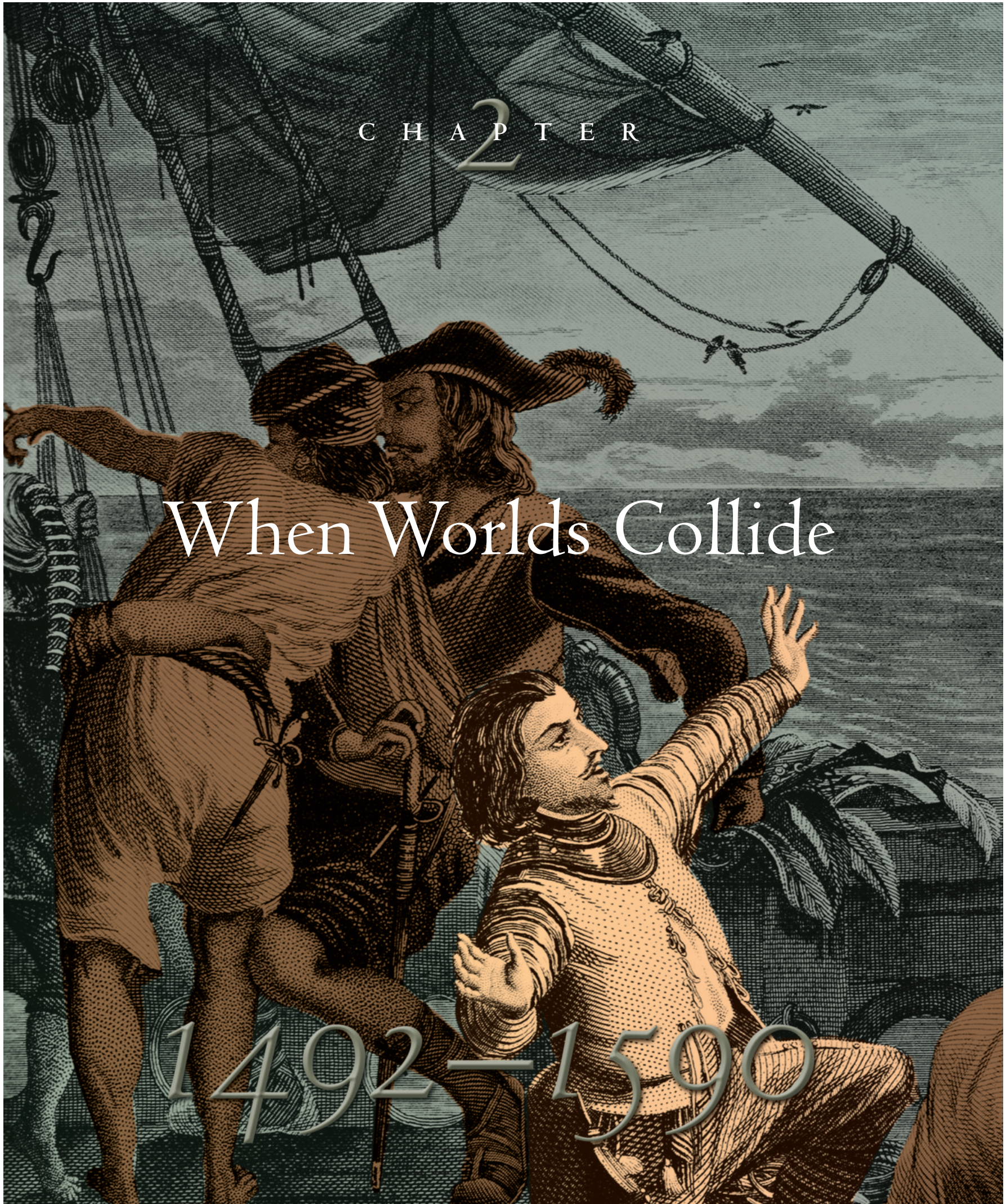
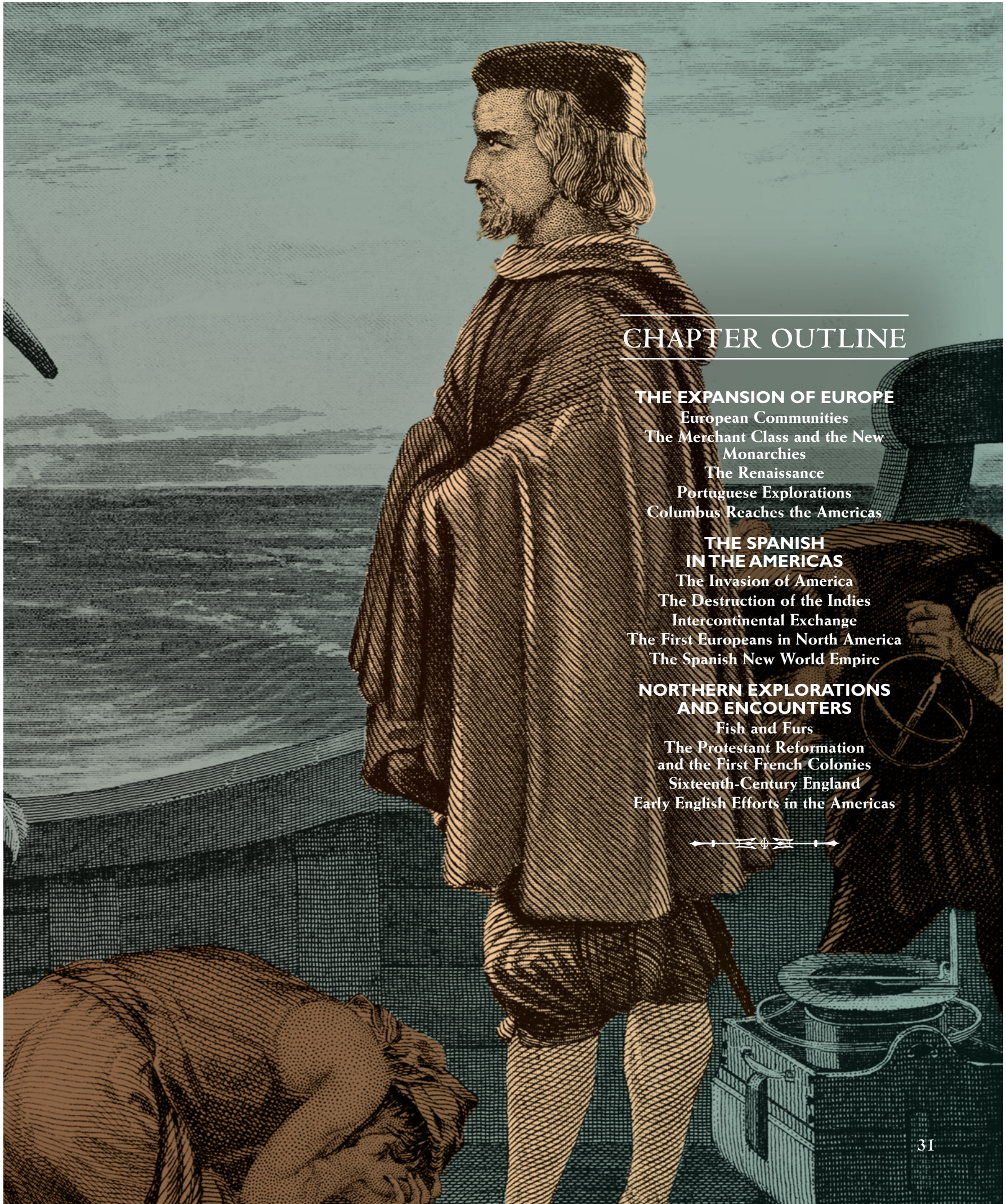


C H A P T E R
2

When Worlds Collide

1492-1590





CHAPTER OUTLINE

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

- European Communities
- The Merchant Class and the New Monarchies
- The Renaissance
- Portuguese Explorations
- Columbus Reaches the Americas

THE SPANISH IN THE AMERICAS

- The Invasion of America
- The Destruction of the Indies
- Intercontinental Exchange
- The First Europeans in North America
- The Spanish New World Empire

NORTHERN EXPLORATIONS AND ENCOUNTERS

- Fish and Furs
- The Protestant Reformation and the First French Colonies
- Sixteenth-Century England
- Early English Efforts in the Americas



AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

The English and the Algonquins at Roanoke

It was late August 1590 when English ships made their way north through rough seas to Roanoke Island (off the coast of present-day North Carolina) where Governor John White had left the first English community in North America three years before. Anxiously, White went ashore in search of the 115 colonists—mostly single men, but also twenty families, including his own daughter, son-in-law, and granddaughter Virginia Dare, the first English baby born in America. Finding the houses “taken down” and possessions “spoiled and scattered about,” White suddenly noticed some writing on a tree trunk: “in fair capital letters was graven CROATOAN.” Because this was the name of a friendly Indian village fifty miles south and because White found no sign of a cross, which he had instructed the colonists to leave if they were in trouble, he felt sure that his people awaited him at Croatoan, and he returned to his ship, anxious to speed to their rescue.

Walter Raleigh, a wealthy adventurer who sought profit and prestige by organizing an English colony to compete with Spain’s powerful empire in the New World, had sponsored the Roanoke settlement. When his men returned from a reconnoitering expedition to the area in 1584, they reported that the coastal region was densely populated by a “very handsome and goodly people.” These Indians, the most southerly of the Algonquian coastal peoples, enjoyed a prosperous livelihood farming, fishing, and hunting from their small villages of one or two dozen communal houses. At an island the Indians called Roanoke, the English had been “entertained with all love and kindness” by a chief named Wingina. The leader of several surrounding villages, Wingina welcomed the English as potential allies in his struggle



to extend his authority over still others. So when Raleigh’s adventurers asked the chief’s permission to establish a settlement on the island, he readily granted it, even sending two of his men back to England to assist in preparations. Manteo and Wanchese, the Indian emissaries, worked with Thomas Harriot, an Oxford scholar, and John White, an artist. The four men learned one another’s language, and there seems to have been a good deal of mutual respect among them.

But when an all-male force of Englishmen returned in 1585 to establish the colony of Virginia (christened in honor of England’s virgin queen, Elizabeth I), the two Indian emissaries offered Chief Wingina conflicting reports. Although Manteo, from the village of Croatoan, argued that their technology would make the English powerful allies, Wanchese described the disturbing inequalities of English society and warned of potential brutality. He rightly suspected English intentions, for Raleigh’s plans were not based on the expectation that the Indians would be treated as equals, but as serfs to be exploited. Wanchese warned of their treachery. Indeed, Raleigh had directed the mission’s commander to “proceed with extremity” should the Indians prove difficult to subjugate. Raleigh anticipated that his colony would return profits through the lucrative trade in furs, a flourishing plantation agriculture, or gold and silver mines with the Indians supplying the labor.

The English colony was incapable of supporting itself, and the colonists turned to Wingina for supplies. With the harvest in the storage pits, fish running in the streams and fat game in the woods, Wingina did the hospitable thing. But as fall turned to winter and the stores declined, constant English demands threatened the Indians’ resources. Wingina’s people were also stunned by the strange new diseases that came with the intruders. “The people began to die very fast, and many in [a] short space,” Harriot wrote. In the spring, Wingina and his people ran out of patience. But before the Indians could act, the English caught wind of the rising hostility, and in May 1586 they surprised the villagers, killing several of the leading men and beheading Wingina. With the plan of using Indian labor now clearly impossible, the colonists returned to England.

John White and Thomas Harriot were appalled by this turn of events. Harriot insisted (or argued) to Raleigh that “through discreet dealing” the Indians might “honor, obey, fear and love us.” White proposed a new plan for a colony of real settlers who might live in harmony with the Indians. Harriot and White clearly considered English civilization superior to Indian society, but their vision of colonization was considerably different from that of the plunderers.

In 1587, Raleigh arranged for John White to return to America as governor of a new civilian colony. The party was supposed to land on Chesapeake Bay, but their captain dumped them instead at Roanoke so he could get on with the profitable activity of plundering the Spanish. Thus the colonists found themselves amid natives who were alienated by the bad treatment of the previous expedition. Within a month, one of White’s colonists had been shot full of arrows by attackers under the leadership of Wanchese, who after Wingina’s death became the most militant opponent of the English among the Roanoke Indians. White retaliated with a counterattack that increased the hostility of the Indians. The colonists begged White to return home in their only seaworthy ship and to press Raleigh for support. Reluctantly, White set sail, but arrived just as a war began between England and Spain. Three anxious years passed before White was able to return to Roanoke, only to find the settlement destroyed and the colonists gone.

As White and his crew set their sights for Croatoan that August morning in 1590, a great storm blew up. White and the ship’s captain agreed that they would have to leave the Pamlico Sound for deeper waters. It proved White’s last glimpse of America. Tossed home on a stormy sea, he never returned. The English settlers of Roanoke became known as the Lost Colony, their disappearance and ultimate fate one of the enduring mysteries of colonial history.

The Roanoke experience is a reminder of the underlying assumptions of New World colonization. “The English,” writes the historian and geographer Carl Sauer, had “naked imperial objectives.” It also suggests the wasted opportunity of the Indians’ initial welcome. There is evidence that the lost colonists lived out the rest of their lives with the Algonquians. In 1609, the English at Jamestown learned from local Indians that “some of our nation planted by Sir Walter Raleigh [are] yet alive,” and many years later, an English surveyor at Croatoan Island was greeted by natives who told him that “several of their Ancestors were white People,” that “the English were forced to cohabit with them for Relief and Conversation, and that in the process of Time, they conformed themselves to the Manners of their Indian Relations.” It may be that Virginia Dare and the other children married into Indian families, creating the first mixed community of English and Indians in North America.

KEY TOPICS

- The European background of American colonization
- Creation of the Spanish New World empire and its first extensions to North America
- The large-scale intercontinental exchange of peoples, crops, animals, and diseases
- The French role in the beginnings of the North American fur trade
- England’s first overseas colonies in Ireland and America

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

Roanoke and other European colonial settlements of the sixteenth century came in the wake of Christopher Columbus’s voyage of 1492. There may have been many unrecorded contacts between the peoples of America and the Old World before Columbus. Archaeological excavations at L’Anse aux Meadows on the fogbound Newfoundland coast provide evidence for a Norse landing in North America in the tenth or eleventh century. The Norse settlement lasted only a few

HOW DID social change in Europe contribute to European expansion overseas?

AP* Guideline 2.1

Class Discussion Question 2.1

Lecture Suggestion 2.1, Norse Presence in North America

QUICK REVIEW

European Society

- ◆ European states were hierarchical.
- ◆ Most Europeans were peasant farmers.
- ◆ Most Europeans were Christians united under the authority of the Roman Catholic Church.

years, was implacably opposed by the native inhabitants, and had no appreciable impact on them. But the contact with the Americas established by Columbus had earthshaking consequences. Within a generation of his voyage, continental exchanges of peoples, crops, animals, and germs had reshaped the Atlantic world. The key to understanding these remarkable events is the transformation of Europe during the several centuries preceding the voyage of Columbus.

EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

Western Europe was an agricultural society, the majority of its people peasant farmers. Farming and livestock raising had been practiced in Europe for thousands of years, but great advances in farming technology took place during the late Middle Ages. Water mills, iron plows, improved devices for harnessing livestock, and systems of crop rotation all greatly increased productivity. From the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, farmers more than doubled the quantity of European land in cultivation, and accordingly the population nearly tripled.

Most Europeans were village people, living in family households. Men performed the basic fieldwork; women were responsible for child care, livestock, and food preparation. In the European pattern, daughters usually left the homes and villages of their families to live among their husbands' people. Women were furnished with dowries, but generally excluded from inheritance. Divorce was almost unknown.

Europe was characterized by a social system historians have called **feudalism**. The continent was divided into hundreds of small territories, each ruled by a family of lords who claimed a disproportionate share of wealth and power. Feudal lords commanded labor service from peasants, and tribute in the form of crops. The lords were the main beneficiaries of medieval economic expansion, accumulating great estates and building fortified castles.

Europe was politically fragmented, but religiously unified under the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, a complex organization that spanned thousands of local communities with a hierarchy extending from parish priests to the pope in Rome. At the core of Christian belief was a set of communal values: love of God the father, loving treatment of neighbors, and the fellowship of all believers. Yet the Church actively persecuted heretics, nonbelievers, and devotees of older "pagan" religions. The church legitimized the power relationships of Europe and counseled the poor and downtrodden to place their hope in heavenly rewards.

Europe was also home to numerous communities of Jews, who had fled from their homeland in Palestine after a series of unsuccessful revolts against Roman rule in the first century B.C.E. Both church and civic authorities subjected the Jews to discriminatory treatment. Restricted to ghettos and forbidden from owning land, many Jews turned adversity to advantage, becoming merchants who specialized in long-distance trade. But Jewish success only seemed to stimulate Christian hostility.

For the great majority of Europeans, living conditions were harsh. Most rural people survived on bread and porridge, supplemented with seasonal vegetables and an occasional piece of meat or fish. Infectious diseases abounded; perhaps a third of all children died before their fifth birthday, and only half the population reached adulthood. Famines periodically ravaged the countryside. A widespread epidemic of bubonic plague, known as the "Black Death," swept in from Asia and between 1347 and 1353 wiped out a third of the western European population. Disease led to famine and violence, as groups fought for shares of a shrinking economy.

THE MERCHANT CLASS AND THE NEW MONARCHIES

Strengthened by the technological breakthroughs of the late Middle Ages, the European economy proved that it had a great capacity for recovery. During the

Lecture Suggestion 2.2, Preconditions for Overseas Conquest

Class Discussion Question 2.2

Feudalism A medieval European social system in which land was divided into hundreds of small holdings.

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, commerce greatly expanded, especially the trade in basic goods such as cereals and timber, minerals and salt, wine, fish, and wool. Growing commerce stimulated the growth of markets and towns. By 1500, Europe had fully recovered from the Black Death and the population had nearly returned to its former peak of about 65 million.

One consequence of this revival was the rise of a fledgling system of western European states (see Map 2-1). The monarchs of these emerging states were new centers of power, building legitimacy by promoting domestic political order as they unified their realms. They found support among the rising merchant class of the cities, which in return sought lucrative royal contracts and trading monopolies. The alliance between commercial interests and the monarchs was a critical development that prepared the way for overseas expansion. Western Europe was neither the wealthiest nor the most scientifically sophisticated of the world's cultures, but it would prove to have an extraordinary capacity to generate capital for overseas ventures.

THE RENAISSANCE

The heart of this dynamic European commercialism lay in the city-states of Italy. During the late Middle Ages, the cities of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa launched armed commercial fleets that seized control of trade in the Mediterranean. Their merchants became the principal outfitters of the Crusades, a series of great military expeditions promoted by the Catholic Church to recover Palestine from the Muslims. The conquest of the Holy Land by Crusaders at the end of the eleventh century delivered the silk and spice trades of Asia into the hands of the Italian merchants. Tropical spices—cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, and pepper from the Indies (the lands from modern India eastward to Indonesia)—were in great demand, for they made the European diet far less monotonous for the aristocrats who could afford the new products from the East. Asian civilization also supplied a number of technical innovations that further propelled European economic growth, including the compass, gunpowder, and the art of printing with movable type—“the three greatest inventions known to man,” according to English philosopher Francis Bacon. Europeans were not so much innovators as magnificent adaptors.

Contact with Islamic civilization provided Western scholars with access to important ancient Greek and Roman texts that had been lost to them during the Middle Ages but preserved in the great libraries of the Muslims. The revival of interest in classical antiquity sparked the period of intellectual and artistic flowering in Europe during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries known as the **Renaissance**. The revolution in publishing (made possible by the printing press and movable type), the beginning of regular postal service, and the growth of universities helped spread this revival throughout the elite circles of Europe.

The Renaissance celebrated human possibility. This human-centered perspective was evident in many endeavors. In architecture, there was a return to measured classical styles, thought to encourage rational reflection. In painting and sculpture, there was a new focus on the human body. Artists modeled muscles with light and shadow to produce heroic images of men and women. These were aspects of a movement that became known as “humanism,” a revolt against religious authority, in which the secular took precedence over the purely religious. This Renaissance outlook was a critical component of the spirit that motivated the exploration of the Americas.



A French peasant labors in the field before a spectacular castle in a page taken from the illuminated manuscript *Tres Riches Heures*, made in the fifteenth century for the duc de Berry. In 1580, the essayist Montaigne talked with several American Indians at the French court who “noticed among us some men gorged to the full with things of every sort while their other halves were beggars at their doors, emaciated with hunger and poverty” and “found it strange that these poverty-stricken halves should suffer such injustice, and that they did not take the others by the throat or set fire to their houses.”

Art Resource, Musee Conde, Chantilly/Giraudon, Art Resource, NY.

Renaissance The intellectual and artistic flowering in Europe during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries sparked by a revival of interest in classical antiquity.



To explore this map further, go to www.myhistorylab.com



MAP 2-1

Western Europe in the Fifteenth Century By the middle of the century, the monarchs of western Europe had unified their realms and begun to build royal bureaucracies and standing armies and navies. These states, all with extensive Atlantic coastlines, sponsored the voyages that inaugurated the era of European colonization.

WHY WERE some European states better positioned for colonizing than others?

PORTUGUESE EXPLORATIONS

Portugal, a narrow land on the western coast of the Iberian Peninsula with a long tradition of seafaring, became the first of the new Renaissance kingdoms to explore distant lands. Lisbon, the principal port on the sea route between the Mediterranean and northwestern Europe, was a bustling, cosmopolitan city with large enclaves of Italian merchants. By 1385, the local merchant community had grown powerful enough to place their own favorite, João I, on the throne, and the king had ambitious plans to establish a Portuguese trading empire.

A central figure in this development was the king's son, Prince Henry, known to later generations as "the Navigator." In the spirit of Renaissance learning, the prince established an academy of eminent geographers, instrument makers, ship-builders, and seamen at his institute at Sagres Point, on the southwestern tip of Portugal. By the mid-fifteenth century, as a result of their efforts, most educated Europeans knew the Earth was a spherical globe—the idea that they believed it to be "flat" is one of the many myths about Columbus's voyage. The scholars at Sagres Point incorporated Asian and Muslim ideas into the design of a new ship known as the caravel, faster and better-handling than any previous oceangoing vessel. They

Map 2-1

European states that embarked on trade and commerce expanded their navy and communication capabilities. Growing commerce stimulated the growth of markets and towns. Rising monarchs sought to fulfill their realm by gathering the support of the merchants and obtaining lucrative trading monopolies. The alliance between commercial interests and the monarchs was a critical development that prepared the way for overseas expansion.

QUICK REVIEW

Portuguese Explorations

- ◆ Prince Henry the Navigator played a key role in sponsoring exploration.
- ◆ Technological innovations made longer sea voyages possible.
- ◆ The Portuguese explored the Atlantic coast of Africa seeking direct access to gold and slaves.

studied and worked out methods for arming those vessels with cannons, turning them into mobile fortresses. They promoted the use of Arab instruments for astronomical calculation, and published the first tables of declination, indicating where the sun and stars could be found in the skies on a given day of the year. With such innovations, Europeans became the masters of the world's seas, a supremacy that would continue until the twentieth century.

The Portuguese explored the Atlantic coast of northwestern Africa for direct access to the lucrative gold and slave trades of that continent. By the time of Prince Henry's death in 1460, the Portuguese had colonized the Atlantic islands of the Azores and the Madeiras and founded bases along the western African "Gold Coast." Because the Ottoman Turks had captured Constantinople and closed the overland spice and silk routes in 1453, the Italian merchants of Lisbon pressed the Portuguese crown to sponsor an expedition that would establish an ocean route to the Indies. In 1488, the admiral Bartolomeu Días rounded the southern tip of Africa, and ten years later Vasco da Gama, his successor, reached India with the assistance of Arab pilots. The Portuguese erected strategic trading forts along the coasts of Africa, India, Indonesia, and China, the first and longest-lasting outposts of European world colonialism, and thereby gained control of much of the Asian spice trade. Most important for the history of the Americas, the Portuguese established the Atlantic slave trade. (For a full discussion of slavery, see Chapter 4.)

COLUMBUS REACHES THE AMERICAS

In 1476, Christopher Columbus, a young Genovese sailor, joined his brother in Lisbon, where he became a seafaring merchant for Italian traders. Gradually, Columbus developed the simple idea of opening a new route to the Indies by sailing west across the Atlantic Ocean. Such a venture would require royal backing, but when he approached the advisors of the Portuguese monarch, they laughed at his geographic ignorance, pointing out that his calculation of the distance to Asia was much too short. Columbus's proposal was similarly rejected by the French and English. They were right, Columbus was wrong, but it turned out to be an error of monumental good fortune for him.

Columbus finally sold his plan to Isabel and Ferdinand, the monarchs of Castile and Aragon, who had married and united their kingdoms. In 1492, the couple had succeeded in conquering Grenada, the last Muslim-controlled province in Iberia, ending a centuries-long struggle known as the *reconquista*. Through many generations of warfare, the Spanish had developed a military tradition that thrived on conquest and plunder, and the monarchy was eager for new lands to conquer. Moreover, observing the successful Portuguese push southward along the west coast of Africa, they were attracted to the prospect of opening lucrative trade routes of their own to the Indies. One of the many Columbus myths is the story that Queen Isabel pawned her jewels to finance his voyage. In fact, the principal investors were Italian merchants.

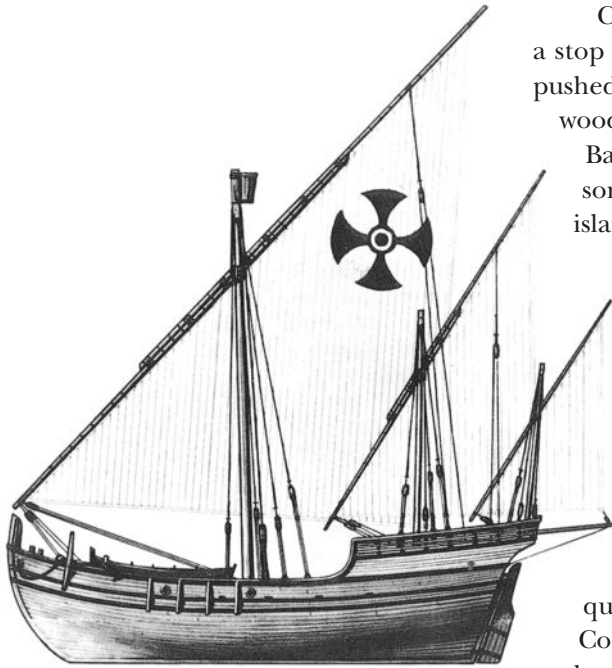
Columbus called his undertaking "the Enterprise of the Indies," suggesting his commercial intentions. But his mission was more than commercial. One of his prime goals was to occupy and settle any islands not under the control of another monarch, claiming title for Spain by right of conquest. Like the adventurers who later established the first English colony at Roanoke, Columbus's objectives were starkly imperial.



The astrolabe, an instrument used for determining the precise position of heavenly bodies, was introduced into early modern Europe by the Arabs. This is one of the earliest examples, an intricately-engraved brass astrolabe produced by a master craftsman in Syria in the thirteenth century.

©National Maritime Museum Picture Library, London, England. Neg. #E5555-3.

Reconquista The long struggle (ending in 1492) during which Spanish Christians reconquered the Iberian peninsula from Muslim occupiers.



This ship, thought to be similar to Columbus's *Niña*, is a caravel, a type of vessel developed by the naval experts at Henry the Navigator's institute at Sagres Point in Portugal. To the traditional square-rigged Mediterranean ship, they added the "lateen" sail of the Arabs, which permitted much greater maneuverability. Other Asian improvements, such as the stern-post rudder and multiple masting, allowed caravels to travel farther and faster than any earlier ships, and made possible the invasion of America.

From *The Ship*, an Illustrated History by Bjorn Landstrom, copyright © 1961 by Bokforlaget Forum AB. Used by permission of Doubleday, a division of Random House, Inc.



This excerpt from the diary of Christopher Columbus (October 12, 1492) typifies early European perceptions of native populations:

I thought then, and still believe, that these were from the continent. It appears to me, that the people are ingenious, and would be good servants and I am of opinion that they would very readily become Christians, as they appear to have no religion. If it please our Lord, I intend at my return to carry home six of them to your Highnesses, that they may learn our language.

Columbus's three vessels left the port of Palos, Spain, in August 1492, and after a stop of some weeks in the Canary Islands, they sailed west across the Atlantic, pushed by the prevailing trade winds. By October, flocks of birds and floats of driftwood suggested the approach of land. It turned out to be a small, flat island in the Bahamas, perhaps Samana Cay. But Columbus believed he was in the Indies, somewhere near the Asian mainland. He explored the northern coasts of the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola before heading home to announce his discovery, fortuitously catching the westerly winds that blow from the American coast toward Europe north of the tropics. One of Columbus's most important contributions was the discovery of the clockwise circulation of Atlantic winds and currents that would, over the next several centuries, carry thousands of European ships back and forth to the Americas.

Leading Columbus's triumphal procession to the royal court at Barcelona were half a dozen captive Taínos, the native people of the Caribbean, dressed in bright feathers with little ornaments of gold. The natives, Columbus noted in his report, were "of a very acute intelligence," but had "no iron or steel weapons." A conflict with several of his men had ended quickly with the deaths of two natives. "Should your majesties command it," Columbus wrote, "all the inhabitants could be made slaves." The land was rich, he reported. "There are many spices and great mines of gold and of other metals." In fact, none of the spices familiar to Europeans grew in the Americas, and there were only small quantities of alluvial gold in the riverbeds. But the sight of the ornaments worn by the Taínos infected Columbus with gold fever. He had left a small force behind in a rough fort on the northern coast of Hispaniola to explore for gold—the first European foothold in the Americas.

The enthusiastic monarchs financed a convoy of seventeen ships and 1,500 men—equipped with armor, crossbows, and firearms—that departed in late 1493 to begin the colonization of the islands. But reaching Hispaniola, Columbus found that the men left behind had all been killed by Taínos who, like the Algonquians at Roanoke, had lost patience with their demands for supplies. Columbus established another fortified outpost and sent his men out to prospect for gold. They prowled the countryside, preying on Taíno communities, stealing food, and abusing the people. "They carried off the women of the islanders," wrote one early chronicler, "under the very eyes of their brothers and husbands." The Taínos, who lived in warrior chiefdoms, rose in resistance, and the Spaniards responded with unrestrained violence. Columbus imposed on the natives a harsh tribute, payable in gold, but the supply in the rivers soon ran out. Natives were seized and shipped to Spain as slaves, but most soon sickened and died. It was a disaster for the Taínos. The combined effects of warfare, famine, and demoralization resulted in the collapse of their society. Numbering perhaps 300,000 in 1492, they had been reduced to fewer than 30,000 within fifteen years, and by the 1520s had been effectively eliminated as a people. Without natives, the colony plunged into depression, and by 1500, the Spanish monarchs were so dissatisfied that they ordered Columbus arrested and he was sent to Spain in irons.

Columbus made two additional voyages to the Caribbean, both characterized by the same obsession for gold and slaves. He died in Spain in 1506, still convinced he had opened the way to the Indies. This belief persisted among many Europeans well into the sixteenth century. But others had already begun to see things from a different perspective. Amerigo Vespucci of Florence, who voyaged to the Caribbean in 1499, was the first to describe Columbus's Indies as *Mundus Novus*, a "New World." When European geographers named this new continent, early in the sixteenth century, they honored Vespucci's insight by calling it "America."



This image accompanied Columbus's account of his voyage, which was published in Latin and reissued in many other languages and editions that circulated throughout Europe before 1500. The Spanish King Ferdinand is shown directing the voyage to a tropical island, where the natives flee in terror. Columbus's impression of Native Americans as a people vulnerable to conquest shows clearly in this image.

The Granger Collection.

THE SPANISH IN THE AMERICAS

A century after Columbus's death, before the English had planted a single successful New World colony of their own, the Spanish had created a huge and wealthy empire in the Americas. In theory, all law and policy for the empire came from Spain; in practice, the isolation of the settlements led to a good deal of local autonomy. The Spanish created a caste system, in which a small minority of settlers and their offspring controlled the lives and labor of millions of Indian and African workers. But the Spanish empire in America was also a society in which colonists, Indians, and Africans mixed to form a new people.

THE INVASION OF AMERICA

This was the beginning of the European invasion of America (see Map 2-2). The first stages included scenes of frightful violence. Armed men marched across the Caribbean islands, plundering villages, slaughtering men, and raping women. Columbus's successors established an institution known as the *encomienda*, in which native Indians were compelled to labor in the service of Spanish lords. The relationship was supposed to be reciprocal, with lords responsible for protecting their Indians, but in practice it amounted to little more than slavery. Faced with labor shortages, Spanish slavers raided the Bahamas and soon depopulated them entirely. The depletion of gold on Hispaniola led to the invasion of the islands of Puerto Rico and Jamaica in 1508,

WHAT FACTORS contributed to the defeat of the Aztecs and Incas by European forces?

AP* Guideline 2.2

Lecture Suggestion 2.3, Spanish and English Conquests



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Map 2-2

The Spanish came to the Americas to gain wealth, gold in particular, and handled the Indians through their policy of *encomienda*, which amounted to little more than slavery. The French established small settlements mostly based on trade, particularly furs, and concentrated on a frontier of inclusion with Indians in the North Atlantic. The English did not develop their own plans to colonize North America until the second half of the sixteenth century and focused on permanent settlement. The English took to a policy of isolation and did not engage in large-scale trading or integration with the Indians.

Class Discussion Question 2.4

MAP 2-2

The Invasion of America In the sixteenth century, the Spanish first invaded the Caribbean and used it to stage their successive wars of conquest in North and South America. In the seventeenth century, the French, English, and Dutch invaded the Atlantic coast. The Russians, sailing across the northern Pacific, mounted the last of the colonial invasions in the eighteenth century.

WHAT IMPORTANT differences were there among the Spanish, French, and English approaches to conquest and settlement of the Americas?

then Cuba in 1511. Meanwhile, rumors of wealthy societies to the west led to scores of probing expeditions. The Spanish invasion of Central America began in 1511, and two years later Vasco Núñez de Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama to the Pacific Ocean. In 1517, Spaniards landed on the coast of Mexico, and within a year they made contact with the Aztec empire.

The Aztecs had migrated to the highland valley of Mexico from the deserts of the American Southwest in the thirteenth century, in the wake of the collapse of the Toltec empire (see Chapter 1). The warlike Aztecs settled a marshy lake district and built the great city of Tenochtitlán. By the early fifteenth century they dominated the peoples of the Mexican highlands, in the process building a powerful state. An estimated 200,000 people lived in the Aztec capital, making it one of the largest cities in the world, much larger than European cities of the time.

In 1519 Hernán Cortés, a veteran of the conquest of Cuba, landed on the Mexican coast with armed troops. Within two years he had overthrown the Aztec empire, a spectacular military accomplishment. The Spanish had superior arms

(especially important were their steel swords), but that was not the principal cause of their success. Most importantly, Cortés brilliantly exploited the resentment of the many peoples who lived under Aztec domination, forging Spanish–Indian alliances that became a model for the subsequent European colonization of the Americas. Here, as at Roanoke and dozens of other sites of European invasion, European invaders found natives eager for allies to support them in their conflicts with their neighbors. Still, the Aztecs were militarily powerful, successfully driving the Spaniards from Tenochtitlán, and putting up a bitter and prolonged defense when Cortés returned to besiege them. But in the meantime they suffered a devastating epidemic of smallpox that killed thousands and undermined their ability to resist. In the aftermath of conquest, the Spanish unmercifully plundered Aztec society, providing the Catholic monarchs with wealth beyond their wildest imagining.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE INDIES

The Indian peoples of the Americas resisted Spanish conquest, but most proved a poor match for mounted warriors with steel swords. The record of the conquest, however, includes many brave Indian leaders and thousands of martyrs. The natives of the outermost islands (the Caribs, from whom the Caribbean Sea takes its name) successfully defended their homelands until the end of the sixteenth century, and in the arid lands of northern Mexico the nomadic tribes the Spanish knew collectively as the Chichimecs proved equally difficult to subdue.

Some Europeans protested the horrors of the conquest. In 1511, the priest Antonio de Montesinos condemned the violence in a sermon to colonists on Hispaniola. “On what authority have you waged a detestable war against these people, who dwelt quietly and peacefully on their own land?” he asked. “Are these Indians not men? ... Are you not obliged to love them as you love yourselves?” He was echoed

QUICK REVIEW

Cortés and the Aztecs

- ◆ Hernán Cortés arrived in Mexico in 1519.
- ◆ Cortés exploited resentment toward the Aztecs to overthrow their empire.
- ◆ Smallpox outbreaks undermined the Aztecs’ ability to resist the Spanish.

Class Discussion Question 2.3

Audio-Visual Aid, “500 Nations”

This map of Tenochtitlán, published in 1524 and attributed to the celebrated engraver Albrecht Dürer, shows the city before its destruction, with the principal Aztec temples in the main square, causeways connecting the city to the mainland, and an aqueduct supplying fresh water. The information on this map must have come from Aztec sources, as did much of the intelligence Cortés relied on for the Spanish conquest.

Photo Courtesy of the Edward E. Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.



The author of this excerpt, known only as “The Gentleman of Elvas,” quotes the reaction of a native chief to the arrival of Hernando de Soto’s army at his village:

Think, then, what must be the effect, on me and mine, of the sight of you and your people, whom we have at no time seen, astride the fierce brutes, your horses, entering with such speed and fury into my country, that we had no tidings of your coming—things so altogether new, as to strike awe and terror into our hearts, which it was not our nature to resist, so that we should receive you with the sobriety due to so kingly and famous a lord.



Bartolomé de Las Casas,
“Of the Island of Hispaniola” (1542)

The Cruelties Used by the Spaniards on the Indians, from a 1599 English edition of *The Destruction of the Indies* by Bartolomé de Las Casas. These scenes were copied from a series of engravings produced by Theodore deBry that accompanied an earlier edition.

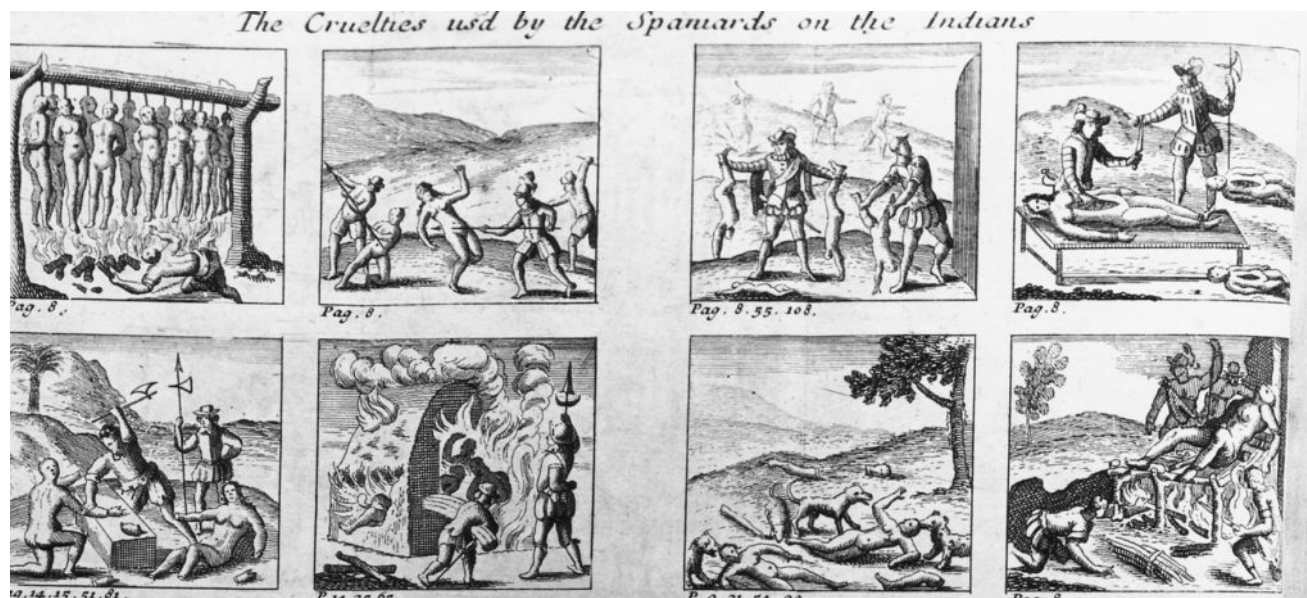
British Library.

by Bartolomé de Las Casas, a priest who had participated in the plunder of Cuba but later suffered a crisis of conscience. The Christian mission in the New World was to convert the natives to Christianity, las Casas argued, and “the means to effect this end are not to rob, to scandalize, to capture or destroy them, or to lay waste their lands.” Long before the world recognized the concept of universal human rights, he proclaimed that “the entire human race is one,” earning him a reputation as one of the towering moral figures in the early history of the Americas.

In his brilliant history of the conquest, *The Destruction of the Indies* (1552), las Casas blamed the Spanish for cruelties resulting in millions of Indian deaths—in effect, genocide. Translated into several languages and widely circulated throughout Europe, his book was used by other European powers to condemn Spain, thereby covering up their own dismal colonial records, creating what has been called the “Black Legend” of Spanish colonization. Although there has been much dispute over las Casas’s estimates of huge population losses, recent demographic studies suggest he was more right than wrong. The destruction of the Taínos was repeated elsewhere. The population of Mexico fell from 5 to 10 million in 1519 to little more than a million a century later.

Las Casas was incorrect, however, in attributing these losses to warfare. To be sure, thousands of lives were lost in battle, but these deaths accounted for a small proportion of the overall decline. Thousands more starved because their economies were destroyed or their food stores were taken by conquering armies. Even more important, the native birthrate fell drastically after the conquest. Indian women were so “worn out with work,” one Spaniard wrote, that they avoided conception, induced abortion, and even “killed their children with their own hands so that they shall not have to endure the same hardships.”

But the primary cause of the drastic reduction in native populations was epidemic disease—influenza, plague, smallpox, measles, and typhus. Although pre-conquest America was by no means disease free—skeletal evidence suggests that natives suffered from arthritis, hepatitis, polio, and tuberculosis—there were no diseases of epidemic potential. Indian peoples lacked the antibodies necessary to protect them from European germs and viruses. Smallpox first came from Spain in 1518, exploding in an epidemic so virulent that, in the words of an early Spanish historian, “it left Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and Cuba desolated of Indians.” The





This drawing of victims of the smallpox epidemic that struck the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán in 1520 is taken from the *Florentine Codex*, a postconquest history written and illustrated by Aztec scribes. “There came amongst us a great sickness, a general plague,” reads the account, “killing vast numbers of people. It covered many all over with sores: on the face, on the head, on the chest, everywhere. . . . The sores were so terrible that the victims could not lie face down, nor on their backs, nor move from one side to the other. And when they tried to move even a little, they cried out in agony.”

The Granger Collection.

epidemic crossed into Mexico in 1520, destroying the Aztecs, then spread along the Indian trade network. In 1524, it strategically weakened the Incas eight years before their empire was conquered by Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro. Spanish chroniclers wrote that this single epidemic killed half the Native Americans it touched. Disease was the secret weapon of the Spanish, and it helps explain their extraordinary success in the conquest.

Such devastating outbreaks of disease, striking for the first time against a completely unprotected population, are known as “virgin soil epidemics.” After the conquest, Mexicans sang of an earlier time:

*There was then no sickness.
They had then no aching bones.
They had then no high fever.
They had then no smallpox.
They had then no burning chest.
They had then no abdominal pains.
They had then no consumption.
They had then no headache.
At that time the course of humanity was orderly.
The foreigners made it otherwise when they arrived here.*

Warfare, famine, lower birthrates, and epidemic disease knocked the native population of the Americas into a downward spiral that did not swing back upward until the beginning of the twentieth century (see Figure 2-1). By that time native population had fallen by 90 percent. It was the greatest demographic disaster in world history. The most notable difference between the European colonial experience in the Americas compared to Africa or Asia was this radical reduction in the native population.

INTERCONTINENTAL EXCHANGE

The passage of diseases between the Old and New Worlds was one of the most important aspects of the large-scale continental exchange that marks the beginning of

Lecture Suggestion 2.4, Columbian Exchange



In this excerpt, Bartolomé de Las Casas details the horrific treatment of the natives at the hands of the Europeans:

The Christians, with their horses and swords and lances, began to slaughter and practice strange cruelty among them. They penetrated into the country and spared neither children nor the aged, nor pregnant women, nor those in child labour, all of whom they ran through the body and lacerated, as though they were assaulting so many lambs herded in their sheepfold.

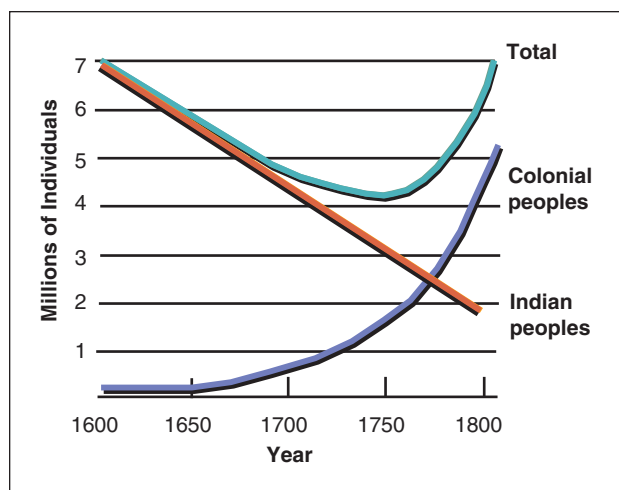


FIGURE 2-1
North America's Indian and Colonial Populations
in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

The primary factor in the decimation of native peoples was epidemic disease, brought to the New World from the Old. In the eighteenth century, the colonial population overtook North America's Indian populations.

Historical Statistics of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), 8, 1168; Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 32.

modern world history. The most obvious exchange was the vast influx into Europe of the precious metals plundered from the Aztec and Incan empires of the New World. Most of the golden booty was melted down, destroying forever thousands of priceless artifacts. Silver from mines the Spanish discovered and operated in Mexico and Peru tripled the amount of coin circulating in Europe between 1500 and 1550, then tripled it again before 1600. The result was runaway inflation, which stimulated commerce and raised profits but lowered the standard of living for most people.

Of even greater long-term importance were the New World crops brought to Europe. Maize (the Taíno word for what Americans call corn), the staff of life for most native North Americans, became a staple crop in Mediterranean countries, the dominant feed for livestock elsewhere in Europe, and the primary provision for the slave ships of Africa. Potatoes from Peru provided the margin between famine and subsistence for peasant peoples in Ireland and northern Europe. Significantly more productive per acre than wheat, these “miracle crops” provided abundant food sources that went a long way toward ending the persistent problem of famine in Europe.

Although the Spanish failed to locate valuable spices such as black pepper or cloves in the New World, new tropical crops more than compensated. Tobacco was first introduced to Europe in about 1550 as a cure for disease, but was soon in wide use as a stimulant. American vanilla and chocolate soon became valuable crops. American cotton proved superior to Asian varieties for the production of cheap textiles. Each of these native plants, along with tropical transplants from the Old World to the New—sugar, rice, and coffee among the most important—supplied the basis for important new industries and markets that altered the course of world history.

Columbus introduced domesticated animals into Hispaniola and Cuba, and livestock were later transported to Mexico. The movement of Spanish settlement into northern Mexico was greatly aided by an advancing wave of livestock, for grazing animals invaded native fields and forests, undercutting the ability of communities to support themselves. Horses, used by Spanish stockmen to tend their cattle, also spread northward. In the seventeenth century, horses reached the Great Plains of North America, where they eventually transformed the lives of the nomadic hunting Indians (see Chapter 5).

THE FIRST EUROPEANS IN NORTH AMERICA

Ponce de León, governor of Puerto Rico, was the first Spanish conquistador to attempt to extend the conquest to North America (see Map 2-3). In search of slaves, he made his first landing on the mainland coast—which he named Florida—in 1513. Warriors of the powerful chiefdoms there beat back this and several other attempts at invasion, and in 1521 succeeded in killing him. Seven years later, another Spanish attempt to invade and conquer Florida, under the command of Pánfilo de Narváez, also ended in disaster. Most of Narváez's men were lost in a shipwreck, but a small group of them survived, living and wandering for several years among the native peoples of the Gulf Coast and the Southwest until they were finally rescued in 1536 by Spanish slave hunters in northern Mexico. One of these castaways, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, published an account of his adventures in which he told of rumors of a North American empire known as Cíbola, with golden cities “larger than the city of Mexico.” These tales probably referred to Mississippian towns with platform mounds.

Cabeza de Vaca's report inspired two great Spanish expeditions into North America. The first was mounted in Cuba by Hernando de Soto, a veteran of the conquest of Peru. Landing in Florida in 1539 with an army of over 700 men, he pushed

In this excerpt, Thomas Mun describes the role of the merchant in the expansion of the kingdom:

The Love and service of our Country consisteth not so much in the knowledge of those duties which are to be performed by others, as in the skillful practice of that which is done by our selves; and therefore it is now fit that I say something of the Merchant . . . for the Merchant is worthily called the Steward of the Kingdoms Stock, by way of Commerce with other nations; a work of no less Reputation than Trust, which ought to be performed with great skill and conscience, that so the private gain may ever accompany the publique good. . . .



MAP 2-3

European Exploration, 1492–1591 By the mid-sixteenth century, Europeans had explored most of the Atlantic coast of North America and penetrated into the interior in the disastrous expeditions of de Soto and Coronado.

hundreds of miles through the heavily populated South, commandeering food and slaves from the Indian towns in his path. But he failed to locate another Aztec empire. Moving westward, his expedition was twice mauled by powerful native armies. With his force reduced by half, de Soto's force reached the Mississippi where they were met

Treaty of Tordesillas Treaty negotiated by the pope in 1494 to resolve the territorial claims of Spain and Portugal.



Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca,
“Indians of the Rio Grande”
(1528–1536)

by a flotilla from a great city—“200 vessels full of Indians with their bows and arrows, painted with ocher and having great plumes of white and many colored feathers on either side.” The Spaniards crossed the river and marched deep into present-day Arkansas, but failing to locate the great city, they turned back. De Soto died and some 300 dispirited survivors eventually made it back to Mexico on rafts. The native peoples of the South had successfully turned back Spanish invasion. But the invaders had introduced epidemic diseases that drastically depopulated and undermined the chiefdoms of the South.

The second expedition was organized by officials in Mexico. Francisco Vásquez de Coronado led some 300 Spanish horsemen and infantry, supported by more than a thousand Indian allies, north along well-marked Indian paths to the land of the Pueblos along the Rio Grande. The Pueblos’ initial resistance was quickly quashed. But Coronado was deeply disappointed by the Pueblo towns “of stone and mud, rudely fashioned,” and sent out expeditions in all directions in search of the legendary golden cities of Cibola. He marched part of his army northeast, onto the Great Plains, where they observed great herds of “shaggy cows” (buffalo) and made contact with nomadic hunting peoples. But finding no cities and no gold they turned back. For the next fifty years Spain lost all interest in the Southwest.

THE SPANISH NEW WORLD EMPIRE

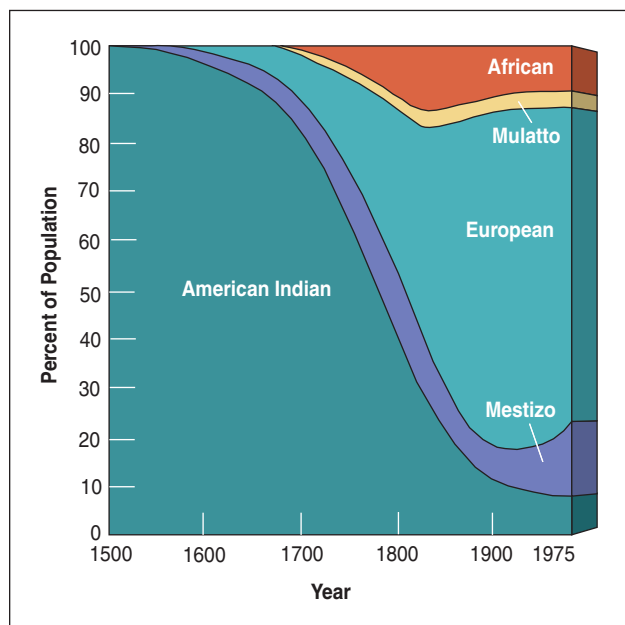
These failures notwithstanding, by the late sixteenth century the Spanish had gained control of a powerful empire in the Americas. A century after Columbus, some 250,000 European immigrants, most of them Spaniards, had settled in the Americas. Another 125,000 Africans had been forcibly resettled as slaves on the Spanish plantations of the Caribbean, as well as on the Portuguese plantations of Brazil. (The Portuguese colonized Brazil under the terms of the **Treaty of Tordesillas**, a 1494 agreement dividing the Americas between Spain and Portugal [see Chapter 4].) Most of the Spanish settlers lived in the more than 200 urban communities founded during the conquest, including cities such as Santo Domingo in Hispaniola, Havana in Cuba, Mexico City, built atop the ruins of Tenochtitlán, and Quito and Lima in the conquered empire of the Incas.

Spanish women came to America as early as Columbus’s second expedition, but over the course of the sixteenth century they made up only about 10 percent of the immigrants. Most male colonists married or cohabited with Indian or African women, and the result was the growth of large mixed-ancestry groups known as mestizos and mulattoes, respectively. Sexual mixing and intermarriage was one aspect of the Spanish frontier of inclusion, in which native peoples and their mixed offspring played a vital part in colonial society. Hundreds of thousands of Indians died, but Indian genes were passed on to generations of mixed-ancestry people, who became the majority population in the mainland Spanish American empire.

Populated by Indians, Africans, Spanish colonists, and their hybrid descendants (see Figure 2-2), the New World colonies of Spain made up one of the largest empires in the history of the world. The empire operated, in theory, as a highly centralized and bureaucratic system. But the Council of the Indies, composed of advisers of the Spanish king who made all the laws and regulations for the empire, was located in Spain. Thus, what looked in the abstract like a centrally administered empire tolerated a great deal of local decision making.

FIGURE 2-2
The African, Indian, and European Populations of the Americas In the 500 years since the European invasion of the Americas, the population has included varying proportions of Native American, European, and African peoples, as well as large numbers of persons of mixed ancestry.

Colin McEvedy and Richard Jones, *Atlas of World Population History* (Allen Lane ©1978).



NORTHERN EXPLORATIONS AND ENCOUNTERS

When the Spanish empire was at the height of its power in the sixteenth century, the merchants and monarchs of other European seafaring states looked across the Atlantic for opportunities of their own. France was first to sponsor expeditions to the New World in the early sixteenth century. At first the French attempted to plant settlements on the coasts of Brazil and Florida, but Spanish opposition ultimately persuaded them to concentrate on the North Atlantic. England did not develop its own plans to colonize North America until the second half of the sixteenth century.

FISH AND FURS

Long before France and England made attempts to found colonies, European fishermen were exploring the coastal North American waters of the North Atlantic. The Grand Banks, off the coast of Newfoundland, had abundant cod. It is possible that European fishermen were working those waters before Columbus's voyages. Certainly by 1500, hundreds of ships and thousands of sailors were sailing annually to the Grand Banks.

The first official voyages of exploration in the North Atlantic used the talents of experienced European sailors and fishermen. With a crew from Bristol, England, Genovese explorer Giovanni Caboto (or John Cabot) reached Labrador in 1497, but the English did little to follow up on his voyage. In 1524, Tuscan captain Giovanni da Verrazano, sailing for the French, explored the North American coast from Cape Fear (North Carolina) to the Penobscot River (Maine). Encouraged by his report, the French king commissioned experienced captain Cartier to locate a "Northwest Passage" to the Indies. Although in his voyages of 1534, 1535, and 1541 Cartier failed to find a Northwest Passage, he reconnoitered the St. Lawrence River, which led deep into the continental interior to the Great Lakes, with easy access to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, giving France an incomparable geographic edge over other colonial powers. Cartier's attempts to plant settlements on the St. Lawrence failed, but he established France's imperial claim to the lands of Canada.

The French and other northern Europeans thus discovered the Indian people of the northern woodlands, and the Indians in turn discovered them. The contacts between Europeans and natives here took a different form than in the tropics, based on commerce rather than conquest. The Indians immediately appreciated the usefulness of textiles, glass, copper, and ironware. For his part, Cartier was interested in the fur coats of the Indians. Europeans, like Indians, used furs for winter clothing. But the growing population of the late Middle Ages had so depleted the wild game of Europe that the price of furs had risen beyond the reach of most people. The North American fur trade thus filled an important demand and produced high profits.

Beginning in the sixteenth century, the fur trade would continue to play an important role in the Atlantic economy for three centuries. By no means were Indians simply the victims of European traders. They had a sharp eye for quality, and cutthroat competition among traders provided them with the opportunity to hold out for what they considered good prices. But the fur trade was essentially an unequal exchange, with furs selling in Europe for ten or twenty times what Indians received for them. The trade also had negative consequences. European epidemic disease followed in the wake of the traders, and violent warfare broke out between tribes over access to hunting grounds. Moreover, as European-manufactured goods,

WHAT DIFFERENCES

were there among Spanish, English, and French patterns of colonization?

QUICK REVIEW

The Fur Trade

- ◆ Fur traders were critical to New France's success.
- ◆ Indians were active participants in the trade.
- ◆ In the early seventeenth century, the French made an effort to monopolize the trade.



This watercolor of Jacques le Moyne, painted in 1564, depicts the friendly relations between the Timucuas of coastal Florida and the colonists of the short-lived French colony of Fort Caroline. The Timucuas hoped that the French would help defend them against the Spanish, who plundered the coast in pursuit of Indian slaves.

Jacques Le Moyne, *Rene de Laudonniere and Chief Athore*, 1564 (watercolor), Gouache and metallic pigments on vellum. Print Collection, The New York Public Library, New York. The New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY.

such as metal knives, kettles, and firearms, became essential to their way of life, Indians became dependent on European suppliers. Ultimately, the fur trade was stacked in favor of Europeans.

By 1600, over a thousand European ships were trading for furs each year along the northern coast. The village of Tadoussac on the St. Lawrence, where a wide bay offered Europeans safe anchorage, became the customary place for several weeks of trading each summer, a forerunner of the western fur-trade rendezvous of the nineteenth century. Early in the seventeenth century, the French would move to monopolize the trade there by planting colonies along the coast and on the St. Lawrence.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION AND THE FIRST FRENCH COLONIES

The first French colonies in North America, however, were planted farther south by a group of religious dissenters known as the Huguenots. The **Protestant Reformation**—the religious revolt against the Roman Catholic Church—had begun in 1517 when German priest Martin Luther publicized his differences with Rome. Luther declared that eternal salvation was a gift from God and not related to works or service. His protests—Protestantism—fit into a climate of widespread dissatisfaction with the power and prosperity of the Catholic Church. Luther attracted followers all over northwestern Europe, including France, where they were persecuted by Catholic authorities. Converted to Luther's teachings in 1533, Frenchman John Calvin fled to Switzerland, where he developed a radical theology. His doctrine of

Protestant Reformation Martin Luther's challenge to the Catholic Church, initiated in 1517, calling for a return to what he understood to be the purer practices and beliefs of the early Church.

predestination declared that God had chosen a small number of men and women for “election,” or salvation, while condemning the vast majority to eternal damnation. Calvinists were instructed to cultivate the virtues of thrift, industry, sobriety, and personal responsibility, which Calvin argued were signs of election and essential to the Christian life.

Calvin’s followers in France—the Huguenots—were concentrated among merchants and the middle class, but also included a portion of the nobility opposed to the central authority of the Catholic monarch. In 1560, the French monarchy defeated the attempt of a group of Huguenot nobles to seize power, which inaugurated nearly forty years of violent religious struggle. In an effort to establish a religious refuge in the New World, Huguenot leaders were behind the first French attempts to establish colonies in North America. In 1562, Jean Ribault and 150 **Protestants** from Normandy landed on Parris Island, near present-day Beaufort, South Carolina, and began the construction of a fort and crude mud huts. Ribault soon returned to France for supplies, where he was caught up in the religious wars. The colonists nearly starved and were finally forced to resort to cannibalism before being rescued by a passing British ship. In 1564, Ribault established another Huguenot colony, Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River of Florida, south of present-day Jacksonville.

The Spanish were alarmed by these moves. They had no interest in colonizing Florida, but worried about protecting their ships riding home to Spain loaded with gold and silver on the offshore Gulf Stream. Not only was Fort Caroline manned by

Predestination The belief that God decided at the moment of Creation which humans would achieve salvation.

Protestants All European supporters of religious reform under Charles V’s Holy Roman Empire.

The French, under the command of Jean Ribault, land at the mouth of the St. Johns River in Florida. The image shows the local Timucua people welcoming the French. It is likely that the Timucuas viewed the French as potential allies against the Spanish, who had plundered the coast many times in pursuit of slaves.

The French, under the command of Jean Ribault, discover the River of May (St Johns River) in Florida on 1 May 1562: colored engraving, 1591, by Theodore de Bry after a now lost drawing by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues. The Granger Collection.



Frenchmen, but by Protestants—deadly enemies of the Catholic monarchs of Spain. “We are compelled to pass in front of their port,” wrote one official, “and with the greatest ease they can sally out with their armadas to seek us.” In 1565, the Spanish crown sent Don Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, captain general of the Indies, to crush the Huguenots. After establishing a settlement south of the French at a place called St. Augustine, he marched his men overland through the swamps to surprise the Huguenots. “I put Jean Ribault and all the rest of them to the knife,” Menéndez wrote triumphantly to the king, “judging it to be necessary to the service of the Lord Our God and of Your Majesty.” The Spanish built a fort and established a garrison at St. Augustine, which thus became the oldest continuously occupied European city in North America.

AP* Guideline 2.4

Class Discussion Question 2.5

The Armada Portrait of Elizabeth I, painted by an unknown artist in 1648. The queen places her hand on the globe, symbolizing the rising sea power of England. Through the open windows, we see the battle against the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the destruction of the Spanish ships in a providential storm, interpreted by the queen as an act of divine intervention.

Elizabeth I, Armada portrait, c. 1588 (oil on panel), by English School. (C16th) Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library, London/New York.



SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

The English movement across the Atlantic, like the French, was tied to social change at home. Perhaps most important were changes in the economy. As the prices of goods rose steeply—the result of New World inflation—English landlords, their rents fixed by custom, sought ways to increase their incomes. Seeking profits in the woolen trade, many converted the common pasturage used by tenants into grazing land for sheep, dislocating large numbers of farmers. Between 1500 and 1650, a third of all the common lands in England were “enclosed” in this way. Deprived of their livelihoods, thousands of families left their traditional rural homes and sought employment in English cities, crowding the roads with homeless people.

Sixteenth-century England also became deeply involved in the struggles of the Reformation. At first, King Henry VIII of England (reigned 1509–47) supported the Catholic Church and opposed the Protestants. But there was great public resentment in England over the vast properties owned by the Church and the loss of revenue to Rome.

When the pope refused to grant Henry an annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel of Spain, the king exploited this popular mood. Taking up the cause of reform in 1534, he declared himself head of a separate Church of England. He later took over the English estates of the Catholic Church—about a quarter of the country’s land—and used their revenues to begin constructing a powerful English state system, including a standing army and navy. Working through Parliament, Henry carefully enlisted the support of the merchants and landed gentry for his program, parceling out a measure of royal prosperity in the form of titles, offices, lands, and commercial favors. By 1547, when Henry died, he had forged a solid alliance with the wealthy merchant class.

Henry was succeeded by his young and sickly son Edward VI, who soon died. Next in succession was Edward’s half-sister, Mary, who attempted to reverse her father’s Reformation from the top by martyring hundreds of English Protestants, gaining the title of “Bloody Mary.”

CHRONOLOGY

1000	Norse settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows	1519	Hernán Cortés lands in Mexico
1347–53	Black Death in Europe	1534	Jacques Cartier explores the St. Lawrence River
1381	English Peasants' Revolt	1539–40	Hernando de Soto and Francisco Vázquez de Coronado expeditions
1488	Bartolomeu Dias sails around the African continent	1550	Tobacco introduced to Europe
1492	Christopher Columbus first arrives in the Caribbean	1552	Bartolomé de Las Casas's <i>Destruction of the Indies</i> published
1494	Treaty of Tordesillas	1558	Elizabeth I of England begins her reign
1497	John Cabot explores Newfoundland	1562	Huguenot colony planted along the mid-Atlantic coast
1500	High point of the Renaissance	1565	St. Augustine founded
1508	Spanish invade Puerto Rico	1583	Humphrey Gilbert attempts to plant a colony in Newfoundland
1513	Juan Ponce de León lands in Florida	1584–87	Walter Raleigh's colony on Roanoke Island
1514	Bartolomé de Las Casas begins preaching against the conquest	1588	English defeat the Spanish Armada
1516	Smallpox introduced to the New World	1590	John White returns to find Roanoke colony abandoned
1517	Martin Luther breaks with the Roman Catholic Church		

But upon her death in 1558, her half-sister Elizabeth I (reigned 1558–1603) came to the throne. Elizabeth sought to end the religious turmoil by tolerating a variety of views within the English church. The Spanish monarch, head of the most powerful empire in the world, declared himself the defender of the Catholic faith and vowed to overthrow her.

Fearing Spanish subversion on the neighboring Catholic island of Ireland, Elizabeth urged enterprising supporters such as Walter Raleigh and his half-brother Humphrey Gilbert to subdue the Irish Catholics and settle homeless English families on their land. During the 1560s, Raleigh, Humphrey, and many other commanders invaded the island and viciously attacked the Irish, forcing them to retreat beyond a frontier line of English settlement along the coast. So ferociously did the Irish resist the conquest that an image of the “wild Irish” became fixed in the English mind. Gilbert retaliated with even greater brutality, decapitating captured Irish men and women and using their heads as paving stones, “so that none should come into his tent for any cause but commonly he must pass through a lane of heads.” Such barbarism did not prevent the English from considering the Irish an inferior race, and the notion that civilized people could not mix with such “savages” was an assumption English colonists would carry with them to the Americas.

EARLY ENGLISH EFFORTS IN THE AMERICAS

England's first ventures in the New World were made against the backdrop of its conflict with Spain. In 1562, John Hawkins violated Spanish regulations by transporting a load of African slaves to the Caribbean, bringing back valuable tropical goods. (For a full discussion of the slave trade, see Chapter 4.) The Spanish attacked Hawkins on another of his voyages in 1567, an event English privateers such as Francis Drake used as an excuse for launching hundreds of devastating and lucrative raids against Spanish New World ports and fleets. The voyages of these English “Sea Dogs” greatly

Thomas Harriot writes of an interaction with a specific Algonquin group:

The Wiroans with whom we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would be glad many times to be with us at our praiers, and many times call upon us both in his owne towne, as also in others whither he sometimes accompanied us, to pray and sing Psalmes; hoping thereby to bee partaker of the same effectes which wee by that meanes also expected.

enriched their investors, including Elizabeth herself. The English thus began their American adventures by slaving and plundering.

A consensus soon developed among Elizabeth's closest advisers that the time had come to enter the competition for American colonies. In a state paper written for the queen, the scholar Richard Hakluyt summarized the advantages that would come from colonies: they could provide bases from which to raid the Spanish in the Caribbean, outposts for an Indian market for English goods, and plantations for growing tropical products, freeing the nation from a reliance on the long-distance trade with Asia. Moreover, as homes for the "multitudes of loiterers and idle vagabonds" of England, colonies offered a solution to the problem of social dislocation and homelessness. He urged Elizabeth to establish such colonies "upon the mouths of the great navigable rivers" from Florida to the St. Lawrence.

Although Elizabeth declined to commit the state to Hakluyt's plan, she authorized and invested in several private attempts at exploration and colonization. Martin Frobisher conducted three voyages of exploration in the North Atlantic during the 1570s, but Raleigh and Gilbert, fresh from the Irish wars, planned the first true colonizing ventures. In 1583, Gilbert sailed with a flotilla of ships from Plymouth and landed at St. John's Bay, Newfoundland. He encountered fishermen from several other nations but nevertheless claimed the territory for his queen. But this effort came to naught when Gilbert's ship was lost on the return voyage.

Following his brother's death, Raleigh decided to establish a colony southward, in the more hospitable climate of the mid-Atlantic coast. Although the Roanoke enterprise of 1584–87 seemed far more promising than Gilbert's, it too eventually failed (as described in the opening of the chapter). In contrast to the French, who concentrated on commerce, the English drew on their Irish experience, attempting to dominate and conquer natives. The greatest legacy of the expedition was the work of Thomas Harriot and John White, who mapped the area, surveyed its commercial potential, and studied the Indian residents. Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the Newfound Land of Virginia* (1588), illustrated by engravings of White's watercolors, provided the single most accurate description of North American Indians at the moment of their contact with Europeans.

King Philip II of Spain was outraged at the English incursions into territory reserved by the pope for Catholics. He had authorized the destruction of the French colony in Florida, and now he committed himself to smashing England. In 1588, he sent a fleet of 130 ships carrying 30,000 men to invade the British Isles. Countered by captains such as Drake and Hawkins, who commanded smaller and more maneuverable ships, and frustrated by an ill-timed storm that the English chose to interpret as an act of divine intervention, the Spanish Armada foundered. The Spanish monopoly of the New World had been broken in the English Channel.

CONCLUSION

Out of Class Activity 2.1

The Spanish opened the era of European colonization in the Americas with Columbus's voyage in 1492. The consequences for the Indian peoples of the Americas were disastrous. The Spanish succeeded in constructing the world's most powerful empire on the backs of Indian and African labor. Inspired by the

A Watercolor from the First Algonquian–English Encounter

Some of the first accurate images of the native inhabitants of North America were produced by the artist John White during his stay in 1685 at the first English colony in North America, at Roanoke Island on North Carolina’s Outer Banks. Two years

IN WHAT ways does this image document John White’s powers of observation?



later White would become governor of the famous “Lost Colony.” This image of an Indian mother and daughter illustrates the care White brought to the task of recording as fully as possible the Indians’ way of life. The woman wears an apron-skirt of fringed deerskin, its borders edged with white beads, and a woven beadwork necklace. The body decorations on her face and upper arms are tattooed. One of her arms rests in a sling, an unusual posture, something quite unique to this culture. In the other hand she holds an empty gourd container for carrying water. The little girl holds an English wooden doll, a gift from White, and it seems to greatly please her. In the written account that accompanied White’s images, Thomas Harriot wrote that all the Indian girls “are greatly delighted with puppets and babes which were brought out of England” as gifts of exchange. Historic images bear close observation, for it is often small details like this one that are most revealing. ■

John White (1570–93), “Woman and Child of Pomeiooc.” Watercolor. British Museum, London. The Bridgeman Art Library International Ltd.

Spanish success, the French and the English attempted to colonize the coast of North America. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, they had not succeeded in establishing any lasting colonial communities. Instead, a very different kind of colonial encounter, based on commerce rather than conquest, was taking place in northeastern North America. In the next century, the French would turn this development to their advantage. Along the mid-Atlantic coast in Virginia, however, the English would put their Irish experience to use, pioneering an altogether new kind of American colonialism.

Suggested Answer:

Successful essays should note:

- The stress of the economic impact of the Columbian Exchange on both European and Indian cultures
- The emphasis and transfer of disease Europeans brought to the Indians (Document A and Figure 2-1)
- Possible analysis to explain the social interactions between the French, Spanish, and English (Frontiers of Inclusion or Exclusion) (Document B)
- The comparisons and contradictions for the reasons for exploration and settlement among the French, Spanish, and English (Document C)

AP* DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

Directions: This exercise requires you to construct a valid essay that directly addresses the central issues of the following question. You will have to use facts from the documents provided and from the chapter to prove the position you take in your thesis statement.

Evaluate the social and economic impact of contacts between Native American peoples and the early explorers and settlers of Spain, France, and England. Extrapolate how those contacts altered the lives of individuals within each society involved in the experience.

DOCUMENT A

Examine the drawing from the *Florentine Codex* on page 43. Fray Bernardino de Sahagun spent more than a decade and assembled dozens of survivors of the Aztec nation to create this manuscript history of Aztec society. This particular graphic shows the smallpox epidemic that devastated Tenochtitlán in 1520. Examine the Aztec song on the page below the graphic. The size of Native American populations before the arrival of the Europeans has always been controversial. An 1894 U.S. Census report on American Indians estimated the North American population to have been no larger than 500,000 in 1492. Recent scientists have estimated as high as 16 million. The accurate figure will never be known, but smallpox, measles, and other European, Asian, or African diseases introduced after 1492 virtually wiped out the Native American population. Look at the chart of North American populations from 1600 to 1800 on page 44. It starts with a Native American population of 7 million in 1600 and drops to slightly less than 2 million in 1800. Now look at the graph on page 46 of ethnic populations over all the Americas from 1500 to 1975. Notice the mulatto and mestizo populations. Finally, turn forward to page 149 and the portrait of the various racial *castas*.

- How did this problem of epidemics affect the abilities of Native Americans to resist the invasions by Europeans? Was the pattern any different in North, South, or Central America?
- How did the diseases spread so quickly ahead of the Europeans?
- Was the population story in the Americas one of simple replacement of Native Americans by Europeans, or was the story more complex?
- How do you account for the mestizo population?
- How did contact with the Native American population change those Europeans who settled in the Americas?
- How did contact with the Europeans alter the social structures of Native Americans?

DOCUMENT B

Examine the drawing of Metacomet (left), and the John White sketch of the Algonquian village somewhere on the Chesapeake (right).

- What social and economic exchanges occurred between English settlers and the Native Americans in North America? Compare this against the Spanish mission shown on page 136 and the discussion of mission life for Native Americans.
- What happened to Native Americans in contact with Spanish explorers and settlers? In the case of the Spanish, don't forget the mestizo population.
- What differences are evident in how each European society related to the Native American societies with which they came into contact?



The Granger Collection



Algonquian Indian village of Pomeiock (North Carolina): watercolor, c. 1585, by John White; The Granger Collection.

DOCUMENT C

Read the discussion on pages 47–48 of the Indians as traders with a “sharp eye for quality” in their dealings with the French. Examine the relationships that developed between French fur trappers and Native Americans discussed on pages 62–64 and the drawing, on page 65, of Samuel de Champlain’s men joining the Huron in 1609 in battle against the Iroquois.

- Did social and economic exchanges occur between the French and Native Americans? What kind of exchanges?
- Was there a mestizo population in this exchange?

AP^{*} PREP TEST

Answer Key

1-B	4-E	7-D	10-C	13-C
2-C	5-C	8-E	11-B	14-E
3-D	6-A	9-A	12-E	15-D

Select the response that best answers each question or best completes each sentence.

- The English colony at Roanoke:
 - became the model for subsequent European settlement in America.
 - mysteriously disappeared within a few years of being established.
 - eventually surrendered to Spanish military forces in 1595.
 - succeeded only after moving inland to find a healthier climate.
 - became profitable with the cash crop tobacco.
- The key to understanding the events that occurred during the generation after 1492 is:
 - appreciating how little the discovery of America actually influenced Europe until the early 1600s.
 - realizing that Europe had been stagnant for centuries and how quickly things changed in the 1400s.
 - recognizing the transformation Europe experienced in the centuries prior to Columbus's voyage.
 - knowing that the discovery of America created an abrupt and total decline in traditional European culture.
 - comprehending how insignificantly the discovery of America actually influenced Europe until the reformation in the 1500s.
- One critical development in Europe that shaped overseas expansion was:
 - monarchs' increasing efforts to undermine the growing political influence of commercial interests.
 - the support that the agricultural lower classes provided to the powerful urban bourgeois class.
 - the sharp decline in the population of the merchant class that occurred in the years after 1500.
 - the close relationships between the emerging national monarchs and the developing merchant class.
 - the necessity for resources and innovations that would strengthen Europe's commercial influence.
- Portuguese interest in exploring Atlantic trade routes to the Indies was sparked by:
 - the discovery of a Christian kingdom in Africa that had trade relations with India.
 - the hopes of acquiring a greater profit with sea rather than overland travel.
 - the knowledge of how much wealth Spain had acquired from its American empire.
 - the discovery in 1448 of a Greek manuscript that proved the world was round.
 - the Ottoman Turks' closing of the lucrative overland silk and spice trade in 1453.
- The military tradition that influenced Spanish attitudes toward expansion was based on the:
 - apachería*.
 - hacienda*.
 - reconquista*.
 - zapateca*.
 - encomienda*.
- Regarding expansion, Columbus and the Spanish:
 - were driven by the desire to create an empire.
 - wanted only to Christianize native peoples.
 - had no interests other than developing international trade.
 - had completely different objectives than did other nations.
 - wanted to compel the native peoples into slavery.
- According to the journal of Christopher Columbus, the natives he found:
 - were the most devout Christian people he had encountered on his entire voyage.
 - could easily be Christianized because they were already very religious people.
 - were pagan people who would be incapable of ever becoming good Christians.
 - could quickly become Christians because they had no religion of their own.
 - were highly regimented people who could become devout Christians.
- During the 1500s:
 - the Indian population dropped so sharply that little native influence remained in Spanish America.
 - the Spanish settlements were governed from Spain and had little local autonomy.
 - the low number of slaves transported to America limited the role Africans played in Spain's empire.
 - so few Spaniards migrated to America that the emerging society there was simply Indian and African.
 - the Spanish empire in America created a society based on African, European, and Indian cultures.

9. Critical to the success of the Hernán Cortés expedition:
 - a. were Indian allies and European disease.
 - b. were the French fleet and the Spanish army.
 - c. was the overwhelming number of Spaniards.
 - d. was the Aztec rebellion against Montezuma.
 - e. was the superior Spanish army and horses.
10. With the significant international exchange that occurred after 1492, the three important crops transplanted to the New World were:
 - a. chocolate, corn, and tobacco.
 - b. apples, potatoes, and wheat.
 - c. coffee, rice, and sugar.
 - d. cloves, nutmeg, and pepper.
 - e. cotton, vanilla, and pumpkin.
11. As a result of explorations of North America in the 1530s and 1540s, Spain:
 - a. quickly accelerated its settlement of the region.
 - b. showed little interest in the area for about fifty years.
 - c. turned the territory over to the English and the French.
 - d. reversed its policy of converting natives to Christianity.
 - e. rerouted its military to strictly mine for gold.
12. When France first became interested in establishing colonies in the New World:
 - a. the French kings were able to work cooperatively with the Catholic monarchs of Spain.
 - b. most of its earliest success was in Brazil where the Spanish had no real influence.
 - c. it concentrated on the Caribbean islands because of the valuable natural resources there.
 - d. it immediately sought Spanish approval to colonize the area now known as Florida.
 - e. Spanish policies forced the French to concentrate their efforts on the North Atlantic region.
13. The early French efforts in America were based on commerce, especially the trade in:
 - a. forest products.
 - b. gold and silver.
 - c. animal furs.
 - d. food stuffs.
 - e. tobacco and sugar.
14. An important element in encouraging the English interest in the New World was:
 - a. England's military alliance with the French.
 - b. England's effort to gain property for the pope.
 - c. England's desire to spread Catholicism.
 - d. trade agreements made with the Indians.
 - e. economic dislocations throughout England.
15. In the years from 1492 to 1590:
 - a. each of the major European powers developed similar policies for creating American settlements.
 - b. the English were able to establish the most powerful commercial empire in the Western Hemisphere.
 - c. French efforts in America failed while England and Spain enjoyed tremendous success in their colonies.
 - d. the Spanish, French, and English employed different approaches to establishing colonies in America.
 - e. the French succeeded in constructing the world's most powerful empire on the backs of Indian and African labor.