Hello!
Welcome to APUSH. This will be a rigorous and exciting course that provides an overview of U.S. History. In preparation for the opening day, please read the following handouts:

- Chapter 1 Old Worlds and New pgs. 2-37 Give Me Liberty! Seventh AP Edition Eric Foner Kathleen Duval Lisa McGirr
- "The Indians' Old World" Neal Salisbury
- "The Europeans' New World" Joyce Appleby

Answer the following questions with complete sentences, with each response as a paragraph in length. Bring in a printed copy for Day 1.
AI use is prohibited

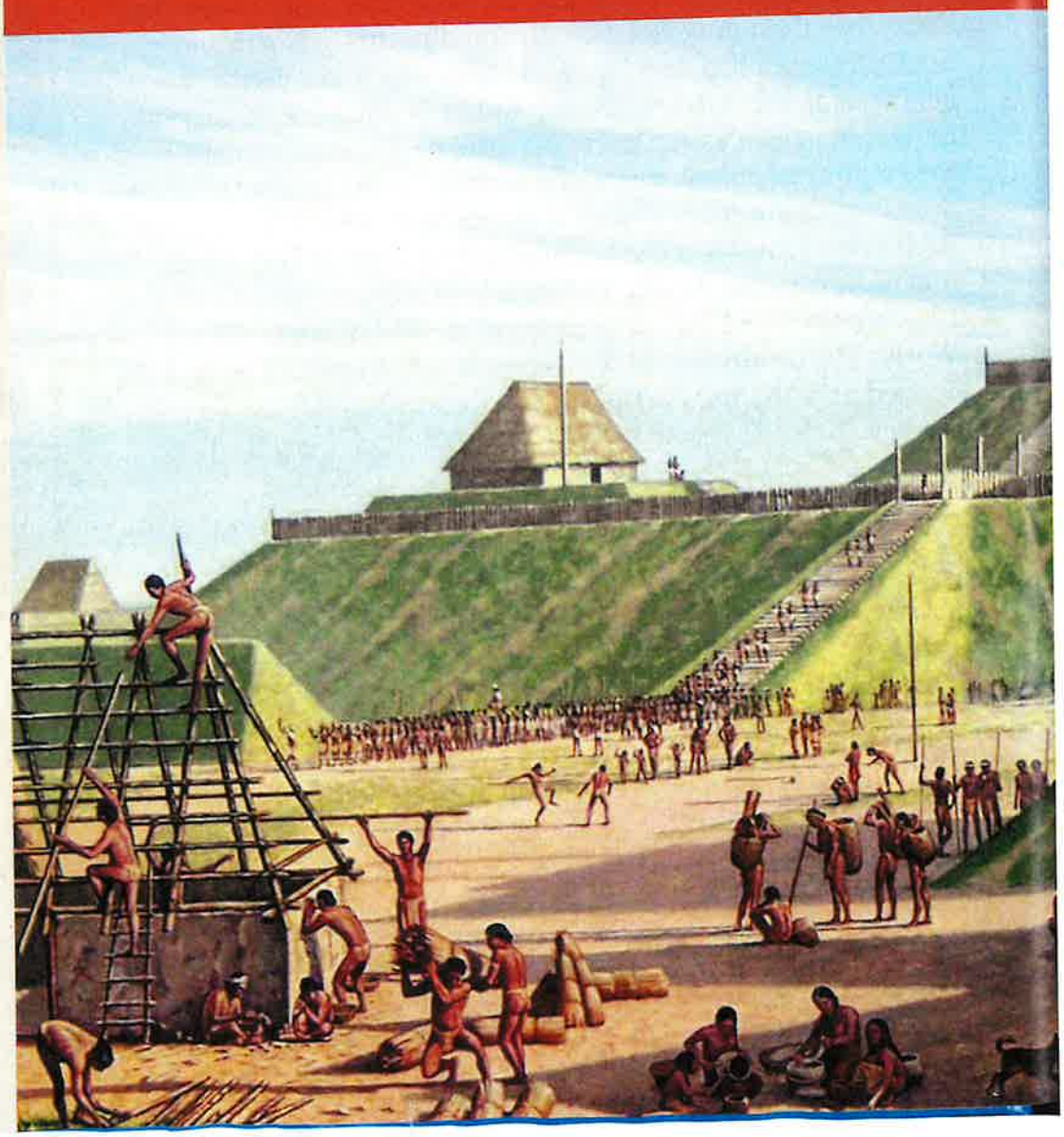
1. Were encounters among Native Americans, western Europeans, and western Africans defined primarily by contact, confusion or conquest?
2. Was the first encounter a break from older interactions or was it part of general interactions among different people groups?
3. In what ways did Europeans of different nationalities treat Indians?
4. What differences did Europeans focus upon between themselves, Indians and western Africans?
5. What role did violence play in creating the new world?
6. Should humans be held accountable for the activities of nonhumans, such as in the case of microbes that lead to disease and death?

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

CHAPTER 1

OLD WORLDS AND NEW

★



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.

FOCUS QUESTIONS



What were the major patterns of Native American life in North America before Europeans arrived? *–p. 4*

How did Native American and European ideas of freedom differ on the eve of contact? *–p. 9*

What impelled European explorers to look west across the Atlantic? *–p. 11*

What happened when the peoples of the Americas came in contact with Europeans? *–p. 13*

What were the chief features of the Spanish empire in the Americas? *–p. 18*

What were the chief features of the French and Dutch empires in North America? *–p. 27*

Previous page: 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.

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.

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.

Politics and Power in Native North America

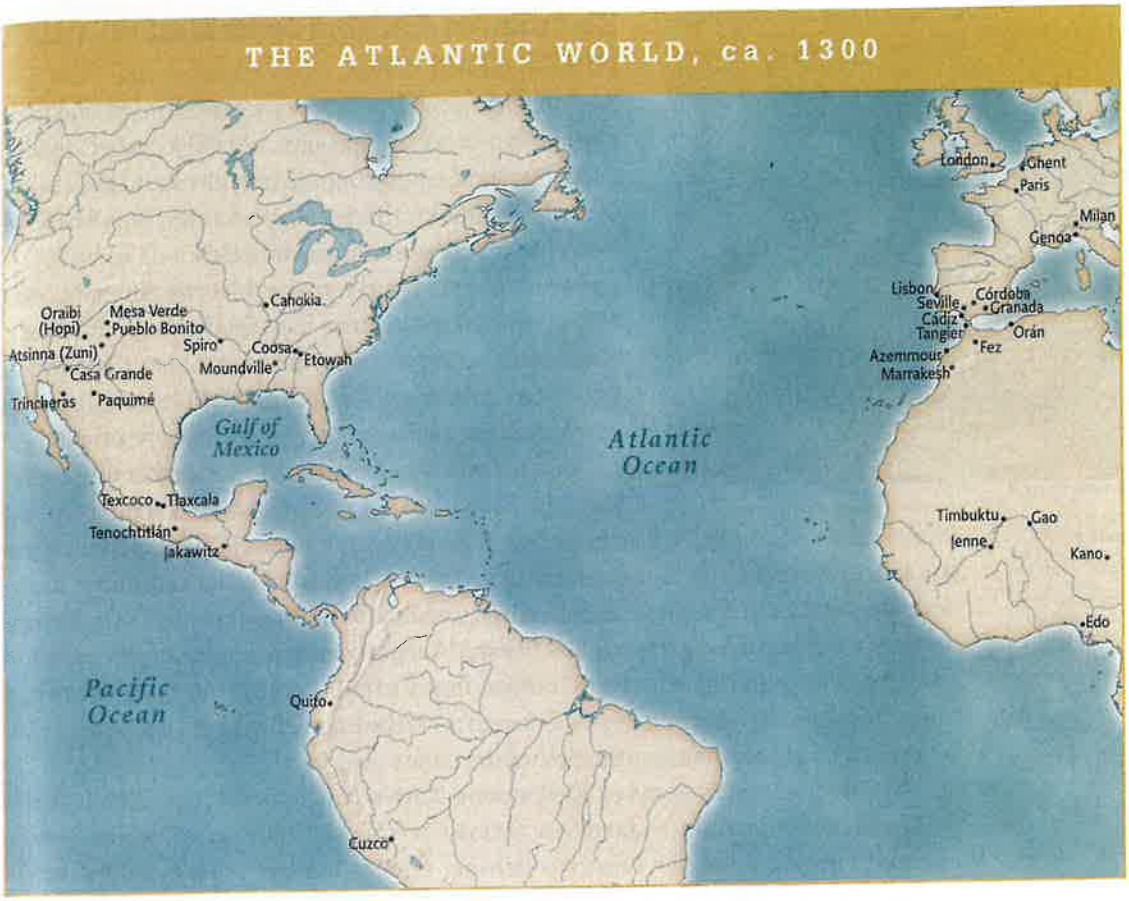
The Medieval Warm Period that began around the year 950 allowed the expansion of agriculture and the rise of cities in North America, much as it did in Europe and West Africa. The longer growing seasons and more predictable weather of the era were ideal for farming, and large-scale farming made urban 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.

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



Cliff dwellings in Cañon de Chelly, in the area of modern-day Arizona, built sometime between 300 and 1300 and photographed in 1873.



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.

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.

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.

Great League of Peace An alliance of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) nations, originally formed at least 400 years ago.



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.

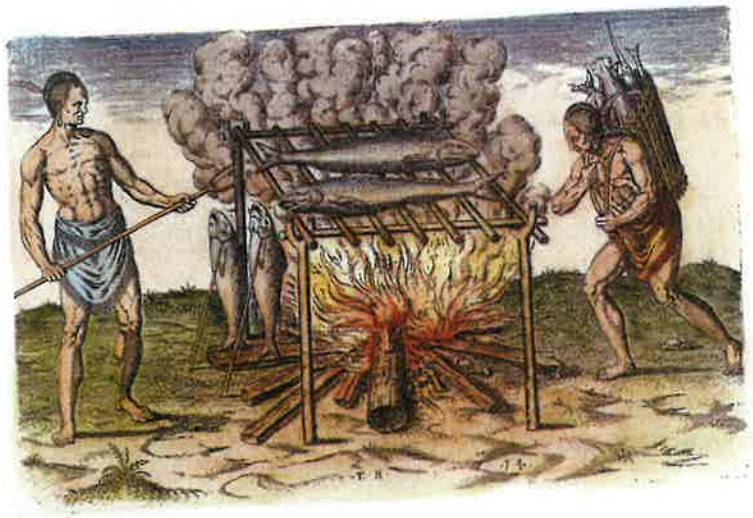
Exchange networks crossed North America, carrying local goods such as food, plant dyes and medicines, and pottery. These networks also distributed goods from far away, including shell beads from the coasts and copper from the Great Lakes region.

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.

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.

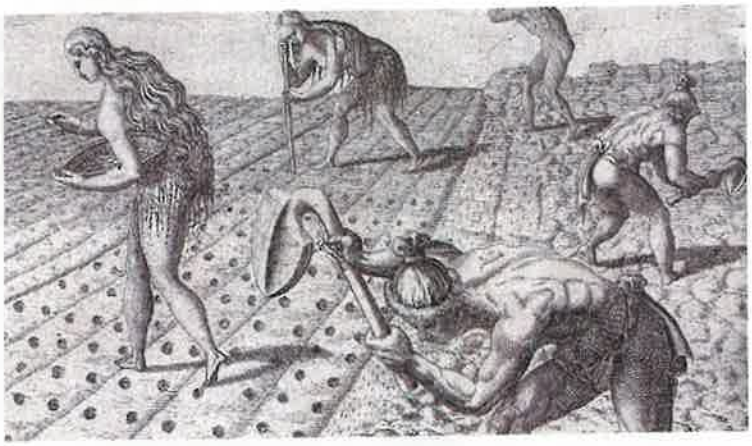
This engraving shows Native men of Ossomocomuck (present-day coastal North Carolina) cooking fish they caught off the Outer Banks.



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.



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.

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.

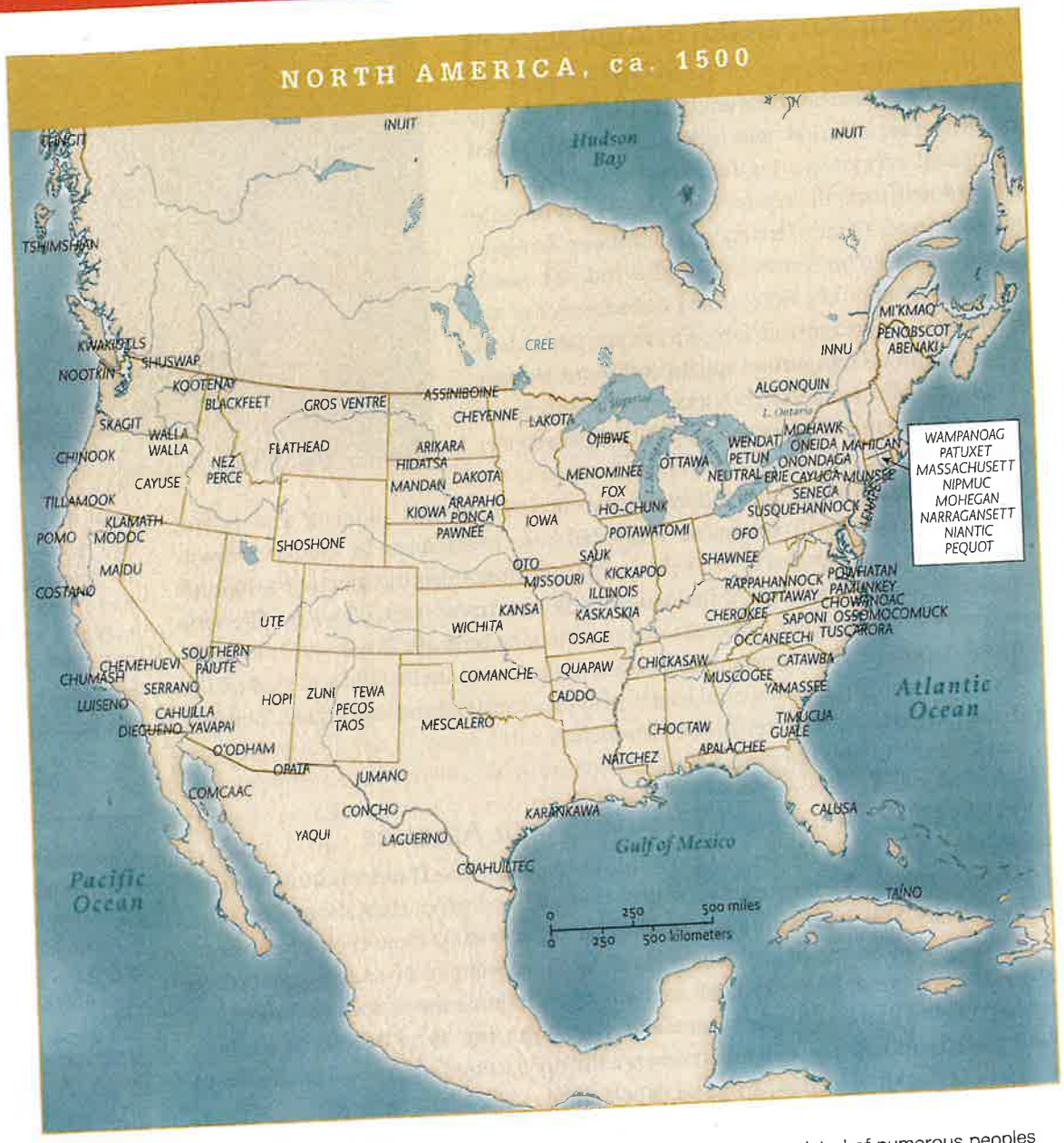
Slavery and Freedom in Native North America

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."

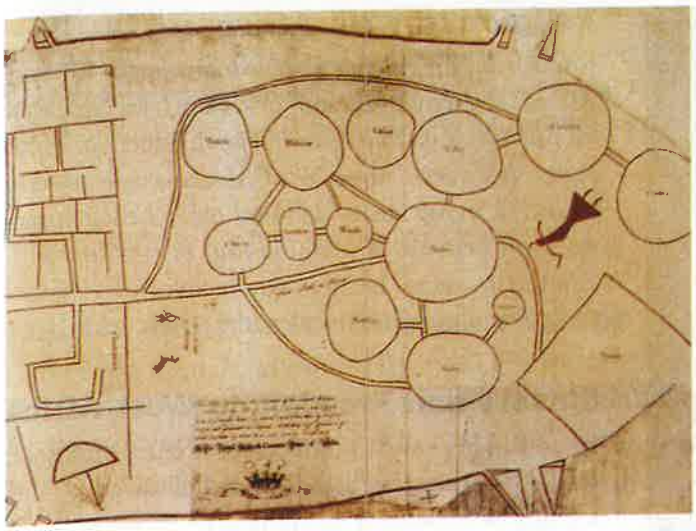
A seventeenth-century engraving by a French Jesuit priest illustrates many Europeans' view of Indian religion. A demon hovers over an Haudenosaunee longhouse, suggesting that Indians worship the devil.

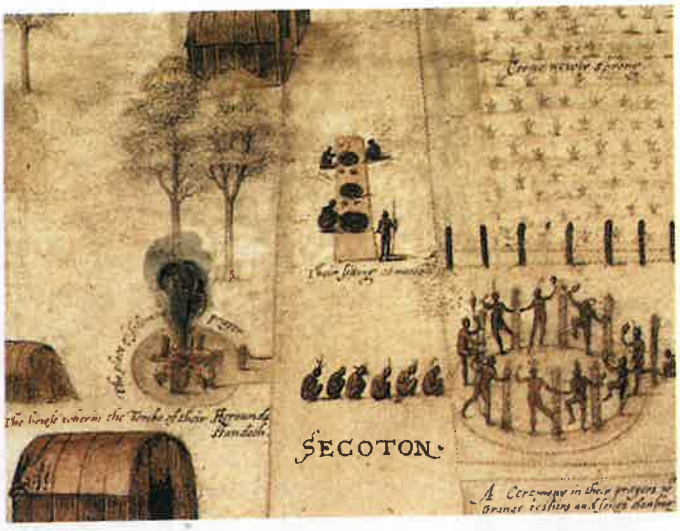




The Native population of North America at the time of first contact with Europeans consisted of numerous peoples and nations with their own languages, religious beliefs, and economic and social structures. This map gives a sense of the large number of nations. By necessity, it leaves many out and includes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

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.





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.

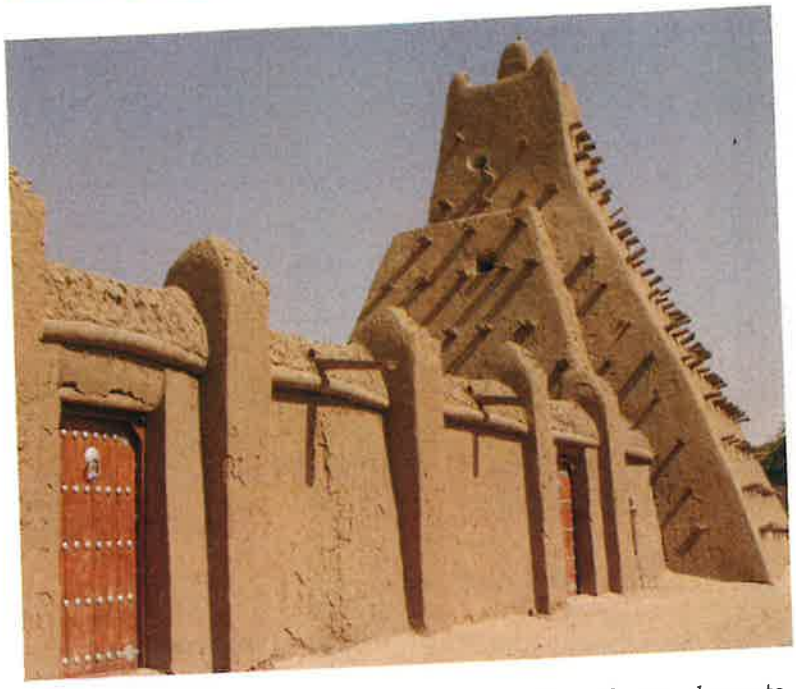
Some parts of West Africa were ruled by large empires. Gaining power in the thirteenth century, the Mali empire became the largest in West Africa, with major cities at Jenne, Gao, and Timbuktu. To the south was the smaller kingdom of Benin, in what is now Nigeria. Its capital, Edo, was an imposing city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

Economics and Trade in West Africa

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.

(*Left*) A Catawba map illustrates the differences between Native American and European conceptions of land. The map depicts not possession of a specific territory, but trade and diplomatic connections among various Native groups and with Charleston and Virginia. The map, inscribed on deerskin, was originally presented by Catawba chiefs to Governor Francis Nicholson of South Carolina in 1721. This copy, the only version that survives, was made by the governor for the authorities in London. It added English labels that conveyed what the Catawbas had related orally with the gift. (*Right*) *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.



Sankore University in Timbuktu, in present-day Mali, was one of the great Islamic centers of learning in fourteenth-century Africa.

Religion in West Africa

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.



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.

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

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.

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.

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.



Religion in Western Europe

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.

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

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.

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.

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.

CONTACT

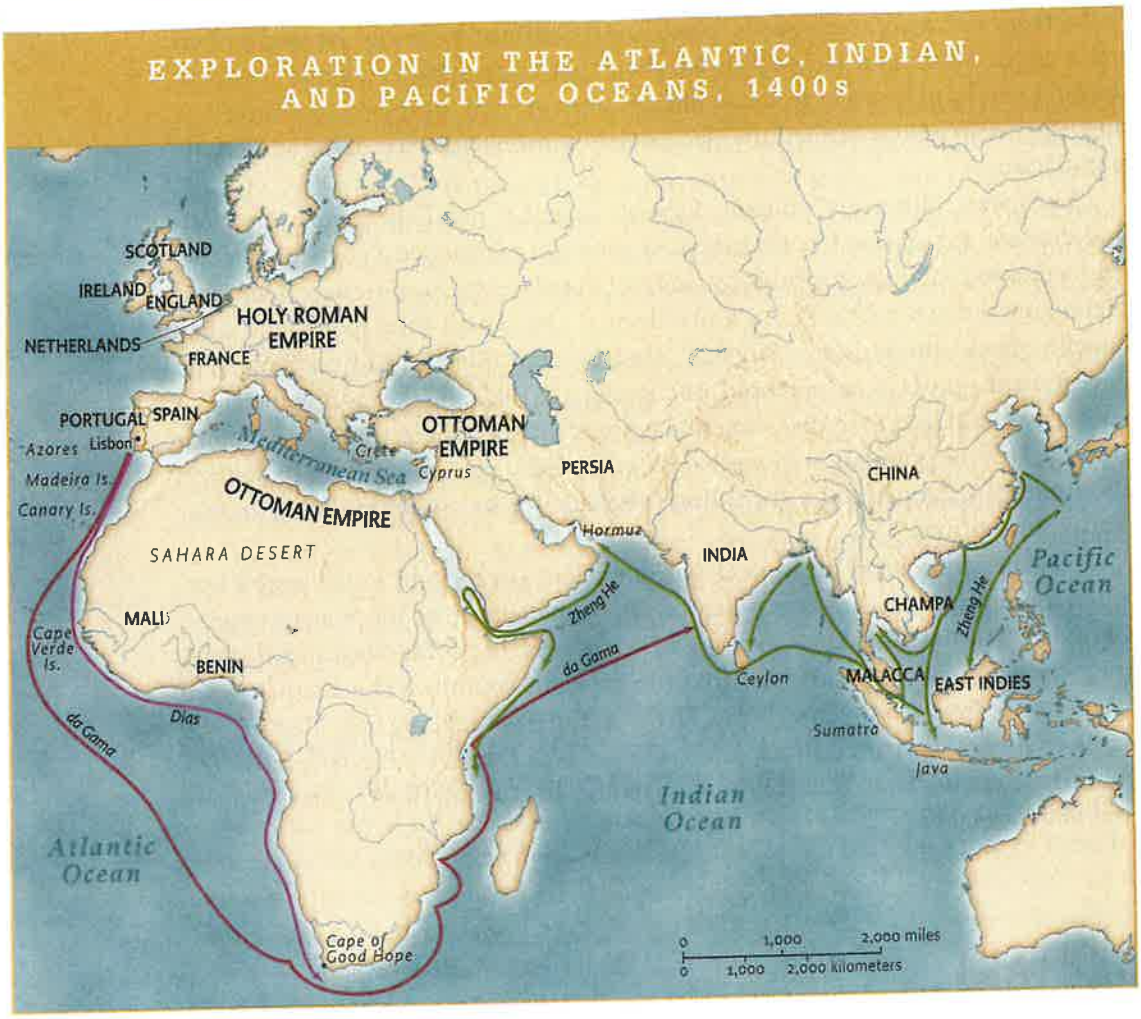
Chinese and Portuguese Navigation

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.

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

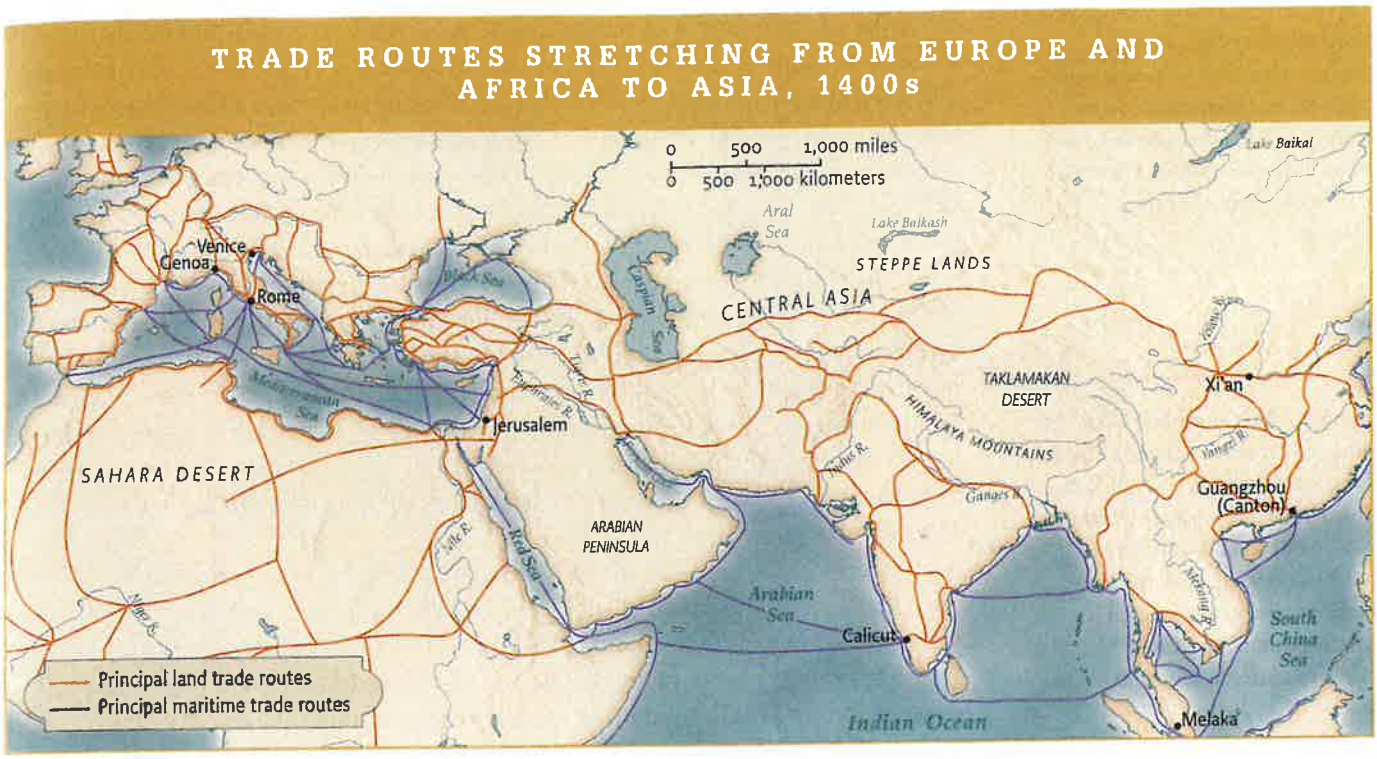


In the fifteenth century, the world known to Europeans was limited to Europe and parts of Africa and Asia. Explorers from Portugal sought to find a sea route to the East in order to circumvent the Mediterranean and especially the Ottoman Empire.

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.

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



Europeans longed to trade with Asia and Africa without having to pass through the Italian city-states and Middle Eastern empires that controlled the overland route.

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.

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.

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 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.

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.

conquistadores 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.

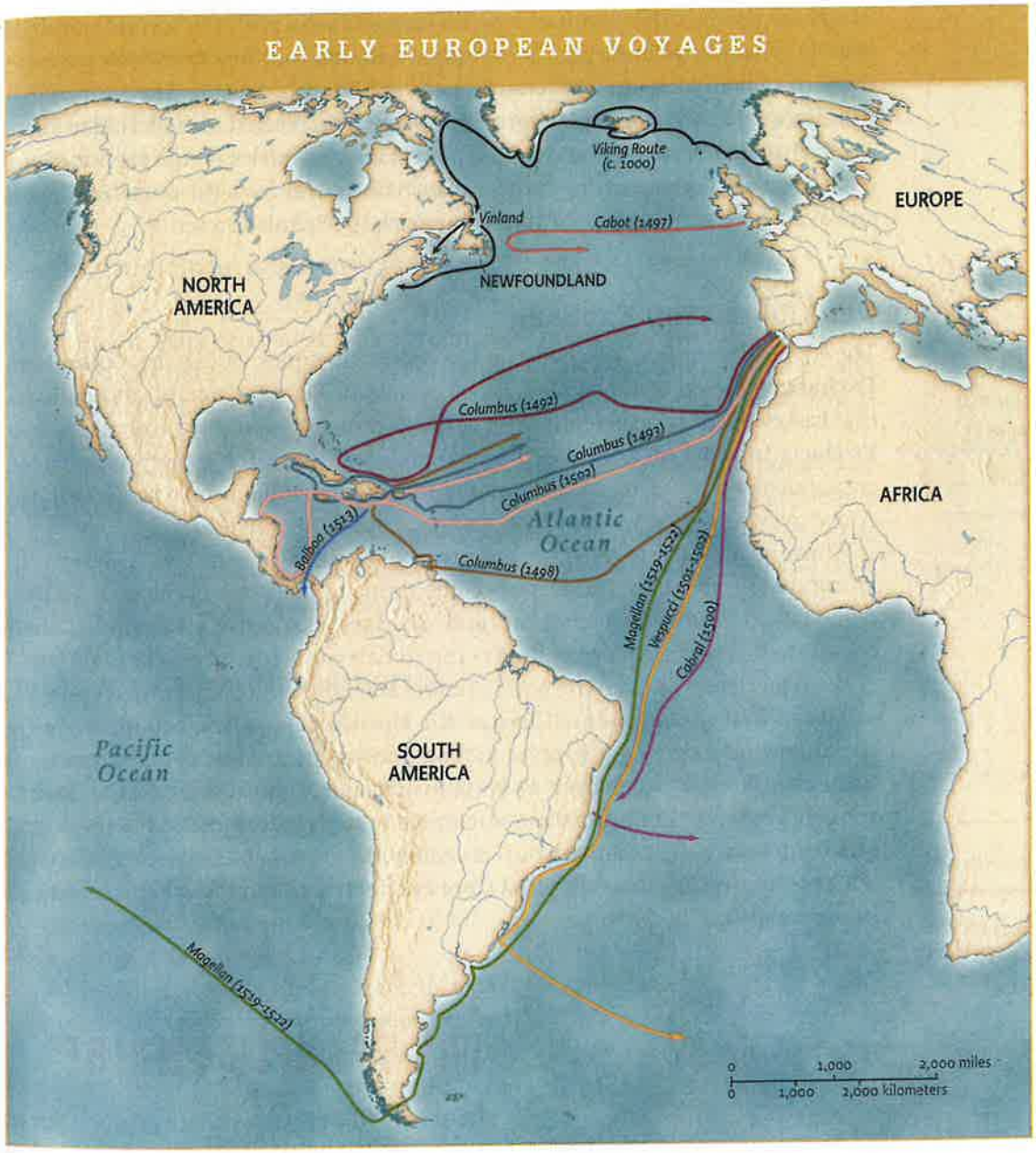


Engraving from the *Florentine Codex* of the forces of Cortés marching on Tenochtitlán and assaulting the city with cannon fire. The difference in military technology between the Spanish and Aztecs is evident. The codex (a volume formed by stitching together manuscript pages) was prepared under the supervision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

Exploration and Conquest

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



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

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.

Tenochtitlán The capital city of the Aztec empire.

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

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

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

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.

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.



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

THE SPANISH EMPIRE

By the middle of the sixteenth century, Spain had established an immense empire that reached from Europe to the Americas and Asia. The Atlantic and Pacific oceans, once barriers separating different parts of the world, now became highways for the exchange of goods and the movement of people.

The Spanish empire included the most populous parts of the Americas and the regions richest in natural resources. Stretching from the Andes Mountains of South America through present-day Mexico and the Caribbean and into Florida and the southwestern United States, Spain's empire

exceeded in size the Roman empire of the ancient world. Its center in North America was Mexico City, a magnificent capital built on the ruins of the Aztec city of Tenochtitlán that boasted churches, hospitals, and the Americas' first university. Unlike the English and French empires, Spanish America was essentially an urban civilization. For centuries, its great cities far outshone any urban centers in other colonies and most of those in Europe.

Governing Spanish America

To rule this vast empire, the Spanish crown established a system of government in which authority originated with the king and flowed downward through the Council of the Indies—the main body in Spain for colonial administration—and then to local officials in America. The Catholic Church also played a significant role in the administration of the Spanish colonies.

Successive kings kept elected assemblies out of Spain's empire. Royal officials were generally appointees from Spain, rather than *criollos*, or **creoles**, as persons born of European ancestry in the colonies were called. Given the vastness of the empire, local municipal councils, universities, merchant organizations, and craft guilds enjoyed considerable independence.

creoles Persons born in the Americas of European ancestry.

hacienda Large-scale farm in the Spanish empire worked by Native American laborers.

Colonists in Spanish America

"The maxim of the conqueror must be to settle," said one Spanish official. The government barred non-Spaniards from emigrating to its American domains, as well as non-Christian Spaniards, including Jews and Moors. But the opportunity for social advancement drew numerous colonists from Spain—a total of 750,000 in the three centuries of Spain's colonial rule. Some came as laborers, craftsmen, and soldiers. Others came as government officials, priests, and minor aristocrats, all ready to direct the manual work of Indians, since living without having to labor was a sign of noble status.

Although persons of European birth, called *peninsulares*, stood atop the social hierarchy, they never constituted more than a tiny proportion of the population of Spanish America. Native inhabitants always outnumbered European colonists. The Spanish forced tens of thousands of Indians to work in gold and silver mines, which supplied the empire's wealth, and on large-scale farms, or ***haciendas***, controlled by Spanish landlords. Yet large areas remained under Native control. Like the French empire and unlike the English, Spanish authorities granted Indians certain rights within colonial society.

In contrast, Spaniards seldom questioned the enslavement of Africans. From the early 1500s, the Spanish demand for enslaved labor fueled the Atlantic slave trade. The Spanish crown ordered wives of colonists to join them in



This rock painting drawn by a Native artist in southwestern Texas depicts the coming of the Spanish, including a church and horses. The handprint is the artist's signature.

America and demanded that single men marry. But with the population of Spanish women in the colonies low at first, many single Spanish men married and had children with Native women. By 1600, ***mestizos*** (persons of mixed origin) made up a large part of the urban population of Spanish America. Over time, Spanish America evolved into a hybrid culture, part Spanish, part Native, and in some areas part African, but with a single official faith, language, and governmental system (although Native languages survived). In 1531, a Nahua Indian, Juan Diego, reported seeing a vision of the Virgin Mary, speaking the Nahuatl language, near a Mexican village. The Virgin of Guadalupe would come to be revered by millions as a symbol of the mixing of Native and Spanish cultures, and later of the modern nation of Mexico.

mestizos Spanish word for persons of mixed Native American and European ancestry.

Christianity and Conquest

What allowed one nation, the seventeenth-century Dutch legal thinker Hugo Grotius wondered, to claim possession of lands that "belonged to someone else"? This question rarely occurred to most of the Europeans who crossed the Atlantic in the wake of Columbus's voyage, or their monarchs. Following the exclusivist mandate of Christianity, they expected the people they encountered in America to abandon their own beliefs and traditions and embrace those of the newcomers.

Ninety-Five Theses The list of moral grievances against the Catholic Church by Martin Luther, a German priest, in 1517.

Europeans brought with them not only a long history of using violence to subdue their internal and external foes but also a missionary zeal to spread the benefits of their own civilization to others while reaping the rewards of empire. To legitimize Spain's claim to rule the Americas, a year after Columbus's first voyage, Pope Alexander VI divided the non-Christian world between Spain and Portugal, declaring that most of the Americas belonged to Spain and most of Africa belonged to Portugal. Of course, the people who lived in those places did not agree. The pope justified this pronouncement by requiring Spain and Portugal to spread Catholicism.

Young Woman with a Harpsichord, a colorful painting from Mexico in the early 1700s, depicts an upper-class woman. Her dress, jewelry, fan, the cross around her neck, and the musical instrument all emphasize that while she lives in the colonies, she embodies the latest in European fashion and culture.



European Christians became religious rivals in the sixteenth century, when the Protestant Reformation divided the Catholic Church. In 1517, Martin Luther, a German priest, posted his ***Ninety-Five Theses***, which accused the church of worldliness and corruption. Luther wanted to cleanse the church of abuses such as the sale of indulgences (official dispensations forgiving sins). He insisted that all believers should read the Bible for themselves, rather than relying on priests to interpret it for them. His call for reform led to the rise of new Protestant churches independent of Rome and plunged Europe into more than a century of religious and political strife.

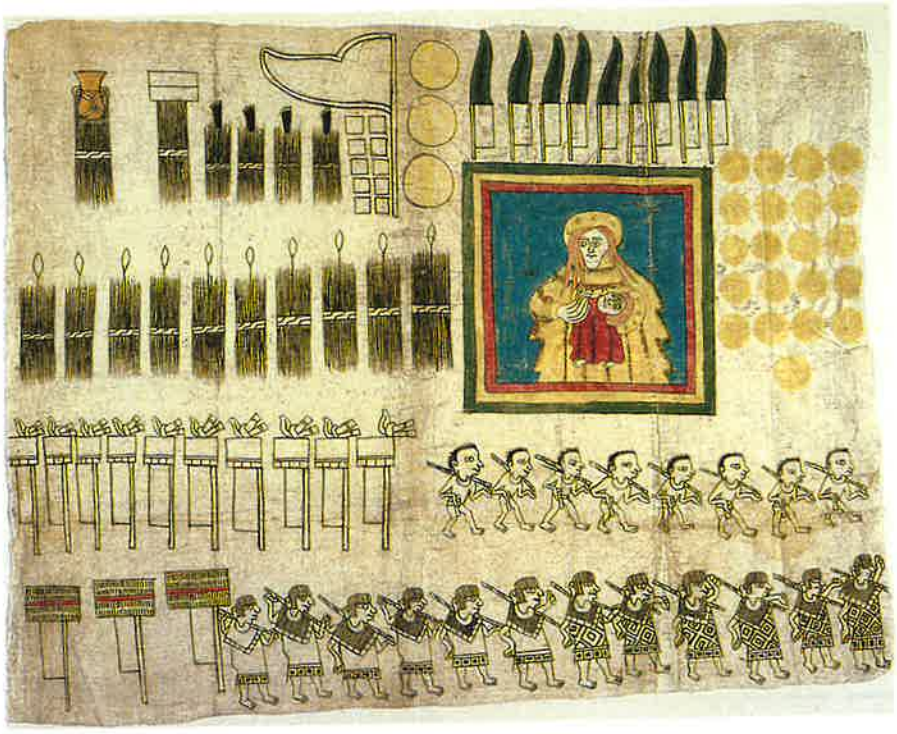
Spain, the most powerful bastion of orthodox Catholicism, redoubled its efforts to convert Indians to the "true faith." National glory and religious mission went hand in hand. Convinced of the superiority of Catholicism to all other religions, Spain insisted that the primary goal of colonization was to save Indians from heathenism and prevent them from falling under the sway of Protestantism. Lacking the later concept of "race" as an unchanging, inborn set of qualities and abilities, many Spanish writers insisted that Indians could in time be "brought up" to the level of European civilization. To them, this transition would require not only the destruction of Native political structures but also a transformation of their economic and spiritual lives.

Native Rights and Freedoms in the Spanish Empire

Spaniards argued over the balance between conversion and profits. The *conquistadores* often used brutal violence to force Native men and women to submit to them, violence that many Christians found inconsistent with the mandate to convert and "civilize" Indians.

As early as 1537, Pope Paul III, who hoped to see Indians become devout subjects of Catholic monarchs, outlawed their enslavement (an edict never extended to apply to Africans). His decree declared Indians to be "truly men," who must not be "treated as dumb beasts." Starting in the 1520s, the Dominican priest **Bartolomé de Las Casas** wrote accounts of brutal Spanish atrocities toward the Native people of the Caribbean islands. Las Casas freed his own Indian slaves and began to preach against the injustices of Spanish rule.

Las Casas narrated in shocking detail the burning alive of men, women, and children and the imposition of forced labor. The Indians, he wrote, had been "totally deprived of their freedom and were put in the harshest, fiercest, most terrible servitude and captivity." Las Casas insisted that Spain had no grounds on which to deprive them of their lands and liberty. "The entire human race is



An illustration from the Huexotzinco Codex (1531) depicts Mexicans providing products and services as taxes to the Spanish conquerors. The banner of the Virgin Mary and baby Jesus reflects the early spread of Christianity. The people of Huexotzinco, a town near Mexico City, had aided Hernán Cortés in his conquest of the Aztec empire. The codex was part of a successful lawsuit, endorsed by Cortés, in which the Indians challenged excessive taxation by colonial officials.



A benign view of Spanish colonization. This engraving from a 1621 book depicts Spanish missionaries bringing Christianity to Natives while priests do construction work. A fortified colonial town is visible in the background.

Bartolomé de Las Casas A Catholic missionary who renounced the Spanish practice of coercively converting Indians and advocated their better treatment.

***repartimiento* system** Spanish labor system under which Indians were legally free and able to earn wages but were also required to perform a fixed amount of labor yearly.

Black Legend Idea that the Spanish empire was more oppressive toward Indians than other European empires.

one," he proclaimed, and he called for Indians to enjoy "all guarantees of liberty and justice" from the moment they became subjects of Spain. "Nothing is certainly more precious in human affairs, nothing more esteemed," he wrote, "than freedom."

Largely because of Las Casas's efforts, Spain in 1542 issued a proclamation that became known as the New Laws, commanding that Indians no longer be enslaved. And the government established the ***repartimiento* system**, whereby Native towns were required to provide a fixed amount of labor each year to Spanish mines or farms. As tributary towns, they were ruled by Native leaders and lived according to their own laws and customs, as long as they paid their annual tribute.

Las Casas's writings, translated into several European languages, contributed to the spread of the **Black Legend**—the image of Spain as a uniquely brutal and exploitative colonizer. In reality, all empires were highly exploitative. But the Black Legend would provide a potent justification for other European powers to challenge Spain's predominance in the Americas.

Exploring North of Mexico

The hope of finding a new kingdom of gold soon led Spanish explorers north. In 1508, Spain established the first permanent colony in what is now the United States. That first colony was on the island of Puerto Rico, now a U.S. "commonwealth." Juan Ponce de León sent a considerable amount of Puerto Rican gold to Spain, while keeping some for himself. In 1513, he embarked for Florida, in search of wealth, slaves, and a fountain of eternal youth, only to be repelled by Calusa Indians. In 1528, another Spanish expedition landed in Florida, but the men became separated from their ships, and only four of them made it back to Mexico. For seven years, the four survivors wandered through the lands of Native peoples, from Florida to the desert of the Southwest and northern Mexico. One, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, wrote an account of his adventures.



Spanish *conquistadores* murdering Indians at Cuzco, in Peru. The Dutch-born engraver Theodor de Bry and his sons illustrated ten volumes about the exploration of the Americas published between 1590 and 1618. A Protestant, de Bry created vivid images that helped to spread the Black Legend of Spain as a uniquely cruel colonizer.

One of the four survivors was an enslaved African named Esteban. After walking all the way to Mexico with Cabeza de Vaca in 1536, Esteban returned north, leading the expedition of Friar Marcos de Niza. Esteban went farther north than Niza, becoming the first African and first non-Indian to explore northern Mexico, Arizona, and New Mexico.

In the late 1530s and 1540s, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo explored the Pacific coast as far north as present-day Oregon, and expeditions led by Hernando de Soto, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, and others marched through the Gulf region and the Southwest, fruitlessly searching for gold. Coronado followed Esteban's path to the interior of the continent and became the first European to encounter the immense herds of bison that roamed the Great Plains. The armies led by Coronado and de Soto spread devastation among Native communities. But they were unsuccessful in their quest for riches, and most of the men—including de Soto—did not make it out alive.



In this engraving, sixteenth-century Timucuas, Native people of northern Florida, are transporting food they have grown to the public storehouse.

Florida and the Spanish

Spain hoped to establish a military base in present-day Florida to combat pirates who threatened the treasure fleet that each year sailed from Havana for Europe loaded with gold and silver from Mexico and Peru. Spain also wanted to forestall French incursions in the area. In 1565, Philip II of Spain authorized Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to lead a colonizing expedition to Florida. Menéndez destroyed a small outpost at Fort Caroline, which a group of Huguenots (French Protestants) had established in 1562 near present-day Jacksonville.

The Spanish did not fulfill their ambitions for Florida. After destroying the French Fort Caroline, they established forts from present-day Miami to the Chesapeake Bay. Yet by 1574, Native people had destroyed almost all of these attempts. Only St. Augustine, Florida, survived. It remains the oldest site in the continental United States continuously inhabited by European settlers and their descendants.

Having found no gold and little to attract Spanish settlers, the crown invited Franciscan missionaries to establish missions, including among the Guales north of St. Augustine in what is now Georgia, the Timucuas in central Florida, and the Apalachees in the Florida panhandle. Many Native communities were interested in the missionaries, who brought useful goods and had compelling spiritual ideas that the inclusivist nature of Indigenous religions allowed them to incorporate. Some Native leaders or communities were able to increase their power in the region by establishing permanent connections to Spanish trade. But people who lived in or near missions also found they were subjected to violence and to European diseases that wreaked havoc on the crowded communities.



By around 1600, New Spain had become a vast empire stretching from the modern-day American Southwest through Mexico and Central America and into the former Inca kingdom in South America. This map shows early Spanish exploration, especially in the present-day United States.

In some places, Indians and the Spanish reached compromises that allowed the missionaries to stay. In others, the Native people threw them out. Beginning in 1597, Guale Indians planned and launched an attack on missions in their province. One Guale explained the attacks by noting that the missionaries had sought to eliminate "our dances, banquets, feasts, celebrations, and wars. . . . They persecute our old people by calling them witches." Guales and their allies ransacked missions and killed missionaries. In general, Florida remained a Native-dominated place. As late as 1763, Spanish Florida had only 4,000 inhabitants of European descent.

The Southwest and the Spanish

Half a century after Coronado's failed expedition, the Spanish returned to the pueblos on the Rio Grande to attempt a permanent colony called New Mexico. In 1598, Juan de Oñate led a group from Mexico of several hundred soldiers, Franciscan missionaries, and colonists.

Rather than establishing their own town and farms, Oñate and his followers demanded that Native people feed and work for them, killing and raping those who did not comply. Fighting back was difficult because the Puebloans were not one people but instead inhabited over eighty independent towns and spoke six different languages. Finally, the people of the pueblo of Acoma had enough, and they killed a Spanish patrol that included Oñate's nephew. In the ensuing battle, Oñate's forces killed an estimated 800 of Acoma's men, women, and children.

In response to protests from the missionaries and Native leaders of the Pueblos, authorities in Mexico City in 1606 deposed and punished Oñate. In 1609, they ordered the New Mexican colonists to establish a separate town and grow their own food. In the future, only married soldiers were to be stationed in New Mexico to reduce the likelihood of sexual violence. Founded around 1610, the colonial town of Santa Fe would be the first permanent European settlement in the Southwest, but it remained a small settlement, surrounded by Native peoples.

The Pueblo Revolt

Some Native people left their pueblos to build new towns farther from the Spanish. Others saw benefits in Spanish alliance, including new tools and crops and the protection of Spanish forces against their Apache and Navajo enemies. Many also found Catholicism appealing and accepted baptism, adding Jesus and the

Catholic saints to their already rich spiritual pantheon. But as the Inquisition—the persecution of non-Catholics—became more intense in Spain, so did the friars' efforts to stamp out traditional religious ceremonies. By burning Native sacred objects and threatening Native religious leaders, the missionaries alienated far more Indians than they converted. A prolonged drought that began around 1660 and Navajo and Apache attacks added to local discontent.

The Pueblo peoples came together under the inspiring leadership of a man named Popé. A religious leader born around 1630 in San Juan Pueblo, Popé was one of forty-seven Indians arrested in 1675 for practicing their traditional religion. Four of the prisoners were hanged, and the rest, including Popé, were brought to Santa Fe to be publicly whipped. After this brutal humiliation, Popé returned home and began holding secret meetings in Pueblo communities.

Under Popé's leadership, the Puebloans joined in a coordinated uprising. Some 2,000 warriors destroyed farms and missions, killing 400 colonists, including 21 Franciscan missionaries. The Spanish had no choice but to abandon the colony. Within a few weeks, a century of colonization in the area had been destroyed. The Pueblo Indians had reestablished the freedom lost through Spanish conquest.

The **Pueblo Revolt** was a complete victory over the Spanish. The victors turned with a vengeance on symbols of European culture, uprooting fruit trees, destroying cattle, burning churches and images of Christ and the Virgin Mary, and wading into rivers to wash away their Catholic baptisms. They rebuilt their places of worship, called *kivas*, and resumed sacred dances the friars had banned. "The God of the Spaniards," they shouted, "is dead."

The Pueblo Revolt inspired revolts across northern Mexico. Native towns that had experienced similar troubles with the Spanish struck back in attempts to regain their independence. Apache bands took advantage of the fighting to expand their raids across the region. While the Spanish never gave up their ambitions to colonize northern Mexico, their hold on it was always tenuous.

Yet at the same time, cooperation among the Rio Grande Pueblos evaporated. By the end of the 1680s, warfare had broken out among several Pueblos, even as Apache and Navajo raids continued. Popé died around 1690. In 1692, the Spanish launched an invasion that eventually reestablished the colony of New Mexico. Some communities welcomed them back as a source of military protection. And Spain had learned a lesson. In the eighteenth century, colonial authorities adopted a more tolerant attitude toward traditional religious practices and made fewer demands on Indian labor.



St. Anthony and the Infant Jesus, painted on a tanned bison hide by a Franciscan priest in New Mexico in the early eighteenth century. This was not long after the Spanish reconquered the area, from which they had been driven by the Pueblo Revolt.

Pueblo Revolt Uprising in 1680 by allied Pueblo led by Popé that temporarily drove Spanish colonists out of New Mexico.

THE FRENCH AND DUTCH EMPIRES

If the Black Legend inspired a sense of superiority among Spain's European rivals, the precious metals that poured from the Americas into the Spanish treasury aroused the desire to try to match Spain's success. The establishment of Spain's American empire transformed the world economy. The Atlantic replaced the overland route to Asia as the major axis of global trade. During the seventeenth century, the French, Dutch, and English established colonies in



Acoma, the "sky city," as it appeared in 1904.

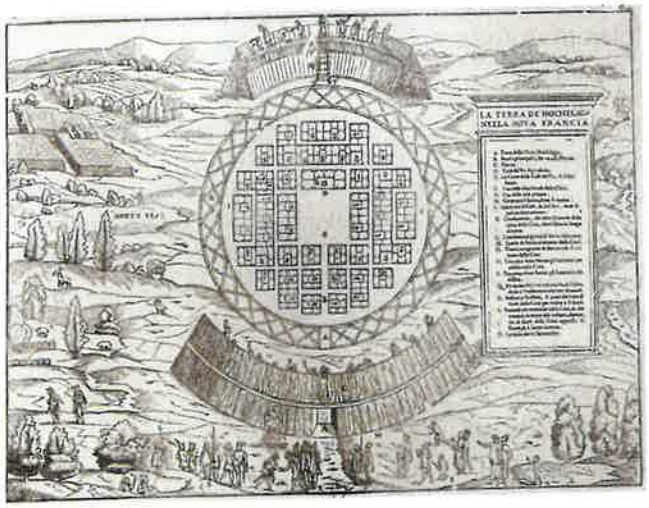
North America. England's mainland colonies, to be discussed in the next chapter, consisted of agricultural settlements with growing populations whose hunger for land produced incessant conflict with Native peoples. New France and New Netherland were primarily commercial ventures that, like Spanish Florida and New Mexico, never attracted large numbers of colonists. Because French and Dutch settlements were more dependent than the English on Indians as trading partners and military allies, Native Americans exercised more power and enjoyed more freedom in their relations with these settlements.

French Colonization

The French initially aimed to find gold and to locate a Northwest Passage—a sea route connecting the Atlantic to the Pacific. But early French explorers were soon disappointed. For most of the sixteenth century, only explorers, fishermen, pirates preying on Spanish shipping farther south, and, as time went on, fur traders visited the eastern coast of North America. French efforts to establish settlements in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia failed, beset by Native resistance and inadequate planning and financing. Not until the seventeenth century would France, as well as England and the Netherlands, establish permanent settlements in North America.

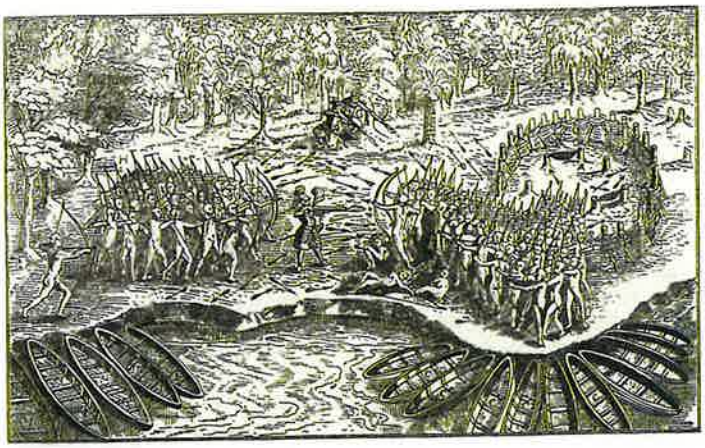
The explorer Samuel de Champlain, sponsored by a French fur-trading company, founded Quebec in 1608. In 1673, the Jesuit priest Jacques Marquette and the fur trader Louis Joliet located the Mississippi River, and by 1681 René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, had descended to the Gulf of Mexico, claiming the entire Mississippi River valley for France. On European maps, New France eventually formed a giant arc along the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers. But the colonial population would remain small and dependent on Native alliances.

By 1700, the number of white inhabitants of New France had risen to only 19,000. With a far larger population than England, France sent many fewer emigrants to the Western Hemisphere. The government at home feared that significant emigration would undermine France's role as a European great power and might compromise its effort to establish trade and good relations with Native Americans. Unfavorable reports about America circulated widely in France. Canada was widely depicted as an icebox, a land of "savage" Indians, a dumping ground for criminals. Most French who left their homes during these years preferred to settle in the Netherlands, Spain, or the West Indies. The revocation in 1685 of the Edict of Nantes, which had extended religious toleration to French Protestants, led well over 100,000 Huguenots to flee their country. But they were not welcome in New France, which the crown desired to remain an outpost of Catholicism.



An engraving of the Wendat town Hochelaga, site of modern-day Montreal, from a book about exploration by Giovanni Battista Ramusio, an Italian geographer, published in 1556.

The Fur Trade



In this engraving, which appears in Samuel de Champlain's 1613 account of his voyages, Champlain, wearing European armor and brandishing an arquebus (an advanced weapon of the period), stands at the center of this 1609 pitched battle between his Algonquin, Innu, and Wendat allies and their Mohawk enemies.

The viability of New France, with its small white population and emphasis on the fur trade, depended on friendly relations with Native nations. The French and their Native allies worked out a complex series of military, commercial, and diplomatic connections. The Jesuits, a missionary religious order, did seek, with some success, to convert Indians to Catholicism. Unlike Spanish missionaries in early New Mexico, they allowed Christian Indians to retain a high degree of independence and much of their traditional social structure, and they did not seek to suppress all traditional religious practices. Indians who converted to Catholicism were promised full membership in French colonial society. In fact, however, it was far rarer for Natives to adopt French ways than for French settlers to become attracted to the "free" life of the Indians.

Native Americans required French traders to follow their rules. The first French trading partners along the St. Lawrence River were Innus (Montagnais), Algonquins, and Wendats (Hurons), who recruited French trade and demanded good prices for furs. (The Algonquins were a nation within the large linguistic grouping known as Algonquian.) When the French established Quebec, it was on Algonquin land and because Algonquin leaders invited them. As Champlain recognized, "my enterprises and discoveries . . . seem to be possible only through their means." These allies of the French also insisted that the French join their military alliance against their enemy: the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) League, discussed previously.

It is no surprise that Native Americans wanted European trade. They incorporated European goods into their existing ways of life, using copper kettles as well as ceramic pots and wielding guns for some tasks and bows and arrows for others. Some Native women married the single French men who came to New France and incorporated them and their children into Native communities.

The Dutch Empire

In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman employed by the Dutch East India Company, sailed into New York Harbor searching for a Northwest Passage to Asia. Hudson and his crew became the first Europeans to sail up the river that now bears his name. Hudson did not find a route to Asia, but he did encounter Lenapes, Munsees, and Mahicans more than willing to trade furs for European goods. He claimed the area for the Netherlands, and his voyage planted the seeds for what would eventually become a great metropolis, New York City. When the powerful Mohawks of the Haudenosaunee League learned about the Dutch, they and their Mahican allies persuaded them that the most lucrative fur trade would be on the Hudson River near present-day Albany. By 1614, Dutch traders had established an outpost there at Fort Orange. Ten years later, the Dutch West India Company, which had been awarded a monopoly of Dutch trade with America, settled colonists on Manhattan Island.

These ventures formed one small part of the rise of the Dutch overseas empire. In the early seventeenth century, the Netherlands dominated international commerce, and Amsterdam was Europe's foremost shipping and banking center. The Dutch invented the joint stock company, a way of pooling financial resources and sharing the risk of maritime voyages, which proved central to the development of modern capitalism. With a population of only 2 million, the Netherlands established a far-flung empire that reached from Indonesia to South Africa and the Caribbean and temporarily wrested control of Brazil from Portugal.

Dutch Freedom

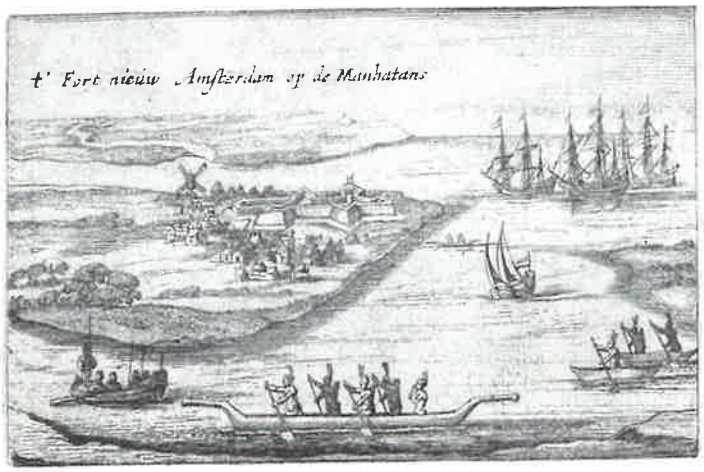
The Dutch prided themselves on their devotion to liberty. Indeed, in the early seventeenth century they enjoyed two freedoms not recognized elsewhere in Europe—freedom of the press and of private religious practice. Amsterdam became a haven for persecuted Protestants from all over Europe, including French Huguenots, German Calvinists, and those, like the Pilgrims, who desired to separate from the Church of England. Jews, especially those fleeing from Spain, also found refuge there. During the seventeenth century, the nation attracted about half a million migrants from elsewhere in Europe. Many of these newcomers helped to populate the Dutch overseas empire.

Freedom in New Netherland

Despite the Dutch reputation for cherishing freedom, New Netherland was hardly governed democratically. New Amsterdam, the main population center, was essentially a fortified military outpost controlled by appointees of the Dutch West India Company. Neither an elected assembly nor a town council, the basic unit of government at home, was established. In other ways, however, the colonists enjoyed more liberty, especially in religious matters, than their counterparts elsewhere in North America.

Dutch women enjoyed far more independence than in other colonies. Unlike in England and its colonies, under Dutch law, married women retained their separate legal identity. They could go to court, borrow money, and own property. Men's wills generally left their possessions to their widows and daughters as well as sons. Margaret Hardenbroeck, the widow of a New Amsterdam merchant, expanded her husband's business and became one of the town's richest residents after his death in 1661.

Enslaved men and women in New Netherland were able to establish some rights for themselves as well. The Dutch dominated the Atlantic slave trade in the early seventeenth century, and they introduced slaves into New Netherland. But in the 1640s a petition by a group of enslaved Africans persuaded the Dutch West India Company to institute a system of "half-freedom"—that is, they were required to pay an annual fee to the company and work for it when called upon, but they were given land to support their families. Enslaved people worked on family farms or for household or craft labor, not on large plantations as in the West Indies.



Coastal Native Americans were adept mariners. This detail from the earliest known engraving of New Amsterdam (1627) depicts Dutch and Lenape Indian boats in the harbor.

The Dutch and Religious Toleration

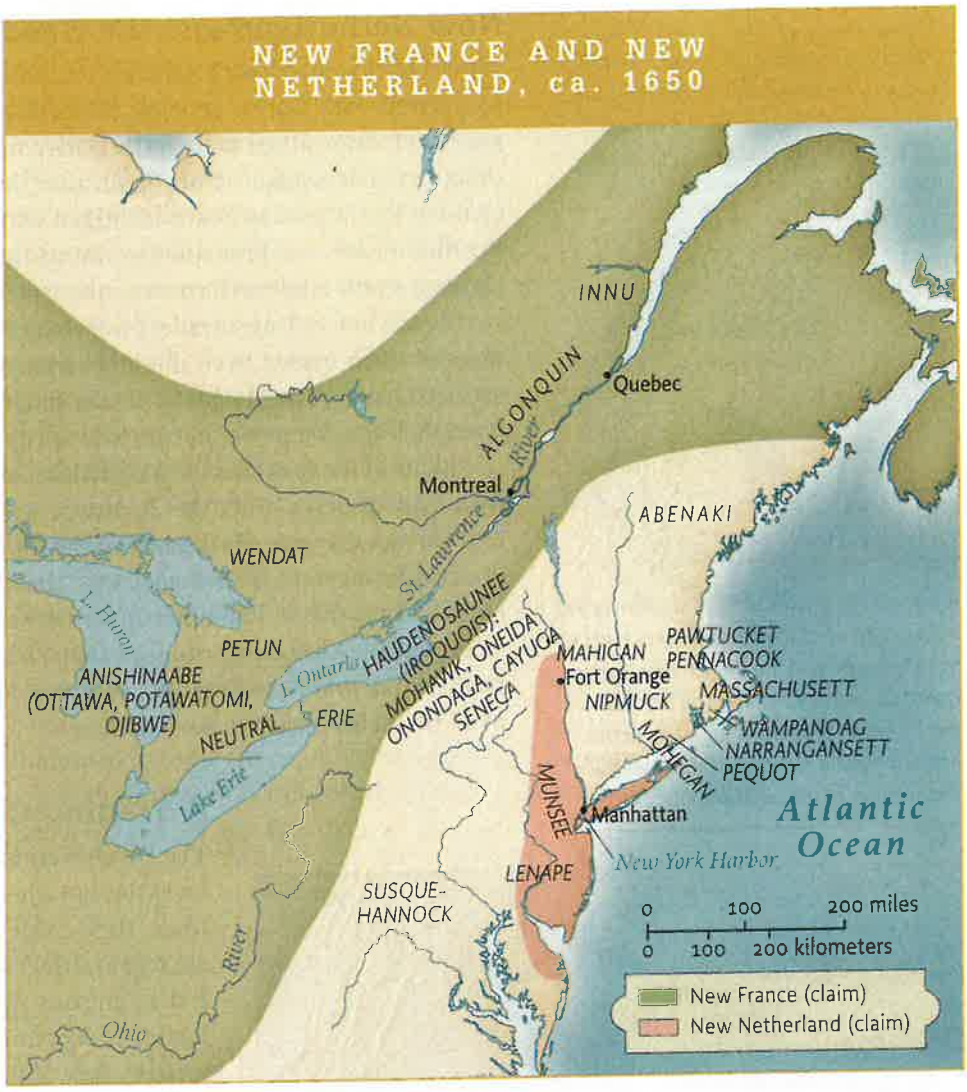
New Netherland attracted a remarkably diverse population. As early as the 1630s, at least eighteen languages were said to be spoken in New Amsterdam, whose residents included not only Dutch settlers but also Africans, Belgians, English, French, Germans, Irish, and Scandinavians.

Though Dutch settlers adhered to a wide variety of religions, it would be wrong to attribute modern ideas of religious freedom to either the Dutch government and company at home or the rulers of New Netherland. Both Holland and New Netherland had an official religion, the Dutch Reformed Church, one of the Protestant national churches to emerge from the Reformation. The Dutch commitment to freedom of conscience extended to religious devotion exercised in private, not public worship in nonestablished churches.

When Jews, Quakers, Lutherans, and others demanded the right to practice their religion openly, Governor Petrus Stuyvesant adamantly refused, seeing such diversity as a threat to a godly, prosperous order. Under Stuyvesant, the colony was more restrictive in its religious policies than the Dutch government at home. When twenty-three Jews arrived in New Amsterdam in 1654 from Brazil and the Caribbean, Stuyvesant ordered them to leave. But the company overruled him, noting that Jews at home had invested "a large amount of capital" in its shares.

As a result of Stuyvesant's policies, challenges arose to the limits on religious toleration. One, known as the Flushing Remonstrance, was a 1657 petition by a group of English settlers protesting the governor's order barring Quakers from living in the town of Flushing, on Long Island. Stuyvesant ordered several signers arrested for defying his authority.

Nonetheless, it is true that the Dutch dealt with religious pluralism in ways quite different from the practices common in other European empires. Religious dissent was tolerated—often grudgingly—as long as it did not involve open and public worship. No one in New Netherland was forced to attend the official church, nor was anyone executed for holding the wrong religious beliefs (as would happen in Puritan New England).



On European maps, New France and New Netherland were large land claims, but in reality they were a few trading posts and small settlements surrounded by Native nations.

New Netherland and the Haudenosaunee

The Dutch came to North America to trade, and they prided themselves on getting along well with Native peoples. Mindful of the Black Legend of Spanish cruelty, the Dutch determined to treat the Native inhabitants more humanely. Having won their own independence from Spain after the longest and bloodiest war of sixteenth-century Europe, many Dutch identified with American Indians as fellow victims of Spanish oppression. From the beginning, Dutch authorities recognized Native sovereignty over the land and forbade settlement in any area unless it had been purchased.

By the 1640s, Dutch traders were exporting tens of thousands of furs each year, most of them traded from the Mohawks, one of the five nations of the Haudenosaunee League. The Mohawks dominated trade at Fort Orange (later Albany). They used their market power in furs to set prices.

Some of the furs that the Mohawks sold were stolen from their enemies, seized from canoes descending the St. Lawrence River to the French posts of Montreal and Quebec. In the early decades of the 1600s, the Haudenosaunee expanded their domain far beyond their homelands, driving off or forcibly incorporating Native nations from the St. Lawrence River to the Carolinas and from the Atlantic to the Great Lakes. Although European maps labeled vast regions as New France, New Netherland, and New England, everyone knew that the Haudenosaunee were the most powerful people in the Northeast.

A map of the Americas from an illuminated manuscript produced in Le Havre, France, in 1613, depicting the French ambition to dominate North America. The precision of the coastline is unusual for maps of this era, although it reflects in large part the imagination of the cartographer.



A Trading Colony

The Dutch were good allies to the Mohawks because they had to be, but where they attempted settlements rather than trade, they created conflict with Native neighbors. In an attempt to attract settlers to North America, the Dutch West India Company promised colonists cheap livestock and free land after six years of labor. Eventually, it even surrendered its monopoly of the fur trade, opening this profitable commerce to all. The Dutch desire to attract colonists put New Amsterdam and its surrounding farms in conflict with Delawares (Lenapes and Munsees). The Dutch took more land than the Delawares had agreed to, and Dutch pigs and cattle damaged Delaware women's crops. Delawares in turn killed and ate the invasive livestock. New Netherland Governor Willem Kieft in 1639 demanded that Delawares start paying yearly tribute in corn. A group of Delawares noted that Kieft "must be a very mean fellow to come to live in this country without being invited by them, and now wish to compel them to give him their corn for nothing." A three-year conflict known as Kieft's War followed that resulted in the death of an estimated 1,000 Delawares and their allies and more than 200 colonists. Many Dutch settlers fled the colony, and the war dissuaded new settlers. By the mid-1660s, the European population of New Netherland numbered only 9,000. The colony remained a tiny backwater in the Dutch empire.

Borderlands and Empire in Early America

A **borderland**, according to one historian, is "a meeting place of peoples where geographical and cultural borders are not clearly defined." Numerous such places came into existence during the era of European conquest and settlement, including the contested region bordered by New Netherland, the Haudenosaunee League, New France, and France's Algonquian and Wendat allies. In a few areas, Europeans consolidated their control, and the power of nearby Native peoples weakened. But at the edges of empire, power was always unstable, and overlapping cultural interactions at the local level defied any single pattern. And beyond those edges, across most of North America, Native nations still held all of the power. The Spanish, French, Dutch, and English empires fought one another for dominance in various parts of the continent. Despite laws restricting commerce between empires, traders challenged boundaries, traversing lands claimed by both Europeans and Indians.

Despite their differences, European empires shared certain features. All brought Christianity, new forms of technology, new legal systems and family relations, and new forms of economic enterprise and wealth creation. They also brought savage warfare and disease. These empires studied and borrowed from one another, each lauding itself as superior to the others. From the outset, dreams of freedom—for Native peoples, for settlers, for the entire world through the spread of Christianity—inspired and justified colonization. And Native peoples acted on their own dreams of freedom to fight colonialism in some times and places and, in others, to forge economic and diplomatic relationships with Europeans that they hoped would advance their own people's sovereignty and prosperity.

borderland A place between or near recognized borders where no group of people has complete political control or cultural dominance.



The seal of New Netherland, adopted by the Dutch West India Company in 1630, suggests the centrality of the fur trade to the colony's prospects.

CHAPTER REVIEW AND AP® PRACTICE

REVIEW THE FOLLOWING:

1. Briefly explain the different global economies that Europeans participated in or created during the European age of exploration.
2. Evaluate the extent to which the following statement is accurate: "One of the most striking features of Indian societies at the time of the encounter with Europeans was their diversity."
3. Compare European and Native American worldviews. In your response, address TWO of the following: religion, land ownership, gender relations, OR notions of freedom.
4. Briefly explain the main factors fueling European exploration.
5. Evaluate the different economic and political systems of European powers in the age of exploration. In your response address TWO of the following nations: Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, OR France.
6. Evaluate the political, economic, and religious motivations behind the French, Dutch, and Spanish empires.

7. Briefly explain how the Black Legend affected the policies of Spain and ONE of the following: the Netherlands or France.

8. Briefly address how European settlers justified both the conquest of Native lands and the enslavement of their people.

9. Briefly address how Native Americans would have explained to Europeans their own views of freedom and desires for their relationships with Europeans.

10. Evaluate the extent to which Native Americans exercised more power in their relations with the Dutch and French than with the English.

KEY TERMS

Great League of Peace (p. 5)
reconquista (p. 12)
caravel (p. 13)
conquistadores (p. 16)
Tenochtitlán (p. 17)
Aztec (p. 17)
Columbian Exchange (p. 18)
creoles (p. 19)
hacienda (p. 19)
mestizos (p. 20)
Ninety-Five Theses (p. 20)
Bartolomé de Las Casas (p. 21)
repartimiento system (p. 22)
Black Legend (p. 22)
Pueblo Revolt (p. 27)
borderland (p. 33)

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following illustration that depicts Pueblo Grande in the fourteenth century.



A depiction of how one of the great cities of the Huhugam, today known as Pueblo Grande, may have looked at its height in the fourteenth century.

1. The illustration best serves as evidence that many Native American groups
   (A) participated in hunting and gathering for survival
   (B) had advanced irrigation and economic development
   (C) relied heavily on fishing for survival
   (D) were at constant war with neighboring tribes

2. Which of the following can be inferred about the peoples who inhabited this city from the illustration?
   (A) They led a mobile lifestyle
   (B) They were not religious or spiritual
   (C) They developed a complex society and a social hierarchy
   (D) They had not yet developed the capacity to cultivate maize

3. By 1600, which of the following most dramatically altered the lifestyle of the Pueblo peoples?
   (A) The Spanish exploration and conquest
   (B) The conflict with migrating tribes from the south (the Aztecs from Mexico)
   (C) The introduction of cattle
   (D) The development of more advanced agricultural techniques

Questions 4–6 refer to the following excerpt.

The Indians [of Hispaniola] were totally deprived of their freedom and were put in the harshest, fiercest, most horrible servitude and captivity which no one who has not seen it can understand. Even beasts enjoy more freedom when they are allowed to graze in the fields. But our Spaniards gave no such opportunity to Indians and truly considered them perpetual slaves. . . . When they fell ill, which was very frequently because they are a delicate people unaccustomed to such work, the Spaniards did not believe them and pitilessly called them lazy dogs and kicked and beat them; and when illness was apparent they sent them home as useless. . . . And this was the freedom, the good treatment and the Christianity the Indians received.

Bartolomé de Las Casas, Dominican priest, *History of the Indies*, 1528

4. Which of the following best describes the primary purpose of the excerpted document?
   (A) Advocating for French intervention against the Spanish
   (B) Promoting the spread of Christianity to the Indians
   (C) Encouraging the Spanish to stop the abuse of the Indians
   (D) Organizing the resistance of the Indians

5. Which of the following labor systems does Las Casas describe in the excerpt?
   (A) Serfdom
   (B) Chattel slavery
   (C) *Hacienda*
   (D) *Encomienda*

6. Which of the following is most useful in examining the point of view of Las Casas?
   (A) His vocation as a priest
   (B) His Spanish nationality
   (C) His gender
   (D) His economic status

Questions 7–8 refer to the following image from 1585.

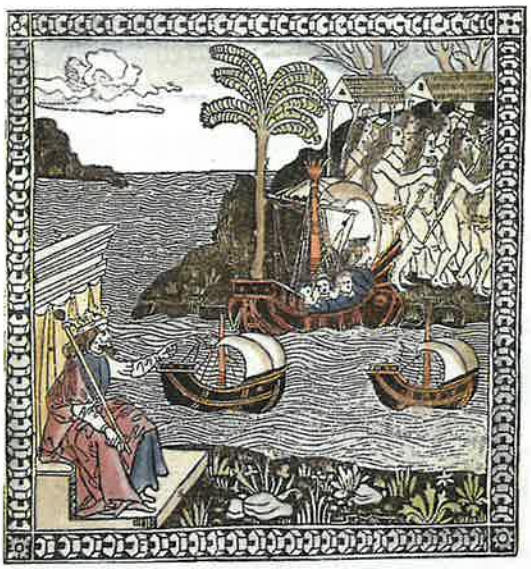


John White, drawing of natives of Ossomocomuck, 1585

7. Which of the following can be inferred by the activities depicted in the image?
   (A) Most Native American tribes worked with Europeans to survive
   (B) Native American tribes used advanced weaponry
   (C) Some Native Americans developed mixed economies based on agriculture, hunting, fishing, and gathering
   (D) Native American tribes developed complex agricultural societies

8. The activities depicted in the image are an example of which of the following?
   (A) Native societies adapting to their environments
   (B) Native Americans competing for resources with numerous tribes
   (C) Native Americans changing their lifestyle after contact with Europeans
   (D) Native American religious beliefs about nature

Questions 9–10 refer to the following image from 1493.



Columbus's Landfall, 1493 pamphlet

9. Which of the following best serves as the motivation for the activities depicted in the image?
   (A) Escaping religious persecution
   (B) Having an outlet for surplus population
   (C) Securing labor for the burgeoning economy
   (D) Searching for wealth

10. Which of the following was the most significant result from the activities depicted in the image?
   (A) The Columbian Exchange
   (B) Improvements in cartography
   (C) The increased power of certain American Indian tribes
   (D) The decreased power of Western European nations

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS



Andrés de Islas, *Four Racial Groups*, eighteenth century

1. Using the images on the previous page, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   (A) Briefly describe ONE economic cause of the development depicted in the image.
   (B) Briefly describe ONE social cause of the development depicted in the image.
   (C) Briefly describe ONE environmental cause of the development depicted in the image.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   (A) Briefly explain ONE cause of the Columbian Exchange.
   (B) Briefly explain ONE effect of the Columbian Exchange on the Americas.
   (C) Briefly explain ONE effect of the Columbian Exchange on Europe and/or Africa.

LONG ESSAY QUESTION

Evaluate the extent to which European contact changed the lives of Native Americans during 1492–1607.

Go to INQUIZITIVE

To see what you know—and learn what you've missed—with personalized feedback along the way.



HISTORIANS' VOICES

FROM RAMÓN A. GUTIÉRREZ, *WHEN JESUS CAME, THE CORN MOTHERS WENT AWAY: MARRIAGE, SEXUALITY, AND POWER IN NEW MEXICO, 1500–1846* (1991)

Roman Catholicism was the official state religion in Spain and its colonial empire in the 1600s. The particular Church-state relationship [was] known collectively as the *real patronato*. . . . With the conquest of America the *real patronato* was extended to the Indies, adding . . . the king's jurisdiction over military, judicial, legislative, and commercial matters. . . . The crown's power in the colonies was exercised throughout the colonial empire by [the bureaucracy].

FROM JULIANA BARR, *PEACE CAME IN THE FORM OF A WOMAN: INDIANS AND SPANIARDS IN THE TEXAS BORDERLANDS* (2007)

In the 1680s and 1690s, Caddoan [native American Indian people in Texas] greeting ceremonies had welcomed, purified, and honored Europeans. . . . [H]andfuls of Europeans came and went from Caddo lands as two very small populations, one Spanish and the other French, [and] established a long-term presence there. Throughout that time period, there was no question of who held the power to determine the terms by which the two groups would remain in the region—that power resided in the hands of the Caddoan leaders and their people.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION PRACTICE

Using these secondary-source excerpts, answer all parts of the questions below.

A. *Briefly describe ONE major difference between Gutiérrez's and Barr's historical interpretations of Spanish power in their colonial holdings.*

B. *Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1500 to 1700 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Gutiérrez's argument.*

C. *Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1500 to 1700 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Barr's argument.*



Major Problems in American History

Volume I: To 1877

Documents and Essays

FOURTH EDITION

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The Indians' Old World

NEAL SALISBURY

Scholars in history, anthropology, archaeology, and other disciplines have turned increasingly over the past two decades to the study of native peoples during the colonial period of North American history. The new work in Indian history has altered the way we think about the beginning of American history and about the era of European colonization. Historians now recognize that Europeans arrived not in a virgin land, but in one that was teeming with several million people. Beyond filling in some of the vast blanks left by previous generations' overlooking of Indians, much of this scholarship makes clear that Indians are integral to the history of colonial North America. In short, surveys of recent textbooks and of scholarly titles suggest that Native Americans are well on their way to being "mainstreamed" by colonial historians.

Substantive as this reorientation is, it remains limited. Beyond the problems inherent in representing Indian/non-Indian interactions during the colonial era lies the challenge of contextualizing the era itself. Despite opening chapters and lectures that survey the continent's native peoples and cultures, most historians continue to represent American history as having been set in motion by the arrival of European explorers and colonizers. They have yet to recognize the existence of a North American—as opposed to English or European—background for colonial history, much less to consider the implications of such a background

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Neal Salisbury. "The Indians' Old World: Native Americans and the Coming of Europeans," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, Vol. 53, No. 3. Reprinted by permission of William and Mary Quarterly.

for understanding the three centuries following Columbus's landfall. Yet a growing body of scholarship by archaeologists, linguists, and students of Native American expressive traditions recognizes 1492 not as a beginning but as a single moment in a long history utterly detached from that of Europe....

... [I]ndigenous North Americans exhibited a remarkable range of languages, economies, political systems, beliefs, and material cultures. But this range was less the result of their isolation from one another than of the widely varying natural and social environments with which Indians had interacted over millennia. What recent scholars of pre-colonial North America have found even more striking, given this diversity, is the extent to which native peoples' histories intersected one another.

At the heart of these intersections was exchange. By exchange is meant not only the trading of material goods but also exchanges across community lines of marriage partners, resources, labor, ideas, techniques, and religious practices. Longer-distance exchanges frequently crossed cultural and linguistic boundaries as well and ranged from casual encounters to widespread alliances and networks that were economic, political, and religious. For both individuals and communities, exchanges sealed social and political relationships. Rather than accumulate material wealth endlessly, those who acquired it gave it away, thereby earning prestige and placing obligations on others to reciprocate appropriately. And as we shall see, many goods were not given away to others in this world but were buried with individuals to accompany them to another....

By the twelfth century, agricultural production had spread over much of the Eastern Woodlands as well as to more of the Southwest. In both regions, ... more complex societies were emerging to dominate widespread exchange networks. In the Mississippi Valley and the Southeast, the sudden primacy of maize horticulture is marked archaeologically in a variety of ways—food remains, pollen profiles, studies of human bone (showing that maize accounted for 50 percent of people's diets), and in material culture by a proliferation of chert hoes, shell-tempered pottery for storing and cooking, and pits for storing surplus crops. These developments were accompanied by the rise of what archaeologists term "Mississippian" societies, consisting of fortified political and ceremonial centers and outlying villages. The centers were built around open plazas featuring platform burial mounds, temples, and elaborate residences for elite families. Evidence from burials makes clear the wide social gulf that separated commoners from elites. Whereas the former were buried in simple graves with a few personal possessions, the latter were interred in the temples or plazas along with many more, and more elaborate, goods such as copper ornaments, massive sheets of shell, and ceremonial weapons. Skeletal evidence indicates that elites ate more meat, were taller, performed less strenuous physical activity, and were less prone to illness and accident than commoners....

The largest, most complex Mississippian center was Cahokia, located not far from the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, near modern East St. Louis, Illinois, in the rich floodplain known as American Bottoms. By the twelfth century, Cahokia probably numbered 20,000 people and contained over 120 mounds within a five-square-mile area.... One key to Cahokia's rise was its combination of rich soil and nearby wooded uplands, enabling inhabitants

to produce surplus crops while providing an abundance and diversity of wild food sources along with ample supplies of wood for fuel and construction. A second key was its location, affording access to the great river systems of the North American interior.

Cahokia had the most elaborate social structure yet seen in North America. Laborers used stone and wooden spades to dig soil from "borrow pits" (at least nineteen have been identified by archaeologists), which they carried in wooden buckets to mounds and palisades often more than half a mile away. The volume and concentration of craft activity in shell, copper, clay, and other materials, both local and imported, suggests that specialized artisans provided the material foundation for Cahokia's exchange ties with other peoples. Although most Cahokians were buried in mass graves outside the palisades, their rulers were given special treatment. At a prominent location in Mound 72, the largest of Cahokia's platform mounds, a man had been buried atop a platform of shell beads. Accompanying him were several group burials: fifty young women, aged 18 to 23, four men, and three men and three women, all encased in uncommonly large amounts of exotic materials. As with the Natchez Indians observed by the French in Louisiana, Cahokians appear to have sacrificed individuals to accompany their leaders in the afterlife. Cahokia was surrounded by nine smaller mound centers and several dozen villages from which it obtained much of its food and through which it conducted its waterborne commerce with other Mississippian centers in the Midwest and Southeast....

At the outset of the twelfth century, the center of production and exchange in the Southwest was in the basin of the San Juan River at Chaco Canyon in New Mexico, where Anasazi culture achieved its most elaborate expression. A twelve-mile stretch of the canyon and its rim held twelve large planned towns on the north side and 200 to 350 apparently unplanned villages on the south. The total population was probably about 15,000. The towns consisted of 200 or more contiguous, multistoried rooms, along with numerous kivas (underground ceremonial areas), constructed of veneered masonry walls and log beams imported from upland areas nearly fifty miles distant. The rooms surrounded a central plaza with a great kiva. Villages typically had ten to twenty rooms that were decidedly smaller than those in the towns. Nearly all of Chaco Canyon's turquoise, shell, and other ornaments and virtually everything imported from Mesoamerica are found in the towns rather than the villages. Whether the goods were considered communal property or were the possessions of elites is uncertain, but either way the towns clearly had primacy. Villages buried their dead near their residences, whereas town burial grounds were apparently located at greater distances, although only a very few of what must have been thousands of town burials have been located by archaeologists. Finally, and of particular importance in the arid environment of the region, the towns were located at the mouths of side canyons where they controlled the collection and distribution of water run-off....

The canyon was the core of an extensive network of at least seventy towns or "outliers," as they are termed in the archaeological literature, and 5,300 villages located as far as sixty miles from the canyon.... Facilitating the movement

of people and goods through this network was a system of roads radiating outward from the canyon in perfectly straight lines, turning into stairways or footholds rather than circumventing cliffs and other obstacles....

When Europeans reached North America .... the continent's demographic and political map was in a state of profound flux. A major factor was the collapse of the great centers at Cahokia and Chaco Canyon and elsewhere in the Midwest and Southwest. Although there were significant differences between these highly centralized societies, each ran up against the capacity of the land or other resources to sustain it....

Such combinations of continuity and change, persistence and adaptability, arose from concrete historical experiences rather than a timeless tradition. The remainder of this [essay] indicates some of the ways that both the deeply rooted imperatives of reciprocity and exchange and the recent legacies of competition and upheaval informed North American history as Europeans began to make their presence felt.

Discussion of the transition from pre- to postcontact times must begin with the sixteenth century, when Indians and Europeans met and interacted in a variety of settings. When not slighting the era altogether, historians have viewed it as one of discovery or exploration, citing the achievements of notable Europeans in either anticipating or failing to anticipate the successful colonial enterprises of the seventeenth century. Recently, however, a number of scholars have been integrating information from European accounts with the findings of archaeologists to produce a much fuller picture of this critical period in North American history.

The Southeast was the scene of the most formidable attempts at colonization during the sixteenth century, primarily by Spain. Yet in spite of several expeditions to the interior and the undertaking of an ambitious colonizing and missionary effort, extending from St. Augustine over much of the Florida peninsula and north to Chesapeake Bay, the Spanish retained no permanent settlements beyond St. Augustine itself at the end of the century. Nevertheless, their explorers and missionaries opened the way for the spread of smallpox and other epidemic diseases over much of the area south of the Chesapeake and east of the Mississippi....

As in the Southeast, Spanish colonizers in the sixteenth-century Southwest launched several ambitious military and missionary efforts, hoping to extend New Spain's domain northward and to discover additional sources of wealth. The best-documented encounters of Spanish with Pueblos—most notably those of Coronado's expedition (1540–1542)—ended in violence and failure for the Spanish who, despite vows to proceed peacefully, violated Pueblo norms of reciprocity by insisting on excessive tribute or outright submission. In addition, the Spanish had acquired notoriety among the Pueblos as purveyors of epidemic diseases, religious missions, and slaving expeditions inflicted on Indians to the south, in what is now northern Mexico.

The Spanish also affected patterns of exchange throughout the Southwest. Indians resisting the spread of Spanish rule to northern Mexico stole horses and other livestock, some of which they traded to neighbors. By the end of the sixteenth century, a few Indians on the periphery of the Southwest were riding

horses, anticipating the combination of theft and exchange that would spread horses to native peoples throughout the region and, still later, the Plains and the Southeast. In the meantime, some Navajos and Apaches moved near the Rio Grande Valley, strengthening ties with certain pueblos that were reinforced when inhabitants of those pueblos sought refuge among them in the face or wake of Spanish *entradas*.

Yet another variation on the theme of Indian-European contacts in the sixteenth century was played out in the Northeast, where Iroquoian-speaking villagers on the Mississippian periphery and Archaic hunter-gatherers still further removed from developments in the interior met Europeans of several nationalities. At the outset of the century, Spanish and Portuguese explorers enslaved several dozen Micmacs and other Indians from the Nova Scotia–Gulf of St. Lawrence area. Three French expeditions to the St. Lawrence itself in the 1530s and 1540s followed the Spanish pattern by alienating most Indians encountered and ending in futility. Even as these hostile contacts were taking place, fishermen, whalers, and other Europeans who visited the area regularly had begun trading with natives....

What induced Indians to go out of their way to trap beaver and trade the skins for glass beads, mirrors, copper kettles, and other goods? Throughout North America since Paleo-Indian times, exchange in the Northeast was the means by which people maintained and extended their social, cultural, and spiritual horizons as well as acquired items considered supernaturally powerful. Members of some coastal Indian groups later recalled how the first Europeans they saw, with their facial hair and strange clothes and traveling in their strange boats, seemed like supernatural figures. Although soon disabused of such notions, these Indians and many more inland placed special value on the glass beads and other trinkets offered by the newcomers. Recent scholarship on Indians' motives in this earliest stage of the trade indicates that they regarded such objects as the equivalents of the quartz, mica, shell, and other sacred substances that had formed the heart of long-distance exchange in North America for millennia and that they regarded as sources of physical and spiritual well-being, on earth and in the afterlife. Indians initially altered and wore many of the utilitarian goods they received, such as iron axe heads and copper pots, rather than use them for their intended purposes. Moreover, even though the new objects might pass through many hands, they more often than not ended up in graves, presumably for their possessors to use in the afterlife. Finally, the archaeological findings make clear that shell and native copper predominated over the new objects in sixteenth-century exchanges, indicating that European trade did not suddenly trigger a massive craving for the objects themselves. While northeastern Indians recognized Europeans as different from themselves, they interacted with them and their materials in ways that were consistent with their own customs and beliefs.

By the late sixteenth century, the effects of European trade began to overlap with the effects of earlier upheavals in the northeastern interior. Sometime between Jacques Cartier's final departure in 1543 and Samuel de Champlain's arrival in 1603, the Iroquoian-speaking inhabitants of Hochelaga and Stadacona (modern Montreal and Quebec City) abandoned their communities. The communities were crushed militarily, and the survivors dispersed among both Iroquois and

Hurons. Whether the perpetrators of these dispersals were Iroquois and Huron is a point of controversy, but either way the St. Lawrence communities appear to have been casualties of the rivalry, at least a century old, between the two confederations as each sought to position itself vis-á-vis the French. The effect, if not the cause, of the dispersals was the Iroquois practice of attacking antagonists who denied them direct access to trade goods; this is consistent with Iroquois actions during the preceding two centuries and the century that followed.

The sudden availability of many more European goods, the absorption of many refugees from the St. Lawrence, and the heightening of tensions with the Iroquois help to explain the movement of most outlying Huron communities to what is now Simcoe County area of Ontario during the 1580s. This geographic concentration strengthened their confederacy and gave it the form it had when allied with New France during the first half of the seventeenth century. Having formerly existed at the outer margins of an arena of exchange centered in Cahokia, the Hurons and Iroquois now faced a new source of goods and power to the east.

The diverse native societies encountered by Europeans as they began to settle North America permanently during the seventeenth century were not static isolates lying outside the ebb and flow of human history. Rather, they were products of a complex set of historical forces, both local and wide ranging, both deeply rooted and of recent origin. Although their lives and worldviews were shaped by long-standing traditions of reciprocity and spiritual power, the people in these communities were also accustomed—contrary to popular myths about inflexible Indians—to economic and political flux and to absorbing new peoples (both allies and antagonists), objects, and ideas, including those originating in Europe. Such combinations of tradition and innovation continued to shape Indians' relations with Europeans, even as the latter's visits became permanent.

The establishment of lasting European colonies, beginning with New Mexico in 1598, began a phase in the continent's history that eventually resulted in the displacement of Indians to the economic, political, and cultural margins of a new order. But during the interim natives and colonizers entered into numerous relationships in which they exchanged material goods and often supported one another diplomatically or militarily against common enemies. These relations combined native and European modes of exchange. While much of the scholarly literature emphasizes the subordination and dependence of Indians in these circumstances, Indians as much as Europeans dictated the form and content of their early exchanges and alliances. Much of the protocol and ritual surrounding such intercultural contacts was rooted in indigenous kinship obligations and gift exchanges, and Indian consumers exhibited decided preferences for European commodities that satisfied social, spiritual, and aesthetic values. Similarly, Indians' long-range motives and strategies in their alliances with Europeans were frequently rooted in older patterns of alliance and rivalry with regional neighbors. Such continuities can be glimpsed through a brief consideration of the early colonial-era histories of the Five Nations Iroquois in the Northeast, ... and the Rio Grande Pueblos in the Southwest.

Post-Mississippian and sixteenth-century patterns of antagonism between the Iroquois and their neighbors to the north and west persisted, albeit under altered

circumstances, during the seventeenth century when France established its colony on the St. Lawrence and allied itself with Hurons and other Indians. France aimed to extract maximum profits from the fur trade, and it immediately recognized the Iroquois as the major threat to that goal. In response, the Iroquois turned to the Dutch in New Netherland for guns and other trade goods while raiding New France's Indian allies for the thicker northern pelts that brought higher prices than those in their own country (which they exhausted by midcentury) and for captives to replace those from their own ranks who had died from epidemics or in wars. During the 1640s, the Iroquois replaced raids with full-scale military assaults (the so-called Beaver Wars) on Iroquoian-speaking communities in the lower Great Lakes, absorbing most of the survivors as refugees or captives. All the while, the Iroquois elaborated a vision of their confederation, which had brought harmony within their own ranks, as bringing peace to all peoples of the region. For the remainder of the century, the Five Nations fought a grueling and costly series of wars against the French and their Indian allies in order to gain access to the pelts and French goods circulating in lands to the north and west.

Meanwhile, the Iroquois were also adapting to the growing presence of English colonists along the Atlantic seaboard.... After the English supplanted the Dutch in New York in 1664, Iroquois diplomats established relations with the proprietary governor, Sir Edmund Andros, in a treaty known as the Covenant Chain. The Covenant Chain was an elaboration of the Iroquois' earlier treaty arrangements with the Dutch, but, whereas the Iroquois had termed the Dutch relationship a chain of iron, they referred to the one with the English as a chain of silver. The shift in metaphors was appropriate, for what had been strictly an economic connection was now a political one in which the Iroquois acquired power over other New York Indians. After 1677, the Covenant Chain was expanded to include several English colonies, most notably Massachusetts and Maryland, along with those colonies' subject Indians. The upshot of these arrangements was that the Iroquois cooperated with their colonial partners in subduing and removing subject Indians who impeded settler expansion. The Mohawks in particular played a vital role in the New England colonies' suppression of the Indian uprising known as King Philip's War and in moving the Susquehannocks away from the expanding frontier of settlement in the Chesapeake after Bacon's Rebellion.

For the Iroquois, such a policy helped expand their "Tree of peace" among Indians while providing them with buffers against settler encroachment around their homelands. The major drawback in the arrangement proved to be the weakness of English military assistance against the French. This inadequacy, and the consequent suffering experienced by the Iroquois during two decades of war after 1680, finally drove the Five Nations to make peace with the French and their Indian allies in the Grand settlement of 1701. Together, the Grand Settlement and Covenant Chain provided the Iroquois with the peace and security, the access to trade goods, and the dominant role among northeastern Indians they had long sought. That these arrangements in the long run served to reinforce rather than deter English encroachment on Iroquois lands and autonomy

should not obscure their pre-European roots and their importance in shaping colonial history in the Northeast....

In the Southwest, the institution of Spanish colonial rule on the Rio Grande after 1598 further affected exchange relations between Pueblo Indians and nearby Apaches and Navajos. By imposing heavy demands for tribute in the form of corn, the Spanish prevented Pueblo peoples from trading surplus produce with their non-farming neighbors. In order to obtain the produce on which they had come to depend, Apaches and Navajos staged deadly raids on some pueblos, leaving the inhabitants dependent on the Spanish for protection. In retaliation, Spanish soldiers captured Apaches and Navajos whom they sold as slaves to their countrymen to the south. From the beginning, the trading pueblos of Pecos, Picuris, and Taos most resented Spanish control and strongly resisted the proselytizing of Franciscan missionaries. From the late 1660s, drought and disease, intensified Apache and Navajo raids, and the severity of Spanish rule led more and more Indians from all pueblos to question the advantages of Christianity and to renew their ties to their indigenous religious traditions. Spanish persecution of native religious leaders and their backsliding followers precipitated the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, in which the trading Pueblos played a leading role and which was actively supported by some Navajos and Apaches.

When the Spanish reimposed their rule during the 1690s, they tolerated traditional Indian religion rather than trying to extirpate it, and they participated in interregional trade fairs at Taos and other villages. The successful incorporation of Pueblo Indians as loyal subjects proved vital to New Mexico's survival as a colony and, more generally, to Spain's imperial presence in the Southwest during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

As significant as is the divide separating pre- and post-Columbian North American history, it is not the stark gap suggested by the distinction between prehistory and history. For varying periods of time after their arrival in North America, Europeans adapted to the social and political environments they found, including the fluctuating ties of reciprocity and interdependence as well as rivalry, that characterized those environments. They had little choice but to enter in and participate if they wished to sustain their presence. Eventually, one route to success proved to be their ability to insert themselves as regional powers in new networks of exchange and alliance that arose to supplant those of the Mississippians, Anasazis, and others.

To assert such continuities does not minimize the radical transformations entailed in Europeans' colonization of the continent and its indigenous peoples. Arising in Cahokia's wake, new centers at Montreal, Fort Orange/Albany, Charleston, and elsewhere permanently altered the primary patterns of exchange in eastern North America. The riverine system that channeled exchange in the interior of the continent gave way to one in which growing quantities of goods arrived from, and were directed to, coastal peripheries and ultimately Europe. In the Southwest, the Spanish revived Anasazi links with Mesoamerica at some cost to newer ties between the Rio Grande Pueblos and recently arrived, nonfarming Athapaskan speakers. More generally, European colonizers brought a complex of demographic and ecological advantages, most notably epidemic diseases and their

own immunity to them, that utterly devastated Indian communities; ideologies and beliefs in their cultural and spiritual superiority to native peoples and their entitlement to natives' lands; and economic, political, and military systems organized for the engrossment of Indian lands and the subordination or suppression of Indian peoples.

Europeans were anything but uniformly successful in realizing their goals, but the combination of demographic and ecological advantages and imperial intentions, along with the Anglo-Iroquois Covenant Chain, enabled land-hungry colonists from New England to the Chesapeake to break entirely free of ties of dependence on Indians before the end of the seventeenth century. Their successes proved to be only the beginning of a new phase of Indian-European relations. By the mid-eighteenth century, the rapid expansion of land-based settlement in the English colonies had sundered older ties of exchange and alliance linking natives and colonizers nearly everywhere east of the Appalachians, driving many Indians west and reducing those who remained to a scattering of politically powerless enclaves in which Indian identities were nurtured in isolation. Meanwhile, the colonizers threatened to extend this new mode of Indian relations across the Appalachians. An old world, rooted in indigenous exchange, was giving way to one in which Native Americans had no certain place.

The Europeans' New World

JOYCE APPLEBY

When Christopher Columbus returned from the Western Hemisphere in the spring of 1493, he came with news that would decisively change Europe. No consequence would be more portentous than the conversation his discoveries prompted about the natural world, for he made the subject of nature suddenly interesting with all the odd things he brought home. Sailing back to Spain on the *Niña,* he packed the little caravel to the gunwales with fantastic objects from the Caribbean islands he visited. Six Taino natives, out of a dozen, survived the return trip, giving vivid proof that people lived in what geographers called the antipodes. Birds from the West Indies survived the trip better than the Tainos. Columbus had plucked flowers even more colorful than the brilliant parrots he found in the tropical rain forests. He showed his sponsors, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, a bit of gold that some natives had given him, thinking that it would guarantee funding for subsequent voyages—and he was right.

Over the course of the next three centuries, a succession of amateur investigators laid the foundation for the modern life sciences even though before the end of the fifteenth century, Europeans had been an incurious people. Finding these masses of land filled with mysterious people, unfamiliar plants, weird animals, and striking topography produced the kind of shock essential to shaking

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free of the church's venerable injunction against asking questions about nature. Men and women in China and Muslim Spain's Córdoba had demonstrated a much stronger inquisitive spirit. In Europe, isolation and religious disapproval had curtailed curiosity for over a millennium.

Today, plying incessant questions to nature is one of the strongest features of the modern West. The stirring of Europeans' interest in the physical world began at the end of the fifteenth century with the discovery of two continents lying between them and the Orient. Like most profound cultural changes, there were layers of habits and convictions to work through before Europeans could engage fully with the natural world. They had to break with the church's prohibition of intrusive questioning about God's domain—the phenomena of his created universe. The assumption that they already knew everything worth knowing had erected another barrier to the investigative spirit, as well as the predisposition to look backward to biblical or classical times for guidance and knowledge. The designation New World suggests the dimension of their surprise....

The Catholic Church had succeeded for a thousand years in keeping curiosity in check out of fear of probing questions about cosmic events like eclipses and comets. Such inquiries were deemed vain, a petty challenge to God's all-encompassing knowledge. Of course the church couldn't suppress all curiosity, certainly not a child's endless queries about what and why. But even the spirits of children will be dulled if the answers they hear are always "because God willed it so." The campaign against curiosity began with Augustine, who lived when Christianity was becoming the dominant religion in Europe....

A very powerful and pervasive institution, the church claimed the authority to discriminate between legitimate and illicit knowledge, between permitted and prohibited questions, even between accepted and forbidden methods of acquiring knowledge. After the Reformation, Protestant leaders revived the attack on curiosity in the sixteenth century. John Calvin associated it with the deadliest of deadly sins: pride. King James I of England pointed to Eve for evidence of how curiosity could harm someone.

Europeans were little exposed to the larger world through travel. Religion had stirred crusades to the Holy Lands in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, but after that, the crusaders' descendants stayed put. Overland trade with Asia was cut off for decades at a time. Still, there were some venturous souls. Merchants in Genoa and Majorca began visiting the islands off Africa. The Vivaldi brothers of Genoa set sail west to India, but were never heard from again.

When that most celebrated traveler, Marco Polo, returned to Europe in 1294, he landed in a Genoese prison. Fortunately for thousands of future readers, his cell mate happened to be a writer. To him, Polo recounted the details of his Venetian merchant family's twenty years in the Orient and how his father met Kublai Khan, the grandson of Genghis Kahn. He described their encounters as diplomats and traders at the great Mongol court at Karakorum and the high drama of their escape from their possessive host in a perilous two-year voyage. Most Europeans got their first impression of China, India, and Japan from this travel journal.

Henry the Navigator, a Portuguese prince, spent his considerable fortune sending expeditions down the west coast of Africa in the middle decades of the fifteenth century. He was determined to find out what lay south of Cape Bojador at the 24th parallel, which marked the farthest that Europeans had sailed down the west coast of Africa, but he dispatched others there, preferring to stay at home himself.

Henry was fired by the desire to wrest the Canary Islands from Spain and to find a coastal source for the gold and slaves traded in the interior of the African continent. Where he differed from his predecessors was in recognizing the importance of improving navigation. While fighting for Portugal against the Arabs in Morocco, he took stock of what their mariners knew about commercial linkages and the level of their sailing skills. He familiarized himself with Arab mapmaking. Never going to sea himself, Henry was content with gathering around him in his academy at Sagres a cadre of expert navigators, shipwrights, astronomers, pilots, and cartographers, both Christian and Jewish. He was mindful of fears that the southern waters were filled with monsters and wrapped in deadly fog, but he calmly stated, "You cannot find a peril so great that the hope of reward will not be greater." Like Columbus a half century later, ambition fueled his many navigational projects.

The ships that plied the Mediterranean were far too slow and large for oceanic travel. Venturing out in this unknown stretch of the Atlantic demanded new techniques and new equipment, accrued through trial and error. Arab navigators in the southern Mediterranean had introduced triangular sails, fore and aft, called lateen sails. They also added a small foremast, the mizzen, that improved steering. Henry incorporated these Arab inventions into his light, fast caravel, rigged for sailing close to the wind. From his estate perched on the rocky promontory jutting into the Atlantic in the southwest corner of Portugal, he sent pairs of these caravels to chart the winds and waters along the bulge of Africa.

From the 1420s until his death in 1460, Henry's expeditions got ever larger; they located successful routes and found safe harbors for provisioning. Slowly, after many failed endeavors, they solved the problems of navigation in the South Atlantic. Once they brought back gold and slaves, the voyages became remunerative. Within a century, Africans composed a tenth of the population of Lisbon, a city still underpopulated from the Black Death of the previous century.

Henry died before Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1487, but by that time explorations down the coast of Africa had found other royal patrons. When the Portuguese mariners got below the equator, the North Star was no longer in the heavens, which meant that they had to develop new celestial navigation with the Southern Cross, the constellation visible in the Southern Hemisphere almost any time of the year.

Adding to the pressure to find a sea route to the Indies was the fall in 1453 of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks, who closed off trade with Europe. Bringing in cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, and pepper on overland routes became more costly and more fraught with peril. Going by water to the fabulous islands could cut out the Arab merchants who acted as middlemen. Having discovered the winds that would carry ships around the tip of the continent, Dias opened

the way for others to reach the East Indies. A generation of sailors from the ports of Italy and the Iberian Peninsula could now follow where the geographic pioneering of Henry had pointed.

With prospects for great success, the Portuguese king had no compunctions about rejecting appeals for support from a Genoan named Christopher Columbus, who had a different idea about reaching the Indies. Discouraged, Columbus turned to Spain, where Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand had just joined their kingdoms to form a united monarchy in Spain. As rivals of Portugal, they sought a different route to the fabled riches of the Orient and offered to sponsor Columbus's expedition. Even more important to the devout queen than catching up with the Portuguese was the possibility of extending the realm of Christendom in Asia. Columbus shared this goal. He extracted promises from them to receive 10 percent of all the goods found in the lands. His son wryly noted years later when the family was fighting over what they thought was due their father that the monarchs had probably not expected him to get back alive. But he did, after a seven-month round trip to the Caribbean.

News of the discoveries in the Western Hemisphere arrived when Europeans were still absorbing the philosophy of ancient Greece and Rome. After being cut off from these stores of knowledge and wisdom for a millennium, scholars acquired access to them through the libraries of the Muslims in Córdoba. The rebirth in the term "Renaissance" refers to the flowering of art and literature in response to this recovery of classical texts. After the Turks took Constantinople, many Greek scholars moved to Italy, bringing with them a thorough understanding of the Greco-Roman writers whose worldly perspective was so different from the spiritual otherworldliness of medieval Europe....

Ancient writings brought in a questioning attitude that startled with its intellectual insouciance. They bristled with inquiries, hypotheses, and stratagems for proof. To read them was to reassess what one thought one knew. The freshness of this engagement has to be measured against the medieval obsession with doctrine, form, and faithfulness to sacred texts. An appreciation of the Greek and Roman philosophers, like news of the voyages of discovery, moved from the fifteenth-century preserve of classicists to a wider group of educated readers with the publication of translations of the texts....

Europeans began studying the recovered works of Ptolemy, the first-century Greek who had collected in one volume all the geographic knowledge that had been acquired in his Greco-Roman world, just as the discovery of the New World was making more salient than ever how little they actually knew about the planet they lived on. With an old text and a new map, they began delving into just those subjects that Augustine had excoriated, Even Spanish churchmen who followed in the wake of the explorers became curious. They justified this new intellectual trait on the grounds that none of their authorities—biblical or ancient—knew anything about these strange continents accidentally discovered on the way to the Orient.

An avid appreciation for ancient philosophers created a whole new category—that of the humanists, who cultivated classical ideas and styles through

a rigorous study of Greek and Latin. Greek and Roman thinkers had been famously curious, asking a myriad of questions about the heavens, the planets, and earth's human inhabitants. Reading their works couldn't but nurture an investigative spirit. Responding to this, the humanists formed clubs to talk about the knowledge gleaned from the recovered texts. Their growing numbers signaled a discontent with the inward, logical reasoning of the Scholastics, who were the principal interpreters of the Christian dogma that had dominated thinking since Augustine's time.

The new focus on the classics was not like sailing off into the Western Hemisphere, but studying Greek philosophy prepared some to ponder the puzzles that the discoveries turned up. Especially startling was Europe's new location on the globe, no longer joined to the Middle East and Asia through a vast land bridge, but separated from Asia by two huge oceans and the linked continents of North and South America. Maps had to be redrawn and redrawn again as successive explorers returned with new sightings. Ironically, the fact that the existence of the New World was unknown to the ancient writers dented their reputation a bit. Greek geographers had planted serious doubts about there being life near the equator. Desiderius Erasmus, the great Dutch humanist, wondered in what other ways the ancients might be in error. This attitude of questioning, if pressed too far, led to conflicts with the Scholastics.

Turning toward this world, as ancient learning encouraged the humanists to do, meant attending to the objects people encountered every day—the animals, rocks, mountains, trees, and stars—not to mention fellow human beings. Leonardo da Vinci's many anatomical drawings exemplified this new fascination with the here and now. His accurate depictions of the human body merged art into scientific inquiry. Not until the nineteenth century did philosophers, mathematicians, artists, and scientists go their separate ways. For three centuries, gifted amateurs in all these fields took the lead in examining natural objects, both domestic and foreign.

Printing with movable type, introduced in the second half of the fifteenth century, made the reproduction of writings and illustrations much less expensive than the written manuscripts that had preserved texts before. During these same decades, the reading public expanded with the switch from Latin to vernacular languages. Publishing and literacy enhanced one another as the catch basin for communication widened. The divergence of Greek learning from Christian cosmology added to the intellectual turmoil from the discovery of the New World. More and more men and women had to cope with the intrusion of novelty, but it would be a mistake to exaggerate the immediate impact. Still, there was a momentum going for new initiatives in exploration.

Greeks had long pointed to the Pillars of Hercules, the promontories flanking the Mediterranean's opening to the ocean, with the warning *ne plus ultra*—go no farther. Portugal and Spain, facing the Atlantic, became the obvious kingdoms to reject this advice. During the 1580s and '90s the Portuguese had been building victualing stations on African islands and for their commercial fleets en route to the trading centers in the East Indies. Meanwhile, a French navigator, Jean de Bethencourt, sailing for Castile in 1402, conquered the

Canaries, which lay some 1,200 miles from Cadiz, winning for the Spanish a key station in the Atlantic. From the Canaries Spanish sailors could catch the best winds to carry them west. By the end of the fifteenth century, monarchs and financiers were ready to open up their purses to expeditions that would explore the world by sea.

Like Prince Henry, Columbus studied navigation. He made maps to depict his conjectures of what the globe really looked like. He also got in touch with Paolo de Pozzo Toscanelli, a Florentine astronomer and geographer of note, who had come into contact with writings long lost to Western Europe. Lorenzo the Magnificent had summoned an ecumenical council in 1439. The thirty-one Greek bishops who attended this extraordinary gathering brought with them the knowledge of ancient philosophy that had been preserved in the Byzantine Empire. They knew the speculations and experiments of the inquisitive Greeks. Toscanelli talked to these bishops in Florence, reigniting his zeal to figure out the shape of the earth.

It was one thing to know that the world was not flat and another to have an accurate idea of its size and shape. Europeans had neither. Worse, their heads were full of hideous pictures of what lay beyond the waters that lapped at their shores. Only with the great persuasive powers of a prince of the realm had Henry the Navigator got his sailors to press farther down the west coast of Africa. Most people believed that fantastic creatures inhabited the Ocean Sea, as they called the Atlantic. Others were sure that the bottom teemed with sinners who were burning in a molten mass that could suck in vessels that sailed out too far. Access to the writings of Strabo, a first-century Greek, dissuaded Toscanelli of the existence of these terrors. Strabo insisted that there was one world and it was habitable and its landmasses were joined by the Ocean Sea. Toscanelli went further and said that it would be possible to sail from Europe to India along the same parallel.

Men with grand visions like those of Columbus had existed before; he succeeded in implementing his plans because financiers, merchants, and monarchs—usually given to caution—responded positively to his outsized ambition. Columbus's plan contained two errors: he calculated that Japan was 2,400 nautical miles from the Canaries when it was actually over 10,000. As problematically, he did not anticipate there being a landmass between Europe and Asia! With the confidence of ignorance, he departed in August 1492 with some 120 men dispersed among two little caravels, the *Niña* and the *Pinta,* and the larger *Santa Maria.*

Ardor for heroic adventures may have helped suppress the fear of Columbus's seamen for what lay beyond the coastal waters. His sailors were lucky that Columbus knew about the clockwise circular wind patterns of the Atlantic, which would get them back home before exhausting their food supply. Elated by his success in making a landfall after nine weeks, Columbus sailed home convinced that he had found a landmass not far away from Asia whose store of riches he had read about in his favorite text, *The Travels of Marco Polo.*

In 1497 the king of Portugal commissioned Pedro Álvares Cabral to strengthen contacts with Asian merchants, sending him off with a fleet of

thirteen ships. Blown off course in a storm, Cabral landed in Brazil and forthwith claimed it for Portugal before pushing on to India. Eager to tamp down the already disruptive competition between the two Catholic countries of the Iberian Peninsula, Pope Alexander VI had divided the globe between Portugal and Spain. Now he had to make a large jag in the established line (longitudes were then guessed at) to honor Portugal's new possession.

Columbus's discoveries were extraordinary enough to batter at the wall of inhibitions that surrounded questioning of Christian cosmology. There was no place in the European system of knowledge to fit in the plants, animals, minerals, and humans he brought back. They challenged settled opinions and provoked unbidden questions; they tugged at the roots of faith. The voyages of discovery proved to be the catalysts for breaching the church's curbs on curiosity, but it took time.

The intellectual consequences of Spain's venture across the Atlantic long outlasted its empire. Slowly the age-old concern with acquiring wisdom through contemplation was pushed aside in the pell-mell search for mundane details about the earth and its contents. Old ways of knowing were turned upside down. A passion for collecting information through observation, measurement, and description of new phenomena grew stronger, though it took successive generations to generate hypotheses about their meaning. This new form of pursuing information opened up the doors of inquiry to less educated amateurs, once excluded from the closed circles of the Scholastics and humanists who had to master ancient languages.

The engagement with natural phenomena involved Europeans in an inquiry about sex and sexuality. The nude bodies of the Amerindians provoked questions about the meaning of nakedness. Innocence and barbarity competed as answers. When explorers encountered willing sexual partners in the New World, their reports led to a new discourse about sexuality. Nor were sexual questions confined to humans. Botanists would use reproductive organs to categorize plants, and the sexual exclusivity among animals became the way naturalists defined species. Reproduction and the incorporation of new traits in the lineage of living things would form the basis of Darwin's explosive explanation of human origins, bringing to a climax the four-century examination of natural phenomena that the discoveries of the world outside of Europe provoked.

No one had any idea of what would happen if ships sailed west across the Atlantic. Columbus's sponsors certainly did not expect the most significant unintended consequences of all: the breaking open of the closed world of Christianity. A civilization marked by a reverence for sacred texts so deep that it disallowed questions about natural phenomena became the trailblazer in inquiries about nature. The Church Fathers had been correct. Curiosity was dangerous. Passing from amateur passions to sober investigations of biology, geology, and astronomy, it upended the grand Christian narrative of the origins of life and the place of our planet in the universe. Over the course of four hundred years the research spawned by Columbus's discovery of the New World set Europe apart from any other society on the globe, and, even more, from its own past.