Part I

Early America

D2

c01.indd 1 8/7/2007 10:15:05 AM

c01.indd 2 8/7/2007 10:15:05 AM

Chapter One

Cultural Encounters: Americans and Europeans

Peter C. Mancall

In 1576 Martin Frobisher made his first journey into the North Atlantic. He had gone in search of the Northwest Passage, the fabled water route that Europeans believed bisected the North American continent and connected the Atlantic Ocean with the Pacific. Frobisher sailed into waters surrounding territory still unknown to the English. Upon landing, the sailors encountered local Inuit. When the summer was drawing to a close and the English left for home, Frobisher left behind five men. A year later, when he returned to look again for the Northwest Passage, he also tried to find the five missing men. Once again he met Inuit. Though relations between them had grown tense (and would get worse), Frobisher believed that the natives knew where the five men might be. As his ships returned again for England, he left behind ink and paper. He hoped that the Inuit would either write a note telling where the men could be found, or that they would take the paper and ink to the men (Churchyard 1578: sig. Bvii^{r}–Bvii^{v}). He did not grasp that the Inuit had no understanding of the act of writing.

The encounter on those cold shores typified the kinds of cultural misunderstandings that would take place when Europeans met Americans during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was a classic example of what one historian in another context called a "dialogue of the deaf" (MacGaffey 1994). Over time, of course, Europeans and Americans would learn much about each other's cultures. The newcomers frequently hoped to change Americans' cultures; the natives, for their part, had fewer plans for their uninvited visitors, but often became effective proselytizers in their own right (Axtell 1975).

From the first efforts to write "American" history in the sixteenth century until the mid- to late twentieth century, European and Euro-American scholars who described cultural encounters in the Americas often emphasized the positive contributions that Europeans made to the cultures of the Western Hemisphere. Often these historians uncritically stressed the efforts to convert Native Americans to Christianity and ridiculed (and occasionally demonized) indigenous populations. By the 1970s that cultural consensus had begun to fracture, and by the 1990s apologias for European colonization were in full retreat. When the five-hundredth anniversary of Christopher Columbus's first voyage arrived in 1992, historical treatments of the earliest cultural encounters in the Americas bore little resemblance to earlier views.

c01.indd 3 8/7/2007 10:15:05 AM

Drawing on methods and insights from a variety of disciplines – notably anthropology, archaeology, and art history – historians reassessed the encounter between the so-called "old" and "new" worlds. Historians of the Anglo-American experience also came to realize that encounters in territories that became New Spain and New France had direct bearing on the ways that natives and newcomers understood each other. They began to pay more serious attention to oral history maintained within indigenous communities. Finally, historians became sensitive to the process of cultural encounters, especially the different forms of communication that allowed for the transmission of ideas over time and from one group to another – including the exchange of ideas across the cultural divides that often separated Europeans from Americans.

Cultural misunderstandings and hostility characterized the encounters between Americans and Europeans since the earliest known contact between the two continents. When Norse sailors decided to travel west from their settlement in Iceland – the first offshore colony of any European society – they ventured to territories they called Greenland, Helluland, Markland, and Vinland. Iceland had had no human residents before these northern Europeans arrived, but the other territories were inhabited by Inuit. The earliest surviving sagas, told orally from one generation to another in the North Atlantic region until finally recorded on vellum in the fourteenth century, spoke of tensions between the travelers and the peoples they met. The Norse referred to the Inuit as "Skraelings," a term whose exact meaning is lost but approximates "wretches." The Northmen made little effort to learn the culture of the Inuit. Their inability to understand each other led to such mistrust that the Norse once killed five Inuit they found asleep (Magnusson & Pálsson 1965; Crosby 1986).

The Norse cultural encounter with the Western Hemisphere stretched from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, but left little permanent mark on either the travelers or those they encountered. But the cultural encounter that began when Columbus arrived in the Bahamas in 1492 took a different course, in large part because the Spanish, unlike the Norse, immediately decided to establish significant settlements in the Western Hemisphere. Cultural encounters between Europeans and Americans, which had been sporadic and small scale in the North Atlantic, now became more extensive and, as it happened, permanent.

Christopher Columbus, as is universally known, was not quite sure where he was when he arrived in the Western Hemisphere in October, 1492, and hence labeled the people he met "Indians" in the mistaken belief that he reached the East Indies. He soon decided to kidnap several of the locals, he wrote, "so that they might learn our language and give me news of what existed in those parts." The plan worked, "for later they understood us and we them, either by speech or by signs: and they have been very useful to us" (Obregón 1991: 66). This action revealed Columbus's belief that the Spanish would have ongoing contact with Americans in the islands, and that only by learning each other's language could the Europeans control the situation.

In the decades following Columbus's voyages, Europeans continued to travel to the Americas and, on many occasions, Americans journeyed to Europe. One scholar has estimated that perhaps 1,600 Americans visited Europe by the early seventeenth century (Prins 1993). Every place they went they became objects of fascination, mobile and living spectacles of a world unknown to Europeans before 1492. Among the most dramatic of these occasions was the arrival in Rouen of perhaps 50

D2

c01.indd 4 8/7/2007 10:15:05 AM

Tupinambas from Brazil in 1550. Their visit had been arranged by locals to honor the visit of King Henri II. The Tupinambas lived in a fabricated jungle, purportedly pursuing their normal daily tasks. The highlight of the visit was a staged battle between the Tupinambas and a group labeled as "Tagaberes" and advertised as the Tupinambas' mortal enemies. In actuality no Tagaberes showed up, in all likelihood because they probably did not exist. Still, the show went forward, with French soldiers attired in what they believed were native Brazilian costumes. A surviving image of the Tupinambas' temporary home reveals a miniature world of Brazilian-inspired lodges, game hunts, and domesticity (*Cest La Deduction* 1551; Wintroub 1998). Americans also became fixtures in European cultures, their images circulating in printed books for a variety of political and ideological purposes (Kupperman 1995; Schmidt 2001).

Most encounters between Europeans and Americans took place in the Western Hemisphere. During the sixteenth century, miscommunication was a common problem. Europeans usually believed that they held the upper hand in these encounters, but on the ground the situation was often less clear. When Francisco Pizarro marched his troops into the heart of the Incan homeland to confront (and eventually capture) the emperor Atahualpa, neither one of them knew how to read (Ortega 2003: 25). While some literate Europeans felt themselves superior to indigenes, the Incans preserved vast stores of information in series of knotted strings known as *khipu* (or *quipu*). The great Venetian chronicler of overseas travelers Giovanni Batista Ramusio noted that the Peruvians possessed "public houses full of those ropes, through which the person who is in charge of them can tell the past events, although they are far in the past, in the same way as we do with our letters" (Ramusio 1556: sig. 4^{r}). The precise meaning of khipu has eluded Western scholars since the sixteenth century, though recent breakthroughs involving computer analysis of the patterns of knots on the strings has hinted that the vast storehouse of knowledge included ways of transferring information from one place to another – a process analogous on some level to the function of writing as Europeans understood it (Urton & Brezine 2005).

By the time the English arrived in North America, at least some of them were aware of the cultural conflicts that had arisen when other Europeans met Americans. What they knew best were the few texts that had been translated into English, beginning in 1555 with Richard Eden's edition of parts of the work of the humanist the English called Peter Martyr (known on the continent as Pietro Martire D'Anghiera). In 1583 English readers gained access to the writings of the Dominican friar Bartolomé de Las Casas, whose *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias* (published first in Seville in 1552) appeared in English as *The Spanish colonie, or Briefe chronicle of the acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies, called the newe world*. That book chronicled what Las Casas described as the atrocities perpetrated by Spanish conquistadores on the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean basin and the mainland. Though the book paid little attention to issues of culture, it had a permanent effect on English colonial plans. Las Casas's book became the central text in what became known as the "black legend" of the Spanish Conquest. Having read about what the Spanish did in the Western Hemisphere, the English resolved that they would educate rather than exterminate the Americans they met. In the past generation new editions of indigenous chronicles have provided additional insights

c01.indd 5 8/7/2007 10:15:05 AM

into the brutality of the conquest as well as details about pre-contact life (e.g., Sahagún 1950–82).

In the 1580s the English launched their colonization of North America. The venture did not get off to a smooth start. Despite four journeys to modern-day North Carolina, the English were unable to establish a permanent settlement at the place known as Roanoke. Instead, the last group of settlers the English deposited there could not be found when the English returned to the site. They became the famous "lost colonists" who would feature prominently in the mythology of the United States.

If the fate of those settlers remains unknown, the English effort to settle Roanoke produced a text that had wide-ranging significance for European understandings of the culture of North Americans. The book was written by a young scholar named Thomas Harriot, who would later become famous because of the crucial role he played in the development of algebra. Entitled *The Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, the book appeared as a small pamphlet in London in 1588. A year later the text appeared again, this time in the younger Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, a collection of travel accounts modeled on Ramusio's *Navigationi e Viaggi*. In 1590 Harriot's book appeared again, but this time it was printed in four languages (English, Latin, German, and French) and contained illustrations done by the Flemish engraver Theodor de Bry based on the paintings of an artist named John White who had accompanied Harriot to Roanoke in 1585 (Harriot 1590).

The text and images in the *Briefe and True Report* established a permanent idea of what Americans were like, at least in the minds of the English. Harriot detailed what he thought were the most significant aspects of the culture of the Carolina Algonquians, including the ways that they tended their children, dressed themselves, and maintained an economy based on fishing, hunting, and farming. He was careful to delineate their religious beliefs, including their notions about the afterlife and the rituals that they practiced. The engravings in the illustrated volume gave life to the texts. They continue to be the most widely circulated images of any pre-1800 American population.

Harriot's illustrated account offered European readers an image of Americans that challenged prevailing views. Ever since the circulation of the report announcing Columbus's discovery, known as the "Barcelona Letter" and first published in 1493, many Europeans had believed that Americans were primitives locked into lives of permanent savagery. The earliest visual evidence confirmed that view. A 1494 edition of the Barcelona Letter published in Basel depicted Columbus and his shipmates arriving in the islands on a sophisticated European sailing vessel capable of making a transatlantic crossing. Naked Tainos stand cowering on the shore. Subsequent images, notably a famous 1505 German broadside depicting the arrival of Europeans in Brazil, offered an even blunter contrast: European ships gracefully sailing toward the shore, where they were destined to meet local Tupinambas bedecked in feathers around their loins and little else. The Americans are gathered together in front of a rudimentary shack, and one of them is chewing on a human arm; a head and other limbs hang suspended from a rafter (Honour 1975). Though Columbus himself had not encountered any man-eaters, he did report that they existed on other islands. But other Europeans were more forthcoming. A half-century after the 1505 broadside

D2

c01.indd 6 8/7/2007 10:15:05 AM

appeared, a German named Hans Stade (or Staden) was taken captive in Brazil. When he was released he wrote an account of his travails, emphasizing widespread cannibalism in the Americas (Stade 1557). Though the French essayist Michel de Montaigne questioned whether American cannibalism was more brutal than the way that Europeans treated unfortunates in their own society (Montaigne 1580), the image of flesh-eating Americans became fixed for a time in European conceptions of Americans and figured prominently in the engraver de Bry's *America* series published in German in the 1590s.

Harriot's careful presentation of natives altered that dominant mode of interpretation. While he depicted the Carolina Algonquians as primitives in many ways, especially in their manner of dress, architecture, and bodily scarification, he also recognized their intellectual abilities. Like other European observers in the Americas, he described their polytheism and the presence of local idols. Since the Algonquians already possessed a distinct understanding of the divine, Harriot believed they could be readily converted to Christianity. The illustrated edition also presented a series of images of the Picts, the famed aboriginal inhabitants of northern Britain who terrorized the Romans. These images were more threatening than those of the Algonquians. Lest a reader not understand why the Picts were included, Harriot inserted a brief note that these early Britons had been more "savage" than the Americans found in Roanoke and that they had become civilized over time. In other words, if earlier European depictions had suggested that Americans were locked into a permanent state of savagery, Harriot's illustrated report suggested that they were instead merely at an earlier stage of cultural evolution. Read together, the illustrations in Harriot's book suggested that, with the proper tutelage, the Carolina Algonquians could become Christian and English. Culture was in this vision not dependent on race or ethnicity. It was instead transferable and learnable, a subject of endless fascination to European theorists (Hodgen 1964).

Harriot's text helped establish the context for the English colonization efforts of the early seventeenth century. But he did not act alone. Richard Hakluyt, who had ushered the illustrated edition of the *Briefe and True Report* towards its multilanguage publication, also prodded the English to embrace the colonizing venture. He did so by publishing travel accounts. In the two editions of the *Principal Navigations*, he instructed the subjects of the Queen (and anyone else who could read English) that the English had been engaged in long-distance travels since ancient times. He told them about the Empress Helena (mother of Constantine the Great), King Arthur, and the Welshman Madoc who in the twelfth century sailed deep into the Atlantic and came to lands that the English in the sixteenth century believed was America. Most of the accounts described more recent efforts of the English in Russia, Africa, East Asia, and the Americas. Though Hakluyt's goals were explicitly religious and economic – he wanted to spread Protestant Christianity and to establish long-distance commercial ties – these journeys had cultural consequences as well. By printing accounts of travelers who had met Americans, Hakluyt let his readers know about the natural resources to be found in the Western Hemisphere and those who controlled them. He also participated in a phenomenon that crossed borders within Europe: a publishing frenzy that led to the production of hundreds of books describing the Western Hemisphere and its peoples. Books about America came from presses in every major European city, and smaller towns too; wherever printers had presses,

c01.indd 7 8/7/2007 10:15:05 AM

they churned out volumes telling of the wonders and dangers to be found across the Atlantic Ocean. The publication of the multi-volume *European Americana* has now made it possible to understand the vast extent of this enterprise (Alden 1980–97; Mancall 1998).

Printed books helped to establish the cultural context for the Virginia Company's efforts. These texts provided specific details about the Americans to be found along the Atlantic coast and allowed the English, like other Europeans, to speculate about the nature of Americans and their cultures (Chaplin 2001). Hakluyt's collections, among other sources, had frequently compared American and European resources, a process of analogous reading of the landscape that enabled the newcomers to arrive with firm ideas already in mind about how they could utilize the region (Pagden 1993). They brought cultural baggage with them, including views of how to treat colonized peoples shaped by the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland (Canny 2003; Hinderaker & Mancall 2003). But despite their preparation, the English did not recognize the difficulties they would face in the Chesapeake from local diseases (Earle 1979). Fortunately for the newcomers, the Powhatans at first tolerated their presence, probably because they saw the English as a potentially subsidiary tribe (Gleach 1997).

During their first decade along the James, the colonist John Rolfe planted some West Indian tobacco seeds; within a generation, the plant would shape the colony's culture as well as its economy. Historians of early Virginia have recognized this as a turning point in the colony's history. The profits produced by tobacco provided ongoing justifications for the migration of young English men and women to the Chesapeake, many of whom suffered from the diseases that had afflicted the first settlers. Only a profitable crop could justify the occupation of a place where, on average, over one-quarter of the foreign-born population succumbed each year. But tobacco's economic success was not obvious in the middle of the 1610s, when English polemicists waged a cultural battle over the fate of tobacco itself. Its proponents celebrated the plant for its health-giving properties and the pleasant sensations it produced. Its opponents, including King James (who in 1604 had published a tract warning of tobacco's dangers), argued that since tobacco played a crucial role in American rituals, it was better suited for the savage than the civilized. While those who loathed the plant accepted its medicinal benefits, they feared the cultural consequences of its adoption. By the late 1610s the opponents of tobacco had lost the battle. Tobacconists spread across London and the plant became a fixture in England, as it had elsewhere in Europe, with results that ensured the survival of Virginia (Mancall 2004).

But the long-term economic success came at a high price. Though Rolfe had married Powhatan's daughter Pocahontas, and she herself had gone to England and become the object of intense public interest when she dressed and lived like an Englishwoman (Townsend 2004), relations between the Powhatans and the English deteriorated. By 1622 both Powhatan and Pocahontas had died, and the Powhatans launched an attack on the English, killing 347. The English responded in 1623 and 1624, killing hundreds of Powhatans.

Yet despite the unfolding tragedy on the Chesapeake, Americans and Europeans also continued to meet peacefully. Tensions in Virginia subsided by 1625. By then the English had established themselves at Plymouth; by the end of the 1620s the

D2

c01.indd 8 8/7/2007 10:15:06 AM

Massachusetts Bay Company organized its migration, which was far more substantial than the Pilgrim movement to Plymouth, and a new arena for intercultural exchange opened in southeastern New England. By 1642 approximately 21,000 Puritans had migrated to Massachusetts, a movement termed by later scholars the "great migration," though recent work has demonstrated that this movement was far less substantial than English and British migration elsewhere in the Atlantic basin (Bailyn 1986; Canny 1994; Games 1999). When the population of newcomers increased, so did tensions with locals, and relations between them eventually took a deadly turn: in 1637 the English, along with their Narragansett allies, attacked the Pequots. The most horrific moment came along the Mystic River, when the English and Narragansetts surrounded a village and set it on fire, shooting at those who escaped. The atrocity became a defining moment in New England culture. William Bradford, the first historian of Plymouth, claimed that the bloodshed signified divine support for colonization. The English "victory seemed a sweet sacrifice," Bradford wrote, quoting Leviticus 2:1–2, "and they gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands and give them so speedy a victory over so proud and insulting an enemy" (Bradford 1952: 296).

The violence that engulfed native and newcomer communities in the 1620s and 1630s did not lead to permanent cultural alienation in eastern North America, though neither community was able to forget what had happened. By the middle of the century the English relaunched their cultural initiative to convert Americans to English ways, specifically to Protestant religion, the market economy, and sedentary settlements. They did so by trying to establish schools in Virginia and in Massachusetts. The two schools, Henrico College in Virginia and Harvard's Indian College, had virtually no students and only a negligible effect on relations between the peoples of the still new colonies (Szasz 1988). But educational efforts continued nonetheless. The most successful (from an English perspective) was led by the missionary John Eliot, whose efforts resulted in the conversion of 1,100 natives in Massachusetts. The English called them "praying Indians," thereby ignoring the fact that the vast majority of Americans who did not embrace Christianity were nonetheless also religious. Eliot for his part translated the Bible into Massachusett and published it in 1663; it remains perhaps the least-read book produced in the Anglo-American colonies in the seventeenth century (Eliot 1663).

The cultures of Europeans and Americans remained distinct, though each proved willing and able to adopt elements of the other's lifestyle. Perhaps the most notable borrowing involved imported livestock. Before Europeans arrived the inhabitants of eastern North America had no domesticated animals other than dogs. Europeans brought cattle, horses, sheep, and swine with them, knowing that the creation of European-style communities required the continued keeping of these Old World animals (some later also imported honeybees). At first these creatures, and their close relations with colonists, mystified Americans. But the indigenes soon learned of the utility of these beasts, and many began to adopt them into their own economies. By the middle of the seventeenth century, according to one recent account, cattle and pigs had become widespread in indigenous communities. The inclusion of these animals did not always go smoothly; free-ranging English livestock routinely consumed natives' crops. Despite such problems, Americans nonetheless raised domesticated livestock. They even took to branding them as private property, although the

D2

concept made no sense in the pre-contact world where fish and game could be harvested but not owned – at least not until they were captured or killed (Cronon 1983; Anderson 2004). Cultural borrowing went in both directions: colonists adopted American ideas and practices too (Axtell 1981).

Despite such adaptations, tensions between the peoples of the mainland Anglo-American colonies remained. In the 1670s, warfare erupted in the most populous English colonies. In both the Chesapeake, where the conflict came to be known as Bacon's Rebellion, and in New England, where the violence gained the name King Philip's or Metacom's War (the terms are still used interchangeably by scholars), the deadliest warfare yet seen in the east spread across the landscape. Scholars who study this era have identified the economic and political roots of these wars, but in the end it is difficult to escape the notion that these were cultural battles. Many colonists came to believe that they could no longer co-habit with Americans and wanted them removed or exterminated, as the Governor of Maryland indicated when he paid a bounty for the scalps of 10 natives; natives captured in Metacom's War, including many of the "praying Indians," were sold into slavery. The Puritan cleric Cotton Mather, in one famous sermon, declared the violence to be worthy "the name of warr," as if previous conflicts were unworthy the appellation. The indigenous peoples of the region also recognized the gravity of the conflict and the lingering tensions it produced. When colonists threatened them again two decades later, these Americans recalled the brutality of the 1670s, drawing on their oral histories to fuel renewed battles with the English (Mather 1697; Gyles 1981; Lepore 1998).

The cultural conflicts that erupted in the 1670s cannot be understood in isolation. The value of a work such as Edmund Morgan's *American Slavery, American Freedom* (1975) lies in its ability to tie together the stories of indigenous peoples in the Chesapeake region with the growing perception among the English that they could not sate their economic desires if they relied exclusively on voluntary labor from abroad. The English turned toward bound African labor in the latter decades of the seventeenth century, at least in part because they had become convinced – correctly, it should be added – that it would also have been too difficult to hire or enslave Americans. The arrival of Africans and Afro-Caribbeans on the mainland complicated the cultural encounters in the colonial period. But the relatively small numbers of African migrants made such clashes less visible than they would become in the eighteenth century (Morgan 1975; Parent 2003).

By the latter decades of the seventeenth century many Americans inhabited what the historian James Merrell brilliantly perceived was a "new world" marred by the ongoing loss of population and land, among other tragedies (Merrell 1989). Though Americans and Europeans often encountered each other in towns and cities (Merrell 1991), hostilities lingered. Still, despite periodic violence, efforts to understand each other across the cultural divide continued. The colonial traveler John Lawson, for example, praised one American for being able to imitate his own writing "with more Exactness, than any European could have done, that was illiterate." Such talents were emblematic of a people who "are no Inventers of any Arts or Trades worthy mention" yet who could "learn any thing very soon." Many of Carolina's native peoples "wear the *English* Dress," Lawson wrote. He hoped they would adopt cattle too (if they had not already done so) since "such Inclinations in the Savages should meet with Encouragement." Like other colonists who preceded him (and many who arrived on

D2

c01.indd 10 8/7/2007 10:15:06 AM

the scene later), Lawson wanted to change native culture, but he recognized that such transformations might come at a price. "They are really better to us, than we are to them," he wrote in a passage praising native hospitality practices. "If we admit Reason to be our Guide, she will inform us, that these Indians are the freest People in the World," he added, "and so far from being Intruders upon us, that we have abandon'd our own Native Soil, to drive them out, and possess theirs."

Lawson believed that colonists were so offended by indigenous "strange Customs (uncouth to us)" that they could not take a proper measure of American cultures. Rather than living up to a sense of "Christian Duty," Lawson argued that colonists instead treated natives callously, introduced alcohol – and thus drunkenness – to them, and failed to show the compassion needed to convert them to English religion and mores. Lawson contended it would be better if the English intermarried with natives, a suggestion that many of his readers would have found shocking. Yet such intimate relations might "be a more reasonable Method of converting the Indians, than to set up our Christian Banner in a Field of Blood, as the Spaniards have done in New Spain, and baptize one hundred with the Sword for one at the Font." By invoking the legacy of the Black Legend, Lawson made a point about the ongoing clash of cultures in the Anglo-American colonies: recognition of the valuable parts of indigenous customs and practices would enable these Europeans to advance the original goals of the Elizabethan promoters (Lawson 1967: 57, 175, 200, 243–6).

Lawson's recommendations went nowhere. No English official embraced his call for intermarriage, and by the early decades of the eighteenth century the gap between Europeans and Americans remained firm. Though much had changed in the region between the Atlantic and the Appalachian Mountains, which served as the de facto western boundary for the Anglo-American colonies until the Seven Years' War, oral histories and colonial observations each testified to the persistence of cultural differences. In the famous "secret" account of searching for the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina, for example, the colonial planter William Byrd frequently derided the opinions of his native traveling companions. At one point in October 1728 he wrote about one companion who had killed a deer while others had successfully hunted turkeys. As the bounty of the hunt was about to be prepared, "the Indian begg'd very hard that our Cook might not boil Venison & Turkey together, because it wou'd certainly spoil his luck in Hunting, & we shou'd repent it with fasting & Prayer." Byrd subsequently believed that such views were a "ridiculous Superstition," which it was better to mock and ignore than to take seriously (Byrd 1967: 193–5). But what he had observed was a widespread indigenous belief that success in the woods would only come when hunters paid proper obeisance to the divine forces that controlled the movement of animals on the earth (Martin 1978).

Byrd was not always hostile to indigenous belief systems. In his account he included the testimony of one native observer who told him about an afterlife that bore occasional similarity to Christian eschatology, including two distinct destinations – one for the good, the other for the bad. "At the Entrance into this blessed Land sits a venerable Old Man who examines every One before he is admitted," Byrd reported, "& if he has behav'd well the Guards are order'd to open the Chrystal Gates & let him into this Terrestrial Paradise." The other option was bleak indeed, inhabited by the hungry and the desperate; it was guarded by "a hideous Old Woman

D2

whose Head is cover'd with Rattle-Snakes instead of Tresses, with glaring white Eyes, sunk very deep in her Head." She determined who would be forced to remain in "this Region of Misery." Byrd did not dismiss this account; he in fact praised the openness of the man who told him about it (Byrd 1967: 199–203).

For all of their cultural biases, Lawson and Byrd were both able to overcome their society's lingering hostility toward American culture. Both left posterity with histories showing how they had personally wrestled with the differences between natives and newcomers. In the past generation a number of scholars have used such accounts, along with more prosaic documents such as account books, to tell how the peoples of eastern North America looked at and adapted to each other (see, e.g., Calloway and Salisbury, 2004). The so-called "new imperial history" has invigorated a tired field of inquiry, formerly devoted to military strategy and high colonial policy, by taking seriously aspects of indigenous culture in the Americas and elsewhere (White 1991; Hinderaker 1997; Canny 1998). One imaginative historian has blended the insights of ethnohistorians and scholars of the New England town to create the first sustained analysis of a particular indigenous community, a place where the desire to preserve at least some elements of local culture provided stability for individuals who had to cope with the constant pressures brought on them by nearby colonists (Piker 2004). Scholars of material culture have studied specific examples of cultural adaptation, notably the transferal across the cultural divide of European clothing and technology (Shannon 1996) and the persistence of such vital practices as basketry and weaving (Wolverton 2003). In the past 15 years scholars of early American culture have also begun to take more seriously the nature of the sources used to explore and explicate early American culture. All have benefited from two seemingly unrelated developments: a discussion among scholars of literature and historians of the book who have made clear the instability of texts (McKitterick 2003); and a growing recognition, evident to early American historians since at least the late 1970s, of the crucial contributions that can come only from oral historians. For example, the Cheyenne scholar Henrietta Whiteman wrote an account of what she learned from her great-grandmother White Buffalo Woman, which includes a powerful assault on scholars who rely exclusively on the written word (Martin 1987). A recent partnership between a Narragansett tribal historian and an academic historian resulted in a path-breaking analysis of Rhode Island during the American Revolution. This study peeled back generations of cultural misunderstanding to get at the underlying persistence of a native population and its culture (Herndon and Sekatau 1997).

There was no way for either natives or newcomers to predict the outcome of the cultural clash that took place in the Americas in the early modern era. The arrival of Europeans along with their animals, diseases, and ideas about religion and landholding had far-reaching effects that have rippled across Indian Country for centuries (Crosby 1972, 1986; Kupperman 2000). Specific commodities altered individual lives and had cultural consequences. Alcohol, to take the most notable example, was unknown in eastern North America before Europeans arrived, and was available only in small quantities before the middle of the seventeenth century. But once the liquor trade developed as an integral part of the plantation economy of the West Indian sugar islands, the spread of rum into the English hinterland (and brandy in New France) had cultural as well as psychological and economic consequences. Europeans believed that Americans were morally deficient because their cultures were unable to

D2

put an effective check on the ways that drinkers, notably young men, behaved when inebriated. Americans, for their part, criticized Europeans for their decision to change a basic foodstuff into a deadly one. "You Rot Your grains in Tubs," the Catawba headman Hagler railed against colonial officials in 1754. In his mind the liquor trade represented nothing less than depravity on a massive scale, a telling sign that Europeans cared so much about making a profit that they were willing to transform food into poison (Mancall 1995).

By the middle decades of the eighteenth century, eastern North America belonged to a transplanted population. The landscape bore the mark of European agricultural and urban practices and a parent culture that had developed without any notion of the existence of the Western Hemisphere. The original inhabitants of eastern North America, like all indigenous peoples across the Americas, had suffered from the assault of pathogens, land-hungry interlopers, and soul-craving missionaries. If we follow the historian Daniel Richter's recent idea of looking at colonization not from the perspective of Europeans but instead eastward from Indian Country, the classic tale of "manifest destiny" takes on an inverted cultural meaning (Richter 2001). All Americans faced cultural challenges that came directly from Europe. By the middle of the eighteenth century the descendants of European invaders appropriated the term "American" for themselves. They defined the indigenous peoples as "merciless Indian savages," to use the words of the Declaration of Independence, or dealt with them along with "other foreign nations," as the United States Constitution put it. Native American cultures survived, but they became subversive instead of dominant. They persist today and should not be set aside in assessments of the nation's cultural legacy.

REFERENCES

Alden, John, et al., eds.: *European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493–1776*, 6 vols. (New York: Readex Books, 1980–97).

Anderson, Virginia DeJohn: *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Axtell, James: "The Indian Impact on English Colonial Culture," *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 272–315.

Axtell, James: "The White Indians of Colonial America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., 32 (1975), 55–88.

Bailyn, Bernard: *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986).

Bradford, William: *Of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952).

Byrd, William: *Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, ed. William K. Boyd (New York: Dover, 1967).

Calloway, Colin G. & Salisbury, Neal, eds.: *Reinterpreting New England Indians and the Colonial Experience* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2004).

Canny, Nicholas: "English Migration into and across the Atlantic during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Nicholas Canny, ed., *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 39–75.

D2

Canny, Nicholas, ed.: *The Origins of Empire*, vol. 1 of *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, gen. ed. William Roger Louis, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Canny, Nicholas: *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Cest la Deduction du sumpeux ordre plaisantz spectacles et magnifiques theatres dresses, et exhibes par les citoiens de Rouen. Orig. published 1551; facsimile titled *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1970).

Chaplin, Joyce: *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500–1676* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Churchyard, Thomas: *A Prayse, and Reporte of Maister Martyne Frobishers Voyage to META INCOGNITA* (London, 1578).

Cronon, William: *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).

Crosby, Alfred: *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972).

Crosby, Alfred: *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Earle, Carville V.: "Environment, Disease, and Mortality in Early Virginia," in Thad Tate & David Ammerman, eds., *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society* (New York: W. W. Norton for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1979), pp. 96–125.

Eliot, John: *Mamusse wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblium God naneeswe Nukkone Testament kah wonk VVusku Testament* (Cambridge, MA, 1663).

Games, Alison: *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

Gleach, Frederic W.: *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

Gyles, John: "Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, Etc.," in Alden Vaughan & Edward Clark, eds.: *Puritans Among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1676–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 93–131.

Harriot, Thomas: *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* Orig. pub. Frankfurt, 1590; facsimile ed. (New York: Dover, 1992).

Herndon, Ruth Wallis & Sekatau, Ella: "The Right to a Name: The Narragansett People and Rhode Island Officials in the Revolutionary Era," *Ethnohistory* 44 (1997), 433–62.

Hinderaker, Eric: *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Hinderaker, Eric & Mancall, Peter C.: *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

Hodgen, Margaret T.: *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964).

Honour, Hugh: *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York: Pantheon, 1975).

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl, ed.: *America in European Consciousness, 1493–1750* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute for Early American History and Culture, 1995).

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl: *Indians & English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

Lawson, John: *A New Voyage to Carolina*, ed. Hugh Talmage Lefler (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967).

Lepore, Jill: *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998).

D2

MacGaffey, Wyatt: "Dialogues of the Deaf: Europeans on the Atlantic Coast of Africa," in Stuart Schwartz, ed. *Implicit Understandings Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 249–67.

Magnusson, Magnus & Pálsson, Herman, trans.: *The Vinland Sagas: The Norse Discovery of America* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965).

Mancall, Peter C.: *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

Mancall, Peter C.: "The Age of Discovery," *Reviews in American History* 26 (1998), 26–53.

Mancall, Peter C.: "Tales Tobacco Told in Sixteenth-Century Europe," *Environmental History* 9 (2004), 648–78.

Martin, Calvin L.: *Keepers of the Game: Indians, Animals, and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

Martin, Calvin L., ed.: *The American Indian and the Problem of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

Mather, Cotton: "A Narrative of Hannah Dustan's Notable Delivery from Captivity" (1697), in Alden Vaughan & Edward Clark, eds., *Puritans Among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1676–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 161–4.

McKitterick, David: *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Merrell, James H.: *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1989).

Merrell, James H.: " 'The Customes of Our Countrey': Indians and Colonists in Early America," in Bernard Bailyn & Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991), pp. 117–56.

Montaigne, Michel de: *Essais*. Orig. pub. Bourdeaux, 1580; in Montaigne, *Complete Works*, trans. Donald M. Frame (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003).

Morgan, Edmund: *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975).

Obregón, Mauricio: *The Columbus Papers: The Barcelona Letter of 1493, the Landfall Controversy, and the Indian Guides* (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

Ortega, Julio: "Transatlantic Translations," *PMLA* 118 (2003), 25–40.

Pagden, Anthony: *European Encounters with the New World: from Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

Parent, Anthony S., Jr.: *Foul Means: The Formation of a Slave Society in Virginia, 1660–1740* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

Piker, Joshua: *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

Prins, Harald E. L.: "To the Land of the Mistigoches: American Indians Traveling to Europe in the Age of Exploration," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 17: 1(1993), 175–95.

Ramusio, Giovannia Batista: *Terze Volume Delle Navigationi et Viaggi* (Venice, 1556).

Richter, Daniel: *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Sahagún, Bernardino: *General History of the Things of New Spain: The Florentine Codex*, trans. J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. 13 vols. (Santa Fe: 1950–82).

Schmidt, Benjamin: *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

D2

Schwartz, Stuart: *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Shannon, Timothy J.: "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser. 53 (1996), 13–42.

Stade(n), Hans. *Warhafftige historia vnnd beschreibung einer landtschafft der wilden nacketen grimmigen menschfresser leuthen in der newen welt America*. Orig. pub. Frankfurt, 1557?), trans. Albert Tootal as *The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse: in AD 1547–1555, among the Wild Tribes of Eastern Brazil* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1874).

Szasz, Margaret Connell: *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607–1783* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988).

Townsend, Camilla: *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004).

Urton, Gary & Brezine, Carrie: "Khipu Accounting in Ancient Peru," *Science* 309 (2005), 1065–7.

Vaughan, Alden & Clark, Edward, eds.: *Puritans among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1676–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Wintroub, Michael: "Civilizing the Savage and Making a King: the Royal Entry Festival of Henri II (Rouen, 1555)," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 29 (1998), 465–94.

Wolverton, Nan: "'A Precarious Living': Basket Making and Related Crafts Among New England Indians," in Colin Calloway & Neal Salisbury, eds., *Reinterpreting New England Indians and the Colonial Experience* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2003), pp. 341–68.

D2

c01.indd 16 8/7/2007 10:15:06 AM