

Notes

INTRODUCTION: REVISING THE AMERICAN PAST

- xi **notched sticks:** Although we cannot read them, these were the first American histories. On one described in the late nineteenth century by Colonel Luther P. Bradley, see Thomas Powers, "The Indians' Own Story," *New York Review of Books* (April 7, 2005). Also Peter Nabokov, *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). On "winter counts" or tribal histories, see <http://www.wintercounts.si.edu>. Most surviving winter counts date from after the period I discuss in this book.
- xii **from an "external" perspective:** In contrast, an excellent book by Jon Butler, *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), focuses on the colonies as they coalesced toward the end of the seventeenth century.
- xiii **and then recorded them:** David Freeman Hawke (ed.), *Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971); and Hugh Talmage Lefler (ed.), *A New Voyage to Carolina by John Lawson* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967).
- xv **a new school of American historians:** *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921). Bolton's work was carried on by Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962); and by, among others, David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
- xvi **the attention of scholars:** John T. McGrath, *The French in Early Florida: In the Eye of the Hurricane* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000). See the review article by Amy Turner Bushnell of this and other works in *William and Mary Quarterly* (60:3, July 2003).
- xvii **1585 by John White:** Paul Hulton, *America 1585* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press and British Museum Publications, 1984).
- xvii **worked their lands:** Samuel Eliot Morison (ed.), *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647 by William Bradford* (New York: Knopf, 1959).
- xvii **to original documents:** *The Genesis of the United States* (Boston: Houghton

Mifflin, 1890) and *The First Republic in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1898).

xvii **ventures into social history:** A pioneer in the field was Alice Morse Earle whose *Home Life in Colonial Days* was published in 1898. Richard Hofstadter's *America at 1750: A Social Portrait* (New York: Random House, 1971); David Freeman Hawke, *Everyday Life in Early America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); and James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten* (New York: Anchor, 1973) and *The Time of Their Lives: Life, Love, and Death in Plymouth Colony* (New York: Freeman, 2000) have been followed by a number of scholars. On how the early settlers, see Harold R. Shurtleff, *The Log Cabin Myth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939); and Abbott Lowell Cummings, *Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1727*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979).

xviii **eighteenth-century Virginia:** William Byrd's diaries have been published in several volumes since the first (Richmond: Dietz, 1941); and Rhys Isaac used Landon Carter's diary as the basis for his *Landon Carter's Uneasy Kingdom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

xviii **Benjamin Franklin provided us:** Leonard W. Labaree (ed.), *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven: Yale University Press) and *The Papers of George Washington* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, several series) **the frontier in American history:** Frederick Jackson Turner's most influential essays are collected in *The Frontier in American History* (reprint of the 1906 edition, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1962).

xix **a new generation of historians:** James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Eric Hinderaker, *Evasive Empires: Constructed Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992) and *Facing East from Indian Country: A New History of Early America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001) **their complex roots:** The best account I have found of the medieval period is Roland Oliver and Anthony Athore, *Medieval Africa, 1250-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). John K. Thornton has provided perhaps the best scholarship on "Atlantic Africa" in the period of the western slave trade in several works: *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); *African Background to American Colonization*, in Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*, vol. 1, *The Colonial Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

xx **the best scholarship on "Atlantic Africa" in the period of the western slave trade:** in several works: *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); *African Background to American Colonization*, in Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*, vol. 1, *The Colonial Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

1996); and "Cannibals, Witches, and Slave Traders in the Atlantic World," *William and Mary Quarterly*, (3rd Series, 60:2, April 2003). Richard W. Harms provided a view of the central Zaire (Congo) region in his *River of Wealth, River of Sorrow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981). C. W. Newbury, in *The Western Slave Coast and Its Rulers* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), gave an early and then rare look at African society.

xx **to the New World:** James A. Rawley provided a sober overview in *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Norton, 1981). Basil Davidson's *Black Mother* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961) and Daniel P. Mannix's *Black Cargoes* (New York: Viking, 1962) are rather more polemic. Philip D. Curtin's *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969) was the standard for many years on the statistics of the slave trade. It has now been overtaken by a huge statistical study, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, 1527-1866: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), which brings together information on over 27,000 voyages. It has been summarized and illuminated by a series of articles in *William and Mary Quarterly* (58:1, January 2001), of which some will be cited below; and by Stephen D. Behrendt, *Teacher's Manual*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), available online. It contains almost no information on individuals and little on groups. Two recent studies flesh out parts of the story: Randy Sparks, *The Two Princes of Calabar* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004); and Robert Harms, *The Diligent: A Voyage through the Worlds of the Slave Trade* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

xxi **accounts by blacks:** Most of the materials on American slavery are based on accounts in the nineteenth century; in the earlier period, the only materials are by whites. A very good account is by David Eltis, who played a key role in the huge study of slaving voyages, in *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

xxi **in the 1930s:** *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America* (finally printed in 1947 by the University of North Carolina Press).

xxi **broadening this view:** Franco Venturi, *The End of the Old Regime in Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1972); Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967) and *Voyagers to the West* (New York: Knopf, 1986).

xxi **Economic affairs:** Particularly useful are John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); and Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*, Vol. 1, *The Colonial Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). John J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), deals with the complex money-

- tary systems of the era. Also stimulating and informative is Alice Hanson Jones, *Wealth of a Nation to Be: The American Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980). The growth of colonial commerce is the subject of one of Bernard Bailyn's excellent histories, *The English Merchant in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955).
- xxii **led up to the Revolution:** Bernard Bailyn, *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974). Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Prelude to Independence* (New York: Random House, reprinted 1965 from 1958 edition). Hiller B. Zobel, *The Boston Massacre* (New York: Norton, 1970).
- xxiii **what they ate and how hard they worked:** James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor, 1980). Clark Spencer Larsen, "Reading the Bones of La Florida," *Scientific American* (June 2000); Ivor Noël Hume, *Martin's Hundred* (New York: Knopf, 1982).
- CHAPTER 1: THE NATIVE AMERICANS
- 3 **William Strachey spoke for them:** Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (eds.), *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania (1612)* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), 53-55.
- 3 **they call Amerind:** Joseph H. Greenberg and Merritt Ruhlen, "Linguistic Origins of Native Americans," *Scientific American*, November, 1992. Critical of his analysis is given in *Science* 242(23 December 1988), 1632-1633.
- 4 **by genetic studies:** Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, *Genes, Peoples, and Languages* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2000), 134, 136-137; and Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza and Francesco Cavalli-Sforza, *The Great Human Diaspora* (London: Perseus, 1995), 109-112, 172-175.
- 4 **Climatologists:** William J. Burroughs, *Climate Change in Prehistory: The End of the Reign of Chaos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 207-172 and passim.
- 5 **migrated southward:** Excellent studies of them are Francis Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* (New York: Norton, 1984); and Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Eighteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).
- 5 **now mainly forgotten groups:** An early study of them is James Mooney, *Siouan Tribes of the East* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1891). On the Catawba, see James H. Merrell, "The Indians' New World: The Catawba Experience," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd Series, 41:4, October 1984).
- 6 **learn some dialect:** Alden T. Vaughan, "Sir Walter Raleigh's Indian Interpreter, 1584-1618," *William and Mary Quarterly* (59:2) 2002, tells what is known about the first Indians trained by the English and about Thomas Hariot's study

of "the Virginian speche." On Englishmen who served as interpreters, see J. Frederick Fausz, "Middlemen in Peace and War: Virginia's Earliest Indian [Language] Interpreters, 1608-1632," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (5, 1987), 41ff.

6 **Juan Nentúgu:** Quoted in Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), 320-321.

8 **Obviously, Bradford did not care:** Samuel E. Morison (ed.), *Bradford, Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647* (New York: Knopf, 1959), 82-84.

8 **Robert Beverley:** *The History and Present State of Virginia*, originally published in London by Richard Parker in 1705; new edition edited by David Freeman Hawke (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971), 102-105.

9 **could be eaten:** Information on the plants they harvested can be found in Harold E. Driver, *Indians of North America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 21-22; and Jack Weatherford, *Indian Givers* (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1988), 59ff.

10 **slowly made its way:** Bruce D. Smith, "Origins of Agriculture in Eastern North America," *Science* (246, 1566ff). Smith says that maize (*Zea mays*) or corn was introduced into eastern North America about A.D. 200 "perhaps as a high status or ceremonial crop, until after A.D. 800."

11 **comment:** *Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 39.

11 **William Strachey described:** Wright and Freund, (eds.), *Strachey*, 47-48, using almost the same words as Captain John Smith, *The General History of Virginia (1624)*, Book 2, Chapter 1, reprinted in Louis B. Wright (ed.), *The Elizabethans' America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), 171-173.

11 **Champlain similarly found:** *Algonquians, Hurons, and Iroquois . . . 1603-1616*, translation of *Les voyages de la Nouvelle France* (Dartmouth, Nova Scotia: Brook House, 2000), 186.

11 **George Percy described:** "Observations Gathered Out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colony in Virginia by the English, 1606," from Purchas, *Pilgrims* (1625), Book 9, Chapter 2, reprinted in Wright (ed.), *The Elizabethans' America*, 168.

12 **Robert Beverley waxed lyrical:** Hawke, *Beverley*, 89-91.

12 **John Lawson found:** Hugh Talmage Lefler (ed.), *A New Voyage to Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 195.

12 **than those of Europeans:** William Peden (ed.), *Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 199-200.

12 **their mode of living:** Mary Jemison described the simplicity and ease of Indian life as she experienced it in the eighteenth century in James E. Seaver (ed.), *A*