimilate Indian children via federally controlled boarding schools. Native American participation in World War I and debates over whether military service would lead to greater citizenship rights are discussed in Chapter 19. The subject of the Indian New Deal and its impact on Native Americans receives an expanded discussion in Chapter 21 in the context of Indigenous understandings of freedom and sovereignty, as does the role of Native Americans in World War II in Chapter 22. Chapter 23 discusses the intensified campaign, known as "termination," to abolish tribal sovereignty during the Cold War, and Chapter 24 includes a discussion of the Indian Bureau's program to move Native Americans from reservations to cities.

Chapter 25 considers "Red Power" and the American Indian Movement alongside other examples of youth-led activism in the 1960s. Chapter 26 shows how this intensified activism led to tribal revitalization, including a renaissance of Native American identity and cultural expression. In Chapter 27 , readers will see how Native peoples have continued to press for self-determination in the new millennium, seeking financial restitution for past wrongs and leading grassroots movements, such as the NoDAPL movement for environmental justice.

Other revisions, not directly tied to the theme of Native American freedom but based on significant recent scholarship, include a new subsection in Chapter 12 highlighting the role of Black women in the abolitionist movement and the struggle for women's rights and in Chapter 13 an expanded discussion of John Brown's raid of 1859 with attention to the influence of Black radicals on Brown's thinking. Chapter 19 now contains material on the 1918 influenza epidemic and in Chapter 20 there is a new discussion of the Lost Generation—the writers and artists, disillusioned with American culture of the 1920s—who found a home in Europe. Chapter 25 includes new material on Black urban uprisings in the 1960s and after, especially in relation to grievances against police behavior in minority neighborhoods. The final chapter has been substantially updated to cover the administration of Donald Trump and the election of 2020. Throughout the book there are also new selections for the Voices of Freedom and Who Is

an American? document features. And this edition contains many new images—paintings, photographs, broadsides, and so on—all selected by the authors.

A Note on Naming

Readers will have noticed that in the discussion above, we have used more than one group name when discussing the people descended from the continent's original inhabitants. The proper way to identify them, as well as other groups of Americans, can be controversial. Offensive terms have recently been removed from sports arenas and geographical place names, although not without resistance. Generally speaking, we believe, people have the right to choose the words that identify them. But such preferences change over time in response to changing social and political imperatives. Often, disagreement exists within groups about their proper designation. In this edition, we have updated our terminology, recognizing that some names once widely familiar are now viewed as inappropriate or even insulting by the people to whom they are applied, while bearing in mind that changed language can seem unfamiliar and confusing to those used to an older vocabulary.

To navigate this complex question we have consulted prominent scholars who write about various groups of Americans. Most advised us to cast a wide net, using interchangeably terms that are in widespread circulation today while being wary of overusing new language that has not gained a significant foothold either among the groups themselves or in society at large. Thus, readers will find Indian, Native American, Native, and Indigenous all used to identify the people once universally called Indians. (The name Indian, as is well known, derives from Christopher Columbus's mistaken belief that his voyage to the Americas in 1492 had brought him to the East Indies rather than to a hemisphere previously unknown to Europeans.) For a time, Native peoples rejected Indian as conjuring up images of savagery. More recently it has come into wider use again, partly because of its very familiarity and partly to suggest a sense of shared identity that transcends individual tribes. Because the word Indian, despite its limitations, is so widely understood, a major organization demanding change in the 1960s intentionally chose to make the word part of its title: the American Indian Movement. This is not the only example of people turning a term considered insulting into an expression of pride.

A related question concerns the names of individual Native nations. Some groups, but by no means all, have abandoned designations that originated among white persons in favor of older Indigenous ones. While we believe, as noted above, that the group itself should decide what it wishes to be called, we realize that some changes may be confusing for many readers. In such cases we have added the previous name in parentheses, for example, Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) and Muscogee (Creek).

The heightened sensitivity to racial inequality in the aftermath of the 2020 murder of George Floyd by a Minneapolis police officer sparked a similar discussion of the proper way to designate Americans of African descent. This debate has a long history. In the revolutionary era, Black institutions often included the word African in their titles (for example, the African Methodist Episcopal Church) as a sign of a unique identity. But in response to the rise of the American Colonization Society, which claimed that Blacks, free and slave, were not truly American and should return to Africa, a wholesale reevaluation of such names took place. Meetings of Black people demanding recognition as equal members of the body politic called

themselves Conventions of Colored Citizens. One of the earliest Black newspapers was titled the *Colored American*. After the end of slavery, when persons of African descent were recognized as American citizens entitled to equality of political and civil rights, Negro, from the Spanish word for the color black and for dark-skinned people, was widely used. So was Afro-American and African-American. There was debate over whether to use hyphens, and whether Negro should begin with a capital or lowercase letter. In the 1920s, when the *New York Times*, one of the nation's leading newspapers, decided to capitalize the first letter of Negro, this was hailed as an important sign of respect. More recently, the Associated Press, which informally sets journalistic standards, recommended that Black, a label that has gained wide currency since the 1960s (Black Power was one of the era's familiar slogans) should be capitalized, as an indication of the shared history and culture of persons of African descent rooted in the unique historical experience of dislocation, slavery, racial inequality, and resistance. Today, Negro and Colored are rarely used except when discussing historical situations. African American and Black are now the most common designations. The widespread elimination of the hyphen in African American has influenced how other groups are described, such as, for example, Irish Americans and Asian Americans. Again, no unanimity exists on these questions of usage. In this edition, we have used Black and African American interchangeably, while retaining Negro and Colored when quoting historical documents or using historical titles, such as the U. S. Colored Troops in the Civil War.

Then there are the Americans variously labeled Hispanic or Latino. Both designations are widely used, although neither has much historical clarity. The dictionary defines Latino as a person with roots in Latin America, a category that covers persons of every religion and race, with origins in more than a dozen countries. Hispanic refers primarily to language, meaning persons who speak Spanish (thereby excluding those Americans whose origins lie in Portuguese-speaking Brazil). It is only recently that these terms for what is now the country's largest minority group came into widespread use. The census did not include a Hispanic category until 1980. For many decades people descended from the Mexican inhabitants of lands in the Southwest acquired during the Mexican-American War viewed "Mexican" as a term of abuse and avoided it by using state-specific terms such as Tejano and Californio. The first organization of Mexican American activists purposely did not use Mexican in its title, calling itself the League of United Latin American Citizens. Later, younger radicals in California adopted Chicano, an old term of abuse, as a positive statement of identity.

There is also the problem of gendered language. In English, nouns do not have a gender as they do in Spanish. But because Latino is a masculine word, where does this leave people who do not identify as masculine? Some writers, scholars, and activists have begun using Latino/a or the gender-neutral neologism Latinx. This last term is still unfamiliar, including among most of the people it is describing. Depending on the historical context, we have decided to use Mexican American, Hispanic, Chicano, and Latino, or Chicana and Latina when specifically referencing women.

One thing is certain: language has changed over time and will continue to do so in the future. It will not be surprising if future editions of *Give Me Liberty!* employ wording that is unfamiliar or even unknown today. All this terminology is the product of our nation's ever evolving history. There is nothing unusual or pernicious in this, simply the recognition that as American society changes, the vocabulary we use to describe it changes as well.

The Freedom Theme

Americans have always had a divided attitude toward history. On the one hand, they tend to be remarkably future-oriented, dismissing events of even the recent past as "ancient history" and sometimes seeing history as a burden to be overcome, a prison from which to escape. On the other hand, like many other peoples, Americans have always looked to history for a sense of personal or group identity and of national cohesiveness. This is why so many Americans devote time and energy to tracing their family trees and why they visit historical museums and National Park Service historical sites in ever-increasing numbers. Our hope is that this book will convince readers with all degrees of interest that history does matter to them.

The novelist and essayist James Baldwin once observed that history "does not refer merely, or even principally, to the past. On the contrary, the great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us, . . . [that] history is literally present in all that we do." As Baldwin recognized, the force of history is evident in our own world. Especially in a political democracy like the United States, whose government is designed to rest on the consent of informed citizens, knowledge of the past is essential—not only for those of us whose profession is the teaching and writing of history, but for everyone. History, to be sure, does not offer simple lessons or immediate answers to current questions. Knowing the history of immigration to the United States, and all of the tensions, turmoil, and aspirations associated with it, for example, does not tell us what current immigration policy ought to be. But without that knowledge, we have no way of understanding which approaches have worked and which have not—essential information for the formulation of future public policy.

History, it has been said, is what the present chooses to remember about the past. Rather than a fixed collection of facts, or a group of interpretations that cannot be challenged, our understanding of history is constantly changing. There is nothing unusual in the fact that each generation rewrites history to meet its own needs, or that scholars disagree among themselves on basic questions like the causes of the Civil War or the reasons for the Great Depression. Precisely because each generation asks different questions of the past, each generation formulates different answers. The past thirty years have witnessed a remarkable expansion of the scope of historical study. The experiences of groups neglected by earlier scholars, including women, African Americans, working people, and others, have received unprecedented attention from historians. New subfields—social history, cultural history, and family history among them—have taken their place alongside traditional political and diplomatic history.

Give Me Liberty! draws on this voluminous historical literature to present an up-to-date and inclusive account of the American past, paying due attention to the experience of diverse groups of Americans while in no way neglecting the events and processes Americans have experienced in common. It devotes serious attention to political, social, cultural, and economic history, and to their interconnections. The narrative brings together major events and prominent leaders with the many groups of ordinary people who make up American society. *Give Me Liberty!* has a rich cast of characters, from Thomas Jefferson to campaigners for woman suffrage, from Franklin D. Roosevelt to former slaves seeking to breathe meaning into emancipation during and after the Civil War.

Aimed at an audience of undergraduate students with little or no detailed knowledge of American history, *Give Me Liberty!* guides readers through the complexities of the subject without overwhelming them with excessive detail. The unifying theme of freedom that runs through the text gives shape to the narrative and integrates the numerous strands that make up the American experience. This approach builds on that of Foner's earlier book, *The Story of American Freedom* (1998), although *Give Me Liberty!* places events and personalities in the foreground and is more geared to the structure of the introductory survey course.

No idea is more fundamental to Americans' sense of themselves as individuals and as a nation than freedom. The central term in our political language, freedom— or liberty, with which it is almost always used interchangeably—is deeply embedded in the record of our history and the language of everyday life. The Declaration of Independence lists liberty among mankind's inalienable rights; the Constitution announces its purpose as securing liberty's blessings. The United States fought the Civil War to bring about a new birth of freedom, World War II for the Four Freedoms, and the Cold War to defend the Free World. Americans' love of liberty has been represented by liberty poles, liberty caps, and statues of liberty, and acted out by burning stamps and burning draft cards, by running away from slavery, and by demonstrating for the right to vote. "Every man in the street, white, black, red, or yellow," wrote the educator and statesman Ralph Bunche in 1940, "knows that this is 'the land of the free' . . . 'the cradle of liberty.' "

The very universality of the idea of freedom, however, can be misleading. Freedom is not a fixed, timeless category with a single unchanging definition. Indeed, the history of the United States is, in part, a story of debates, disagreements, and struggles over freedom. Crises like the American Revolution, the Civil War, and the Cold War have permanently transformed the idea of freedom. So too have demands by various groups of Americans to enjoy greater freedom. The meaning of freedom has been constructed not only in congressional debates and political treatises but also on plantations and picket lines, in parlors and even bedrooms.

Over the course of our history, American freedom has been both a reality and a mythic ideal—a living truth for millions of Americans, a cruel mockery for others. For some, freedom has been what some scholars call a "habit of the heart," an ideal so taken for granted that it is lived out but rarely analyzed. For others, freedom is not a birthright but a distant goal that has inspired great sacrifice.

Give Me Liberty! draws attention to three dimensions of freedom that have been critical in American history: (1) the *meanings* of freedom; (2) the *social conditions* that make freedom possible; and (3) the *boundaries* of freedom that determine who is entitled to enjoy freedom and who is not. All have changed over time.

In the era of the American Revolution, for example, freedom was primarily a set of rights enjoyed in public activity—the right of a community to be governed by laws to which its representatives had consented and of individuals to engage in religious worship without governmental interference. In the nineteenth century, freedom came to be closely identified with each person's opportunity to develop to the fullest his or her innate talents. In the twentieth, the "ability to choose," in both public and private life, became perhaps the dominant understanding of freedom. This development was encouraged by the explosive growth of the consumer marketplace (a development that receives considerable attention in *Give Me*

Liberty!), which offered Americans an unprecedented array of goods to satisfy their needs and desires. During the 1960s, a crucial chapter in the history of American freedom, the idea of personal freedom was extended into virtually every realm, from attire and "lifestyle" to relations between the sexes. Thus, over time, more and more areas of life have been drawn into Americans' debates about the meaning of freedom.

A second important dimension of freedom focuses on the social conditions necessary to allow freedom to flourish. What kinds of economic institutions and relationships best encourage individual freedom? In the colonial era and for more than a century after independence, the answer centered on economic autonomy, enshrined in the glorification of the independent small producer—the farmer, skilled craftsman, or shopkeeper—who did not have to depend on another person for his livelihood. As the industrial economy matured, new conceptions of economic freedom came to the fore: "liberty of contract" in the Gilded Age, "industrial freedom" (a say in corporate decision making) in the Progressive era, economic security during the New Deal, and, more recently, the ability to enjoy mass consumption within a market economy.

The boundaries of freedom, the third dimension of this theme, have inspired some of the most intense struggles in American history. Although founded on the premise that liberty is an entitlement of all humanity, the United States for much of its history deprived many of its own people of freedom. Non-whites have rarely enjoyed the same access to freedom as white Americans. The belief in equal opportunity as the birthright of all Americans has coexisted with persistent efforts to limit freedom by race, gender, and class and in other ways.

Less obvious, perhaps, is the fact that one person's freedom has frequently been linked to another's servitude. In the colonial era and nineteenth century, expanding freedom for many Americans rested on the lack of freedom—slavery, indentured servitude, the subordinate position of women—for others. By the same token, it has been through battles at the boundaries—the efforts of racial minorities, women, and others to secure greater freedom—that the meaning and experience of freedom have been deepened and the concept extended into new realms.

Time and again in American history, freedom has been transformed by the demands of excluded groups for inclusion. The idea of freedom as a universal birthright owes much both to abolitionists who sought to extend the blessings of liberty to Blacks and to immigrant groups who insisted on full recognition as American citizens. The principle of equal protection of the law without regard to race, which became a central element of American freedom, arose from the antislavery struggle and the Civil War and was reinvigorated by the civil rights revolution of the 1960s, which called itself the "freedom movement." The battle for the right of free speech by labor radicals and birth-control advocates in the first part of the twentieth century helped to make civil liberties an essential element of freedom for all Americans.

Although concentrating on events within the United States, *Give Me Liberty!* also situates American history in the context of developments in other parts of the world. Many of the forces that shaped American history, including the international migration of peoples, the development of slavery, the spread of democracy, and the expansion of capitalism, were worldwide processes not confined to the United States. Today, American ideas, culture, and economic and military power exert unprecedented influence throughout the world. But

beginning with the earliest days of settlement, when European empires competed to colonize North America and enrich themselves from its trade, American history cannot be understood in isolation from its global setting.

Freedom is the oldest of clichés and the most modern of aspirations. At various times in our history, it has served as the rallying cry of the powerless and as a justification of the status quo. Freedom helps to bind our culture together and exposes the contradictions between what America claims to be and what it sometimes has been. American history is not a narrative of continual progress toward greater and greater freedom. As the abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson noted after the Civil War, "revolutions may go backward." Though freedom can be achieved, it may also be taken away. This happened, for example, when the equal rights granted to former slaves immediately after the Civil War were essentially nullified during the era of segregation. As was said in the eighteenth century, the price of freedom is eternal vigilance.

In the early twenty-first century, freedom continues to play a central role in American political and social life and thought. It is invoked by individuals and groups of all kinds, from critics of economic globalization to those who seek to secure American freedom at home and export it abroad. We hope that *Give Me Liberty!* will offer beginning students a clear account of the course of American history, and of its central theme, freedom, which today remains as varied, contentious, and ever-changing as America itself. And we hope that it also enables students to understand the connections between past and current events, the historical context and antecedents of the social, political, cultural, and economic issues that the American people confront today.

Acknowledgments

All works of history are, to a considerable extent, collaborative books in that every writer builds on the research and writing of previous scholars. This is especially true of a textbook that covers the entire American experience over more than five centuries. Our greatest debt is to the innumerable historians on whose work we have drawn in preparing this volume. The Suggested Reading list at the end of each chapter offers only a brief introduction to the vast body of historical scholarship that has influenced and informed this book. More specifically, however, we wish to thank the following scholars, who offered valuable comments, criticisms, and suggestions after generously reading portions of this work or who are using it in their classes.

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Michael Harkins, Harper College

David C. Hsiung, Juniata College

Beth Hunter, University of Alabama at Birmingham

Courtenay Johnson, Huntington High School

Ryan William Keating, California State University, San Bernardino

Jennifer Koslow, Florida State University

Danton Kostandarithes, Bolles School

Elizabeth LaFray, Siena Heights University

Cornelia Lambert, University of North Georgia

Katherine Sharp Landdeck, Texas Woman's University

Jairo Ledesma, Miami Dade College

Paul Lubotina, Walters State Community College

Sergio Lussana, Nottingham Trent University

Thomas Massey, Cape Fear Community College

Warren Milteer Jr., University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Jen Murray, Oklahoma State University

Laura Murphy, Dutchess Community College

Joseph Myers, Delaware County Community College

Jason Newman, Consumnes River College

Jared Pack, University of Arkansas

Sarah Potter, University of Memphis

Julie Rancilio, Kapi'olani Community College

Lindsay Regele, Miami University

David Ryan, University College Cork

Ruby Smart, San Leandro High School

Matthew Stanley, Albany State University

Laura Stott, Daniel Hand High School

Katherine Scott Sturdevant, Pikes Peak Community College

Paul S. Sutter, University of Colorado Boulder

Stephen Tootle, College of the Sequoias

Felicity Turner, Georgia Southern University

Justin Vipperman, College of Southern Idaho

Dan Ware, TASIS The American School in England

Jeannie Whayne, University of Arkansas

Bryn Willcock, University of Swansea

Michael Williams, Beaumont High School

Eric Wolters, Pasco-Hernando State College

Natasha Zaretsky, University of Alabama at Birmingham

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Many students may have heard stories of how publishing companies alter the language and content of textbooks in an attempt to maximize sales and avoid alienating any potential reader. In this case, we can honestly say that W. W. Norton allowed us a free hand in writing and revising the book and, apart from the usual editorial corrections, did not try to influence its content at all. For this we thank them, while we accept full responsibility for the interpretations presented and for any errors the book may contain. Since no book of this length can be entirely free of mistakes, we welcome readers to send us corrections and feedback at http://seagull.wwnorton.com/DearGiveMeLiberty.

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Eric Foner

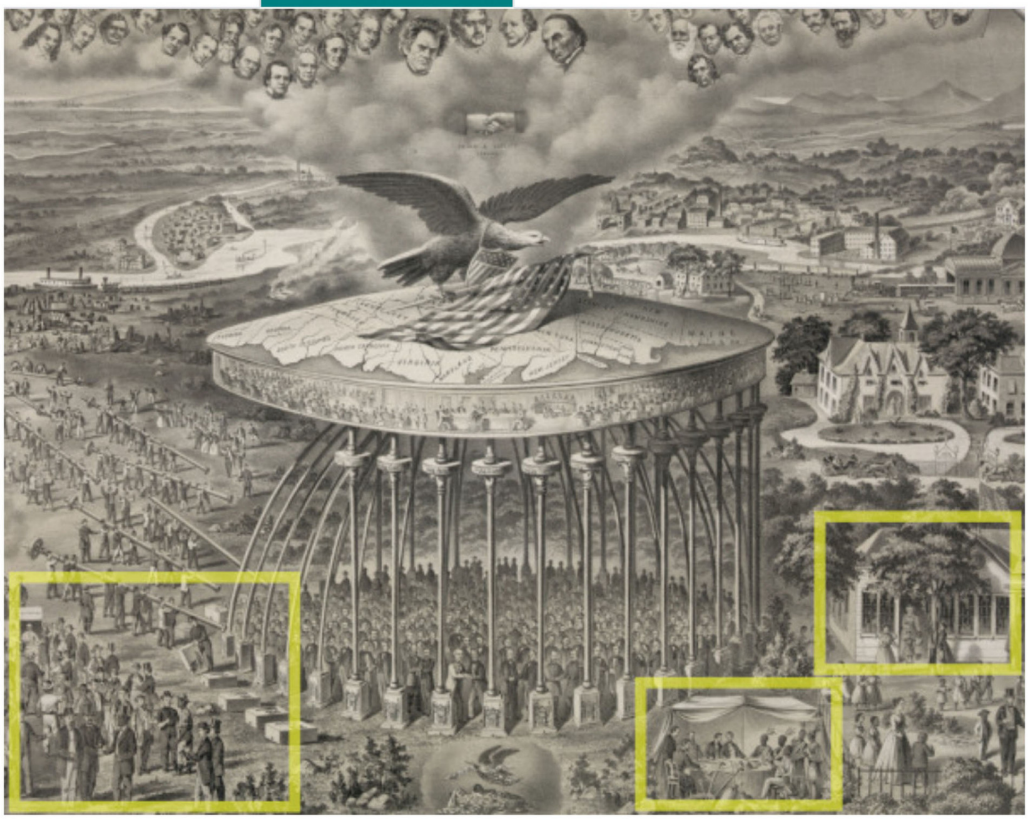
Kathleen DuVal

Lisa McGirr

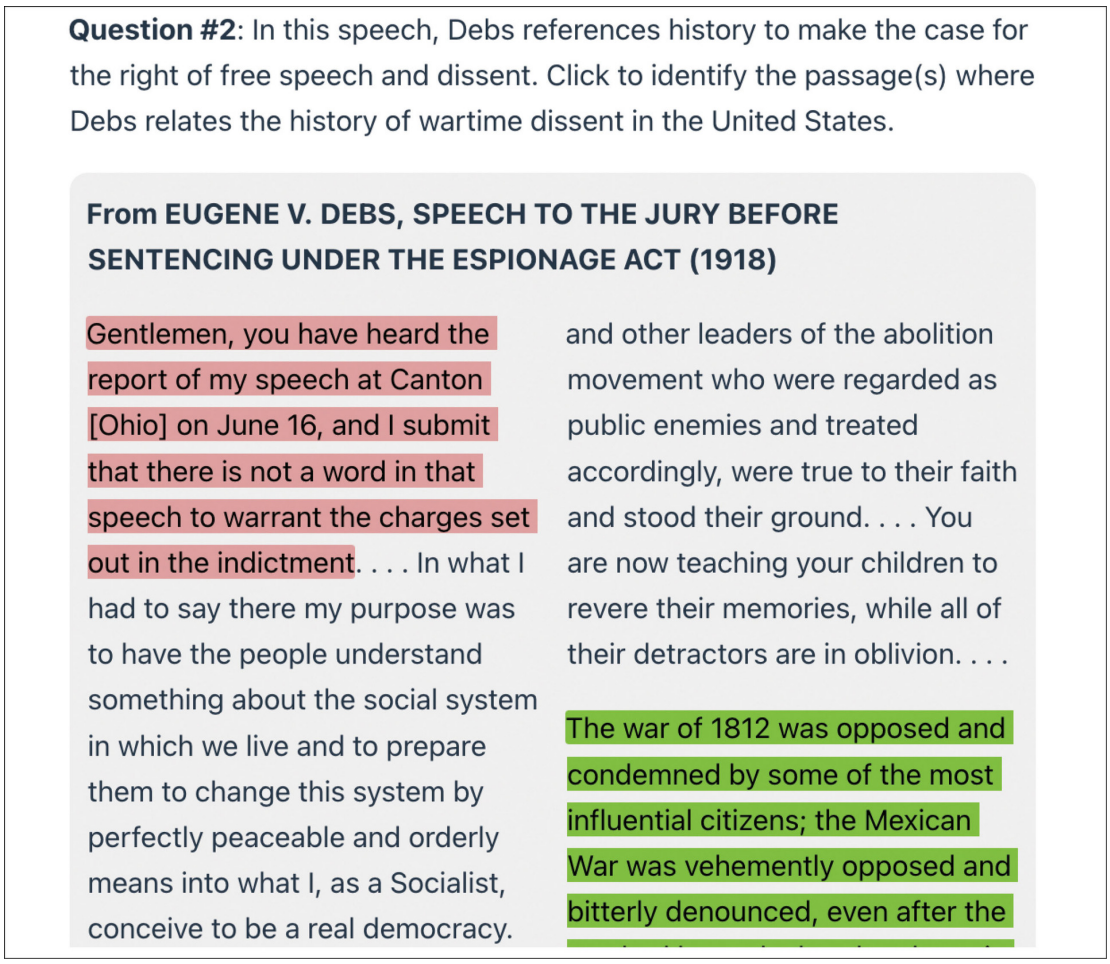
2022

RESOURCES FOR STUDENTS AND INSTRUCTORS

Detail 4: *former rivals* | **Detail 5: *freedom and equality*** | Detail 6: *faces in the sky* | Detail 7: *the eagle*



(Lower left and lower right) Scenes surrounding the large structure include a schoolyard, men and women voting, and Indians and whites sitting together.



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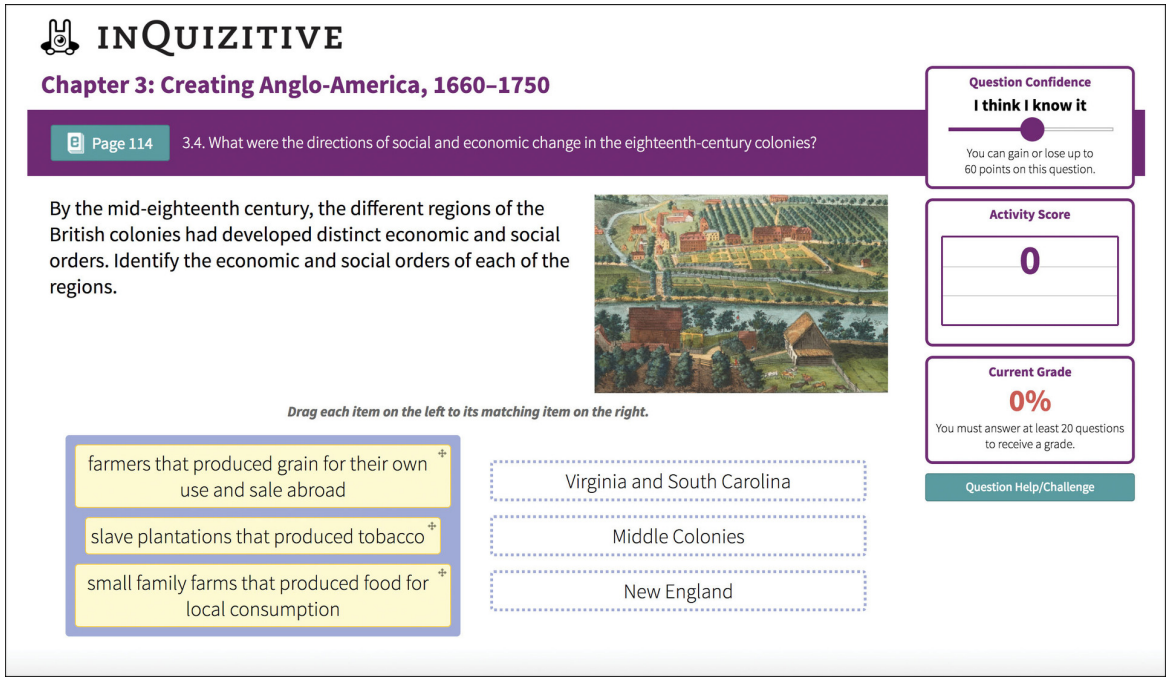

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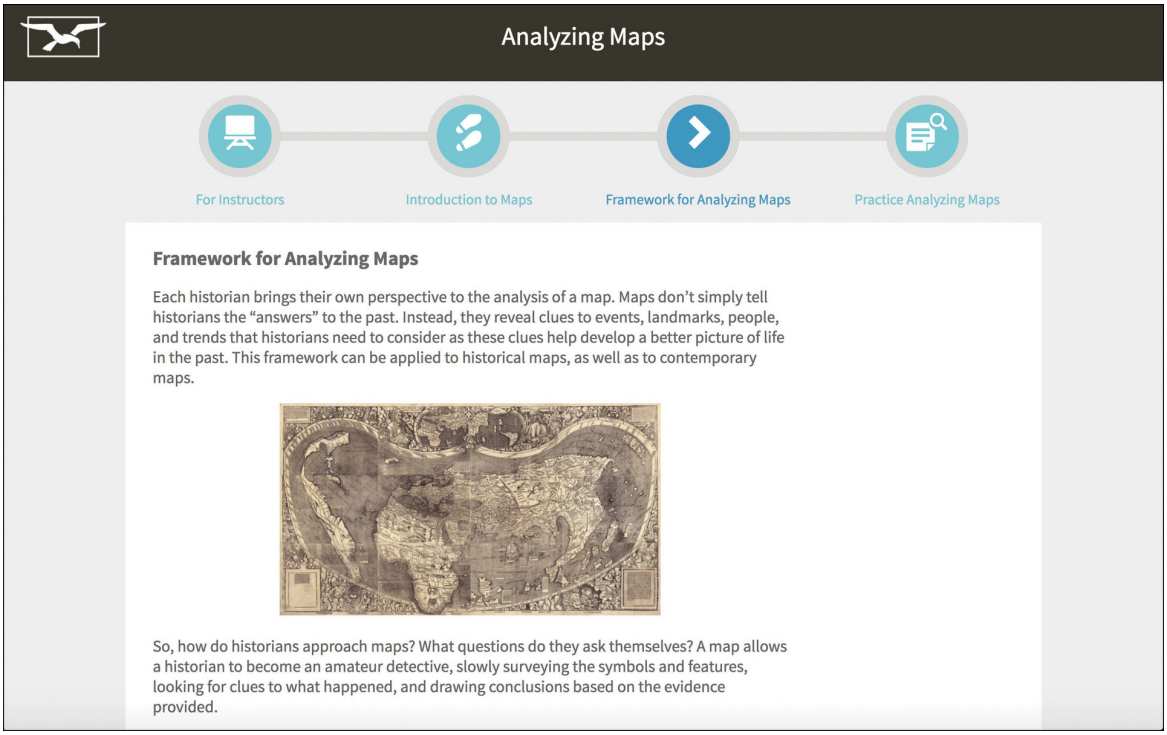

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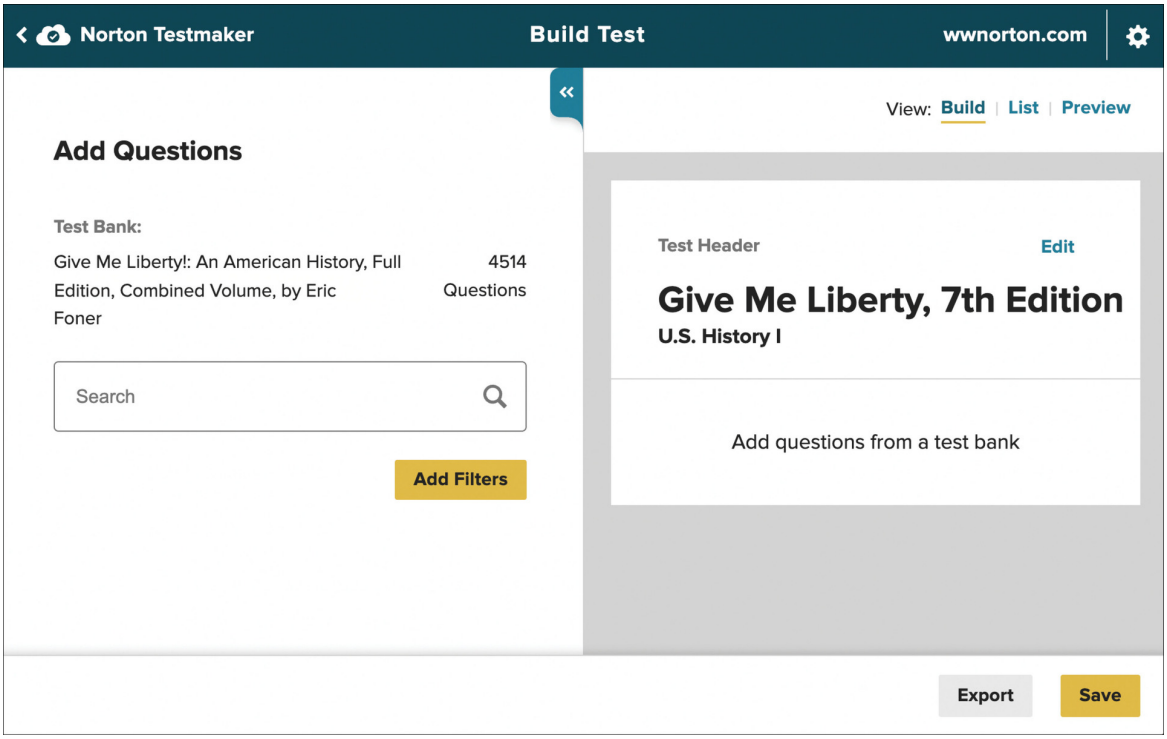

NEW EQUITY-MINDED TEACHING SUPPORT

New to the Seventh Edition are resources designed to help instructors embrace equity-minded principles in (re)designing, teaching, and reflecting on their survey course. Together with the Instructor's Manual, these resources offer sample activities and tips instructors can use to promote the success of *all* students.

CHAPTER 1

OLD WORLDS AND NEW

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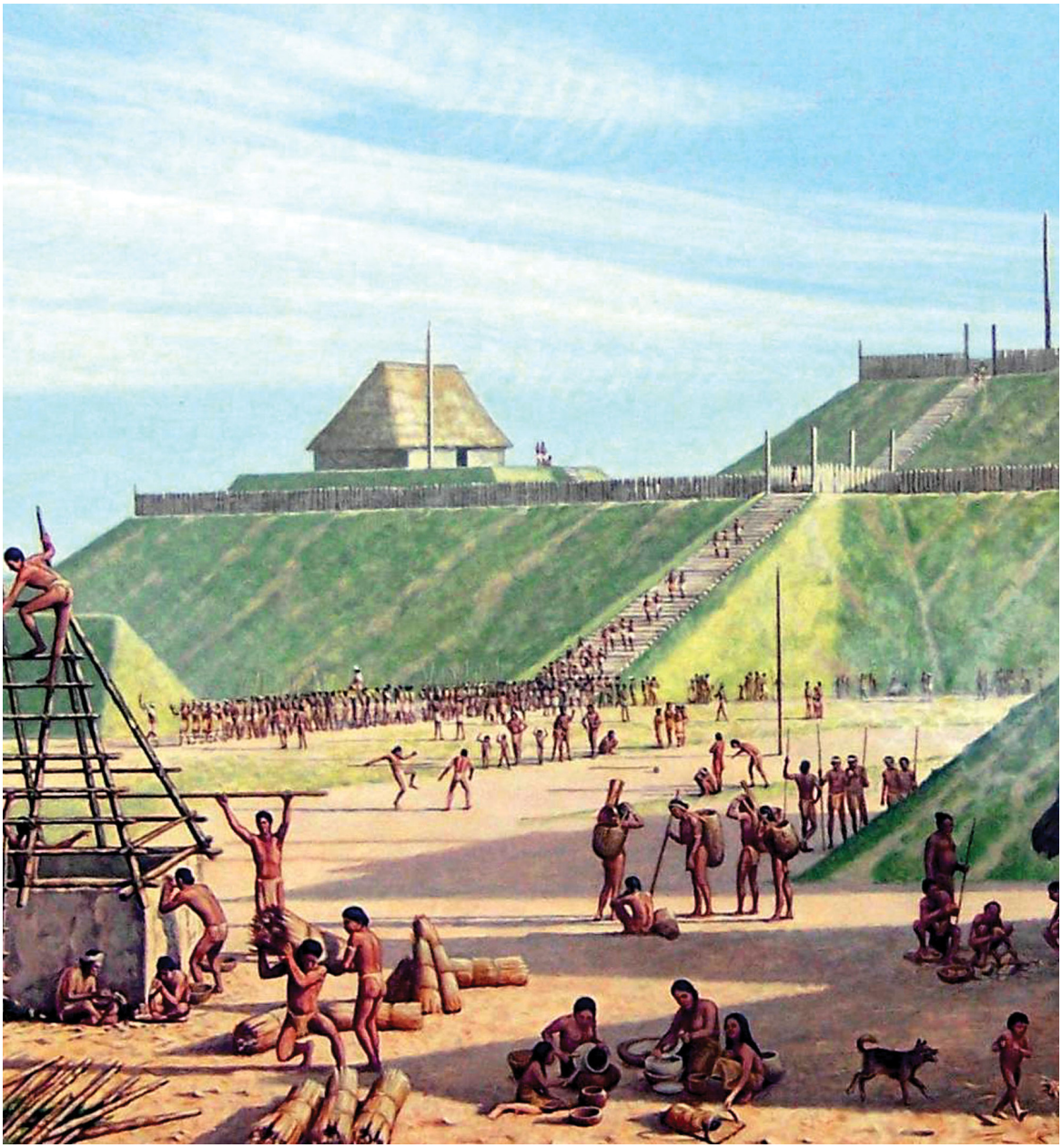


This mural painted by Michael Hampshire in the twentieth century depicts how life may have looked in the city of Cahokia in the twelfth century. Houses and work spaces were clustered around a central plaza. In the background is the city's largest pyramid mound, with three tiers for buildings and ceremonies.

FOCUS QUESTIONS

In 1534, Mi'kmaq Indians rowed a fleet of canoes out into the Gulf of St. Lawrence to meet Frenchman Jacques Cartier's ship. Cartier was frightened until he realized that the pointed sticks the Mi'kmaqs were waving at his men had animal skins attached to them. They were signaling that they wanted to trade. Everywhere in the Americas that Europeans went, Native people met them with their own diplomatic rituals and invitations to make trading and military alliances. Although Europeans sometimes called the Americas a "New World" that Christopher Columbus "discovered," the nations and peoples of the Americas composed a world just as fully developed as those in the "Old World." Fortunately for Europeans, trade with these newcomers was exactly what many of them wanted.

Human communities have always interacted. For centuries before the conquest of the Americas, Europeans had intersected with Muslim populations in North Africa and Eurasia; indeed, the very idea of Europe as a distinct community arose out of such encounters. But since the voyages of Columbus, the interconnection of cultures and peoples has taken place on a global scale. Crops new to each hemisphere crossed the Atlantic and Pacific, reshaping diets and transforming the natural environment. Building on long-standing trade with North Africa and beyond, West Africans traded with Europeans who came to their Atlantic coasts. But in Africa, Europeans built a slave trade that gave them a supply of unfree labor with which they exploited the fertile lands of the Western Hemisphere. Indeed, of the approximately 10 million men, women, and children who crossed to the Americas between 1492 and 1820, the vast majority, about 7.7 million, were enslaved Africans.

Europeans saw the Americas as a land of abundance. Here, many believed, would arise unparalleled opportunities for riches, or at least liberation from poverty. Europeans envisioned America as a religious refuge, a society of equals, a source of power and glory. They searched for golden cities and fountains of eternal youth. Some sought to establish ideal communities based on the lives of the early Christian saints or other blueprints for social justice.

Some of these dreams of riches and opportunity would indeed be fulfilled. To many European settlers, America offered a far greater chance to own land and worship as they pleased than existed in Europe. Yet the conditions that enabled millions of settlers to take control of their own destinies were made possible by many forms of unfree labor, including indentured servitude, forced labor, and one of the most brutal and unjust systems ever devised, plantation slavery. The conquest and settlement of the Western Hemisphere opened new chapters in the long histories of both freedom and slavery.

There was a vast human diversity among the peoples thrown into contact with one another in the Americas. Exploration and settlement took place in an era of almost constant warfare among European nations, each racked by internal religious, political, and regional conflicts. Native Americans and Africans were members of numerous nations and other polities with their own languages and cultures. They were as likely to fight one another as to unite against the European newcomers. All these peoples were changed by their integration into the new Atlantic economy. The complex interactions of these old worlds—Western Europe, North America, and West Africa—would make a new world that would change them all.

TIMELINE

ca. 7000 BCE Agriculture develops in Mexico and Andes

ca. 900 CE Ancestral Publoans and Huhugam begin to build planned towns

ca. 1000–1400 Height of the Huhugam

1050–1200 Height of Cahokia

ca. 1200 Rise of Mali and Benin

ca. 1400 Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) League established

1434 Portuguese explore sub-Saharan African Coast

1492 *Reconquista* of Spain completed

Spain expels Muslims and Jews

Columbus's first voyage to the Americas

1502 First African slaves transported to Caribbean islands

1517 Martin Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses*

1519 Hernán Cortés arrives in Mexico

1528 Las Casas writes the first volume of his *History of the Indies*

1530s Pizarro's conquest of Peru

1542 Spain proclaims the New Laws, abolishing Indian slavery

1608 Champlain establishes Quebec

1609 Hudson claims New Netherland

1610 Santa Fe established

1680 Pueblo Revolt

AN OLD WORLD: NORTH AMERICA

The most striking feature of Native American society at the time Europeans arrived was its diversity. Each group had its own political system, religious beliefs, and language. Indians did not think of themselves as a single people, and Native Americans still today identify primarily as separate nations. Identity centered on a family, clan, town, nation, or confederacy. When Europeans first arrived, many Indians saw them as simply one group among many. Their first thought was how to use the newcomers to enhance their standing in relation to other Native peoples. The sharp dichotomy between "Indians" and "white" persons did not emerge until later in the colonial era.

The Settling of the Americas

During the Ice Age, tens of thousands of years ago, bands of hunters and fishers crossed the Bering Strait via a land bridge. Others arrived by sea from Asia or the Pacific islands earlier or later than the Bering migrants. Some Native American creation stories tell of migrations, but others describe creations within the Americas, of ancestors who fell from the sky or came into the world from a hollow log.

Ancient American agriculture

However people got there originally, the Americas were an ancient homeland to Native Americans by the time Europeans arrived. The hemisphere had witnessed many changes during its human history. First, the early inhabitants and their descendants spread across the two continents. Around 9,000 years ago, at the same time that agriculture was being developed in Mesopotamia, it also emerged in modern-day Mexico and the Andes and then spread to other parts of the Americas. Maize (corn), squash, and beans formed the basis of agriculture.

THE ATLANTIC WORLD, ca. 1300

The Americas, Western Europe, and West Africa on the eve of colonization. There were countless human settlements on all four continents. People lived on farms, in villages and towns, and in cities, including the cities marked on the map.

Politics and Power in Native North America

Cahokia and Mississippian civilizations

The Medieval Warm Period that began around the year 950 allowed the expansion of agriculture and the rise of cities in North America, much as it did in Europe and West Africa. The longer growing seasons and more predictable weather of the era were ideal for farming, and large-scale farming made urban living possible. The largest city north of Mexico was Cahokia, across the Mississippi River from what is now St. Louis. In the year 1200, Cahokia's central city was home to some 12,000 people, plus a large population in outlying cities, towns, and farms. Cahokia influenced other people to build their own cities and accompanying dependent provinces—what archaeologists call "Mississippian civilizations." Mississippian leaders ruled their realm from large halls, temples, and council chambers built on top of a central mound.

Long-distance trade

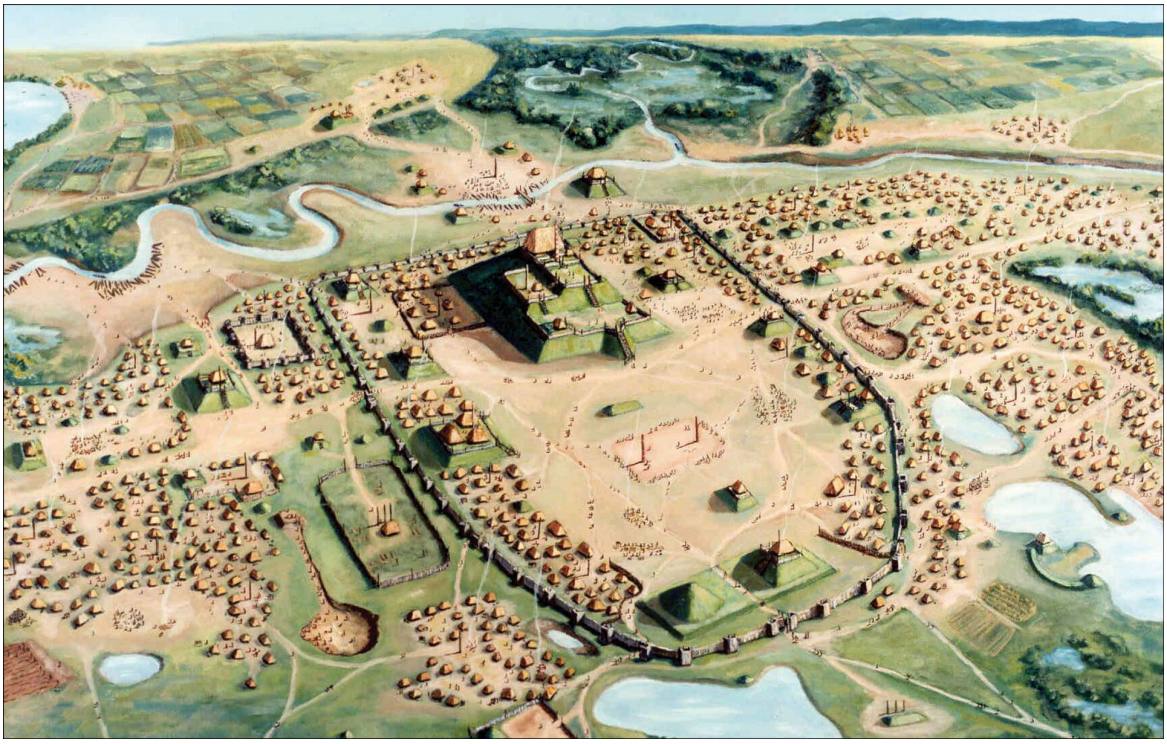
Ancestors of Native peoples of the arid Southwest, including the Ancestral Puebloans and the Huhugam, constructed elaborate irrigation systems to farm in the desert. They built great planned towns with large multifamily dwellings, and they conducted long-distance trade. Pueblo

Bonito, in Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, stood five stories high and had more than 600 rooms. As with the Mississippians, an elite class of leaders arose.

The Medieval Warm Period ended around 1250, and the Little Ice Age began. Large-scale agriculture and cities became harder to sustain. Oral histories and archaeological evidence indicate a period of growing distrust in powerful leaders and centralized political systems. People moved out of Mississippian and southwestern cities into smaller-scale, more ecologically sustainable towns and farms. When Spanish explorers came to the Southwest, they called some of its people the Pueblo Indians because they lived in towns, or *pueblos*. Spanish explorers in the sixteenth-century Southeast saw Mississippian cities, but the largest of them had already fallen.

The Haudenosaunee Great Council

In some places, confederacies formed. In present-day New York and Pennsylvania, five nations—namely, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Onondagas—formed a Great League of Peace. They called their league the Haudenosaunee, "the people of the longhouse." (Their enemies called them the Iroquois, which meant something like "snakes.") Each year the Haudenosaunee Great Council, with male representatives chosen by the women of the five nations, met to coordinate dealings with outsiders. In the Southeast, the Choctaw, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Muscogee (Creek), and Catawba nations each eventually united dozens of towns in loose alliances.



A modern visualization of Cahokia in the Mississippi River Valley, the largest Native American urban center in what is now the United States.

Economics and Trade in Native North America

By the 1500s, Native leaders generally led through persuasion and reciprocity. A successful leader needed to have connections to outsiders and the ability to trade and make alliances with foreign peoples, thus bringing in valuable goods and ideas.

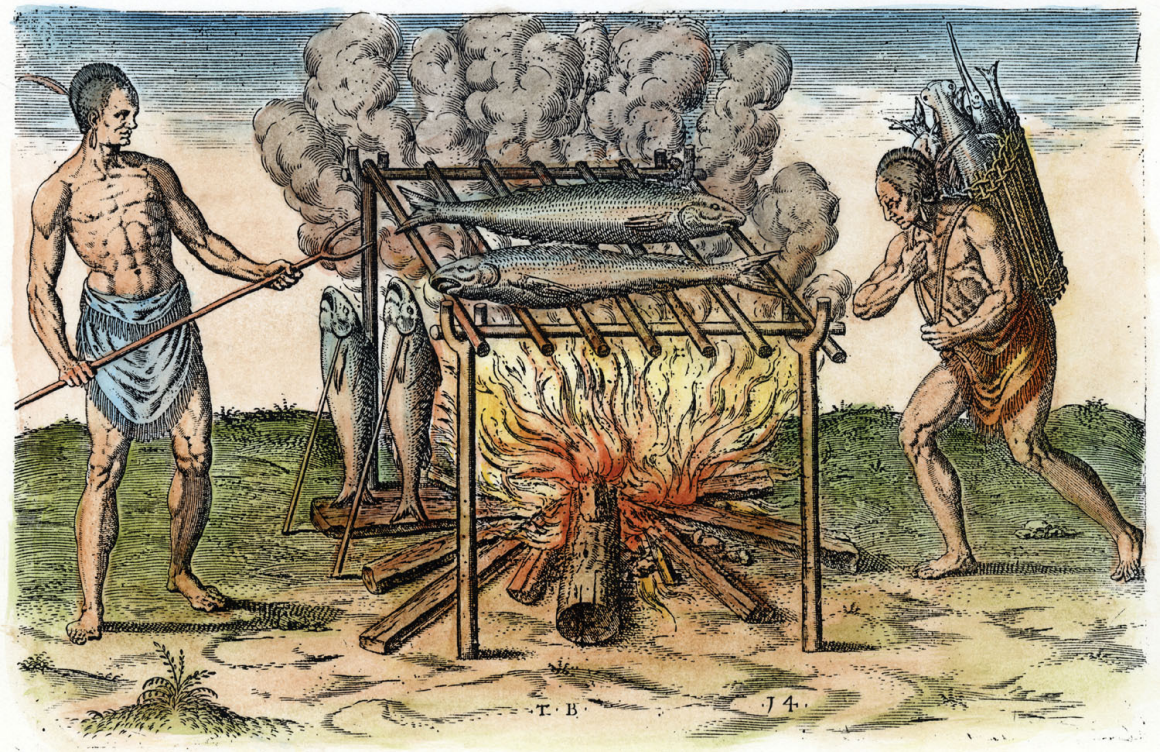
Exchange networks crossed North America, carrying local goods such as food, plant dyes and medicines, and pottery. These networks also distributed goods from far away, including shell beads from the coasts and copper from the Great Lakes region.

In eastern North America, hundreds of peoples inhabited towns and villages scattered from the Gulf of Mexico to present-day Canada. They lived on corn, squash, and beans, supplemented by fish, deer, turkeys, and other animals. On the densely populated Pacific coast, hundreds of distinct groups resided in independent villages and lived primarily by fishing and gathering wild plants and nuts. On the Great Plains, with its herds of buffalo, many groups were hunters (who tracked animals on foot before the arrival of horses with the Spanish) part of the year, living in agricultural communities the rest of the time.

Land systems

Numerous land systems existed among Native Americans. Generally, families or towns had the right to farm on certain lands, and nations or confederacies claimed specific areas for hunting, fishing, and gathering. Indians saw land as a resource that particular people had the right to use but not as an economic commodity that could be bought and sold.

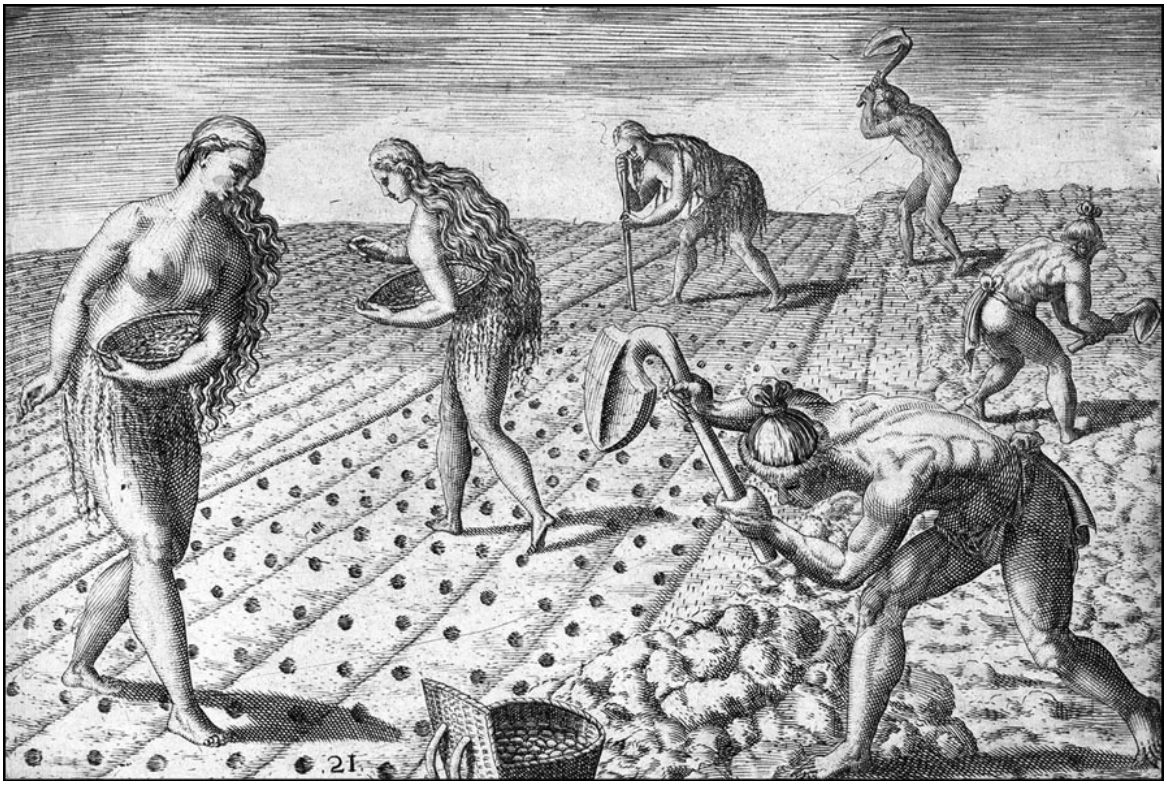
Leaders tended to come from certain families or clans, and they often controlled access to resources. But their reputation and influence rested on their ability to distribute goods to their followers. Generosity was among the most valued qualities. Under normal circumstances no one in Native societies went hungry or experienced the extreme inequalities of Europe. “There are no beggars among them,” reported the English colonial leader Roger Williams of Indians around New England.



This engraving shows Native men of Ossomocomuck (present-day coastal North Carolina) cooking fish they caught off the Outer Banks.

NORTH AMERICA, ca. 1500

The Native population of North America at the time of first contact with Europeans consisted of numerous peoples and nations with their own languages, religious beliefs, and economic and social structures. This map gives a sense of the large number of nations. By necessity, it leaves many out and includes some names that people did not call themselves in 1500.



Native women planting crops while men break the sod. An engraving by Theodor de Bry, based on a painting by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues. Le Moyne was part of an expedition of French Huguenots to Florida in 1564; he escaped when the Spanish destroyed the outpost in the following year.

Native societies were highly gendered but much more equal than the European system of gender relations. In most Native communities, women had responsibility for farming and running households, including building houses. Women made the decisions about food cultivation, storage, and preparation. They participated in councils, especially regarding matters within the realm of women. Because they provided the food for battle and diplomacy, women participated in decisions about going to war and making peace. Many North American societies were matrilineal—that is, tracing descent through the mother's line. Women generally had some power over their own sexuality and marriage, including divorce.

Religion in Native North America

For the Native societies of North America, as for people all around the world in the medieval and early modern eras, religion was a system of belief that permeated every aspect of life. Spiritual power, they believed, suffused the world, and sacred spirits could be found in all kinds of living and inanimate things—animals, plants, trees, water, and wind. Through religious ceremonies, they aimed to harness the aid of powerful supernatural forces to secure abundant crops or fend off dangerous spirits. Religious leaders and others who seemed to possess special abilities to invoke supernatural powers held positions of respect and authority.

Religious differences

A major difference with Christianity, as well as with Judaism and Islam, was that Native North American religions were inclusivist. In theory at least, Christians were supposed to be exclusively Christian, rejecting all other religions' beliefs and practices as heresy. Inclusivist religions, in contrast, allowed adherents to incorporate new religious beliefs and practices as part of a larger effort to make sense of the world. This fundamental difference between inclusivist and exclusivist ways of practicing religion would lead to grave misunderstandings when Christian missionaries tried to convert Native Americans.

Slavery and Freedom in Native North America

Many Europeans saw Indians as embodying freedom. The Haudenosaunee, wrote one colonial official, held "such absolute notions of liberty that they allow of no kind of superiority of one over another, and banish all servitude from their territories." But most colonizers quickly concluded that the notion of "freedom" was alien to Indian societies. Early English and French dictionaries of Indian languages contained no entry for "freedom" or *liberté*. Nor, wrote one early trader, did Indians have "words to express despotic power, arbitrary kings, oppressed or obedient subjects." Of course, Native Americans whose ancestors had been part of Mississippian or other hierarchical societies in previous generations did know about the dangers of excessive power. Unlike Europeans, they had rejected that way of life to develop societies with the kind of freedom that they valued.

In Native societies, although individuals were expected to think for themselves and did not always have to go along with collective decision making, men and women judged one another according to their ability to live up to widely understood ideas of appropriate behavior. Far more important than individual autonomy were kinship ties, the ability to follow one's spiritual values, and the well-being and security of one's community. Group autonomy and self-determination, and the mutual obligations that came with a sense of belonging and connectedness, took precedence over individual freedom. The Haudenosaunee League held its leaders and representatives to a high standard: "Their hearts shall be full of peace and good will and their minds filled with a yearning for the welfare of the people."

The Village of Secoton, a drawing by John White. A central street links houses surrounded by fields of corn. In the lower part, dancers take part in a religious ceremony.

Like medieval and early modern people around the globe, many Native North American societies practiced small-scale slavery, mostly the enslavement of war captives. Captives had none of the rights or privileges of members of a society. Ripped from their own societies and families, they could be forced to labor or traded away. But slavery was not inheritable, and captives could become full members of the society that adopted them.

Glossary

Great League of Peace
: An alliance of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) nations, originally formed at least 400 years ago. Each year the Haudenosaunee Great Council, with male representatives chosen by the women of the five (and later six) nations, met to coordinate dealings with outsiders. The League was a major force in the 1600s and 1700s.

AN OLD WORLD: WEST AFRICA

Politics and Power in West Africa

Like Native Americans and Europeans, West Africans did not consider themselves all one people. West Africans spoke dozens of different languages and hundreds of dialects. They lived under a variety of different political systems. In the late medieval and early modern eras, most West Africans lived in towns centered on kinship and run by elders. As in Native America, women in many parts of West Africa were responsible for farming and land management.

Mali and Benin

Some parts of West Africa were ruled by large empires. Gaining power in the thirteenth century, the Mali empire became the largest in West Africa, with major cities at Jenne, Gao, and Timbuktu. To the south was the smaller kingdom of Benin, in what is now Nigeria. Its capital, Edo, was an imposing city whose craftspeople produced bronze sculptures that still inspire admiration for their artistic beauty and superb casting techniques.

A detail from the *Cantino World Map* depicting the western coast of Africa at the beginning of the Atlantic slave trade. Created by an anonymous Portuguese mapmaker in 1502, the map included Europe, Africa, and a small part of the Western Hemisphere, described as "the islands lately discovered in the parts of India." It was smuggled out of Portugal by Alberto Cantino, a diplomat representing an Italian city-state.

Economics and Trade in West Africa

The trans-Saharan trade

The wealth of West African empires was built on trans-Saharan trade. Starting around the year 1000, Muslim traders from North Africa and the Middle East crossed the Sahara to trade with West Africa. Camel caravans carried spices, silks, and cotton south to exchange for West African products, including textiles, gold, copper, grains, nuts, and art. From North Africa, West African products reached markets in the Middle East, Asia, and Western Europe, inspiring interest among the Portuguese in establishing direct trade by sailing to West Africa.

Although connected to trading networks and regional politics, most West Africans farmed, herded, and fished locally for their living. The rice, millet, peas, okra, melons, and yams that they cultivated would spread around the world in the coming centuries, along with the products of the Americas, Europe, and Asia.

Religion in West Africa

Conversion to Islam

North African traders also brought Islam to West Africa. The native religions of West Africa were well established and, like those in North America, inclusivist. Over time, many West Africans converted to Islam, in many cases blending older beliefs, practices, and rituals of planting and harvesting with Islamic doctrine. Leaders who converted to Islam built grand mosques in cities like Jenne.

Slavery and Freedom in West Africa

In addition to such products as textiles and gold, trans-Saharan trade also included enslaved people, usually war captives, criminals, or debtors. Slaves in West Africa generally worked within the households of their owners or on public works projects. They had well-defined rights, such as owning property and marrying free persons. It was not uncommon for African slaves to acquire their freedom. As in most parts of the world, slavery was one of several forms of labor, not the basis of the economy, as it would become in large parts of the Americas under colonization.

Many of West Africa's rulers were converts to Islam, which forbade enslaving fellow Muslims. It allowed the enslavement of non-Muslims taken in war as long as the owner provided religious instruction to the slave. Thus, slavery was war-based and religion-based, but not race-based and not necessarily inherited.

AN OLD WORLD: WESTERN EUROPE

Politics and Power in Western Europe

The Black Death

Europe had been devastated by the ending of the Medieval Warm Period, famine, and the Black Death. It lost as much as half its population over the course of the fourteenth century. Whereas North Americans generally decentralized their societies and rejected authoritarian leaders in response to the crises of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, European monarchies grew in power and size.

Wars and strategic marriages created expansive states, including Portugal, Spain, France, England, and the Holy Roman Empire. They were ruled by dynasties that passed the crown through patrilineal lines of succession. Early modern European societies were extremely hierarchical, with gradations of social status ranging from the king and aristocracy down to the urban and rural poor. Inequality was built into virtually every social relationship. The king claimed to rule by the authority of God. Persons of high rank demanded deference from those below them.

Coverture

Within families, men exercised authority over their wives and children. In England, the legal doctrine known as "coverture" required that when a woman married, she surrendered her legal identity, which became "covered" by that of her husband. She could not own property or sign contracts in her own name, control her wages if she worked, write a separate will, or, except in the rarest of circumstances, go to court seeking a divorce. The husband conducted business and testified in court for the entire family. He had the exclusive right to his wife's "company," including domestic labor and sexual relations.

Everywhere in Europe, family life assumed male dominance and female submission. Indeed, political writers of the sixteenth century explicitly compared the king's authority over his subjects with the husband's authority over his family. Both were ordained by God. In Europe, women's freedoms were dramatically more restricted than in North America or West Africa.

Economics and Trade in Western Europe

As in North America and West Africa, most Western Europeans were farmers. The Medieval Warm Period had allowed them to expand agriculture into previously marginal areas, but the Little Ice Age again contracted farming. When European populations rose after the ravages of the Black Death, the fertile lands of the Americas seemed ideal for feeding the excess people.

Western Europe had only recently connected to the centuries-old trade route that stretched from the Mediterranean, Africa, and the Middle East to South Asia and China. The European conquest of the Americas would begin as an offshoot of the quest for a sea route to the East

Indies, the source of the gold, silk, tea, sugar, spices, and other luxury goods that Europeans had come to value.

Religion in Western Europe


IHS
LE GRAND
VOYAGE DV PAYS
des Hurons, situé en la
Nouuelle France
Où il est traicté de tout
ce qui est du pays & du
gouuernement des Sauuages
Auec vn Dictionnaire
de la Langue huronne
Par Fr. Gabriel Sagard
Recollect de S.te Francois
de la province S.t Denis
A PARIS Chez Denys
Moreau rue S.t Jacques à
La Salamandre 1632

The title page of *The Great Voyage to the Country of the Hurons*, published in Paris in 1632 by Gabriel Sagard, one of the first missionaries to New France, includes images of Native Americans and Catholic friars. Father Sagard also produced a dictionary of the Huron (Wendat) language.

States in Western Europe had converted to Christianity by the early Middle Ages and were officially Catholic until the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation created Protestantism. As in North America and West Africa, religion was intertwined with daily life. Cathedrals were the centers of towns, and calendars were set by the cycle of church festivals and fast days. Yet, as with Islam in West Africa, older religious traditions survived and blended with Christianity, despite its official theology of exclusivism. Many Europeans continued to believe in witches, demons, and magic.

Commercial and religious motives—namely, the desire to eliminate Islamic intermediaries and win control of lucrative trade for Christian Western Europe—combined to inspire the quest for a direct route to West Africa and Asia. The marriage of King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile in 1469 united their warring kingdoms. In 1492, they completed the *reconquista*—that is, the "reconquest" of Spain from the Moors, African Muslims who had occupied part of the Iberian Peninsula for centuries. To ensure Spain's religious unification, Ferdinand and Isabella ordered all Muslims and Jews to convert to Catholicism or leave the country.

Slavery and Freedom in Western Europe

On the eve of colonization, Europeans held numerous ideas of freedom. Some were as old as the city-states of ancient Greece, while others arose during the political struggles of the early modern era. Some laid the foundations for modern conceptions of freedom, whereas others are quite unfamiliar today. Freedom was not a single idea but a collection of distinct rights and privileges, many enjoyed by only a small portion of the population.

One conception common throughout Europe was that freedom was less a political or social status than a moral or spiritual condition. Freedom meant abandoning the life of sin to embrace the teachings of Christ. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is," declares the New Testament, "there is liberty." In this definition, servitude and freedom were mutually reinforcing, not contradictory, since those who accepted the teachings of Christ simultaneously became "free from sin" and "servants to God."

"Christian liberty" had no connection to later ideas of religious toleration, a notion that scarcely existed on the eve of colonization. Because religious systems of belief permeated every aspect of people's lives, religion was closely tied to a person's economic, political, and social position and ability to enjoy basic rights.

Every nation in Europe had an established church that decreed what forms of religious worship and belief were acceptable. Dissenters faced persecution by the state. Religious uniformity was thought to be essential to public order; the modern idea that a person's religious beliefs and

practices are a matter of private choice was almost unknown. The religious wars that racked Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries centered on which religion would predominate in a kingdom or region, not the right of individuals to choose a church.

Hierarchy in society

The equating of liberty with devotion to a higher authority suggested that freedom meant obedience to law. In hierarchical European societies, liberty came from knowing one's social place and fulfilling the duties appropriate to one's rank. Most men lacked the freedom that came with economic independence. Even in places where some officials were elected, property qualifications and other restrictions limited the electorate to a minuscule part of the adult male population.

Liberty as a privilege

European "liberties" meant formal, specific privileges such as self-government, exemption from taxation, or the right to practice a particular trade, granted to individuals or groups by contract, royal decree, or purchase. One legal dictionary defined a liberty as "a privilege . . . by which men may enjoy some benefit beyond the ordinary subject." Modern civil liberties did not exist. The government regularly suppressed publications it did not like, and criticism of authority could lead to imprisonment. Personal independence was reserved for a small part of the population. Nonetheless, every European country that colonized the Americas claimed to be spreading freedom—for its own population and for Native Americans.

Slavery was central to the societies of ancient Greece and Rome, and it survived for centuries in northern Europe after the collapse of the Roman empire. Germans, Vikings, and Anglo-Saxons all held slaves. In the Mediterranean world, trade in Slavic peoples survived into the fifteenth century. (The English word "slavery" derives from "Slav.") The Spanish and Portuguese took Muslim war captives during their *reconquista* and bought slaves from North African traders. As Europeans began to colonize in the Atlantic, they would look to slavery more and more for labor.

Glossary

reconquista
: The "reconquest" of Spain from the Moors completed by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella in 1492.

CONTACT

Chinese and Portuguese Navigation

Zheng He's voyages

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, one might have predicted that China would establish the world's first global empire. Between 1405 and 1433, Admiral Zheng He led seven large naval expeditions in the Indian Ocean. China was already the world's most important trading economy. Had his ships continued westward, they could easily have reached North and South America. But as a wealthy land-based empire, China did not feel the need for overseas expansion, and after 1433 the government ended support for long-distance maritime expeditions. It fell to Portugal, situated on the western side of the Iberian Peninsula, far removed from the overland route to Asia, to take advantage of new techniques of sailing and navigation to begin exploring the Atlantic.

Portugal and West Africa

The development of the caravel, a ship capable of long-distance travel, and of the compass and quadrant, devices that enabled sailors to determine their location and direction with greater accuracy than in the past, made it possible to sail down the coast of Africa and return to Portugal. In 1434, a Portuguese ship brought a sprig of rosemary from West Africa, proof that one could sail beyond the desert and return. Little by little, Portuguese ships moved farther down the coast, in 1485 reaching Benin. The Portuguese and their African trading partners established fortified trading posts on the coast. Their profits inspired other European powers to follow in their footsteps.

Portuguese colonization

Portugal also began to colonize islands in the Atlantic off the African coast. Sugar plantations worked by Muslim captives and slaves from Eastern Europe had flourished in the Middle Ages on Mediterranean islands. Now, the Portuguese established plantations on the Atlantic islands, eventually replacing the Native populations with thousands of enslaved men and women from Africa, setting an ominous precedent.

The coming of the Portuguese, soon followed by traders from other European nations, accelerated the buying and selling of captives within West Africa. At least 100,000 Africans were transported to Spain and Portugal between 1450 and 1500. In 1502, the first Africans were shipped to islands in the Caribbean. The transatlantic slave trade will be discussed in Chapter 4.

In the fifteenth century, the world known to Europeans was limited to Europe and parts of Africa and Asia. Explorers from Portugal sought to find a sea route to the East in order to circumvent the Mediterranean and especially the Ottoman Empire.

Sea route to the East

Having reached West Africa, Portuguese mariners pushed their explorations southward. Bartholomeu Dias reached the Cape of Good Hope at the continent's southern tip in 1487. In 1498, Vasco da Gama sailed around it to India, demonstrating the feasibility of a sea route to the East. With a population of under 1 million, Portugal established a vast trading empire, with bases in India, southern China, and Indonesia. It replaced the Italian city-states as the major European commercial partner of the East. But six years before da Gama's voyage, Christopher Columbus had, he believed, discovered a new route to China and India by sailing west.

The Voyages of Columbus

On October 12, 1492, the Taíno (Arawak) people on one of the islands that today are called the Bahamas saw a strange sight. They were accustomed to vessels approaching from far away, but these ships were built in an unusual shape and had sails. The men wore armor made of metal and spoke in an unfamiliar language. These strangers did seem at least to know how to trade, and their needles and other pieces of metal seemed interesting and useful.

Columbus's Landfall, an engraving from *La lettera dell'isole* (Letter from the Islands). This 1493 pamphlet reproduced, in the form of a poem, Columbus's first letter describing his voyage of the previous year. Under the watchful eye of King Ferdinand of Spain, Columbus and his men land on a Caribbean island, while local Taínos flee.

The expedition's leader, Christopher Columbus, was a seasoned mariner from Genoa, a major port in northern Italy. Columbus had sailed the Mediterranean and North Atlantic, studying ocean currents and wind patterns. Like nearly all navigators of the time, Columbus knew the earth was round. But he drastically underestimated its size. He believed that by sailing westward he could relatively quickly cross the Atlantic and reach Asia. No one in Europe knew that two giant continents lay 3,000 miles to the west. Vikings had sailed from Greenland to Newfoundland around the year 1000 and established a settlement, Vinland, at a site now

known as L'Anse aux Meadows. But this outpost was abandoned after a few years and had been forgotten, except in Norse legends.

Columbus's sponsors

Columbus relied on a number of sources for his estimate of the size of the globe, including Marco Polo's account of his visit by land to China in the thirteenth century and, as a devout Catholic, the Bible. Most of Columbus's contemporaries, however, knew that he considerably underestimated the earth's size. Eventually, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain agreed to become his sponsors, hoping to circumvent the Muslim stranglehold on Eastern trade. Columbus set sail with royal letters of introduction to Asian rulers, authorizing him to negotiate trade agreements.

Vespucci

After exploring the islands of the Bahamas, Hispaniola (today the site of Haiti and the Dominican Republic), and Cuba in 1492, Columbus returned the following year with seventeen ships and more than 1,000 men to establish a Spanish outpost. He went to his grave believing that he had discovered a westward route to Asia. The explorations of another Italian, Amerigo Vespucci, along the coast of South America between 1499 and 1502 made plain that a continent entirely unknown to Europeans had been encountered. These lands would come to bear a name based on Vespucci's—America. The name "Indians," applied to Indigenous people by Columbus, has endured.

Exploration and Conquest

Engraving from the *Florentine Codex* of the forces of Cortés marching on Tenochtitlán and assaulting the city with cannon fire. The difference in military technology between the Spanish and Aztecs is evident. The codex (a volume formed by stitching together manuscript pages) was prepared under the supervision of a Spanish missionary in sixteenth-century Mexico.

The technique of printing with movable type, invented in the 1450s by the German craftsman Johannes Gutenberg, allowed news of Columbus's achievement to travel quickly. Others were inspired to follow. John Cabot, a Genoese merchant who had settled in England, reached

Newfoundland in 1497. Soon, scores of fishing boats from France, Spain, and England were active in the region. Pedro Cabral claimed Brazil for Portugal in 1500.

The Spanish took the lead in exploration and conquest. Inspired by a search for wealth, national glory, and the desire to spread Catholicism, Spanish *conquistadores*, often accompanied by religious missionaries, radiated outward from Hispaniola. In 1513, Vasco Núñez de Balboa trekked across the isthmus of Panama and became the first European to gaze upon the Pacific Ocean from the Americas. Between 1519 and 1522, Ferdinand Magellan led the first expedition to sail around the world. Magellan was killed in the Philippines, but his fleet completed the journey.

In 1519, Hernán Cortés landed on the coast of mainland Mexico and, at the urging of people he met there, decided to march on the great city of Tenochtitlán, the capital of the Aztec (Mexica) empire, whose wealth and power rested on the domination of numerous subordinate peoples nearby.

These peoples' thousands of warriors joined forces with the several hundred heavily armed Spaniards, plus horses, giant mastiffs, and smallpox, which spread from the Spaniards into the crowded city of Tenochtitlán. A few years later, Francisco Pizarro conquered the great Inca kingdom centered in modern-day Peru, similarly using brute force and taking advantage of rivalries within the kingdom. Soon, treasure fleets carrying cargoes of gold and silver from the mines of Mexico and Peru were traversing the Atlantic to enrich the Spanish crown.

The Columbian Exchange

The transatlantic flow of goods and people, sometimes called the Columbian Exchange, altered millions of years of evolution. Plants, animals, and cultures that had evolved independently on separate continents were now thrown together. Products introduced to Europe, Africa, and Asia from the Americas included corn, tomatoes, potatoes, tobacco, and chili peppers, while people brought to the Americas wheat, rice, watermelons, and horses and other livestock.

EARLY EUROPEAN VOYAGES

Christopher Columbus's first Atlantic crossing, in 1492, was soon followed by voyages of exploration by English, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian explorers.

Sixteenth-century Native Americans in Florida practice several healing techniques, including smoking tobacco.

Europeans also carried germs previously unknown in the Americas. It is impossible to know the extent of the damage of these diseases. Smallpox helped Cortés take Tenochtitlán, and diseases assisted Europeans in their conquests of North America. But trying to determine the pre-1492 population of the Americas—or even the population in the following two centuries—yields wildly different estimates. Disease hit the hardest when colonizers were simultaneously cutting off access to food and water, driving people from their homes, or forcing people into slavery or missions. Importantly, Native people actively responded to illness and attempted to curb its spread. Many instituted quarantines, isolated themselves from colonial settlements, and treated patients with basic nursing—remedies that were as effective as anything Europeans had in the same era.

Glossary

caravel
: A fifteenth-century European ship capable of long-distance travel.

conquistadores
: Spanish term for "conquerors," applied to Spanish and Portuguese soldiers who conquered lands held by Indigenous peoples in central and southern America as well as the current states of Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

Tenochtitlán

The capital city of the Aztec empire; the city was built on marshy islands on the western side of Lake Tetzcoco, which is the site of present-day Mexico City.

Columbian Exchange

The transatlantic flow of goods and people that began with Columbus's voyages in 1492.

Aztec

The Mesoamerican empire ruled by the Mexica people that was defeated by the Spanish under Hernán Cortés and his Native allies, 1519–1528.