Initial Contacts: 1491–1607

Thirty to forty thousand years before Christopher Columbus—or any western European, for that matter—found his way to the New World (the Western Hemisphere), the continent had already been settled by migrants who had crossed a land bridge that once connected Alaska with Russia. Much later, in the early eleventh century, Viking ships entered the Western Hemisphere intent on establishing colonies in North America, but the Norse venture failed. In the latter stages of the feudal era, powerful western European nations such as Spain and Portugal were emerging, and they too were bent on expanding their political and economic advantages through colonization. As Europe emerged from its feudal period around the fifteenth to sixteenth century, commerce and exploration increased in intensity, stimulated by new navigational developments such as the compass and better shipbuilding techniques, as well as non-maritime discoveries and advancements such as the printing press. In the feudal age, power had been diffused and often decentralized, but with the rise of the modern nation-state, powerful monarchs and wealthy merchants were willing to finance explorations of discovery. Colonization ultimately followed these explorations, and it was not long before France, Holland, and England set covetous eyes on the New World as well. In fact, the expansion of commerce was an essential element in the explorations that took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Leading the way were Spain and Portugal, but England, the latecomer, would gain the upper hand in North America and set the stage for the unfolding of United States history.

Key Concepts

- The Americas were richly populated with diverse groups before the arrival of European explorers.
- The Columbian Exchange set off a series of economic, cultural, social, and political changes that would revolutionize the world.
- The rise of nation-states in Europe was a factor in stimulating explorations to the New World and dictated the goals of settlers and explorers.
- Contact between Native Americans, enslaved Africans, and European explorers led to intense competition and to the development of ideas about race and class that would permeate colonial society and beyond.

The exploration of the New World and colonial life in North America are discussed in depth in The American Pageant, 15th and 16th eds., Chapter 1.
Pre-Columbian Settlements in North America

Long before the arrival of permanent European settlers, a wide variety of complex Native American societies had developed on the North American continent. American Indian civilizations were diverse in their structure, culture, and lifestyle and most differences can be traced to their interactions with the environment across a broad range of climates. In adapting to local conditions, Native American communities transformed their environment—a theme that would only accelerate with the arrival of the first colonists in the New World. The Natives of North America can be divided into four major groups as follows:

- The American Southwest After the advent of maize cultivation, many of the nomadic tribes of the American Southwest began to develop complex, urban settlements characterized by large, apartment-like stone and adobe structures. While never giving up hunting completely, these groups began to rely on highly organized systems of agriculture supported by well-engineered irrigation systems. Despite the challenges of the arid Southwest, tribes such as the Pueblo were able to grow enough food to sustain fairly large population centers that, in some places, may have numbered in the thousands.

- The American Northwest (and California) In the resource-rich areas of modern day Oregon, Washington, and northern California, other groups of Native Americans, like the Chinook, were able to establish sedentary communities by developing sophisticated methods for hunting and fishing, combined with some foraging. Because of their use of fixed settlements, American Indians in this region rarely experienced conflict or competition among tribal groups. Their resulting prosperity also allowed for the development of a highly structured system of social stratification.

- The Great Basin and the Great Plains Unlike other regions, the Great Basin (between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada) and the Great Plains posed such significant challenges to native inhabitants that permanent settlements were impossible. Relying on large, migratory game, the American Indians of these regions lived as nomads in fairly small groups scattered across the vastness of the land. Some of the archetypes of Native Americans are based on the lives of those who lived in this region; the Plains Indians, like the Pawnee, hunted bison and built highly mobile dwellings that could be transported easily (like the tepee). These groups were particularly astute at using every bit of any animal they killed—including organs, bones, hide, and hair.

- American Northeast and Atlantic Seaboard Because of the variety of available resources, weather patterns, and game, the Native peoples of the East Coast of North America—like the Iroquois and the Algonquin—utilized multi-crop patterns of cultivation (like maize, beans, and squash planted together) to provide for more stable, permanent villages. Although the nature of the terrain lent itself to fairly small communities, connections among tribes that were part of confederacies like the Iroquois nation were highly complex. By forming self-governing bodies, the American Indian inhabitants of the Eastern Seaboard capitalized on and made efficient use of the resources of the territory they occupied.

The Columbian Exchange

When Christopher Columbus returned to Spain after having discovered the New World, he initiated a system of trade that would revolutionize the world.

Once brought back by Columbus and other explorers, New World goods like corn and potatoes quickly became staples in the diets of people all over Europe and Africa, enabling population growth. Old World transplants such as sugar and coffee thrived in the rich soil and warm weather of Central and South America, a fact that led to their rapid development as cash crops in the plantation system that relied upon forced labor. Furthermore, the introduction to the New World of cattle and horses dramatically changed the lifestyle of Native Americans, such as the Plains Indians, like the Apache and Sioux, whose nomadic culture quickly embraced the horse's ability to expand their hunting grounds and further increase their mobility.

Most dramatic of all, however, was the result of the introduction of European diseases to populations of Native Americans with no natural resistance. Though usually unintentional,
deadly epidemics of yellow fever and smallpox reduced Native American populations by as much as 90 percent in a single century. Many of those infected had never even seen a European.

Over time, the pace of these changes only accelerated as new technologies and new methods for raising the funds required for exploration made the exploration of the New World much easier. These developments, in turn, opened the door for colonization and settlement, a change that would literally turn the course of history.

Chapter 1: Initial Contacts: 1491–1607 Expansion into the New World

The Treaty of Tordesillas, drafted in 1494 with influence from the pope, had drawn a line of demarcation to divide the world between Catholic Spain and Portugal. All of the Western Hemisphere except Brazil was assigned to Spain; Portugal was permitted to colonize Asia. Although other nations did not take this agreement seriously, Spain and Portugal were in the forefront of exploration, spurred on by new technological developments in navigation and the consolidation of power by their respective royal families.

Initially, the Spanish journeyed to North and South America in search of precious metals and gave little thought to colonizing the areas they explored. The gold and silver that they discovered and mined provided the capital necessary for a host of political changes among European powers, among which is counted the shift from feudalism to capitalism. On the heels of the early explorers and settlers came Catholic missionaries, who viewed the Western Hemisphere as fertile ground for proselytizing their religious views. Furthermore, as competition among European monarchies heated up, the New World offered fertile ground for the seizure of territory (and power) in hopes of beating out Old World rivals.

AP® Tip

Information in this chapter can be used in a free-response question that deals with the causes of imperialism, inter-imperialist competition, and the clash of cultures.

Interaction Between the Europeans, Native Americans, and African Slaves

First to lay claim to the New World, the Spanish sought to subdue the vast new territory claimed for it by explorers such as Francisco Coronado, Francisco Pizarro, and Hernán Cortés. Though the Americas were full of rich resources, labor was required to extract them. Initially, the Spanish developed an institution known as the encomienda system, which granted laborers the rights to the labor of Native Americans in exchange for providing for their food, shelter, and, above all, for Christianizing them. Little more than slavery, this system powered sugar plantations and silver mines for a short time, until the many thousands of Natives who had been present at the time of Spanish colonization were all but annihilated by disease. Though there were some voices of protest—most notably that of missionary Bartolomé de las Casas—most of the conquistadors felt that the American Indians’ lack of “civilization” was an indicator of their inferiority and made their subjugation natural. Despite being vastly overpowered, Native Americans who remained under Spanish rule—in encomiendas or on Spanish missions—resisted the changes forced upon them, and some rebelled violently (as did the Pueblo Indians in Pueblo’s Rebellion in 1680). Over time, however, intermarriage led to the creation of new cultural identities and to the development of a caste-like system defined by race and power.

In response to the issues that developed with the use of native labor, the Spanish quickly turned to African forced labor. In partnership with the Portuguese (who controlled the European trade in slaves along the West African coast), Spanish slave ships brought hundreds of thousands of slaves to work in sugar plantations and silver mines in the Americas. Though Arab and African traders had practiced the sale of slaves for centuries, the scale of the importation of slaves to the New World dwarfed any prior model. Furthermore, the institution of slavery that developed in the New World—with its permanency and basis in race, not conquest—created tensions that would set up racial conflicts in the centuries to come. However, despite every attempt to confound slave organization and cooperation, African slaves nevertheless managed to maintain some cultural autonomy, particularly on plantations where incredible numbers of slaves toiled together. Though many adopted the religion of their captors, slave communities often preserved tribal traditions and blended them into their practice of Christianity.
Chapter Review

Topic 1 Content Review Questions

Placeholder for Topic 1 CNOW Activity.

Chapter 1: Initial Contacts: 1491–1607 Short-Answer Questions

Chapter Review

Short-Answer Questions

1. The arrival of Europeans in the New World greatly impacted the American Indian populations.
   
   a. Of the choices below, choose ONE and explain the effects of that particular development for the Native Americans.
      
      The exchange of crops and animals
      
      The spread of diseases
      
      The political and social interaction between Native Americans and Europeans
      
   
   b. Explain the impact of the change you chose in Part a on the Europeans.

   Question 2 is based on the following map.

   ![Map of the Americas showing European exploration routes.]

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   2. Use the map and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer Parts a and b.
      
      a. Briefly explain the culture of one of the groups of Natives encountered by Spanish explorers in the 16th century.
      
      b. Briefly explain the interaction between the Native Americans and Spanish explorers in the New World.
Chapter Review

Long Essay Questions

1. Explain how contact between Europeans, Native Americans, and the people of West Africa created a new world.
2. What role did competition over resources play in the conflicts that emerged in the Americas after European exploration and settlement?
Chapter 1
New World Beginnings
33,000 B.C.E.–1769 C.E.

- Focus on AP® Success
- Chapter Introduction
- 1.1 The Shaping of North America
- 1.2 Peopling the Americas
- 1.3 The Earliest Americans
- 1.4 Indirect Discoverers of the New World
- 1.5 Europeans Enter Africa
- 1.6 Columbus Comes upon a New World
- 1.7 When Worlds Collide
- 1.8 The Conquest of Mexico and Peru
- 1.9 Exploration and Imperial Rivalry
- Chapter Review
  - Key Terms
  - People to Know
  - Chronology
  - To Learn More

Focus on AP® Success

Must Know: Events and People

- Native American populations in North America prior to 1492
- Portuguese and Spanish exploration and conquest
- Columbian exchange
- Patterns of Spanish colonizatation
- Encomienda system
- Pueblo Revolt (called Pope's Rebellion in The American Pageant)

Must Understand: Key Concepts from Period 1 (1491–1607) and Period 2 (1607–1754)

Elements of Key Concept 1.1

- How native populations in North America developed complex societies based on their interactions with the environment and each other
- How maize cultivation in present-day Mexico and the American Southwest and a mix of foraging and hunting in the Northwest and parts of California supported economic development and social diversification among native societies
- Why native populations in the Great Basin and western Great Plains developed mobile lifestyles

Elements of Key Concept 1.2

- How European overseas expansion led to the Columbian exchange
- How Spanish and Portuguese exploration and conquest of the Americas led to widespread deadly epidemics, the emergence of racially mixed populations, and a caste system
- How Spanish and Portuguese traders joined with some West Africans to recruit slave labor for the Americas
- How European exploration and conquest were motivated by a desire for new sources of wealth, increased power and status, and converts to Christianity
- How new sources of mineral wealth from the Americas assisted the European shift from feudalism to capitalism

**Elements of Key Concept 1.3**

- How poor understanding of Native Americans on the part of the Spanish and Portuguese led to debates about how to treat them
- How European attempts to change Native American beliefs and world-views led to resistance and conflict

**Elements of Key Concept 2.1**

- How Spain sought to establish tight control over the process of colonization in the Western Hemisphere and convert and/or exploit the native population

**Elements of Key Concept 2.2**

- How Spanish colonizing efforts in North America, particularly after the Pueblo Revolt (i.e., Pepe's Rebellion), saw accommodation with some aspects of American Indian culture

**Historical Thinking Skills**

**Periodization**

The authors of *The American Pageant* use 33,000 B.C.E. and 1769 C.E. as the beginning and ending dates for "New World Beginnings," but the first chronological period of study for the AP United States History Exam is from 1491 to 1607, with the understanding that 1491 is a symbolic date for pre-Columbian contacts in North America. As you read this chapter, does 33,000 B.C.E., 1491, or some other date make the most sense to you as the beginning of this time period?

**Contextualization**

Can you place the Columbian exchange in a global context? That is, how do the interactions and adaptations among societies across the Atlantic fit into the larger story of world history? What evidence can you find in the chapter to support your position?

**Appropriate Use of Relevant Historical Evidence**

The authors contend that 1492 was a "fateful year" in North American history when "the land and the native peoples alike felt the full shock of the European 'discovery.'" As you read this chapter, what relevant historical evidence can you find to support, modify, or refute this assertion?

**Developing the Thematic Learning Objectives with Key Concepts**

As you read the chapter, expand the following outlines with illustrative examples (i.e., relevant historical evidence):

**Peopling (PO-1):**

- Explain how and why people moved within the Americas (before contact) and to and within the Americas (after contact and colonization).

**North American Indians (Key Concept 1.1):**

- Settlers migrated across North America over time and developed complex societies by adapting to and transforming their environments (Chapter 1).
- Maize cultivation in present-day Mexico and the American Southwest supported economic development and social diversification (Chapter 1).
- The lack of natural resources in the Great Basin and western Great Plains caused Native American societies to develop largely mobile lifestyles (Chapter 1).
America in the World (WOR-1):

Explain how imperial competition and the exchange of commodities across both sides of the Atlantic Ocean influenced the origins and patterns of development of North American societies in the colonial period.

The Columbian Exchange (Key Concept 1.2)

- European overseas expansion resulted in the Columbian exchange (a series of interactions and adaptations among societies across the Atlantic) (Chapter 1).
- Spanish and Portuguese exploration and conquest led to widespread deadly epidemics, emergence of racially mixed populations, and a caste system (Chapter 1).
- Introduction of new crops and livestock by the Spanish had far-reaching effects on native settlement patterns and economic, social, and political development in the Western Hemisphere (Chapter 1).
- New crops from the Americas stimulated European population growth (Chapter 1).
- New sources of mineral wealth facilitated the European shift from feudalism to capitalism (Chapter 1).

Ideas, Beliefs, and Culture (CUL-1):

Compare the cultural values and attitudes of different European, African American, and native peoples in the colonial period and explain how contact affected intergroup relationships and conflicts.

Conflicting World-Views (Key Concept 1.3)

- Contacts among Native American Indians, Africans, and Europeans challenged the world-views of each group (Chapter 1).
- Spanish and Portuguese explorers poorly understood the Native Americans and had debates over how to treat and “civilize” them (Chapter 1).
- Many Europeans developed a belief in white superiority to justify treatment of Africans and Native Americans (Chapter 1).
- Native Americans strove to maintain their political and cultural autonomy in the face of European challenges to their independence and core beliefs (Chapter 1).

Full text of the key concepts may be found in the Correlation of Key Concepts chart.

Chapter Introduction

I have come to believe that this is a mighty continent which was hitherto unknown. . . .

Your Highnesses have an Other World here.

Christopher Columbus, 1498

Several billion years ago, that whirling speck of cosmic dust known as the earth, fifth in size among the planets, came into being.

About six thousand years ago—only a minute in geological time—recorded history of the Western world began. Certain peoples of the Middle East, developing a written culture, gradually emerged from the haze of the past.

Five hundred years ago—only a few seconds figuratively speaking—European explorers stumbled on the Americas. This dramatic accident forever altered the future of both the Old World and the New, and of Africa and Asia as well (see Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1
The Arc of Time
1.1 The Shaping of North America

Planet earth took on its present form slowly. Some 225 million years ago, a single supercontinent, called Pangaea by geologists, contained all the world’s dry land. Then enormous chunks of terrain began to drift away from this colossal landmass, opening the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, narrowing the Pacific Ocean, and forming the great continents of Eurasia, Africa, Australia, Antarctica, and the Americas. The existence of a single original continent has been proved in part by the discovery of nearly identical species of fish that swim today in long-separated freshwater lakes throughout the world.

Continued shifting and folding of the earth’s crust thrust up mountain ranges. The Appalachians were probably formed even before continental separation, perhaps 350 million years ago. The majestic ranges of western North America—the Rockies, the Sierra Nevada, the Cascades, and the Coast Ranges—arose much more recently, geologically speaking, some 135 million to 25 million years ago. They are truly “American” mountains, born after the continent took on its own separate geological identity.

By about 10 million years ago, nature had sculpted the basic geological shape of North America. The continent was anchored in its northeastern corner by the massive Canadian Shield (first part of the North American landmass to emerge above sea level)—a zone undergirded by ancient rock, probably the first part of what became the North American landmass to have emerged above sea level. A narrow eastern coastal plain, or “tidewater” region, creased by many river valleys, sloped gently upward to the tineworn ridges of the Appalachians. Those ancient mountains slanted away on their western side into the huge midcontinental basin that rolled downward to the Mississippi Valley bottom and then rose relentlessly to the towering peaks of the Rockies. From the Rocky Mountain crest—the “roof of America”—the land fell off jaggedly into the intermountain Great Basin, bounded by the Rockies on the east and the Sierra and Cascade ranges on the west. The valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers and the Willamette–Columbia Sound through seascapes of the interiors of present-day California, Oregon, and Washington. The land at last met the foaming Pacific, where the Coast Ranges rose steeply from the sea.

Nature laid a chill hand over much of this terrain in the Great Ice Age, beginning about 2 million years ago. Two-mile-thick ice sheets crept from the polar regions to blanket parts of Europe, Asia, and the Americas. In North America the great glaciers carpeted most of present-day Canada and the United States as far southward as a line stretching from Pennsylvania through the Ohio Country and the Dakotas to the Pacific Northwest.

When the glaciers finally retreated about ten thousand years ago, they left the North American landscape transformed and much as we know it today. The weight of the gargantuan ice mantle had depressed the level of the Canadian Shield. The grinding and flushing action of the moving and melting ice had scouried away the shield’s topsoil, pitting its rocky surface with thousands of shallow depressions into which the melting glaciers flowed to form lakes. The same glacial action scooped out and filled the Great Lakes. They originally drained southward through the Mississippi River system to the Gulf of Mexico. When the melting ice unblocked the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the lake water sought the St. Lawrence River outlet to the Atlantic Ocean, lowering the Great Lakes’ level and leaving the Missouri-Mississippi-Ohio system to drain the enormous midcontinental basin between the Appalachians and the Rockies. Similarly, in the West, water from the melting glaciers filled sprawling Lake Bonneville, covering much of present-day Utah, Nevada, and Idaho. It drained to the Pacific Ocean through the Snake and Columbia River systems until diminishing rainfall from the ebbing ice cap lowered the water level, cutting off access to the Snake River outlet. Deprived of both inflow and drainage, the giant lake became a gradually shrinking inland sea. It grew increasingly saline, slowly evaporated, and left an arid, mineral-rich desert. Only the Great Salt Lake remains as a relic of Bonneville’s former vastness. Today Lake Bonneville’s ancient beaches are visible on mountainsides up to 1,000 feet above the dry floor of the Great Basin.
1.2 Peopling the Americas

The Great Ice Age shaped more than the geological history of North America. It also contributed to the origins of the continent's human history. Though recent (and still highly controversial) evidence suggests that some early peoples may have reached the Americas in crude boats, most probably came by land. Some thirty-five thousand years ago, the Ice Age congealed much of the world's oceans into massive ice-pack glaciers, lowering the level of the sea. As the sea level dropped, it exposed a land bridge connecting Eurasia with North America in the area of the present-day Bering Sea between Siberia and Alaska. Across that bridge, probably following migratory herds of game, ventured small bands of nomadic Asian hunters—the "immigrant" ancestors of the Native Americans. They continued to trek across the Bering land bridge for some 250 centuries, slowly peopling the American continents (see Map 1.1).

Map 1.1
The First Discoverers of America

The origins of the first Americans remain something of a mystery. According to the most plausible theory of how the Americas were populated, for some twenty-five thousand years people crossed the Bering land bridge from Eurasia to North America. Gradually they dispersed southward down ice-free valleys, populating both the American continents.

As the Ice Age ended and the glaciers melted, the sea level rose again, inundating the land bridge about ten thousand years ago. Nature thus barred the door to further immigration for many thousands of years, leaving this part of the human family marooned for millennia on the now-isolated American continents.

Time did not stand still for these original Americans. The same climatic warming that melted the ice and drowned the bridge to Eurasia gradually opened ice-free valleys through which vanguard bands groped their way southward and eastward across the Americas. Roaming slowly through this awesome wilderness, they eventually reached the far tip of South America, some fifteen thousand miles from Siberia. By the time Europeans arrived in America in 1492, perhaps 54 million people inhabited the two American continents. Over the centuries they split into countless tribes, evolved more than two thousand separate languages, and developed many diverse religions, cultures, and ways of life.

Incas (Highly advanced South American civilization that occupied present-day Peru until it was conquered by Spanish forces under Francisco Pizarro in 1532. The Incas developed sophisticated agricultural techniques, such as terrace farming, in order to sustain large, complex societies in the underlying Andes Mountains.) in Peru, Mayans in Central America, and Aztecs (Native American empire that controlled present-day Mexico until...
1521, when they were conquered by Spanish Hernán Cortés. The Aztecs maintained control over their vast empire through a system of trade and tribute. They came to be known for their advances in mathematics and writing and their use of human sacrifices in religious ceremonies in Mexico shaped stunningly sophisticated civilizations. Their advanced agricultural practices, based primarily on the cultivation of maize, which is Indian corn, fed large populations, perhaps as many as 20 million in Mexico alone. Although without large draft animals such as horses and oxen, and lacking even the simple technology of the wheel, these people built elaborate cities and carried on far-flung commerce. Talented mathematicians, they made strikingly accurate astronomical observations. The Aztecs also routinely sought the favor of their gods by offering human sacrifices, cutting the hearts out of the chests of living victims, who were often captives conquered in battle. By some accounts more than five thousand people were ritually slaughtered to celebrate the crowning of one Aztec chieftain.

Examining the Evidence

Making Sense of the New World

This map from 1548 by Sebastian Münster represents one of the earliest efforts to make geographic sense out of the New World (Novus Orbis and Die Neue Welt on the map). The very phrase New World suggests just how staggering a blow to the European imagination was the discovery of the Americas. Europeans reached instinctively for the most expansive of all possible terms—world, not simply places, or even continents—to comprehend Columbus's startling report that lands and peoples previously unimagined lay beyond the horizon of Europe's western sea.

Gradually the immense implications of the New World's existence began to impress themselves on Europe, with consequences for literature, art, politics, the economy, and, of course, cartography. Maps can only be representations of reality and are therefore necessarily distortions. This map bears a recognizable resemblance to modern mapmakers' renderings of the American continents, but it also contains gross geographic inaccuracies (note the location of Japan—Zipangri—relative to the North American west coast) as well as telling commentaries on what sixteenth-century Europeans found remarkable (note the Land of Giants—Regio Gigantum—and the indication of cannibals—Cniibali—in present-day Argentina and Brazil, respectively). What further clues to the European mentality of the time does the map offer? In what ways might misconceptions about the geography of the Americas have influenced further exploration and settlement patterns?

Chapter 1: New World Beginnings: 1.3 The Earliest Americans
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1.3 The Earliest Americans

Agriculture, especially corn growing, accounted for the size and sophistication of the Native American civilizations in Mexico and South America. About 5000 B.C.E. hunter-gatherers in highland Mexico developed a wild grass into the staple crop of corn, which became their staff of life and the foundation of the complex, large-scale, centralized Aztec and Incan civilizations that eventually emerged. Cultivation of corn spread across the Americas from
the Mexican heartland. Everywhere it was planted, corn began to transform nomadic hunting bands into settled agricultural villagers, but this process went forward slowly and unevenly.

Corn planting reached the present-day American Southwest as early as 2000 B.C.E. and powerfully molded Pueblo culture. The Pueblo peoples in the Rio Grande valley constructed intricate irrigation systems to water their cornfields. They were dwelling in villages of multistoried, terraced buildings when Spanish explorers made contact with them in the sixteenth century. (Pueblo means “village” in Spanish.)

Corn cultivation reached other parts of North America considerably later. The timing of its arrival in different localities explains much about the relative rates of development of different Native American peoples (see Map 1.2). Throughout the continent to the north and east of the land of the Pueblos, social life was less elaborately developed—indeed “societies” in the modern sense of the word scarcely existed. No dense concentrations of population or complex nation-states (The term commonly describes those societies in which political legitimacy and authority overlay a large degree of cultural commonality, comparable to the Aztec empire existed in North America outside of Mexico at the time of the Europeans’ arrival—one of the reasons for the relative ease with which the European colonizers subdued the native North Americans.

Map 1.2
North American Indian Peoples at the Time of First Contact with Europeans

Because this map depicts the location of various Indian peoples at the time of their first contact with Europeans, and because initial contacts ranged from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, it is necessarily subject to considerable chronological skewing and is only a crude approximation of the “original” territory of any given group. The map also cannot capture the fluidity and dynamism of Native American life even before Columbus’s “discovery.” For example, the Navajo and Apache peoples had migrated from present-day northern Canada only shortly before the Spanish first encountered them in the present-day American Southwest in the 1500s. The map also places the Sioux on the Great Plains, where Europeans met up with them in the early nineteenth century—but the Sioux had spilled onto the plains not long before then from the forests surrounding the Great Lakes. The indigenous populations of the southeastern and mid-Atlantic regions are especially difficult to represent accurately in a map like this because pre-Columbian intertribal conflicts had so scrambled the native inhabitants that it is virtually impossible to determine which groups were originally there.

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The Mound Builders of the Ohio River valley, the Mississippian culture of the lower Midwest, and the desert-dwelling Anasazi peoples of the Southwest did sustain some large settlements after the incorporation of corn planting into their ways of life during the first millennium C.E. The Mississippian settlement at Cahokia (Mississippian settlement near present-day East St. Louis, home to as many as twenty-five thousand Native Americans), near present-day East St. Louis, was at one time home to as many as twenty-five thousand
people. The Anasazis built an elaborate pueblo of more than six hundred interconnected rooms at Chaco Canyon in modern-day New Mexico. But mysteriously, perhaps due to prolonged drought, all those ancient cultures fell into decline by about 1300 C.E.

Corn Culture

This statue of a corn goddess from the Moche culture of present-day coastal Peru, made between 200 and 600 B.C.E., vividly illustrates the centrality of corn to Native American peoples a thousand years before the rise of the great Incan and Aztec empires that the Europeans later encountered.

The cultivation of maize, as well as of high-yielding strains of beans and squash, reached the southeastern Atlantic seaboard region of North America about 1000 C.E. These plants made possible three-sister-farming (an agricultural system employed by North American Indians as early as 1000 C.E.; maize, beans, and squash were grown together to maximize yields), with beans growing on the trellis of the cornstalks and squash covering the planting mounds to retain moisture in the soil. The rich diet provided by this environmentally clever farming technique produced some of the highest population densities on the continent, among them the Creek, Chocow, and Cherokee peoples.

The Iroquois in the northeastern woodlands, inspired by a legendary leader named Hiawatha, created in the sixteenth century perhaps the closest North American approximation to the great empires of Mexico and Peru. The Iroquois Confederacy developed the political and organizational skills to sustain a robust military alliance that menaced its neighbors, Native American and European alike, for well over a century (see "Makers of America: The Iroquois").

But for the most part, the native peoples of North America were living in small, scattered, and impermanent settlements on the eve of the Europeans' arrival. In more settled agricultural groups, women tended the crops while men hunted, fished, gathered fuel, and cleared fields for planting. This pattern of life frequently conferred substantial authority on women, and many North American native peoples, including the Iroquois, developed matrilineal cultures, in which power and possessions passed down to the female side of the family line.

Cahokia

Houses and mounds dot the landscape in an artist's rendering of ancient Cahokia circa 1150, when its population of twenty thousand exceeded London's.
Unlike the Europeans, who would soon arrive with the presumption that humans had
dominion over the earth and with the technologies to alter the very face of the land, the
Native Americans had neither the desire nor the means to manipulate nature aggressively.
They revered the physical world and endowed nature with spiritual properties. Yet they
did sometimes ignite massive forest fires, deliberately torching thousands of acres of trees
to create better hunting habitats, especially for deer. This practice accounted for the open,
parklike appearance of the eastern woodlands that so amazed early European explorers.

But in a broad sense, the land did not feel the hand of the Native Americans heavy upon it,
partly because they were so few in number. They were so thinly spread across the
continent that vast areas were virtually untouched by a human presence. In the fateful
year 1492, probably no more than 4 million Native Americans paddled through the
whispering, primeval forests and paddled across the sparkling, virgin waters of the
continent north of Mexico. They were blissfully unaware that the historic isolation of the
Americas was about to end forever, as the land and the native peoples alike felt the full
shock of the European “discovery.”

Chapter 1: New World Beginnings: 1.4 Indirect Discoverers of the New World
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1.4 Indirect Discoverers of the New World

Europeans, for their part, were equally unaware of the existence of the Americas. Blond-
bearded Norse seafarers from Scandinavia had chanced upon the northeastern shoulder of
North America about 1000 C.E. They landed at a place near L'Anse aux Meadows in present-
day Newfoundland that abounded in wild grapes, which led them to name the spot
Vinland. But no strong nation-state, yearning to expand, supported these venturesome
voyagers. Their flimsy settlements consequently were soon abandoned, and their discovery
was forgotten, except in Scandinavian saga and song.

For several centuries thereafter, other restless Europeans, with the growing power of
ambitious governments behind them, sought contact with a wider world, whether for
conquest or trade. They thus set in motion the chain of events that led to a drive toward
Asia, the penetration of Africa, and the completely accidental discovery of the New World.

Christian crusaders must rank high among America’s indirect discoverers. Clad in shining
armor, tens of thousands of these European warriors tried from the eleventh to the
fourteenth centuries to wrest the Holy Land from Muslim control. Foiled in their military
assaults, the crusaders nevertheless acquired a taste for the exotic delights of Asia. Goods
that had been virtually unknown in Europe now were craved—silk for clothing, drugs for
aching flesh, perfumes for unblemished bodies, colorful draperies for gloomy castles, and
spices—especially sugar, a rare luxury in Europe before the crusades—for preserving and
flavoring food. Europe’s developing sweet tooth would have momentous implications for
world history.

The luxuries of the East were prohibitively expensive in Europe. They had to be
transported enormous distances from the Spice Islands (Indonesia), China, and India, in
creaking ships and on swaying camel back. The journey led across the Indian Ocean, the
Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea or along the tortuous caravan routes of Asia or the Arabian
Peninsula, ending at the ports of the eastern Mediterranean (see Map 1.3). Muslim
middlemen (in trading systems, those dealers who operate between the original producers
of goods and the retail merchants who sell to consumers. After the eleventh century,
European exploration was driven in large part by a desire to acquire alluring Asian goods
without paying heavy tolls to Muslim middlemen) exacted a heavy toll on route. By the
time the strange-smelling goods reached Italian merchants at Venice and Genoa, they were
so costly that purchasers and profits alike were narrowly limited. European consumers and
distributors were naturally eager to find a less expensive route to the riches of Asia or to
develop alternate sources of supply.

Map 1.3
The World Known to Europe and Major Trade Routes with Asia, 1492

Goods on the early routes passed through so many hands along the way that their ultimate
source remained mysterious to Europeans.
1.5 Europeans Enter Africa

European appetites were further whetted when footloose Marco Polo, an Italian adventurer, returned to Europe in 1295 and began telling tales of his nearly twenty-year sojourn in China. Though he may in fact never have seen China (legend to the contrary, the hard evidence is sketchy), he must be regarded as an indirect discoverer of the New World, for his book, with its descriptions of rose-tinted pearls and golden pagodas, stimulated European desires for a cheaper route to the treasures of the East.

These accumulating pressures eventually brought a breakthrough for European expansion. Before the middle of the fifteenth century, European sailors refused to sail southward along the coast of West Africa because they could not beat their way home against the prevailing northerly winds and south-flowing currents. About 1450, Portuguese mariners overcame those obstacles. Not only had they developed the caravel (Small regular vessel with a high deck and three triangular sails. Caravels could sail more closely into the wind, allowing European sailors to explore the western shores of Africa, previously made inaccessible due to prevailing winds on the homeward journey.), a ship that could sail more closely into the wind, but they had discovered that they could return to Europe by sailing northwesterly from the African coast toward the Azores, where the prevailing westward breezes would carry them home.

The new world of sub-Saharan Africa now came within the grasp of questing Europeans. The northern shore of Africa, as part of the Mediterranean world, had been known to Europe since antiquity. But because sea travel down the African coast had been virtually impossible, Africa south of the forbidding Sahara Desert barrier had remained remote and mysterious. African gold, perhaps two-thirds of Europe’s supply, crossed the Sahara on camelback, and shadowy tales may have reached Europe about the flourishing West African kingdom of Mali in the Niger River valley, with its impressive Islamic university at Timbuktu. But Europeans had no direct access to sub-Saharan Africa until the Portuguese navigators began to creep down the West African coast in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Marco Polo Passing Through the Strait of Hormuz

This illustration, from the first printed edition of The Travels of Marco Polo in 1477, shows the traveler crossing the Persian Gulf between the Arabian Peninsula and Persia (present-day Iran).
centuries before the Europeans arrived. The slavers routinely charged higher prices for captives from distant sources because they could not easily flee to their native villages or be easily rescued by their kin. Slave brokers also deliberately separated persons from the same tribes and mixed unlike people together to frustrate organized resistance. Thus from its earliest days, slavery by its very nature disrupted African communities and inhibited the expression of regional African cultures and tribal identities.

The Portuguese adopted these Arab and African practices. They built up their own systematic traffic in slaves to work the sugar plantations that Portugal, and later Spain, established on the African coastal islands of Madeira, the Canaries, São Tomé, and Principe. The enormous Portuguese appetite for slaves dwarfed the modest scale of the pre-European traffic. Slave trading became a big business. Some forty thousand Africans were carried away to the Atlantic sugar islands in the last half of the fifteenth century. Millions more were to be wrenched from their home continent after the discovery of the Americas. In these fifteenth-century Portuguese adventures in Africa were to be found the origins of the modern plantation (large-scale agricultural enterprise growing commercial crops and usually employing coerced or slave labor) system, based on large-scale commercial agriculture and the wholesale exploitation of slave labor. This kind of plantation economy would shape the destiny of much of the New World.

The seafaring Portuguese pushed still farther southward in search of the water route to Asia. Edging cautiously down the African coast, Bartholomeu Dias rounded the southernmost tip of the "Dark Continent" in 1488. Ten years later Vasco da Gama finally reached India (hence the name "Indies," given by Europeans to all the mysterious lands of the Orient) and returned home with a small but tantalizing cargo of jewels and spices.

Meanwhile, the kingdom of Spain became united—an event pregnant with destiny—in the late fifteenth century. This new unity resulted primarily from the marriage of two sovereigns, Ferdinand of Aragon (1452-1516) Spanish monarch who, along with his wife Isabella of Castile, funded Christopher Columbus's voyage across the Atlantic in 1492, which led to his discovery of the West Indies) and Isabella of Castile (1451-1504) Spanish monarch who, along with her husband Ferdinand of Aragon, funded Christopher Columbus's voyage across the Atlantic in 1492, which led to his discovery of the West Indies), and from the brutal expulsion of the "infidel" Muslim Moors from Spain after centuries of Christian-Islamic warfare. Glorifying in their sudden strength, the Spaniards were eager to outstrip their Portuguese rivals in the race to tap the wealth of the Indies. To the south and east, Portugal controlled the African coast and thus the gateway to the round-Africa water route to India. Of necessity, therefore, Spain looked westward.

Gorée Island Slave Fortress

From this holding station off the coast of Senegal, thousands of African captives passed through the "Door of No Return" into a lifetime of slavery in the New World.
1.6 Columbus Comes upon a New World

The stage was now set for a cataclysmic shift in the course of history—the history not only of Europe but of all the world. Europeans clamored for more and cheaper products from the lands beyond the Mediterranean. Africa had been established as a source of abundant slave labor for plantation agriculture. The Portuguese voyages had demonstrated the feasibility of long-range ocean navigation. In Spain a modern national state was taking shape, with the unity, wealth, and power to shoulder the formidable tasks of discovery, conquest, and colonization. The dawn of the Renaissance in the fourteenth century nurtured an ambitious spirit of optimism and adventure. Printing presses, introduced about 1450, facilitated the spread of scientific knowledge. The mariner’s compass, possibly borrowed from the Arabs, eliminated some of the uncertainties of sea travel. Meanwhile, across the ocean, the unsuspecting New World innocently awaited its European "discoverers."

On to this stage stepped Christopher Columbus (1451-1506), Genoese explorer who stumbled upon the West Indies in 1492 while in search of a new water route to Asia. Columbus made three subsequent voyages across the Atlantic and briefly served as a colonial administrator on the island of Hispaniola, present-day Haiti. This skilled Italian seafarer persuaded the Spanish monarchs to outfit him with three tiny but seaworthy ships, manned by a motley crew. Daringly, he unfurled the sails of his cockleshell craft and headed westward. His superstitious sailors, fearful of venturing into the oceanic unknown, grew increasingly mutinous. After six weeks at sea, failure loomed until, on October 12, 1492, the crew sighted an island in the Bahamas. A new world thus swam within the vision of Europeans.

Columbus’s sensational achievement obscures the fact that he was one of the most successful failures in history. Seeking a new water route to the fabled Indies, he in fact had bumped into an enormous land barrier blocking the ocean pathway. For decades thereafter explorers strove to get through it or around it. The truth gradually dawned that sprawling new continents had been discovered. Yet Columbus was at first so certain that he had skirted the rim of the “Indies” that he called the native peoples Indians, a gross geographical misnomer that somehow stuck.

Columbus’s discovery would eventually convulse four continents—Europe, Africa, and the two Americas. Thanks to his epochal voyage, an interdependent global economic system emerged on a scale undreamed-of before he set sail. Its workings touched every shore washed by the Atlantic Ocean. Europe provided the markets, the capital, and the technology; Africa furnished the labor; and the New World offered its raw materials, especially its precious metals and its soil for the cultivation of sugar cane. For Europeans as well as for Africans and Native Americans, the world after 1492 would never be the same, for better or for worse.

1.7 When Worlds Collide

Two ecosystems—the fragile, naturally evolved networks of relations among organisms in a stable environment—converging and clashing when Columbus waded ashore. The reverberations from that historic encounter—often called the Columbian exchange (see Figure 1.2)—echoed for centuries after 1492. The flora and fauna—as well as the peoples—of the Old and New Worlds had been separated for thousands of years. European explorers marveled at the strange sights that greeted them, including exotic beasts such as iguanas and “snakes with castanets” (rattlesnakes). Native New World plants such as tobacco, maize, beans, tomatoes, and especially the lowly potato eventually revolutionized the international economy as well as the European diet, feeding the rapid population growth of the Old World. These foodstuffs were among the most important Indian gifts to the Europeans and to the rest of the world. Perhaps three-fifths of the crops cultivated around the globe today originated in the Americas. Ironically, the introduction into Africa of New World foodstuffs like maize, manioc, and sweet potatoes may have fed an African population boom that numerically, though not morally, more than offset the losses inflicted by the slave trade.
Columbus's discovery initiated the kind of explosion in international commerce that a later age would call "globalization."

In exchange the Europeans introduced Old World crops and animals to the Americas. Columbus returned to the Caribbean island of Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic) in 1493 with seventeen ships that unloaded twelve hundred men and a virtual Noah's Ark of cattle, swine, and horses. The horses soon reached the North American mainland through Mexico. Over the next two centuries, they spread as far as Canada. Southwestern Indian tribes like the Comanche, Apache, and Navajo swiftly adopted the horse; northern tribes like the Lakota, Shoshone, and Blackfeet somewhat later. Horses transformed newly mounted cultures into highly mobile, wide-ranging hunter-warrior societies that roamed the grassy Great Plains in pursuit of the shaggy buffalo and that suppressed unmounted peoples like the Paiute. Columbus also brought seedlings of sugar cane, which thrived in the warm Caribbean climate. A "sugar revolution" consequently took place in the European diet, fueled by the forced migration of millions of Africans to work the cane fields and sugar mills of the New World.

The Scourge of Smallpox

These scenes of Aztec Indians afflicted with smallpox contracted from the Spaniards were drawn by a native artist to illustrate Father Bernardino de Sahagun's remarkable sixteenth-century treatise, "General History of the Things of New Spain," a pioneering work of ethnography and anthropology.

Unwittingly, the Europeans also brought other organisms in the dirt on their boots and the dust on their clothes, such as the seeds of Kentucky bluegrass, dandelions, and daisies. Most ominous of all, in their bodies they carried the germs that caused smallpox, yellow fever, and malaria. Old World diseases quickly devastated the Native Americans. During the Indians' millennia of isolation in the Americas, most of the Old World's killer maladies had disappeared from among them. But generations of freedom from those illnesses had also wiped out protective antibodies. Devoid of natural resistance to Old World sicknesses, Indians died in droves. Within fifty years of the Spanish arrival, the population of the Taíno natives in Hispaniola dwindled from some 1 million people to about 200. Enslavement and armed aggression took their toll, but the deadliest killers were microbes, not muskets. The lethal germs spread among the New World peoples with the speed and force of a hurricane, swiftly sweeping far ahead of the human invaders, most of those afflicted never laid eyes on a European. In the centuries after Columbus's landfall, as many as 90 percent of the Native Americans perished, a demographic catastrophe without parallel in human history.
This depopulation was surely not intended by the Spanish, but it was nevertheless so severe that entire cultures and ancient ways of life were extinguished forever. Baffled, enraged, and vengeful, Indian slaves sometimes kneaded tainted blood into their masters’ bread, to little effect. Perhaps it was poetic justice that the Indians unintentionally did take a kind of revenge by infecting the early explorers with syphilis, injecting that lethal sexually transmitted disease for the first time into Europe.

Contending Voices

Europeans and Indians

In 1550–1551, two renowned scholars in Valladolid, Spain, formally debated whether the native peoples of the New World were “true men,” capable of governing themselves and becoming Christians. Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1489–1573), who had never seen the New World, believed that:

“The Spanish have a perfect right to rule these barbarians of the New World and the adjacent islands, who in prudence, skill, virtues, and humanity are as inferior to the Spanish as children to adults, or women to men, for there exists between the two as great a difference as between . . . apes and men.”

The Dominican friar Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484–1566) Reform-minded Spanish missionary who worked to abolish the encomienda system and documented the mistreatment of Indians in the Spanish colonies. (1484–1566), who had long labored among the Indians, replied:

“I call the Spaniards who plunder that unhappy people torturers. . . . The Indians are our brothers, and Christ has given his life for them. Why, then, do we persecute them with such inhuman savagery when they do not deserve such treatment?”

To what extent did attitudes like those persist over the next several centuries?

1.8 The Conquest of Mexico and Peru

Gradually, Europeans realized that the American continents held rich prizes, especially the gold and silver of the advanced Indian civilizations in Mexico and Peru. Spain secured its claim to Columbus’s discovery in the Treaty of Tordesillas (signed by Spain and Portugal, dividing the territories of the New World, Spain received the bulk of territory in the Americas, compensating Portugal with titles to lands in Africa and Asia) (1494), dividing with Portugal the “heathen lands” of the New World (see Map 1.4). The lion’s share went to Spain, but Portugal received compensating territory in Africa and Asia, as well as title to lands that one day would be Brazil.

Map 1.4

Principal Voyages of Discovery

Spain, Portugal, France, and England reaped the greatest advantages from the New World, but much of the earliest exploration was done by Italians, notably Christopher Columbus of Genoa, John Cabot, another native of Genoa (his original name was Giovannu Caboto), sailed for England’s King Henry VII. Giovanni da Verrazano was a Florentine employed by France.
The islands of the Caribbean Sea—the West Indies as they came to be called, in yet another perpetuation of Columbus's geographic confusion—served as offshore bases for staging the Spanish invasion of the mainland Americas. Here supplies could be stored, and men and horses could be rested and acclimated, before proceeding to the conquest of the continents. The loosely organized and vulnerable native communities of the West Indies also provided laboratories for testing the techniques that would eventually subdue the advanced Indian civilizations of Mexico and Peru. The most important such technique was the institution known as the encomienda (Spanish government's policy to "command," or give, Indians to certain colonists in return for the promise to Christianize them. Part of a broader Spanish effort to subdue Indian tribes in the West Indies and on the North American mainland.). It allowed the government to "command," or give, Indians to certain colonists in return for the promise to try to Christianize them. In all but name, it was slavery. Spanish missionary Bartolomé de las Casas, appalled by the encomienda system in Hispaniola, called it "a moral pestilence invented by Satan."

In 1519 Hernán Cortés (1485-1547) Spanish conquistador who defeated the Aztec empire and claimed Mexico for Spain sailed from Cuba with sixteen fresh horses and several hundred men aboard eleven ships, bound for Mexico and for destiny. On the island of Cozumel off the Yucatán Peninsula, he rescued a Spanish castaway who had been enslaved for several years by the Mayan-speaking Indians. A short distance farther on, he picked up the female Indian slave Malinche (Doña Marina) (ca. 1500-1550) Indian slave who served as an interpreter for Hernán Cortés on his conquest of the Aztecs. Malinche later married one of Cortés's soldiers, who took her with him back to Spain; she knew both Mayan and Nahua, the language of the powerful Aztec rulers of the great empire in the highlands of central Mexico. In addition to his superior firepower, Cortés now had the advantage, through these two interpreters, of understanding the speech of the native peoples whom he was about to encounter, including the Aztecs. Malinche eventually learned Spanish and was baptized with the Spanish name of Doña Marina.

Near present-day Veracruz, Cortés made his final landfall. Through his interpreters he learned of unrest within the Aztec empire among the peoples from whom the Aztecs demanded tribute. He also heard alluring tales of the gold and other wealth stored up in the legendary Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán. He hustled to tear open the cofers of the Aztec kingdom. To quell his mutinous troops, he boldly burned his ships, cutting off any hope of retreat. Gathering a force of some twenty thousand Indian allies, he marched on Tenochtitlán and toward one of history's most dramatic and fateful encounters.

Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484-1566), a reform-minded Dominican friar, wrote The Destruction of the Indies in 1542 to chronicle the awful fate of the Native Americans and to protest Spanish policies in the New World. He was especially horrified at the catastrophic effects of disease on the native peoples:

"Who of those in future centuries will believe this? I myself who am writing this and saw it and know the most about it can hardly believe that such was possible."

As Cortés proceeded, the Aztec chieftain Moctezuma (1440-1520) last of the Aztec rulers, who saw his powerful empire crumble under the force of the Spanish invasion led by Hernán Cortés) sent ambassadors bearing fabulous gifts to welcome the approaching Spaniards. These only whetted the conquistador's appetite. "We Spanish suffer from a strange disease of the heart," Cortés allegedly informed the emissaries, "for which the only known remedy is gold."

The ambassadors reported this comment to Moctezuma, along with the astonishing fact that the newcomers rode on the backs of "deer" (horses). The superstitious Moctezuma also believed that Cortés was the god Quetzalcoatl, whose return from the eastern sea was predicted in Aztec legends. Expectant yet apprehensive, Moctezuma allowed the conquistadores to approach his capital unopposed.

As the Spaniards entered the Valley of Mexico, the sight of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán amazed them. With 300,000 inhabitants spread over ten square miles, it rivaled in size and
pomp any city in contemporary Europe. The Aztec metropolis rose from an island in the center of a lake, surrounded by floating gardens of extraordinary beauty. It was connected to the mainland by a series of causeways and supplied with fresh water by an artfully designed aqueduct.

Moctezuma treated Cortés hospitably at first, but soon the Spaniards’ hunger for gold and power exhausted their welcome. “They thirsted mightily for gold; they stuffed themselves with it; they starved for it; they lasted for it like pigs,” said one Aztec. On the noche triste (Sad night), when the Aztecs attacked Hernán Cortés and his forces in the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán, killing hundreds, Cortés laid siege to the city the following year. Precipitating the fall of the Aztec empire and inaugurating three centuries of Spanish rule, the battle of June 30, 1520, the Aztecs attacked, driving the Spanish down the causeways from Tenochtitlán in a frantic, bloody retreat. Cortés then laid siege to the city, and it capitulated on August 13, 1521. That same year a smallpox epidemic burned through the Valley of Mexico. The combination of conquest and disease took a grisly toll. The Aztec empire gave way to three centuries of Spanish rule. The temples of Tenochtitlán were destroyed to make way for the Christian cathedrals of Mexico City, built on the site of the ruined Indian capital. And the native population of Mexico, winnowed mercilessly by the invaders’ diseases, shrank from some 20 million to 2 million people in less than a century.

Shortly thereafter in South America, the iron-fisted conqueror Francisco Pizarro (ca. 1475-1541) Spanish conquistador who crushed the Incas in 1532 and founded the city of Lima, Peru, crushed the Incas in Peru in 1532 and added a huge hoard of booty to Spanish coffers. By 1600 Spain was swimming in New World silver, mostly from the fabulously rich mines at Potosí in present-day Bolivia, as well as from Mexico. This flood of precious metal touched off a price revolution in Europe that increased consumer costs by as much as 500 percent in the hundred years after the mid-sixteenth century. Some scholars see in this ballooning European money supply the fuel that fed the growth of the economic system known as capitalism (Economic system characterized by private property, generally free trade, and open and accessible markets). European colonization of the Americas, and in particular, the discovery of vast bullion deposits, helped bring about Europe’s transition to capitalism. Certainly, New World bullion helped transform the world economy. It filled the vaults of bankers from Spain to Italy, laying the foundations of the modern banking system. It clinked in the purses of merchants in France and Holland, stimulating the spread of commerce and manufacturing. And it paid for much of the burgeoning international trade with Asia, whose sellers had little use for any European good except silver.

Yet the invaders brought more than conquest and death. They brought crops and animals, language and laws, customs and religion, all of which proved adaptable to the peoples of the Americas. Especially in Mexico, they intermarried with the surviving Indians, creating a distinctive culture of mestizos (People of mixed Indian and European heritage, notably in Mexico), people of mixed Indian and European heritage. To this day Mexico remains a unique blend of the Old World and the New, producing both ambivalence and pride among its people. Cortés’s translator, Malinche, for example, has given her name to the Mexican language in the word malinche, or “traitor.” But Mexicans also celebrate Columbus Day as the Dia de la Raza—the birthday of a wholly new race of people.

**Artist’s Rendering of Tenochtitlán**

Amid tribal strife in the fourteenth century, the Aztecs built a capital on a small island in a lake in the central Valley of Mexico. From here they oversaw the most powerful empire yet to arise in Mesoamerica. Two main temples stood at the city’s sacred center, one dedicated to Tlaloc, the ancient rain god, and the other to Huizilopochtli, the tribal god, who was believed to require human hearts for sustenance.

![Image of Tenochtitlán](image_url)

*Museo Nacional De Antropología/IMNA, Mexico, photo by Bob Scholten*

**Chapter 1: New World Beginnings: 1.9 Exploration and Imperial Rivalry**

In the service of God, as well as in search of gold and glory, Spanish conquistadores (Sixteenth century Spaniards who fanned out across the Americas, from 1492 to 1520)
Argentina, eventually conquering the Aztec and Incan empires (conquerors) continued to fan out across the New World and beyond (see "Makers of America: The Spanish Conquistadores"). On Spain's long roster of notable deeds, two spectacular exploits must be headlined. Vasco Nuñez Balboa, hailed as the European discoverer of the Pacific Ocean, waded into the foaming waves off Panama in 1513 and boldly claimed for his king all the lands washed by that sea (see Map 1.3). Ferdinand Magellan started from Spain in 1519 with five tiny ships. After battling through the storm-lashed strait off the tip of South America that still bears his name, he was slain by the inhabitants of the Philippines. His one remaining vessel creaked home in 1522, completing the first circumnavigation of the globe.

Makers of America

The Spanish Conquistadores

In 1492, the same year that Columbus sighted America, the great Moorish city of Granada, in Spain, fell after a ten-year siege. For five centuries the Christian kingdoms of Spain had been trying to drive the North African Muslim Moors ("the Dark Ones," in Spanish) off the Iberian Peninsula, and with the fall of Granada, they succeeded. But the lengthy Reconquista had left its mark on Spanish society. Centuries of military and religious confrontation nurtured an obsession with status and honor, bred religious zealotry and intolerance, and created a large class of men who regarded manual labor and commerce contemptuously. With the Reconquista ended, some of these men turned their restless gaze to Spain's New World frontier.

Conquistadores, ca. 1534

This illustration for a book called the Köhler Codex of Nuremberg may be the earliest depiction of the conquistadores in the Americas. It portrays men and horses alike as steadfast and self-assured in their work of conquest.

At first Spanish hopes for America focused on the Caribbean and on finding a sea route to Asia. Gradually, however, word filtered back of rich kingdoms on the mainland. Between 1519 and 1540, Spanish conquistadores swept across the Americas in two wide arcs of conquest—one driving from Cuba through Mexico into what is now the southwestern United States; the other starting from Panama and pushing south into Peru. Within half a century of Columbus's arrival in the Americas, the conquistadores had extinguished the great Aztec and Incan empires and claimed for church and crown a territory that extended from Colorado to Argentina, including much of what is now the continental United States.

The military conquest of this vast region was achieved by just ten thousand men, organized in a series of private expeditions. Hernán Cortés, Francisco Pizarro, and other aspiring conquistadores signed contracts with the Spanish monarch, raised money from investors, and then went about recruiting an army. Only a small minority of the conquistadores—leaders or followers—were nobles. About half were professional soldiers and sailors; the rest comprised peasants, artisans, and members of the middling classes. Most were in their twenties and early thirties, and all knew how to wield a sword.

Diverse motives spurred these motley adventurers. Some hoped to win royal titles and favors by bringing new peoples under the Spanish flag. Others sought to ensure God's favor by spreading Christianity to the pagans. Some men hoped to escape dubious pasts, and others sought the kind of historical adventure experienced by heroes of classical antiquity. Nearly all shared a lust for gold. As one of Cortés's foot
soldiers put it, "We came here to serve God and the king, and also to get rich." One historian adds that the conquistadores first fell on their knees and then fell upon the aborigines.

**An Aztec View of the Conquest, 1531**

Produced just a dozen years after Cortés's arrival in 1519, this drawing by an Aztec artist pictures the Indians rendering tribute to their conquerors. The inclusion of the banner showing the Madonna and child also illustrates the early incorporation of Christian beliefs by the Indians.

Armed with horses and gunpowder and preceded by disease, the conquistadores quickly overpowered the Indians. But most never achieved their dreams of glory. Few received titles of nobility, and many of the rank and file remained permanently indebted to the absentee investors who paid for their equipment. Even when an expedition captured exceptionally rich booty, the spoils were unevenly divided: men from the commander's home region often received more, and men on horseback generally got two shares to the infantryman's one. The conquistadores lost still more power as the crown gradually tightened its control in the New World. By the 1530s in Mexico and the 1550s in Peru, colorless colonial administrators had replaced the freebooting conquistadores.

Nevertheless, the conquistadores achieved a kind of immortality. Because of a scarcity of Spanish women in the early days of the conquest, many of the conquistadores married Indian women. The soldiers who conquered Paraguay received three native women each, and Cortés's soldiers in Mexico—who were forbidden to consort with pagan women—quickly had their lovers baptized into the Catholic faith. Their offspring, the "new race" of mestizos, formed a cultural and a biological bridge between Latin America's European and Indian races.

**Map 1.5**

**Principal Early Spanish Explorations and Conquests**

Note that Coronado traversed northern Texas and Oklahoma. In present-day eastern Kansas, he found, instead of the great golden city he sought, a drab encampment, probably of Wichita Indians.
Other ambitious Spaniards ventured into North America. In 1513 and 1521, Juan Ponce de León explored Florida, which he at first thought was an island. Seeking gold—and probably not the mythical "fountain of youth"—he instead met with death by an Indian arrow. In 1540–1542, Francisco Coronado (1510–1542), Spanish explorer who ventured from western Mexico through present-day Arizona and up to Kansas in search of fabled golden cities, in quest of fabled golden cities that turned out to be adobe pueblos, wandered with a clattering cavalcade through Arizona and New Mexico, penetrating as far east as Kansas. En route his expedition discovered two awesome natural wonders: the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River and enormous herds of buffalo (bison). Hernando de Soto, with six hundred armored men, undertook a fantastic gold-seeking expedition during 1539–1542. Fumbling through marshes and pine barrens from Florida westward, he discovered and crossed the majestic Mississippi River just north of its junction with the Arkansas River. After brutally mistreating the Indians with iron collars and fierce dogs, he at length died of fever and wounds. His troops secretly disposed of his remains at night in the Mississippi, lest the Indians exhume and abuse their conqueror's corpse.

Spain’s colonial empire grew swiftly and impressively. Within about half a century of Columbus’s landfall, hundreds of Spanish cities and towns flourished in the Americas, especially in the great silver-producing centers of Peru and Mexico. Some 160,000 Spaniards, mostly men, had subjugated millions of Indians. Majestic cathedrals dotted the land, printing presses turned out books, and scholars founded distinguished universities, including those at Mexico City and Lima, Peru, both established in 1551, eighty-five years before Harvard, the first college established in the English colonies. But how secure were these imperial possessions? Other powers were already sniffing around the edges of the Spanish domain, eager to bite off their share of the promised wealth of the new lands. The upstart English sent Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot) (ca. 1450–ca. 1498), Italian explorer sent by England’s King Henry VII to explore the northeastern coast of North America in 1497 and 1498, (named in English as John Cabot) to explore the northeastern coast of North America in 1497 and 1498. The French king dispatched another Italian mariner, Giovanni da Verrazano, to explore the eastern seaboard in 1524. Ten years later the Frenchman Jacques Cartier journeyed hundreds of miles up the St. Lawrence River.

To safeguard the northern periphery of their New World domain against such encroachments and to convert more Indian souls to Christianity, the Spanish began to fortify and settle their North American borderlands. In a move to block French ambitions and to protect the sea-lanes to the Caribbean, the Spanish erected a fortress at St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565, thus founding the oldest continually inhabited European settlement in the future United States.

In Mexico the tales of Coronado’s expedition of the 1540s to the upper Rio Grande and Colorado River regions continued to beckon the conquistadores northward. A dust-begrimed expeditionary column, with eighty-three rumbling wagons and hundreds of grumbling men, traversed the bare Sonora Desert from Mexico into the Rio Grande valley in 1598. Led by Don Juan de Oñate, the Spaniards cruelly abused the Pueblo peoples they encountered. In the Battle of Acosta (Fought between Spaniards under Don Juan de Oñate and the Pueblo Indians in present-day New Mexico. Spaniards brutally crushed the Pueblo peoples and established the province as New Mexico in 1598), in 1598, the victorious Spaniards planted one foot of each surviving Indian. They proclaimed the area to be the province of New Mexico in 1609 and founded its capital at Santa Fé the following year (see Map 1.6).

Map 1.6
Spain’s North American Frontier, 1542–1823
The Spanish settlers in New Mexico found a few furs and precious little gold, but they did discover a wealth of souls to be harvested for the Christian religion. The Roman Catholic mission became the central institution in colonial New Mexico until the missionaries’ efforts to suppress native religious customs provoked an Indian uprising called Pope’s Rebellion (Pueblo Indian rebellion that drove Spanish settlers from New Mexico) in 1680. The Pueblo rebels destroyed every Catholic church in the province and killed a score of priests and hundreds of Spanish settlers. In a reversal of Cortés’s treatment of the Aztec temples more than a century earlier, the Indians rebuilt a kiva, or ceremonial religious chamber, on the ruins of the Spanish plaza at Santa Fe. It took nearly half a century for the Spanish fully to reclaim New Mexico from the insurrectionary Indians.

Arrival of Cortés, with Doña Marina, at Tenochtitlán in 1519

This painting by a Mexican artist depicts Cortés in the dress of a Spanish gentleman. His translator Malinche, whose Christian name was Marina, is given an honorable place at the front of the procession. She eventually married one of Cortés’s soldiers, with whom she traveled to Spain and was received by the Spanish court.

Meanwhile, as a further hedge against the ever-threatening French, who had sent an expedition under Robert de la Salle (1643-1687) French explorer who led an expedition down the Mississippi River in the 1680s) down the Mississippi River in the 1680s, the Spanish began around 1716 to establish settlements in Texas. Some refugees from the Pueblo uprising trickled into Texas, and a few missions were established there, including the one at San Antonio later known as the Alamo. But for at least another century, the Spanish presence remained weak in this distant northeastern outpost of Spain’s Mexican empire.

To the west, in California, no serious foreign threat loomed, and Spain directed its attention there only belatedly. Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo had explored the California coast in 1542, but he failed to find San Francisco Bay or anything else of much interest. For some two centuries thereafter, California slumbered undisturbed by European intruders. Then in 1769 Spanish missionaries led by Father Junipero Serra (1711-1784) Franciscan priest who established a chain of missions along the California coast, beginning in San Diego in 1769, with the aim of Christianizing and civilizing native peoples) founded at San Diego the first of a chain of twenty-one missions that wound up the coast as far as Sonoma, north of San Francisco Bay. Father Serra’s brown-robed Franciscan friars toiled with zealous devotion to Christianize the 300,000 native Californians. They gathered the seminomadic Indians into fortified missions and taught them horticulture and basic crafts. These “mission Indians” did adopt Christianity, but they also lost contact with their native cultures and often lost their lives as well, as the white man’s diseases doomed these biologically vulnerable peoples.

The misdeeds of the Spanish in the New World obscured their substantial achievements and helped give birth to the Black Legend (false notion that Spanish conquerors did little but butcher the Indians and steal their gold in the name of Christ). This false concept held that the conquerors merely tortured and butchered the Indians (“killing for Christ”), stole their gold, infected them with smallpox, and left little but misery behind. The Spanish invaders did indeed kill, enslave, and infect countless natives, but they also erected a colonial empire, spreading from California and Florida to Tierra del Fuego. They created
their culture, laws, religion, and language onto a wide array of native societies, laying the foundations for a score of Spanish-speaking nations.

Clearly, the Spaniards, who had more than a century's head start over the English, were genuine empire builders and cultural innovators in the New World. As compared with their Anglo-Saxon rivals, their colonial establishment was larger and richer, and it was destined to endure more than a quarter of a century longer. And in the last analysis, the Spanish paid the Native Americans the high compliment of fusing them through marriage and incorporating indigenous culture into their own, rather than shunning and eventually isolating the Indians as their English adversaries would do.

Chapter Review

Key Terms

Canadian Shield (First part of the North American landmass to emerge above sea level)

Incas (Highly advanced South American civilization that occupied present-day Peru until it was conquered by Spanish forces under Francisco Pizarro in 1532. The Incas developed sophisticated agricultural techniques, such as terrace farming, in order to sustain large, complex societies in the unforgiving Andes Mountains.)

Aztecs (Native American empire that controlled present-day Mexico until 1521, when they were conquered by Spanish Hernán Cortés. The Aztecs maintained control over their vast empire through a system of trade and tribute. They came to be known for their advances in mathematics and writing and their use of human sacrifices in religious ceremonies.)

nation-states (The term commonly describes those societies in which political legitimacy and authority overlay a large degree of cultural commonality.)

Cahokia (Mississippian settlement near present-day East St. Louis, home to as many as twenty-five thousand Native Americans.)

three-sister farming (Agricultural system employed by North American Indians as early as 1000 CE; maize, beans, and squash were grown together to maximize yields.)

middlemen (In trading systems, those dealers who operate between the original producers of goods and the retail merchants who sell to consumers. After the 11th century, European exploration was driven in large part by a desire to acquire alluring Asian goods without paying heavy tolls to Muslim middlemen.)

caravel (Small regular vessel with a high deck and three triangular sails. Caravels could sail more easily into the wind, allowing European sailors to explore the western shores of Africa, previously made inaccessible due to prevailing winds on the homeward journey.)

plantation (Large-scale agricultural enterprise growing commercial crops and usually employing coerced or slave labor. European settlers established plantations in Africa, South America, the Caribbean, and the American South.)

Columbian Exchange (The transfer of goods, crops, and diseases between New and Old World societies after 1492.)

Treaty of Tordesillas (Signed by Spain and Portugal, dividing the territories of the New World. Spain received the bulk of territory in the Americas, compensating Portugal with titles to lands in Africa and Asia.)

encomienda (Spanish government's policy to "commend," or give, Indians to certain conquistadors in return for their service to Christianity. Part of a broader Spanish effort to subdue Indian tribes in the West Indies and on the North American mainland.)

norte triste ("Sad night." When the Aztecs attacked Hernán Cortés and his forces in the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, killing hundreds, Cortés laid siege to the city the following year, precipitating the fall of the Aztec empire and inaugurating the centuries of Spanish rule.)

capitalism (Economic system characterized by private property, generally free trade, and open and accessible markets. European colonization of the Americas, and in particular, the discovery of vast bullion deposits, helped bring about Europe's transition to capitalism.)

mestizos (People of mixed Indian and European heritage, notably in Mexico.)
conquistadores (sixteenth-century Spaniards who farmed out across the Americas from Colorado to Argentina, eventually conquering the Aztec and Incan empires.)

Battle of Pecos (fought between Spaniards under Don Juan de Oñate and the Pueblo Indians in present-day New Mexico. Spaniards brutally crushed the Pueblo peoples and established the territory as New Mexico in 1609.)

Pepe's Rebellion (Pueblo Indian rebellion that drove Spanish settlers from New Mexico.)

Black Legend (false notion that Spanish conquerors did little but butcher the Indians and steal their gold in the name of Christ.)

Chapter Review

People to Know

Ferdinand of Aragon (1452-1516) Spanish monarch who, along with his wife Isabella of Castile, funded Christopher Columbus’s voyage across the Atlantic in 1492, which led to his discovery of the West Indies.

Isabella of Castile (1451-1504) Spanish monarch who, along with her husband Ferdinand of Aragon, funded Christopher Columbus’s voyage across the Atlantic in 1492, which led to his discovery of the West Indies.

Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) Genoa explorer who stumbled upon the West Indies in 1492 while in search of a new water route to Asia. Columbus made three subsequent voyages across the Atlantic and briefly served as a colonial administrator on the island of Hispaniola, present-day Haiti.

Francisco Coronado (1510-1554) Spanish explorer who ventured from present-day Mexico through present-day Arizona and up to Kansas in search of fabled golden cities.

Francisco Pizarro (ca. 1475-1541) Spanish conquistador who crushed the Incas in 1532 and founded the city of Lima, Peru.

Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484-1566) Reform-minded Spanish missionary who worked to abolish the encomienda system and documented the mistreatment of Indians in the Spanish colonies.

Hernán Cortés (1485-1547) Spanish conquistador who defeated the Aztec empire and claimed Mexico for Spain.

Malinche (Doña Marina) (ca. 1501-1559) Indian slave who served as an interpreter for Hernán Cortés on his conquest of the Aztecs. Malinche later married one of Cortés’s solders, who took her with him back to Spain.

Montezuma (ca. 1466-1520) Last of the Aztec rulers, who saw his powerful empire crumble under the force of the Spanish invasion led by Hernán Cortés.

Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot) (ca. 1450-ca. 1498) Italian explorer sent by England’s King Henry VII to explore the northeastern coast of North America in 1497 and 1498.

Robert de La Salle (1643-1687) French explorer who led an expedition down the Mississippi River in the 1680s.

Father Junipero Serra (1713-1784) Franciscan priest who established a chain of missions along the California coast, beginning in San Diego in 1769, with the aim of Christianizing and civilizing native peoples.

Chapter Review

Chronology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ca. 33,000-8000 B.C.</td>
<td>First humans cross into Americas from Asia</td>
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<tr>
<td>ca. 5000 B.C.</td>
<td>Corn is developed as a staple crop in highland Mexico</td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>ca. 4000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>First civilized societies develop in the Middle East</td>
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<tr>
<td>ca. 2000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Corn planting reaches present-day American Southwest</td>
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<tr>
<td>ca. 1000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Norse voyagers discover and briefly settle in northeastern North America</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Corn cultivation reaches Midwest and southeastern Atlantic seaboard</td>
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<tr>
<td>ca. 1100 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Height of Mississippian settlement at Cahokia</td>
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<td>ca. 1100-1300 C.E.</td>
<td>Christian crusades arouse European interest in the East</td>
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<tr>
<td>1295</td>
<td>Marco Polo returns to Europe</td>
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<tr>
<td>late 1400s</td>
<td>Spain becomes united</td>
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<tr>
<td>1488</td>
<td>Dias rounds southern tip of Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>1492</td>
<td>Columbus lands in the Bahamas</td>
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<td>1494</td>
<td>Treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal</td>
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<tr>
<td>1498</td>
<td>Da Gama reaches India</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cabot explores northeastern coast of North America for England</td>
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<tr>
<td>1513</td>
<td>Balboa claims all lands touched by the Pacific Ocean for Spain</td>
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<tr>
<td>1513, 1521</td>
<td>Ponce de León explores Florida</td>
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<tr>
<td>1519-1521</td>
<td>Cortés conquers Mexico for Spain</td>
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<tr>
<td>1522</td>
<td>Magellan's vessel completes circumnavigation of the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1524</td>
<td>Verrazano explores eastern seaboard of North America for France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1532</td>
<td>Pizarro crushes Incas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1534</td>
<td>Cartier journeys up the St. Lawrence River</td>
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<tr>
<td>1539-1542</td>
<td>De Soto explores the Southeast and discovers the Mississippi River</td>
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<tr>
<td>1540-1542</td>
<td>Coronado explores present-day Southwest</td>
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<tr>
<td>1542</td>
<td>Cabrillo explores California coast for Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1565</td>
<td>Spanish build fortress at St. Augustine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>late 1500s</td>
<td>Iroquois Confederacy founded, according to Iroquois legend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1598–1609</td>
<td>Spanish under Oñate conquer Pueblo peoples of Río Grande valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1609</td>
<td>Spanish found New Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680</td>
<td>Pope's Rebellion in New Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680s</td>
<td>French expedition down Mississippi River under La Salle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>Serra founds first California mission, at San Diego</td>
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Colonization of North America: 1565–1754

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Colonization of North America: 1565–1754

After the initial establishment of a colonial foothold by the Spanish, other European powers scrambled to seize a piece of the New World for themselves. In the subsequent century, the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English each developed their own unique patterns of colonization. Differing decisions about how to interact with Native populations and how best to profit from the development of colonies produced distinctive settlement patterns and defined much of their ultimate success. Geography played an important role, particularly among the British colonies, whose individual situations were so different as to form four distinct regions with diverse needs, values, and challenges. Over time, the rise in the trade system of the Atlantic world helped to unify colonists and, among other developments, contributed to the growth of a unique, American identity.

Key Concepts

- Spain and Portugal initially colonized the Western Hemisphere and used a mixture of intermarriage and subjugation to dominate the Native people of Central and South America.
- The Dutch colonized the Hudson River Valley, while the French settled in parts of Canada and the Ohio River Valley, both developing significant trade alliances with the American Indians in order to establish a profitable export industry.
- The English ultimately established a strong foothold of permanent settlements on the Eastern Seaboard, where they developed hostile relationships with the Indians who occupied territory they desired. The origins of the English colonies varied, as did their social and political systems.
- The British pursuit of mercantilist policies in the Americas was fairly unsuccessful in light of strong colonial resistance.

The exploration of the New World and colonial life in North America are discussed in depth in The American Pageant, 15th and 16th ed., Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5.

Spain Colonizes the New World
Initially, the Spanish journeyed to North and South America in search of precious metals and gave little thought to colonizing the areas they explored. Only when other European powers such as France took an interest in North America did Spain make a concerted effort to establish permanent settlements, first at St. Augustine, Florida (1565), later in South America, the American Southwest, and as far west as California. On the heels of the early explorers and settlers came Catholic missionaries, who viewed the Western Hemisphere as fertile ground for proselytizing their religious views. The goal of the Spanish monarchy, however, was to establish and defend a mercantilist policy that would reserve to Spain all the rewards that the New World had to offer. In North and South America, the authority of the king and his representatives was supreme. By the 1640s, the economic benefits accrued by Spain in the New World began to seriously decline. There were many causes: increased pressure from the other imperial nations, especially from the Dutch; domestic problems in Spain itself; declining profits because of the expense of maintaining its colonies, particularly after the Pueblo Revolt in 1680; and its heavy military expenditures for the protection of its colonies; and a fleet to defend its trade ships. Spain was left a second-rate power. In its colonies that remained, Spain was forced to accommodate—in some respects—the culture of the American Indians they encountered, intermarrying with them in many cases and creating an entirely new society.

**Dutch Settlements and a French Empire in North America**

The Dutch entered the race for colonies in the late sixteenth century, exploring what later became known as the Hudson River, where they established a colony, New Netherland. Shortly thereafter another major colony, New Amsterdam, was founded on Manhattan Island. The Dutch, like the French, sought to exploit the lucrative fur trade. And like the French colony in Quebec, New Amsterdam did not receive support from the government at home. Despite enticing settlers with patroonships (large tracts of land given in return for settling an area), few Dutch emigrants arrived, and the colony suffered incessant attacks by Native Americans and incursions by other European nations.

While the Spanish settled colonies in warmer climates, the French established their first permanent settlement in the less hospitable climate of Quebec and Nova Scotia, collectively referred to as New France in the seventeenth century. Not surprisingly, the colony was at first sparsely settled. The French government provided little incentive for its citizens to resettle in the frigid areas in and around Quebec, and it forbade French citizens who were looking for a way out of France, the Huguenots (Protestant reformers persecuted for their break from the Catholic Church), from emigrating. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of French citizens who settled in Canada returned home. Not until 1668 would the French make inroads into acquiring lucrative North American resources, such as beaver pelts. The French (like the Spaniards) would experience some success in the New World because of the alliances they established with various Native American tribes. In fact, the French had earlier joined with two tribes, the Algonquian and the Huron, in a fight with the powerful Iroquois. Unfortunately for all Native Americans, regardless of their tribe, the Europeans brought with them diseases to which the Native Americans had no immunity. The mortality rate was staggering.

Later in the century (1682), the French laid claim to the Mississippi Valley, calling it Louisiana after their king, Louis XIV. Thirty years later the city of New Orleans was established; it would eventually become an important military and economic strategic location. By the second decade of the eighteenth century, the French had settled as far west as present-day New Mexico and South Dakota.

As a consequence, the English colonies that had been settled in the early seventeenth century along the East Coast were restricted to territory east of the Appalachian Mountains by French control of the area from the Ohio River Valley to Louisiana. The turning point, however, for French expansion in North America came with the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). Having been on the losing side in the War of Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War, as it was known in the colonies), France lost Newfoundland, Hudson Bay, and Acadia (Nova Scotia) to Britain. Although France could ostensibly afford to lose territory—though of course it preferred not to, especially to its rival Britain—it was the lack of French inhabitants there that hampered the development of its empire in the New World; British settlers outnumbered French settlers in the mid-eighteenth century by a ratio of 3:1. Both Britain and France had Native American allies to swell their numbers as far as defense was concerned, but in 1763, when France was defeated by Britain and its American colonists in the French and Indian War, France temporarily had no major territorial possessions in...
North America. The Louisiana Territory had been ceded to Spain in 1762, and although
Napoleon Bonaparte regained it in 1800, this vast territory was sold to the United States in
1803. Simply stated, by 1763 Great Britain controlled nearly all of North America from the
Eastern Seaboard to the Mississippi River as well as Canada.

Chapter 2: Colonization of North America: 1565-1754 The British Empire in the New World
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The British Empire in the New World

England had established a colony, the doomed Roanoke Island settlement in Virginia, as
early as 1585, but grander forays into the New World had been slowed by the need to
resolve religious division between Catholics and Protestants, a result of King Henry VIII's
decision to separate from the Catholic Church. With that settled, and buoyed by the defeat,
under Queen Elizabeth I, of the invading Spanish Armada in 1588, the English caught up
with the other European imperial powers in exploring and settling the New World. As with
the Dutch and French, the English sailed to North America in search of a Northwest Passage
to Asia. But the English had other motives as well: exploration could yield lucrative benefits
for investors who bought into joint-stock companies in the hopes of realizing a profit. The
lure of raw materials was an important incentive as well, especially as these resources
were vital to England's expanding manufacturing sector. At the heart of the government's
desire for colonies was mercantilism; the need to accumulate gold, silver, and other
precious resources; the establishment of a favorable balance of trade between the mother
country and its colonies; and the establishment of colonies to act as a counterbalance to the
influence of other imperial nations. The major early English colonies included the
following:

- **Jamestown** England's first permanent colony in North America, Jamestown was
  established by the Virginia Company after receiving a charter from King James I in
  1607. The original settlers suffered from disease (especially malaria because the
  colony was established near swampland), internal strife, and starvation, and they
  were heavily dependent on supplies from the mother country and assistance from
  Native Americans. The colony's economy finally stabilized when tobacco was
  successfully cultivated after its introduction by John Rolfe. In 1676, Jamestown was
  burned to the ground during Bacon's Rebellion. Rebuilt a number of years later, it
  was again destroyed by fire in 1698.

- **Plymouth** Whereas the settlers who established Jamestown did so for predominantly
economic reasons, Plymouth Colony was established by religious separatists seeking
autonomy from the Church of England (Anglican Church). In 1620, these "Pilgrims"
sailed on the Mayflower to New England after receiving a charter from the Virginia
Company. When they arrived, they created a document known as the Mayflower
Compact—the first form of self-government in the British colonies. By the end of
the century, Plymouth, where the Pilgrims settled first, had become part of the colony of
Massachusetts.

- **Massachusetts Bay Colony** Started in 1630, the Massachusetts Bay Colony was home
to many Puritans, who left England because of the persecution they faced from the
Crown and the Anglican Church. Under Calvinist religious leaders such as John
Winthrop, the colony almost immediately developed into a theocracy in which the
church was paramount in all decisions, political as well as religious. Though far from
democratic, it became the first English colony to establish the basis of a
representative government when residents demanded representation if they were to
be taxed.

- **Other New England colonies** Major colonies were also established in Connecticut,
Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Maine. In the former, a productive fur trade
operated in the Connecticut River Valley. Unlike the Massachusetts Bay Colony,
religion was less important than commerce in Connecticut. Importantly, Connecticut
colonists were the first in America to write a constitution. The New Hampshire and
Maine colonies originated when two Englishmen, given a government grant to the
areas north of Massachusetts, divided the land. Both colonies eventually were
absorbed into the Massachusetts Bay Colony, but New Hampshire became an
independent royal colony in 1679. Maine remained a part of Massachusetts until
1820. Rhode Island's colonial history is very much tied to the trials and tribulations of
Roger Williams, whose advocacy of separation of church and state and complete
individual religious freedom convinced Boston's Puritan leaders to banish him from
the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Undeterred, Williams went on to establish the colony of
Providence. Other religious refugees, among them Anne Hutchinson, soon found

their way to Rhode Island, and in 1663, Parliament granted the colony a new charter that guaranteed religious freedom.

- **The middle colonies** New York became an English colony through conquest. In the seventeenth century, England and Holland had engaged in a series of commercial wars in which the North American fur trade became increasingly important. To eliminate Dutch competition, the Duke of York was provided a fleet by his brother, King Charles II, to capture New Netherland, which he did in 1664. Under the duke, democracy was, at best, limited in the colony now named for him—New York. New Jersey originally belonged to the duke as well, but he transferred parts of it to other nobles. Quakers inhabited parts of eastern and western New Jersey, but in 1702, the colony was unified and granted a royal charter. Its neighbor to the west, Pennsylvania, was founded as a sanctuary for Quakers when William Penn was provided a grant to establish a settlement. It would be home to Germans, Quakers, and a wide variety of settlers who wanted good farmland in a colony that was, by and large, democratic for the time. Delaware—once Sweden’s colony, then taken by the Dutch, and finally lost to the English—was also owned by the Duke of York. Concerned that Pennsylvania was landlocked, Penn purchased Delaware to provide his settlers access to the sea.

- **The southern and Chesapeake Bay colonies** Despite its rocky start, Virginia would become an economic powerhouse by the dawn of the eighteenth century—supported by a profitable trade in tobacco and other labor-intensive crops. Maryland was conceived as a refuge for Catholics by Lord Baltimore, a recent convert to Catholicism and a London Company stockholder. After his death, the English Crown granted his son, the second Lord Baltimore, a charter to administer the colony. For all intents and purposes, Lord Baltimore ran Maryland as if it were a field, giving vassals land in return for their loyalty and assistance. Over time, republican features seeped into Maryland’s political system, and a bicameral legislature was established. Religious problems ensued, however, between Protestants, who settled the area in increasing numbers, and Catholics, for whom the colony was originally established. In 1649, the Maryland Toleration Act guaranteed freedom of worship for Christians, while punishing those who made blasphemous remarks and committed other religious transgressions. In the Carolinas, land was granted as a reward for those who had helped in the restoration of the monarchy, following the English Civil War and parliamentary rule. The Carolinas were similar to the middle colonies, which had for the most part been founded by proprietors, not (stock) companies. However, like Maryland, they were initially reminiscent of feudal kingdoms. Over time the Carolinas came to be identified with religious and political freedom, but, paradoxically, slavery was introduced almost immediately because the proprietors also had investments in the slave trade. Thus while indentured servants were represented in the labor force of other colonies, the Carolinas embraced slavery. Not until 1729 was the huge colony divided into North and South Carolina. Georgia, as already mentioned, began its history as a penal colony (where originally rum, Catholics, and blacks were prohibited) and as a first line of defense against Spanish-held Florida. When the number of convicts was found to be insufficient to sustain a viable colony, Georgia welcomed Protestants and skilled craftsmen from England, Scotland, and Germany.

By the eighteenth century the American colonies were on the way to developing their own unique cultures while maintaining the essence of their Old World customs. Some colonies were more theocratic and politically elitist than others; a few had some of the political rights found in a democracy—or anywhere in Europe, for that matter—such as freedom of religion and political expression. For their part, typical English colonists came to the New World in the hopes of improving their economic status or to seek greater political and religious autonomy—the goal of Quakers, Puritans, and Catholics. Once in North America, some sought to convert the Native American population to Christianity. Some arrived as indentured servants, others as refugees from persecution, some as slaves, and still others as castoffs because of criminal records or, more often, indebtedness. Some found success and freedom in the New World; others sank into poverty and despair. As in Europe, the wealthy colonists were generally politically powerful, their interests and concerns not necessarily consistent with those of their less-fortunate fellow colonists.

Despite significant economic, political, social, and racial divisions, the American colonies’ common British heritage and the unique challenges (like coming to terms with hostile Native Americans) and experiences (like the religious revival movement known as the Great Awakening) that they encountered in the New World led slowly to the emergence of an American identity. This common culture would, with the added motivation of Enlightenment ideals of self-government and liberty, help establish the foundation of the United States as an independent country.
British Policy in the Colonies

Despite the reality of the colonies' ultimate revolution for independence, many historians view the British-colonial relationship as initially benign. In other words, although the British sought to regulate trade and influence the colonial governments overall, it generally limited its intervention and management. During what is often referred to as a period of "salutary neglect," the years from about 1650 to the end of the French and Indian War in 1763, the Americans were largely left alone to develop their economy without serious British intervention. But some historians question this view, especially given that mercantilism was the prevailing economic system, one that emphasized that a nation's economic power expanded by maintaining a favorable balance of trade and controlling hard currency—specie. As with other imperial powers, Britain viewed the American colonies as a reliable source of raw materials and a viable market for British goods, as well as a place for profitable investment opportunities. For example, by the eighteenth century large swaths of Britain had been deforested, a serious concern for a nation that relied heavily on its wooden naval ships to control the seas. North America, on the other hand, had millions of acres of forest that could be harvested for British use.

British mercantilist policies were generally not challenged by the colonists, in part because they were difficult to implement and often infrequently enforced. As long as competition from the Americans wasn't significant and Britain wasn't experiencing an economic or fiscal crisis, there was little need or incentive to abandon the policy of salutary neglect. The major British mercantilist policies in the pre-1760 period include the following:

- **The Navigation Laws** These were a series of strict British trade policies designed to promote English shipping and control colonial trade in regard to important crops (such as tobacco) and resources, which had to be shipped exclusively in British ships. In order for the Americans to trade certain enumerated items with other nations, their ships had to stop in England first. The Navigation Law of 1660 would have had a devastating effect on the American economy had the British enforcing the law. The British added further requirements in subsequent Navigation Laws in 1663, 1673, and in 1666; the latter allowed British customs officials using writs of assistance—search warrants—to search for and seize smuggled commodities.

- **The Wool (1699), Ilat (1732), and Iron (1750) Acts** These acts were intended to subordinate American capital to British capital by preventing American businessmen from turning raw materials into finished commodities. For example, the fashion fad of the eighteenth century was beaver hats. The Hat Act prevented Americans from turning the beaver pelts into hats and selling them on the open market. Instead, as with many raw materials, the pelts were to be sold to English manufacturers, who then used them to make hats, which in turn were sold on the international market, including to the Americans. This type of legislation helps you see why some members of the colonial merchant class, those who had the most to lose financially, took up arms against Great Britain.

- **The Molasses Act (1733)** Molasses, an important sweetener—and an important component of the triangle trade—was used primarily in this era as an essential ingredient in the making of rum, an enormously popular beverage in the colonial period. In an attempt to control the lucrative sale of sugar cane to the colonies, the British government established regulations and restrictions, again not well enforced. Besides, the Americans often purchased sugar from the non-British sugar-producing Caribbean islands.

### Discontent on the Frontier

In 1763, a band of western Pennsylvania frontiersmen, the Paxton Boys, attacked Native Americans whom they believed had been part of Pontiac's rebellion. When the Native Americans took refuge in Philadelphia, the Paxton Boys, numbering in the hundreds, descended on the city to demand funding to support their defensive mission on the frontier. It was not until Benjamin Franklin convinced the belligerent frontiersmen that financial aid would be forthcoming that the Paxton Boys returned home. This event, however, was not the first occasion in which settlers living on the frontier of their colonies took up arms to address grievances they claimed were being ignored by the colonial government. Nearly a hundred years before the Paxton Boys marched on Philadelphia, discontent on Virginia's frontier erupted into armed insurrection. In 1676, the royal governor of Virginia, William Berkeley, became the focus of discontent for those Virginians on the colony's frontier. It had become obvious to them that Berkeley was concerned more with the wealthy planters on Virginia's eastern seaboard (called the Tidewater region) than with those in western Virginia whose lives were considerably more tenuous.
because of constant fighting with Native Americans. Taking matters into their own hands, the Virginians, led by Nathaniel Bacon, attacked the Native Americans, whereby Governor Berkeley, after promising some needed reforms, organized an attack on Bacon's forces. Bacon and his men retaliated by marching on Jamestown and burning it. Then, unexpectedly and fortunately for Berkeley, Bacon died. The revolt came to an end, and many of Bacon's followers were hanged. Nevertheless, the event was a harbinger of what would happen a century later. Further, many Americans saw that they had a common perception: colonial governments favored the aristocracy over the needs of the masses. Another impact of the rebellion unforeseen by Bacon and his men: a hastening of the move away from the use of indentured servants and toward increased reliance on African slaves (who would never become free and demanding of their rights).

Chapter Review

Topic 2 Content Review Questions

Placeholder for Topic 2 CNOW Activity.

Chapter Review

Short-Answer Questions

1. The French, Dutch, and English each laid claim to various parts of North America in the seventeenth century.
   a. Explain a major difference between the colonial settlements of the French, the Dutch, and the English regarding ONE of the following:
      • Relations with the Native Americans
      • Settlement patterns
      • Economic initiative
   b. Explain one cause and one effect of the difference you identified in Part a.

2. The mercantilist principles of the British Empire shaped the development of the American colonies.
   a. Briefly describe the principle of mercantilism.
   b. Provide ONE piece of evidence that demonstrates how the British exercised mercantilism in their governance of the American colonies.
   c. Provide ONE example of a conflict that developed as a result of the British pursuit of mercantilism.

Chapter Review

Long Essay Questions

1. Compare the English colonies in the New World in terms of government, population, and origin.
2. What role did religion play in the establishment of English colonies in North America?
Chapter 2
The Planting of English America
1500–1733

• Focus on AP® Success
• Chapter Introduction
  • 2.1 England's Imperial Stirrings
  • 2.2 Elizabeth Energizes England
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  • 2.4 England Plants the Jamestown Seedling
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  • 2.10 Colonizing the Carolinas
  • 2.11 The Emergence of North Carolina
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• Chapter Review
  • Key Terms
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Focus on AP® Success

Must Know: Events and People

• Patterns of British colonization
• Development of British American system of slavery
• Chesapeake colonies (Virginia and Maryland)
• British colonies along southern Atlantic seaboard (Carolinas and Georgia)
• British colonies in West Indies

Must Understand: Key Concepts from Period 1 (1491–1607) and Period 2 (1607–1754)

Elements of Key Concept 1.1

• How native populations in North America developed complex societies based on their interactions with the environment and each other
• Why some native populations in the Northeast and along the Atlantic Seaboard favored the development of permanent villages

Elements of Key Concept 1.2
• Why American Indian labor used by the Spanish in the encomienda system was gradually replaced with African slavery

• Why European expansion in the Western Hemisphere caused intense social, religious, political, and economic competition in Europe and the promotion of empire building and

• How improvements in technology and more organized methods for international trade promoted changes to economies in Europe and the Americas

Elements of Key Concept 1.3

• How European overseas expansion and sustained contact with Africans and American Indians altered European views of the relationship among and between white and nonwhite peoples

Elements of Key Concept 2.1

• Why the Chesapeake colonies and North Carolina relied on the cultivation of tobacco

• How the colonies along the southernmost Atlantic coast and British islands in the West Indies took advantage of long growing seasons by using slave labor to develop economies based on staple crops

Elements of Key Concept 2.2

• How North American colonies focused on gaining new sources of labor and on producing and acquiring commodities that were valued in Europe

Historical Thinking Skills

Historical Causation

What caused the cultural clashes between English colonists and American Indians in the seventeenth century? As you read this chapter, how many different reasons can you identify as a cause of conflict between the English colonists and the American Indians?

Patterns of Continuity and Change over Time

How did the development of the British colonies in the Chesapeake, southern Atlantic coast, and West Indies change throughout the seventeenth century? As you read this chapter, how many specific examples of continuity and change in the development of the British colonies can you identify?

Comparison

How did the development of the British colonies along the southern Atlantic coast and in the West Indies compare with the development of the Spanish colonies in Mexico and the American Southwest? As you read this chapter and recall examples from Chapter 1, how many similarities and differences between the Spanish and English settlements can you identify?

Developing the Thematic Learning Objectives with Key Concepts

As you read the chapter, expand the following outlines with illustrative examples (i.e., relevant historical evidence):

Peopling (PEO-5):

Explain how free and forced migration to and within different parts of North America caused regional development, cultural diversity and blending, and political and social conflicts through the nineteenth century.

Diverse Patterns of Colonization (Key Concepts 1.2 and 2.1)

• Unlike other European colonizers, the English established permanent colonies based on agriculture and sent large numbers of men and women to populate them (Chapter 2).

• The British colonies in the Chesapeake and North Carolina relied on the cultivation of tobacco (Chapter 2).

• The British colonies along the southernmost Atlantic coast and West Indies used slave labor and long growing seasons to develop economies based on staple crops (Chapter 2).

Work, Exchange, and Technology (WXT-4):
Explain the development of labor systems such as slavery, indentured servitude, and free labor from the colonial period through the end of the eighteenth century.

The Development of Slavery (Key Concepts 1.2 and 2.1)

- Spanish and Portuguese traders partnered with some African groups to recruit slave labor for the Americas (Chapter 1).
- In the Spanish colonies, Indian labor used in the encomienda system was gradually replaced by African slavery (Chapter 1).
- The English colonists who held a strong belief in British racial and cultural superiority enslaved black people in perpetuity (Chapter 2).
- The British colonists along the southernmost Atlantic coast and the West Indies used slave labor to develop economies based on staple crops (Chapter 2).

Environment and Geography (ENV-1):

Explain how the introduction of new plants, animals, and technologies altered the natural environment of North America and affected interactions among various groups in the colonial period.

Adapting to the Environment (Key Concepts 1.1, 1.2, and 2.2)

- Native Americans developed quite different and increasingly complex societies by adapting to and transforming their environments (Chapter 1).
- The introduction of new crops and livestock by the Spanish had far-reaching effects on native settlement patterns, as well as on economic, social, and political development in the Western Hemisphere (Chapter 1).
- New crops from the Americas stimulated European population growth (Chapter 2).
- Native Americans in the Northeast and along the Atlantic Seaboard developed a mixed agricultural and hunter-gatherer economy that favored the development of permanent villages (Chapter 2).
- Competition over resources between European rivals led to conflict within and between North American colonial possessions and American Indians (Chapter 2).

Chapter Introduction

... For I shall yet live to see it [Virginia] an Ingleshe nation.

Sir Walter Raleigh, 1592

As the seventeenth century dawned, scarcely a hundred years after Columbus's momentous landfall, the face of much of the New World had already been profoundly transformed. European crops and livestock had begun to alter the very landscape, touching off an ecological revolution that would reverberate for centuries to come. From Tierra del Fuego in the south to Hudson Bay in the north, disease and armed conquest had cruelly winnowed and disrupted the native peoples. Several hundred thousand enslaved Africans toiled on Caribbean and Brazilian sugar plantations. From Florida and New Mexico southward, most of the New World lay firmly within the grip of imperial Spain.

But north of Mexico, America in 1600 remained largely unexplored and effectively uninhabited by Europeans. Then, as if to herald the coming century of colonization and conflict in the northern continent, three European powers planted three primitive outposts in three distant corners of the continent within three years of one another: the Spanish at Santa Fé in 1610, the French at Québec in 1608, and, most consequentially for the future United States, the English at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607.
2.1 England’s Imperial Stirrings

Feeble indeed were England’s efforts in the 1500s to compete with the sprawling Spanish Empire. As Spain’s ally in the first half of the century, England took little interest in establishing its own overseas colonies. Religious conflict also disrupted England in midcentury, after King Henry VIII (1491-1547) Tudor monarch who launched the Protestant Reformation in England when he broke away from the Catholic Church in order to divorce his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, broke with the Roman Catholic Church in the 1530s. Launching the English Protestant Reformation (Movement to reform the Catholic Church) in 1530s, Henry VIII broke with the Roman Catholic Church. Catholics battled Protestants for decades, and the religious balance of power seesawed. But after the Protestant Elizabeth ascended to the English throne in 1558, Protestantism became dominant in England, and rivalry with Catholic Spain intensified.

Ireland, which nominally had been under English rule since the twelfth century, became an early scene of that rivalry. The Catholic Irish sought help from Catholic Spain to throw off the yoke of the new Protestant English queen. But Spanish aid never amounted to much; in the 1570s and 1580s, Elizabeth’s troops crushed the Irish uprising with terrible ferocity, inflicting unspeakable atrocities upon the native Irish people. The English crown confiscated Catholic Irish lands and “planted” them with new Protestant landlords from Scotland and England. This policy also planted the seeds of the centuries-old religious conflicts that persist in Ireland to the present day. Many English soldiers developed in Ireland a sneering contempt for the “savage” natives, an attitude that they brought with them to the New World.

Chapter 2: The Planting of English America: 11 Elizabeth Energizes England
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Printed By: Daniel Woodward (danielwoodward@medford333.or.ca)

2.2 Elizabeth Energizes England

Encouraged by the ambitious Elizabeth I (1533-1603) Protestant queen of England whose forty-five-year reign from 1558 to 1603 firmly courted the Anglican Church and inaugurated a period of maritime exploration and conquest. Never having married, she was dubbed the “Virgin Queen” by her contemporaries. (See Table 2.1.) Hardy English buccaneers now swarmed out upon the shipping lanes. They sought to promote the twin goals of Protestantism and plunder by seizing Spanish treasure ships and raiding Spanish settlements, even though England and Spain were technically at peace. The most famous of these semi-piratical “sea dogs” was the courting Sir Francis Drake (1542-1596), English sea captain who completed his circumnavigation of the globe in 1580, plundering Spanish ships and settlements along the way. He swashbuckled and boasted his way around the planet, returning in 1580 with his ship heavily ballasted with Spanish booty. The venture netted profits of about 4,000 percent to his financial backers, among whom, in secret, was Queen Elizabeth. Defying Spanish protest, he brazenly knighted Drake on the deck of his harried ship.

Table 2.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name, Reign</th>
<th>Relation to America</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henry VII, 1485-1509</td>
<td>Cabot voyages, 1497, 1498</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry VIII, 1509-1547</td>
<td>English Reformation began</td>
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<td>Edward VI, 1547-1553</td>
<td>Strong Protestant tendencies</td>
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<td>&quot;Bloody&quot; Mary, 1553-1558</td>
<td>Catholic reaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth I, 1558-1603</td>
<td>Break with Roman Catholic Church; final Drake; Spanish Armada defeated</td>
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Elizabeth I (1533-1603), by George Gower, ca. 1588

In this “Armada Portrait” of Queen Elizabeth I, the artist proclaims her the Empress of the World. She was accused of being vain, fickle, prejudiced, and miserly, but Elizabeth proved to be an unusually successful ruler. She never married (hence, the "Virgin Queen"), although many romances were rumored and royal matches schemed.

The bleak coast of Newfoundland was the scene of the first English attempt at colonization. This effort collapsed when its promoter, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, lost his life at sea in 1583. Gilbert’s ill-starred dream inspired his gallant half-brother Sir Walter Raleigh (ca. 1552-1618) English courtier and adventurer who sponsored the failed settlements of North Carolina’s Roanoke Island in 1585 and 1587. Once a favorite of Elizabeth I, Raleigh fell out of favor with the Virgin Queen after secretly marrying one of her maids of honor. He continued his colonial peregrinations until 1616, when he was executed for treason to try again in warmer climes. Raleigh organized an expedition that first landed in 1585 on North Carolina’s Roanoke Island (Sir Walter Raleigh’s failed colonial settlement off the coast of North Carolina), off the coast of Virginia—a vaguely defined region named in honor of Elizabeth, the “Virgin Queen.” After several false starts, the hapless Roanoke colony mysteriously vanished, swallowed up by the wilderness.

These pathetic English failures at colonization contrasted embarrassingly with the glories of the Spanish Empire, whose profits were fabulously enriching Spain. Philip II of Spain, self-anointed foe of the Protestant Reformation, used part of his imperial gains to amass an “Invincible Armada” of ships for an invasion of England. The showdown came in 1588 when the lumbering Spanish flotilla, 130 strong, hove into the English Channel. The English sea dogs fought back. Using craft that were swifter, more maneuverable, and more ably manned, they inflicted heavy damage on the cumbersome, overloaded Spanish ships. Then a devastating storm arose (the “Protestant wind”), scattering the crippled Spanish fleet.

The rout of the Spanish Armada (Spanish fleet defeated in the English Channel in 1588) marked the beginning of the end of Spanish imperial dreams, though Spain’s New World empire would not fully collapse for three more centuries. Within a few decades, the Spanish Netherlands (Holland) would secure its independence, and much of the Spanish Caribbean would slip from Spain’s grasp. Battered by Peruvian and Mexican silver and cockily convinced of its own invincibility, Spain had overreached itself, sowing the seeds of its own decline.

Contending Voices

Old World Dreams and New World Realities

In the years immediately following the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the English writer Richard Hakluyt (1553-1616)—a tireless promoter who never set foot in the Americas—extravagantly exhorted his countrymen to cast off their “sluggish security” and undertake the colonization of the New World:

“There is under our noses the great and ample country of Virginia; the inland whereof is found of late so sweet and wholesome a climate, so rich and abundant in silver mines, a better and richer country than Mexico itself. If it shall please the Almighty to stir up Her Majesty’s heart to continue with transporting one or two thousand of her people, she shall by God’s assistance, in short space, increase her dominions, enrich her coffers, and reduce many pagans to the faith of Christ.”

A few years later, George Percy (1580-1631) saw Virginia firsthand. He accompanied Captain John Smith (1580-1631) English adventurer who took control of Jamestown in 1608 and ensured the survival of the colony by directing gold-hungry colonists toward more productive tasks. Smith also established ties with the
Pocahontas, who had "saved" Smith from a virtual execution the previous year, on his expedition to Virginia in 1606–1607 and served as deputy governor of the colony in 1609–1610. He returned to England in 1612, where he wrote A Discourse of the Plantation of Virginia about his experiences:

"Our men were destroyed with cruel diseases as swellings, burning fevers, and by wars, and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of mere famine. There were never Englishmen left in a foreign country in such misery as we were in this new discovered Virginia."

How does one account for the difference in these views—or were both accurate?

England's victory over the Spanish Armada also marked a red-letter day in American history. It dampened Spain's fighting spirit and helped ensure England's naval dominance in the North Atlantic. It started England on its way to becoming master of the world oceans—a fact of enormous importance to the American people. Indeed England now had many of the characteristics that Spain displayed on the eve of its colonizing adventure a century earlier: a strong, unified national state under a popular monarch; a measure of religious unity after a protracted struggle between Protestants and Catholics; and a vibrant sense of nationalism and national destiny.

A wondrous flowering of the English national spirit bloomed in the wake of the Spanish Armada's defeat. A golden age of literature dawned in this exhilarating atmosphere, with William Shakespeare, at its forefront, making occasional poetic references to England's American colonies. The English were seized with restless, with thirst for adventure, and with curiosity about the unknown. Everywhere there blossomed a new spirit of self-confidence, of vibrant patriotism, and of boundless faith in the future of the English nation. When England and Spain finally signed a treaty of peace in 1604, the English people were poised to plunge headlong into the planting of their own colonial empire in the New World.

Chapter 2: The Planting of English America: 2.3 England on the Eve of Empire

2.3 England on the Eve of Empire

England's sceptred isle, as Shakespeare called it, throbbed with social and economic change as the seventeenth century opened. Its population was mushrooming, from some 3 million people in 1600 to about 4 million in 1660. In the ever-green English countryside, landlords were "enclosing" croplands for sheep grazing, forcing many small farmers into precarious tenancy or off the land altogether. It was no accident that the woolen districts of eastern and western England—where Puritanism had taken strong root—supplied many of the earliest immigrants to America. When economic depression hit the woolen trade in the late 1500s, thousands of footloose farmers took to the roads. They drifted about England, chronically unemployed, often ending up as beggars and paupers in cities like Bristol and London.

Sir Walter Ralegh (Raleigh) (ca. 1552–1618), 1588

A dashing courtier who was one of Queen Elizabeth's favorites for his wit, good looks, and courtly manners, he launched important colonizing failures in the New World. For this portrait, Raleigh presented himself as the queen's devoted servant, wearing her colors of black and white and her emblem of a pearl in his left ear. After seducing (and secretly marrying) one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honor, he fell out of favor but continued his colonial ventures in the hopes of challenging Catholic Spain's dominance in the Americas. He was ultimately beheaded for treason.
This remarkably mobile population alarmed many contemporaries. They concluded that England was burdened with a "surplus population," though present-day London holds twice as many people as did all of England in 1600.

At the same time, laws of primogeniture (legal principle that the oldest son inherits all family property or land. Landowners' younger sons, forced to seek their fortunes elsewhere, pioneered early exploration and settlement of the Americas) decreed that only eldest sons were eligible to inherit landed estates. Landholders' ambitious younger sons, among them Gilbert, Raleigh, and Drake, were forced to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Bad luck plagued their early, lone wolf enterprises. But by the early 1600s, when the joint-stock company (short-term partnership between multiple investors to fund a commercial enterprise; such arrangements were used to fund England's early colonial ventures), forerunner of the modern corporation, was perfected, a considerable number of investors, called "adventurers," were able to pool their capital.

Peace with a chastened Spain provided the opportunity for English colonization. Population growth provided the workers. Unemployment, as well as a thirst for adventure, for markets, and for religious freedom, provided the motives. Joint-stock companies provided the financial means. The stage was now set for a historic effort to establish an English beachhead in the still uncharted North American wilderness.

2.4 England Plants the Jamestown Seedling

In 1606, two years after peace with Spain, the hand of destiny beckoned toward Virginia. A joint-stock company, known as the Virginia Company (English joint-stock company that received a charter from King James I that allowed it to found the Virginia colony) of London, received a charter from King James I (1566-1625) formerly James VI of Scotland. He became James I of England at the death of Elizabeth I. James I supported overseas colonization, granting a charter to the Virginia Company in 1606 for a settlement in the New World. He also cracked down on both Catholics and Puritan Separatists, prompting the latter to flee to Holland and, later, to North America. As a settlement in the New World. The main attraction was the promise of gold, combined with a strong desire to find a passage through America to the Indies. Like most joint-stock companies of the day, the Virginia Company was intended to endure for only a few years, after which its stockholders hoped to liquidate it for a profit. This arrangement put severe pressure on the luckless colonists, who were threatened with abandonment in the wilderness if they did not quickly strike it rich on the company's behalf. Few of the investors thought in terms of long-term colonization. Apparently no one even faintly suspected that the seeds of a mighty nation were being planted.

The charter (Legal document granted by a government to some group of people to implement a stated purpose, and spelling out the extending right and obligations. British colonial charters guaranteed inhabitants all the rights of Englishmen, which helped solidify colonists' ties to Britain during the early years of settlement.) of the Virginia Company is a significant document in American history. It guaranteed to the overseas settlers the same rights of Englishmen that they would have enjoyed if they had stayed at home. This precious boon was gradually extended to subsequent English colonies, helping to reinforce the colonists' sense that even on the far shores of the Atlantic, they remained comfortably within the embrace of traditional English institutions. But ironically, a century and a half later, their insistence on the "rights of Englishmen" fed hot resentment against an increasingly mendacious mother country and nourished their appetite for independence.

Setting sail in late 1606, the Virginia Company's three ships landed near the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, where Indians attacked them. Pushing on up the bay, the tiny band of colonists eventually chose a location on the wooded and malarial banks of the James River, named in honor of King James I. The site was easy to defend, but it was mosquito-infested and devastatingly unhealthy. There, on May 24, 1607, about a hundred English settlers, all
of them men, disembarked. They called the place Jamestown (First permanent English settlement in North America founded by the Virginia Company) (see Map 2.1).

Map 2.1
Early Maryland and Virginia

The early years of Jamestown proved a nightmare for all concerned—except the buzzards. Forty would-be colonists perished during the initial voyage in 1606–1607. Another expedition in 1609 lost its leaders and many of its precious supplies in a shipwreck off Bermuda. Once ashore in Virginia, the settlers died by the dozens from disease, malnutrition, and starvation. Ironically, the woods rusted with game and the rivers flopped with fish, but the greenhorn settlers, many of them self-styled “gentleman” unaccustomed to fending for themselves, wasted valuable time grubbing for nonexistent gold when they should have been gathering provisions.

Virginia was saved from utter collapse at the start largely by the leadership and resourcefulness of an intrepid young adventurer, Captain John Smith. Taking over in 1608, he whipped the gold-hungry colonists into line with the rule “He who shall not work shall not eat.” He had been kidnapped in December 1607 and subjected to a mock execution by the Indian chief Powhatan (ca. 1540–1618; Chief of the PowhatansIndians and father of Pocahontas). As a show of force, Powhatan staged the kidnapping and mock execution of Captain John Smith in 1607. He later led the Powhatan Indians in the First Anglo-Powhatan War, negotiating a tenuous peace in 1614, whose daughter Pocahontas (ca. 1595–1617) Daughter of Chief Powhatan, Pocahontas “saved” Captain John Smith in a dramatic mock execution and served as a mediator between Indians and the colonists. In 1614, she married John Rolfe and sailed with him to England, where she was greeted as a princess and where she passed away shorty before her planned return to the colonies. She had “saved” Smith by dramatically interposing her head between his and the war clubs of his captors. The symbolism of this ritual was apparently intended to impress Smith with Powhatan’s power and with the Indians’ desire for peaceful relations with the Virginians. Pocahontas became an intermediary between the Indians and the settlers, helping to preserve a shaky peace and to provide needed foodstuffs.

Still, the colonists died in droves, and living skeletons were driven to desperate acts. They were reduced to eating “dogge, Catts, Ratts, and Myce” and even to digging up corpses for food. One hungry man killed, salted, and ate his wife, for which misbehavior he was executed. Of the four hundred settlers who managed to make it to Virginia by 1609, only sixty survived the “starving time” winter of 1609–1610.

Diseased and despairing, the remaining colonists dragged themselves aboard homeward-bound ships in the spring of 1610, only to be met at the mouth of the James River by a long-awaited relief party headed by a new governor, Lord De La Warr. He ordered the settlers back to Jamestown, imposed a harsh military regime on the colony, and soon undertook aggressive military action against the Indians.

The authorities meted out harsh discipline in the young Virginia colony. One Jamestown settler who publicly criticized the governor was sentenced to...
"be disarmed (and) have his arms broken and his tongue bored through with an awl (and) shall pass through a guard of 40 men and shall be butted [with muskets] by every one of them and at the head of the troop kicked down and foused out of the fort."

Disease continued to reap a gruesome harvest among the Virginians. By 1625 Virginia contained only some twelve hundred hard-bitten survivors of the nearly eight thousand adventurers who had tried to start life anew in the ill-fated colony.

**Pocahontas (ca. 1595–1617)**

Taken to England by her husband, she was received as a princess. She died when preparing to return, but her infant son ultimately reached Virginia, where hundreds of his descendants have lived, including the second Mrs. Woodrow Wilson.

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2.5 Cultural Clashes in the Chesapeake

When the English landed in 1607, the chieftain Powhatan dominated the native peoples living in the James River area. He had asserted supremacy over a few dozen small tribes, loosely affiliated in what somewhat grandly came to be called Powhatan's Confederacy. The English colonists dubbed all the local Indians, somewhat inaccurately, the Powhatans. Powhatan at first may have considered the English potential allies in his struggle to extend his power still further over his Indian rivals, and he tried to be conciliatory. But relations between the Indians and the English remained tense, especially as the starving colonists took to raiding Indian food supplies.

The atmosphere grew even more strained after **Lord De La Warr** (1577–1618) Colonist governor who imposed harsh military rule over Jamestown after taking over in 1610. A veteran of England's brutal campaigns against the Irish, De La Warr applied harsh "Irish" tactics in his war against the Indians, sending troops to torch Indian villages and seize provisions. The colony of Delaware was named after him. He arrived in 1610. He carried orders from the Virginia Company that amounted to a declaration of war against the Indians in the Jamestown region. A veteran of the vicious campaigns against the Irish, De La Warr now introduced "Irish tactics" against the Indians. His troops raided Indian villages, burned houses, confiscated provisions, and torched cornfields. A peace settlement ended this First Anglo-Powhatan War (Series of clashes between the Powhatan Confederacy and English settlers in Virginia). English colonists torched and pillaged Indian villages, applying tactics used in England's campaigns against the Irish. This war, also the marriage of Pocahontas to the colonist John Rolfe (1595–1622) English colonist whose wife came to Powhatan in 1614 sealed the peace of the First Anglo-Powhatan War—the first known intercultural union in Virginia.
A fragile respite followed, which endured eight years. But the Indians, pressed by the land-hungry whites and ravaged by European diseases, struck back in 1622. A series of Indian attacks left 547 settlers dead, including John Rolfe. In response the Virginia Company issued new orders calling for "a perpetual war without peace or truce," one that would prevent the Indians "from being any longer a people." Periodic punitive raids systematically reduced the native population and drove the survivors ever farther westward.

In the Second Anglo-Powhatan War (last-ditch effort by the Indians to dislodge Virginia settlements, the resulting peace treaty formally separated white and Indian areas of settlement) in 1644, the Indians made one last effort to dislodge the Virginians. They were again defeated. The peace treaty of 1646 repudiated any thought of assimilating the native peoples into Virginia society or of peacefully coexisting with them. Instead it effectively banished the Chesapeake Indians from their ancestral lands and formally separated Indian from white areas of settlement—the origins of the later reservation system. By 1669 an official census revealed that only about two thousand Indians remained in Virginia, perhaps 10 percent of the population the original English settlers had encountered in 1607. By 1685 the English considered the Powhatan peoples extinct.

The wife of a Virginia governor wrote to her sister in England in 1623 of her voyage:

"For our Shippe was so pestered with people and goods that we were so full of infection that after a while we saw little but throwinge folkes over board: It pleased god to sende me my heith till I came to shoare and 3 dayes after I fell sick but I thank god I am well recovered. Few else are left alive that came in that Shippe."

A Carolina Indian Woman and Child, by John White

The artist was a member of the Raleigh expedition of 1585. Notice that the Indian girl carries a European doll, illustrating the mingling of cultures that had already begun.

It had been the Powhatans' calamitous misfortune to fall victim to three scourges: disease, disorganization, and dispossession. Like native peoples throughout the New World, they were extremely susceptible to European-borne maladies. Epidemics of smallpox and measles raced mercilessly through their villages. The Powhatans also—despite the apparent cohesiveness of "Pocahontas's Confederacy"—lacked the unity with which to make effective opposition to the comparatively well-organized and militarily disciplined whites. Finally, unlike the Indians whom the Spaniards had encountered to the south, who could be put to work in the mines and had gold and silver to trade, the Powhatans served no economic function for the Virginia colonists. They provided no reliable labor source and, after the Virginians began growing their own food crops, had no valuable commodities to
offer in commerce. The natives, as far as the Virginians were concerned, could be disposed of without harm to the colonial economy. Indeed the Indian presence frustrated the colonists' desire for a local commodity the Europeans desperately wanted: land.

2.6 The Indians' New World

The fate of the Powhatans foreshadowed the destinies of indigenous peoples throughout the continent as the process of European settlement went forward. Native Americans, of course, had a history well before Columbus's arrival. They were no strangers to change, adaptation, and even catastrophe, as the rise and decline of civilizations such as the Mississippians and the Anasazi demonstrated. But the shock of large-scale European colonization disrupted Native American life on a vast scale, inducing unprecedented demographic and cultural transformations.

Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) in a 1753 letter to Peter Collinson commented on the attractiveness of Indian life to Europeans:

"When an Indian child has been brought up among us, taught our language and accommodated to our customs, yet if he goes to see his relations and makes one Indian rumble with them, there is no persuading him ever to return. [But] when white persons of either sex have been taken prisoners by the Indians, and lived awhile among them, though ransom be by their friends, and treated with all imaginable tenderness to prevail with them to stay among the English, yet in a short time they become disgusted with our manner of life, and the care and pains that are necessary to support is, and take the first good opportunity of escaping again into the woods, from whence there is no reclaiming them."

Carolina Indians

German painter Philip Georg Friedrich von Reck drew these Yuchi Indians in the 1730s. The blanket and rifle show that trade with the English settlers had already begun to transform Native American culture.

Some changes were fairly benign. Horses—stolen, strayed, or purchased from Spanish invaders—catalyzed a substantial Indian migration onto the Great Plains in the eighteenth century. Peoples such as the Lakotas (Sioux), who had previously been sedentary forest dwellers, now moved onto the wide-open plains. There they thrived impressively, adopting an entirely new way of life as mounted nomadic hunters. But the effects of contact with Europeans proved less salutary for most other native peoples.

Disease was by far the biggest disruptor, as Old World pathogens licked lethally through biologically defenseless Indian populations. Disease took more than human life; it extinguished entire cultures and occasionally helped shape new ones. Epidemics often robbed native peoples of the elders who preserved the oral traditions that held clans together. Devastated Indian bands then faced the daunting task of literally reinventing themselves without benefit of accumulated wisdom or kin networks. The decimation and forced migration of native peoples sometimes scrambled them together in wholly new ways. The Catawba nation of the southern Piedmont region, for example, was formed from splintered remnants of several different groups uprooted by the shock of the Europeans' arrival.
Trade also transformed Indian life, as traditional barter-and-exchange networks gave way to the temptations of European commerce. Firearms, for example, conferred enormous advantages on those who could purchase them from Europeans. The desire for firearms thus intensified competition among the tribes for access to prime hunting grounds that could supply the skins and pelts that the European arms traders wanted. The result was an escalating cycle of Indian-on-Indian violence, fueled by the lure and demands of European trade goods.

Native Americans were swept up in the expanding Atlantic economy, but they usually struggled in vain to control their own place in it. One desperate band of Virginia Indians, resentful at the prices offered by British traders for their deerskins, started a fleet of canoes with hides and tried to paddle to England to sell their goods directly. Not far from the Virginia shore, a storm swamped their frail craft. Their cargo lost, the few survivors were picked up by an English ship and sold into slavery in the West Indies.

Indians along the Atlantic seaboard felt the most ferocious effects of European contact. Farther inland, native peoples had the advantages of time, space, and numbers as they sought to adapt to the European incursion. The Algonquins in the Great Lakes area, for instance, became a substantial regional power. They bolstered their population by absorbing various surrounding bands and dealt from a position of strength with the few Europeans who managed to penetrate the interior. As a result, a British or French trader wanting to do business with the inland tribes had little choice but to conform to Indian ways, often taking an Indian wife. Thus was created a middle ground, a zone where both Europeans and Native Americans were compelled to accommodate to one another—at least until the Europeans began to arrive in large numbers.

Chapter 2: The Planting of English America; 2.7 Virginia: Child of Tobacco
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2.7 Virginia: Child of Tobacco

John Rolfe, the husband of Pocahontas, became father of the tobacco industry and an economic savior of the Virginia colony. By 1612 he had perfected methods of raising and curing the pungent weed, eliminating much of the bitter tang. Soon the European demand for tobacco was nearly insatiable. A tobacco rush swept over Virginia, as crops were planted in the streets of Jamestown and even between the numerous graves. So exclusively did the colonists concentrate on planting the yellow leaf that at first they had to import some of their foodstuffs. Colonists who had once hungered for food now hungered for land, ever more land on which to plant ever more tobacco. Relentlessly, they pressed the frontier of settlement up the river valleys to the west, abrasively edging against the Indians.

Advertisement for a Voyage to America, 1609

Virginia's prosperity was finally built on tobacco smoke. This "bewitching weed" played a vital role in putting the colony on firm economic foundations. But tobacco—King Nicotine—was something of a tyrant. It was ruinous to the soil when greedily planted in successive years, and it enchainled the fortunes of Virginia to the fluctuating price of a single crop. Fatefully, tobacco also promoted the broad-axed plantation system and with it a brisk demand for fresh labor.
In 1619, the year before the Plymouth Pilgrims landed in New England, what was described as a Dutch warship appeared off Jamestown and sold some twenty Africans. The scanty record does not reveal whether they were purchased as lifelong slaves or as servants committed to limited years of servitude. However it transpired, this simple commercial transaction planted the seeds of the North American slave system. Yet blacks were too costly for most of the hard-pinched white colonists to acquire, and for decades few were brought to Virginia. In 1650 Virginia counted but three hundred blacks, although by the end of the century blacks, most of them enslaved, made up approximately 14 percent of the colony’s population.

Representative self-government was also born in primitive Virginia, in the same cradle with slavery and in the same year—1619. The Virginia Company authorized the settlers to summon an assembly, known as the House of Burgesses (Representative parliamentary assembly created to govern Virginia, establishing a precedent for government in the English colonies). A momentous precedent was thus feebly established, for this assembly was the first of many petty parliaments to flourish in the soil of America.

As time passed, James I grew increasingly hostile to Virginia. He detested tobacco, and he distrusted the representative House of Burgesses, which he branded a “snemiary of sedition.” In 1624 he revoked the charter of the bankrupt and beleaguered Virginia Company, thus making Virginia a royal colony directly under his control.

2.8 Maryland: Catholic Haven

Maryland—the second plantation colony but the fourth English colony to be planted—was founded in 1634 by Lord Baltimore (1605-1675) Established Maryland as a haven for Catholics. Baltimore unsuccessfully tried to reconstitute the English manorial system in the colonies and gave vast tracts of land to Catholic relatives, a policy that soon created tensions between the seaboard Catholic establishment and backcountry Protestant planters) of a prominent English Catholic family. He embarked upon the venture partly to reap financial profits and partly to create a refuge for his fellow Catholics. Protestant England was still persecuting Roman Catholics among numerous discriminations, a couple seeking wedlock could not be legally married by a Catholic priest.

Absentee proprietor Lord Baltimore hoped that the two hundred settlers who founded Maryland at St. Mary’s, on Chesapeake Bay, would be the vanguard of a vast new feudal domain. Huge estates were to be awarded to his largely Catholic relatives, and gracious manor houses, modeled on those of England’s aristocracy, were intended to arise amidst the fertile forests. As in Virginia, colonists proved willing to come only if offered the opportunity to acquire land of their own. Soon they were dispersed around the Chesapeake region on modest farms, and the haughty land barons, mostly Catholic, were surrounded by resentful backcountry planters, mostly Protestant. Resentment flared into open rebellion near the end of the century, and the Baltimore family for a time lost its proprietary rights.

Despite these tensions Maryland prospered. Like Virginia, it blossomed forth in acres of tobacco. Also like Virginia, it depended for labor in its early years mainly on white indentured servants—penless persons who bound themselves to work for a number of years to pay their passage. In both colonies it was only in the later years of the seventeenth century that black slaves began to be imported in large numbers.

Lord Baltimore, a sly soul, permitted unusual freedom of worship at the outset. He hoped that he would thus purchase toleration for his own fellow worshipers. But the heavy tide of Protestants threatened to submerge the Catholics and place severe restrictions on them, as in England. Faced with disaster, the Catholics of Maryland threw their support behind the famed Act of Toleration (Passed in Maryland, it guaranteed toleration to all Christians but decreed the death penalty for those, like Jews and atheists, who denied the divinity of Jesus Christ). Ensured that Maryland would continue to attract a high proportion of Catholic migrants throughout the colonial period), which was passed in 1649 by the local representative assembly.

Maryland’s new religious statute guaranteed toleration to all Christians. But, less liberally, it decreed the death penalty for those, like Jews and atheists, who denied the divinity of Jesus. The law thus sanctioned less toleration than had previously existed in the settlement, but it did extend a temporary cloak of protection to the uneasy Catholic minority. One result was that when the colonial era ended, Maryland probably sheltered more Roman Catholics than any other English-speaking colony in the New World.
2.9 The West Indies: Way Station to Mainland America

While the English were planting the first frail colonial shoots in the Chesapeake, they also were busily colonizing the islands of the West Indies. Spain, weakened by military overextension and distracted by its rebellious Dutch provinces, relaxed its grip on much of the Caribbean in the early 1600s. By the mid-seventeenth century, England had secured its claim to several West Indian islands, including the large prize of Jamaica in 1655.

(top) Sugar Mill in Brazil, by Frans Post, ca. 1640; (bottom) Saccharum officinarum (sugar cane)

Sugar formed the foundation of the West Indian economy. What tobacco was to the Chesapeake, sugar cane was to the Caribbean—with one crucial difference. Tobacco was a poor man’s crop. It could be planted easily, it produced commercially marketable leaves within a year, and it required only simple processing. Sugar cane, in contrast, was a rich man’s crop. It had to be planted extensively to yield commercially viable quantities of sugar. Extensive planting, in turn, required extensive and arduous land clearing. And the cane stalks yielded their sugar only after an elaborate process of refining in a sugar mill. The need for land and for the labor to clear it and to run the mills made sugar cultivation a capital-intensive business. Only wealthy growers with abundant capital to invest could succeed in sugar.

African slaves destined for the West Indian sugar plantations were bound and branded on West African beaches and ferried out in canoes to the waiting slave ships. An English sailor described the scene:

“The Negroes are so wilful and loth to leave their own country, that have often leap’t out of the canoes, boat and ship, into the sea, and kept under water till they were drowned, to avoid being taken up and saved by our boats, which pursued them; they having a more dreadful apprehension of Barbadoes than we can have of hell.”
The sugar lords extended their dominion over the West Indies in the seventeenth century. To work their sprawling plantations, they imported enormous numbers of enslaved Africans—more than a quarter of a million in the five decades after 1640. By about 1700, enslaved blacks outnumbered white settlers in the English West Indies by nearly four to one, and the region's population has remained predominantly black ever since. West Indians thus take their place among the numerous children of the African diaspora—the vast scattering of African peoples throughout the New World in the three and a half centuries following Columbus's discovery.

The Barbados slave code (1661) declared,

"If any Negro or slave whatsoever shall offer any violence to any Christian by striking or the like, such Negro or slave shall for his or her first offence be severely whipped by the Constable. For his second offence of that nature he shall be severely whipped, his nose slit, and he burned in some part of his face with a hot iron. And being brutish slaves, [they] deserve not, for the baseness of their condition, to be tried by the legal trial of twelve men of their peers, as the subjects of England are. And it is further enacted and ordained that if any Negro or other slave under punishment by his master unfortunately shall suffer in life or member, which seldom happens, no person whatsoever shall be liable to any fine therefore."

To control this large and potentially restive slave population, English authorities devised formal codes that defined the slaves' legal status and their masters' prerogatives. The notorious Barbados slave code (First formal statute governing the treatment of slaves, which provided for harsh punishments against offending slaves but lacked penalties for the mis-treatment of slaves by masters. Similar statutes were adopted by southern plantation societies on the North American mainland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) of 1661 denied even the most fundamental rights to slaves and gave masters virtually complete control over their laborers, including the right to inflict vicious punishments for even slight infractions.

The profitable sugar-plantation system soon crowded out almost all other forms of Caribbean agriculture. The West Indies increasingly depended on the North American mainland for foodstuffs and other basic supplies. And smaller English farmers, squeezed out by the greedy sugar barons, began to migrate to the newly founded southern mainland colonies. A group of displaced English settlers from Barbados arrived in Carolina in 1670. They brought with them a few enslaved Africans, as well as the model of the Barbados slave code, which eventually inspired statutes governing slavery throughout the mainland colonies. Carolina officially adopted a version of the Barbados slave code in 1696. Just as the West Indies had been a testing ground for the encomienda system that the Spanish had brought to Mexico and South America, so the Caribbean islands now served as a staging area for the slave system that would take root elsewhere in English North America.

Chapter 2: The Planting of English America: 2.19 Colonizing the Carolinas
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2.10 Colonizing the Carolinas

Civil war convulsed England in the 1640s. King Charles I had dismissed Parliament in 1629, and when he eventually recalled it in 1640, the members were mutinous. Fusing their great champion in the Puritan-soldier Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) Puritan general who helped lead parliamentary forces during the English Civil War and ruled England as Lord Protector from 1653 until his death in 1658., they ultimately beheaded Charles in 1649, and Cromwell ruled England for nearly a decade. Finally, Charles II, son of the decapitated king, was restored to the throne in 1660.

Colonization had been interrupted during this period of bloody unrest. Now, in the so-called Restoration period, empire building resumed with even greater intensity—and royal involvement (see Table 2.2). Carolina, named for Charles II, was formally created in 1670, after the king granted to eight of his court favorites, the Lords Proprietors, an expanse of wilderness ribboning across the continent to the Pacific. These aristocratic founders expected to grow foodstuffs to provision the sugar plantations in Barbados and to export non-English products like wine, silk, and olive oil.

Table 2.2
The Thirteen Original Colonies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Founded by</th>
<th>Year Founded</th>
<th>Year Chartered</th>
<th>Made Royal</th>
<th>Royal Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>London Co.</td>
<td>1607</td>
<td>1660</td>
<td>1624</td>
<td>1675 Status</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Carolina prospered by developing close economic ties with the flourishing sugar islands of the English West Indies. In a broad sense, the mainland colony was but the most northerly of those outposts. Many original Carolina settlers, in fact, had emigrated from Barbados, bringing that island's slave system with them. They also established a vigorous slave trade in Carolina itself. Enlisting the aid of the coastal Savannah Indians, they forayed into the interior in search of captives. The Lords Proprietors led against Indian slave trading in their colony, but to no avail. Manacled Indians soon were among the young colony's major exports. As many as ten thousand Indians were dispatched to lifelong labor in the West Indian canefields and sugar mills. Others were sent to New England. One Rhode Island town in 1730 counted more than two hundred enslaved Carolina Indians in its midst.

In 1707 the Savannah Indians decided to end their alliance with the Carolinians and to migrate to the backcountry of Maryland and Pennsylvania, where a new colony founded by Quakers under William Penn promised better relations between whites and Indians. But the Carolinians determined to “thin” the Savannah before they could depart. A series of bloody raids all but annihilated the Indian tribes of coastal Carolina by 1713.

After much experimentation, rice emerged as the principal export crop in Carolina. Rice was then an exotic food in England; no rice seeds were sent out from London in the first supply ships to Carolina. But rice was grown in Africa, and the Carolinians were soon paying premium prices for West African slaves experienced in rice cultivation. The Africans' agricultural skill and their relative immunity to malaria (thanks to a genetic trait that also, unfortunately, made them and their descendants susceptible to sickle-cell anemia) made them ideal laborers on the hot and swampy rice plantations. By 1710 they constituted a majority of Carolinians.

Moss-festooned Charles Town—also named for the king—rapidly became the busiest seaport in the South. Many high-spirited sons of English landed families, deprived of an inheritance, came to the Charleston area and gave it a rich aristocratic flavor. The village became a colorfully diverse community, to which French Protestant refugees, Jews, and others were attracted by religious toleration.

Nearby, in Florida, the Catholic Spaniards abhorred the intrusion of these Protestant heretics. Carolina's frontier was often aflame. Spanish-occupied Indians branded their tomahawks, and armor-clad warriors of Spain frequently unbarred their swords during the successive Anglo-Spanish wars. But by 1700 Carolina was too strong to be wiped out.

Chapter 2: The Flooding of English America: 2.11 The Emergence of North Carolina

The wild northern expanse of the huge Carolina grant bordered on Virginia. From the older colony there drifted down a ragtag group of poverty-stricken outcasts and religious dissenters. Many of them had been expelled by the/rated atmosphere of Virginia, dominated as it was by big-plantation gentry belonging to the Church of England. North Carolinians, as a result, have been called “the quintessence of Virginia’s discontent.” The newcomers, who frequently were “squatters (Frontier farmers who illegally occupied land owned by others or not yet officially opened for settlement. Many of North Carolina’s early settlers were squatters, who contributed to the colony’s reputation as being more independent-minded and “democratic” than its neighbors,” without legal right to the soil, raised their tobacco and other crops on small farms, with little need for slaves.

Distinctive traits developed rapidly in North Carolina. The poor but sturdy inhabitants, regarded as riffraff by their snobbish neighbors, earned a reputation for being irreligious and hospitable to pirates. Isolated from neighbors by raw wilderness and stormy Cape Hatteras, “graveyard of the Atlantic,” the North Carolinians developed a strong streak of resistance to authority. Their location between aristocratic Virginia and aristocratic South
Carolina caused the area to be dubbed "a vale of humility between two mountains of conceit." Following much friction with governors, North Carolina was officially separated from South Carolina in 1712, and subsequently each segment became a royal colony (see Map 2.2).

Map 2.2
Early Carolina and Georgia Settlements

North Carolina shares with tiny Rhode Island several distinctions. These two outposts were the most democratic, the most independent-minded, and the least aristocratic of the original thirteen English colonies.

Although northern Carolina, unlike the colony's southern reaches, did not at first import large numbers of African slaves, both regions shared in the ongoing tragedy of bloody relations between Indians and Europeans. Tuscarora Indians fell upon the fledgling settlement at New Bern in 1711. The North Carolinians, aided by their heavily armed brothers from the south, retaliated by crushing the Indians in the Tuscarora War (begun with an Indian attack on New Bern, North Carolina). After the Tuscarora were defeated, remaining Indian survivors migrated northward, eventually forming the Iroquois Confederacy as its sixth nation, selling hundreds of them into slavery and leaving the survivors to wander northward to seek the protection of the Iroquois. The Tuscarora eventually became the Sixth Nation of the Iroquois Confederacy. In another ferocious encounter four years later, the South Carolinians defeated and dispersed the Yamasee Indians (defeated by the South Carolinians in the war of 1715-1716, the Yamasee defeat devastated the last of the coastal Indian tribes in the southern colonies).

With the conquest of the Yamasees, virtually all the coastal Indian tribes in the southern colonies had been utterly devastated by about 1720. Yet in the interior, in the hills and valleys of the Appalachian Mountains, the powerful Cherokees, Creeks, and Iroquois (see "Makers of America: The Iroquois") remained. Stronger and more numerous than their coastal cousins, they managed for half a century more to contain British settlement to the coastal plain east of the mountains.

Makers of America

The Iroquois

Well before the crowned heads of Europe turned their eyes and their dreams of empire toward North America, a great military power had emerged in the Mohawk Valley of what is now New York State. The Iroquois Confederacy (bound together five tribes—the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas—in the Mohawk Valley of what is now New York State), dubbed by whites the "League of the Iroquois," bound together five Indian nations—the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas (see Map 2.3). According to Iroquois legend, it was founded in the late 1500s by two leaders, Deganawidah and Hiawatha (dates unknown). Along with Deganawidah, legendary founder of the Iroquois Confederacy that united the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca tribes in the late sixteenth century. This proud and potent league vied initially with neighboring Indians for territorial supremacy, then with the French, English, and Dutch for control of the fur trade. Ultimately, infected by the white man's diseases, intoxicated by his whiskey, and intimidated by his muskets, the Iroquois struggled for their very survival as a people.

Map 2.3
The building block of Iroquois society was the longhouse. This wooden structure
deserved its descriptive name. Only twenty-five feet in breadth, the longhouse
stretched from eight to two hundred feet in length. Each building contained three to
five fireplaces, around which gathered two nuclear families consisting of parents
and children. All families residing in the longhouse were related, their connections
of blood running exclusively through the maternal line. A single longhouse might
shelter a woman's family and those of her mother, sisters, and daughters—with the
oldest woman being the honored matriarch. When a man married, he left his
childhood hearth in the home of his mother to join the longhouse of his wife. Men
dominated in Iroquois society, but they owed their positions of prominence to their
mothers' families.

As if sharing one great longhouse, the five nations joined in the Iroquois
Confederacy but kept their own separate fires. Although they traveled together
and shared a common policy toward outsiders, they remained essentially
independent of one another. On the eastern flank of the league, the Mohawks,
known as the Keepers of the Eastern Fire, specialized in middlemen with European
traders, whereas the outlying Senecas, the Keepers of the Western Fire, became fur
suppliers.

After banding together to end generations of violent warfare among themselves,
the Five Nations vanquished their rivals, the neighboring Hurons, Erie, and
Petuns. Some other tribes, such as the Tuscaroras from the Carolina region, sought
peaceful absorption into the Iroquois Confederacy. The Iroquois further expanded
their numbers by means of periodic "mourning wars," whose objective was the
large-scale adoption of captives and refugees. But the arrival of gun-toting
Europeans threatened Iroquois supremacy and enmeshed the confederacy in a
tangled web of diplomatic intrigues. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth
centuries, they allied alternately with the English against the French and vice versa,
for a time successfully working this perpetual rivalry to their own advantage. But
when the American Revolution broke out, the confederacy could reach no
consensus on which side to support. Each tribe was left to decide independently;
most, though not all, sided with the British. The ultimate British defeat left the
confederacy in tatters. Many Iroquois, especially the Mohawks, moved to new lands
in British Canada; others were relegated to reservations in western New York.

An Iroquois Canoe

In frail but artfully constructed craft like this, the Iroquois traversed the abundant
waters of their confederacy and traded with their neighbors, Indians as well as
whites.
2.12 Late-Coming Georgia: The Buffer Colony

Pine-forested Georgia, with the harbor of Savannah nourishing its chief settlement, was formally founded in 1733. It proved to be the last of the thirteen colonies to be planted—126 years after the first, Virginia, and 52 years after the twelfth, Pennsylvania.

Chronologically Georgia belongs elsewhere, but geographically it may be grouped with its southern neighbors.

The English crown intended Georgia to serve chiefly as a buffer (in politics, a territory between two antagonistic powers, intended to minimize the possibility of conflict between them). In British North America, Georgia was established as a buffer colony between British and Spanish territory. It would protect the more valuable Carolinas against vengeful Spaniards from Florida and against the hostile French from Louisiana. Georgia indeed suffered much buffeting, especially when wars broke out between Spain and England in the European arena. As a vital link in imperial defense, the exposed colony received monetary subsidies from the British government at the outset—the only one of the "original thirteen" to enjoy this benefit in its founding stage.

Named in honor of King George II of England, Georgia was launched by a high-minded group of philanthropists. In addition to protecting their neighboring northern colonies and producing silk and wine, they were determined to carve out a haven for wretched souls imprisoned for debt. They were also determined, at least at first, to keep slavery out of Georgia. The ablest of the founders was the dynamic soldier-statesman James Oglethorpe (1696-1785) Soldier-statesman and leading founder of Georgia. A champion of prison reform, Oglethorpe established Georgia as a haven for debtors seeking to avoid imprisonment. During the War of Jenkins' Ear, Oglethorpe successfully led his colonists in battle, repelling a Spanish attack on British territory, who became keenly interested in prison reform after one of his friends died in a debtors' jail. As a competent military leader, Oglethorpe repelled Spanish attacks. As an imperialist and a philanthropist, he saved "the
Charity Colony by his energetic leadership and by heavily mortgaging his own personal fortune.

The hamlet of Savannah, like Charleston, was a melting-pot community. German Lutherans and killed Scots Highlanders, among others, added color to the pattern. Many Christian worshippers except Catholics enjoyed religious toleration. Many missionaries armed with Bibles and hope arrived in Savannah to work among debtors and Indians. Prominent among them was young John Wesley, who later returned to England and founded the Methodist Church.

Georgia grew with painful slowness and at the end of the colonial era was perhaps the least populous of the colonies. The development of a plantation economy was thwarted by an unhealthy climate, by early restrictions on black slavery, and by demoralizing Spanish attacks.

2.13 The Plantation Colonies

Certain distinctive features were shared by England’s southern mainland colonies:
Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Broad-armed, these outposts of empire were all in some degree devoted to exporting commercial agricultural products. Profitable staple crops were the rule, notably tobacco and rice, though to a lesser extent in small-farm North Carolina. Slavery was found in all the plantation colonies, though only after 1750 in reform-minded Georgia. Immense acreage in the hands of a favored few fostered a strong aristocratic atmosphere, except in North Carolina and to some extent in debtor-tongued Georgia. The wide scattering of plantations and farms, often along stately rivers, retarded the growth of cities and made the establishment of churches and schools both difficult and expensive. In 1761 the governor of Virginia actually thanked God that no free schools or printing presses existed in his colony.

All the plantation colonies permitted some religious toleration. The tax-supported Church of England became the dominant faith, though it was weakest of all in nonconformist North Carolina.

These colonies were in some degree expansionary, “soil hatching” by excessive tobacco growing drove settlers westward, and the long, lazy rivers invited penetration of the continent—and continuing confrontation with Native Americans.

Chapter Review

Key Terms

Protestant Reformation (Movement to reform the Catholic Church launched in Germany by Martin Luther. Reformers questioned the authority of the Pope, sought to eliminate the selling of indulgences, and encouraged the translation of the Bible from Latin, which few at the time could read. The reformation was launched in England in the 1530s when King Henry VIII broke with the Roman Catholic Church.)

Roanoke Island (Sir Walter Raleigh’s failed colonial settlement off the coast of North Carolina.)

Spanish Armada (Spanish fleet defeated in the English Channel in 1588. The defeat of the Armada marked the beginning of the decline of the Spanish Empire.)

primogeniture (Legal principle that the oldest son inherits all family property or land. Landowners’ younger sons, forced to seek their fortunes elsewhere, pioneered early exploration and settlement of the Americas.)

joint-stock company (Short-term partnership between multiple investors to fund a commercial enterprise; such arrangements were used to fund England’s early colonial ventures.)

Virginia Company (English joint-stock company that received a charter from King James I that allowed it to found the Virginia Colony.)

charter (Legal document granted by a government to some group or agency to implement a stated purpose, and spelling out the attending rights and obligations. British colonial charters guaranteed inhabitants all the rights of Englishmen, which helped solidify colonists’ ties to Britain during the early years of settlement.)
Jamestown (First permanent English settlement in North America founded by the Virginia Company.)

First Anglo-Powhatan War (Series of clashes between the Powhatan Confederacy and English settlers in Virginia. English colonies torched and pillaged Indian villages, supplying (and possibly aiding) English's campaigns against the Irish.)

Second Anglo-Powhatan War (Last-ditch effort by the Indians to dislodge Virginia settlements. The resulting peace treaty formally separated white and Indian areas of settlement.)

House of Burgesses (Representative parliamentary assembly created to govern Virginia, establishing a precedent for government in the English colonies.)

Act of Toleration (Passed in Maryland, it guaranteed toleration to all Christians but decreed death penalty for those, like Jews and atheists, who denied the divinity of Jesus Christ. Ensured that Maryland would continue to attract a high proportion of Catholic migrants throughout the colonial period.)

Barbados Slave Code (First formal statute governing the treatment of slaves, which provided for harsh punishments against offending slaves but no harsh penalties for the mistreatment of slaves by masters. Similar statutes were adopted by southern plantation societies on the North America mainland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.)

Squatters (Frontier farmers who illegally occupied land not yet owned officially for settlement. Many of North Carolina's early settlers were squatters, who contributed to the colony's reputation as being more independent-minded and "democratic" than its neighbors.)

Iroquois Confederacy (Bounded together five tribes—the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas—in the Mohawk Valley of what is now New York State.)

 Tuscarora War (Begun with an Indian attack on New Bern, North Carolina. After the Tuscarora were defeated, remaining Indian survivors migrated northward, eventually joining the Iroquois Confederacy as its sixth nation.)

Yamasee Indians (Defeated by the South Carolinians in the war of 1715–1716. The Yamasee defeat devastated the last of the coastal Indian tribes in the southern colonies.)

buffer (In politics, a territory between two antagonistic powers, intended to minimize the possibility of conflict between them. In British North America, Georgia was established as a buffer colony between British and Spanish territory.)

Chapter Review

People to Know

Henry VIII (1491–1547) Tudor monarch who launched the Protestant Reformation in England when he broke away from the Catholic Church in order to divorce his first wife, Catherine of Aragon.

Elizabeth I (1533–1603) Protestant queen of England whose forty-year reign from 1558 to 1603 firmly secured the Anglican Church and inaugurated a period of maritime exploration and conquest. Never having married, she was dubbed the "Virgin Queen" by her contemporaries.

Sir Francis Drake (c. 1542–1596) English sea captain who completed his circumnavigation of the globe in 1580, pillaging Spanish ships and settlements along the way.

Sir Walter Raleigh (c. 1552–1618) English courtier and adventurer who sponsored the failed settlements of North Carolina's Roanoke Island in 1585 and 1587. Once a favorite of Elizabeth I, Raleigh fell out of favor with the Virgin Queen after secretly marrying one of her maids of honor. He continued his colonial pursuits until 1618, when he was executed for treason.

James I (1566–1625) Formerly James VI of Scotland, he became James I of England at the death of Elizabeth I. James I supported overseas colonization, granting a charter to the Virginia Company in 1606 for a settlement in the New World. He also cracked down on
both Catholics and Puritan Separatists, prompting the latter to flee to Holland and, later, to North America.

**Captain John Smith** ([1580-1631]) English adventurer who took control of Jamestown in 1608 and ensured the survival of the colony by directing gold-hungry colonists toward more productive tasks. Smith also established ties with the Powhatan Indians through the chief’s daughter, Pocahontas, who had “saved” Smith from a mock execution the previous year.

**Powhatan** (ca. 1540-1618) Chief of the Powhatan Indians and father of Pocahontas. As a show of force, Powhatan staged the kidnapping and mock execution of Captain John Smith in 1607. He later led the Powhatan Indians in the First Anglo-Powhatan War, negotiating a tenuous peace in 1614.

**Pocahontas** (ca. 1595-1617) Daughter of Chief Powhatan. Pocahontas “saved” Captain John Smith in a dramatic mock execution and served as a mediator between Indians and the colonists. In 1614, she married John Rolfe and sailed with him to England, where she was greeted as a princess and where she passed away shortly before her planned return to the colonies.

**Lord De La Warr** ([1577-1618]) Colonial governor who imposed harsh military rule over Jamestown after taking over in 1610. A veteran of England’s brutal campaigns against the Irish, De La Warr applied harsh “Irish” tactics in his war against the Indians, sending troops to torch Indian villages and seize provisions. The colony of Delaware was named after him.

**John Rolfe** ([1585-1622]) English colonist whose marriage to Pocahontas in 1614 sealed the peace of the First Anglo-Powhatan War.

**Lord Baltimore** ([1609-1675]) Established Maryland as a haven for Catholics, Baltimore unsuccessfully tried to reconstitute the English manorial system in the colonies and gave vast tracts of land to Catholic relatives, a policy that soon created tensions between the seaboard Catholic establishment and backcountry Protestant planters.

**Oliver Cromwell** (1599-1658) Puritan general who helped lead parliamentary forces during the English Civil War and ruled England as Lord Protector from 1653 until his death in 1658.

**James Oglethorpe** ([1696-1785]) Soldier-statesman and leading founder of Georgia. A champion of prison reform, Oglethorpe established Georgia as a haven for debtors seeking to avoid imprisonment. During the War of Jenkins's Ear, Oglethorpe successfully led his colonists in battle, repelling a Spanish attack on British territory.

**Hiawatha** (dates unknown) Along with Deganawidah, legendary founder of the Iroquois Confederacy that united the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca tribes in the late sixteenth century.

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**Chapter 2: The Founding of English America Chronology**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1558</td>
<td>Elizabeth I becomes queen of England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1565-1590</td>
<td>English crush Irish uprising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1577</td>
<td>Drake circumnavigates the globe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td>Raleigh founds “lost colony” at Roanoke Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>England defeats Spanish Armada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>James I becomes king of England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1604</td>
<td>Spain and England sign peace treaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1607</td>
<td>Virginia colony founded at Jamestown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1612</td>
<td>Rolfe perfects tobacco culture in Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1614</td>
<td>First Anglo-Powhatan War ends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1619</td>
<td>First Africans arrive in Jamestown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Virginia House of Burgesses established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1624</td>
<td>Virginia becomes royal colony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1634</td>
<td>Maryland colony founded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640s</td>
<td>Large-scale slave-labor system established in English West Indies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1644</td>
<td>Second Anglo-Powhatan War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1649</td>
<td>Act of Toleration in Maryland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Charles I beheaded; Cromwell rules England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1660</td>
<td>Charles II restored to English throne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1661</td>
<td>Barbados slave code adopted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1670</td>
<td>Carolina colony created</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1711–1713</td>
<td>Tuscarora War in North Carolina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>North Carolina formally separates from South Carolina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1715–1716</td>
<td>Yamasee War in South Carolina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1733</td>
<td>Georgia colony founded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter Review

To Learn More

- , Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America (1998)
- Ralph Davis, The Rise of the Atlantic Economies (1973)
- Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom (1975)
- Alan Taylor, American Colonies: The Settling of North America (2001)
- Camilla Townsend, Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma (2004)
AP U.S. History Long Essay Rubric

Maximum Possible Points: 6

A. Thesis 0–1 point
Skills assessed: Argumentation + targeted skill

States a thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question. The thesis must do more than restate the question
1 point

B. Support for argument: 0–2 points
Skills assessed: Argumentation, Use of Evidence

Supports the stated thesis (or makes a relevant argument) using specific evidence
1 point

OR

Supports the stated thesis (or makes a relevant argument) using specific evidence, clearly and consistently stating how the evidence supports the thesis or argument, and establishing clear linkages between the evidence and the thesis or argument
2 points

C. Application of targeted historical thinking skill: 0–2 points
Skill assessed: Targeted skill

For questions assessing CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OVER TIME

Describes historical continuity AND change over time
1 point

OR

Describes historical continuity AND change over time, and analyzes specific examples that illustrate historical continuity AND change over time
2 points

For questions assessing COMPARISON

Describes similarities AND differences among historical developments
1 point

OR

Describes similarities AND differences among historical developments, providing specific examples AND
Analyzes the reasons for their similarities AND/OR differences OR, DEPENDING ON THE PROMPT, Evaluates the relative significance of the historical developments
2 points
### For questions assessing CAUSATION

| Describes causes AND/OR effects of a historical development | OR | Describes causes AND/OR effects of a historical development and analyzes specific examples that illustrate causes AND/OR effects of a historical development | 1 point | 2 points |

### For questions assessing PERIODIZATION

| Describes the ways in which the historical development specified in the prompt was different from OR similar to developments that preceded and/or followed | OR | Analyzes the extent to which the historical development specified in the prompt was different from AND similar to developments that preceded and/or followed, providing specific examples to illustrate the analysis | 1 point | 2 points |

### D. Synthesis: 0–1 point

**Skill assessed:** Synthesis

| Appropriately extends or modifies the stated thesis or argument | Explicitly employs an additional appropriate category of analysis (e.g., political, economic, social, cultural, geographical, race/ethnicity, gender) beyond that called for in the prompt | The argument appropriately connects the topic of the question to other historical periods, geographical areas, contexts, or circumstances | (World and European History) Draws on appropriate ideas and methods from different fields of inquiry or disciplines in support of the argument | 1 point | 1 point | 1 point | 1 point |

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Thematic Learning Objectives

As indicated earlier, the College Board has identified seven themes, or topics, that can guide our exploration of history. Importantly, they have also identified a series of learning objectives, categorized by theme, to help identify important understandings that they expect students to grasp. As you study U.S. History, refer often to these themes and objectives and ensure that you can offer analysis and factual details for each. On the AP® examination, every question will measure your understanding of one of these objectives. To assist you, references to the tested objectives have been included in the answer keys to all multiple-choice questions in this guide.

Identity (ID)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Essential Understanding</th>
<th>In particular, students can...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students demonstrate understanding of ways that debates over national identity have changed over time.</td>
<td>ID-1: Analyze how competing conceptions of national identity were expressed in the development of political institutions and cultural values from the late colonial through the antebellum periods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ID-2: Assess the impact of Manifest Destiny, territorial expansion, the Civil War, and industrialization on popular beliefs about progress and the national destiny of the United States in the nineteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ID-3: Analyze how U.S. involvement in international crises such as the Spanish-American War, World Wars I and II, the Great Depression, and the Cold War influenced public debates about American national identity in the twentieth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students demonstrate understanding of ways that gender, class, ethnic, religious, regional, and other group identities changed in different eras.</td>
<td>ID-4: Explain how conceptions of group identity and autonomy emerged out of cultural interactions between colonizing groups, Africans, and American Indians in the colonial era.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ID-5: Analyze the role of economic, political, social, and ethnic factors on the formation of regional identities in what would become the United States from the colonial period through the nineteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ID-6: Analyze how migration patterns to, and migration within, the United States have influenced the growth of racial and ethnic identities and conflicts over ethnic assimilation and distinctiveness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ID-7: Analyze how changes in class identity and gender roles have related to economic, social, and cultural transformations since the late nineteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ID-8: Explain how civil rights activism in the twentieth century affected the growth of African American and other identity-based political and social movements.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Work, Exchange, and Technology (WXT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Essential Understanding</th>
<th>In particular, students can...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students demonstrate understanding of ways that changes in markets, transportation, and technology have affected American society.</td>
<td>WXT-1: Explain how patterns of exchanging commodities, peoples, diseases, and ideas around the Atlantic World developed after European contact and shaped North American colonial-era societies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WXT-2: Analyze how innovations in markets, transportation, and technology affected the economy and the different regions of North America from the colonial period through the end of the Civil War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WXT-3: Explain how changes in transportation, technology, and the integration of the U.S. economy...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Essential Understanding

#### In particular, students can...

**XWT-4** Explain the development of labor systems such as slavery, indentured servitude, free labor, and sharecropping from the colonial period through the end of the eighteenth century.

**XWT-5** Explain the development of labor systems that accompanied industrialization since the nineteenth century and how industrialization shaped U.S. society and workers' lives.

**XWT-6** Explain how arguments about market capitalism, the growth of corporate power, and government policies influenced economic policies from the late eighteenth century through the early twentieth century.

**XWT-7** Compare the beliefs and strategies of movements advocating changes to U.S. economic systems since industrialization, particularly the organized labor, Populist, and Progressive movements.

**XWT-8** Explain how and why the role of the federal government in regulating economic life and the environment has changed since the end of the nineteenth century.

### Peopling (PEO)

#### Essential Understanding

**PEO-1** Explain how and why people moved within the Americas (before contact) and to and within the Americas (after contact and colonization).

**PEO-2** Explain how changes in the numbers and sources of international migrants in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries altered the ethnic and social makeup of the U.S. population.

**PEO-3** Analyze the causes and effects of major internal migration patterns such as urbanization, suburbanization, westward movement, and the Great Migration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

**PEO-4** Analyze the effects that migration, disease, and warfare had on the American Indian population after contact with Europeans.

**PEO-5** Explain how free and forced migration to and within different parts of North America caused regional development, cultural diversity and blending, and political and social conflicts through the nineteenth century.

**PEO-6** Analyze the role of both internal and international migration on changes to urban life, cultural developments, labor issues, and reform movements from the mid-nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century.

**PEO-7** Explain how and why debates over immigration to the United States have changed since the turn of the twentieth century.

### Politics and Power (POL)

#### Essential Understanding

**In particular, students can...**
### Essential Understanding

**POL-1** Analyze the factors behind competition, cooperation, and conflict among different societies and social groups in North America during the colonial period.

**POL-2** Explain how and why major party systems and political alignments arose and have changed from the early Republic through the end of the twentieth century.

**POL-3** Explain how activist groups and reform movements, such as antebellum reformers, civil rights activists, and social conservatives, have caused changes to state institutions and U.S. society.

**POL-4** Analyze how and why the New Deal, the Great Society, and the modern conservative movement all sought to change the federal government's role in U.S. political, social, and economic life.

**POL-5** Analyze how arguments over the meaning and interpretation of the Constitution have affected U.S. politics since 1787.

**POL-6** Analyze how debates over political values (such as democracy, freedom, and citizenship) and the extension of American ideals abroad contributed to the ideological clashes and military conflicts of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.

**POL-7** Analyze how debates over civil rights and civil liberties have influenced political life from the early twentieth century through the early twenty-first century.

### America in the World (WOR)

**WOR-1** Explain how imperial competition and the exchange of commodities on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean influenced the origins and patterns of development of North American societies in the colonial period.

**WOR-2** Explain how the exchange of ideas among different parts of the Atlantic World shaped the belief systems and independence movements into the early nineteenth century.

**WOR-3** Explain how the growing interconnection of the U.S. with worldwide economic, labor, and migration systems affected U.S. society since the late nineteenth century.

**WOR-4** Explain how the U.S. involvement in global conflicts in the twentieth century set the stage for domestic social changes.

**WOR-5** Analyze the motives behind, and results of, economic, military, and diplomatic initiatives aimed at expanding U.S. power and territory in the Western Hemisphere in the years between independence and the Civil War.

**WOR-6** Analyze the major aspects of domestic debates over U.S. expansionism in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.

**WOR-7** Analyze the goals of U.S. policymakers in major international conflicts, such as the Spanish-American War, World Wars I and II, and the Cold War, and explain how U.S. involvement in these conflicts has altered the U.S. role in world affairs.
### Environment and Geography—Physical and Human (ENV)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Essential Understanding</th>
<th>In particular, students can...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ENV-1 Explain how the introduction of new plants, animals, and technologies altered the natural environment of North America and affected interactions among various groups in the colonial period.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENV-2 Explain how the natural environment contributed to the development of distinct regional group identities, institutions, and conflicts in the pre-contact period through the independence period.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENV-3 Analyze the role of environmental factors in contributing to regional economic and political identities in the nineteenth century, and how they affected conflicts such as the American Revolution and the Civil War.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENV-4 Analyze how the search for economic resources affected social and political developments from the colonial period through Reconstruction.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENV-5 Explain how and why debates about policies concerning the use of natural resources and the environment more generally have changed since the late nineteenth century.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Ideas, Beliefs, and Culture (CUL)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Essential Understanding</th>
<th>In particular, students can...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CUL-1 Compare the cultural values and attitudes of different European, African American, and Native peoples in the colonial period and explain how contact affected intergroup relationships and conflicts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUL-2 Analyze how emerging conceptions of national identity and democratic ideals shaped value systems, gender roles, and cultural movements in the late eighteenth century and the nineteenth century.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUL-3 Explain how cultural values and artistic expression changed in response to the Civil War and the postwar industrialization of the United States.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUL-4 Analyze how changing religious ideals, Enlightenment beliefs, and republican thought shaped the politics, culture, and society of the colonial era through the early Republic.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUL-5 Analyze ways that philosophical, moral, and scientific ideas were used to defend and challenge the dominant economic and social order in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUL-6 Analyze the role of culture and the arts in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century movements for social and political change.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In particular, students can...

**CUL-7** Explain how and why "modern" cultural values and popular culture have grown since the early twentieth century and how they have affected American politics and society.