CHAPTER 1

A Continent of Villages
to 1500
CHAPTER OUTLINE

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OF NORTH AMERICA ON
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As the sun rose over the rich floodplain, the people of the riverbank city set about their daily tasks. Some went to shops where they manufactured tools, crafted pottery, worked metal, or fashioned ornamental jewelry—goods destined to be exchanged in the far corners of the continent. Others left their densely populated neighborhoods for the outlying countryside, where in the summer heat they worked the seemingly endless fields that fed the city. From almost any point people could see the great temple that rose from the city center—the temple where priests in splendid costumes acted out public rituals of death and renewal.

This thirteenth-century city was not in preindustrial Europe or Asia but in North America. Its residents lived and worked on the banks of the Mississippi River, across from present-day St. Louis, at a place archaeologists have named Cahokia after the group who occupied the area from about 700 to 1400 C.E. In the mid-1200s, Cahokia was an urban cluster of perhaps 30,000 people, and the city covered nearly six square miles. Houses were arranged in rows around open plazas, and the farm fields were abundant with corn, beans, and pumpkins. The temple, a huge earthwork pyramid, covered fifteen acres at its base and rose as high as a ten-story building. On top were the residences of chiefs and priests, who dressed in elaborate headdresses made from the plumage of American birds.

By the fourteenth century, Cahokia had been abandoned, whether the victim of physical attack, political collapse, drought and famine, or some combination, is not known. But the great central temple mound and dozens of smaller ones in the surrounding area, as well as hundreds more throughout the Mississippi Valley, remained to puzzle the European immigrants who resettled the valley in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Treasure seekers plundered those mounds, and many were eventually leveled and plowed under for farmland. Only a few were saved, inside parks and estates. Cahokia’s central mound survived because in the nineteenth century its summit became the site of a monastery, now long gone.

The Europeans who first explored and excavated those mounds were convinced they were the ruins of a vanished civilization, but could not believe they were the work of Indians. The first comprehensive study of Cahokia, published in 1848 under the sponsorship of the newly established Smithsonian Institution, noted that “the mound-builders were an agricultural people, considerably advanced in arts, manners, habits, and religion.” But because “Indians were hunters averse to labor, and not known to have constructed any works approaching [the] skillfulness of design or [the] magnitude” of Cahokia, surely those wonders were constructed by a “lost race.”

The Smithsonian scientists were wrong. The ancestors of contemporary Native Americans constructed massive earthworks in the Mississippi Valley. The vast urban complex of Cahokia—at its height stretching six miles along the Mississippi River—flourished from the tenth to the fourteenth century. Its residents were not nomadic hunters but farmers, members of an agricultural society that archaeologists call the Mississippian, with highly productive cultivation techniques. Hundreds of acres of crops fed the people of Cahokia, the most populated urban community north of the civilization of the Aztecs in central Mexico. Mississippian farmers constructed ingenious raised plots of land on which they heaped compost in wide ridges for improved drainage and protection against unseasonable frosts. To their houses of wood and mud they attached pens in which they kept flocks of domesticated turkeys and small herds of young deer that they slaughtered for meat and hides. Cahokia was at the center of a long-distance trading system that linked it to other Indian communities over a vast area. Copper came from Lake Superior,
mica from the southern Appalachians, conch shells from the Atlantic coast, and Cahokia’s specialized artisans were renowned for the manufacture of high-quality flint hoes, exported throughout the Mississippi Valley.

The archaeological evidence suggests that Cahokia was a city-state supported by tribute and taxation. Like the awe-inspiring public works of other early urban societies—the pyramids of ancient Egypt and the acropolis of Athens are two familiar examples—the great temple mound of Cahokia was intended to showcase the city’s wealth and power. The mounds and other colossal public works at Cahokia were the monuments of a society ruled by an elite who commanded the people, and sometimes demanded human sacrifice in deference to their power. From their residences atop the mound, priests and governors looked down on their subjects both literally and figuratively.

The 1848 Smithsonian report on Cahokia reflected a stereotypical view that all Indian peoples were hunters. But the history of North America before European colonization demonstrates that the native inhabitants lived in a great variety of societies, including not only the hunting and gathering bands of the Great Basin or Arctic, but densely settled urban civilizations, like those of the Aztecs of Mexico or the Mayans of Central America. North America before colonization was, as historian Howard R. Lamar phrases it, “a continent of villages,” a land spread with thousands of local communities. The wonders and mystery of the lost city of Cahokia are but one aspect of the little-understood history of the Indians of the Americas.

**KEY TOPICS**

- The peopling of the Americas by migrants from Asia
- The adaptation of native cultures to the regions of North America
- The increase in complexity of many native societies following the development of farming
- The nature of Indian cultures in the three major regions of European invasion and settlement

**Settling the Continent**

Why do you call us Indians?” a Massachusetts native complained to Puritan missionary John Eliot in 1646. Christopher Columbus, who mistook the Taíno people of the Caribbean for the people of the East Indies, called them Indios. Within a short time this Spanish word had passed into English as “Indians,” and was commonly used to refer to all the native peoples of the Americas. Today anthropologists often use the term “Amerindians,” and many people prefer “Native Americans.” But in the United States most of the descendants of the original inhabitants of North America refer to themselves as “Indian people.”

**Who Are the Indian People?**

At the time of their first contacts with Europeans at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the native inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere represented over 2,000 separate cultures, spoke several hundred different languages, and made their livings in scores of fundamentally different environments. Just as the term “European” includes many nations, so the term “Indian” covers an enormous diversity among

**WHAT EVENTS led to the migration of Asian peoples into North America?**

Lecture Suggestion 1.1, Columbus Discovers America

Audio-Visual Aid, “500 Nations”

Cahokia One of the largest urban centers created by Mississippian peoples, containing 30,000 residents in 1250.
the peoples of the Americas. Natives, of course, referred to themselves by their own names. For example, the people of the mid-Atlantic coast called themselves Lenni Lenape, meaning “true men”; a large group of natives in the western Great Lakes country called themselves Lakota, or “the allies”; and the nomadic hunters of the desert Southwest used the name Dine (pronounced “dee-nay”), meaning simply “the people.” Europeans came to know these three groups by rather different names: the Delawares (from the principal river of the mid-Atlantic region), the Sioux, and the Apaches (both of which meant “enemy” in the language of neighboring tribes).

No single physical type characterized all the native peoples of the Americas. Although most had straight, black hair and dark, almond-shaped eyes, their skin color ranged from mahogany to light brown and few fit the “redskin” descriptions used by North American colonists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Indeed, it was only when Europeans had compared Indian peoples with natives of other continents, such as Africans, that they seemed similar enough to be classified as a group.

Once Europeans realized that the Americas were in fact a “New World,” rather than part of the Asian continent, a debate began over how people might have moved there from Europe and Asia, where (according to the Judeo-Christian Bible) God had created the first man and woman. Writers proposed elaborate theories of transoceanic migrations.

Migration from Asia

Acosta was the first to propose the Asian migration hypothesis that is widely accepted today. The most compelling scientific evidence comes from genetic research. Studies comparing the DNA variation of populations around the world consistently demonstrate the close genetic relationship of Asian and Native American populations.

A forensic artist reconstructed this bust from the skull of “Kennewick Man,” whose skeletal remains were discovered along the Columbia River in 1996. Scientific testing suggested that the remains were more than 9,000 years old.

James Chatters/Agence France Presse/Getty Images.

**OVERVIEW**

**Origins of Some Indian Tribal Names**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Origin Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cherokee</td>
<td>A corruption of the Choctaw chiluk-ki, meaning “cave people,” an allusion to the many caves in the Cherokee homeland in the highlands of present-day Georgia. The Cherokees called themselves Ani-Yun-Wiya, or “real people.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheyenne</td>
<td>From the Sioux Sha-hiyena, “people of strange speech.” The Cheyennes of the Northern Plains called themselves Dzi-tsistas, meaning “our people.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopi</td>
<td>A shortening of the name the Hopis of northern Arizona use for themselves, Hópi, which means “peaceful ones.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohawk</td>
<td>From the Algonquian Mohawatuck, meaning “man-eaters.” The Mohawks of the upper Hudson Valley in New York called themselves Kaniengehaga, “people of the place of the flint.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawnee</td>
<td>From the Pawnee term pariki, which describes a distinctive style of dressing the hair with paint and fat to make it stand erect like a horn. The Pawnees, whose homeland was the Platte River Valley in present-day Nebraska, called themselves Chahikischahiks, “men of men.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Analysis of the genetic drift of these two populations suggests that migrants to North America began leaving Asia approximately 30,000 years ago (see Map 1-1).

The migration could have begun over a land bridge connecting the continents. During the last Ice Age (the Wisconsinan Glaciation, from 70,000 to 10,000 years ago, the final act in the geologic epoch known as the Pleistocene), huge glaciers locked up massive volumes of water, and sea levels were as much as 300 feet lower than they are today. Asia and North America, now separated by the Bering Straits, were joined by a subcontinent of ice-free, treeless grassland, 750 miles wide from north to south, which geologists have named Beringia. Glaciers did not form in Beringia because the climate was too dry. Summers there were warm, winters cold but almost snow-free. This was a perfect environment for large mammals—mammoth and mastodon, bison, horse, reindeer, camel, and saiga (a goatlike antelope). Small bands of “Stone Age” hunter-gatherers were surely attracted by these animal populations. Accompanied by a husky-like species of dog, these bands gradually moved as far east as the Yukon River basin of northern Canada, where field excavations have uncovered the fossilized jawbones of several dogs and bone tools estimated to be about 27,000 years old.

Access to lands to the south, however, was blocked by the huge glacial sheets that covered much of what is today Canada. How did the migrants get over those 2,000 miles of deep ice? The standard hypothesis is that with the warming of the climate and the end of the Ice Age, about 13,000 B.C.E., glacial melting created an ice-free corridor—an original “Pan-American Highway”—along the eastern front range of the Rocky Mountains. Traveling down this highway, the hunters of big...
game reached the Great Plains, where evidence has been found of their settlements, dated as early as 10,000 B.C.E.

Recently, however, archaeological finds along the Pacific coast of North and South America have complicated this hypothesis. Newly excavated human sites in Washington State, California, and Peru have been radiocarbon dated to be more than 12,000 years old. The most spectacular find, at Monte Verde in southern Chile, produced striking evidence of tool making, house building, rock painting, and human footprints conservatively dated at 12,500 years ago. A number of archaeologists now believe that the people who founded these settlements moved south in boats along a coastal route rather than overland—an ancient “Pacific Coast Highway.” These people were probably fishers and gatherers rather than hunters of big game.

There were two later migrations into North America. About 5000 B.C.E. the Athapascan or Na-Dene people moved across Beringia and began to settle the forests in the northwestern area of the continent. Although they eventually adopted a technology similar to that of neighboring peoples, the Na-Dene maintained a separate cultural and linguistic identity. Eventually groups of Athapascan speakers, the ancestors of the Navajos and Apaches, migrated across the Great Plains to the Southwest. A third and final migration began about 3000 B.C.E., long after Beringia had disappeared under rising seas, when a maritime hunting people crossed the Bering Straits in small boats. The Inuits (also known as Eskimos) colonized the polar coasts of the Arctic, the Yupiks the coast of southwestern Alaska, and the Aleuts the Aleutian Islands (which are named for them).

While scientists debate the timing and mapping of these various migrations, many Indian peoples hold to their oral traditions that say they have always lived in North America. Every culture has its origin stories, offering explanations of the customs and beliefs of the group. A number of scholars believe these origin stories may shed light on ancient history. The Haida people of the Northwest Pacific coast tell of a time, long ago, when the offshore islands were much larger; but then the oceans rose, they say, and “flood tide woman” forced them to move to higher ground. Could these stories preserve the memory of changes at the end of the Ice Age? It is notable that many Indian traditions include a long journey from a distant place of origin to a new homeland. The Pima people of the Southwest once sang an “Emergence Song”:

This is the White Land; we arrive singing,
Headdresses waving in the breeze.
We have come! We have come!
The land trembles with our dancing and singing.

**Clovis: The First American Technology**

The tools found at the earliest North American archaeological sites, crude stone or bone choppers and scrapers, are similar to artifacts from the same period found in Europe or Asia. About 11,000 years ago, however, ancient Americans developed a much more sophisticated style of making fluted blades and lance points. The **Clovis tradition**, named after the site of its first discovery near Clovis, New Mexico, was a powerful new technology. In the years since the initial discovery, archaeologists have unearthed Clovis artifacts at sites ranging from Montana to Mexico, Nova Scotia to Arizona, all of them dating back to within 1,000 or 2,000 years of one another, suggesting that the Clovis technology spread quickly throughout the continent.
The evidence suggests that Clovis bands were mobile communities of foragers numbering perhaps thirty to fifty individuals from several interrelated families. They returned to the same hunting camps year after year, migrating seasonally within territories of several hundred square miles. Near Delbert, Nova Scotia, archaeologists discovered the floors of ten tents arranged in a semicircle, their doors opening south to avoid the prevailing northerly winds. Both this camp and others found throughout the continent overlooked watering places that would attract game. Clovis blades have been excavated amid the remains of mammoth, camel, horse, giant armadillo, and sloth.

New Ways of Living on the Land

The global warming trend that ended the Ice Age dramatically altered the North American climate. As the giant continental glaciers began to melt about 15,000 years ago, the northern latitudes were colonized by plants, animals, and humans. Meltwater created the lake and river systems of today and raised the level of the surrounding seas, not only flooding Beringia but vast stretches of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, creating fertile tidal pools and offshore fishing banks. These huge transformations produced new patterns of wind, rainfall, and temperature, reshaping the ecology of the entire continent and gradually producing the distinct North American regions of today (see Map 1-2). The great integrating force of a single continental climate faded, and with its passing the continental Clovis culture fragmented into many different regional patterns.

Hunting Traditions

One of the most important effects of this massive climatic shift was the stress it placed on the big game animals best suited to an Ice Age environment. The archaeological record documents the extinction of thirty-two classes of large New World mammals, including not only the mammoth and mastodon but also the horse and camel, both of which evolved in America and then migrated to Asia across Beringia. Lowered reproduction and survival rates of these large mammals may have forced hunting bands to intensify their efforts, leading to what some archaeologists have called the “Pleistocene Overkill.”

As the other large-mammal populations declined, hunters on the Great Plains concentrated on the herds of American bison (known more familiarly as buffalo). To hunt these animals, people needed a weapon they could throw quickly with great accuracy and speed at fast-moving targets over distances of as much as a hundred yards. In archaeological sites dating from about 10,000 years ago, a new style of tool is found mingled with animal remains. This technology, named Folsom after the site of the first major excavation in New Mexico, was a refinement of the Clovis tradition, featuring more delicate but deadlier spear points. Hunters probably hurled the lances to which these points were attached with wooden spear-throwers, with far greater speed than they could achieve with their arms alone.

These archaeological finds suggest the growing complexity of early Indian communities. Hunters frequently stampeded herds of bison into canyon traps or over cliffs. At one such kill site in southeastern Colorado, dated at about 6500 B.C.E., archaeologists uncovered the remains of nearly 200 bison that had been slaughtered and then systematically butchered on a single occasion. Such tasks required a sophisticated division of labor among dozens of men and women and the cooperation of a number of communities. Taking food in such great quantities also suggests a knowledge of basic preservation techniques. These people must have been among the first
to make jerky (dried strips of meat) and pemmican (a mixture of dried meat, animal fat, and berries that can keep into the winter when stored in hide containers).

**Desert Culture**

The retreat of the glaciers led to new ways of finding food in other regions: hunting in the arctic, foraging in the arid deserts, fishing along the coasts, hunting and gathering in the forests. These developments took place roughly 10,000 to 2,500 years ago, during what archaeologists call the **Archaic period** (the equivalent of the Mesolithic period in European chronology).  

In the Great Basin of present-day Utah and Nevada, the warming trend created a desert where once there had been enormous inland seas. Here Indian peoples developed Desert Culture, a way of life based on the pursuit of small game and the intensified foraging of plant foods. Small communities or bands of desert foragers migrated seasonally within a small range. They collected seeds, fiber, and prickly pear from the

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**Archaic period** The period roughly 10,000 to 2,500 years ago marked by the retreat of glaciers.
yucca one season, then moved to highland mesas or plateaus to gather grass seed, acorns, juniper berries, and piñon nuts, and next to mountain streams to spear and net fish. This strategy required considerable skill in handicrafts and the production of fiber baskets for collecting; pitch-lined baskets for cooking, nets and traps; and stones shaped to grind seeds and nuts, as well as stone knives, hammers, and clubs.

Archaeologists today find the artifacts of desert foragers in the caves and rock shelters in which they lived. In addition to stone tools, there are objects of wood, hide, and fiber, wonderfully preserved for thousands of years in the dry climate. Desert Culture persisted into the nineteenth century among modern Shoshone and Ute communities. Although these people were once scornfully labeled “Diggers” because of their practice of gathering edible roots and were ridiculed for their “primitive” lifeways, they actually made very sophisticated adjustments to a harsh environment.

Descriptions of the culture of the modern Shoshones suggest that their emphasis on sharing and gift giving, their condemnation of hoarding, and their limitations on the accumulation of material goods, fostered by a nomadic lifestyle, prevented individuals or families from acquiring excessive wealth and forged a strong sense of community among these people of the desert. Desert communities were characterized by a kind of social equality in which decisions were made by consensus among the adults and leadership tended to be informal, based on achievement and reputation. Men of one band generally married women from another, and wives came to live with the people of their husband’s families, creating important linkages between groups that contributed to the sense of shared ethnic identity.

The innovative practices of the Desert Culture gradually spread from the Great Basin to the Great Plains and the Southwest, where foraging for plant foods began to supplement hunting. Archaeologists estimate that about 6,000 years ago, the techniques of Desert Culture diffused to California, where in the natural abundance of the valleys and coasts, Indian peoples developed an economy capable of supporting some of the densest populations and the first permanently settled communities in North America. Another dynamic center in the West developed along the Northwest Pacific coast, where communities developed a way of life based on the use of abundant fish and sea mammals. Here, densely populated, permanently settled communities were also possible.

**Forest Efficiency**

There were similar trends east of the Mississippi. Before European settlers destroyed countless acres of woodland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the whole of eastern North America was a vast forest. Hardwoods grew in the North, southern pine in the South. The Winnebagos of the Great Lakes region sang of these forests:

*Pleasant it looked,*
*this newly created world.*
*Along the entire length and breadth*
*of the earth, our grandmother*
*extended the green reflection*
*of her covering*
*and the escaping odors*
*were pleasant to inhale.*

*When, in 1927,* archaeologists at Folsom, New Mexico, uncovered this dramatic example of a projectile point embedded in the ribs of a long-extinct species of bison, it was the first proof that Indians had been in North America for thousands of years.

_Courtesy of the Denver Museum of Nature and Science._
CHAPTER 1 A CONTINENT OF VILLAGES, TO 1500

During the Archaic period, forest communities achieved a comfortable and secure life based on their sophisticated knowledge of the rich and diverse available resources, a principle that archaeologists term “forest efficiency.” Indian communities of the forest hunted small game and gathered seeds, nuts, roots, and other wild plant foods. They also developed the practice of burning the woodlands and prairies to stimulate the growth of berries, fruits, and edible roots. These burns created meadows and edge environments that provided harvestable food and attracted grazing animals, which were hunted for their meat and hides. Another important resource was the abundant fish of the rivers.

Archaeological sites in the East suggest that during the late Archaic period, community populations grew and settlements became increasingly permanent, providing convincing evidence of the viability of forest efficiency. The artifacts these people buried with their dead—axes, fishhooks, and animal bones with males, nut-cracking stones, beads, and pestles with females—reflected the different roles of men and women in their society.

The Development of Farming

The use of a wide variety of food sources during the Archaic period eventually led many Indian peoples to develop and adopt the practice of farming. The dynamic center of this development in North America was in the highlands of Mexico, from which the new technology spread north and east.

MEXICO

At the end of the Stone Age, people in four regions of the world developed farming systems, each based on a different crop: rice in Southeast Asia, wheat in the Middle East, potatoes in the Andean highlands of South America, and maize (what Americans call “corn”) in Mexico. Today, the two American staples, maize and potatoes, contribute more to the world’s food supply than do wheat and rice. These “miracle crops” fueled the expansion of European human and livestock populations in the three centuries after 1650. Without these and other New World crops, such as tobacco, American cotton, and rubber—each of which was the basis of important new industries and markets—the history of the modern world would have been far different.

Archaeological evidence suggests that plant cultivation in the highlands of central Mexico began about 5,000 years ago. Ancient Mexicans developed crops that responded well to human care and produced larger quantities of food in a limited space than did plants growing in the wild. In addition to maize, they domesticated a great variety of other crops—most importantly beans and squash, but also tomatoes, peppers, avocados, cocoa (chocolate), and vanilla. But maize was particularly productive and provided the foundation for the farming system. Over time it was adapted to a wide range of American climates and its cultivation spread throughout the temperate regions of North America.

Increasing Social Complexity

Farming radically reshaped social life. A foraging society might require 100 square miles to support 100 people, but a farming society required only one square mile. Population growth and the need for people to
remain near their fields throughout the year led to the appearance of villages and permanent architecture. Autumn harvests had to be stored during winter months, and the storage and distribution of food had to be managed.

Farming created the material basis for much greater social complexity. Greater population density prompted the development of significantly more elaborate systems of kinship, and families began grouping themselves into clans. Different clans often became responsible for different social, political, or ritual functions, and clans also became an important mechanism for binding together the people of several communities into loose ethnic and territorial alliances or confederacies. These confederacies were led by leaders or chiefs from honored clans, who were often advised by councils of elders. A division of labor developed with the appearance of specialists like toolmakers, crafts workers, administrators, priests, and rulers, as well as farmers and food processors. Ultimately, unequal access to wealth and power resulted in the emergence of classes.

Indian communities practiced a rather strict division of labor according to gender. The details varied tremendously from culture to culture, but it is possible to generalize. Among foraging peoples, hunting was generally assigned to men, and the gathering of food and the maintenance of home-base camps to women. But the development of farming called this pattern into question. In Mexico, where communities became almost totally dependent on crops, both men and women worked in the fields. Where hunting remained important, the older division of labor remained, and women took responsibility for fieldwork.

In most farming communities, women and men belonged to separate social groupings, each with its own rituals and lore. Membership in these societies was one of the most important elements of a person’s identity. Marriage ties, on the other hand, were relatively weak, and in most Indian communities divorce was usually simple. The couple separated without a great deal of ceremony, the children almost always remaining with the mother. All Indian women controlled their own bodies, were free to determine the timing of reproduction, and were free to use secret herbs to prevent pregnancy, induce abortion, or ease the pains of childbirth. All this was strikingly different from European patterns, in which the rule of men over women and fathers over households was thought to be the social ideal.

Farming eventually led to the development of large, densely settled communities. These first developed in Mesoamerica, the region stretching from central Mexico to Central America, where by the first millennium B.C.E. large urban communities were taking shape. By the beginning of the first millennium C.E. highly productive farming was supporting complex urban civilizations in the Valley of Mexico (the location of present-day Mexico City), the Yucatan Peninsula, and Guatemala. Like many of the ancient civilizations of Asia and the Mediterranean, these Mesoamerican civilizations were characterized by the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of an elite class of priests and rulers, the construction of impressive temples and other public structures, and the development of systems of mathematics and astronomy and several forms of hieroglyphic writing.

Growing populations demanded increasingly large surpluses of food, and this need often led to social conflict. Farming societies were considerably more complex than foraging bands, but they were also less stable and required management by permanent bureaucracies. These societies were especially vulnerable to changes in climate, such as drought, as well as to crises of their own making, such as soil depletion or erosion. And, in the struggle for more arable land, they were more prone than hunting societies to engage in protracted warfare with each other. The elite rulers of these complex urban communities often staged terrifying public rituals of human torture and

Guideline 1.2

Mesoamerica
- Mesoamerica was the birthplace of agriculture in North America.
- Olmecs: first literate urban culture in region.
- Mayan civilization flourished between about 300 B.C.E. and 900 C.E.

AP®

Mesoamerica

Lecture Suggestion 1.4, Native Americans’ Economic and Social Systems

Class Discussion Question 1.4

Clans Groups of allied families.

Mesoamerica The region stretching from central Mexico to Central America.
A CONTINENT OF VILLAGES, TO 1500

sacrifice as testimonials to their power. Skeletal remains from farming societies show much more evidence of violent death than the remains from hunter-gatherer societies.

A prominent example of an early urban civilization is the great city of Teotihuacan in the Valley of Mexico, which may have been populated by as many as 200,000 residents at its height around 500 C.E. Teotihuacan’s elite class of religious and political leaders controlled an elaborate state-sponsored trading system that stretched from present-day Arizona to Central America and may have included coastal shipping connections with Andean civilizations in South America. The city had a highly specialized division of labor. Artisans manufactured tools and produced textiles, stoneware, pottery, and obsidian blades. The bureaucratic elite collected taxes and tribute. Farmers worked the fields, and armies of workers constructed such monumental edifices as the Pyramids of the Sun and Moon, which still dominate the site’s ruins.

Teotihuacan began to decline in the sixth century (for reasons that are not yet clear), and by the eighth century it was mostly abandoned. Its rulers were succeeded by a new ethnic power, the Toltecs, who dominated central Mexico from the tenth to the twelfth century. By the fourteenth century, a people known as the Aztecs, migrants from the north, had settled in the Valley of Mexico and begun a dramatic expansion into a formidable imperial power. (For the continuing history of the Aztecs, see Chapter 2.)

The Resisted Revolution

Historians once described the development of farming as a revolution. They believed that agricultural communities offered such obvious advantages that neighbors must have rushed to adopt this way of life. Societies that remained without a farming tradition were judged too “primitive” to achieve this breakthrough. This interpretation was based on a scheme of social evolution that saw human history as the story of technological progress, with hunters gradually developing into civilized farmers.

There is very little evidence to support this notion of a “revolution” occurring during a short, critical period. The adoption of farming was a gradual process, one that required hundreds, even thousands, of years. Moreover, ignorance of cultivation was never the reason cultures failed to take up farming. hunter-gatherer peoples understood a great deal about plant reproduction. When gathering wild rice, for example, the Menominee Indians of the northern forests of present-day Wisconsin purposely allowed some of it to fall back into the water to ensure a crop for the next season. And the Paiutes of the Great Basin systematically irrigated stands of their favorite wild foods.

Surviving hunter-gatherers today generally look upon their own method of getting food as vastly superior to farming. The food sources of desert gatherers, for example, are considerably more varied and higher in protein than those of desert farmers, whose diets concentrate almost exclusively on maize. The results of this diet are evident in the skeletal remains of farming peoples, which suggest they were far more subject to malnutrition and tooth decay (a primary cause of death before modern dentistry). Because foragers took advantage of natural diversity, they were also less vulnerable to climatological stress; although gathering communities frequently experienced periods of scarcity and hunger, unlike farming societies they were rarely devastated by famine. Foragers also point out that farming requires much more work. Why sweat all day in the fields cultivating a crop of maize, they argue, when in an hour or two one can gather enough sweet prickly pear to last a week? Indeed, rather than freeing men and women from the tyranny of nature, farming tied people to a work discipline unlike anything previously known in human

Aztecs  A warrior people who dominated the Valley of Mexico from 1100 to 1521.
history. The skeletal evidence indicates that farming peoples suffered from a high frequency of degenerative joint disease, the result of strenuous and repetitive patterns of work.

As farming technology became available, cultures in different regions assessed its advantages and limitations. In California and the Pacific Northwest, acorn gathering or salmon fishing made the cultivation of food crops seem a waste of time. In the Great Basin, several peoples attempted to farm, but without long-term success. Before the invention of modern irrigation systems, which require sophisticated engineering, only the Archaic Desert Culture could prevail in this harsh environment. In the neighboring Southwest, however, farming resolved certain ecological dilemmas and transformed the way of life. Like the development of more sophisticated traditions of tool manufacture, farming represented another stage in economic intensifications (like the advance in tool making represented by Clovis technology) that kept populations and available resources in balance. It seems that where the climate favored it, people tended to adopt farming as a way of increasing the production of food, thus continuing the Archaic tradition of squeezing as much productivity as they could from their environment. In a few areas, however, farming truly did result in a revolutionary transformation, creating urban civilizations like the one in central Mexico or at Cahokia, on the banks of the Mississippi.

**Farmers of the Southwest**

Farming communities began to emerge in the arid Southwest during the first millennium BCE. Among the first to develop a settled farming way of life were a people known as the Mogollon, who farmed maize, beans, and squash, and constructed ingenious pit structures in permanent village sites along what is today the southern Arizona–New Mexico border. Those pits may have been the precursors of what Southwestern peoples today call *kivas*, sites of community religious rituals.

During the same centuries, a people known as the Hohokam (“those who are gone,” in the language of the modern Pima people of the region) flourished along the floodplain of the Salt and Gila rivers in southern Arizona. The Hohokam built and maintained the first irrigation system in America north of Mexico, channeling river water through 500 miles of canals to water desert fields of maize, beans, squash, tobacco, and cotton. The Hohokam shared many traits with Mesoamerican civilization to the south, including platform mounds for religious ceremonies and large courts for ball playing. At a site near present-day Phoenix called Snaketown by the Pima Indians, archaeologists have recovered a variety of goods from Central America—rubber balls, mirrors of pyrite mosaics, copper bells, and fashionable ear ornaments—suggesting that Snaketown may have housed a community of merchants who traded Mesoamerican manufactured goods for locally mined turquoise.

**The Anasazis**

The best-known farming culture of the Southwest is that of the Anasazis, which developed around the first century CE in the Four Corners area, where the states of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado meet on the great plateau of the Colorado River. Around 750, possibly in response to population pressure and an increasingly dry climate, the Anasazis began shifting from pit-house villages to densely populated, multistoried apartment complexes, called “pueblos” by the Spanish invaders of the sixteenth century. These clustered around central complexes with circular underground kivas. The Anasazis grew high-yield varieties of maize in terraced fields irrigated by canals flowing from mountain catchment basins. To supplement this vegetable diet, they hunted animals,
CHAPTER 1  A CONTINENT OF VILLAGES, TO 1500

Anasazi culture extended over a very large area. More than 25,000 Anasazi sites are known in New Mexico alone, but only a few have been excavated, so there is much that archaeologists do not yet understand. Their most prominent center was Pueblo Bonito in Chaco Canyon. Completed in the twelfth century, this complex of 700 interconnected rooms is a monument to the Anasazi golden age. Hundreds of miles of arrow-straight roads and an interpueblo communication system consisting of mountaintop signaling stations connect Chaco Canyon to outlying sites, making it the center of a food distribution, trading, and ceremonial network.

The Anasazis faced a major challenge in the thirteenth century. The arid climate became even drier, and growing populations had to redouble their efforts to improve food production, building increasingly complex irrigation canals, dams, and terraced fields. A devastating drought from 1276 to 1293 (precisely dated by analysis of tree rings) resulted in repeated crop failures and famine. This ecological crisis was heightened by the arrival in the region of Athapascan migrants, the ancestors of the Navajos and the Apaches, who for a thousand years or more had been moving south from the Subarctic. By the fourteenth century, Athapascan warriors were raiding Anasazi farming communities, taking food, goods, and possibly slaves. (Indeed, the name Anasazi means “ancient enemies” in the Athapascan language.) Gradually the Anasazis abandoned the Four Corners area altogether, most resettling in communities along the Rio Grande, joining with local residents to form the Pueblo communities living there when the Spanish arrived.

Farmers of the Eastern Woodlands

Archaeologists date the beginning of the farming culture of eastern North America, known as Woodland culture, from the first appearances of pottery in the region about 3,000 years ago. Woodland culture was based on a sophisticated way of life that combined hunting and gathering with the cultivation of local crops such as sunflowers and small grains, providing the people with seeds and cooking oil. The presence of pipes in archaeological digs indicates that Woodland farmers also grew tobacco, which spread north from the Caribbean, where it was first domesticated. These eastern peoples lived most of the year in permanent community sites, but moved seasonally to take advantage of the resources such as fishing, hunting, and the gathering of wild plants at different locations.

The Woodland peoples of the Ohio Valley were notable for their tradition of mound building. In the first millennium B.C.E., a culture archaeologists have named Adena established the practice. Adena culture was followed by another known as Hopewell, whose adherents honored their dead by constructing even larger and more elaborate mounds. The ancient Hopewell site at Chillicothe, Ohio, for example, features a complex of earthen embankments laid out as a series of large, interlinked circles and squares, that includes conical and loaf-shaped mounds thirty feet high. Excavations of these earthworks exposed large underground chambers,
apparently the tombs of important leaders, and included rare and precious artifacts. Hopewell chiefs mobilized an elaborate trade network that acquired obsidian from the Rocky Mountains, copper from the Great Lakes, mica from the Appalachians, and shells from the Gulf coast. Artisans converted these materials into goods that played an important role in Hopewell trade and were included as grave goods in the mounds.

**Mississippian Society**

Hopewell culture collapsed in the fifth century C.E., perhaps as a result of an ecological crisis brought on by shifting climate patterns. Local communities continued to practice their late Archaic subsistence strategies, but abandoned the expensive cultural displays of mound building. Over the next several centuries, however, a number of important technological innovations were introduced in the East. The bow and arrow, first developed on the Great Plains, appeared east of the Mississippi about the seventh century, greatly increasing the efficiency of hunting. At about the same time, a new variety of maize known today as Northern Flint was developed by Indian farmers of the East; with large cobs and plentiful kernels, it matured in a short enough time to make it suitable for cultivation in temperate northern latitudes. A shift from digging sticks to flint hoes also took place about this time, further increasing the productive potential of maize farming.

On the basis of these innovations, a powerful new culture known as Mississippian arose. The Mississippian were master maize farmers who lived in permanent settlements along the floodplains of the Mississippi Valley. Cahokia was the largest of these sites, with its monumental temple, its residential neighborhoods, and its surrounding farmlands. But there were dozens of other cities, each with thousands of residents. Archaeologists have excavated urban sites on the Arkansas River near Spiro, Oklahoma; on the Black Warrior River at Moundville, Alabama; at Hiwassee Island on the Tennessee River; and along the Etowah and Okmulgee rivers in Georgia. The Great Serpent Mound, the largest effigy earthwork in the world, was constructed by Mississippian peoples in southern Ohio.

These centers, linked by the vast river transportation system of the Mississippi River and its tributaries, became the earliest city-states north of Mexico, hierarchical chiefdoms that extended political control over the farmers of the surrounding countryside (see Map 1-3 for a map of trade networks). Their urban designs echoed the cities of Mesoamerica, rectangular plazas bounded by platform mounds. With continued population growth, these cities engaged in vigorous and probably violent competition for the limited space along the rivers. It may have been the need for more orderly ways of allocating territories that stimulated the evolution of political hierarchies. The tasks of preventing local conflict, storing large food surpluses, and distributing foodstuffs from farmers to artisans and elites required a leadership class with the power to command. Mound building and the use of tribute labor in the construction of other public works testified to the power of chiefs, who lived in sumptuous quarters atop the mounds. The excavation
A CONTINENT OF VILLAGES, TO 1500

CHAPTER 1

One mound at Cahokia uncovered the burial chamber of a chief, who was accompanied in death by the bodies of dozens of young men and women, undoubtedly the victims of sacrifice. If politics is defined as the organized contest for power among people and groups, then the Mississippian culture was the first truly political society north of Mexico.

Mississippian culture reached its height between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries C.E., the same period in which the Anasazis constructed their desert cities. Both groups adapted to their own environment the technology that was spreading northward from Mexico. Both developed impressive artistic traditions, and their feats of engineering reflect the beginnings of science and technology. They were complex societies characterized by urbanism, social stratification, craft specialization, and regional trade—except for the absence of a writing system, all the traits of European civilization.

HOW DID the environment influence the relationship between trade and culture?

Map 1-3

Native North American Trade Networks, ca. 1400 C.E. By determining the origin of artifacts found at ancient sites, historians have devised a conjectural map of Indian trade networks. Among large regional centers and smaller local ones, trade connected Indian peoples of many different communities and regions.

Map 1-3

Indians transformed their societies based on the abundance or scarcity of natural resources. Some tribes were nomadic; others were more formally tied to the land and began farming. New technology and innovations resulted from the presence or absence of these natural resources. Trade routes were formed to spread science, technology, craft specialization and other products. As tribes participated in these trade routes, communication and cultural identity also traveled the routes.

By determining the origin of artifacts found at ancient sites, historians have devised a conjectural map of Indian trade networks. Among large regional centers and smaller local ones, trade connected Indian peoples of many different communities and regions.
The Politics of Warfare and Violence

The late thirteenth century marked the end of several hundred years of weather very favorable to maize farming and the beginning of a century and a half of cool, dry conditions. Although the changes in climate in the Mississippi Valley were not as severe as those that devastated the Anasazis of the Southwest, over the long term they significantly lowered the potential of farming to support growing urban populations. Some archaeologists have suggested that one consequence of this extended drought may have been greatly increased violence and social disorder.

Warfare among Indian peoples certainly predated the colonial era. Organized violence was probably rare among hunting bands, who seldom could manage more than a small raid against an enemy. Certain hunting peoples, though, such as the southward-moving Athapascans, must have engaged in systematic raiding of settled farming communities. Warfare was also common among farming confederacies fighting to gain additional lands for cultivation. The first Europeans to arrive in the southeastern part of the continent described highly organized combat among large tribal armies. The bow and arrow was a deadly weapon of war, and the practice of scalping seems to have originated among warring tribes, who believed one could capture a warrior’s spirit by taking his scalp lock.

The archaeological remains of Cahokia reveal that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the residents enclosed the central sections of their city with a heavy log stockade. There must have been a great deal of violent warfare with other nearby communities. Also during this period, numerous towns were formed throughout the river valleys of the Mississippi, each based on the domination of farming countrysides by metropolitan centers. Eventually conditions in the upper Mississippi Valley deteriorated so badly that Cahokia and many other sites were abandoned altogether, and as the cities collapsed, people relocated in smaller, decentralized communities. Among the peoples of the South, however, Mississippian patterns continued into the period of colonization.
A n appreciation of the ways human cultures adapted to geography and climate is fundamental to an understanding of American history, for just as regions shaped the development of Indian cultures in the centuries before the arrival of Europeans, so they continued to influence the character of American life in the centuries thereafter. To understand the impact of regions on Indian cultures, anthropologists divide North America into several distinct “culture areas,” within which groups shared a significant number of cultural traits: Arctic, Subarctic, Great Basin, Great Plains, California, Northwest, Plateau, Southwest, South, and Northeast.

**The Population of Indian America**

In determining the precolonial population of the Americas, historical demographers consider a number of factors—the earliest European accounts, the archaeological evidence, and the “carrying capacity” of different cultural regions. Determining the size of early human population is a tricky business, and estimates differ greatly, but there seems to be general agreement that the population of North America (excluding Mexico) was between 5 and 10 million in the fifteenth century. Millions more lived in the complex societies of Mesoamerica (estimates run from as low as 5 million to as high as 25 million). The population of the Western Hemisphere as a whole may have numbered 50 million or more, in the same range as Europe’s population at the time.

Scholars disagree about the numbers, but agree that population varied tremendously by cultural region (see Map 1-4). Although the cultural regions of the Arctic, Subarctic, Great Basin, and Great Plains made up more than half the physical space of the continent, in the fifteenth century they were inhabited by only a small fraction of the native population. Those regions were home to scattered bands who continued to practice the Archaic economy of hunting and gathering. The Archaic way of life continued in California as well, although the population there was large and dense because of the natural abundance of the region. In the Northwest, the narrow coastal strip running 2,000 miles from northern California to southern Alaska, abundant salmon fisheries supported large populations concentrated in permanent villages. The Indian societies of the Northwest coast were characterized by an elaborate material culture and by their “potlatch” ceremonies, where prestige and rank were accumulated by those people who could give away the most goods. The people of the Plateau also made their living by fishing, but their communities were not as large or as concentrated.

The largest populations of the continent were concentrated in the farming districts of the Southwest, the South, and the Northeast. And since it was in those culture areas that European explorers, conquerors, and colonists first concentrated their efforts, they deserve more detailed examination.

**The Southwest**

The single overwhelming fact of life in the Southwest is aridity. Summer rains average only ten to twenty inches annually, and on much of the dry desert cultivation is impossible. A number of rivers, however, flow out...
of the pine-covered mountain plateaus. Flowing south to the Gulf of Mexico or the Gulf of California, these narrow bands of green winding through parched browns and reds have made possible irrigation farming along their courses (see Map 1-5).

On the eve of European colonization, Indian farmers had been cultivating their Southwest fields for nearly 3,000 years. In the floodplain of the Gila and Salt rivers lived the Pimas and Tohono O’Odhams, descendants of the ancient Hohokams, and along the Colorado River the Yuman peoples worked small irrigated fields. In their oasis communities, desert farmers cultivated corn, beans, squash, sunflowers, and cotton, which they traded throughout the Southwest. Often described as individualists, desert farmers lived in dispersed settlements that the Spanish called rancherias, their dwellings separated by as much as a mile. That way, say the Pimas, people avoid getting on each other’s nerves. Rancherias were governed by councils of adult men whose decisions required unanimous consent, although a headman was chosen to manage the irrigation works.
East of the Grand Canyon lived the Pueblo peoples, named by the Spanish for their unique dwellings of stacked, interconnected apartments. Although speaking several languages, the Pueblos had a great deal in common, most notably their commitment to communal village life. A strict communal code of behavior that regulated personal conduct was enforced by a maze of matrilineal clans and secret religious societies; unique combinations of these clans and societies formed the governing systems of different Pueblo villages. Seasonal public ceremonies in the village squares included singing and chanting, dancing, colorful impersonations of the ancestral spirits called kachinas, and the comic antics of clowns who mocked in slapstick style those who did not conform to the communal ideal (pretending to drink urine or eat dirt, for example, in front of the home of a person who kept an unclean house).

The Pueblos inhabit the oldest continuously occupied towns in the United States. The village of Oraibi, Arizona, dates from the twelfth century, when the Hopis ("peaceful ones") founded it in the isolated central mesas of the Colorado Plateau. Using dry-farming methods and drought-resistant plants, the Hopis produced rich harvests of corn and squash amid shifting sand dunes. On a mesa top about fifty miles southwest of present-day Albuquerque, New Mexico, Anasazi immigrants from Mesa Verde built Acoma, the "sky city," in the late thirteenth century. The Pueblo peoples established approximately seventy other villages over the next two centuries; fifty of these were still in existence when the Spanish founded Santa Fé at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and two dozen survive today, including the large Indian towns of Laguna, Isleta, Santo Domingo, Jémez, San Felipe, and Taos.

The Athapascans, more recent immigrants to the Southwest, also lived in the arid deserts and mountains. They hunted and foraged, traded meat and medicinal herbs with farmers, and often raided and plundered these same villages and rancherias. Gradually, some of the Athapascan people adopted the farming and handicraft skills of their Pueblo neighbors; they became known as the Navajos. Others, more heavily influenced by the hunting and gathering traditions of the Great Basin and Great Plains, remained nomadic and became known as the Apaches.

The South

The South enjoys a mild, moist climate with short winters and long summers, ideal for farming. From the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, a broad fertile plain extends inland to the Piedmont, a plateau separating the coastal plains from the Appalachian Mountains. The upper courses of the waterways originating in the Appalachian highlands offered ample rich bottom land for farming. The extensive forests, mostly of yellow pine, offered abundant animal resources. In the sixteenth century, large populations of Indian peoples farmed this rich land, fishing or hunting local fauna to supplement their diets. They lived in communities ranging from villages of twenty or so dwellings to large towns of a thousand or more inhabitants (see Map 1-6).

Mississippian cultural patterns continued among many of the peoples of the South. Many of the farming towns along the waterways were organized into chiefdoms. Because most of these groups were decimated by disease in the first years of colonization, they are poorly documented. We know most about the Natchez, farmers of the rich floodplains of the lower Mississippi Delta, who survived into the eighteenth century before being destroyed in a war with the French. Overseeing the Natchez was a ruler known as the Great Sun, who lived in royal splendor on a ceremonial mound in the capital. When out
among his subjects, he was carried on a litter, the path before him swept by his retinue of servants and wives. Natchez was a class society, with a small group of nobility ruling the majority. Persistent territorial conflict with other confederacies elevated warriors to an honored status among the Natchez. Public torture and human sacrifice of enemies were common. The Natchez give us our best glimpse of what life would have been like in the community of Cahokia.

These chiefdoms were rather unstable. Under the pressure of climate change, population growth, and warfare, many were weakened and others collapsed. As a result, thousands of people left the grand mounds and earthworks behind and migrated to the woodlands and hill country, where they took up hunting and foraging, returning to the tried and true methods of “forest efficiency.” They formed communities and banded together in confederacies, which were less centralized and more egalitarian than the Mississippian chiefdoms, and would prove considerably more resilient to conquest.

Among the most prominent of these new ethnic groups were a people in present-day Mississippi and Alabama who came to be known as the Choctaws. Another group in western Tennessee became known as the Chickasaws, and another people in Georgia later became known as the Creeks. On the mountain plateaus lived the Cherokees, the single largest confederacy, which included more than sixty towns. For these groups, farming was somewhat less important, hunting somewhat more so. There were no ruling classes or kings, and leaders included women as well as men. Most peoples reckoned their descent matrilineally (back through generations of mothers), and after marriage, husbands left the homes of their mothers to reside with the families of their wives. Women controlled household and village life, and were influential in the matrilineal clans that linked communities together. Councils of elderly men governed the confederacies, but were joined by clan matrons for annual meetings at the central council house.

The peoples of the South celebrated a common round of agricultural festivals that brought clans together from surrounding communities. At the harvest festival, for example, people thoroughly cleaned their homes and villages. They fasted and purified themselves by consuming “black drink,” which induced hallucinations and visions. They extinguished the old fires and lit new ones, then celebrated the new crop of sweet corn with dancing and other festivities. During the days that followed, villages, clans, and groups of men and women competed against one another in the ancient stick-and-ball game that the French named lacrosse; in the evenings men and women played chunkey, a gambling game.

The Northeast
The Northeast, the colder sector of the eastern woodlands, has a varied geography of coastal plains and mountain highlands, great rivers, lakes, and valleys. In the first millennium C.E., farming became the main support of the Indian economy in those places where the growing season was long enough to bring a crop of corn to maturity. In these areas of the Northeast, along the coasts and in the river valleys, Indian populations were large and dense (see Map 1-7 on page 25).

The Iroquois of present-day Ontario and upstate New York have lived in the Northeast for at least 4,500 years and were among the first peoples of the region to adopt cultivation. Iroquois women produced crops of corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers sufficient to support up to fifty longhouses, each occupied by a large matrilineal extended...
family. Some of those houses were truly long; archaeologists have excavated the foundations of some that extended 400 feet and would have housed dozens of families. Typically, these villages were surrounded by substantial wooden walls or palisades, clear evidence of intergroup conflict and warfare.

Population growth and the resulting intensification of farming in Iroquoia stimulated the development of chiefdoms there as elsewhere. By the fifteenth century, several centers of population, each in a separate watershed, had coalesced from east to west across upstate New York. These were the five Iroquois chiefdoms or nations: the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. Iroquois oral histories collected during the nineteenth century recall this as a period of persistent violence, possibly the consequence of conflicts over territory.

To control this violence, the Iroquois founded a confederacy in which warfare among the member nations was outlawed, gift exchange and payment replacing revenge. Iroquois oral history refers to the founder of the confederacy, Chief Deganawida, “blocking out the sun” as a demonstration of his powers. From this bit of evidence, some historians have suggested that the founding might have taken place during the full solar eclipse in the Northeast in the year 1451. Deganawida’s message was proclaimed by his supporter, Hiawatha, a great orator, who convinced all the five Iroquois nations to join in confederacy. As a model of their government, the confederacy used the metaphor of the longhouse; each nation, it was said, occupied a separate

**QUICK REVIEW**

- Varied geography of plains, mountains, rivers, lakes, and valleys.
- The Iroquois have lived in the region for 4,500 years.
- Population growth and intensification of farming led to the development of chiefdoms.

![The New Queen Being Taken to the King](image_url)
hearth but acknowledged a common mother. As in the longhouse, women played important roles in the confederacy, choosing male leaders who would represent their lineages and chieftain on the Iroquois council. The confederacy suppressed violence among its members, but did not hesitate to encourage war against neighboring Iroquoian speakers, such as the Hurons or the Eries, who constructed defensive confederacies of their own at about the same time.

The other major language group of the Northeast was Algonquian, whose speakers divided among at least fifty distinct cultures. The Algonquian peoples north of the Great Lakes and in northern New England were hunters and foragers, organized into bands with loose ethnic affiliations. Several of these peoples, including the Mikmaq, Crees, Montagnais, and Ojibwas (also known as the Chippewas), were the first to become involved in the fur trade with European newcomers. Among the Algonquians of the Atlantic coast from present-day Massachusetts south to Virginia, as well as among those in the Ohio Valley, farming led to the development of settlements as densely populated as those of the Iroquois.

In contrast to the Iroquois, most Algonquian peoples were patrilineal. In general, they lived in less extensive dwellings and in smaller villages, often without palisade fortifications. Although Algonquian communities were relatively autonomous, they began to form confederacies during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Among these groupings were those of the Massachusetts, Narragansetts, and Pequots of New England; the Delawares and the peoples of Powhatan’s confederacy on the mid-Atlantic coast; and the Shawnees, Miamis, Kickapoos, and Potawatomis of the Ohio Valley.

**CONCLUSION**

Over the thousands of years that elapsed between the settlement of North America and the invasion of Europeans at the end of the fifteenth century, Indian peoples developed hundreds of distinctive cultures that were fine-tuned to the geographic and climatic possibilities and limitations of their homelands. In the northern forests, they hunted game and perfected the art of processing furs and hides. Along the coasts and rivers they harvested the abundant runs of fish and learned to navigate the waters with sleek and graceful boats. In the arid Southwest, they mastered irrigation farming and made the deserts bloom, while in the humid Southeast, they mastered the large-scale production of crops that could sustain large cities with sophisticated political systems. North America was not a “virgin” continent, as so many of the Europeans believed. Indians had transformed the natural world, making it over into a human landscape.

“Columbus did not discover a new world,” writes historian J.H. Perry, “he established contact between two worlds, both already old.” North America had a rich history, one that Europeans did not understand and that later generations of Americans have too frequently ignored. The European colonists who came to settle encountered thousands of Indian communities with deep roots and vibrant traditions. In the confrontation that followed, Indian communities viewed the colonists as invaders and called upon their traditions and their own gods to help them defend their homelands.
From the very beginning of Europeans’ contact with native American peoples, they depicted Indians as savages rather than as peoples with complex cultures. This woodcut by German artist Johann Froschauer was included in a 1505 German edition of Amerigo Vespucci’s account of his voyage to the New World in 1499 and is among the very first images of Native Americans published. The image is a complete fantasy, lacking any ethnographic authenticity. Indians gather for a feast on the beach. The caption in the original publication read, in part: “The people are naked, handsome, brown, well-shaped in body. ... No one has anything, but all things are in common. And the men have as wives those who please them, be they mothers, sisters, or friends; therein they make no distinction. They also fight with each other; and they eat each other, even those who are slain, and hang the flesh of them in the smoke.” A cannibalized body is being devoured. A couple is kissing. Women display their breasts. The image sent a powerful message: that some of the strongest taboos of Europeans—nakedness, sexual promiscuity, and cannibalism—were practiced by the people of the New World. It is an unrelentingly negative picture.

The arrival of European vessels in the background of the image suggests that all this was about to change. Images like these continued to dominate the depiction of Indians for the next four hundred years, and were used as justifications for conquest.
AP* DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

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

Assemble and present proofs that the Native Americans of North America possessed a varied and diverse collection of cultures. Make certain that you present evidence in your essay regarding religious beliefs, social structure, and economic organization.

Document A
Examine the map on page 18 of conjectured continental trade routes between all areas of North America.

- What evidence do scientists and historians have to suggest these complex trade networks?
- What evidence exists that cultural and agricultural artifacts such as the bow and arrow or maize cultivation moved eastward into the Eastern Woodlands?
- What artifacts were found in Mississippian mounds (see page 17) that proved trade connections with the Rocky Mountains, the Great Lakes, and the Gulf Coast?

Document B
Look at the map of the Iroquois Confederation on page 25.

- What was the purpose of the Confederation and the symbolic meaning of the longhouse? Is this evidence of a complex political organization?

Suggested Answer:
Successful essays should note:
- The trade routes and their cultural implications as indicated on Map 1-3 (See Document A)
- The Iroquois Five Nation Confederacy and how the organization achieved its political goals (See Document B)
- Classes and hereditary social structures of early Indian societies at the time of European contact (See Document B)
- The high degree of social organization and city-building of the Mississippian people (See Document B)
- The chapter opener on Cahokia and the comparisons it draws to preindustrial European society
- Teotihuacan's elite class of religious and political leaders that controlled an elaborate state-sponsored trading system
- Kivas, sites of community religious rituals and the role they played to the southwestern peoples
- The Hohokam shared traits with Mesoamerican civilization to the south, including platform mounds for religious ceremonies

CHRONOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30,000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>First humans populate Beringia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Global warming trend begins</td>
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<tr>
<td>10,000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Clovis technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>9000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Extinction of big game animals</td>
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<tr>
<td>8000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Beginning of the Archaic period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>First cultivation of plants in the Mexican highlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Athapascan migrations to America begin</td>
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<tr>
<td>4000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>First settled communities along the Pacific coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Inuit, Yupik, and Aleut migrations begin</td>
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<tr>
<td>1500–1000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Maize and other Mexican crops introduced into the Southwest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Beginning of Adena culture. First urban communities in Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Beginning of Mogollon culture in the Southwest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 B.C.E.–400 C.E.</td>
<td>Hopewell culture flourishes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>650</td>
<td>Bow and arrow, flint hoes, and Northern Flint corn in the Northeast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>775–1150</td>
<td>Hohokam site of Snaketown reaches its greatest extent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Tobacco in use throughout North America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1150</td>
<td>Founding of Hopi village of Oraibi, oldest continuously occupied town in the United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200</td>
<td>High point of Mississippian and Anasazi cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1276</td>
<td>Severe drought begins in the Southwest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300</td>
<td>Arrival of Athapascans in the Southwest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1451</td>
<td>Founding of Iroquois Confederacy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Look at the French drawing of a Florida queen being carried to her king by gentlemen of rank on page 24.

- Does this represent a primitive or complex society?
- For rituals of this nature, what kind of social organization is required?

Look again at the Great Serpent Mound in Ohio (page 17) and examine the reconstructed image of Cahokia Mounds near St. Louis.

- Could a simple civilization support such a great city, or does its existence suggest a very complex and highly organized society?
- What mistakes did Smithsonian scientists make concerning these mounds in 1848?
- What evidence exists at Cahokia of trade connection with distant areas of North America?
- What can be determined about the governors of this great city?
- How was Cahokia organized and lead?
- What does Cahokia tell us about the development of Native American societies before European contact?

**AP* PREP TEST**

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

1. When Europeans arrived in North America at the beginning of the sixteenth century:
   a. the native population was racially homogenous.
   b. Indians had developed a variety of disparate cultures and languages.
   c. Indians considered themselves a homogeneous culture with common origins.
   d. the native population was limited to the warmer regions of Mesoamerica.
   e. there were only a few thousand Indians and they spoke five basic languages.

2. Studies that compare DNA have revealed a close genetic relationship between American Indians and the people of:
   a. Africa.
   b. Australia.
   c. Europe.
   d. India.
   e. Asia.

3. Recent archeological evidence has led some scholars to conclude that early migration in North America:
   a. relied on dog sleds to carry people over the vast glacial sheets that covered the continent.
   b. occurred by water as people used boats to travel along the western coastline of the continent.
   c. could not have taken place as long as the continent was covered by the vast glaciers of the Ice Age.
   d. was spurred by intense conflict among competing tribes.
   e. took place as human beings sought fertile lands to ensure the production of abundant food crops.

4. Scholarly research leads to the conclusion that Clovis technology:
   a. was limited to the area of eastern New Mexico and the Texas panhandle.
   b. dramatically improved agricultural production and led to significant population growth.
   c. was relatively primitive compared to similar artifacts found at European sites.
   d. spread quickly and influenced people throughout the North American continent.
   e. did little to influence the development of society in prehistoric North America.

5. A major event that occurred in North America during the Archaic period was:
   a. the development of metal weapons and tools.
   b. human beings developing the use of fire for the first time.
   c. the emergence of the first settled farming communities.
   d. the invention of horse-drawn, wheeled vehicles.
   e. the end of the Ice Age and the retreat of the glaciers.

6. The “miracle crops” that first emerged in North America were:
   a. cotton and indigo.
   b. maize and potatoes.

**Answer Key**

1-B  4-D  7-A  10-C  13-A  
2-E  5-E  8-B  11-C  14-C  
3-B  6-B  9-E  12-E
c. beans and squash.
d. barley and rye.
e. wheat and rice.

7. When using the term “resisted revolution,” historians are referring to:
   a. the refusal of some Indian groups to shift to an agricultural society.
   b. Indians’ effort to prevent Europeans from creating colonies in North America.
   c. the southwestern tribes’ practice of refusing to trade with Europeans.
   d. an uprising at Cahokia that the power elite brutally suppressed.
   e. the reluctance of Indian groups to embrace the elaborate systems of kinship that defined the newly hierarchical society.

8. An extraordinary example of a complex and sophisticated mound-building society was:
   a. Athapascans.
   b. Hopewell.
   c. Lakota.
   d. Pequots.
   e. Zuni.

9. Important to understanding American history is:
   a. the realization that native society was quite similar to European customs and traditions.
   b. reading the documents that American Indians wrote prior to the arrival of Europeans.
   c. keeping in mind that Indian culture was quite primitive compared to other civilizations.
   d. the willingness to accept European accounts of native peoples as absolute.
   e. an appreciation for the ways that human beings adapted to geography and climate.

10. The largest Indian populations in North America were:
    a. dependent on the rich ocean resources of the Pacific Northwest.
    b. the Plains Indians who benefited from the vast herds of bison.
    c. in the farming areas of the Southwest, South, and Northeast.
    d. found in the Great Basin, the Rocky Mountains, and the Sierra Nevada.
    e. reliant on a hunter-gatherer lifestyle for subsistence.

11. The oldest continuously inhabited communities in the United States are occupied by the:
    a. Apaches.
    b. Cherokees.
    c. Pueblos.
    d. Shoshone.
    e. Athapascans.

12. Indian agriculture flourished in the South because:
    a. tribes there had superior technology.
    b. many tribes in the region adopted Spanish farming techniques.
    c. most native plants would not grow in a cool climate.
    d. northern tribes remained hunters rather than becoming farmers.
    e. of mild, moist climate, and rich, fertile soil.

13. The Iroquois Confederacy:
    a. attempted to control social violence by prohibiting warfare among member nations.
    b. constituted the most important of the Indian alliances in the western United States.
    c. included the Algonquin Indians, who were the largest tribe in North America.
    d. remained a hunting and gathering society until Europeans introduced livestock.
    e. was established to protect the Iroquois nation against the intrusion of European colonists.

14. Christopher Columbus:
    a. discovered a truly new world.
    b. had little real influence on history.
    c. established contact between two old worlds.
    d. was the first European to visit North America.
    e. helped other Europeans understand the history of North America.
CHAPTER 2

When Worlds Collide

1492–1590
CHAPTER OUTLINE

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

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

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

Walter Raleigh, a wealthy adventurer who sought profit and prestige by organizing an English colony to compete with Spain’s powerful empire in the New World, had sponsored the Roanoke settlement. When his men returned from a reconnoitering expedition to the area in 1584, they reported that the coastal region was densely populated by a “very handsome and goodly people.” These Indians, the most southerly of the Algonquian coastal peoples, enjoyed a prosperous livelihood farming, fishing, and hunting from their small villages of one or two dozen communal houses. At an island the Indians called Roanoke, the English had been “entertained with all love and kindness” by a chief named Wingina. The leader of several surrounding villages, Wingina welcomed the English as potential allies in his struggle to extend his authority over still others. So when Raleigh’s adventurers asked the chief’s permission to establish a settlement on the island, he readily granted it, even sending two of his men back to England to assist in preparations. Manteo and Wanchese, the Indian emissaries, worked with Thomas Harriot, an Oxford scholar, and John White, an artist. The four men learned one another’s language, and there seems to have been a good deal of mutual respect among them.

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

The English colony was incapable of supporting itself, and the colonists turned to Wingina for supplies. With the harvest in the storage pits, fish running in the streams and fat game in the woods, Wingina did the hospitable thing. But as fall turned to winter and the stores declined, constant English demands threatened the Indians’ resources. Wingina’s people were also stunned by the strange new diseases that came with the intruders. “The people began to die very fast, and many in [a] short space,” Harriot wrote. In the spring, Wingina and his people ran out of patience. But before the Indians could act, the English caught wind of the rising hostility, and in May 1586 they surprised the villagers, killing several of the leading men and beheading Wingina. With the plan of using Indian labor now clearly impossible, the colonists returned to England.
John White and Thomas Harriot were appalled by this turn of events. Harriot insisted (or argued) to Raleigh that “through discreet dealing” the Indians might “honor, obey, fear and love us.” White proposed a new plan for a colony of real settlers who might live in harmony with the Indians. Harriot and White clearly considered English civilization superior to Indian society, but their vision of colonization was considerably different from that of the plunderers.

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

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

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

The Expansion of Europe

Roanoke and other European colonial settlements of the sixteenth century came in the wake of Christopher Columbus’s voyage of 1492. There may have been many unrecorded contacts between the peoples of America and the Old World before Columbus. Archaeological excavations at L’Anse aux Meadows on the fogbound Newfoundland coast provide evidence for a Norse landing in North America in the tenth or eleventh century. The Norse settlement lasted only a few
years, was implacably opposed by the native inhabitants, and had no appreciable impact on them. But the contact with the Americas established by Columbus had earthshaking consequences. Within a generation of his voyage, continental exchanges of peoples, crops, animals, and germs had reshaped the Atlantic world. The key to understanding these remarkable events is the transformation of Europe during the several centuries preceding the voyage of Columbus.

**European Communities**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**The Merchant Class and the New Monarchies**

Strengthened by the technological breakthroughs of the late Middle Ages, the European economy proved that it had a great capacity for recovery. During the
fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, commerce greatly expanded, especially the trade in basic goods such as cereals and timber, minerals and salt, wine, fish, and wool. Growing commerce stimulated the growth of markets and towns. By 1500, Europe had fully recovered from the Black Death and the population had nearly returned to its former peak of about 65 million.

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

The Renaissance

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

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

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

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

A central figure in this development was the king’s son, Prince Henry, known to later generations as “the Navigator.” In the spirit of Renaissance learning, the prince established an academy of eminent geographers, instrument makers, shipbuilders, and seamen at his institute at Sagres Point, on the southwestern tip of Portugal. By the mid-fifteenth century, as a result of their efforts, most educated Europeans knew the Earth was a spherical globe—the idea that they believed it to be “flat” is one of the many myths about Columbus’s voyage. The scholars at Sagres Point incorporated Asian and Muslim ideas into the design of a new ship known as the caravel, faster and better-handling than any previous oceangoing vessel. They
studied and worked out methods for arming those vessels with cannons, turning them into mobile fortresses. They promoted the use of Arab instruments for astronomical calculation, and published the first tables of declination, indicating where the sun and stars could be found in the skies on a given day of the year. With such innovations, Europeans became the masters of the world’s seas, a supremacy that would continue until the twentieth century.

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

Columbus Reaches the Americas

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

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

Columbus called his undertaking “the Enterprise of the Indies,” suggesting his commercial intentions. But his mission was more than commercial. One of his prime goals was to occupy and settle any islands not under the control of another monarch, claiming title for Spain by right of conquest. Like the adventurers who later established the first English colony at Roanoke, Columbus’s objectives were starkly imperial.
Columbus’s three vessels left the port of Palos, Spain, in August 1492, and after a stop of some weeks in the Canary Islands, they sailed west across the Atlantic, pushed by the prevailing trade winds. By October, flocks of birds and floats of driftwood suggested the approach of land. It turned out to be a small, flat island in the Bahamas, perhaps Samana Cay. But Columbus believed he was in the Indies, somewhere near the Asian mainland. He explored the northern coasts of the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola before heading home to announce his discovery, fortuitously catching the westerly winds that blow from the American coast toward Europe north of the tropics. One of Columbus’s most important contributions was the discovery of the clockwise circulation of Atlantic winds and currents that would, over the next several centuries, carry thousands of European ships back and forth to the Americas.

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

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

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

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

The Invasion of America

This was the beginning of the European invasion of America (see Map 2-2). The first stages included scenes of frightful violence. Armed men marched across the Caribbean islands, plundering villages, slaughtering men, and raping women. Columbus’s successors established an institution known as the encomienda, in which native Indians were compelled to labor in the service of Spanish lords. The relationship was supposed to be reciprocal, with lords responsible for protecting their Indians, but in practice it amounted to little more than slavery. Faced with labor shortages, Spanish slavers raided the Bahamas and soon depopulated them entirely. The depletion of gold on Hispaniola led to the invasion of the islands of Puerto Rico and Jamaica in 1508,
CHAPTER 2  WHEN WORLDS COLLIDE, 1492–1590

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

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

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

Map 2-2

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

Class Discussion Question 2.4

MAP 2-2

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

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

The Destruction of the Indies

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

Some Europeans protested the horrors of the conquest. In 1511, the priest Antonio de Montesinos condemned the violence in a sermon to colonists on Hispaniola. “On what authority have you waged a detestable war against these people, who dwelt quietly and peacefully on their own land?” he asked. “Are these Indians not men? ... Are you not obliged to love them as you love yourselves?” He was echoed...
The author of this excerpt, known only as “The Gentleman of Elvas,” quotes the reaction of a native chief to the arrival of Hernando de Soto’s army at his village:

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

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

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

British Library.

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

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

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

But the primary cause of the drastic reduction in native populations was epidemic disease—influenza, plague, smallpox, measles, and typhus. Although preconquest America was by no means disease free—skeletal evidence suggests that natives suffered from arthritis, hepatitis, polio, and tuberculosis—there were no diseases of epidemic potential. Indian peoples lacked the antibodies necessary to protect them from European germs and viruses. Smallpox first came from Spain in 1518, exploding in an epidemic so virulent that, in the words of an early Spanish historian, “it left Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and Cuba desolated of Indians.” The
epidemic crossed into Mexico in 1520, destroying the Aztecs, then spread along the Indian trade network. In 1524, it strategically weakened the Incas eight years before their empire was conquered by Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro. Spanish chroniclers wrote that this single epidemic killed half the Native Americans it touched. Disease was the secret weapon of the Spanish, and it helps explain their extraordinary success in the conquest.

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

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

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

**Intercontinental Exchange**

The passage of diseases between the Old and New Worlds was one of the most important aspects of the large-scale continental exchange that marks the beginning of...
FIGURE 2-1
North America’s Indian and Colonial Populations in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries
The primary factor in the decimation of native peoples was epidemic disease, brought to the New World from the Old. In the eighteenth century, the colonial population overtook North America’s Indian populations.


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

The Love and service of our Country consistseth not so much in the knowledge of those duties which are to be performed by others, as in the skillful practice of that which is done by our selves; and therefore it is now fit that I say something of the Merchant. . . .

for the Merchant is worthily called the Steward of the Kingdoms Stock, by way of Commence with other nations; a work of no less Reputation than Trust, which ought to be performed with great skill and conscience, that so the private gain may ever accompany the publicke good. . . .

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

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

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

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

The First Europeans in North America

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

Cabeza de Vaca’s report inspired two great Spanish expeditions into North America. The first was mounted in Cuba by Hernando de Soto, a veteran of the conquest of Peru. Landing in Florida in 1539 with an army of over 700 men, he pushed
hundreds of miles through the heavily populated South, commandeering food and slaves from the Indian towns in his path. But he failed to locate another Aztec empire. Moving westward, his expedition was twice mauled by powerful native armies. With his force reduced by half, de Soto’s force reached the Mississippi where they were met
by a flotilla from a great city—“200 vessels full of Indians with their bows and arrows, painted with ocher and having great plumes of white and many colored feathers on either side.” The Spaniards crossed the river and marched deep into present-day Arkansas, but failing to locate the great city, they turned back. De Soto died and some 300 dispirited survivors eventually made it back to Mexico on rafts. The native peoples of the South had successfully turned back Spanish invasion. But the invaders had introduced epidemic diseases that drastically depopulated and undermined the chiefdoms of the South.

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

### The Spanish New World Empire

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

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

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

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

Fish and Furs

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

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

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

Beginning in the sixteenth century, the fur trade would continue to play an important role in the Atlantic economy for three centuries. By no means were Indians simply the victims of European traders. They had a sharp eye for quality, and cutthroat competition among traders provided them with the opportunity to hold out for what they considered good prices. But the fur trade was essentially an unequal exchange, with furs selling in Europe for ten or twenty times what Indians received for them. The trade also had negative consequences. European epidemic disease followed in the wake of the traders, and violent warfare broke out between tribes over access to hunting grounds. Moreover, as European-manufactured goods,
 CHAPTER 2 WHEN WORLDS COLLIDE, 1492–1590

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


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

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

The Protestant Reformation and the First French Colonies

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

Protestant Reformation  Martin Luther’s challenge to the Catholic Church, initiated in 1517, calling for a return to what he understood to be the purer practices and beliefs of the early Church.
**predestination** declared that God had chosen a small number of men and women for “election,” or salvation, while condemning the vast majority to eternal damnation. Calvinists were instructed to cultivate the virtues of thrift, industry, sobriety, and personal responsibility, which Calvin argued were signs of election and essential to the Christian life.

Calvin’s followers in France—the Huguenots—were concentrated among merchants and the middle class, but also included a portion of the nobility opposed to the central authority of the Catholic monarch. In 1560, the French monarchy defeated the attempt of a group of Huguenot nobles to seize power, which inaugurated nearly forty years of violent religious struggle. In an effort to establish a religious refuge in the New World, Huguenot leaders were behind the first French attempts to establish colonies in North America. In 1562, Jean Ribault and 150 **Protestants** from Normandy landed on Parris Island, near present-day Beaufort, South Carolina, and began the construction of a fort and crude mud huts. Ribault soon returned to France for supplies, where he was caught up in the religious wars. The colonists nearly starved and were finally forced to resort to cannibalism before being rescued by a passing British ship. In 1564, Ribault established another Huguenot colony, Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River of Florida, south of present-day Jacksonville. The Spanish were alarmed by these moves. They had no interest in colonizing Florida, but worried about protecting their ships riding home to Spain loaded with gold and silver on the offshore Gulf Stream. Not only was Fort Caroline manned by

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Predestination</strong></th>
<th>The belief that God decided at the moment of Creation which humans would achieve salvation.</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Protestants</strong></td>
<td>All European supporters of religious reform under Charles V’s Holy Roman Empire.</td>
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*The French, under the command of Jean Ribault, land at the mouth of the St. Johns River in Florida. The image shows the local Timucua people welcoming the French. It is likely that the Timucuas viewed the French as potential allies against the Spanish, who had plundered the coast many times in pursuit of slaves.*

*The French, under the command of Jean Ribault, discover the River of May (St. Johns River) in Florida on 1 May 1562: colored engraving, 1591, by Theodore de Bry after a now lost drawing by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues. The Granger Collection.*
Frenchmen, but by Protestants—deadly enemies of the Catholic monarchs of Spain. “We are compelled to pass in front of their port,” wrote one official, “and with the greatest ease they can sally out with their armadas to seek us.” In 1565, the Spanish crown sent Don Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, captain general of the Indies, to crush the Huguenots. After establishing a settlement south of the French at a place called St. Augustine, he marched his men overland through the swamps to surprise the Huguenots. “I put Jean Ribault and all the rest of them to the knife,” Menéndez wrote triumphantly to the king, “judging it to be necessary to the service of the Lord Our God and of Your Majesty.” The Spanish built a fort and established a garrison at St. Augustine, which thus became the oldest continuously occupied European city in North America.

Sixteenth-Century England

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

Sixteenth-century England also became deeply involved in the struggles of the Reformation. At first, King Henry VIII of England (reigned 1509–47) supported the Catholic Church and opposed the Protestants. But there was great public resentment in England over the vast properties owned by the Church and the loss of revenue to Rome. When the pope refused to grant Henry an annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel of Spain, the king exploited this popular mood. Taking up the cause of reform in 1534, he declared himself head of a separate Church of England. He later took over the English estates of the Catholic Church—about a quarter of the country’s land—and used their revenues to begin constructing a powerful English state system, including a standing army and navy. Working through Parliament, Henry carefully enlisted the support of the merchants and landed gentry for his program, parceling out a measure of royal prosperity in the form of titles, offices, lands, and commercial favors. By 1547, when Henry died, he had forged a solid alliance with the wealthy merchant class.

Henry was succeeded by his young and sickly son Edward VI, who soon died. Next in succession was Edward’s half-sister, Mary, who attempted to reverse her father’s Reformation from the top by martyring hundreds of English Protestants, gaining the title of “Bloody Mary.”
But upon her death in 1558, her half-sister Elizabeth I (reigned 1558–1603) came to the throne. Elizabeth sought to end the religious turmoil by tolerating a variety of views within the English church. The Spanish monarch, head of the most powerful empire in the world, declared himself the defender of the Catholic faith and vowed to overthrow her.

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

**Early English Efforts in the Americas**

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

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

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

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

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

**Conclusion**

The Spanish opened the era of European colonization in the Americas with Columbus’s voyage in 1492. The consequences for the Indian peoples of the Americas were disastrous. The Spanish succeeded in constructing the world’s most powerful empire on the backs of Indian and African labor. Inspired by the
A Watercolor from the First Algonquian–English Encounter

Some of the first accurate images of the native inhabitants of North America were produced by the artist John White during his stay in 1685 at the first English colony in North America, at Roanoke Island on North Carolina’s Outer Banks. Two years later White would become governor of the famous “Lost Colony.” This image of an Indian mother and daughter illustrates the care White brought to the task of recording as fully as possible the Indians’ way of life. The woman wears an apron-skirt of fringed deerskin, its borders edged with white beads, and a woven beadwork necklace. The body decorations on her face and upper arms are tattooed. One of her arms rests in a sling, an unusual posture, something quite unique to this culture. In the other hand she holds an empty gourd container for carrying water. The little girl holds an English wooden doll, a gift from White, and it seems to greatly please her. In the written account that accompanied White’s images, Thomas Harriot wrote that all the Indian girls “are greatly delighted with puppetts and babes which were brought out of England” as gifts of exchange. Historic images bear close observation, for it is often small details like this one that are most revealing.

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

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

Suggested Answer:
Successful essays should note:

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

AP* DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

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

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

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

- How did this problem of epidemics affect the abilities of Native Americans to resist the invasions by Europeans? Was the pattern any different in North, South, or Central America?
- How did the diseases spread so quickly ahead of the Europeans?
- Was the population story in the Americas one of simple replacement of Native Americans by Europeans, or was the story more complex?
- How do you account for the mestizo population?
- How did contact with the Native American population change those Europeans who settled in the Americas?
- How did contact with the Europeans alter the social structures of Native Americans?
**Document B**
Examine the drawing of Metacomet (left), and the John White sketch of the Algonquian village somewhere on the Chesapeake (right).

- What social and economic exchanges occurred between English settlers and the Native Americans in North America? Compare this against the Spanish mission shown on page 136 and the discussion of mission life for Native Americans.
- What happened to Native Americans in contact with Spanish explorers and settlers? In the case of the Spanish, don’t forget the mestizo population.
- What differences are evident in how each European society related to the Native American societies with which they came into contact?
1. The English colony at Roanoke:
   a. became the model for subsequent European settlement in America.
   b. mysteriously disappeared within a few years of being established.
   c. eventually surrendered to Spanish military forces in 1595.
   d. succeeded only after moving inland to find a healthier climate.
   e. became profitable with the cash crop tobacco.

d. the discovery in 1448 of a Greek manuscript that proved the world was round.
e. the Ottoman Turks’ closing of the lucrative overland silk and spice trade in 1453.

5. The military tradition that influenced Spanish attitudes toward expansion was based on the:
   a. apachería.
   b. hacienda.
   c. reconquista.
   d. zapateca.
   e. encomienda.

6. Regarding expansion, Columbus and the Spanish:
   a. were driven by the desire to create an empire.
   b. wanted only to Christianize native peoples.
   c. had no interests other than developing international trade.
   d. had completely different objectives than did other nations.
   e. wanted to compel the native peoples into slavery.

7. According to the journal of Christopher Columbus, the natives he found:
   a. were the most devout Christian people he had encountered on his entire voyage.
   b. could easily be Christianized because they were already very religious people.
   c. were pagan people who would be incapable of ever becoming good Christians.
   d. could quickly become Christians because they had no religion of their own.
   e. were highly regimented people who could become devout Christians.

8. During the 1500s:
   a. the Indian population dropped so sharply that little native influence remained in Spanish America.
   b. the Spanish settlements were governed from Spain and had little local autonomy.
   c. the low number of slaves transported to America limited the role Africans played in Spain’s empire.
   d. so few Spaniards migrated to America that the emerging society there was simply Indian and African.
   e. the Spanish empire in America created a society based on African, European, and Indian cultures.
9. Critical to the success of the Hernán Cortés expedition:
   a. were Indian allies and European disease.
   b. were the French fleet and the Spanish army.
   c. was the overwhelming number of Spaniards.
   d. was the Aztec rebellion against Montezuma.
   e. was the superior Spanish army and horses.

10. With the significant international exchange that occurred after 1492, the three important crops transplanted to the New World were:
    a. chocolate, corn, and tobacco.
    b. apples, potatoes, and wheat.
    c. coffee, rice, and sugar.
    d. cloves, nutmeg, and pepper.
    e. cotton, vanilla, and pumpkin.

11. As a result of explorations of North America in the 1530s and 1540s, Spain:
    a. quickly accelerated its settlement of the region.
    b. showed little interest in the area for about fifty years.
    c. turned the territory over to the English and the French.
    d. reversed its policy of converting natives to Christianity.
    e. rerouted its military to strictly mine for gold.

12. When France first became interested in establishing colonies in the New World:
    a. the French kings were able to work cooperatively with the Catholic monarchs of Spain.
    b. most of its earliest success was in Brazil where the Spanish had no real influence.
    c. it concentrated on the Caribbean islands because of the valuable natural resources there.
    d. it immediately sought Spanish approval to colonize the area now known as Florida.
    e. Spanish policies forced the French to concentrate their efforts on the North Atlantic region.

13. The early French efforts in America were based on commerce, especially the trade in:
    a. forest products.
    b. gold and silver.
    c. animal furs.
    d. food stuffs.
    e. tobacco and sugar.

14. An important element in encouraging the English interest in the New World was:
    a. England’s military alliance with the French.
    b. England’s effort to gain property for the pope.
    c. England’s desire to spread Catholicism.
    d. trade agreements made with the Indians.
    e. economic dislocations throughout England.

15. In the years from 1492 to 1590:
    a. each of the major European powers developed similar policies for creating American settlements.
    b. the English were able to establish the most powerful commercial empire in the Western Hemisphere.
    c. French efforts in America failed while England and Spain enjoyed tremendous success in their colonies.
    d. the Spanish, French, and English employed different approaches to establishing colonies in America.
    e. the French succeeded in constructing the world’s most powerful empire on the backs of Indian and African labor.
CHAPTER 3

Planting Colonies in North America

1588–1701
CHAPTER OUTLINE

SPAIN AND ITS COMPETITORS IN NORTH AMERICA
- New Mexico
- New France
- New Netherland

ENGLAND IN THE CHESAPEAKE
- Jamestown and the Powhatan Confederacy
- Tobacco, Expansion, and Warfare
- Maryland
- Indentured Servants
- Community Life in the Chesapeake

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES
- The Social and Political Values of Puritanism
- Early Contacts in New England
- Plymouth Colony and the Mayflower Compact
- The Massachusetts Bay Colony
- Indians and Puritans
- The New England Merchants
- Community and Family in Massachusetts
- Dissent and New Communities

THE PROPRIETARY COLONIES
- Early Carolina
- From New Netherland to New York
- The Founding of Pennsylvania

CONFLICT AND WAR
- King Philip’s War
- Bacon’s Rebellion
- Wars in the South
- The Glorious Revolution in America
- King William’s War
It was a hot August day in 1680 when the frantic messengers rode into the small mission outpost of El Paso with the news that the Pueblo Indians to the north had risen in revolt. The corpses of more than 400 colonists lay bleeding in the dust. Two thousand Spanish survivors huddled inside the Palace of Governors in Santa Fé, surrounded by 3,000 angry warriors. The Pueblo leaders had sent two crosses into the palace—white for surrender, red for death. Which would the Spaniards choose?

Spanish colonists had been in New Mexico for nearly a century. Franciscan priests came first, followed by a military expedition from Mexico in search of precious metals. In 1609, high in the picturesque foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, the colonial authorities founded La Villa Real de la Santa Fé de San Francisco—“the royal town of the holy faith of St. Francis”—soon known simply as Santa Fé. Colonization efforts included the conversion of the Pueblo Indians to Christianity, making them subjects of the king of Spain, and forcing them to work for the colonial elite who lived in the town.

In the face of Spanish armed force, the Pueblos adopted a flexible attitude. Thousands of them eventually converted to Christianity, but most merely joined the new practices to their own supernatural traditions. The Christian God was added to their numerous deities; church holidays were included in their religious calendar and celebrated with native dances and rituals.

But the missionaries attempted to stamp out Pueblo traditional religion, invading underground kivas (sites for the conduct of sacred rituals) destroying sacred Indian artifacts, publicly humiliating holy men, and compelling whole villages to perform penance by working in irrigation ditches and fields. In 1675, the governor hanged four Pueblo religious leaders and publicly whipped dozens more. These outrages—in combination with a prolonged drought and severe famine, and rampant epidemic disease that the missionaries were powerless to prevent or cure—led directly to the revolt of 1680. One of the humiliated leaders, Popé of San Juan Pueblo, helped organize a conspiracy among more than twenty towns.

There were plenty of local grievances. The Hopi people of northern Arizona told of a missionary who ordered that all the young women of the village be brought to live with him. When the revolt began, the people surrounded his house. “I have come to kill you,” the chief announced. “You can’t kill me,” the priest cried from behind his locked door. “I will come [back] to life and wipe out your whole tribe.” But the chief shouted back, “My gods have more power than you have.” He and his men broke down the door, hung the missionary from the beams, and lit a fire beneath his feet.

When the Indians demanded the surrender of the Spanish inside Santa Fé’s Palace of Governors, the besieged colonists sent back the red cross, signaling defiance. But after five days of siege, the Pueblos allowed them to retreat south to El Paso, “the poor women and children on foot and unshod,” in the words of one account, and “of such a hue that they looked like dead people.” The Indians then ransacked the missions, desecrating the holy furnishings and leaving the mutilated bodies of priests lying on their altars. They transformed the governor’s chapel into a traditional kiva, his palace into a communal dwelling. On the elegant inlaid stone floors where the governor had held court, Pueblo women now ground their corn.

Santa Fé became the capital of a Pueblo confederacy led by the leader Popé. He forced Christian Indians “to plunge into the rivers” to wash away the taint of baptism, and ordered the destruction of everything Spanish. But this was difficult to do. The colonists had introduced horses and sheep, fruit trees and wheat, new tools and new crafts, all of which the Indians found useful. The Pueblos also found that they missed the support of the communities struggle with diversity in seventeenth-century Santa Fé.
Spanish in their struggle against their traditional enemies, the Navajos and Apaches. Equipped with stolen horses and weapons, their raids on the unprotected Pueblo villages became much more destructive. With chaos mounting, Popé was deposed in 1690.

In 1692, the Spanish army under Governor Diego de Var-gas invaded the province once again in an attempt to reestablish the colonial regime. The Pueblos rose up in another full-scale rebellion, but Vargas crushed it with overwhelming force. After six years of fighting, the Spanish succeeded in reconquering New Mexico. Learning from previous mistakes, they practiced greater restraint, enabling the Indians to accept their authority. Missionaries tolerated the practice of traditional religion in the Indians’ underground kivas, while Pueblos dutifully observed Catholicism in the missionary chapels. Royal officials guaranteed the inviolability of Indian lands, and Pueblos pledged loyalty to the Spanish monarch. Pueblos turned out for service on colonial lands, and colonists abandoned the system of forced labor. The Spanish and Pueblo communities remained autonomous, but together they managed to hold off the attacks by the mounted nomads.

KEY TOPICS

- A comparison of the European colonies established in North America in the seventeenth century
- The English and Algonquian colonial encounter in the Chesapeake
- The role of religious dissent in the planting of the New England colonies
- The restoration of the Stuart monarchy and the creation of new proprietary colonies
- Indian warfare and internal conflict at the end of the seventeenth century

Spain and Its Competitors in North America

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Spanish controlled the only colonial outposts on the mainland, a series of forts along the Florida coast to protect the Gulf Stream sea lanes used by convoys carrying wealth from their New World to Spain. During the first two decades of the century, however, the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English were all drawn into planting substantial colonies in North America.

Because neither Spain nor France proved willing or able to transport large numbers of their people to populate these colonies, both relied on a policy of converting Indians into subjects, and as a result there was a great deal of cultural mixing between colonists and natives. New Spain and New France were “frontiers of inclusion,” where native peoples were incorporated into colonial society. The Dutch first followed the French model when they established their colony on the Hudson River on the northeastern Atlantic coast. But soon they changed course, emulating the English, who from the beginning of their colonial experience adopted a different model, in which settlers and Indians lived in separate societies. Virginia and New England were “frontiers of exclusion,” in dramatic contrast to New Spain and New France.

New Mexico

After the 1539 expedition of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado failed to turn up vast Indian empires to conquer in the northern Mexican deserts, the Spanish interest in the Southwest faded. The densely settled farming communities of the
Pueblos offered a harvest of converts for Christianity, however, and by the 1580s, Franciscan missionaries were at work in the Southwest. Eventually rumors drifted back to Mexico City of rich gold deposits along the Rio Grande, raising the hopes of Spanish officials that they might find another Aztec empire. In 1598, Juan de Oñate, the son of a wealthy mining family of northern New Spain, financed a colonizing expedition made up of Indian and mestizo soldiers with the purpose of mining both gold and souls.

Moving north into the upper Rio Grande Valley, Oñate encountered varying degrees of resistance. He lay siege at Acoma, the pueblo set high atop a great outcropping of desert rock. Indian warriors mounted a bold defense, but in the end the attackers succeeded in climbing the rock walls and laying waste to the town, killing 800 men, women, and children. Surviving warriors had one foot severed, and more than 500 people were enslaved.

Unable to locate any gold—because there was none—Oñate was soon recalled to Mexico. The Spanish depended on the exploitation of Indian labor to produce valuable commodities, and without mines to exploit, interest in the remote province waned. But the church convinced the Spanish monarchy to subsidize New Mexico as a special missionary colony, and in 1609, a new governor founded the capital of Santa Fé. From this base the Franciscan missionaries penetrated all the surrounding Indian villages.

The colonial economy of New Mexico, based on small-scale agriculture and sheep raising, was never very prosperous. Afflicted with epidemic diseases, over the course of the seventeenth century the native population fell from 80,000 to less than 15,000. Very few new settlers came up the dusty road from Mexico, and what little growth there was in the colonial population resulted from marriages between colonial men and Pueblo women. By the late seventeenth century, this outpost of the Spanish empire contained some 3,000 colonists (mostly mestizos, of mixed Indian and European ancestry) in a few towns along the Rio Grande (see Map 3-1).

**New France**

In the early seventeenth century, the French devised a strategy to monopolize the northern fur trade. In 1605, Samuel de Champlain, acting as the agent of a royal monopoly, helped establish the outpost of Port Royal on the Bay of Fundy in what became known as the province of Acadia. It proved impossible, however, to control the coastal trade from that location. In 1608, Champlain founded the settlement of Quebec on the St. Lawrence River at a site where he could intercept the traffic in furs traveling downriver to the Atlantic. Forging an alliance with the Huron Indians, who controlled access to the rich fur grounds of the Great Lakes, in 1609 and 1610 he joined them in making war on their traditional enemies, the Five Nation Iroquois Confederacy. Champlain sent traders to live in native communities, where they learned local languages and customs, and directed the flow of furs to Quebec.

The St. Lawrence River was like a great roadway leading directly into the heart of the North American continent, and it provided the French with enormous geographic and political advantage. But the river froze during the winter, isolating the
colonists, and the short growing season limited agricultural productivity in the region. Thousands of Frenchmen went to New France as engagés (“hired men”) in the fur trade or the fishery, but nine of ten soon returned to France. The French could have populated their American empire with thousands of willing Huguenot dissenters, but they decided that New France would be exclusively Catholic. As a result, the population grew very slowly, reaching a total of only 15,000 colonists by 1700. Quebec, the administrative capital, was small by Spanish colonial standards, and Montreal, founded as a missionary and trading center in 1642, was only a frontier outpost. Small clusters of farmers known as habitants lived along the St. Lawrence on the lands of landlords or seigneurs. By using Indian farming techniques, the habitants were able to produce subsistence crops, and eventually developed a modest export economy.

Rather than facing the Atlantic, the communities of Canada looked west toward the continental interior. It was typical for young male habitants to take to the woods, working as independent traders or paid agents of the fur companies, known as coureurs de bois. Most of them eventually returned to their farming communities, but others remained behind, marrying Indian women and raising mixed-ancestry families. French traders were living on the shores of the Great Lakes as early as the 1620s, and French traders and missionaries were exploring the reaches of the upper Mississippi River by the 1670s. In 1681–82, fur-trade commandant Robert Sieur de La Salle navigated the mighty river to its mouth on the Gulf of Mexico and claimed its entire watershed for France (see Map 3-2).

Like the Spanish, the French established an American society of inclusion in which settlers intermarried with native peoples. But in most ways the two colonial

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**Class Discussion Question 3.2**

This drawing, by Samuel de Champlain, shows how Huron men funneled deer into enclosures, where they could be trapped and easily killed.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress.
system were quite different. The Spanish conquered native peoples and exploited them as a labor force for mines, plantations, and ranches. The French did not have the manpower to bully, dispossess, or enslave native peoples, but instead attempted to build an empire through alliances with independent Indian nations, which included commercial relations with Indian hunters. There were also important differences between Spanish and French missionary efforts. Unlike the Franciscans in seventeenth-century New Mexico, who insisted that natives accept European cultural norms, the Jesuit missionaries in New France learned native language and attempted to understand native mores, in an effort to introduce Christianity as a part of the existing Indian way of life.

New Netherland

The United Provinces of the Netherlands, commonly known as Holland, was only a fraction the size of France, but in the sixteenth century it had been at the center of Europe’s economic transformation. On land reclaimed from the sea by an elaborate system of dikes, Dutch farmers used new methods of crop rotation and deep tilling that dramatically increased their yields, producing large surpluses that supported the growth of the world’s most urban and commercial nation. After a century of rule by the Hapsburgs, the prosperous Dutch rose up against their Spanish masters and in 1581 succeeded in winning their political independence. Amsterdam became the site of the world’s first stock exchange and investment banks. Dutch investors built the largest commercial and fishing fleet in Europe and captured the lucrative Baltic and North Sea trade in fish, lumber, iron, and grain. It was said that the North Sea was Holland’s “America.”

Soon the Dutch were establishing trading outposts in America itself. Early in the seventeenth century, the United Netherlands organized two great monopolies, the Dutch East India Company and the Dutch West India Company, combining naval military might and commercial strength in campaigns to seize the maritime trade of Asia and the Atlantic. Backed by powerfully armed men-of-war ships, during the first half of the seventeenth century Dutch traders built a series of trading posts in China, Indonesia, India, Africa, Brazil, the Caribbean, and North America, and Holland became the greatest commercial power in the world. The Dutch first appeared in North America in 1609 with the explorations of Henry Hudson, and within a few years they had founded settlements at Fort Orange (today’s Albany), upriver at the head of navigation for oceangoing vessels on the Hudson River, and at New Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island, at the river’s mouth. Seeking to match French success, they negotiated a commercial alliance with the Iroquois Confederacy to obtain furs. Greatly strengthened by access to superior Dutch products, including metal tools and firearms, the Iroquois embarked on a series of military expeditions against their neighbors (sometimes known as the Beaver Wars) which made them into strategic commercial middlemen for the Dutch. In the late 1640s, the Iroquois attacked and dispersed the Hurons, who controlled the flow of furs from the Great Lakes to their French allies. The Dutch also succeeded in overwhelming a small colony of Swedes on the lower Delaware River, incorporating that region into their sphere of influence in the 1640s.

England in the Chesapeake

England first attempted to plant colonies in North America during the 1580s, in Newfoundland and at Roanoke Island in present-day North Carolina (see Chapter 2). Both attempts were failures. A long war with
Spain (1588 to 1604) suspended further efforts, but once it concluded, the English again turned to the Americas.

**Jamestown and the Powhatan Confederacy**

Early in his reign, King James I (reigned 1603–25) issued royal charters for the colonization of the mid-Atlantic region—which the English called Virginia—to joint-stock companies that raised capital by the sale of shares. In 1607, a group of London investors known as the **Virginia Company** sent ships and a hundred men to Chesapeake Bay, where the colonists built a fort they named Jamestown in the king’s honor. It would be the first permanent English settlement in North America.

The Chesapeake was home to an estimated 14,000 Algonquian people living in several dozen self-governing communities. By what right did the English think they could seize lands occupied by another people? “These Savages have no particular propertie in any parcel of that country, but only a general residence there, as wild beasts have in the forest,” an English minister preached to departing Jamestown colonists. “They range and wander up and downe the country, without any law or government, being led only by their own lusts and sesualitie.” Indians were savages with no rights that Christians had to respect. In fact, the native communities of the Chesapeake were bound together in a sophisticated political system known as the Powhatan Confederacy, led by a powerful chief named Wahunsonacook, whom the Jamestown colonists called “King Powhatan.” Powhatan’s feelings about Europeans were mixed. He knew they could mean trouble, for in the 1570s, Spanish missionaries had attempted to plant a colony in the Chesapeake, but after they interfered with the practice of native religion they were violently expelled. Still, Powhatan was eager to forge an alliance with these people from across the sea that he might obtain access to supplies of metal tools and weapons, which would assist him in extending his rule over outlying communities. He allowed the colonists leave to build their outpost at Jamestown. As was the case elsewhere in the Americas, Indians attempted to use Europeans to pursue ends of their own.

The Jamestown colonists included adventurers, gentlemen, and “ne’er-do-wells,” in the words of John Smith, the colony’s military leader. They had come to find gold.
and a passage to the Indies, and failing at both they spent their time gaming and drinking. They survived only because of Powhatan’s material assistance. “In our extremity the Indians brought us corn,” Smith wrote, “when we rather expected they would destroy us.” But as more colonists arrived from England, and demands for food escalated, Powhatan had second thoughts. He now realized, he declared to Smith, that the English had come “not for trade, but to invade my people and possess my country.” During the winter of 1609–10, more than four hundred colonists starved and a number resorted to cannibalism. Only sixty remained alive by the spring.

Determined to prevail, the Virginia Company committed itself to a protracted war against the Indians. Armed colonists attacked native villages, slaughtering men, women, and children alike. The grim conflict continued until 1613, when an English commander succeeded in capturing one of Powhatan’s daughters, Matoaka, a girl of about fifteen whom the colonists knew by her nickname, Pocahontas. Eager to see his child again, and worn down by violence and disease, the next year Powhatan accepted a treaty of peace. “I am old and ere long must die,” he mused. “I know it is better to eat good meat, lie well, and sleep with my women and children, laugh and be merry, than to be forced to flee and be hunted.” The peace was sealed by the marriage of Pocahontas to John Rolfe, one of the leading colonists. For a brief moment it seemed the English too might move in the direction of a society of inclusion. Rolfe traveled to England with his wife and son, where they were greeted as American nobility. Included in their party were a number of colonists who had adopted the Powhatan style of shaving their heads on one side, a custom designed to prevent the strings of their bows from getting caught in their hair. But Pocahontas fell ill and died before returning. Crushed by the news, Powhatan abdicated in favor of his brother Opechancanough before dying of despair.

**TOBACCO, EXPANSION, AND WARFARE**

During these years, the Virginia colonists struggled to find the “merchantable commodity” for which Thomas Harriot, the scientist who accompanied the Roanoke expedition, had searched (see Chapter 2). They finally found it in tobacco. Tobacco had been introduced to England by Francis Drake in the 1580s, and by the 1610s, a craze for smoking created strong demand. Colonist John Rolfe developed a mild hybrid variety, and soon the first commercial shipments of cured Virginia leaf reached England. Tobacco provided the Virginia Company with the first returns on its investment.

But tobacco cultivation required a great deal of hand labor, and it quickly exhausted the soil. Questions of land and labor would henceforth dominate the history of the Virginia colony. The company instituted what were called “headright grants”—awards of large plantations to wealthy colonists on condition they transport workers from England at their own cost. Because thousands of English families were being thrown off the land (see Chapter 2), many were attracted by the prospect of work in Virginia. More than 10,000 colonists were sent to Jamestown before 1622, but high mortality, probably the result of epidemics of typhoid fever and perhaps malaria, kept the total population at just over a thousand.

Massive immigration would prove to be the distinguishing characteristic of English colonization in America. In choosing to populate their colony with families, the English moved in a different direction from the Spanish, who sent mostly male settlers. Moreover, the English concentration on plantation agriculture contrasted significantly with the French emphasis on trade. With little need to incorporate Indians into the population as workers or marriage partners, the English began to push them to the periphery. Virginia became a “frontier of exclusion.”
Pressed for the cession of additional lands on which to grow tobacco, Chief Opechancanough prepared his people for an assault that would expel the English for good. His plans were supported by the native shaman Nemattanew, who instructed his followers to reject the English and their ways. This would be the first of many Indian resistance movements led jointly by strong political and religious figures. Nemattanew was murdered by colonists in March 1622, and the uprising which began two weeks later, on Good Friday, completely surprised the English; 347 people were killed, nearly a third of Virginia’s colonial population. Yet the colonists managed to hang on through a ten-year war of attrition. The Powhatans finally sued for peace in 1632, but in the meantime, the war sent the Virginia Company into bankruptcy. In 1624, the king converted Virginia into a royal colony with civil authorities appointed by the crown, although property-owning colonists continued to elect representatives to the colony’s House of Burgesses, created in 1619, which had authority over taxes and finances. Although disease, famine, and warfare took a heavy toll, continual emigration from England allowed the colonial population to double every five years from 1625 to 1640, by which time it numbered approximately 10,000 (see Figure 3-1). Meanwhile, decimated by violence and disease, the Algonquians shrank to about the same number.

This illustration is a detail of John Smith’s map of Virginia. It includes the names of many Indian villages, suggesting how densely settled was the Indian population of the coast of Chesapeake Bay. For the inset of Powhatan and his court in the upper left, the engraver borrowed images from John White’s drawings of the Indians of the Roanoke area.

House of Burgesses  The legislature of colonial Virginia. First organized in 1619, it was the first institution of representative government in the English colonies.
In 1644, Opechancanough organized a final desperate revolt in which more than 500 colonists were killed. But the next year the Virginians crushed the Algonquians, capturing and executing their leader. A formal treaty granted the Indians a number of small reserved territories. By 1670, the Indian population had fallen to just 2,000, overwhelmed by 40,000 English colonists.

**MARYLAND**

In 1632, King Charles I (reigned 1625–49) granted 10 million acres at the northern end of Chesapeake Bay to the Calvert family, the Lords Baltimore, important Catholic supporters of the English monarchy. The Calverts named their colony Maryland, in honor of the king’s wife, and the first party of colonists founded the settlement of St. Mary’s near the mouth of the Potomac River in 1634. Two features distinguished Maryland from Virginia. First, it was a “proprietary” colony. The Calverts were sole owners of all the land, which they planned to carve into feudal manors that would provide them with annual rents, and they appointed all the civil officers. Second, because the proprietors were Catholics, they encouraged settlement by their coreligionists, a persecuted minority in seventeenth-century England. In fact, Maryland became the only English colony in North America with a substantial Catholic minority. Wealthy Catholic landlords were appointed to the governing council, and they came to dominate Maryland’s House of Delegates, founded in 1635.

Despite these differences, Maryland quickly assumed the character of neighboring Virginia. Its tobacco plantation economy created pressures for labor and expansion that could not be met by the Calverts’ original feudal plans. In 1640, the colony adopted the system of headright grants previously developed in Virginia, and settlements of independent planters quickly spread out on both sides of Chesapeake Bay. By the 1670s, Maryland’s English population numbered more than 15,000.
Indentured Servants

At least three-quarters of the English migrants to the Chesapeake during the seventeenth century came as indentured servants. In exchange for the cost of their transportation to the New World, men and women contracted to labor for a master during a fixed term. Most indentured servants were young, unskilled males, who served for two to seven years; but some were skilled craftsmen, unmarried women, or even parentless children (the latter were expected to serve a master until they reached the age of twenty-one). A minority were convicts or vagabonds bound into service by English courts for as long as fourteen years.

Masters were obliged to feed, clothe, and house these servants adequately. But work in the tobacco fields was backbreaking, and records include complaints of inadequate care. One Virginia ballad chronicled these objections:

\begin{verbatim}
Come all you young fellows wherever you be,
Come listen awhile and I will tell thee,
Concerning the hardships that we undergo,
When we get lagg’d to Virginia.

Now in Virginia I lay like a hog,
Our pillow at night is a brick or a log,
We dress and undress like some other sea dog,
How hard is my fate in Virginia.
\end{verbatim}

Many servants tried to escape, although capture could mean a doubling of their terms of service.

African slaves were first introduced to the Chesapeake in 1619, but slaves were considerably more expensive than servants, and as late as 1680 they made up less than 7 percent of the Chesapeake population. In the hard-driving economy of the Chesapeake, however, masters treated servants as cruelly as they treated slaves. After arriving, bound laborers were inspected by planters who poked at the muscles of men and pinched women. Because of the high mortality levels resulting from epidemics of typhus and malaria in the Chesapeake colonies, approximately two of every five servants died during the period of their indenture. Those who survived were eligible for “freedom dues”—clothing, tools, a gun, or a spinning wheel, help getting started on their own—and many former servants headed west in the hope of cutting a farm from the wilderness. But most former servants who were able to raise the price of passage returned home to England. Indentured labor may not have been slavery, but the distinction may have seemed academic to servants (see Chapter 4 for a full discussion of slavery).

Community Life in the Chesapeake

Because most emigrants were men, whether free or indentured, free unmarried women often married as soon as they arrived in the Chesapeake. Moreover, in the disease-ridden environment of the early Chesapeake, English men apparently suffered a higher rate of mortality than women, and widows remarried quickly, sometimes within days. Their scarcity provided women with certain advantages. Shrewd widows bargained for remarriage agreements that gave them a larger share of estates than those set by common law. So notable was the concentration of wealth in the hands of these widows, that one historian has suggested that early Virginia was a “matriarchy.” But because of high mortality rates, family size was smaller and kinship bonds—one of the most important components of community—were weaker than they were in England.
English visitors often remarked on the crude conditions of community life. Prosperous planters, investing everything in tobacco production, lived in rough wooden dwellings. On the western edge of the settlements, former servants lived with their families in shacks, huts, even caves. Colonists spread across the countryside in search of new lands to farm, creating dispersed settlements with hardly any towns. Before 1650 there were few community institutions such as schools and churches. Meanwhile, the Spanish in Cuba and Mexico were building great cities with permanent institutions.

In contrast to the colonists of New France, who were developing a distinctive American identity because of their commercial and political connections to native peoples, the population of the Chesapeake maintained close emotional ties to England. Colonial politics were shaped less by local developments than by a continuing relationship with the mother country.

**The New England Colonies**

Both in climate and in geography, the northern coast of North America was far different from the Chesapeake. “Merchantable commodities” such as tobacco were not easily produced there, and thus it was far less favored for investment and settlement. Instead, the region became a haven for Protestant dissenters from England, who gave the colonies of the north a distinctive character (see Map 3-3).

**The Social and Political Values of Puritanism**

Most English men and women continued to practice a Christianity that was little different from traditional Catholicism. But the English followers of John Calvin, known as Puritans because they wished to purify and reform the English church, grew increasingly influential during the last years of Queen Elizabeth’s reign at the end of the sixteenth century. The Calvinist emphasis on enterprise meant that Puritanism had special appeal among merchants, entrepreneurs, and commercial farmers, those most responsible for the rapid economic and social transformation of England. But the Puritans were also the most vocal critics of the disruptive effects of that change, condemning the decline of the traditional rural community and the growing number of “idle and masterless men” produced by the enclosure of common lands. They argued for reviving communities by placing reformed Christian congregations at their core to monitor the behavior of individuals. By the early seventeenth century, Puritans controlled many English congregations and had become an influential force at the universities at Oxford and Cambridge, training centers for the future political and religious leaders of England. (For a review of the Protestant Reformation and the enclosure movement in England, see Chapter 2).

King James I (reigned 1603–25), Elizabeth’s nephew, who assumed the throne after her death, abandoned the policy of religious tolerance. His persecution of the Puritans, however, merely stiffened their resolve and turned them toward open political opposition. An increasingly vocal Puritan minority in Parliament criticized King Charles I (reigned 1625–49), James’s son and successor, for marrying a Roman Catholic princess as well as supporting “High Church” policies, emphasizing the authority of the clerical hierarchy and its traditional forms of worship. In 1629, determined to rule without these troublesome Puritan opponents, Charles dismissed Parliament and launched a campaign of repression. This political turmoil provided the context for the migration of thousands of English Protestants to New England.
**Early Contacts in New England**

The northern Atlantic coast seemed an unlikely spot for English colonies, for the region was dominated by French and Dutch traders. In 1613, desperate to keep their colonial options open, the English at Jamestown had dispatched armed vessels that destroyed the French post on the Bay of Fundy and harassed the Dutch on the Hudson. The following year, Captain John Smith of Jamestown explored the northern coastline and christened the region “New England.” The land was “so planted with Gardens and Corne fields,” he wrote, that “I would rather live here than any where.” But Smith’s plans for a New England colony planted on native fields was aborted when he was captured by the French.

Then a twist of fate transformed English fortunes. From 1616 to 1618, an epidemic ravaged the native peoples of the northern Atlantic coast. Whole villages disappeared, and the trade of the French and the Dutch was seriously disrupted. Indians perished so quickly and in such numbers that few remained to bury the dead. Modern estimates confirm the testimony of a surviving Indian that his people were “melted down by this disease, whereof nine-tenths of them have died.” The native population of New England as a whole dropped from an estimated 120,000 to less than 70,000. So crippled were the surviving coastal societies, that they could not provide effective resistance to the planting of English colonies.

**Plymouth Colony and the Mayflower Compact**

The first English colony in New England was founded by a group of religious dissenters known to later generations as the Pilgrims. At the time they were called Separatists, because they believed the English church to be so corrupt that they had to establish their own independent congregations. One group moved to Holland in 1609, but fearful that tolerant Dutch society was seducing their children, they decided on emigration to North America. Backed by the Virginia Company of London and led by tradesman William Bradford, 102 people sailed from Plymouth, England, on the Mayflower in September 1620.

The little group, mostly families but including a substantial number of single men hired by the investors, arrived in Massachusetts Bay at the site of the former Indian village of Patuxet, which the English renamed Plymouth. Soon the hired men began to grumble about Pilgrim authority, and to reassure them Bradford drafted an agreement by which the male members of the expedition did “covenant and combine [themselves] together into a civil body politic.” The Mayflower Compact was the first document of self-government in North America.

Weakened by scurvy and malnutrition, nearly half the Pilgrims perished over the first winter. Like the earlier settlers of Roanoke and Jamestown, however, they were rescued by Indians. Massasoit, the sachem or leader of the Pokanokets or Wampanoags, as they were also known, offered the newcomers food and advice in return for an alliance against his enemies, the Narragansetts. It was the familiar pattern of Indians attempting to incorporate European colonists into their world.

Deeply in debt to investors, always struggling to raise payments through the Indian trade, fishing, and lumbering, the Plymouth colony was never a financial success. Most families grew their own crops and kept their own livestock, but produced...
little for export. Nevertheless, the Pilgrims succeeded during the first two or three decades in establishing the self-sufficient community for which they had hoped. So strong was their communal agreement, that the annual meeting of property-owning men reelected William Bradford to thirty consecutive terms as governor. By midcentury, however, the Plymouth population had dispersed into eleven separate communities, and the growth of diverse local interests had begun to disrupt this Separatist retreat.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony
In England, the political climate of the late 1620s convinced a number of influential Puritans that the only way to protect their congregations was by emigration. In 1629, a royal charter was granted to a group of wealthy Puritans who called their enterprise the Massachusetts Bay Company, and an advance force of some 200 settlers left for the English fishing settlement of Naumkeag on Massachusetts Bay, which they renamed Salem. They hoped to establish what John Winthrop, their leader and first governor, called “a city on a hill,” a New England model of reform for old England. The Puritan emigration became known as the Great Migration, a phrase that would be repeated many times in American history. Between 1629 and 1643, some 20,000 people relocated to Massachusetts. In 1630, they built the town of Boston, and within five years ringed it with towns as far as thirty miles inland. By 1640, their settlements had spread seventy-five miles west to the Connecticut River Valley, where they linked with settlers spreading north from the Puritan New Haven Colony, on Long Island Sound.

Most colonists arrived in groups from long-established communities in the east of England and often were led by men with extensive experience in local English government. Taking advantage of a loophole in their charter, the Puritan leaders transferred company operations to America in 1629, and within a few years had transformed the company into a civil government. The original charter established a General Court composed of a governor and his deputy, a board of magistrates (or advisers), and the members of the corporation, known as freemen. In 1632, Governor Winthrop and his advisers declared that all the male heads of households in Massachusetts, who were also church members, were freemen. Two years later, the freemen secured their right to select delegates to represent the towns in drafting the laws of the colony. These delegates and the magistrates later became the colony’s two legislative houses. Thus the procedures of a joint-stock company provided the origins for democratic suffrage and the bicameral division of legislative authority in America.

INDIANS AND PURITANS
The Algonquian Indians of southern New England found the English very different from the French and Dutch traders who had preceded them. The principal concern of the English was not commerce, although the fur trade remained an important part of their economy, but the acquisition of Indian land for their growing settlements. Ravaged by disease, the native people of Massachusetts Bay were ill-prepared for the Puritan landings that took place after 1629.

The English believed they had the right to take what they thought of as “unused” lands—lands not being used, that is, in the “English way”—and depopulated Massachusetts villages became prime targets for expansion. “As for the natives in New England,” argued Puritan leader John Winthrop, “they inclose no land, neither have any settled habitation, nor any tame Cattle to improve the land by, and soe have noe other but a Naturall Right to those Countries, soe as if we leave them sufficient for their use, we may lawfully take the rest.” The residents of one town,
meeting in common assembly, made it perfectly clear: “Voted that the earth is the Lord’s and the fulness thereof; voted that the earth is given to the Saints; voted, we are the Saints.”

The English used a variety of tactics to pressure native leaders into signing “quitclaims,” relinquishing all rights to specified properties. The English allowed their livestock to graze native fields, making them useless for cultivation. They fined Indians for violations of English law, such as working on the Sabbath, and then demanded land as payment. In addition, they made deals with dishonest sachems. For giving up the land that became Charlestown, for example, the “Squaw Sachem” of the Pawtuckets, one of a number of women Algonquian leaders, received twenty-one coats, nineteen fathoms of wampum, and three bushels of corn. Disorganized and demoralized, many coastal Algonquians soon placed themselves under the protection of the English.

Indian peoples to the west, however, remained a formidable presence. They blocked Puritan expansion until they were devastated in 1633–34 by an epidemic of smallpox that spread from the St. Lawrence south to Long Island Sound. This epidemic took place just as hundreds of English migrants were crowding into coastal towns. “Without this remarkable and terrible stroke of God upon the natives,” recorded a town scribe, “we would with much more difficulty have found room, and at far greater charge have obtained and purchased land.” In the aftermath of the epidemic, Puritans established many new inland towns.

By the late 1630s, only a few tribes in southern New England retained the power to challenge Puritan expansion. The Pequots, who lived along the shores of Long Island Sound near the mouth of the Connecticut River, were one of the most powerful. Allies of the Dutch, the Pequots controlled the production of wampum, woven belts of seashells used as a medium of exchange in the Indian trade. In 1637, Puritan leaders pressured the Pequots’ traditional enemies, the Narragansetts who lived in present-day Rhode Island, to join them in waging war against the Pequots. Narragansett warriors and English troops attacked the main village, burning the houses and killing most of their slumbering residents. “It was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire,” wrote William Bradford, “and horrible was the stink and scent thereof.” The indiscriminate slaughter shocked the Narragansetts, who condemned the English way of war. It was “too furious and slays too many.” The English commander dismissed their complaints. “The Scripture declareth that women and children must perish with their parents,” he declared. “We had sufficient light from the Word of God for our proceedings.”

**THE NEW ENGLAND MERCHANTS**

In England, the conflict between King Charles I and the Puritans in Parliament broke into armed conflict in 1642. Several years of violent civil war led to the arrest and execution of the king in 1649 and the proclamation of an English Commonwealth, headed by the Puritan leader Oliver Cromwell. Because Puritans were on the victorious side in the English Civil War, they no longer had the same incentive to migrate to New England. A number of New England colonists even returned to England.

New England’s economy had depended on the sale of supplies and land to arriving immigrants, but as the Great Migration ended, the importance of this “newcomer market” declined. The foundation of a new commercial economy was the
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The Cod fishery. New England merchants began shipping salted cod, as well as lumber and farm products, to the West Indies, where they exchanged those commodities for sugar, molasses, and rum. By the 1660s, New England had a commercial fleet of more than three hundred vessels that was the envy of other colonies. By 1700, Boston had become the third largest English commercial center (after London and Bristol). New England crews voyaged throughout the Atlantic—to the fishing grounds of the North Atlantic, to the sugar-producing colonies of the West Indies, to the wine-producing islands of the Atlantic, to Africa and England. The development of a diversified economy provided New England with tremendous long-term strength, and offered a striking contrast with the specialized fur-trade economy of New France.

Community and Family in Massachusetts

The Puritans stressed the importance of well-ordered communities. The Massachusetts General Court, the governing body of the colony, granted townships to groups of proprietors, the leaders of congregations wishing to settle new lands. These men then distributed fields, pasture, and woodlands in quantities proportional to the social status of the recipient, with wealthy heads of household receiving more than others. The Puritans believed that social hierarchy was ordained by God and required for well-ordered communities. Settlers typically clustered their dwellings in a central village, near the meetinghouse that served as both church and civic center. Some towns, particularly those along the coast such as Boston, became centers of shipping. Clustered settlements and strong communities distinguished New England from the dispersed and weak communities of the Chesapeake.

The ideal Puritan family was also well ordered. Parents often participated in the choice of mates for their offspring, and children typically married in the order of their births, younger siblings waiting until arrangements had been made for their elders. But well-disciplined children also needed education. Another source of New England’s strength was the impressive system the Puritans built to educate their young. In 1647, Massachusetts required that towns with 50 families or more support a public school; those with 100 families were to establish a grammar school that taught Latin, knowledge of which was required for admission to Harvard College, founded in 1636. The colony of Connecticut enacted similar requirements. Literacy was higher in New England than elsewhere in North America, and even in most of Europe. But because girls were excluded from grammar schools, far fewer New England women than men could read and write. By 1639, the first printing press in the English colonies was in operation in Boston, and the following year it brought out the first American English publication, The Bay Psalm Book.

It is a mistake to regard the Puritans as “puritanical.” Although adultery was a capital crime in New England, Puritans celebrated sexual expression within marriage. Courting couples were allowed to engage in “petting,” and married couples were expected to enjoy sexual relations. There were many loving Puritan households.
Anne Bradstreet, a Massachusetts wife and mother and the first published poet of New England, wrote about her husband and marriage:

If ever two are one, then surely we.
If ever man were lov’d by wife, then thee;
If ever wife was happy in a man,
Compare with me ye women if you can.

The family economy operated through the combined efforts of husband and wife. Men were generally responsible for fieldwork, women for the work of the household, garden, henhouse, and dairy. Women managed a rich array of tasks, and some independently traded garden products, milk, and eggs. “I meddle not with the geese nor turkeys,” one husband wrote of his wife’s domestic management, “for they are hers for she hath been and is a good wife to me.”

Still, the cultural ideal was the subordination of women to men. “I am but a wife, and therefore it is sufficient for me to follow my husband,” wrote Lucy Winthrop Downing, and her brother John Winthrop declared that “a true wife accounts her submission her honor and freedom.” Married women could not make contracts, own property, vote, or hold office. A typical woman, marrying in her early twenties and surviving through her forties, could expect to bear eight children and devote herself to husband and family. Aside from abstinence, there was no form of birth control. Wives who failed to have children, or widows who were economically independent, aroused significant suspicion among their neighbors. One Boston resident wrote that to be an “old maid . . . is thought such a curse as nothing can exceed it, and look’d on as a dismal Spectacle.”

The cultural mistrust of women came to the surface most notably in periodic witchcraft scares. During the course of the seventeenth century, according to one historian, 342 New England women were accused by their neighbors of witchcraft. The majority of them were unmarried, or childless, or widowed, or had reputations among their neighbors for assertiveness and independence. In the vast majority of cases, these accusations were dismissed by authorities. In the most infamous case, however, in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692, the whole community was thrown into a panic of accusations when a group of girls claimed that they had been bewitched by a number of old women. Before the colonial governor finally called a halt to the persecutions in 1693, twenty people had been tried, condemned, and executed.

The Salem accusations of witchcraft may have reflected social tensions that found their outlet through an attack on people perceived as outsiders. Salem was a booming port, but although some residents were prospering, others were not. Most of the victims came from the commercial eastern end of town, the majority of their accusers from the economically stagnant western side. Most of the accused also came from Anglican, Quaker, or Baptist families. Finally, a majority of the victims were old women, suspect because they lived alone, without men. The Salem witchcraft crisis exposed the dark side of Puritan ideas about women.

**Dissent and New Communities**

The Puritans emigrated in order to practice their variety of Christianity, but they had little tolerance for other religious points of view. Religious disagreement among the New England colonists soon provoked the founding of new colonies. Thomas Hooker, minister of the congregation at Cambridge, disagreed with the policy of restricting suffrage to male church members. In 1636, he led his followers west to the Connecticut River, where they founded the town of Hartford near the site...
of the trading post abandoned by the Dutch after epidemic disease had destroyed nearby Indian communities in 1634.

Another dissenter was the minister Roger Williams, who came to New England in 1631 to take up duties for the congregation in Salem. Williams believed in religious tolerance and the separation of church and state (discussed in Chapter 5). He also preached that the colonists had no absolute right to Indian land but must bargain for it in good faith. These were considered dangerous ideas, and in 1636 Williams was banished from the colony. With a group of his followers, he emigrated to the country of the Narragansetts, where he purchased land from the Indians and founded the town of Providence.

The next year, Boston shook with another religious controversy. Anne Hutchinson, wife of a Puritan merchant, was a brilliant and outspoken woman who held religious discussion groups in her home and criticized various Boston ministers for a lack of piety. Their concentration of attention on good works, she argued, led people to believe that they could earn their way to heaven, which in the eyes of Calvinists was a “popish” or Catholic heresy. Hutchinson was called before the General Court, was excommunicated and banished. She and her followers moved to Roger Williams’s settlement, where they established another dissenting community in 1638. In 1644, Williams received a royal charter creating the colony of Rhode Island (named for the principal island in Narragansett Bay), as a protection for these dissenting communities. Another royal charter of 1663 guaranteed the colony self-government and complete religious liberty.

By the 1670s, Massachusetts’s population had grown to more than 40,000, most of it concentrated in and around Boston, although there were communities as far west as the Connecticut River valley and as far north along the Atlantic coast as Maine (which was not separated from Massachusetts until 1820), as well as in New Hampshire, set off as a royal colony in 1680. Next in size after Massachusetts was Connecticut, its population numbering about 17,000. Plymouth’s 6,000 inhabitants were absorbed by Massachusetts in 1691.

The Proprietary Colonies

The Puritan Commonwealth, established in England after the execution of King Charles I, was preoccupied with English domestic affairs and left the colonies largely to their own devices. New England, Oliver Cromwell famously declared, was “poore, cold, and useless.” After Cromwell’s death in 1658, Parliament was desperate for stability, and in 1660, it restored the Stuart monarchy, placing on the throne Charles II, eldest son of the former king. Unlike Cromwell, Charles took an active interest in North America, establishing several new proprietary colonies on the model of Maryland (see Map 3-4).

Early Carolina

In 1663, the king issued the first of his colonial charters, calling for the establishment of a new colony called Carolina, stretching from Virginia south to Spanish Florida. Virginians had already begun moving into the northern parts of this territory, and in 1664, the Carolina proprietors appointed a governor for the settlements in the area of Albermarle Sound and created a popularly elected assembly. By 1675, North Carolina, as it became known, was home to some 5,000 small farmers and large tobacco planters.

Settlement farther south began in 1670 with the founding of coastal Charles Town (Charleston today). Most South Carolina settlers came from Barbados, a Caribbean colony the English had founded in 1627, which grew wealthy from the production of sugar. By the 1670s, the island had become overpopulated with English
landowners and African slaves. The latter, imported to work the plantations, made up a majority of the population. Hundreds of Barbadians, both masters and slaves, relocated to South Carolina, lending that colony a distinctly West Indian character. By the end of the seventeenth century, South Carolina’s population was 6,000, including some 2,500 enslaved Africans. (For a further discussion of slavery in South Carolina, see Chapter 4.)

**From New Netherland to New York**

Charles also coveted the lucrative Dutch colony of New Netherland. In response to the growth of New England’s population and its merchant economy, in the 1640s, the Dutch West India Company began sponsoring the emigration of European settlers to the Hudson River Valley, seeking to develop the colony in the New England model as a diversified supply center for the West Indies. In 1751, Parliament passed a Trade and Navigation Act that barred Dutch vessels from English colonial possessions, which led to an inconclusive naval war with Holland from 1652 to 1654. In 1664, when a second Anglo-Dutch war erupted after the two commercial powers clashed along the West African coast, an English fleet sailed into Manhattan harbor and forced the surrender of New Amsterdam without firing a shot. That war ended with an inconclusive peace in 1667. A third and final conflict from 1672 to 1674 resulted in the bankruptcy of the Dutch West India Company and marked the ascension of the English to dominance in the Atlantic, although Holland remained supreme in the Baltic and the East Indies.

Charles II issued a proprietary charter that granted the former Dutch colony to his brother James, the Duke of York, renaming it New York in his honor. Otherwise the English government did little to disturb the existing order, preferring simply to reap the benefits of acquiring this profitable colony. Ethnically and linguistically diversified, accommodating a wide range of religious sects, New York boasted the most heterogeneous society in North America. In 1665, the communities of the Delaware Valley were split off as the proprietary colony of New Jersey, although it continued to be governed by New York until the 1680s. By the 1670s, the combined population of these settlements numbered over 10,000, with more than 1,500 people clustered in the governmental and commercial center of New York City.

**The Founding of Pennsylvania**

In 1676, the proprietary rights to the western portion of New Jersey were sold to a group of English religious dissenters that included William Penn, who intended to make the area a haven for members of the Society of Friends (known as the Quakers by their critics), a group committed to religious toleration and pacifism. Penn himself had been imprisoned several times for publicly expressing those views. But he was the son of the wealthy and influential English admiral Sir William Penn, a close adviser to the king. In 1681, to settle a large debt he owed to Sir William, King Charles issued to the younger Penn a proprietary grant to a huge territory west of the Delaware River. The next year, Penn voyaged to America and supervised the laying out of his capital of Philadelphia.
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The earliest known view of New Amsterdam, published in 1651. Indian traders are shown arriving with their goods in a dugout canoe of distinctive design known to have been produced by the native people of Long Island Sound. Twenty-five years after its founding, the Dutch settlement still occupies only the lower tip of Manhattan Island.


William Penn, from Model of Government (1681)

In this excerpt from the Navigation Act of September 13, 1660 British Parliament excluded nearly all foreign shipping from the English and colonial trade.

...after the first day of April, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred sixty-one, no sugars, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, rustic, or other dyeing wood, of the growth, production, or manufacture of any English plantations in America, Asia, or Africa, shall be shipped, carried, conveyed, or transported from any of the said English plantations to any land, island, territory, dominion, port, or place whatsoever, other than to such other English plantations as do belong to his Majesty...

Penn wanted this colony to be a “holy experiment.” In his first Frame of Government, drafted in 1682, he included guarantees of religious freedom, civil liberties, and elected representation. He also attempted to deal fairly with the native peoples of the region, refusing to permit settlement until lands were purchased. In 1682 and 1683, he made an agreement with the sachem Tammany of the Delaware tribe. “I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that hath been too much exercised toward you,” Penn declared to the Delawares. “I desire to enjoy this land with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbors and friends.” Although Pennsylvania’s relations with the Indians later soured, during Penn’s lifetime his reputation for fair dealing led a number of Indian groups to resettle in the Quaker colony.

Penn organized the most efficient colonization effort of the seventeenth century. During the colony’s first decade, over 10,000 colonists arrived from England, and agricultural communities were soon spreading from the Delaware into the fertile interior valleys. In 1704, Penn approved the creation of a separate government for the area formerly controlled by the Scandinavians and Dutch, which became the colony of Delaware. In the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania became known as America’s breadbasket, and Philadelphia became the most important colonial port in North America.

The Delawares presented William Penn with this wampum belt after the Shackamaxon Treaty of 1682. In friendship, a Quaker in distinctive hat clasps the hand of an Indian. The diagonal stripes on either side of the figures convey information about the territorial terms of the agreement. Wampum belts like this one, made from strings of white and purple shells, were used to commemorate treaties throughout the colonial period and were the most widely accepted form of money in the northeastern colonies during the seventeenth century.

Frame of Government William Penn’s constitution for Pennsylvania which included a provision allowing for religious freedom.

The Delawares presented William Penn with this wampum belt after the Shackamaxon Treaty of 1682. In friendship, a Quaker in distinctive hat clasps the hand of an Indian. The diagonal stripes on either side of the figures convey information about the territorial terms of the agreement. Wampum belts like this one, made from strings of white and purple shells, were used to commemorate treaties throughout the colonial period and were the most widely accepted form of money in the northeastern colonies during the seventeenth century.

Conflict and War

Pennsylvania’s ability to maintain peaceful relations with the Indians proved the great exception, for the last quarter of the seventeenth century was a time of great violence throughout the colonial regions of the continent. The basic cause was the expansion of European settlement (see Map 3-5). Much of this warfare was between colonists and Indians, but intertribal warfare and intercolonial rivalry greatly contributed to the violence. It extended from Santa Fé—where the revolt of the Pueblos was the single most effective instance of Indian resistance to colonization—to the shores of Hudson Bay, where French and English traders fought for access to the rich fur-producing region of the north.

King Philip’s War

In New England, nearly forty years of peace followed the Pequot War of 1637. Natives and colonists lived in close, if tense, contact. Several Puritan ministers, including John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew, began to preach to the Indians, and some two thousand Algonquian converts eventually relocated to native Christian communities known as “praying towns.” There remained, however, a few independent tribes, including the Pokanokets of Plymouth Colony, the Narragansetts of Rhode Island, and the Abenakis of northern New England. The extraordinary expansion of the Puritan population, and their hunger for land, created inexorable pressures for further expansion into those territories.

The Pokanokets were led by the sachem Metacom, whom the English knew as King Philip. The son of Massasoit, the leader who forged the original alliance with the Pilgrims, Metacom had been raised among English colonists and educated in their schools. He spoke English, wore English clothes, and believed his people had a future in the English colonial world. But gradually he came to understand that the colonists had no room for the Pokanokets. In 1671, after a series of conflicts, colonial authorities at Plymouth pressured Metacom into granting them sovereign authority over his home territory. This humiliation convinced the sachem that his people must break their half-century alliance with Plymouth and take up armed resistance. Meanwhile, the Puritan colonies prepared for a war of conquest.

In the spring of 1675, Plymouth magistrates arrested and executed three Pokanoket men for the murder of a Christian Indian. Fearing the moment of confrontation had arrived, Metacom appealed to the Narragansetts for a defensive alliance. Hoping for territorial gain, the united colonies of New England took this as the excuse for invading the Narragansett country with an armed force, attacking and burning a number of villages. What soon became known as King Philip’s War, quickly engulfed all of New England.

At first things went well for the Indians. They forced the abandonment of English settlements on the Connecticut River and torched several towns less than twenty miles from Boston. By the beginning of 1676, however, their campaign was collapsing. A combined colonial army again invaded Narragansett country, burning villages, killing women and children, and defeating a large Indian force in a battle known as the Great Swamp Fight. In western New England, Metacom appealed to the Iroquois Confederacy for supplies and support, but instead they attacked and defeated his forces. Metacom retreated back...
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to his homeland, where the colonists annihilated his army. The victors killed and beheaded Metacom and triumphantly marched through their towns with his head on a pike. His wife and son were sold into West Indian slavery, among hundreds of other captives.

The Iroquois were motivated by interests of their own. They sought to continue the role they had played in the Dutch trading system, as a powerful intermediary between the English and other native tribes. By attacking Metacom and his army, they were sending a message about where they stood. In the aftermath of the war, in a series of negotiations conducted at Albany in 1677, the Iroquois Confederacy and the colony of New York created an alliance known as the **Covenant Chain**, which declared Iroquois dominance over all other tribes in an attempt to put New York in an economically and politically dominant position among the other colonies. During the 1680s, the Iroquois pressed their claim of supremacy as far west as the Illinois country, fighting western Algonquian tribes allied with the French trading system.

Some 4,000 Algonquians and 2,000 English colonists died in King Philip’s War, and dozens of native and colonial communities were left in ruins. Fearing attack from Indians close at hand, colonists also torched most of the Christian Indian praying towns, killing many of the residents. Measured against the size of the population, King Philip’s War was one of the most destructive wars in American history.

**Bacon’s Rebellion**

While King Philip’s War raged in New England, another English-Indian confrontation was taking place in the Chesapeake. In the 1670s, the Susquehannock people of the upper Potomac River came into conflict with the tobacco planters expanding outward from Virginia. Violent raids led by wealthy backcountry settler Nathaniel Bacon in 1675, included the indiscriminate murder of natives. The efforts of Virginia governor William Berkeley to suppress these unauthorized military expeditions so infuriated Bacon and his followers—many of them former indentured servants—that in the spring of 1676, they turned their fury against the colonial capital of Jamestown itself. Berkeley fled across the Chesapeake while Bacon pillaged and burned the capital. Soon thereafter Bacon took ill and died. His rebellion collapsed, and Virginia authorities signed a treaty with the Susquehannocks ending hostilities, but most of the tribe had already migrated to New York, where they affiliated with the Iroquois.

This brief but violent clash marked an important change of direction for Virginia. Bacon had issued a manifesto demanding not only the death or removal of all Indians from the colony, but also an end to the rule of aristocratic “grandees” and “parasites.” The rebellion thus signaled a developing conflict between frontier districts such as Bacon’s and the more established coastal region, where the “Indian problem” had long since been settled. In 1677, in a replay of Virginia events known

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**Covenant Chain**  An alliance between the Iroquois Confederacy and the colony of New York which sought to establish Iroquois dominance over all other tribes and thus put New York in an economically and politically dominant position among the other colonies.

**Bacon’s Rebellion**  Violent conflict in Virginia (1675–1676), beginning with settler attacks on Indians but culminating in a rebellion led by Nathaniel Bacon against Virginia’s government.
as Culpeper’s Rebellion, backcountry men in the Albermarle region of North Carolina succeeded in overthrowing the established government before being suppressed by English authorities. In the aftermath of these rebellions, colonial authorities in Virginia and North Carolina began to favor armed expansion into Indian territory, hoping to gain the support of backcountry men by enlarging the stock of available colonial land. Moreover, planters’ fears of disorder among former indentured servants encouraged them to accelerate the transition to slave labor (see Chapter 4).

**Wars in the South**

There was also massive violence in South Carolina during the 1670s, as colonists there began the operation of a large-scale Indian slave trade. Charleston merchants encouraged numerous tribes—the Yamasees, Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickasaws—to wage war on groups allied to rival colonial powers, including the mission Indians of Spanish Florida, the Choctaw allies of the French, and the Tuscaroras, trading partners of the Virginians. By 1710, more than 12,000 Florida Indians had been captured and sold, thousands of others had been killed or dispersed, and the Spanish mission system, in operation for more than a century, lay in ruins.

This vicious Indian slave trade extended well into the eighteenth century, and thousands of southern Indians were sold into captivity. Most of the Indian men were shipped from Charleston to Caribbean or northern colonies; the Indian women remained in South Carolina, where many eventually formed relationships and had children with male African slaves, forming a racial-ethnic group known as the “mustees.”

**The Glorious Revolution in America**

Dynastic change in England was another factor precipitating violence in North America. Upon the death of Charles II in 1685, his brother and successor, James II, began a concerted effort to strengthen royal control over the colonies. During the preceding forty years, colonial assemblies had grown powerful and independent, and the new king was determined to reign them in. He abolished the New York assembly, which had been particularly troublesome, and placed all power in the hands of the colony’s royal governor. Assemblies continued to operate in the other colonies, but were consistently challenged by the governors. In his most dramatic action, the king abolished the charter governments of the New England, New York, and New Jersey colonies, combining them into what was called the Dominion of New England. Edmund Andros, appointed royal governor of the new super-colony, imposed Anglican forms of worship in Puritan areas and overthrew traditions of local autonomy.

In England, the same imperious style on the part of the king seriously alienated political leaders. As a young man, James had converted to Catholicism, and after the death of his first (Protestant) wife, he remarried a Catholic aristocrat from Italy. His appointment of Catholics to high positions of state added to rising protests, but the last straw came when his wife bore a son in 1688. Fearing the establishment of a Catholic royal dynasty, Parliamentary leaders deposed James and replaced him with his Protestant daughter and Dutch son-in-law, Mary and William of Orange. The army threw its support to William and Mary and James fled to France. As part of what became known as the Glorious Revolution, the new monarchs agreed to a Bill of Rights, promising to respect traditional civil liberties, to summon and consult with Parliament annually, and to enforce and administer Parliamentary legislation. These were significant concessions with profound implications for the future of English politics. England now had a “constitutional monarchy.”

When news of the Glorious Revolution reached North America, colonists rose in a series of rebellions against the authorities set in place by James II. In the spring...
of 1689, Governor Andros was attacked by an angry Boston mob, inflamed by rumors that he was a secret Catholic. He was able to escape their wrath, but was arrested and deported by the local militia. When news of the Boston revolt arrived in New York, it inspired another uprising there. A group led by German merchant Jacob Leisler, and including many prominent Dutch residents, seized control of the city and called for the formation of a new legislature. In Maryland, rumors of a Catholic plot led to the overthrow of the proprietary rule of the Calvert family by an insurgent group called the Protestant Association.

The new monarchs carefully measured their response to these uprisings. When Jacob Leisler attempted to prevent the landing of the king’s troops in New York, he was arrested, tried, and executed. But the monarchs consented to the dismantling of the Dominion of New England and the end of proprietary rule in Maryland. The outcome of the Glorious Revolution in America was mixed. All the affected English

### OVERVIEW

**Conflict and War**

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<td>King Philip’s War</td>
<td>1675–76</td>
<td>The Indian peoples of southern New England and the Puritan colonies fight for control of land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon’s Rebellion</td>
<td>1675–76</td>
<td>Backcountry settlers attack Indians, and colonial authorities try to suppress these attacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wars in the South</td>
<td>1670s–1720s</td>
<td>British colonists in the Carolinas incite Creeks, Cherokees, and other Indian tribes to attack and enslave the mission Indians of Spanish Florida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Glorious Revolution in America</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>Colonists in Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland rise up against the colonial governments of King James II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King William’s War</td>
<td>1689–97</td>
<td>The first of a series of colonial struggles between England and France; these conflicts occur principally on the frontiers of northern New England and New York</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHRONOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1598</td>
<td>Juan de Oñate leads Spanish into New Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1607</td>
<td>English found Jamestown</td>
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<tr>
<td>1608</td>
<td>French found Quebec</td>
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<tr>
<td>1609</td>
<td>Spanish found Santa Fé</td>
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<tr>
<td>1620</td>
<td>Pilgrim emigration</td>
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<tr>
<td>1622</td>
<td>Indian uprising in Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>1625</td>
<td>Jesuit missionaries arrive in New France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1629</td>
<td>Puritans begin settlement of Massachusetts Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1637</td>
<td>Pequot War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1649</td>
<td>Charles I executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1660</td>
<td>Stuart monarchy restored, Charles II becomes king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1675</td>
<td>King Philip’s War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1676</td>
<td>Bacon’s Rebellion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680</td>
<td>Pueblo Revolt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1681–82</td>
<td>Robert Sieur de La Salle explores the Mississippi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1688</td>
<td>The Glorious Revolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1689</td>
<td>King William’s War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1698</td>
<td>Spanish reconquest of the Pueblos completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1701</td>
<td>English impose royal governments on all colonies but Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
colonies quickly revived their assemblies and returned to their tradition of self-government. The government of England did not fully reestablish its authority in these colonies until 1692, when Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland all were declared royal colonies.

**King William’s War**

The year 1689 also marked the beginning of nearly seventy-five years of armed conflict between English and French forces for control of the North American interior. The Iroquois–English Covenant Chain challenged New France’s fur-trade empire, and in response, the French pressed farther west in search of commercial opportunities. In the far north, the English sought to counter French dominance with the establishment of Hudson’s Bay Company, a royal fur-trade monopoly that was to exploit the watershed of the great northern bay.

Hostilities began with English-Iroquois attacks on Montreal and violence between rival French and English traders on Hudson Bay. These skirmishes were part of a larger conflict between England and France that in Europe was called the War of the League of Augsburg, but in the English colonies was known as **King William’s War**. In 1690, the French and their Algonquian allies counterattacked, burning frontier settlements in New York, New Hampshire, and Maine, and pressing their attacks against the towns of the Iroquois. The same year, a Massachusetts fleet captured the strategic French outpost at Port Royal on the Bay of Fundy, but a combined English and colonial force failed in its attempt to conquer the administrative center of Québec on the St. Lawrence. This inconclusive war was ended by the Treaty of Ryswick of 1697, which established an equally inconclusive peace. War between England and France would resume only five years later.

The persistent violence of the last quarter of the seventeenth century greatly concerned English authorities, who began to fear the loss of their North American possessions either from outside attack or from internal disorder. To shore up central control, in 1701, the English Board of Trade recommended converting all charter and proprietary governments into royal colonies. After a brief period under royal rule, William Penn regained private control of his domain, but Pennsylvania was the last of the proprietary colonies. Among the royal charter colonies, only Rhode Island and Connecticut retained their original governments. The result of this quarter-century of violence was the tightening of the imperial reins over its North American possessions.

**Conclusion**

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the European presence north of Mexico was extremely limited: Spanish bases in Florida, a few Franciscan missions among the Pueblos, and fishermen along the North Atlantic coast. By 1700, the human landscape of the Southwest, the South, and the Northeast had been transformed. More than a quarter million migrants from the Old World had moved into these regions, the vast majority to the English colonies. Indian societies had been disrupted, depopulated, and in some cases destroyed. The Spanish and French colonies were characterized by the inclusion of Indians in the social and economic life of the community. But along the Atlantic coast, the English established communities of exclusion, with ominous implications for the future of relations between colonists and natives.

During the long civil war in England, the English colonies were left to run their own affairs. But with the Restoration in 1660 and the establishment of the

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**King William’s War**  The first of a series of colonial struggles between England and France; these conflicts occurred principally on the frontiers of northern New England and New York between 1689 and 1697.

**QUICK REVIEW**

- France attacked the Iroquois to prevent them from extending their influence.
- France and England went to war in 1689. War spilled over into North America, devastating Iroquois.
John Smith’s Cartoon History of His Adventures in Virginia

This elaborate illustration, executed by English engraver Robert Vaughan, accompanied John Smith’s 1624 account of his years at the English settlement of Jamestown, from 1606 to 1609. It constitutes an early kind of cartoon history. Smith knew how to spin a tale, and these illustrations depict some of the most important turns in his story. A map of “Ould Virginia” (bottom center) is surrounded by vignettes depicting Smith’s adventures, including his seizure by the Powhatans (top left), his capture of notable leaders (top right and bottom left), and his rescue from execution by Pocahontas (bottom right). The images told a story of conflict and violence. Much more was to come. One interesting detail is the immense size of the chiefs compared to Smith. The costume, hairstyles, and body decorations of the Indians were taken directly from the images produced by English artist and colonial governor John White.

WHAT MESSAGE do you think Smith and Vaughan were trying to send with this complex illustration?

John Smith, The General History of Virginia (1624) from Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
constitutional monarchy in 1689, the English state began to supervise more closely its troublesome colonists, beginning what would be a long struggle over the limits of self-government. The violence and warfare of the last decades of the century suggested that conflict would continue to play a significant role in the future of colonial America.

**AP* DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION**

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

Examine the differences between the kinds of immigrants arriving in the British colonies of New England and those along the Chesapeake and the differing environments each group found in their respective colonies. Explain how the kinds of settlers and the differing environments led to the evolution of two such contrasting colonial societies in British North America.

**Document A**

Wee are a company professing ourselves fellow members of Christ. . . It is by a mutuall consent, through a speciall overvaluing providence and a more than an ordinary approbation of the Churches of Christ, to seeke out a place of cohabitation and Consorteshipp under a due forme of Government both ciuill and ecclesiasticall. . . Thus stands the cause betweene God and us. We are entered into Covenant with Him for this worke. . . [and we]. . . knowe the price of the breache of such a covenant.

Now the onely way to avoyde this shipwracke, and to provide for our posterity, is to followe the counsell of Micah, to doe justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God. For this end, wee must be knit together, in this worke, as one man. Wee must entertaine each other in brotherly affection. Wee must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of other's necessities. Wee must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekeness, gentleness, patience and liberality. Wee must delight in eache other; make other's conditions our oune; rejoice together, mourne together, labour and suffer together, allways hauing before our eyes our commission and community in the worke, as members of the same body.

—John Winthrop,
A Modell of Christian Charity, (1630)

In this famous statement, Winthrop also called the Puritan plantations “a citty upon a hill” to be placed in New England as an image set in New England for the purpose of calling the entire world to their vision of a relationship with God.

- How would tens of thousands of settlers immigrating to New England with this image of their own purpose shape the development of that colony?
Look at the 1677 map on page 74 printed in Boston and the 1670 painting of the Mason children on page 75.

- What kind of settlers arrived in Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth Plantation, and Connecticut?
- Were these colonies settled by individuals or by family units?
- What were the townships established by the Puritans and how were they organized?
- How did the settlers of the New England colonies support themselves?
- How did the environment shape the development of Puritan society?

Turn to page 70 for the discussion of the social and political values of Puritanism.

- How did these points of view affect the development of the New England colonies?

**Document B**

Examine the Bromley’s tobacco label below.

- Why did tobacco cultivation lead to the headright and the indenture system?
- What kind of immigrants arrived under the headright or as indentured servants?
- How did this shape society among the Chesapeake colonies?
Look at the map on page 67.

- How was the environment of Virginia and the other Chesapeake colonies different from that of New England?
- How did this make the development of colonies along the Chesapeake different from the evolution of those in New England?
- How did the rivers of the Chesapeake impact the development of communities?
- How did those rivers and the plantation system retard community development?
- Why was slavery considered a viable labor system in the colonies of the Chesapeake while it did not gain much of a foothold in New England?
- How would this impact the development of different societies in Virginia in contrast to Massachusetts?

Look at the portrait of the Mason children on page 75 and contrast it against the Payne children shown below.

- They are over a hundred years apart, but what do these two paintings tell you about the society which evolved in the Puritan town of Boston against the society of a plantation in Virginia?
- How would the kinds of people who immigrated to each location and the environment in which they found themselves help explain those differences?

Look at the chart on page 118 of the products of the various colonial regions in British North America between 1768 and 1772. Also examine the table on page 104 of tobacco and rice exports to England between 1700 and 1775. Finally, examine the graph on page 101 of slave imports to the British North American colonies between 1650 and 1770. By this period the differing colonial societies were well established. Look at what kinds of products were produced in New England and compare them against those produced on the Chesapeake and in the Lower South.

- What could the kinds of products that a region might produce and export tell you about their agricultural and social development?

**DOCUMENT C**

Look at the chart on page 118 of the products of the various colonial regions in British North America between 1768 and 1772. Also examine the table on page 104 of tobacco and rice exports to England between 1700 and 1775. Finally, examine the graph on page 101 of slave imports to the British North American colonies between 1650 and 1770. By this period the differing colonial societies were well established. Look at what kinds of products were produced in New England and compare them against those produced on the Chesapeake and in the Lower South.

- What could the kinds of products that a region might produce and export tell you about their agricultural and social development?
• Which region relied upon seafaring and fishing, small family farms, and light manufacturing such as lumber mills?
• Which region depended upon rich forests for products to export?
• Which region depended upon large plantation labor gangs and a wet environment?
• Which region had to turn to slavery for the labor to produce its products?
• What does this tell you about the impact of the environment upon the development of a colonial society?

AP* PREP TEST

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

1. One reason the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 failed to drive the Spanish out of New Mexico permanently was:
   a. a traitor revealed the plot to Spanish authorities, and they were able to arrest rebel leaders before the uprising began.
   b. the Pueblo Indians had become so dependent on the Spanish for military protection from the Navaho and Apache tribes.
   c. their superior military allowed the Spanish to hold onto Santa Fé and thus maintain a strong presence in the area.
   d. in exchange for trade agreements, the Arapahoe and Comanche tribes entered into a military alliance with the Spanish.
   e. the Pueblo Indians offered the Spanish a white cross to surrender, which they did and the battle was prevented.

2. French and Spanish American colonies differed from those of England:
   a. because the English refused slavery on religious principles, while France and Spain were thriving on such practices.
   b. because natives proved difficult to convert to Catholicism and therefore the Spanish and French enacted brutal policies.
   c. in that the English were much more tolerant and established policies of inclusion, unlike the exclusion of France and Spain.
   d. since France and Spain placed greater emphasis on developing agricultural colonies and England created mercantile settlements.
   e. because the French and Spanish settlements experienced much more cultural mixing between Europeans and natives.

3. The French agent who helped establish French relations with the Huron tribe was:
   a. Bernard de la Harpe.
   b. Robert Cavalier, Sieur de LaSalle.
   c. Samuel de Champlain.
   d. Denise Diderot.
   e. John Cabot.

4. Critical to the early survival of the Jamestown colony was:
   a. the huge number of English settlers who arrived in Virginia between 1607 and 1610.
   b. the discovery of extensive gold deposits along the James and Potomac rivers.
   c. the support the Spanish provided to the settlement during the critical “starving time.”
   d. the policies of the Powhatan Confederacy that allowed the settlement to be established.
   e. the colonists ability to self-govern and convert from explorers into agricultural farmers

5. Which commodity proved to be profoundly important to the history of Virginia?
   a. Fish
   b. Rice
   c. Sugar
   d. Tobacco
   e. Cotton

6. During the seventeenth century, most migrants to the Chesapeake colonies:
   a. were slaves taken out of Africa.
   b. came as indentured servants.
   c. arrived as members of large families.
   d. were wealthy landowners and planters.
   e. arrived with their Protestant congregation.

7. For the most part, the Chesapeake colonists during the seventeenth century:
   a. maintained close emotional and political ties to England.
   b. established a unique identity that was truly American.
   c. increasingly demanded independence from England.

Answer Key
1-B 4-D 7-A 10-E 13-D
2-E 5-D 8-B 11-B 14-B
3-C 6-B 9-D 12-C 15-E
d. advocated closer diplomatic relations with New France.
e. Established numerous towns and institutions to model England.

8. In early New England:
a. political authority rested entirely in the hands of the directors of the various joint-stock companies.
b. colonial practices shaped the development of political concepts that are fundamental to the United States.
c. the Puritans established the first civil entities in history that allowed direct political involvement by women.
d. religion prevailed over everything else, and the colonists never expressed any interest in political institutions.
e. the colonists were split by religious ideologies and to elicit support began proselytizing the Indians.

9. According to the letter the Puritan colonist sent to his father, the best livestock to raise for profit in New England was:
a. cows.
b. horses.
c. sheep.
d. swine.
e. Goose.

10. In dealing with Indians, the primary concern of New England colonists was:
a. attaining native agricultural methods for colonial survival.
b. developing a profitable trade in fur and pelts.
c. allowing natives to maintain their traditional culture.
d. converting the natives to the Church of England.
e. acquiring land for the expanding settlements.

11. The Puritans who settled in North America:
a. placed little importance on education beyond the fundamentals of reading and writing.
b. believed education was critical and quickly established a sophisticated education system.
c. insisted that the only thing anybody needed to know was to be found in the Holy Bible.
d. did not have families with them and saw no need to establish an education system.
e. believed in education only within the home for fear of sinful influences in a public school.

12. Following the Stuart Restoration in 1660, King Charles II:
a. expressed little or no interest in the colonial affairs of North America.
b. continued the colonial policies enacted during the Puritan Commonwealth.
c. showed great interest in North America by establishing several proprietary colonies.
d. tried to have most colonies re-chartered as joint-stock companies in order to tax them.
e. hoped to rid England of the colonies declaring New England “poore, cold, and useless.”

13. Bacon’s Rebellion in 1676:
a. marked the first effort by Americans to create a government free and independent of England.
b. drove Governor Berkeley from office and placed colonials in charge of the Virginia government.
c. succeeded in getting King Charles II to agree to divide Carolina into two separate colonies.
d. revealed deep conflicts between the settled areas of Virginia and the frontier region to the west.
e. indicated the desire of British authorities to begin armed expansion into Indian territory for more land.

14. One result of the Glorious Revolution was:
a. the creation of the Dominion of New England.
b. the English Bill of Rights that protected civil liberties.
c. the end of all royal colonies in North America.
d. the dissolution of the monarchy in England.
e. the abolishment of the New York assembly.

15. During the seventeenth century:
a. the European presence north of Mexico was extremely vast, but the Europeans saw little profit in this region.
b. English colonies emerged in America, but French and Spanish settlements experienced few changes.
c. the European population in North America declined as a result of civil uprisings and wars with the Indians.
d. the growing power of England meant that the Netherlands no longer had an interest in international affairs.
e. Spanish, French, and English colonies throughout North America experienced profound changes.