

Read pages 1-14 and take notes as you go.

(notes will be collected)

On Page 15- there is a video link.

Watch the video and take notes in the graphic organizer.

If the video link does not work you can search it with key words.

Video Key words: "Native American Cultures (1491-1607)
(APUSH Period 1 / APUSH Chapter 1)"

These topics are important because we will be covering unit one very quickly. It is a lot of review from World! You will enjoy this read!

The notes and video are due on

Monday, August 17th

There will be a class discussion!

Nash, Gary B., Julie Jeffrey, et al, *The American People: Creating A Nation & A Society*, Vols. I & II, Brief 3rd edition, New York: Longman, 2000.

CHAPTER 1



Three Worlds Meet

In the late 1550s, a few years after Catholic King Philip II and Protestant Queen Elizabeth assumed the throne in Spain and England, respectively, Opechancanough was born in Tsenacommacah. In the Algonquian language, the word *tсенacommacah* meant "densely inhabited land." Later, English colonizers would rename this place Virginia after their monarch, the virgin queen Elizabeth. Before he died in the 1640s, in the ninth decade of his life, Opechancanough had seen light-skinned, swarthy, and black-skinned newcomers from a half-dozen European and African kingdoms swarm into his land. Like thousands of other Native Americans, he was witnessing the early moments of European expansion across the Atlantic Ocean.

Opechancanough was only an infant when Europeans first reached the Chesapeake Bay region. A small party of Spanish had explored the area in 1561, but they found neither gold nor silver nor anything else of value. Upon departing, they took with them the brother of one of the local chieftains, who was a member of Opechancanough's clan. They left behind something of unparalleled importance in the history of contact between the peoples of Europe and the Americas: a viral infection that spread like wildfire through a population that had no immunity against it. Many members of Opechancanough's tribe died, although their casualties were light compared with those of other tribes that caught the deadly European diseases.

In 1570, when Opechancanough was young, the Spanish returned and established a Jesuit mission near the York River. Violence occurred, and before the Spanish abandoned the Chesapeake in 1572, they put to death a number of captured Indians, including a chief who was Opechancanough's relative. The Native Americans learned that Europeans, even when they came bearing the crosses of their religion, were a volatile and dangerous people.

Opechancanough was in his forties when three ships of fair-skinned settlers disembarked in 1607 to begin the first permanent English settlement in the New World. For several months he watched his half brother Powhatan, high chief of several dozen loosely confederated tribes in the region, parry and fence with the newcomers. Then Powhatan sent him to capture the English leader John Smith and escort him to the Indians' main village. Smith was put through a mock execution but then released. He later got the best of Opechancanough, threatening him with a pistol, humiliating him in front of his warriors, and assaulting one of his sons, whom Smith "spurned like a dog."

Opechancanough nursed his wounds for years while Powhatan grew old and the English settlements slowly spread in the Chesapeake region. Then, in 1617, he became leader of the Powhatan Confederacy. Two years later, a Dutch trader sold 20 Africans to the settlers after docking at Jamestown. Three years after that, Opechancanough led a determined assault on the English plantations that lay along the rivers and streams emptying into the bay. The

Indians killed nearly one-third of the intruders. But they paid dearly in the retaliatory raids that the colonists mounted in succeeding years.

As he watched the land-hungry settlers swarm in during the next two decades, Opechancanough's patience failed him. Finally, in 1644, now in his eighties, he galvanized a new generation of warriors and led a final desperate assault on the English. It was a suicidal attempt, but the "great general" of the Powhatan Confederacy, faithful to the tradition of his people, counseled death over enslavement and humiliation. Though the warriors inflicted heavy casualties, they could not overwhelm the colonizers, who vastly outnumbered them. For two years, Opechancanough was kept prisoner by the Virginians. Nearly blind and "so decrepit that he was not able to walk alone," he was fatally shot in the back by an English guard in 1646.



Over a long lifetime, Opechancanough painfully experienced the meeting of people from three continents. His land was one of many that would be penetrated by Europeans over the next three centuries, as Christian civilization girdled the globe. On the Chesapeake Bay, this clash of cultures formed the opening chapter of what we know as American history. That history, in turn, was one scene in a much broader drama of European colonization and exploitation of many indigenous cultures thousands of miles from the Old World. The nature of this violent intermingling of Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans is an essential part of early American history. But to understand how the destinies of red, white, and black people became intertwined in Opechancanough's land, we must look at the precontact history and cultural foundations of life in the homelands of each of them.

THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS

Thousands of years before the European voyages of discovery, the history of humankind in North America began. Nomadic bands from Siberia hunting big game animals began to migrate across a land bridge connecting northeastern Asia with Alaska. The main migration apparently occurred between 12,000 and 14,000 years ago, although possibly much earlier.

Hunters and Farmers

For thousands of years the early hunters trekked on, following vegetation and game. In time, they reached the tip of South America and the eastern edge of North America. Thus did people from the "Old World" discover the "New World" thousands of years before Columbus.

Archaeologists have excavated and dated sites of early life in the Americas, tentatively reconstructing the dispersion of these first Americans over an immense land mass. Although much remains unknown, archaeological evidence suggests that as centuries passed and population increased, the earliest inhabitants evolved into separate cultures, adjusting to various environments in distinct ways. Europeans who rediscovered the New World thousands of years later would lump

together the myriad societies they found. But by the 1500s, the "Indians" of the Americas were enormously diverse in the size and complexity of their societies, languages, and forms of social organization.

Archaeologists and anthropologists have charted several phases of "Native American" history. The Beringian period of initial migration ended about 14,000 years ago. During the Paleo-Indian era, 14,000 to 10,000 years ago, big-game hunters flaked hard stones into spear points and chose "kill sites" where they slew herds of Pleistocene mammals. Population growth accelerated, and nomadism began to give way to settled habitations or local migration within limited territories.

Then, during the Archaic era, from about 10,000 to 2,500 years ago, great geological changes brought further adaptations to the land. As the massive Ice Age glaciers slowly retreated, a warming trend turned vast areas from grasslands into desert. Mammals were weakened by more arid conditions, but human populations ably adapted. They learned to exploit new sources of food, especially plants. In time, a second technological breakthrough, the "agricultural revolution," occurred.

Recent archaeological evidence points to examples of environmental devastation that severely damaged the biodiversity of the Americas. The first wave of intruders found a wilderness teeming with so-called megafauna, including saber-toothed tigers and woolly mammoths. But by about 10,000 years ago, these animals were almost extinct. Both overhunting and a massive shift of climate that deprived the huge beasts of their accustomed environment were to blame. The extinction of the huge beasts forced people to kill new sources of food such as turkeys, ducks, and guinea pigs, and may have gradually reduced human numbers.

Over many centuries, salinization and deforestation put the environment under additional stress. In what is today central Arizona, the Hohokam civilization collapsed hundreds of years ago when the irrigation system became too salty to support agriculture. At Arizona's Chaco Canyon, the fast-growing Anasazi denuded a magnificently forested region for firewood and building materials, and soil erosion then impoverished the region for the Anasazi.

When Native Americans learned to domesticate plants, they began the long process of transforming their relationship to the physical world. Discovering agriculture created a new relationship to once-ungovernable natural forces. Anthropologists believe that this process began independently in widely separated parts of the world about 9,000 to 7,000 years ago.

Over the millennia, humans began a systematic clearing and planting of bean and maize fields, and settled village life began to replace nomadic existence. Increases in food supply brought about by agriculture triggered other major changes. As more ample food fueled population growth, large groups split off to form separate societies. Greater social and political complexity arose. Men cleared the land and hunted; women cared for crops. Many societies empowered religious figures, trusting them to ward off unseen but hostile forces.

Everywhere in the Americas, regional trading networks formed. Along trade routes carrying commodities such as salt, obsidian rock for projectile points, and copper for jewelry also traveled technology, religious ideas, and agricultural practices. By the end of the Archaic period, about 500 B.C., hundreds of independent kin-based groups had learned to exploit the resources of their particular area and to trade with other groups in their region.

RECOVERING THE PAST

Archaeological Artifacts

The recovery of the past before there were written records is the domain of archaeology. Virtually our entire knowledge of Indian societies in North America before the arrival of European colonizers is drawn from the work of archaeologists who have excavated the ancient living sites of the first Americans. Many Native Americans today strongly oppose this rummaging in the ancient ancestral places; they particularly oppose the unearthing of burial sites. But the modern search for knowledge about early people in the Americas goes on.

Archaeological data have allowed us to overcome the stereotypical view of Native Americans as a primitive people whose culture was static for thousands of years before Europeans arrived in North America. This earlier view allowed historians to argue that the tremendous loss of Native American population and land accompanying the initial settlement and westward migration of white Americans was more or less inevitable. When two cultures, one dynamic and forward-looking and the other static and backward, confronted each other, historians have frequently maintained, the more advanced or "civilized" culture almost always prevailed.

Much of the elaborate early history of people in the Americas is unrecoverable. But many fragments of this long human history are being recaptured through archaeological research. Particularly important are studies that reveal how Indian societies were changing during the few centuries immediately preceding the European arrival in the New World. These studies give us a much better chance to interpret the seventeenth-century interaction of Native Americans and Europeans because they provide an understanding of Indian values, social and political organization, material culture, and religion as they existed when the two peoples first met. To understand only one of the two interacting societies is a recipe for biased interpretation.

One highly important archaeological investigation has been carried out over the last century at the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers near modern-day East St. Louis, Illinois. Here archaeologists have found the center of a vast Mississippi culture that began about A.D. 600, reached its peak about 300 years before Columbus's voyages, and then declined through a combination of drought, dwindling food supplies, and internal tensions. Cahokia is the name given to the urban center of a civilization that at its height dominated an area as large as New York State. At its center stood one of the largest earth constructions built by ancient man anywhere on the planet. Its base covering 15 acres, this gigantic earthen temple rises in four terraces to a height of 100 feet. The imaginary drawing shown here indicates some of the dozens of smaller geometric mounds discovered near this major temple. Notice the outlying farms, a sure sign of the settled (as opposed to nomadic) existence of the people who flourished ten centuries ago in this region. How does this depiction of ancient Cahokia change your image of Native American life before the arrival of Europeans?

By recovering artifacts from Cahokia burial mounds, archaeologists have pieced together a picture of a highly elaborate civilization along the Mississippi bottomlands, where indigenous people mined salt and produced knives and stone hoe blades for local consumption and export. Cahokian artisans made sophisticated pottery, ornamental jewelry, metalwork, and tools. They used copper and furs from the Lake Superior region, black obsidian stone from the Rocky Mountains, and seashells from the Gulf of Mexico—demonstrating that Cahokia people conducted long-distance trade. Understanding this, we can more readily see that when Europeans arrived in North America, they found it easy to strike up trade with peoples who for centuries had bartered with other peoples within vast trading networks.



A reconstructed view of Cahokia, the largest town in North America before European arrival, painted by William R. Iseminger. An estimated 50 million cubic feet of earth was used to construct the ceremonial and burial mounds. (Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site)

The fact that some graves uncovered at Cahokia contain large caches of finely tooled objects and other burial mounds contain many skeletons unaccompanied by any artifacts leads archaeologists to conclude that this was a stratified society much like those of the European intruders. Knowing about this socially differentiated, urban society undermines stereotypical notions of a primitive, sparsely settled, nomadic, hunter-and-gatherer people who met Europeans at the water's edge.

Native Americans in 1600

The pre-Columbian (or post-Archaic) era spanned the 2,000 years before contact with Europeans. It involved a complex process of growth and environmental adaptation among many distinct societies—and crisis in some of them. In the Southwest, the ancestors of the Hopi and Zuni developed large terraced multistoried and multiroom buildings. By the time the Spanish arrived in the 1540s, the indigenous Pueblo people were using irrigation canals, dams, and hillside terracing to water their arid maize fields. In their agricultural techniques, their skill in ceramics, their use of woven textiles for clothing, and their village life, Pueblo society resembled that of peasant communities in many parts of Europe and Asia.

Far to the east were the mound-building societies of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys. When European settlers first crossed the Appalachian Mountains a century and a half after arriving on the continent, they were amazed to find hundreds of ceremonial mounds and gigantic sculptured earthworks. Believing all “Indians” to be forest primitives, they reasoned that these were the remains of an ancient civilization that had found its way to North America.

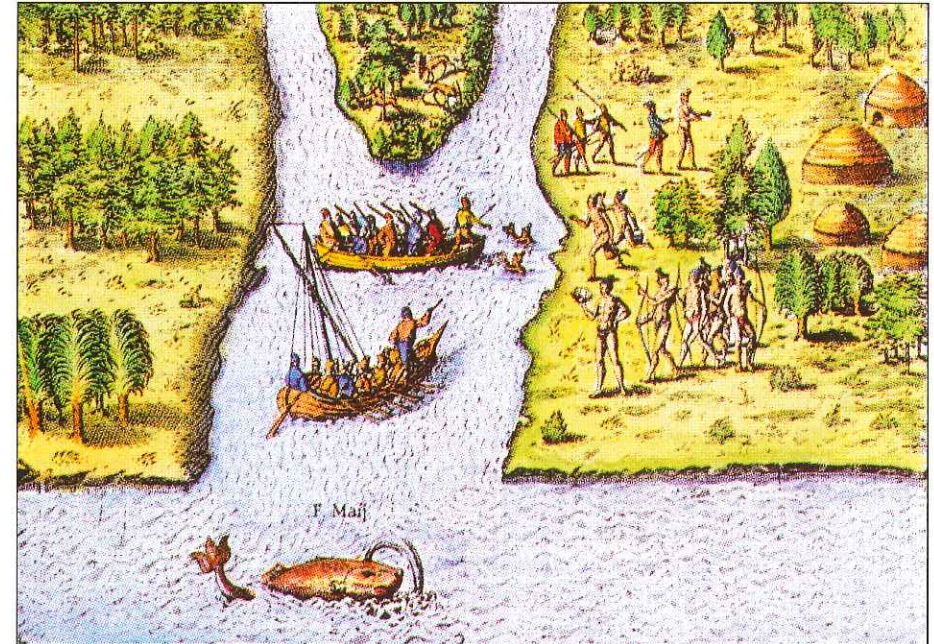
The mound-building societies of the Ohio valley declined many centuries before Europeans reached the continent, perhaps attacked by other tribes or damaged by severe climatic changes. But about A.D. 600, another mound-building, agricultural society arose in the Mississippi valley. Its center, the city of Cahokia with perhaps 40,000 inhabitants, stood near present-day St. Louis. Great ceremonial plazas, flanked by a temple 100 feet high, marked this first metropolis in America. This was the urban center of a far-flung Mississippi culture that encompassed hundreds of villages from Wisconsin to Louisiana.

Before the mound-building cultures declined, their influence was already transforming the woodlands societies along the Atlantic. The numerous small tribes there were far from the “savages” that the first European explorers described. They had added limited agriculture to their skill in using natural plants and had developed food procurement strategies that exploited all the resources around them.

Most eastern woodlands tribes lived in waterside villages, and they often migrated seasonally between inland and coastal village sites. In the Northeast, their light birchbark canoes helped them trade and communicate over immense territories. In the Southeast, population was denser and social and political organization more elaborate.

On the eve of European exploration of the Americas, the continent north of the Rio Grande contained at least 3 to 4 million people, of whom perhaps 500,000 lived along the eastern coastal plain and in the piedmont region accessible to the early European settlers. Though estimates vary widely, perhaps 40 to 60 million people lived in the entire hemisphere about 1500, when the Europeans arrived. (At the same time there were some 70 to 90 million people in Europe and about 50 to 70 million in Africa.) The colonizers were coming to a land inhabited for thousands of years by people whose village existence in many ways resembled that of the arriving Europeans.

In some important ways, however, Indian culture differed from that of Europeans. Horses and oxen, for example, did not exist in the New World. Without large draft animals, Indians had no incentive to develop wheels. Many inventions—such as the technology for smelting iron, which had diffused widely in the



The French, under Jean Ribault, discovering the River of May in Florida on May 1, 1564. Engraving by Theodore De Bry, 1591, after a painting by Jacques Le Moynes, who accompanied the expedition in 1564. As the illustration shows, many initial encounters between Native Americans and Europeans were friendly. Here, a party of the local indigenous people swims out to meet the French with gifts, and another Native American leads a small group of French inland to a village. (The Granger Collection, New York)

Old World—had not crossed the ocean barrier. But valuable New World crops, such as corn and potatoes, which Indians raised, were unknown in the Old World before Columbus.

Contrasting World Views

Colonizing Europeans called themselves “civilized” and typically described the people they met in the Americas as “savage.” The gulf separating people in Europe and North America was defined not only by their material cultures, but also by how they viewed their relationship to the environment and how they defined social relations in their communities.

Regarding land as a resource to be exploited for human benefit, Europeans believed that it should be privately possessed. From this belief developed much that Europeans took for granted: for example, property lines, inheritance customs for passing land on, and courts to settle the resulting disputes. Property was the basis not only of sustenance, but also of independence, wealth, status, and identity. The social structure directly mirrored patterns of land ownership, with a land-wealthy elite at the top and a propertyless mass at the bottom.

Indians also had concepts of property and boundaries. But they believed that land had sacred qualities and should be held in common. As one missionary

explained the Indian view in the eighteenth century, the Creator “made the Earth and all that it contains for the common good of mankind.”

Communal ownership sharply limited social stratification and increased a sense of sharing in most Native American communities, much to the amazement of Europeans accustomed to wide disparities of wealth. The majority of Europeans were peasants scratching a subsistence living from the soil, living in kin-centered villages with little contact with the outside world, and exchanging goods and labor through barter. But in Europe’s cities, a wealth-conscious, ambitious individual who valued and sought wider choices and greater opportunities to enhance personal status was coming to the fore. In contrast, Native American traditions stressed the group over the individual, and valor more than wealth.

There were exceptions. The Aztec and Inca empires were highly developed, populous, and stratified. So, in North America, were a few tribes such as the Natchez. But on the eastern and western coasts of the continent and in the Southwest—the regions of contact in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—the Europeans encountered a people whose values differed strikingly from theirs.

European colonizers in North America also found disturbing the matrilineal organization of many tribal societies. Contrary to European practice, family membership among the Iroquois, for example, was determined through the female line. When a son or grandson married, he moved from his female-headed household to one headed by the matriarch of his wife’s family. Divorce was also the woman’s prerogative. Clans were composed of several matrilineal kin groups related by a blood connection on the mother’s side. To Europeans, this was a peculiar and dangerous reversal of their male-dominated sexual hierarchy.

Native American women were subordinate, but not nearly to the extent found among European women. For example, European women were almost entirely excluded from politics. But in Native American villages, again to take the Iroquois example, designated men sat in a circle to deliberate and make decisions, but the senior women of the village stood behind them, lobbying and instructing. Village chiefs were male, but they were chosen by the elder women of their clans. If they moved too far from the will of the women who appointed them, these chiefs were removed.

The role of women in the tribal economy reinforced male-female power-sharing. Men hunted, fished, and cleared land, but women controlled the raising and distribution of crops, supplying probably three-quarters of their family’s nutritional needs. When the men were away hunting, women directed village life. Europeans perceived such sexual equality as another mark of “savagery.”

In economic relations, Europeans and Indians differed in ways that sometimes led to misunderstanding and conflict. Over vast stretches of the continent, Indians had built trading networks for centuries before Europeans arrived, making it easy for them to trade with whites and incorporate their goods into their culture. But trade for Indian peoples was also a way of preserving reciprocity between individuals and communities. Europeans saw trade largely as economic exchange.

In the religious beliefs of Native Americans, the English saw a final damning defect. Europeans built their religious life around the belief in a single divinity, written scriptures, a trained and highly literate clergy, and churches with structured ceremonies. Native American societies, sharing no literary tradition, had less structured religious beliefs. Believing that human life could be affected—pos-



INDIAN SOCIETIES DURING THE PERIOD OF EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT The great number of Indian societies within the present-day boundaries of the United States—each with its own language—indicates the cultural diversity of the first peoples of North America at the time Europeans arrived.

itively or negatively—by the mysterious power pervading everything in nature, Indian people sought to conciliate these spirits, even in the animals they hunted.

For Europeans, the Indians’ polytheism was pagan and devilish. Indian religious leaders, called *shamans*, used medicinal plants and magical chants to heal and facilitated people’s quests to communicate with the spiritual world. But Europeans regarded the *shamans* as especially dangerous because they occupied powerful positions among a spiritually misled people. Their fear and hatred of infidels intensified by the Protestant Reformation, Europeans saw a holy necessity to convert—or destroy—these enemies of God.

AFRICA ON THE EVE OF CONTACT

Half a century before 1492, a Portuguese sea captain made the first known European landing on the west coast of sub-Saharan Africa. If he had been able to travel the length and breadth of the immense continent, he would have encountered a rich variety of African states, peoples, and cultures. African “backwardness” was a myth perpetuated after the slave trade had begun transporting millions of Africans to the New World. During the period of early contact with Europeans, Africa, like pre-Columbian America, was recognized as a diverse continent with a long history of cultural evolution.

The Kingdoms of Africa

The estimated 50 million peoples of fifteenth-century Africa lived in vast deserts, grasslands, and tropical forests. Most tilled the soil. Part of their skill in farming derived from iron metallurgy, which may have been known in West Africa long before it reached northwestern Europe. More efficient iron implements increased agricultural productivity, in turn spurring population growth.

Before fifteenth-century Europeans reached the west coast of Africa, a number of large empires had risen there. The first was the kingdom of Ghana, which from the sixth to the eleventh centuries embraced most of West Africa. Large towns, elaborate sculpture and metalwork, long-distance commerce, and a complex political structure marked the Ghanaian kingdom. A thriving caravan trade across the Sahara brought extensive Muslim influence by the eleventh century, when the king of Ghana boasted an army of 200,000, maintained trading contacts as far east as Cairo and Baghdad, and was furnishing, through Muslim middlemen in North Africa, much of the gold supply for the Christian Mediterranean region.

After Ghana fell to invading North African Muslims, there arose a new Islamic kingdom, Mali. Prospering through its control of the gold trade, Mali flourished until the early sixteenth century. Its city of Timbuktu contained a distinguished faculty of scholars to whom North Africans and even southern Europeans came to study. Elsewhere along the Atlantic coast, other kingdoms such as Kongo, Songhay, and Benin grew in the centuries before seaborne Europeans reached Africa. In



The art of sixteenth-century West Africa, much of it ceremonial, shows a high degree of aesthetic development. On the left is Gou, god of war, a metal sculpture from the Fon culture in Dahomey; above is a pair of antelope headdresses (worn by running a cord through holes in the base and tying them atop the head) carved of wood by the Bambara people of Senegambia. (Musée de l'Homme, Paris)

their towns, rivaling those of Europe in size, lived people skilled in metalworking, weaving, ceramics, architecture, and aesthetic expression. Law codes, regional trade, and effective political organization all developed by the fifteenth century.

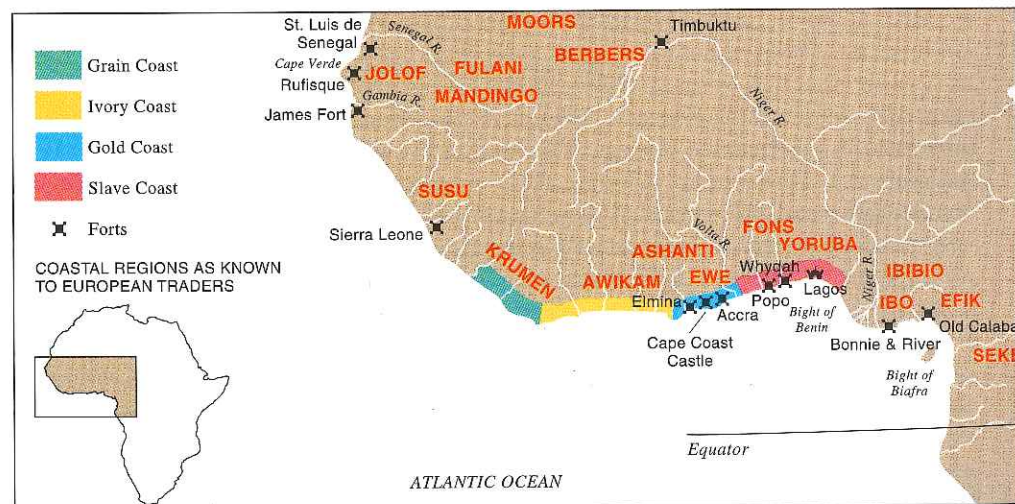
Population growth and cultural development in Africa, as elsewhere in the world, proceeded at different rates in different regions. Where soil was rich, rainfall adequate, and minerals abundant—as in western Sudan—population grew and cultures changed rapidly. Where inhospitable desert or impenetrable jungle ruled, societies remained small and changed very slowly. Cultural innovation accelerated in East African Swahili-speaking societies facing the Indian Ocean after trading contacts began with the Eastern world in the ninth century. Around the same time, traders from the Arab world began to spread Muslim influence in West Africa.

The African Ethos

The many peoples of Africa, who were to supply at least two-thirds of all the “Old World” immigrants crossing the Atlantic in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, shared certain ways of life that differentiated them from Europeans.

As in Europe, the family was the basic unit of social organization. Unlike European societies, however, African societies were organized in a variety of kinship and political systems. In many African (like Native American) societies, descent was through the mother: The son of a chief’s sister inherited his position, and a married man joined his bride’s people.

West Africans believed in a supreme Creator and in lesser deities associated with natural forces. Because these deities could intervene in human affairs, they were elaborately honored. Like most North American Indians, West Africans treated with respect those natural objects that they believed spirits inhabited.



WEST AFRICAN CULTURES AND SLAVING FORTS Europeans fought lustily for control of slaving forts on the West African coast, and many forts changed hands several times during the long period of the Atlantic slave trade.

Africans also worshipped ancestors, who were believed to mediate between the Creator and the living. The more ancient an ancestor, the greater was this deceased person's power to affect the living. Deep family loyalty flowed naturally from ancestor worship.

Social organization in much of West Africa by the time Europeans arrived was as elaborate as in fifteenth-century Europe. At the top stood nobles and priests, usually elderly men. Beneath them were the great masses of people—mostly farmers, but also some craftsmen, traders, teachers, and artists. Slaves occupied the bottom social rung. As in ancient Greece and Rome, they were “outsiders”—war captives, criminals, or sometimes people who sold themselves because of debt. Slaves had restricted rights and narrow opportunities. Nevertheless, they were entitled to protection under the law and allowed the privileges of education, marriage, and parenthood. Their servile condition was not permanent, nor was it automatically inherited by their children, as would be the fate of Africans enslaved in the Americas.

EUROPE IN THE AGE OF EXPLORATION

In the ninth century, western Europe was an economic and cultural backwater. The center of political power and economic vitality in the Old World had shifted eastward to Christian Byzantium, which controlled Asia Minor, the Balkans, and parts of Italy. The other dynamic culture of this age, Islam, had spread through the Middle East, North Africa, and Spain, and was reaching Africa south of the Sahara.

Over the next six centuries, an epic revitalization of western Europe occurred, creating the conditions that enabled its leading maritime nations to vastly extend their oceanic frontiers. By the fifteenth century, a 400-year epoch of European expansion into other continents was under way. Only in the twentieth century was this process of Europeanization reversed.

The Rise of Europe

The rebirth of western Europe, which began around A.D. 1000, owed much to a revival of long-distance trading from Italian ports on the Mediterranean and the rediscovery of ancient knowledge. These new contacts brought wealth and power to the Italian commercial cities, which gradually evolved into merchant-dominated city-states that freed themselves from the rule of feudal lords in control of the surrounding countryside. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, kings began to reassert their authority, unify their realms, and curb the power of the great lords.

The Black Death (bubonic plague), which devastated western Europe and Africa in 1348 and 1349, promoted the unification of old realms into early modern states. The plague killed one-third of the population. The nobilities with which monarchs had to contend were reduced in size, for the plague defied class distinction. Lords treated their peasants better for a time because their labor, tremendously reduced by the plague, became more valuable.

England acquired a distinctive political system. In 1215, the aristocracy curbed the powers of the king when they forced him to accept Magna Carta. Later, a parliament composed of elective and hereditary members gained the right to meet

regularly to pass money bills and to act as a check on the crown, an arrangement unknown on the Continent. During the sixteenth century, the crown and Parliament worked together toward a more unified state.

Economic changes of great significance also occurred in England during the sixteenth century. To practice more profitable agriculture, great landowners began to “enclose” (consolidate) their estates, throwing peasants off their plots and turning many into wage laborers.

Continental Europe lagged behind England in two respects. First, it was far less affected by the move to “enclose” agricultural land, for continental aristocrats regarded the maximization of profit as unworthy of gentlemen. Second, continental rulers were less successful in engaging the interests of their nobilities, and these nobles never shared governance with their king, as did English aristocrats. In France, a noble faction assassinated Henry III in 1589, and the nobles remained disruptive for nearly a century more. In Spain, the final conquest of the Muslims and expulsion of the Jews (both in 1492) strengthened the monarchy's hold, but regional cultures and leaders remained strong.

The New Monarchies and the Expansionist Impulse

In the second half of the fifteenth century, ambitious monarchs coming to power in France, England, and Spain sought social and political stability in their kingdoms by creating armies and bureaucracies to quell internal conflict and raise taxes. In these countries, and in Portugal as well, economic revival and the reversal of more than a century of population decline and civil disorder nourished the impulse to expand. This impulse was also fed by Renaissance culture. The Renaissance (Rebirth) encouraged an emphasis on human abilities. Beginning in Italy and spreading through Europe, the Renaissance peaked in the late fifteenth century.

The exploratory urge had two initial objectives: first, to circumvent Muslim traders by finding an eastward oceanic route to Asia; and second, to tap the African gold trade at its source, avoiding North African middlemen in North Africa. Since 1291, when Marco Polo returned to Venice with tales of Eastern treasures, Europeans had traded with the Orient, through the Near East. But not until almost 1500 could Europe's mariners voyage to Cathay by both eastward and westward water routes.

Portugal, a poor country of only one million inhabitants, led the effort to blaze new routes to the East. Led by Prince Henry the Navigator, for whom trade was secondary to the conquest of the Muslim world, Portugal breached the unknown. In the 1420s, Henry began dispatching Portuguese mariners to probe the Atlantic “sea of darkness.” His intrepid sailors were aided by important improvements in navigation, mapmaking, and ship design.

Portuguese captains operated at sea on three ancient principles: that the earth was round, that distances on its surface could be measured by degrees, and that navigators could “fix” their position on a map by measuring the position of the stars. The invention in the 1450s of the quadrant, which allowed the precise observation of stars necessary for determining latitude, represented a leap forward in navigation. Equally important was the design of a lateen-rigged caravel, adapted from Moorish ship models. Its triangular sails permitted ships to sail into the wind, allowing them

to go south along the African coast and—a feat the old square-rigged European vessels could never perform—return northward against prevailing winds.

By the 1430s, the ability of Prince Henry's captains to break through the limits of the world known to Europeans had carried them to Madeira, the Canaries, and the Azores. These were soon developed as the first European agricultural plantations. From there, the Portuguese sea captains pushed farther south.

By the time of Prince Henry's death in 1460, Portuguese mariners had reached the west coast of Africa, where they began a profitable trade in ivory, slaves, and especially gold. By 1500, they had captured control of the African gold trade. In 1497, Vasco da Gama became the first European to sail around the Cape of Africa, allowing the Portuguese to colonize the Indian Ocean and to reach modern Indonesia and south China by 1513. By forcing trade concessions in the islands and coastal states of the East Indies, the Portuguese unlocked the fabulous Asian treasure houses that since Marco Polo's time had whetted European appetites.

Reaching the Americas

The independent Spanish kingdoms of Aragon and Castile were united in 1469 by the marriage of their rulers, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. At their court an Italian sailor, Christopher Columbus, the son of a poor weaver, had important contacts.

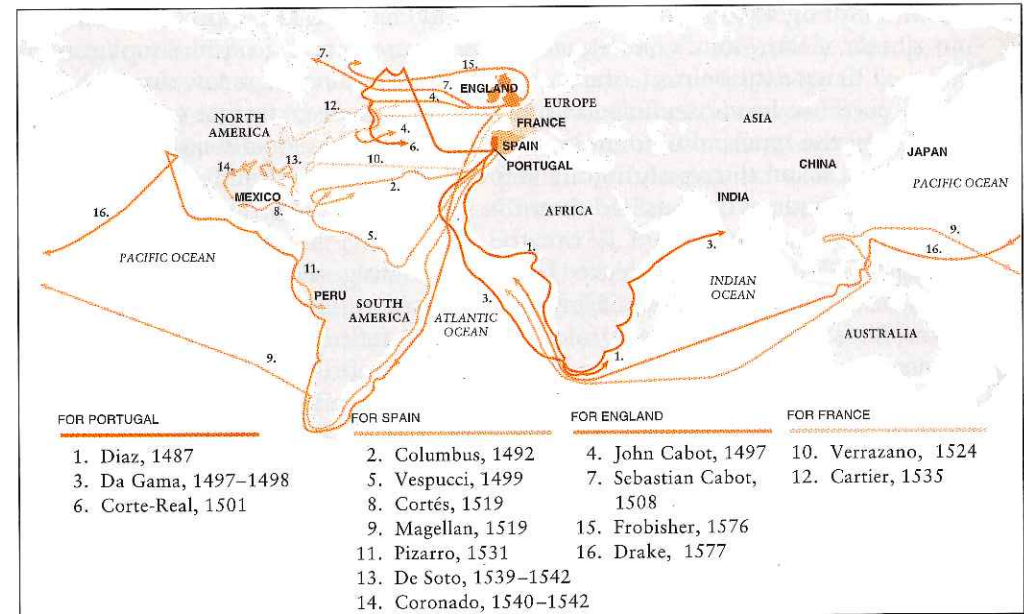
Once hailed as a heroic discoverer and now often damned as a racist villain, Columbus is best understood in the context of his own times—an age of great brutality and violence. Columbus's urge to explore was nourished by ideas and questions about the geographical limits of his world, and he was inspired by hopes of contributing to the reconquest of Moorish Spain.

Like many sailors, Columbus had listened to sea tales about lands to the west. He may have heard Icelandic sagas about the Norse voyages to Newfoundland five centuries before. Other ideas circulated that the Atlantic Ocean stretched to India and eastern Asia. Could one reach the Indies by sailing west rather than by sailing east around Africa, as the Portuguese were attempting? Columbus hungered to know.

For nearly ten years, Columbus tried unsuccessfully to secure financial backing and royal sanction in Portugal for exploratory voyages. Many mocked his modest estimates of the distance westward from Europe to Japan. Finally, in 1492, Queen Isabella commissioned him, and he sailed west with three tiny ships and a crew of about 90 men. In the fifth week at sea—longer than any European sailors had been out of the sight of land—mutinous rumblings swept through the crews. But on the seventieth day, long after Columbus had calculated he would reach Japan, a lookout sighted land. On October 12, 1492, the sailors clambered ashore on a tiny island in the Bahamas, which Columbus named San Salvador (Holy Savior).

Believing he had reached Asia, Columbus explored the island-speckled Caribbean for ten weeks. After landing on a heavily populated island that he named Hispaniola (today, Haiti and the Dominican Republic) and on Cuba, he set sail for Spain with cinnamon, coconuts, a bit of gold, and several kidnapped natives. Homeward bound, he penned a report of what he believed were his Asian discoveries: hospitable people, fertile soils, magnificent harbors, and gold-filled rivers. When he landed, his report was quickly distributed throughout Europe.

Columbus's report brought him financing between 1494 and 1504 for three much larger expeditions to explore the newfound lands. The second voyage, car-



OCEANIC EXPLORATIONS IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

rying over 1,200 Spanish in 17 ships, initiated the first extended contact between Europeans and Native Americans. In an ominous display of what was to come, Columbus's men captured some 1,600 Tainos on Hispaniola and carried 550 of them back to Spain as slaves in 1495. Here began the Atlantic slave trade that would alter the history of the world. Although his discoveries seemed less significant than the Portuguese exploits, Columbus had led Spain to the threshold of a mighty empire. He, however, died penniless in 1506, to the end believing that he had found the water route to Asia.

The expansion of Spain and Portugal into new areas of the world profoundly affected patterns of economic activity in Europe. Its commercial center began to shift away from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic ports.

The New World also beckoned as a field of religious contest. The heavily populated Americas offered millions of potential Christian converts. But the Catholic-Protestant division within Christianity complicated Christian dreams of converting a "heathen" continent. The people of western Europe, just as they were unlocking the secrets of the new worlds in the sixteenth century, were torn by religious schisms that magnified national rivalries.

Religious Conflict During the Reformation

At the heart of Europe's religious strife was a continental movement to return the Christian Church to the purity of early Christianity. Criticism of the worldliness of the church mounted during the Renaissance. Then a German friar, Martin Luther, broke successfully with Rome, initiating the Protestant Reformation. As Protestant sects multiplied, a Catholic Reformation grew up within the church.

Attempting to be a good friar, Luther had lost faith in the power of the age-old rituals of the Church—the Mass, confession, pilgrimages to holy places. He believed that salvation came through an inward faith, or “grace,” that God conferred on those he chose. Good works, Luther believed, did not earn grace but were only the external evidence of faith. Insisting on “justification by faith,” Luther had taken the revolutionary step of rejecting the church’s elaborate hierarchy of officials, who presided over the rituals that guided individuals toward salvation.

In 1517, Luther openly attacked the sale of “indulgences” for sins, by which the pope raised money for the building of St. Peter’s in Rome. By purchasing indulgences, individuals had been told, they could reduce their time (or that of a deceased relative) in purgatory. Printing, invented less than 70 years before, allowed the rapid circulation of Luther’s protest. The printed word and the ability to read it were to become revolutionary weapons.

Luther’s cry for reform soon inspired Germans of all classes. He denounced five of the seven sacraments of the church, calling for a return to baptism and communion alone. He attacked the upper clergy for luxurious living and urged priests—who were nominally celibate but often involved in irregular sexual relationships—to marry respectably. He railed against the “detestable tyranny of the clergy over the laity” and called for a priesthood of all believers. He urged people to seek faith individually by reading the Bible, which he translated into German and made widely available for the first time in printed form. Most dangerously, he called on the German princes to assume control over religion in their states, directly challenging the authority of Rome.

The basic issue dividing Catholics and Protestants thus centered on the source of religious authority. To Catholics, religious authority resided in the organized Church, headed by the pope. To Protestants, the Bible was the sole authority, and access to God’s word or God’s grace did not require the mediation of the Church.

Building on Luther’s redefinition of Christianity, John Calvin, a Frenchman, brought new intensity and meaning to the Protestant Reformation. By Calvin’s doctrine, God had saved a few souls before Creation and damned the rest. Human beings could not alter this predestination, but those who were good Christians must struggle to understand and accept God’s saving grace if he chose to impart it. Without mediation of ritual or priest but by “straight-walking,” one was to behave as one of God’s elect, the “saints.”

Calvin proposed reformed Christian communities structured around the elect few. To remake the corrupt world and follow God’s will, communities of “saints” must control the state. Elected bodies of ministers and dedicated laymen, called presbyteries, were to govern the church, directing the affairs of society so that all, whether saved or damned, would work for God’s ends.

Calvinism, a fine-tuned system of self-discipline and social control, was first put into practice in the 1550s in the city-state of Geneva, between France and Switzerland. Here Calvin established his model Christian community. A council of 12 elders drove nonbelievers from the city, rigidly disciplined daily life, and stripped the churches of every appeal to the senses—images, music, incense, and colorful clerical gowns. Religious reformers from all over Europe flocked to the new holy community, and Geneva soon became the continental center of the reformist Christian movement.

Calvin’s radical program converted large numbers of people to Protestantism throughout Europe. Like Lutheranism, it recruited most successfully among merchants, landowners, lawyers, nobles, master artisans, and shopkeepers.

The most important monarch to break with Catholicism was Henry VIII of England. When the pope refused him permission to divorce and remarry, Henry declared himself head of the Church of England, or Anglican church. Although it retained many Catholic features, the Church of England moved further in a Protestant direction under Henry’s son Edward VI. But when Mary, Henry’s older Catholic daughter, became queen, she vowed to reinstate her mother’s religion by force if necessary. Protestant clergy were burned. Many were relieved when she died in 1558, bringing Henry’s younger Protestant daughter, Elizabeth, to the throne. During her long rule, the flinty Elizabeth I steered Anglicanism along a middle course between the radicalism of Geneva and the Catholicism of Rome.

Some of the countries most affected by the Reformation—England, Holland, and France—were slow in trying to colonize the New World. So Protestantism did not gain an early foothold in the Americas. Catholicism in Spain and Portugal remained almost immune from the Protestant Reformation. Thus, even while under attack, Catholicism swept across the Atlantic almost unchallenged during the century after Columbus’s voyages.

THE IBERIAN CONQUEST OF AMERICA

From 1492 to 1518, Spanish and Portuguese explorers opened up vast parts of Asia and the Americas to European knowledge. Only modest attempts at settlement were made, mostly by the Spanish on Caribbean islands. The three decades after 1518, however, became an age of conquest. In some of the bloodiest chapters in recorded history, the Spanish nearly exterminated the native Caribbean peoples, toppled and plundered great Indian empires in Mexico and Peru, discovered fabulous silver mines, and built an oceanic trade. This short era of conquest had immense consequences for global history.

Portugal concentrated mostly on building an eastward oceanic trade to Asia. In 1493, the pope had demarcated Spanish and Portuguese spheres of exploration in the Atlantic. Drawing a north-south line 100 leagues (about 300 miles) west of the Azores, the pope confined Portugal to the eastern side. One year later, Portugal obtained Spanish agreement to move the line 270 leagues farther west. These were some of the most significant lines ever drawn on a map. Nobody knew at the time that a large part of South America, as yet undiscovered by Europeans, bulged east of the new demarcation line and therefore fell within the Portuguese sphere. In time, Portugal would develop this region, Brazil, into one of the most profitable areas of the New World.

The Spanish Onslaught

Within a single generation of Columbus’s death in 1506, Spanish *conquistadores* explored, claimed, and conquered all of South America except Brazil, and the southern parts of North America from present-day Florida to California. Led by audacious explorers and soldiers, and usually accompanied by enslaved Africans,

they established Spanish authority and Catholicism over an immense area and huge populations. "We came here," explained one Spanish foot soldier, "to serve God and the king, and also to get rich."

In two bold and bloody strokes, the Spanish overwhelmed the ancient civilizations of the Aztecs and Incas. In 1519, Hernando Cortés with 600 soldiers marched over rugged mountains to attack Tenochtitlán (now Mexico City), the Aztec capital. At its height, centuries before, the ancient city in the Valley of Mexico had contained perhaps 200,000 people. But in 1521, following two years of tense relations between the Spanish and Aztecs, it fell before Cortés's assault. The Spanish use of horses and firearms provided an important advantage; so did a murderous smallpox epidemic in 1520 that felled thousands of Aztecs. Support from local peoples oppressed by Aztec tyranny was also indispensable. From the Valley of Mexico, the Spanish extended their dominion over the Mayan Indians of the Yucatán and Guatemala in the next few decades.

In the second conquest, Francisco Pizarro, marching from Panama through the jungles of Ecuador and into the towering mountains of Peru with a mere 168 men, most of them not even soldiers, felled the Inca empire. Like the Aztecs, the populous Incas lived in a highly organized social system. But also like the Aztecs, they were riddled by smallpox and weakened by internal violence. This ensured Pizarro's success in capturing their capital at Cuzco in 1533, and soon other gold- and silver-rich cities. Further expeditions into Chile, New Granada (Colombia), Argentina, and Bolivia in the 1530s and 1540s brought under Spanish control an empire larger than any in the Western world since the fall of Rome.

By 1550, Spain had overwhelmed the major centers of native population in the Americas. Spanish ships carried gold, silver, dyewoods, and sugar east across the Atlantic and transported African slaves, colonizers, and finished goods west. In a brief half century, Spain had exploited the advances in geographical knowledge and maritime technology of its Portuguese rivals and brought into harsh but profitable contact with each other the people of three continents. The triracial character of the Americas was firmly established by 1600.

For nearly a century after Columbus's voyages, Spain enjoyed almost unchallenged dominion over the fabulous hemisphere newly revealed to Europeans. Greedy buccaneers snapped at the heels of homeward-bound Spanish treasure fleets, but this was only a nuisance. France tried to contest Spanish or Portuguese control by planting small settlements in Brazil and Florida in the mid-sixteenth century, but they were quickly wiped out. England remained island-bound until the 1580s. Until the seventeenth century, only Portugal, which staked out important claims in Brazil in the 1520s, challenged Spanish rule in the New World.

The Great Dying

Spain's conquest in the Americas set in motion two of the most far-reaching processes in modern history. One involved microbes; the other, silver.

The sixteenth century saw the most dramatic and disastrous population decline in recorded history. The Americas' population on the eve of European arrival may have been 50 to 60 million, or more. In central Mexico, the highlands of Peru, and certain Caribbean islands, population density exceeded that of most of Europe. But though they were less populous than the people of the Americas,

European colonizers had one extraordinary biological advantage: For centuries, Old World peoples had been exposed to nearly every lethal microbe that infects humans on an epidemic scale in the temperate zone. Over the centuries, Europeans had built up immunities to these diseases. Such defenses did not eliminate afflictions like smallpox, measles, and diphtheria, but they reduced their deadliness. Geographical isolation, however, had kept these diseases from the peoples of the Americas. So, too, did the Native Americans' lack of large domesticated animals, which were major disease carriers. Arriving Europeans therefore unknowingly encountered a huge component of the human race that was utterly defenseless against the "domesticated" infections the Europeans and their animals carried.

The results were catastrophic. On Hispaniola, a population of about one million that had existed when Columbus arrived had only a few thousand survivors by 1530. Of some 15 million inhabitants in central Mexico before Cortés's arrival, nearly half perished within 15 years. Demographic disaster also struck the populous Inca peoples of the Peruvian Andes, speeding ahead of Pizarro's *conquistadores*. Smallpox "spread over the people as great destruction," an old Indian told a Spanish priest in the 1520s. "There was great havoc. Very many died of it. They could not stir, they could not change position, nor lie on one side, nor face down, nor on their backs. And if they stirred, much did they cry out . . . And very many starved; there was death from hunger, [for] none could take care of [the sick]." Such terrifying sickness convinced many Indians that their gods had failed and left them ready to acknowledge the greater power of the Spaniards' God.

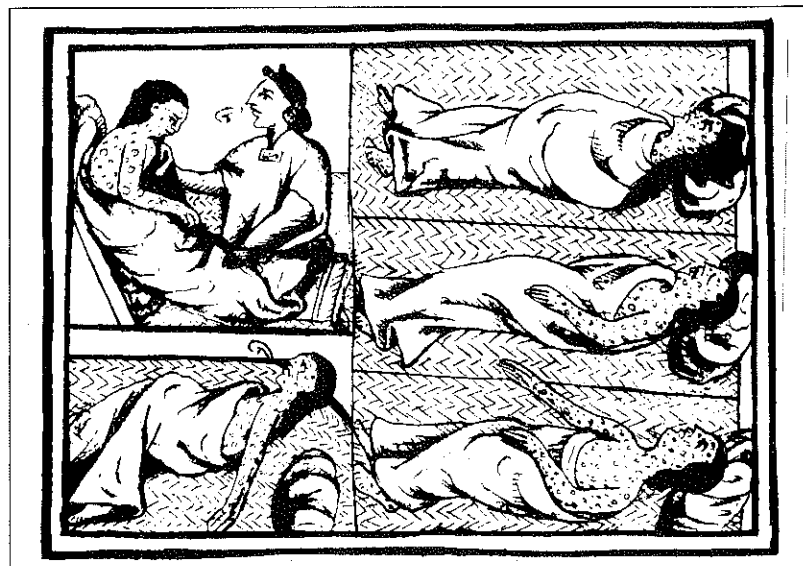
In most areas where Europeans intruded in the hemisphere for the next three centuries, the catastrophe repeated itself. Every European and African participated accidentally in the spread of disease that typically eliminated, within a few generations, at least two-thirds of the native population.

The enslavement and brutal treatment of the native people intensified the lethal effects of European diseases. Having conquered the Incas and Aztecs, the Spanish enslaved thousands of native people and assigned them work regimens that severely weakened their resistance to disease. Some priests waged lifelong campaigns to reduce the exploitation of the Indians, but they had only limited power to control their colonizing compatriots.

Silver, Sugar, and Their Consequences

The small amount of gold that Columbus brought home raised hopes that this metal, which along with silver formed the standard of wealth in Europe, might be found in the transatlantic paradise. Some gold was gleaned from the Caribbean islands and later from Colombia, Brazil, and Peru. But though men pursued it fanatically, not for three centuries would they find gold in windfall quantities in North America. But silver proved abundant—so plenteous, in fact, that when bonanza strikes were made in Bolivia in 1545 and in Mexico in the 1550s, much of Spain's New World enterprise focused on its extraction.

Native people, along with some African slaves, provided the first labor supply for the mines. The Spaniards permitted the highly organized Indian societies to maintain control of their own communities but exacted from them huge labor drafts for mining. At Potosí, in Bolivia, 58,000 workers labored at elevations of up



Aztec victims of smallpox, contracted during Cortés's invasion of Tenochtitlan in the 1520s. The woodcut is from the sixteenth-century work *Historia de las Casas de Nueva Espana* by Fray Bernardo de Sahagun. According to the account of the disease, "The sores were so terrible that the victims could not lie face down, . . . nor move from one side to the other. And when they tried to move even a little, they cried out in agony." (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana)

to 13,000 feet to dig the precious metal from a fabulous "mountain of silver." The town's population reached 120,000 by 1570, making it larger than any in Spain at the time. Thousands of other workers toiled in Mexican mines. By 1660, they had scooped up more than seven million pounds of silver from the Americas, tripling the entire European supply.

The flood of American bullion into Europe triggered profound changes. It financed further conquests and settlement in Spain's American empire, spurred long-distance trading in East Asian silks and spices, and capitalized agricultural development in the New World of sugar, coffee, cacao, and indigo. The bland diet of Europeans gradually changed as sugar and spices, previously luxury articles, became accessible to ordinary people.

The enormous increase of silver circulating in Europe after the mid-sixteenth century caused a "price revolution." The supply of silver increased faster than the demand for goods and services that Europeans could produce, so the value of silver coins declined. Put differently, prices rose. Between 1550 and 1600, they doubled in many parts of Europe and rose another 50 percent in the next half century. Farmers got more for their produce, and merchants thrived on the increased circulation of goods. But artisans, laborers, and landless agricultural workers (the vast majority of the people) suffered when wages did not keep up with rising prices.

Overall, the price revolution brought a major redistribution of wealth and increased the number of people in western Europe living at the margins of society. It thus built up the pressure to emigrate to the Americas. At the same time, rising

prices stimulated commercial development. Expansion overseas fed expansion at home and intensified changes toward capitalist modes of production already under way in the sixteenth century.

While the Spaniards organized their overseas empire around the extraction of silver from the highlands of Mexico, Bolivia, and Peru, the Portuguese staked their future on sugar production in Brazil. Spanish colonial agriculture supplied the huge mining centers, but the Portuguese, using cultivation techniques developed earlier on their Atlantic islands, produced sugar for export markets.

Whereas Spanish mining operations rested primarily on the backs of the native labor force, Portuguese sugar planters scattered the indigenous people and replaced them with platoons of African slaves. In 1570, this regimented work force produced nearly 6 million pounds of sugar annually; by the 1630s, output reached 32 million pounds per year. The sweet "drug food" revolutionized the tastes of millions of Europeans and stimulated the transporting of millions of African slaves across the Atlantic.

From Brazil, sugar production jumped to the Caribbean. Here, in the early seventeenth century, England, Holland, and France challenged Spain and Portugal. Once into the West Indies, Spain's enemies stood at the gates of the Hispanic New World empire. Through contraband trading with Spanish settlements, piratical attacks on Spanish treasure fleets, and outright seizure of Spanish-controlled islands, the Dutch, French, and English in the seventeenth century gradually sapped imperial Spain's strength.

Spain's Northern Frontier

Distinctly third in importance to Spain after Mexico, Peru, and the Caribbean islands, were the northern borderlands of New Spain—the present-day Sun Belt of the United States. Yet the early Spanish influence in Florida, the Gulf region, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California indelibly marked the history of the United States. Spanish control of the southern fringes of North America began in the early 1500s and did not end for three centuries. Far outlasting the Spaniards' rule were the plants and animals they introduced to North America, ranging from sheep, cattle, and horses to weeds that crowded out native plants.

Spanish explorers began charting southeastern North America in the early sixteenth century. First came Juan Ponce de León's expeditions to Florida in 1515 and 1521 and a short-lived settlement in South Carolina in 1526. For the next half century, Spaniards planted small settlements as far north as Chesapeake Bay. The Spanish traded some with the natives, but the North American coast, especially Florida, was chiefly important to the Franciscan friars, who attempted to gather the local tribes into mission villages and convert them to Catholicism.

The Spanish made several attempts to bring the entire Gulf of Mexico region under their control. From 1539 to 1542, Hernando de Soto, a veteran of Pizarro's army, led a military expedition deep into the homelands of the Creeks and Choctaws and explored from Tampa Bay to Arkansas.

De Soto's expedition could not provide what the Spanish most wanted—gold. Pillaging Indian villages and seizing food supplies, de Soto's men cut a brutal swath, and disease followed everywhere they went. The Spanish were paving the

way for later English-speaking conquerors by spreading lethal microbes that devastated Indian societies and broke up the great chiefdoms of the Southeast.

In 1559, Spaniards again marched northward from Mexico in an attempt to establish their authority in the lower Gulf region. Everywhere they went, they enslaved Indians to carry provisions. In 1565, they sought to secure Florida. Building a fort at St. Augustine, they evicted their French rivals 40 miles to the north. St. Augustine became the center of Spain's northeastern frontier, and Florida remained Spanish for more than two centuries.

The Southwest became a more important region of early Spanish activity in North America. Francisco Vásquez de Coronado explored the region from 1540 to 1542. He never found the fabulous Seven Cities of Cíbola, reported by earlier Spanish explorers. But he opened much of Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado to eventual Spanish control, happened upon the Grand Canyon, and probed as far north as the Great Plains.

The Southwest, like Florida and the Gulf region, had no golden cities. In New Mexico, however, Franciscans tried to harvest souls. A half century after Coronado's exploratory intrusions, Juan de Oñate led 400 Spanish soldiers and ten Franciscan friars up the Rio Grande in 1598 to find some 60,000 Pueblos gathered in scores of settled towns where for centuries they had been practicing agriculture. For the next 80 years, the Franciscans tried to graft Catholicism onto Pueblo culture by building churches on the edges of ancient native villages. As long as the priests were content to overlay Indian culture with a Catholic veneer, they encountered little resistance. The Pueblos wanted Spanish military protection from their Apache enemies and valued access to mission livestock and grain during years of drought. So, outwardly, they professed the Christian faith. But secretly the Pueblo still adhered to their traditional religion.

ENGLAND LOOKS WEST

By the time England awoke to the promise of the New World, Spain and Portugal were firmly entrenched there. But by the late sixteenth century, conditions that would propel England overseas had ripened. During the seventeenth century, the English, as well as the Dutch and French, began overtaking their southern European rivals. The first challenge came in the Caribbean, where between 1604 and 1640 the English planted several small colonies producing tobacco and later sugar. Few guessed that some relatively unproductive settlements then being planted on the North American mainland would become some of England's most prized possessions.

England Challenges Spain

England was the slowest of the Atlantic powers to begin exploring and colonizing the New World. Although far more numerous than the Portuguese, the English in the fifteenth century had little experience with long-distance trade and relatively few contacts with cultures beyond their island. Only the voyages of John Cabot (the Genoa-born Giovanni Caboto) gave England any claim in the New World sweepstakes. But Cabot's voyages to Newfoundland and Nova Scotia a few years

after Columbus's first voyage—the first northern crossing of the Atlantic since the Vikings—were never followed up.

At first, England's interest in the far side of the Atlantic centered primarily on fish. This high-protein food, basic to the European diet, was the gold of the North Atlantic. Early North Atlantic explorers found the waters off Newfoundland and Nova Scotia teeming with fish, not only the ordinary cod but also the delectable salmon. But the fishermen of Portugal, Spain, and France, more than those of England, began making annual spring trips to the offshore fisheries in the 1520s. Not until the end of the century would the French and English drive Spanish and Portuguese fishermen from the Newfoundland banks.

Exploratory voyages along the eastern coast of North America were launched not by the English but by the French. Between 1524 and 1535, the king of France sent Jacques Cartier and Giovanni da Verrazano across the Atlantic to find straits so that India-bound ships could sail around the northern land mass (still thought to be an island). The two navigators encountered many Indian tribes, charted the coastline from the St. Lawrence River to the Carolinas, and realized that the northern latitudes of North America were suitable for settlement. But they found nothing of immediate value. The time had not yet arrived when Europeans would want to settle in America, rather than merely extract its riches.

Changes in the late sixteenth century, however, propelled the English overseas. The rising production of woolen cloth, a mainstay of the English economy, had sent merchants scurrying for new markets after 1550. Their success in establishing trading companies in Russia, Scandinavia, the Middle East, and India vastly widened England's commercial orbit and raised hopes for developing still other spheres. Meanwhile, population growth and rising prices depressed the economic conditions of ordinary people and made them look across the ocean for new opportunities.

The cautious policy of Queen Elizabeth I, who ruled from 1558 to 1603, did not include promoting overseas colonies. She favored Protestantism, partly as a vehicle of national independence. Ambitious and talented, she had to contend with Philip II, the fervently Catholic king of Spain. Regarding Elizabeth as a Protestant heretic, Philip plotted incessantly against her. The pope added to Catholic-Protestant tensions in England by excommunicating Elizabeth in 1571 and absolving her subjects from paying her allegiance—in effect, inciting them to overthrow her.

The smoldering conflict between Catholic Spain and Protestant England broke into open flames in 1587. Two decades before, Philip II had sent 20,000 Spanish soldiers into his Netherlands provinces to suppress Protestantism. Then, in 1572, he had helped arrange the massacre of thousands of French Protestants. By the 1580s, Elizabeth was providing covert aid to the Protestant Dutch revolt against Catholic rule. Philip vowed to crush the rebellion and decided as well to attack England in order to wipe out this growing center of Protestant power.

Elizabeth fed the flames of the international Catholic-Protestant conflict in 1585 by sending 6,000 English troops to aid the Dutch Protestants. Three years later, Philip dispatched a Spanish Armada of 130 ships carrying 30,000 men and 2,400 artillery pieces to conquer Elizabeth's England. For two weeks in the summer of 1588 a sea battle raged off the English coast. A motley collection of smaller English ships, with the colorful sea dog Francis Drake in the lead, defeated the Armada, sinking many of the lumbering Spanish galleons and then retiring as the legendary "Protestant wind" blew the crippled Armada into the North Sea.

The Spanish defeat prevented a crushing Catholic victory in Europe and brought a temporary stalemate to the religious wars. It also solidified Protestantism in England and brewed a fierce nationalistic spirit there. Shakespeare's love of "this other Eden, this demi-paradise" summed up popular sentiments; and with Spanish naval power checked, both the English and the Dutch found the seas more open to their rising maritime and commercial interests.

The Westward Fever

In the last decades of the sixteenth century, the idea of overseas expansion captured the imagination of important elements of English society. Urging them on were two men both named Richard Hakluyt, uncle and nephew. In the 1580s and 1590s, they advertised the advantages of colonizing across the Atlantic. For nobles at court, colonies offered new baronies, fiefdoms, and estates. For merchants, the New World promised exotic produce to sell at home and a new outlet for English cloth. For militant Protestant clergy, there awaited a continent of heathen to be saved from devilish savagery and Spanish Catholicism. For the commoner, opportunity meant bounteous land, almost for the taking. The Hakluyts' pamphlets trumpeted that the time was ripe for England to break the Iberian monopoly on the New World riches.

England first attempted colonizing, however, in Ireland. In the 1560s and 1570s, the English gradually extended control over the island through brutal military conquest. Ireland became a turbulent frontier for thousands of career-hungry younger sons of gentry families, as well as landless commoners. Many of the leaders of England's initial New World colonization got their training in subjugating "savages" in Ireland.

The first English attempts at transatlantic settlement were small, feeble, and ill-fated. Whereas the Spanish encountered unheard-of wealth and scored epic victories over ancient and populous civilizations, the English at first met only failure in relatively thinly settled lands. Beginning in 1583, they mounted several unsuccessful attempts to settle Newfoundland. Other settlers, organized by Walter Raleigh, planted a settlement from 1585 to 1588 at Roanoke Island, off the North Carolina coast. They apparently perished in attacks by a local tribe after killing a tribal leader and displaying his head on a pike. Small groups of men sent out to establish a tiny colony in Guiana, off the South American coast, failed in 1604 and 1609, and another group that set down in Maine in 1607 lasted only a year. Even the colonies founded in Virginia in 1607 and Bermuda in 1612, although they would flourish in time, floundered badly for several decades.

English merchants, sometimes supported by gentry investors, undertook these first tentative efforts. They risked their capital in hopes that small-scale ventures in North America might produce the profits of their other overseas commercial ventures. They had their queen's blessing, though little royal backing in forms like subsidies or naval protection. The Spanish and Portuguese colonizing efforts were national enterprises, sanctioned, capitalized, and coordinated by the crown. By contrast, English colonies were private ventures, organized and financed by small partnerships of merchants who pooled their slender resources.

English colonization could not succeed until these first merchant adventurers solicited the wealth and support of the prospering middle class. This support grew

steadily in the first half of the seventeenth century, but even then investors were drawn far more to the quick profits promised in West Indian tobacco production than to the uncertainties of mixed farming, lumbering, and fishing on the North American mainland. In the 1620s and 1630s, most of the English capital invested overseas went into establishing tobacco colonies in tiny Caribbean islands.

Apart from the considerable financing required, the vital element in launching a colony was a suitable body of colonists. About 80,000 streamed out of England between 1600 and 1640, as economic, political, and religious developments pushed them from their homeland at the same time that dreams of opportunity and adventure pulled them westward. In the next 20 years, another 80,000 departed.

Economic difficulties in England prompted many to try their luck in the New World. The changing agricultural system, combined with population growth and the unrelenting increase in prices caused by the influx of New World silver, produced a surplus of unskilled labor, squeezed many small producers, and spread poverty and crime. By the late 1500s, the roads, wrote one of the Hakluyts, were swarming with "valiant youths rusting and hurtful for lack of employment."

A generation later, beginning in 1618, the renewed European religious wars between Protestants and Catholics devastated the continental market for English woolen cloth. Unemployment stalked the textile regions. Probably half the households in England lived on the edge of poverty.

Religious persecution and political considerations intensified the pressure to emigrate from England in the early seventeenth century. How this operated in specific situations will be considered in the next chapter. The largest number of emigrants went to the West Indies. The North American mainland colonies attracted perhaps half as many, and the plantations in northern Ireland fewer still. For the first time in their history, large numbers of English people were abandoning their island homeland to carry their destinies to new frontiers.

Anticipating North America

The early English settlers in North America were far from uninformed about the indigenous people of the New World. Beginning with Columbus's first description of the New World, published in several European cities in 1493 and 1494, reports and promotional accounts circulated among the participants in early voyages of discovery, trade, and settlement. This literature became the basis for anticipating the world that had been discovered beyond the setting sun.

Colonists who read or listened to these accounts got a dual image of the native people. On the one hand, the Indians were depicted as a gentle people who eagerly received Europeans. Columbus had written of the "great amity toward us" that he encountered in San Salvador in 1492 and had described the Arawaks there as "a loving people" who "were greatly pleased and became so entirely our friends that it was a wonder to see." Verrazano, the first European to touch the eastern edge of North America, wrote optimistically about the native people in 1524. The natives, he related, "came toward us joyfully uttering loud cries of wonderment, and showing us the safest place to beach the boat."

This positive image of the Native Americans reflected both the friendly reception that Europeans often actually received and the European vision of the New World as an earthly paradise where war-torn, impoverished, or persecuted people

could build a new life. The strong desire to trade with the native people also encouraged a favorable view because only a friendly Indian could become a suitable partner in commercial exchange.

A counterimage of a savage, hostile Indian, however, also entered the minds of settlers coming to North America. Like the positive image, it originated in the early travel literature. As early as 1502, Sebastian Cabot had paraded in England three Eskimos he had kidnapped on an Arctic voyage. They were described as flesh-eating savages and “brute beasts.” Many other accounts portrayed the New World natives as halfmen, who lived, as Amerigo Vespucci put it, without “law, religion, rulers, immortality of the soul, and private property.”

The English had another reason for believing that all would not be peace and friendship when they came ashore. For years they had read accounts of the Spanish experience in the Caribbean, Mexico, and Peru—and the story was not pretty. Many books described in gory detail the wholesale violence that occurred when

TIMELINE <i>Pre-Columbian epochs</i>				
12,000 B.C. Beringian epoch ends	6000 B.C. Paleo-Indian phase ends	500 B.C. Archaic era ends	500 B.C. –500 A.D. Post-Archaic era in North America	c. 1000 Norse seafarers establish settlements in Newfoundland
A.D. 1500 Kingdoms of Ghana, Mali, Songhay in Africa	1420s Portuguese sailors explore west coast of Africa	1492 Christopher Columbus lands on Caribbean islands; Spanish expel Moors (Muslims) and Jews	1494 Treaty of Tordesillas	1497–1585 French and English explore northern part of the Americas
1498 Vasco da Gama reaches India after sailing around Africa	1513 Portuguese explorers reach China	1515–1565 Spanish explore Florida and southern part of North America	1520s Luther attacks Catholicism	1521 Cortés conquers the Aztecs
1530s Calvin calls for religious reform	1533 Pizarro conquers the Incas	1540–1542 Coronado explores the Southwest	1558 Elizabeth I crowned queen of England	1585 Roanoke Island settlement
1588 English defeat the Spanish Armada	1603 James I succeeds Elizabeth I	1607 English begin settlement at Jamestown, Virginia		

Spaniard met Mayan, Aztec, or Inca. Accounts of Spanish cruelty, even genocide, were useful to Protestant pamphleteers, who labeled the Catholic Spaniards “hellhounds and wolves.” Immigrants embarking for North America wondered whether similar violent confrontations awaited them.

Another factor nourishing negative images of the Indian stemmed from the Indians’ possession of the land necessary for settlement. For Englishmen, rooted in a tradition of private property ownership, this presented moral, legal, and practical problems. As early as the 1580s, George Peckham, an early promoter of colonization, had admitted that the English doubted their right to take the land of others.

The problem could be partially solved by arguing that English settlers did not intend to take the Indians’ land but only wanted to share it. In return, they would offer the natives the advantages of a more advanced culture and, most important, the Christian religion. This argument would be repeated for generations.

But a more ominous argument also justified English rights to native soil. By denying the humanity of the Indians, the English, like other Europeans, claimed that the native possessors of the land disqualified themselves from rightful ownership of it. “Although the Lord hath given the earth to children of men,” one Englishman reasoned, “the greater part of it [is] possessed and wrongfully usurped by wild beasts and unreasonable creatures, or by brutish savages, which by reason of their godless ignorance and blasphemous idolatry, are worse than those beasts which are of the most wild and savage nature.”

Defining the Native Americans as “savage” and “brutish” did not give the English arriving in Opechancanough’s land the power to dispossess his people of their soil, but it armed them with a moral justification for doing so when their numbers became sufficient. Few settlers arriving in North America doubted that their technological superiority would allow them to overwhelm the indigenous people. For their part, people like Opechancanough probably perceived the arriving Europeans as impractical, irreligious, aggressive, and strangely intent on accumulating things.



CONCLUSION

Converging Worlds

The English immigrants who began arriving on the eastern edge of North America in the early seventeenth century came late to a New World that other Europeans had been colonizing for more than a century. The first English arrivals, the immigrants to Virginia, were but a small advance wave of the large, varied, and determined fragment of English society that would flock to the western Atlantic frontier during the next few generations. Like Spanish, Portuguese, and French colonizers before them, they would establish new societies in the newfound lands in contact with the people of two other cultures—one made up of ancient inhabitants of the lands they were settling and the other composed of those brought across the Atlantic against their will. We turn now to the richly diverse founding experience of the English latecomers in the seventeenth century.

FINAL Assignment! Watch this Tom Richey Video and fill out this graphic!

NAME: _____

ASSIGNMENT #3: Native American Cultures. Watch video and complete the graphic organizer.

[NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURES VIDEO](#)

LINK: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zG_Q50JDeLo&feature=youtu.be

Arctic Tribal Groups:	Key Ideas:
Plains Indians Tribal Groups:	Key Ideas:
Northeast/Great Lakes Tribal Groups:	Key Ideas:
Southwest Tribal Groups:	Key Ideas:
Southeast Tribal Groups:	Key Ideas: