

1

THE COLLISION OF CULTURES



FIRST ENCOUNTERS WITH NATIVE AMERICANS This 1505 engraving is one of the earliest European images of the way Native Americans lived in the early Americas. It also represents some of the ways in which white Europeans would view the people they called Indians for many generations. Native Americans here were portrayed by Europeans as exotic savages, whose sexuality was not contained within stable families and whose savagery was evidenced in their practice of eating the flesh of their slain enemies. In the background are the ships that have brought the European visitors who recorded these images. (© North Wind Picture Archives)

AP

HISTORICAL THINKING

- 1. Comparison** Compare the regional differences among Native Americans before the arrival of Europeans.
- 2. Comparison** How did patterns of settlement differ among the Spanish, English, French, and Dutch immigrants?
- 3. Historical Causation** What were the causes and effects of the beginning of importation of African slaves into the Americas?
- 4. Periodization** Within the context of the time period, what was the impact of mercantilism on the European colonization of North America?
- 5. Historical Causation** Identify the positive and negative impact of the Columbian Exchange on both European and native populations in North America.

Key Concept Correlations

Analyze the ways the historical developments you learn about in this chapter connect to the following AP Key Concepts.

- 1.1** Before the arrival of Europeans, native populations in North America developed a wide variety of social, political, and economic structures based in part on interactions with the environment and each other.
- 1.2** European overseas expansion resulted in the Columbian Exchange, a series of interactions and adaptations among societies across the Atlantic.
- 1.3** Contacts among American Indians, Africans, and Europeans challenged the worldviews of each group.
- 2.1** Differences in imperial goals, cultures, and the North American environments that different empires confronted led Europeans to develop diverse patterns of colonization.
- 2.2** European colonization efforts in North America stimulated intercultural contact and intensified conflict between the various groups of colonizers and native peoples.

Thematic Learning Objectives

PEO-1, 4, 5; ENV-1, 2, 4; WXT-1, 4; WOR-1; POL-1; CUL-1; ID-4

CHAPTER 1 deals with native civilizations prior to and immediately after European contact. In your reading, you should focus on the ways in which these civilizations interacted with each other prior to European contact as well as the geographical and environmental factors that led to distinct differences in American Indian societies of the different regions. Then look to relate the positive and negative consequences of the Columbian Exchange following the arrival of the Europeans. It is extremely important that you focus on changes brought about by these conflicts in both American Indian and European culture. You should also consider the similarities and difference between the major European colonizing nations regarding their respective interactions with native peoples, the political and economic structures established within their colonies, their motives for settlement, and the influence of religion on each of these aspects. As you read, evaluate the following concepts:

- A wide variety of political, economic, and social structures existed among American Indians.
- Environmental factors influenced American Indian society prior to and after European contact.
- Environmental factors led to varied regional differences among American Indians.
- The Columbian Exchange led to epidemic diseases, racially mixed populations, and the exchange of technology and foodstuffs.
- European socio-religious, political, and economic competition led to conflict in establishing New World colonies among European powers.
- American Indian resistance and conflict resulted from contact with European peoples.

AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS

We still know relatively little about the first peoples in the Americas. What we do know comes from scattered archaeological discoveries—new evidence from artifacts that have survived over many millennia.

THE PEOPLES OF THE PRECONTACT AMERICAS

For many decades, scholars believed that all early migrations into the Americas came from humans crossing an ancient land bridge over the Bering Strait into what is now Alaska, approximately 11,000 years ago. These migrants then traveled from the glacial north, through an unfrozen corridor between two great ice sheets, until they reached the nonglacial lands to the south. The migrations were probably

THE “CLOVIS” PEOPLE

ably a result of the development of new stone tools—spears and other hunting implements—with which migrating people could pursue the large animals that regularly crossed between Asia and North America. All of these land-based migrants are thought to have come from a Mongolian stock related to that of modern-day Siberia. They are known to scholars as the “Clovis” people, named for a town in New Mexico.

The Clovis people established one of the first civilizations in the Americas. Archaeologists believe that they lived about 13,000 years ago. They were among the first people to make tools and to eat other animals. The Clovis are believed to have migrated from Siberia across the Bering land bridge into Alaska. From there, they moved southward to warmer regions, including New Mexico.

More recent archaeological evidence, however, suggests that not all the early migrants came across the Bering Strait. Some migrants from Asia appear to have settled as far south as Chile and

ARCHAEOLOGISTS AND POPULATION DIVERSITY

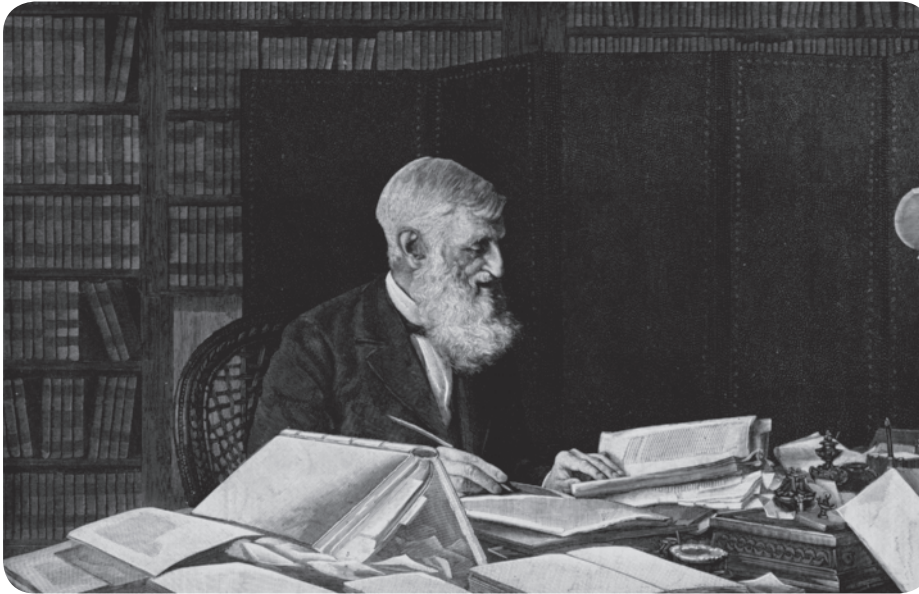
Peru even before people began moving into North America by land. This suggests that these first South Americans may have come not by land but by sea, using boats. Other discoveries on other continents made clear that migrants had traveled by water much earlier to populate Japan, Australia, and other areas of the Pacific. Those discoveries suggest that migrants were capable of making long ocean voyages—long enough to bring them to the American coasts.



WHY DO HISTORIANS SO OFTEN DIFFER?

EARLY in the twentieth century, when the professional study of history was still relatively new, many historians believed that questions about the past could be answered with the same certainty and precision that questions in more-scientific fields could be answered. By sifting through available records, using precise methods of research and

analysis, and producing careful, closely argued accounts of the past, they believed they could create definitive histories that would survive without controversy. Scholars who adhered to this view believed



GEORGE BANCROFT (© Corbis)



PAULINE MAIER (© Charles Maier. Courtesy of the Maier family)

COMMERCE AND NATIONALISM

Two important and related changes provided the first incentive for Europeans to look toward new lands. One was a result of the significant population growth in fifteenth-century Europe. The Black Death, a catastrophic epidemic of the bubonic plague that began in Constantinople in 1347, had decimated Europe, killing (according to some estimates) more than a third of the people of the continent and debilitating its already-limited economy.

A REAWAKENING OF COMMERCE

But a century and a half later, the population had rebounded. With that growth came a rise in land values, a reawakening of commerce, and a general increase in prosperity. Affluent landlords became eager to purchase goods from distant regions, and a new merchant class emerged to meet their demand. As trade increased, and as advances in navigation and shipbuilding made long-distance sea travel more feasible, interest in developing new markets, finding new products, and opening new trade routes rapidly increased.

Paralleling the rise of commerce in Europe, and in part responsible for it, was the rise of new governments that were more united and powerful than the feeble political entities of

CENTRALIZED NATION-STATES

the feudal past. In the western areas of Europe, the authority of the distant pope and the even more distant Holy Roman Emperor was necessarily weak. As a result, strong new monarchs emerged and created centralized nation-states, with national courts, national armies, and—perhaps most important—national tax systems. As these ambitious kings and queens consolidated their power and increased their wealth, they became eager to enhance the commercial growth of their nations.

Ever since the early fourteenth century, when Marco Polo and other adventurers had returned from Asia bearing exotic goods (spices, fabrics, dyes) and exotic tales, Europeans who hoped for commercial glory had dreamed of trade with the East. For two centuries, that trade had been limited by the difficulties of the long, arduous overland journey to the Asian

that real knowledge can be derived only from direct, scientific observation of clear “facts”. They were known as “positivists.”

A vigorous debate continues to this day over whether historical research can or should be truly objective. Almost no historian any longer accepts the “positivist” claim that history could ever be an exact science. Disagreement about the past is, in fact, at the heart of the effort to understand history. Critics of contemporary historical scholarship often denounce the way historians are constantly revising earlier interpretations. Some denounce the act of interpretation itself. History, they claim, is “what happened,” and historians should “stick to the facts.”

Historians, however, continue to differ with one another both because the “facts” are seldom as straightforward as their critics claim and because facts by themselves mean almost nothing without an effort to assign meaning to them. Some historical “facts,” of course, are not in dispute. Everyone agrees, for example, that the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and that Abraham Lincoln was elected president in 1860. But many other “facts” are much harder to determine—among them, for example, the question of how large the American population was before the arrival of Columbus, which is discussed in this chapter. How many slaves resisted slavery? This sounds like a reasonably straightforward question, but it is almost impossible to answer with any certainty—because the records of slave resistance are spotty and the definition of “resistance” is a matter of considerable dispute.

Even when a set of facts is clear and straightforward, historians disagree—sometimes quite radically—over what they mean. Those disagreements can be the result of political and ideological disagreements. Some of the most vigorous debates in recent decades have been between scholars who believe that economic interests and class divisions are the key to understanding the past, and those who believe that ideas and culture are at least as important as material interests. Whites and people of color, men and women, people from the American South and people from the North, young people and older people: these and many other points of difference find their way into scholarly disagreements. Debates can also occur over differences in methodology—between those who believe that quantitative studies can answer important historical questions and those who believe that other methods come closer to the truth.

Most of all historical interpretation changes in response to the time in which it is written. Historians may strive to be “objective” in their work, but no one can be entirely free from the assumptions and concerns of the present. In the 1950s, the omnipresent shadow of the Cold War had a profound effect on the way most historians viewed the past. In the 1960s, concerns about racial justice and disillusionment with the Vietnam War altered the way many historians viewed the past. Those events introduced a much more critical tone to scholarship and turned the attention of scholars away from politics and government and toward the study of society and culture.

Many areas of scholarship in recent decades are embroiled in a profound debate over whether there is such a thing as “truth.” The world, some scholars argue, is simply a series of “narratives”

constructed by people who view life in very different and often highly personal ways. “Truth” does not really exist. Everything is a product of interpretation. Not many historians embrace such radical ideas; most would agree that interpretations, to be of any value, must rest on a solid foundation of observable facts. But historians do recognize that even the most compelling facts are subject to many different interpretations and that the process of understanding the past is a forever continuing—and forever contested—process. ●

AP HISTORICAL ARGUMENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

1. Identify three arguments made regarding the issue of historical objectivity.
2. Explain at least two factors that influence historians when they are writing a historical account.
3. Take a position on the following statement: There is value to differing historical interpretations of “events.” Provide examples to support your position.

courts. But in the fourteenth century, as the maritime capabilities of several western European societies increased and as Muslim societies seized control of the eastern routes to Asia, there began to be serious talk of finding a faster, safer sea route to Asia. Such dreams found a receptive audience in the courts of the new monarchs. By the late fifteenth century, some of them were ready to finance daring voyages of exploration.

The first to do so were the Portuguese. They were the pre-eminent maritime power in the fifteenth century, in large part because of the work of one man, Prince Henry the Navigator.

PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR

Henry’s own principal interest was not in finding a sea route to Asia, but in exploring the western coast of Africa. He dreamed of establishing a Christian empire there to aid in his country’s wars against the Moors of northern Africa; and he hoped to find new stores of gold. The explorations he began did not fulfill his own hopes, but they ultimately led farther than he had dreamed. Some of Henry’s mariners went as far

south as Cape Verde, on Africa’s west coast. In 1486 (six years after Henry’s death), Bartholomeu Dias rounded the southern tip of Africa (the Cape of Good Hope); and in 1497–1498 Vasco da Gama proceeded all the way around the cape to India. In 1500, the next fleet bound for India, under the command of Pedro Cabral, was blown westward off its southerly course and happened upon the coast of Brazil. But by then another man, in the service of another country, had already encountered the New World.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

Christopher Columbus, who was born and reared in Genoa, Italy, obtained most of his early seafaring experience in the service of the Portuguese. As a young man, he became intrigued with the possibility, already under discussion in many seafaring circles, of reaching Asia by going not east but west. Columbus’s hopes rested on several basic misconceptions. He believed that the world was far smaller than it actually is.



THE AMERICAN POPULATION BEFORE COLUMBUS

NO one knows how many people lived in the Americas in the centuries before Columbus. But scholars and other researchers have spent more than a century and have written many thousands of pages debating the question nevertheless. Interest in this question survives, despite the near impossibility of answering it. The debate over the pre-Columbian population is closely connected to the much larger debate over the consequences of European settlement of the Western Hemisphere.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Native Americans spoke often of the great days before Columbus when there were many more people in their tribes. They drew from their own rich tradition of oral history handed down through storytelling from one generation to another. The painter and ethnographer George Catlin spent much time among the tribes in the 1830s painting portraits of a race that he feared was "fast passing to extinction". He listened to these oral legends and estimated that there had been 16 million Indians in North America before the Europeans came. Other white Americans dismissed such claims as preposterous, insisting that Indian civilization was far too primitive to have been able to sustain so large a population.

In 1928, James Mooney, an ethnologist at the Smithsonian Institution, drew from early accounts of soldiers and missionaries in the sixteenth century. He came up with the implausibly precise figure of 1.15 million natives who lived north of Mexico in the early sixteenth century. That was a larger figure than nineteenth-century writers had suggested, but still much smaller than the Indians themselves claimed. A few years later, the anthropologist Alfred Kroeber used many of Mooney's methods



PUEBLO VILLAGE © C. McIntyre/PhotoLink/Getty Images RF

and come up with an estimate of the population of the entire Western Hemisphere—considerably larger than Mooney's, but much lower than Catlin's. He concluded in



He also believed that the Asian continent extended farther eastward than it actually does. He assumed, therefore, that the Atlantic was narrow enough to be crossed on a relatively brief voyage. It did not occur to him that anything lay to the west between Europe and Asia.

Columbus failed to win support for his plan in Portugal, so he turned to Spain. The Spaniards were not yet as advanced a maritime people as the Portuguese, but they were at least as energetic and ambitious. And in the fifteenth century, the marriage of Spain's two most powerful regional rulers, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, had produced the strongest monarchy in Europe. Like other young monarchies, Spain soon grew eager to demonstrate its strength by sponsoring new commercial ventures.

Columbus appealed to Queen Isabella for support for his proposed westward voyage. In 1492, Isabella agreed to Columbus's request. Commanding ninety men and three ships—the *Niña*, the *Pinta*, and the *Santa María*—Columbus left Spain in August 1492 and sailed west into the Atlantic on what he

IROQUOIS WOMEN This 1734 French engraving shows Iroquois women at work in a settlement somewhere in what is now upstate New York. In the foreground, women are cooking. Others are working in the fields. Men spent much of their time hunting and fighting battles, leaving the women to govern and dominate the internal lives of the villages. Property in Iroquois society was inherited through the mother, and women occupied positions of great authority within the tribes. (Library of Congress)

1934 that there were 8.4 million people in the Americas in 1492, half in North America and half in the Caribbean and South America.

These low early estimates reflected an assumption that the arrival of the Europeans did not much reduce the native population. But in the 1960s and 1970s, scholars discovered that the early tribes had been catastrophically decimated by European plagues not long after the arrival of Columbus—meaning that the numbers Europeans observed even in the late 1500s were already dramatically smaller than the numbers in 1492. Drawing on early work by anthropologists and others who discovered evidence of widespread deaths by disease, historians William McNeill in 1976 and Alfred Crosby a decade later, as well as other scholars, produced powerful accounts of the near extinction of some tribes and the dramatic depopulation of others in a pestilential catastrophe with few parallels in history. Almost all scholars now accept that much, perhaps most, of the native population was wiped out by disease—smallpox, measles, tuberculosis, and other plagues imported from Europe.

Henry Dobyns, an anthropologist who was one of the earliest scholars to challenge the early, low estimates, claimed in 1966 that in 1492 there were between 10 and 12 million people north of Mexico and between 90 and 112 million in all of the Americas. No subsequent scholar has made so high a claim, but most estimates that followed have been much closer to Dobyns's than to Kroeber's. The geographer William M. Denevan, for example, argued in 1976 that the American population in 1492 was around 55 million and that the population north of Mexico was under 4 million. Those are among the lowest of modern estimates, but still dramatically higher than the nineteenth-century numbers.

The vehemence with which scholars have debated these figures is not just because it is very difficult to determine population size. It is also because the debate over the population is part of the debate over whether the arrival of Columbus—and the millions of Europeans who followed him—was a great advance in the history of civilization or an unparalleled catastrophe that exterminated a large and flourishing native population. How to balance the many achievements of European civilization in the New World after 1492 against the terrible destruction of native peoples that accompanied it is, in the end, less a historical question, perhaps, than a moral one. ●

thought was a straight course for Japan. Ten weeks later, he sighted land and assumed he had reached his target. In fact, he had landed on an island in the Bahamas. When he pushed on and encountered Cuba, he assumed he had reached China. He returned to Spain in triumph, bringing with him several captured natives as evidence of his achievement. (He called the natives "Indians" because he believed they were from the East Indies in the Pacific.)

But Columbus had not, of course, encountered the court of the great khan in China or the fabled wealth of the Indies. A year later, therefore, he tried again, this time with a much larger expedition. As before, he headed into the Caribbean, discovering several other islands and leaving a small and short-lived colony on Hispaniola. On a third voyage, in 1498, he finally reached the mainland and cruised along the northern coast of South America. When he passed the mouth of the Orinoco River (in present-day Venezuela), he concluded for the first time that what he had discovered was not an island off the coast of China, as he had assumed, but a separate continent; such a large freshwater stream, he realized, could emerge only from a large body of land. Still, he remained convinced that Asia was only a short distance away. And although he failed in his efforts to sail around the northeastern coast of South America to the Indies (he was blocked by the Isthmus of

COLUMBUS'S FIRST VOYAGE

he had landed on an island in the Bahamas. When he pushed on and encountered Cuba, he assumed he had reached China.

Panama), he returned to Spain believing that he had explored at least the fringes of the Far East. He continued to believe that for the rest of his life.

Columbus's celebrated accomplishments made him a popular hero for a time, but he later died in obscurity. When Europeans at last gave a name to the New World, they ignored him. The distinction went instead to a Florentine merchant, Amerigo Vespucci, a member of a later Portuguese expedition to the New World who wrote a series of vivid descriptions of the lands he had visited and who recognized the Americas as new continents.

Columbus has been celebrated for centuries as the "Admiral of the Ocean Sea" and as a representative of the new, secular, scientific impulses of Renaissance Europe. But Columbus was also a deeply religious man, even something of a mystic. His voyages were inspired as much by his conviction that he was fulfilling a

RELIGIOUS MOTIVES FOR EXPLORATION

divine mission as by his interest in geography and trade. A strong believer in biblical prophecies, he came to see himself as a man destined to advance the coming of the millennium. "God made me the messenger of the new heaven and the new earth," Columbus wrote near the end of his life, "and he showed me the spot where to find it." A similar combination of worldly and religious passions lay behind many subsequent efforts at exploration and settlement of the New World.

AP HISTORICAL ARGUMENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

1. Identify at least two historical estimates of the pre-Columbian population and the methods used to make them. For each estimate, provide one problem with the method used, which might lead to a questioning of the estimate.
2. Identify a discovery, which can be viewed as a turning point, or significant event, in the debate over the pre-Columbian population. How did this discovery change the debate?
3. Consider this statement: The arrival of Columbus to the Western World was a great advance. If the pre-Columbian population were zero, how do you view this statement. If the pre-Columbian population were 100 million, how do you view this statement? If the pre-Columbian population were 50 million, how do you view this statement?
4. If you were writing a history of European colonization in North America, how would you change the questions you would want to explore, if the pre-Columbian population were found to be 100 million and not zero? Explain.

THE ATLANTIC CONTEXT OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY WOR-2

MOST Americans understand that in the twenty-first century our nation has become intimately bound up with the rest of the world—that we live in a time that is often called the “age of globalization.” But globalization long preceded our own time, and historians have recently come to recognize that the “New World” of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America was part of a vast network of connections that has become known as the “Atlantic World.”

The idea of an “Atlantic World” rests in part on the obvious connections between western Europe and the Spanish, British, French, and Dutch colonies in North and South America. The massive European emigration to the Americas beginning in the sixteenth century, the defeat and devastation of native populations, the creation of European agricultural and urban settlements, and the imposition of imperial regulations on trade, commerce, landowning, and political life—all of these forces reveal the influence of Old World imperialism on the history of the New World.

Although some Europeans traveled to the New World to escape oppression or to search for adventure, the great majority of European emigrants were in search of economic opportunity. Not surprisingly, therefore, the European settlements in the Americas were almost from the start connected to Europe through the growth of commerce between them. The commercial relationship between America and Europe was responsible not just for the growth of trade, but also for the increases in migration over time—as the demand for labor in the New World drew more and more settlers from the Old World. Commerce was also the principal reason for the rise of slavery in the Americas, and for the growth of the slave trade between European America and Africa. The Atlantic World, in other words, included not just Europe and the Americas, but Africa as well.

Religion was another force binding together the Atlantic World. The vast majority of people of European descent were Christians, and most of them maintained important religious ties to Europe. Catholics, of course, were part of a hierarchical church based in Rome and maintained close ties with the Vatican. But the Protestant faiths that predominated in North America were linked to their European counterparts as well. New religious ideas and movements spread back and forth across the Atlantic with astonishing speed. Great revivals that began in Europe moved quickly to America. The “Great Awakening” of the mid-eighteenth century, for example, began in Britain and traveled to America in large part

through the efforts of the English evangelist George Whitefield. American evangelists later carried religious ideas from the New World back to the Old.

The early history of European America was also closely bound up with the intellectual life of Europe. The Enlightenment—the cluster of ideas that emerged in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries emphasizing the power of human reason—moved quickly to the Americas, producing considerable intellectual ferment throughout the New World, but particularly in the British colonies in North America and the Caribbean. Many of the ideas that lay behind the American Revolution were products of British and French philosophy that had traveled across the Atlantic. The reinterpretation of those ideas by Americans to help justify their drive to independence—by, among others, Thomas Paine—moved back across the Atlantic to Europe and helped to inspire the French Revolution. Scientific and technological knowledge—another product of the Enlightenment—moved rapidly back and forth across the Atlantic. Americans borrowed industrial technology from Britain. Europe acquired much of its early knowledge of electricity from experiments done in America. But the Enlightenment was only one part of the continuing intellectual connections within the Atlantic World, connections that spread artistic, scholarly, and political ideas widely through the lands bordering the ocean.

on an imaginary island supposedly discovered by a companion of Amerigo Vespucci in the waters of the New World.

More’s picture of an ideal community was, among other things, a comment on the social and economic ills of the England of his own time. The people of Tudor England suffered from frequent and costly European wars, from almost constant religious strife, and above all from a harsh economic transformation of the countryside. Because the worldwide

THE ENCLOSURE MOVEMENT

demand for wool was growing rapidly, many landowners were finding it profitable to convert their land from fields for crops to pastures for sheep. The result was a significant growth in the wool trade. But that meant land worked at one time by agricultural serfs and later by rent-paying tenant farmers was steadily enclosed for sheep runs and taken away from the farmers. Thousands of evicted tenants roamed the countryside in gangs, begging from (and at times robbing) the more fortunate householders through whose communities they passed.

The government passed various laws designed to halt enclosures, relieve the worthy poor, and compel the able-bodied or “sturdy beggars” to work. Such laws had little effect. The enclosure movement continued unabated, and few of the dislocated farmers could find reemployment in raising sheep or manufacturing wool. By removing land from cultivation, the enclosure movement also limited England’s ability to feed its rising population, which grew from 3 million in 1485 to 4 million in 1603. Because of both the dislocation of farmers and the restriction of the food supply, therefore, England had a serious problem of surplus population.

Amid this growing distress, a rising class of merchant capitalists was prospering from the expansion of foreign trade. At first, England had exported little except raw wool; but new merchant capitalists helped create a domestic cloth industry that allowed them to begin marketing finished goods at home and abroad. At first, most exporters did business almost entirely as individuals. In time, however, some merchants joined forces and formed chartered companies. Each such enterprise operated

MERCANTILISM AND COLONIAL COMMERCE WOR-1

FOR more than two centuries, the economic life of Europe and its growing colonial possessions (the North American colonies among them) was shaped by a theory known as mercantilism. The actual application of mercantilism differed from country to country and empire to empire. But virtually all versions of mercantilism shared a belief in the economic importance of



The Trades Increase

AS concerning SHIPS, It is that which everyone knoweth and can say: They are our *Weapons*; They are our *Armaments*; They are our *Strength*; They are our *Pleasures*; They are our *Defence*; They are our *Profit*. The *Subject* by them is made rich, the *Kingdom* through them, strong. The *Prince* in them is mighty, in a word: By them in manner, we live, the *Kingdom* is, the *King* Reigneth.

— From an English Pamphlet [circa 1681].

ENWP1007529 "The Trades Increase, as Concerning Ships." Hand-colored woodcut from an English pamphlet c. 1681 © North Wind Picture Archives / The Image Works NOTE: The copyright notice must include "The Image Works" DO NOT SHORTEN THE NAME OF THE COMPANY © North Wind Picture Archives / The Image Works

MERCANTILISM "The Trades Increase, as Concerning Ships" is a hand-colored woodprint depicting the vibrant state of late-seventeenth-century British mercantilism. The extended caption beneath the print acknowledges how British trade stands as a cornerstone of the British economy and a primary source of strength for the monarchy. (© North Wind Pictures Archive/Image Works)

colonies to the health of the colonizing nations. As a result, mercantilism helped spur the growth of European empires around the world.

In one sense, mercantilism was a highly nationalist, as opposed to a global, theory. It rested on the conviction that the nation (not the individual) was at the center of economic life and that each nation should work to maximize its own share of the finite wealth for which all nations were competing. A gain for France, mercantilism taught, was in effect a loss for Britain or Spain. Thus, it encouraged each nation to work for itself and to attempt to weaken its rivals. But mercantilism was also a global force. What made it so was not the modern notion of the value of international economic growth but, rather, the belief that each nation must search for its own sources of trade and raw materials around the world. Every European state was trying to find markets for its exports, which would bring wealth into the nation, while trying to limit imports, which would transfer wealth to others. (Most of these central mercantilist tenets would eventually be overturned in Adam Smith's 1776 tract, *The Wealth of Nations*, which instead advocated free trade among nations and individual self-interest over national largesse as the route to increasing global—and thus national—wealth.)

In a mercantilist economy, colonies were critical to a nation's economic well-being. They served both as providers of raw materials and as markets for finished goods. Colonies, mercantilism taught, should trade only with their mother nation, and the direction of wealth should flow only in one direction, toward the center of the empire. Naval power became an integral part of the mercantilist idea. Only by controlling the sea lanes between the colonies and the homeland could a nation preserve its favorable balance of trade.

Despite the common assumptions underlying all forms of mercantilism, the system took many different forms, often depending on whether colonial merchants or state bureaucrats drove the economic discussion. In England, Spain, and the Netherlands, mercantilism was closely identified with the emerging middle class, who stood to profit personally from the increased trade. (Hence the term "mercantilism," from merchant.) In France and Germany, on the other hand, state officials rather than private citizens laid more of the groundwork for mercantilism principles. In France, mercantilism was often known as "Colbertism," after its primary proponent, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, foreign minister under Louis XIV. In Germany, the theory was known as "cameralism," for the *Kammer*, or royal treasury.

In its early years, mercantilism was closely associated with “bullionism,” which is the theory that only gold and silver defined a nation’s wealth. As such, the early Spanish colonies of the New World, in particular, emphasized the procurement of gold, silver, and other precious metals for the mother nation. (English colonies such as Jamestown were founded in part with the same intention, but they were much less successful at finding precious metals.) But even when gold and silver were scarce, colonies could still provide other important resources for the imperial capitals—for example, fur, timber, sugar, tobacco, and slaves.

The theory of mercantilism taught that wealth creation was a zero-sum game: there was a fixed amount of wealth in the world, and any wealth a nation acquired was, in effect, taken away from some other nation. As a result, mercantilists believed that nations should heavily regulate the economic affairs of their colonies. One good example of this was England’s passage of the Navigation Acts in the 1660s, laws that sharply restricted colonial trade with anyone else but England. But England was not alone in passing such restrictions. Spain took equally definitive control over its colonial economies, passing similarly intensive regulation and insisting until 1720 that all colonial trade pass through the port of Seville.

Still, naval vessels could not be everywhere at once. And despite the many laws restricting colonial economies to their home nations, many colonial merchants around the world struck up trade with their nonaffiliated neighbors when possible. The French, Spanish, and Dutch West Indies in particular became the site of a thriving intercolonial trade that was not, for all intent and purposes, legal according to mercantilist doctrine. Indeed, so many traders from so many countries violated mercantile laws in the eighteenth century, and so many of them amassed great profits in the process, the mercantilist system gradually began to unravel. By the time of the American Revolution, in part a result of the colonists’ resistance to mercantilist policies, the patterns of global trade were already moving toward the less-regulated trading patterns of the modern capitalist world. ●

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. What effect did mercantilism have on colonial economies? Did the effects differ according to which European nation owned the colony?
2. How did mercantilism contribute to power rivalries among the European nations?
3. Mercantilism as a nation’s driving economic force has largely given way to economic globalization, that is, the increased interdependence of nations’ economies. Why do you think this is so?

the throne of James I, a Scotsman and the first of the Stuarts, in 1603. James believed kings ruled by divine right, and he felt no obligation to compromise with his opponents. He quickly antagonized the Puritans, a group that included most of the rising businessmen, by resorting to arbitrary taxation, by favoring English Catholics in granting charters and other favors, and by supporting “high church” forms of ceremony. By the early seventeenth century, some religious nonconformists were beginning to look for places of refuge outside the kingdom. Along with the other economic and social incentives for colonization, such religious discontent helped turn England’s gaze to distant lands.

PURITAN DISCONTENT

THE ENGLISH IN IRELAND

England’s first experience with colonization came not in the New World, but in a land separated from Britain only by a narrow stretch of sea: Ireland. The English had long laid claim to the island and had for many years maintained small settlements in the area around Dublin. Only in the second half of the sixteenth century, however, did serious efforts at large-scale colonization begin. During the 1560s and 1570s,



ELIZABETH I This is the Kitchener Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) painted by an unknown artist in the English style. In this portrait, the artist conveys Elizabeth as she was seen by many of her contemporaries: a strong, confident ruler, richly dressed, presiding over an ambitious, increasingly prosperous, and expansionist state. (Private Collection /© Mallett Gallery, London, UK / The Bridgeman Art Library)

Country towns, were also interested in American ventures and were sponsoring voyages of exploration farther north, up to Newfoundland, where West Country fishermen had been going for many years. In 1606 James I issued a new

NEW COLONIAL CHARTERS

charter, which divided America between the two groups. The London group got the exclusive right to colonize in the south, and the Plymouth merchants received the same right in the north. Through their efforts, the first enduring English colonies were planted in America.

AP CONNECTING THEMES

Chapter 1 has discussed the interaction of native peoples in the Western Hemisphere prior to and just after the arrival of Europeans. The chapter also included a discussion of the impact of the environment in shaping native populations and cultures and subsequent changes to the environment brought on by European contact. The motives for colonization among the major European powers and how their relationship with American Indians and slavery differed were also discussed. It is important to understand how and why European contact with native populations changed the lives and perceptions of each group.

The following themes have a heightened importance in Chapter 1. You should now be able to do the following for each listed theme:

Work, exchange, and technology: Identify the products and consequences of the Columbian Exchange.

Peopling: Identify patterns of movement of American Indians prior to and after European contact. Analyze the impact of migration, disease, and warfare on the American Indian population.

America in the world: Explain how exchange of commodities influenced the origin and development of British North American colonies.

Environment and geography: Explain how the introduction of plants, technology, and animals altered the environment of North America and its impact on American Indians. Discuss how the environment led to distinct regional groups prior to and after European contact.

Ideas, beliefs, and culture: Explain intergroup relationships between Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans.

AP SUGGESTED STUDY

PEOPLE/PLACES/EVENTS As you study these items, think about how they demonstrate or relate to key concepts and historical themes from this chapter.

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE 21

ALGONQUIAN 7

ATLANTIC WORLD 22

BIOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL CHANGES 18

CAHOKIA 6

CATHOLIC MISSIONS (SPANISH) 17

CHARTER COMPANIES 23

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS 9

CONQUISTADORES 12

CORN (MAIZE) CULTIVATION 5

COUREURS DE BOIS 29

DON JUAN DE ONATE 17

ENCOMIENDA 17

FUR TRADE 29

HENRY HUDSON 30

IROQUOIS 6

JAMESTOWN 30

MATRILINEAL 21

MERCANTILISM 23

MESO-AMERICANS 3

MESTIZOS 20

PUEBLO REVOLT 17

PURITANS 25

RACIAL HIERARCHY 20

ROANOKE 30

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN 30

SEPARATISTS 25

SIR WALTER RALEIGH 28

SMALLPOX 19

TENOCHTITLAN 3

WOODLAND INDIANS 6

AP TEST PRACTICE

MULTIPLE CHOICE Use the excerpt below and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer questions 1–3.

“... on the said 18th day of the month of December, 1681, for the judicial proceedings and inquiry which must be made in this new reduction and pacification and in order to learn of all the motives, reasons, circumstances, designs, and other supports which the treacherous apostate rebels against the royal crown of his Majesty had and may have at present for the conspiracy, alliance, and rebellion which they executed, apostatizing from the holy faith, forsaking royal obedience, burning images and temples, killing atrociously priests, soldiers, women, and children, taking possession of all the things pertaining to divine worship, of haciendas, and of everything in the kingdom that they could, returning to the blind idolatry and superstitions of their ancient days, his lordship caused to appear before him an Indian of the Tegua nation who said his name is Juan, that he is a native of the pueblo of Tesuque, and is married.”

–Spanish colonial government record of judicial proceedings regarding Pueblo Indian revolt, 1681

- The excerpt best provides evidence of which issue being deeply troubling for Native Americans regarding the colonizing efforts of Europeans in the 17th century?
 - Intermarriage between the Native Americans and the Europeans
 - Suppression of Native American beliefs and culture
 - Introduction by the Europeans of new agricultural techniques
 - The value system of the Europeans
 - The excerpt most suggests that, in their colonization of the Western Hemisphere, the European colonists believed
 - in their cultural superiority
 - in the knowledge of Native Americans
 - that their European political systems would not translate effectively into the political systems already existing in the Western Hemisphere
 - the different cultures of the Native American groups should be respected
 - The excerpt provides evidence for which of the following regarding motives of Europeans in their conquest of the Americas in the 16th and 17th centuries?
 - Spreading Christianity
 - Exploring non-western European cultures
 - Pursuing trade
 - Discovering gold and silver
- SHORT ANSWER** Use your knowledge of U.S. history to answer questions 4–6.
- Answer a, b, and c.
 - Briefly explain ONE example of how the environment shaped the social or cultural aspect of a North American Indian group.
 - Briefly explain ONE example of how the environment shaped the political or economic structure of a North American Indian group.
 - Briefly explain ONE example of a cultural exchange before the arrival of the Europeans, affecting the cultural development of an American Indian group.
 - Answer a, b, and c.
 - Briefly explain ONE example of how American Indian societies in the 15th and 16th centuries were affected during the Columbian Exchange.
 - Briefly explain a SECOND example of how American Indian societies in the 15th and 16th centuries were affected during the Columbian Exchange.
 - Briefly explain ONE example of how the Columbian Exchange affected the European population in the 15th and 16th centuries.
 - Answer a, b, c
 - Briefly explain ONE example of how Europeans sought to change American Indian beliefs and world views.
 - Briefly explain ONE example of how American Indians resisted European attempts to change their beliefs and world views.
 - Briefly explain ONE example of how Europeans justified their treatment of American Indians.
- LONG ESSAY** Develop a thoughtful and thorough historical argument that answers the question below. Begin your essay with a thesis statement and support it with relevant historical evidence.
- Some historians have argued that European expansion into the Western Hemisphere in the 15th and 16th centuries was a great advancement for human civilization. Support, modify, or refute this interpretation, providing specific evidence to justify your answer.