Welcome to APUSH! This class places attention upon understandings equivalent to those gained in a college level introductory course; emphasis is on the general narrative of American history from 1400 to 2014; the study also includes an examination of the political, diplomatic, intellectual, cultural, social and economic history of the United States.

Throughout the year, you will read and outline your textbook. This is an overview of the APUSH curriculum. However, throughout the year you will be reading various scholarly articles, primary sources, or chapters from other college-level American history textbooks.

This class moves quickly and in order to start the year off effectively, you must come in on the first day prepared to discuss our first unit, Period One- 1491-1607. To do so, you will need to complete the following assignments.

I. Read and complete the reading guides for AMSCO chapters 1 and 2.

II. Read the Christopher Columbus article and complete the reading log entry on the article.

III. Complete the pre-Columbian charts using your notes from chapters 1-2

Due Dates:
- AMSCO Ch. 1- Due the first class
- Columbus Reading Log- Due the first class
- Pre-Columbian charts- Due the second class
- AMSCO Ch. 2- Due the second class

However, do not wait. You will receive more work the first week of school and you do NOT want to get behind.

Questions?

Ms. Quinn eequinn@lcps.org

*Additional copies of the summer assignment will be available on the Park View website.*
Guided Reading & Analysis: A New World
Chapter 1 - A New World of Many Cultures, 1491-1607, pp 1-13

**Purpose:**
This guide is not only a place to record notes as you read, but also to provide a place and structure for reflections and analysis using your noggin (thinking skills) with new knowledge gained from the reading. (Image Source: AdventureTales.com)

**Directions:**
1. **Pre-Read:** Read the prompts/questions within this guide before you read the chapter.
2. **Skim:** Flip through the chapter and note titles and subtitles. Look at images and read captions. Get a feel for the content you are about to read.
3. **Read/Analyze:** Read the chapter. If you have your own copy of AMSCO, highlight key events and people as you read. Remember, the goal is not to "fish" for a specific answer(s) to reading guide questions, but to consider questions in order to critically understand what you read!
4. **Write** Write your notes and analysis in the spaces provided.

**Key Concepts FOR PERIOD 1:**
*NOTE: College Board released revisions to the APUSH framework July of 2015. The key concepts and objectives addressed in your texts reflect the 2014 version of the framework. This guide includes the 2015 revisions to the key concepts. In general, the expectations are not that different. College Board simply sought to clarify and simplify the expectations.*

**Key Concept 1.1:** As **native populations** migrated and settled across the vast expanse of North America over time, they developed distinct and increasingly **complex societies** by adapting to and transforming their diverse environments.

**Key Concept 1.2:** Contact among **Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans** resulted in the **Columbian Exchange** and significant social, cultural, and political changes on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

**SECTION 1 - Period Perspectives, p.1**
Consider the data in the chart at right as well as page 1 of the text when completing this section.

1. Period 1 begins with 1491. If the American Indian population in what is now the United States was nearly 10 million before 1492, why is the United States population in modern times only 2 to 3% American Indian?

2. Period 1 ends with the establishment of Jamestown, the first permanent British settlement in North America. Explain why 1607 is a major turning point in United States history.

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**Figure 2.**
**Fifteen Largest Ancestries: 2000**
(In millions. Percent of total population in parentheses. Data based on sample. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/sf3.pdf)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ancestry</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Millions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>30.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotch-Irish</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 special tabulation.
SECTION 2 Guided Reading, pp 2-13
As you read the chapter, jot down your notes in the middle column. Consider your notes to be elaborations on the Objectives and Main Ideas presented in the left column. When you finish reading the section and taking notes, process and analyze what you read by answering the question in the right hand column. You do not need to write in complete sentences.

3. Cultures pp 2-5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Concepts &amp; Main Ideas</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
<td>Cultures of Central and South America...</td>
<td>In what ways did native peoples transform North American environment before European colonization? (list)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As settlers migrated and settled across the vast expanse of North America over time, they developed quite different and increasingly complex societies by adapting to and transforming their diverse environments.</td>
<td>Cultures of North America...</td>
<td>a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language...</td>
<td>Northwest Settlements...</td>
<td>b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwest Settlements...</td>
<td>Great Plains...</td>
<td>c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwest Settlements...</td>
<td>Northeast Settlements...</td>
<td>d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic Seaboard Settlements...</td>
<td></td>
<td>Identify one key similarity and one key difference between societies that developed in Central and South America to those that developed in North America.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Similarity:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Difference:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Explain the significance of the difference between Central/South America and North America.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Europe Moves Toward Exploration, pp 5-6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Concepts &amp; Main Ideas</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New technology, new knowledge, and new goals spurred European exploration.</td>
<td>Improvements in technology...</td>
<td>Identify the key difference between Viking voyages of the 12th century to that of Columbus in the 15th century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious conflict...</td>
<td></td>
<td>How did new technology enable Christopher Columbus to dominate the “New World?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What was the impact of the Catholic victory in Spain and the European Reformation on North America?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. **Expanding Trade**, pp 6-7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Concepts &amp; Main Ideas</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic motives drove exploration, and “discovery” altered the European, African, and America economically, politically, and culturally.</td>
<td>New Routes...</td>
<td>List three main effects of Europe’s expanding trade in the 15th century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slave Trading...</td>
<td>a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>African Resistance...</td>
<td>b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Developing Nation-States...</td>
<td>c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Which effect was most significant? Explain your answer.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. **Early Explorations**, pp 7-10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Concepts &amp; Main Ideas</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European overseas expansion resulted in the Columbian Exchange, a series of interactions and adaptations among societies across the Atlantic.</td>
<td>Christopher Columbus...</td>
<td><em>How did European expansion impact European society?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The arrival of Europeans in the Western Hemisphere in the 15th and 16th centuries triggered extensive demographic and social changes on both sides of the Atlantic.</td>
<td>Columbus’s Legacy...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European expansion into the Western Hemisphere caused intense social/religious, political, and economic competition in Europe and the promotion of empire building.</td>
<td>Exchanges...</td>
<td><em>How did European expansion impact Native American society?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dividing the Americas...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish Exploration and Conquest...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English Claims...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>French Claims...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dutch Claims...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Which of these consequences were the most significant? Explain your answer.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 7. Spanish Settlements in North America, pp 10-11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Concepts &amp; Main Ideas</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European expansion into the Western Hemisphere caused intense social/religious, political, and economic competition in Europe and the promotion of empire building.</td>
<td>Florida...</td>
<td>What were <em>three chief features</em> of the Spanish empire in America?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Mexico...</td>
<td>a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Texas...</td>
<td>b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>California...</td>
<td>c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Identify <em>one cause</em> and <em>one effect</em> of Spanish settlement in North America.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cause:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Effect:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 8. European Treatment of Native Americans, pp 11-12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Concepts &amp; Main Ideas</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contacts among American Indians, Africans, and Europeans challenged the worldviews of each group. European overseas expansion and sustained contacts with Africans and American Indians dramatically altered European views of social, political, and economic relationships among and between white and nonwhite peoples</td>
<td>Spanish Policy...</td>
<td>Identify <em>three major consequences</em> of European contact with American Indians?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English Policy...</td>
<td>a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>French Policy...</td>
<td>b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Native American Reaction...</td>
<td>c.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Which of these were the <em>most significant</em>? Explain your answer.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In what ways was English policy toward Native Americans different from those of France and Spain?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Different from France in that</em>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Different from Spain in that</em>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>How effective</em> were Native Americans in overcoming the negative aspects of European policies?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. **Historical Perspectives: Was Columbus a Great Hero?** p.13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Concepts &amp; Main Ideas</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European overseas expansion and sustained contacts with Africans and American Indians</td>
<td>Washington Irving...</td>
<td>Support or refute the following statement: Christopher Columbus was a hero.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dramatically altered European views of social, political, and economic relationships among and between white and nonwhite peoples.</td>
<td>President Franklin Roosevelt...</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Revisionists...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arthur Schlesinger...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fact and fiction...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**List 3 pieces of evidence to support your answer.**

a. 

b. 

c. 

**List 3 pieces of evidence that support the alternate view.**

a. 

b. 

c. 

10. Explain the HIPP of the image below.


**HIPP+:**

**Historical Context:**

**Intended Audience:**

**Author’s Purpose:**

**Author’s Point of View:**

+ Other Context (similar in kind, from a different time... give an example of similar theme in a different place/time period):
Section 3 MAP
The College Board framework for the course includes specific places and locations significant to the development of North America and the United states. This section provides you with the opportunity to locate and review these items.

Directions:
1. Read the framework excerpts located to the right of the map, and ensure you understand & know where/what is referenced.
2. Circle or highlight the following groups: Pueblo, Chinooks, Iroquois, Algonquian, Wamponoags, Pequot, Powhatan
3. Label/Trace the starting point and expansion of maize cultivation.

On a North American continent... The spread of maize cultivation from present-day Mexico northward into the American Southwest and beyond supported economic development and social diversification among societies in these areas; a mix of foraging and hunting did the same for societies in the Northwest and areas of California.

Societies responded to the lack of natural resources in the Great Basin and the western Great Plains by developing largely mobile lifestyles.

In the Northeast and along the Atlantic Seaboard, some societies developed a mixed agricultural and hunter-gatherer economy that favored the development of permanent villages.

European overseas expansion resulted in the Columbian Exchange, a series of interactions and adaptations among societies across the Atlantic. The arrival of Europeans in the Western Hemisphere in the 15th and 16th centuries triggered extensive demographic and social changes on both sides of the Atlantic.


Reading Guide written by Rebecca Richardson, Allen High School
Sources include but are not limited to: 2015 edition of AMSCO’s United States History: Preparing for the Advanced Placement Examination, Wikipedia.org, College Board Advanced Placement United States History Framework, writing strategies developed by Mr. John P. Irish, Carroll High School, 12th edition of American Pageant, USHistory.org, Britannica.com, LatinAmericanHistory.about.com, and other sources as cited in document and collected/adapted over 20 years of teaching and collaborating.
PERIOD 1: 1491–1607

Chapter 1 A New World of Many Cultures, 1491–1607

Today, the United States is a synthesis, or combination, of people from around the world. The first people arrived in the Americas at least 10,000 years ago. Chapter 1 begins with a survey of how these people lived in 1491, the year before the arrival of European Christopher Columbus in the Americas. His arrival initiated lasting contact between people on opposite sides of the Atlantic Ocean. The chapter and the period end in 1607, with the founding of the first permanent English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia. The Jamestown settlement marks the beginning of the framework of a new nation.

Period Perspectives Contact between Europeans and the natives of America touched off a trans-Atlantic trade in animals, plants, and germs known as the Columbian Exchange. This trade altered the way people around the globe lived and thought. Within a hundred years, Spanish and Portuguese explorers and settlers developed colonies using natives and enslaved Africans for labor in agriculture and mining precious metals. Natives and Africans resisted oppression by maintaining elements of their cultures. The Spanish and the Portuguese were quickly followed to the Americas by the French and the Dutch, and later by the English.

Alternate View Until the mid-20th century, most historians viewed Columbus and European explorers and settlers as great adventurers who founded colonies that developed into modern democracies. However, in recent years, historians have highlighted the vibrant and diverse native cultures that existed in the Americas before the arrival of Columbus, and how European diseases and violence destroyed so much of these cultures. The native population declined by 90 percent after the arrival of Europeans. To demonstrate this greater emphasis on native culture, historians often begin this period in 1491 rather than 1492.

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.

A New World of Many Cultures, 1491–1607

Thirty-three days after my departure from [the Canary Islands] I reached the Indian Sea, where I discovered many islands, thickly peopled, of which I took possession without resistance in the name of our most illustrious monarch, by public proclamation and with unfurled banners.

Christopher Columbus, Select Letters, 1493

The original discovery, exploration, and settlement of North and South America occurred at least 10,000 years before Christopher Columbus was born. Some archaeologists estimate that the first people to settle North America arrived as many as 40,000 years ago. Waves of migrants from Asia may have crossed a land bridge that once connected Siberia and Alaska (land now submerged under the Bering Sea). Over a long period of time, successive generations migrated southward from the Arctic Circle to the southern tip of South America. The first Americans adapted to the varied environments of the regions they found. They evolved into hundreds of tribes, spoke different languages, and practiced different cultures. Estimates of the native population in the Americas in the 1490s vary from 50 million to 100 million people.

Cultures of Central and South America
The native population was concentrated in three highly developed civilizations. Between A.D. 300 and 800, the Mayas built remarkable cities in the rain forests of the Yucatán Peninsula (present-day Guatemala, Belize, and southern Mexico). Several centuries after the decline of the Mayas, the Aztecs from central Mexico developed a powerful empire. The Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán, had a population of about 200,000, equivalent in population to the largest cities of Europe. While the Aztecs were dominating Mexico and Central America, the Incas based in Peru developed a vast empire in South America. All three civilizations developed highly organized societies, carried on an extensive trade, and created calendars that were based on accurate scientific observations. All three cultivated crops that provided a stable food supply, particularly corn for the Mayas and Aztecs and potatoes for the Incas.

Cultures of North America
The population in the region north of Mexico (present-day United States and Canada) in the 1490s may have been anywhere from under 1 million to more than 10 million. In general, the native societies in this region were smaller and less sophisticated than those in Mexico and South America. One reason for this was the slowness of the northward spread of corn cultivation from Mexico.

Some of the most populous and complex societies in North America had disappeared by the 15th century, for reasons not well understood. By the time of Columbus, most people in the Americas in what is now the United States and Canada lived in semipermanent settlements in groups seldom exceeding 300 people. The men spent their time making tools and hunting for game, while the women gathered plants and nuts or grew crops such as corn, beans, and tobacco.

NATIVE PEOPLES OF THE AMERICAS, 1491
Language  Beyond these similarities, the cultures of American Indians were very diverse. For example, while English, Spanish, and almost all other European languages were part of just one language family (Indo-European), American Indian languages constituted more than 20 language families. Among the largest of these were Algonquian in the Northeast, Siouan on the Great Plains, and Athabaskan in the Southwest. Together, these 20 families included more than 400 distinct languages.

Southwest Settlements  In the dry region that now includes New Mexico and Arizona, groups such as the Hopi, Anasazi, and Puebloans evolved multifaceted societies supported by farming with irrigation systems. In large numbers they lived in caves, under cliffs, and in multi-storied buildings. By the time Europeans arrived, extreme drought and other hostile natives had taken their toll on these groups. However, much of their way of life was preserved in the arid land and their stone and masonry dwellings.

Northwest Settlements  Along the Pacific coast from what is today Alaska to northern California, people lived in permanent longhouses or plank houses. They had a rich diet based on hunting, fishing, and gathering nuts, berries, and roots. To save stories, legends, and myths, they carved large totem poles. The high mountain ranges in this region isolated tribes from one another, creating barriers to development.

Great Plains  Most people who lived on the Great Plains were either nomadic hunters or sedentary people who farmed and traded. The nomadic tribes survived on hunting, particularly the bison, which supplied their food as well as decorations, crafting tools, knives, and clothing. They lived in tepees, frames of poles covered in animal skins, which were easily disassembled and transported. While the farming tribes also hunted buffalo, they lived permanently in earthen lodges along rivers. They raised corn, beans, and squash while actively trading with other tribes. Not until the 17th century did American Indians acquire horses by trading or stealing them from Spanish settlers. With horses, tribes such as the Lakota Sioux moved away from farming to hunting and easily following the buffalo across the plains. The plains tribes would at times move or split apart as conditions changed. Migration also was common. For example, the Apaches gradually migrated southward from Canada to Texas.

Midwest Settlements  East of the Mississippi River, the Woodland American Indians prospered with a rich food supply. Supported by hunting, fishing, and agriculture, many permanent settlements developed in the Mississippi and Ohio River valleys and elsewhere. The Adena-Hopewell culture, centered in what is now Ohio, is famous for the large earthen mounds it created, some as large as 300 feet long. One of the largest settlements in the Midwest was Cahokia (near present-day East St. Louis, Illinois), with as many as 30,000 inhabitants.

Northeast Settlements  Some descendants of the Adena-Hopewell culture spread from the Ohio Valley into New York. Their culture combined hunting and farming. However, their farming techniques exhausted the soil quickly, so people had to move to fresh land frequently. Among the most famous groups of American Indians in this region was the Iroquois Confederation, a political union of five independent tribes who lived in the Mohawk Valley of New York. The five tribes were the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk. Multiple families related through a mother lived in longhouses, up to 200 feet long. From the 16th century through the American Revolution, the Iroquois were a powerful force, battling rival American Indians as well as Europeans.

Atlantic Seaboard Settlements  In the area from New Jersey south to Florida lived the people of the Coastal Plains. Many were descendants of the Woodland mound builders and built timber and bark lodgings along rivers. The rivers and the Atlantic Ocean provided a rich source of food.

Europe Moves Toward Exploration

Until the late 1400s, Americans and the people of Europe, Africa, and Asia had no knowledge of the people on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. While Vikings from Scandinavia had visited Greenland and North America around the year 1000, these voyages had no lasting impact. Columbus’s voyages of exploration finally brought people into contact across the Atlantic. Several factors made an oceanic crossing and exploration possible in the late 15th century.

Improvements in Technology

In Europe, a rebirth of classical learning prompted an outburst of artistic and scientific activity in the 15th and 16th centuries known as the Renaissance. Several of the technological advances during the Renaissance resulted from Europeans making improvements in the inventions of others. For example, they began to use gunpowder (invented by the Chinese) and the sailing compass (adopted from Arab merchants who learned about it from the Chinese). Europeans also made major improvements in shipbuilding and mapping. In addition, the invention of the printing press in the 1450s aided the spread of knowledge across Europe.

Religious Conflict

The later years of the Renaissance were a time of intense religious zeal and conflict. The Roman Catholic Church that had once dominated Western Europe was threatened from without by the Eastern Churches and from within by a revolt against the pope’s authority.

Catholic Victory in Spain  In the 8th century, Islamic invaders from North Africa, known as Moors, rapidly conquered most of what is now Spain. Over the next several centuries, Spanish Christians reconquered much of the land and set up several independent kingdoms. Two of the largest of these kingdoms united when Isabella, queen of Castile, and Ferdinand, king of Aragon, married in 1469. In 1492, under the leadership of Isabella and Ferdinand, the Spanish conquered the last Moorish stronghold in Spain, the city of Granada. In that year, the monarchs also funded Christopher Columbus on his historic
first voyage. The unification of Spain under Isabella and Ferdinand, the conquest of Granada, and the launching of Columbus signaled new leadership, hope, and power for Europeans who followed the Roman Catholic faith.

Protestant Revolt in Northern Europe In the early 1500s, certain Christians in Germany, England, France, Holland, and other northern European countries revolted against the authority of the pope in Rome. Their revolt was known as the Protestant Reformation. Conflict between Catholics and Protestants led to a series of religious wars. The conflict also caused the Catholics of Spain and Portugal and the Protestants of England and Holland to want to spread their own versions of Christianity to people in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Thus, a religious motive for exploration and colonization was added to political and economic motives.

Expanding Trade
Economic motives for exploration grew out of a fierce competition among European kingdoms for increased trade with Africa, India, and China. In the past, merchants had traveled from the Italian city-state of Venice and the Byzantine city of Constantinople on a long, slow, expensive overland route that reached all the way to the capital of the Chinese empire. This land route to Asia had become blocked in 1453 when the Ottoman Turks seized control of Constantinople.

New Routes So the idea of finding a new way to the rich Asian trade appeared to be by sailing either south along the West African coast east to China, or sailing west across the Atlantic Ocean. The Portuguese, who realized the route south and east was the shortest path, thought this option seemed more promising. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to reach Africa via this route. By this time, Columbus had attempted what he mistakenly believed was a shorter route to Asia.

Slave Trading Since ancient times people in Europe, Africa, and Asia had enslaved people captured in wars. In the 16th century, the Portuguese began trading for slaves from West Africa. They used the slaves to work on sugar plantations in Brazil and the West Indies off the African coast. Producing sugar with slave labor was so profitable that when Europeans later established colonies in the Americas, they used the slave trade system.

African Resistance Enslaved Africans resisted slavery in various ways. They were sometimes transported thousands of miles from their homelands and brutally repressed, often run away, sabotaged work, or revolted. And for generations they maintained aspects of their African culture, particularly in music, religion, and folkways.

Developing Nation-States
Europe was also changing politically in the 16th century. Small kingdoms, such as Castile and Aragon, were uniting into larger ones. Enormous multiethnic empires, such as the sprawling Holy Roman Empire in central Europe, were breaking up. Replacing the small kingdoms and the multiethnic empires were nation-states, countries in which the majority of people shared both a common culture and common loyalty toward a central government. The monarchs of the emerging nation-states, such as Isabella and Ferdinand of Spain; Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal; and similar monarchs of France, England, and the Netherlands, depended on trade to bring in needed revenues and on the church to justify their right to rule. They used their power to search for riches abroad and to spread the influence of their version of Christianity to new overseas dominions.

Early Explorations
Changing economic, political, and social conditions in Europe shaped the ambitions of the Italian-born Christopher Columbus.

Christopher Columbus
Columbus spent eight years seeking financial support for his plan to sail west from Europe to the “Indies.” Finally, in 1492, he succeeded in winning the backing of Isabella and Ferdinand. The two Spanish monarchs were then at the height of their power, having just defeated the Moors in Granada. They agreed to outfit three ships and to make Columbus governor, admiral, and viceroy of all the lands that he would claim for Spain.

After sailing from the Canary Islands on September 6, Columbus landed on an island in the Bahamas on October 12. His success in reaching lands on the other side of the ocean brought him a burst of glory in Spain. But three subsequent voyages across the Atlantic were disappointing—he found little gold, few spices, and no simple path to China and India.

Columbus’s Legacy Columbus died in 1506, still believing that he had found a western route to Asia. However, many Spaniards viewed Columbus as a failure because they suspected that he had found not a valuable trade route, but a “New World.” Today, some people scoff at Columbus for having erroneously given the people he encountered the name “Indians.” Even the land that he had explored was named for someone else, Amerigo Vespucci, another Italian sailor. Columbus’s critics also point out the many problems and injustices suffered by the natives of the Americas after Europeans arrived and took over their land.

Nevertheless, most historians agree on Columbus’s importance. Modern scholars have recognized his great skills as a navigator and his daring commitment in going forth where nobody else had ever dared to venture. Furthermore, Columbus’s voyages brought about, for the first time in history, permanent interaction between people from all over the globe. He changed the world forever.

Exchanges Europeans and the original inhabitants of the Americas developed vastly different cultures over the millennia. The contact between them resulted in the Columbian Exchange, a transfer of plants, animals, and germs from one side of the Atlantic to the other for the first time. Europeans learned about many new plants and foods, including beans, corn, sweet and
white potatoes, tomatoes, and tobacco. They also contracted a new disease, syphilis. Europeans introduced to the Americas sugar cane, bluegrasses, pigs, and horses, as well as the wheel, iron implements, and guns. Deadlier than all the guns was the European importation of germs and diseases, such as smallpox and measles, to which the natives had no immunity. Millions died (there was a mortality rate of more than 90 percent), including entire tribal communities. These exchanges, biological and cultural, would permanently change the entire world.

**Dividing the Americas**

Spain and Portugal were the first European kingdoms to claim territories in the Americas. Their claims overlapped, leading to disputes. The Catholic monarchs of the two countries turned to the pope in Rome to resolve their differences. In 1493, the pope drew a vertical, north-south line on a world map, called the line of demarcation. The pope granted Spain all lands to the west of the line and Portugal all lands to the east.

In 1494, Spain and Portugal moved the pope's line a few degrees to the west and signed an agreement called the Treaty of Tordesillas. The line passed through what is now the country of Brazil. This treaty, together with Portuguese explorations, established Portugal's claim to Brazil. Spain claimed the rest of the Americas. However, other European countries soon challenged these claims.

**Spanish Exploration and Conquest**

Spanish dominance in the Americas was based on more than a papal ruling and a treaty. Spain owed its expanding power to its explorers and conquerors (called conquistadores). Feats such as the journey across the Isthmus of Panama to the Pacific Ocean by Vasco Núñez de Balboa, the circumnavigation of the world by one of Ferdinand Magellan's ships (Magellan died before completing the trip), the conquests of the Aztecs in Mexico by Hernan Cortés, and the conquest of the Incas in Peru by Francisco Pizarro secured Spain's initial supremacy in the Americas.

The conquistadores sent ships loaded with gold and silver back to Spain from Mexico and Peru. They increased the gold supply by more than 500 percent, making Spain the richest and most powerful nation in Europe. Spain's success encouraged other nations to turn to the Americas in search of gold and power. After seizing the wealth of the Indian empires, the Spanish instituted an encomienda system, with the king of Spain giving grants of land and natives to individual Spaniards. These Indians had to farm or work in the mines. The fruits of their labors went to their Spanish masters, who in turn had to "care" for them. As Europeans' diseases and brutality reduced the native population, the Spanish brought enslaved people from West Africa under the asiento system. This required the Spanish to pay a tax to their king on each slave they imported to the Americas.

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**English Claims**

England's earliest claims to territory in the Americas rested on the voyages of John Cabot, an Italian sea captain who sailed under contract to England's King Henry VII. Cabot explored the coast of Newfoundland in 1497.

England, however, did not follow up Cabot's discoveries with other expeditions of exploration and settlement. Other issues preoccupied England's monarch in the 1500s, including Henry VIII's break with the Roman Catholic Church. In the 1570s and 1580s, under Queen Elizabeth I, England challenged Spanish shipping in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Sir Francis Drake, for example, attacked Spanish ships, seized the gold and silver that they carried, and even attacked Spanish settlements on the coast of Peru. Another English adventurer, Sir Walter Raleigh, attempted to establish a settlement at Roanoke Island off the North Carolina coast in 1587, but the venture failed.
French Claims

The French monarchy first showed interest in exploration in 1524 when it sponsored a voyage by an Italian navigator, Giovanni da Verrazano. Hoping to find a northwest passage leading through the Americas to Asia, Verrazano explored part of North America’s eastern coast, including the New York harbor. French claims to American territory were also based on the voyages of Jacques Cartier (1534–1542), who explored the St. Lawrence River extensively.

Like the English, the French were slow to develop colonies across the Atlantic. During the 1500s, the French monarchy was preoccupied with European wars as well as with internal religious conflicts between Roman Catholics and French Protestants known as Huguenots. Only in the next century did France develop a strong interest in following up its claims to North American land.

The first permanent French settlement in America was established by Samuel de Champlain in 1608 at Quebec, a fortified village on the St. Lawrence River. Champlain’s strong leadership won him the nickname “Father of New France.” Other explorers extended French claims across a vast territory. In 1673, Louis Jolliet and Father Jacques Marquette explored the upper Mississippi River, and in 1682, Robert de La Salle explored the Mississippi basin, which he named Louisiana (after the French king, Louis XIV).

Dutch Claims

During the 1600s, the Netherlands also began to sponsor voyages of exploration. The Dutch government hired Henry Hudson, an experienced English sailor, to seek westward passage to Asia through northern America. In 1609, while searching for a northwest passage, Hudson sailed up a broad river that was later named for him, the Hudson River. This expedition established Dutch claims to the surrounding area that would become New Amsterdam (and later New York). The Dutch government granted a private company, the Dutch West India Company, the right to control the region for economic gain.

Spanish Settlements in North America

Spanish settlements developed slowly in North America, as a result of limited mineral resources and strong opposition from American Indians.

Florida After a number of failed attempts and against the strong resistance of American Indians in the region, the Spanish established a permanent settlement at St. Augustine in 1565. Today, St. Augustine is the oldest city in North America founded by Europeans.

New Mexico Santa Fe was established as the capital of New Mexico in 1610. Harsh efforts to Christianize the American Indians caused the Pueblo people to revolt in 1680. The Spanish were driven from the area until 1692.

Texas In between Florida and New Mexico, the Spanish established settlements in Texas. These communities grew in the early 1700s as Spain attempted to resist French efforts to explore the lower Mississippi River.

California In response to Russian exploration from Alaska, the Spanish established permanent settlements at San Diego in 1769 and San Francisco in 1776. By 1784, a series of missions or settlements had been established along the California coast by members of the Franciscan order. Father Junipero Serra founded nine of these missions.

European Treatment of Native Americans

Most Europeans looked down upon Native Americans. The Europeans who colonized North and South America generally viewed Native Americans as inferior people who could be exploited for economic gain, converted to Christianity, and used as military allies. However, Europeans used various approaches for controlling Native Americans and operating their colonies.

Spanish Policy

The Spanish who settled in Mexico and Peru encountered the highly organized Aztec and Inca empires. Even after diseases killed most natives, millions remained in these empires that the Spanish could incorporate as laborers in their own empire. Many natives who did not die from disease died from forced labor. Because few families came from Spain to settle the empire, the explorers and soldiers intermarried with natives as well as with Africans. The latter were captured in Africa and forced to travel across the ocean to provide slave labor for the Spanish colonists. A rigid class system developed in the Spanish colonies, one dominated by pure-blooded Spaniards.

Bartolomé de Las Casas One European who dissented from the views of most Europeans toward Native Americans was a Spanish priest named Bartolomé de Las Casas. Though he had owned land and slaves in the West Indies and had fought in wars against the Indians, he eventually became an advocate for better treatment for Indians. He persuaded the king to institute the New Laws of 1542. These laws ended Indian slavery, halted forced Indian labor, and began to end the encomienda system which kept the Indians in servitude. Conservative Spaniards, eager to keep the encomienda system, responded and successfully pushed the king to repeal parts of the New Laws.

Valladolid Debate The debate over the role for Indians in the Spanish colonies came to a head in a formal debate in 1550–1551 in Valladolid, Spain. On one side, Las Casas argued that the Indians were completely human and morally equal to Europeans, so enslaving them was not justified. On the other side, another priest, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, argued that Indians were less than human. Hence, they benefited from serving the Spaniards in the encomienda system. Neither side clearly won the debate. Though Las Casas was unable to gain equal treatment for Native Americans, he established the basic arguments on behalf of justice for Indians.
English Policy

Unlike the Spanish, the English settled in areas without large native empires that could be controlled as a workforce. In addition, many English colonists came in families rather than as single young men, so marriage with natives was less common. Initially, at least in Massachusetts, the English and the American Indians coexisted, traded, and shared ideas. American Indians taught the settlers how to grow new crops such as corn and showed them how to hunt in the forests. They traded various furs for an array of English manufactured goods, including iron tools and weapons. But peaceful relations soon gave way to conflict and open warfare. The English had no respect for American Indian cultures, which they viewed as primitive or “savage.” For their part, American Indians saw their way of life threatened as the English began to take more land to support their ever-increasing population. The English occupied the land and forced the small, scattered tribes they encountered to move away from the coast to inland territories. They expelled the natives rather than subjugating them.

French Policy

The French, looking for furs and converts to Catholicism, viewed American Indians as potential economic and military allies. Compared to the Spaniards and the English, the French maintained good relations with the tribes they encountered. Seeking to control the fur trade, the French built trading posts throughout the St. Lawrence Valley, the Great Lakes region, and along the Mississippi River. At these posts, they exchanged French goods for beaver pelts and other furs collected by American Indians. Because the French had few colonists, farms, or towns, they posed less threat to the native population than did other Europeans. In addition, French soldiers assisted the Huron people in fighting their traditional enemy, the Iroquois.

Native American Reaction

North American tribes saw themselves as groups distinct from each other, not as part of a larger body of Native Americans. As a result, European settlers rarely had to be concerned with a unified response from the Native Americans. Initially the European goods such as copper pots and guns had motivated the natives to interact with the strangers. After the decimation of their peoples from the violence and disease of the Europeans, the Native Americans had to adopt new ways to survive. Upon observing the Europeans fighting each other, some tribes allied themselves with one European power or another in hopes of gaining support in order to survive. A number of tribes simply migrated to new land to get away from the slowly encroaching settlers. Regardless of how they dealt with the European invasion, Native Americans would never be able to return to the life they had known prior to 1492.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WAS COLUMBUS A GREAT HERO?

Over the centuries, Columbus has received both praise for his role as a “discoverer” and blame for his actions as a “conqueror.” In the United States, he has traditionally been viewed as a hero. As early as 1828, Washington Irving wrote a popular biography extolling the explorer’s virtues. The apex of Columbus’s heroic reputation was reached in 1934 when President Franklin Roosevelt declared October 12 a national holiday.

Since the 1990s, however, revisionist historians and biographies have been highly critical of Columbus. His detractors argue that Columbus was simply at the right place at the right time. Europe at the end of the 15th century was ready to expand. If Columbus had not crossed the Atlantic in 1492, some other explorer—perhaps Vespucci or Cabot—would have done so a few years later. According to this interpretation, Columbus was little more than a good navigator and a self-promoter who exploited an opportunity.

Some revisionists take a harsh view of Columbus and regard him not as the first discoverer of America but rather as its first conqueror. They portray him as a religious fanatic in the European Christian tradition who sought to convert the American natives to Christianity and liquidated those who resisted.

The revisionist argument has not gone unanswered. For example, historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. has argued that the chief motivation for Columbus’s deeds was neither greed for gold nor ambition for conquest. What drove him, in Schlesinger’s view, was the challenge of the unknown. Columbus’s apologists admit that millions of Native Americans died as a result of European exploration in the Americas, but they point out that an unknown number had suffered horrible deaths in Aztec sacrifices. Moreover, the mistreatment of Native Americans was perhaps partially offset by such positive results as the gradual development of democratic institutions in the colonies and later the United States.

Historians will continue to debate the nature of Columbus’s achievement. As with other historical questions, distinguishing between fact and fiction and separating a writer’s personal biases from objective reality is difficult. One conclusion is inescapable: As a result of Columbus’s voyages, world history took a sharp turn in a new direction. His explorations established a permanent point of contact between Europeans and the first Americans, and soon between both groups and Africans. People are still living with the consequences of this interaction.
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<th>KEY TERMS BY THEME</th>
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<td>Exchange and Interaction (WXT, ENV)</td>
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<td>corn</td>
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<td>disease</td>
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<td>Labor Systems (WXT)</td>
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<td>Migration (PEO)</td>
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<td>Adena-Hopewell</td>
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<td>Hokokam, Anasazi, and Pueblos</td>
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<td>Woodland mound builders</td>
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<td>Lakota Sioux</td>
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<td>Identity and Politics (ID, POL)</td>
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<td>Mayas</td>
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<td>conquistadores</td>
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<td>Hernan Cortés</td>
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<td>Francisco Pizarro</td>
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<td>New Laws of 1542</td>
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<td>Roanoke Island</td>
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<td>Atlantic Trade (WOR)</td>
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<td>compass</td>
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<td>Protestant Reformation</td>
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<td>Henry the Navigator</td>
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<td>Treaty of Tordesillas</td>
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<td>American Indians (PEO, POL)</td>
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<td>Siouan</td>
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<td>Iroquois Confederation</td>
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<td>longhouses</td>
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<td>Search for Resources (ENV)</td>
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<td>John Cabot</td>
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<td>Jacques Cartier</td>
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<td>Samuel de Champlain</td>
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<td>Henry Hudson</td>
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<td>Values and Attitudes (CUL)</td>
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<td>Bartolomé de Las Casas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Valladolid Debate</td>
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<td>Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda</td>
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Guided Reading & Analysis: 13 Colonies
Chapter 2- The Thirteen Colonies and the British Empire, 1607-1754, pp 23-38

Reading Assignment:
Ch. 2 AMSCO or other resource for content corresponding to Period 2.

Purpose:
This guide is not only a place to record notes as you read, but also to provide a place and structure for reflections and analysis using higher level thinking skills with new knowledge gained from the reading.

Basic Directions:
1. Pre-Read: Read the prompts/questions within this guide before you read the chapter.
2. Skim: Flip through the chapter and note the titles and subtitles. Look at images and their read captions. Get a feel for the content you are about to read.
3. Read/Analyze: Read the chapter. Remember, the goal is not to "fish" for a specific answer(s) to reading guide questions, but to consider questions in order to critically understand what you read.
4. Write: Write your notes and analysis in the spaces provided.

Key Concepts FOR PERIOD 2:
Key Concept 2.1: Europeans developed a variety of colonization and migration patterns, influenced by different imperial goals, cultures, and the varied North American environments where they settled, and they competed with each other and American Indians for resources.

Key Concept 2.2: The British colonies participated in political, social, cultural, and economic exchanges with Great Britain that encouraged both stronger bonds with Britain and resistance to Britain’s control.

SECTION 1 - Period Overview, p.23
Consider the data in the chart at right as well as page 1 of the text when completing this section.

1. Period 2 begins with 1607 and ends in 1754. As the colonies increased in number, size, and power during this Colonial Era, the population of the eastern seaboard changed. Based on your knowledge of history and the data in the graph at right, explain three reasons for the demographic shift in the Chesapeake. (Chesapeake colonies include Virginia and Maryland)
2. **Early English Settlements** pp 24-26

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Concepts &amp; Main Ideas</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seventeenth-century Spanish, French, Dutch, and British colonizers embraced different social and economic goals, cultural assumptions, and folkways, resulting in varied models of colonization. Spain sought to establish tight control over the process of colonization in the Western Hemisphere and to convert and/or exploit the native population. French and Dutch colonial efforts involved relatively few Europeans and used trade alliances and intermarriage with American Indians to acquire furs and other products for export to Europe. Unlike their European competitors, the English eventually sought to establish colonies based on agriculture, sending relatively large numbers of men and women to acquire land and populate their settlements, while having relatively hostile relationships with American Indians. Along with other factors, environmental and geographical variations, including climate and natural resources, contributed to regional differences in what would become the British colonies.</td>
<td>The English Model, 3 types of colonial charters… Early English Settlements… Jamestown… Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay</td>
<td>Compare and contrast the English model of colonization to that of the French and Spanish. To what extent was the defeat of the Spanish Armada a turning point in American history? Explain one political and one economic cause for Jamestown early struggles for survival. Compare and contrast Jamestown and Plymouth colonies.</td>
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3. **Early Political Institutions**, p 27

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<tr>
<th>Key Concepts &amp; Main Ideas</th>
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<tr>
<td>From the very beginning, the colonies began taking steps toward self-rule. The development of colonial political systems contributed to the development of American identity and would later cause conflict with Great Britain.</td>
<td>Representative Government in Virginia</td>
<td>Compare and contrast the political development of Virginia to that of New England. Are they more similar or different?</td>
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<td>Representative Government in New England</td>
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<td>Limits to Colonial Democracy</td>
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4. **The Chesapeake Colonies**, pp 27-29

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<th>Key Concepts &amp; Main Ideas</th>
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<tr>
<td>Along with other factors, environmental and geographical variations, including climate and natural resources, contributed to regional differences in what would become the British colonies. The British–American system of slavery developed out of the economic, demographic, and geographic characteristics of the British-controlled regions of the New World.</td>
<td>Religious issues in Maryland… Act of Toleration… Protestant Revolt… Labor Shortages… Indentured Servants… Headright System… Slavery… Economic Problems… Conflict in Virginia… Bacon’s Rebellion… Lasting Problems…</td>
<td>Explain how cultural interactions between colonizing groups, Africans, and American Indians in the colonial era impacted the development of American colonial identity.</td>
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<td>Identify the major causes for the establishment of slavery in the Western Atlantic World? Which of those was the most significant, why?</td>
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### 5. Development of New England, pp 29-31

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<th>Key Concepts &amp; Main Ideas</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Along with other factors, environmental and geographical variations, including climate and natural resources, contributed to regional differences in what would become the British colonies.</td>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>Identify the causes of the sources of discord in early New England? Which ones were the most threatening and to what extent were they handled correctly?</td>
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<td>Connecticut</td>
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<td>New Hampshire</td>
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<td>Halfway Covenant</td>
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<td>New England Confederation</td>
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<td>King Philip’s War</td>
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### 6. Restoration Colonies, pp 31-35

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<th>Key Concepts &amp; Main Ideas</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Along with other factors, environmental and geographical variations, including climate and natural resources, contributed to regional differences in what would become the British colonies.</td>
<td>The Carolinas...</td>
<td>To what extent did the English Civil War serve as a turning point for the colonies in America, what were the characteristics before and after that time period?</td>
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<td>South Carolina...</td>
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<td>North Carolina...</td>
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<tr>
<th>New York</th>
<th>Compare and contrast the Middle Colonies and Southern Colonies during the Restoration era.</th>
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<td>New Jersey</td>
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<td>Pennsylvania and Delaware…</td>
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<td>Quakers…</td>
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<td>William Penn…</td>
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<td>“Holy Experiment”…</td>
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<td>Delaware…</td>
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<td>Georgia: The Last Colony…</td>
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<td>Special Regulations…</td>
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<td>Royal Colony…</td>
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7. **Mercantilism and the Empire**, pp 35-37

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<tr>
<th>Key Concepts &amp; Main Ideas</th>
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<th>Analysis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The increasing political, economic, and cultural exchanges within the “Atlantic World” had a profound impact on the development of colonial societies in North America.</td>
<td>Mercantilism and the Empire…</td>
<td>Identify the causes and motivations of the British mercantile system. Which one is most significant? Why?</td>
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<td>Acts of Trade and Navigation…</td>
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"Atlantic World" commercial, religious, philosophical, and political interactions among Europeans, Africans, and American native peoples stimulated economic growth, expanded social networks, and reshaped labor systems.

Britain’s desire to maintain a viable North American empire in the face of growing internal challenges and external competition inspired efforts to strengthen its imperial control, stimulating increasing resistance from colonists who had grown accustomed to a large measure of autonomy.

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<th>Impact on the Colonies…</th>
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<tr>
<td>Enforcement of the Acts…</td>
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<td>The Dominion of New England…</td>
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<td>Permanent Restrictions…</td>
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8. **The Institution of Slavery** p.37-38

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Concepts &amp; Main Ideas</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The British–American system of slavery developed out of the economic, demographic, and geographic characteristics of the British-controlled regions of the New World.</td>
<td>Increased Demand for Slaves…</td>
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<td>Slave Laws…</td>
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<td>Triangular Trade…</td>
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To what extent did African slavery differ regionally in eighteenth-century North America?
9. Explain the HIPP of the primary sources below.

Source: Letter written by John Rolfe on his decision to marry Pocahontas, in a letter to Sir Thomas Dale, governor of Virginia, 1614, Smithsonian

Let therefore this my well advised protestation . . . condemn me herein, if my chieuest intent and purpose be not, to strive with all my power of body and mind, in the undertaking of so mighty a matter, no way led (so far forth as man's weakness may permit) with the unbridled desire of carnal affection: but for the good of this plantation, for the honour of our country, for the glory of God, for my own salvation, and for the converting to the true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, an unbelieving creature, namely Pokahuntas. . .

Shall I be of so untoward a disposition, as to refuse to lead the blind into the right way? Shall I be so unnatural, as not to give bread to the hungry? or uncharitable, as not to cover the naked? Shall I despise to actuate these pious duties of a Christian? Shall the base fears of displeasing the world, over_power and withhold me from revealing unto man these spiritual works of the Lord, which in my meditations and prayers, I have daily made known unto him? God forbid. . .

Now if the vulgar sort, who square all men's actions by the base rule of their own filthiness, shall tax or taunt me in this my godly labour: let them know, it is not any hungry appetite, to gorge my self with incontinency; sure (if I would, and were so sensually inclined) I might satisfy such desire, though not without a seared conscience, yet with Christians more pleasing to the eye, and less fearful in the offence unlawfully committed.

HIPP+:

Historical Context:

Intended Audience:

Author's Purpose:

Author's Point of View:

+Other Context (similar in kind, from a different time):

Source: Dutch missionary John Megapolensis on the Mohawks (Iroquois), 1644, Smithsonian

(John became the town's first pastor at Fort Orange (near Albany). As pastor he was not allowed to farm or trade, but received support from the town, while diligently performing his duties, which included teaching the Indians about Christ.)

The Women are obliged to prepare the Land, to mow, to plant, and do every Thing; the Men do nothing except hunting, fishing, and going to War against their Enemies: they treat their Enemies with great Cruelty in Time of War, for they first bite off the Nails of the Fingers of their Captives, and cut off some joints, and sometimes the whole of the Fingers; after that the Captives are obliged to sing and dance before them . . ., and finally they roast them before a slow Fire for some Days, and eat them . . . Though they are very cruel to their Enemies, they are very friendly to us: we are under no Apprehensions from them . . .

They are entire Strangers to all Religion, but they have a Tharonhjouaagon, (which others also call Athzoockkuatorioha) i.e. a Genius which they put in the Place of God, but they do not worship or present Offerings to him: they worship and present Offerings to the Devil whom they call Otskon or Airekuoni. . . . They have otherwise no Religion: when we pray they laugh at us; some of them despise it entirely, and some when we tell them what we do when we pray, stand astonished. When we have a Sermon, sometimes ten or twelve of them, more or less, will attend, each having a long Tobacco Pipe, made by himself, in his Month, and will stand a while and look, and afterwards ask me what I was doing and what I wanted, that I stood there alone and made so many Words, and none of the rest might speak? I tell them I admonished the Christians, that they must not steal, . . . get drunk, or commit Murder, and that they too ought not to do these Things, and that I intend after a while to preach to them. . . . They say I do well in teaching the Christians, but immediately add Diatennon jawij Assyreoni hagiouisk, that is, why do so many Christians do these Things. They call us Assyreoni, that is, Cloth-Makers, or Charisstooni, that is, Iron-Workers, because our People first brought Cloth and Iron among them...

HIPP+:

Historical Context:

Intended Audience:

Author's Purpose:

Author's Point of View:

+Other Context (similar in kind, from a different time):
10. Create a map of the 13 Colonies.
Label colonies, use color to illustrate the three colonial regions, create a key, and write a caption summarizing the significance of the map.

Food for Thought:
Like the rest of us, you probably bought the ol’ Thirteen Colonies story, but it’s not an accurate depiction of colonial America for most of its history. In 1606 King James I chartered just two companies to settle North America, the Virginia Company of London and the Plymouth Company. As settlements were founded, each new city was recognized as its own colony; for example, Connecticut actually contained 500 distinct “colonies” (or “plantations”) before they were merged into a single colony in 1661. Sometimes colonies were mashed together into mega-colonies, like the short-lived, super-unpopular Dominion of New England, which incorporated Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maine from 1686 to 1691, plus New York and New Jersey from 1688 to 1691 for good measure. Colonies also split, like Massachusetts, which spawned New Hampshire in 1679. And some colonies weren’t really colonies at all; while it’s often listed as one of the Thirteen Colonies that rebelled in 1775, Delaware wasn’t technically a colony or a province. Designated “the Lower Counties on the Delaware,” it had its own assembly but fell under the authority of the governor of Pennsylvania until it declared itself an independent state in August 1776. So technically, there were just 12 colonies in 1775 and 13 states in 1776. (Source: The Mental Floss History of the United States, Erik Sass, 2010)
In a period of almost 150 years during the 17th and 18th centuries, the British established 13 colonies along the Atlantic coast that provided a profitable trade and a home to a diverse group of people.

**Overview** From the establishment of the first permanent English settlement in North America to the start of a decisive war for European control of the continent, the colonies evolved. At first, they struggled for survival, but they became a society of permanent farms, plantations, towns, and cities. European settlers brought various cultures, economic plans, and ideas for governing to the Americas. In particular, with varying approaches, they all sought to dominate the native inhabitants. The British took pride in their tradition of free farmers working the land. The various colonies developed regional or sectional differences based on many influences including topography, natural resources, climate, and the background of their settlers. They largely viewed the American Indian as an obstacle to colonial growth. With their emphasis on agriculture came a demand for labor, and this led to a growing dependence on slavery and the Atlantic slave trade to power the economy. The start of the Seven Years' War signified the maturity of the British colonies and the influence of European conflicts in the power struggle for control in North America.

**Alternate View** Historians disagree on what date best marks the end of the colonial era. Some identify the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763 or the start of the American Revolution in 1775 or the signing of a peace treaty in 1783. Historians who focus on cultural rather than political and military events might choose other dates for both the start and end of the period that emphasize the role of non-English residents, such as the Scotch-Irish, Germans, and enslaved Africans, in the colonies.

**Key Concepts**

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.

2.3: The increasing political, economic, and cultural exchanges within the “Atlantic World” had a profound impact on the development of colonial societies in North America.

**Source:** AP U. S. History Curriculum Frameworks, 2014–2015, The College Board
THE THIRTEEN COLONIES
AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE,
1607–1754

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Early English Settlements

In the early 1600s, England was finally in a position to colonize the lands explored more than a century earlier by John Cabot. By defeating a large Spanish fleet—the Spanish Armada—in 1588, England had gained a reputation as a major naval power. Also in this period, England’s population was growing rapidly while its economy was depressed. The number of poor and landless people increased, people who were attracted to opportunities in the Americas. The English devised a practical method for financing the costly and risky enterprise of founding colonies. A joint-stock company pooled the savings of many investors, thereby spreading the risk. Thus, colonies on the North Atlantic Coast were able to attract large numbers of English settlers.

Jamestown

England’s King James I chartered the Virginia Company, a joint-stock company that founded the first permanent English colony in America at Jamestown in 1607.

Early Problems The first settlers of Jamestown suffered greatly, mostly from their own mistakes. The settlement’s location in a swampy area along the James River resulted in fatal outbreaks of dysentery and malaria. Moreover, many of the settlers were gentlemen unaccustomed to physical work. Others were gold-seeking adventurers who refused to hunt or farm. One key source of goods was from trade with American Indians—but when conflicts erupted between settlers and the natives, trade would stop and settlers went hungry. Starvation was a persistent issue in Jamestown.

Through the forceful leadership of Captain John Smith, Jamestown survived its first five years, but barely. Then, through the efforts of John Rolfe and his Indian wife, Pocahontas, the colony developed a new variety of tobacco that would become popular in Europe and become a profitable crop.

Transition to a Royal Colony Despite tobacco, by 1624 the Virginia colony remained near collapse. More than 6,000 people had settled there, but only 2,000 remained alive. Further, the Virginia Company made unwise decisions that placed it heavily in debt. King James I had seen enough. He revoked the charter of the bankrupt company and took direct control of the colony. Now known as Virginia, the colony became England’s first royal colony.

Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay

Religious motivation, not the search for wealth, was the principal force behind the settlement of two other English colonies, Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. Both were settled by English Protestants who dissented from the official government-supported Church of England, also known as the Anglican Church. The leader of the Church of England was the monarch of England. The Church of England had broken away from the control of the pope in Rome, so it was no longer part of the Roman Catholic Church. However, it had kept most of
the Catholic rituals and governing structure. The dissenters, influenced by the teachings of Swiss theologian John Calvin, charged that the Church of England should break more completely with Rome. In addition, the dissenters adopted Calvin’s doctrine of predestination, the belief that God guides those he has selected for salvation even before their birth. England’s King James I, who reigned from 1603 to 1625, viewed the religious dissenters as a threat to his religious and political authority and ordered them arrested and jailed.

The Plymouth Colony
Radical dissenters to the Church of England were known as the Separatists because they wanted to organize a completely separate church that was independent of royal control. Several hundred Separatists left England for Holland in search of religious freedom. Because of their travels, they became known as Pilgrims. Economic hardship and cultural differences with the Dutch led many of the Pilgrims to seek another haven for their religion. They chose the new colony in America, then operated by the Virginia Company of London. In 1620, a small group of Pilgrims set sail for Virginia aboard the Mayflower. Fewer than half of the 100 passengers on this ship were Separatists; the rest were people who had economic motives for making the voyage.

After a hard and stormy voyage of 65 days, the Mayflower dropped anchor off the Massachusetts coast, a few hundred miles to the north of the intended destination in Virginia. Rather than going on to Jamestown as planned, the Pilgrims decided to establish a new colony at Plymouth.

Early Hardships After a first winter that saw half their number perish, the settlers at Plymouth were helped to adapt to the land by friendly American Indians. They celebrated a good harvest at a thanksgiving feast (the first Thanksgiving) in 1621. Under strong leaders, including Captain Miles Standish and Governor William Bradford, the Plymouth colony grew slowly but remained small. Fish, furs, and lumber became the mainstays of the economy.

Massachusetts Bay Colony
A group of more moderate dissenters believed that the Church of England could be reformed. Because they wanted to purify the church, they became known as Puritans. The persecution of Puritans increased when a new king, Charles I, took the throne in 1625. Seeking religious freedom, a group of Puritans gained a royal charter for the Massachusetts Bay Company (1629).

In 1630, about a thousand Puritans led by John Winthrop sailed for the Massachusetts shore and founded Boston and several other towns. A civil war in England in the 1630s drove some 15,000 more settlers to the Massachusetts Bay Colony—a movement known as the Great Migration.

Early Political Institutions
From their very beginning, the American colonies began taking steps toward self-rule.

Representative Assembly in Virginia The Virginia Company encouraged settlement in Jamestown by guaranteeing colonists the same rights as residents of England, including representation in the lawmaking process. In 1619, just 12 years after the founding of Jamestown, Virginia’s colonists organized the first representative assembly in America, the House of Burgesses.

Representative Government in New England Abroad the Mayflower in 1620, the Pilgrims drew up and signed a document that pledged them to make decisions by the will of the majority. This document, known as the Mayflower Compact, was an early form of colonial self-government and a rudimentary written constitution.

In the Massachusetts Bay Colony, all freemen—male members of the Puritan Church—had the right to participate in yearly elections of the colony’s governor, his assistants, and a representative assembly.

Limits to Colonial Democracy Despite these steps, most colonists were excluded from the political process. Only male property owners could vote for representatives. Those who were either female or landless had few rights; slaves and indentured servants had practically none at all. Also, many colonial governors ruled with autocratic or unlimited powers, answering only to the king or others in England who provided the colonies’ financial support. Thus, the gradual development of democratic ideas in the colonies coexisted with antidemocratic practices such as slavery and the widespread mistreatment of American Indians.

The Chesapeake Colonies
In 1632, King Charles I subdivided the Virginia colony. He chartered a new colony on either side of Chesapeake Bay and granted control of it to George Calvert (Lord Baltimore), as a reward for this Catholic nobleman’s service to the crown. The new colony of Maryland thus became the first proprietary colony.

Religious Issues in Maryland
The king expected proprietors to carry out his wishes faithfully, thus giving him control over a colony. The first Lord Baltimore died before he could achieve great wealth in his colony while also providing a haven for his fellow Catholics. The Maryland proprietorship passed to his son, Cecil Calvert—the second Lord Baltimore—who set about implementing his father’s plan in 1634.

Act of Toleration To avoid persecution in England, several wealthy English Catholics emigrated to Maryland and established large colonial plantations. They were quickly outnumbered, however, by Protestant farmers. Protestants therefore held a majority in Maryland’s assembly. In 1649, Calvert persuaded the assembly to adopt the Act of Toleration, the first colonial statute granting religious freedom to all Christians. However, the statute also called for the death of anyone who denied the divinity of Jesus.
Protestant Revolt In the late 1600s, Protestant resentment against a Catholic proprietor erupted into a brief civil war. The Protestants triumphed, and the Act of Toleration was repealed. Catholics lost their right to vote in elections for the Maryland assembly. In the 18th century, Maryland's economy and society was much like that of neighboring Virginia, except that in Maryland there was greater tolerance of religious diversity among different Protestant sects.

Labor Shortages
In both Maryland and Virginia, landowners saw great opportunities. They could get land, either by taking it from or trading for it with American Indians, and Europeans had a growing demand for tobacco. However, they could not find enough laborers. For example, in Virginia, the high death rate from disease, food shortages, and battles with American Indians meant that the population grew slowly. Landowners tried several ways to find the workers they wanted.

Indentured Servants At first, the Virginia Company hoped to meet the need for labor using indentured servants. Under contract with a master or landowner who paid for their passage, young people from the British Isles agreed to work for a specified period—usually between four to seven years—in return for room and board. In effect, indentured servants were under the absolute rule of their masters until the end of their work period. At the expiration of that period, they gained their freedom and either worked for wages or obtained land of their own to farm. For landowners, the system provided laborers, but only temporarily.

Headright System Virginia attempted to attract immigrants through offers of land. The colony offered 50 acres of land to (1) each immigrant who paid for his own passage and (2) any plantation owner who paid for an immigrant's passage.

Slavery In 1619, a Dutch ship brought an unusual group of indentured servants to Virginia: they were black Africans. Because English law at that time did not recognize hereditary slavery, the first Africans in Virginia were not in bondage for life, and any children born to them were free. Moreover, the early colonists were struggling to survive and too poor to purchase the Africans who were being imported as slaves for sugar plantations in the West Indies. By 1650, there were only about 400 African laborers in Virginia. However, by the end of the 1660s, the Virginia House of Burgesses had enacted laws that discriminated between blacks and whites. Africans and their offspring were to be kept in permanent bondage. They were slaves.

Economic Problems Beginning in the 1660s, low tobacco prices, due largely to overproduction, brought hard times to the Chesapeake colonies Maryland and Virginia. When Virginia's House of Burgesses attempted to raise tobacco prices, the merchants of London retaliated by raising their own prices on goods exported to Virginia.

Conflict in Virginia
Sir William Berkeley, the royal governor of Virginia (1641–1652; 1660–1677), used dictatorial powers to govern on behalf of the large planters. He antagonized small farmers on Virginia's western frontier because he failed to protect them from Indian attacks.

Bacon's Rebellion Nathaniel Bacon, an impoverished gentleman farmer, seized upon the grievances of the western farmers to lead a rebellion against Berkeley's government. Bacon and others resented the economic and political control exercised by a few large planters in the Chesapeake area. He raised an army of volunteers and, in 1676, conducted a series of raids and massacres against American Indian villages on the Virginia frontier. Berkeley's government in Jamestown accused Bacon of rebelling against royal authority. Bacon's army succeeded in defeating the governor's forces and even burned the Jamestown settlement. Soon afterward, Bacon died of dysentery and the rebel army collapsed. Governor Berkeley brutally suppressed the remnants of the insurrection, executing 23 rebels.

Lasting Problems Although it was short-lived, Bacon's Rebellion, or the Chesapeake Revolution, highlighted two long-lasting disputes in colonial Virginia: (1) sharp class differences between wealthy planters and landless or poor farmers, and (2) colonial resistance to royal control. These problems would continue into the next century, even after the general conditions of life in the Chesapeake colonies became more stable and prosperous.

Development of New England
Strong religious convictions helped sustain settlers in their struggle to establish the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies. However, Puritan leaders showed intolerance of anyone who questioned their religious teachings. The Puritans often banished dissidents from the Bay colony. These banished dissidents formed settlements that would develop into Rhode Island and Connecticut.

Rhode Island Roger Williams went to Boston in 1631 as a respected Puritan minister. He believed, however, that the individual's conscience was beyond the control of any civil or church authority. His teachings on this point placed him in conflict with other Puritan leaders, who ordered his banishment from the Bay colony. Leaving Boston, Williams fled southward to Narragansett Bay, where he and a few followers founded the settlement of Providence in 1636. The new colony was unique in two respects. First, it recognized the right of American Indians and paid them for the use of their land. Second, Williams' government allowed Catholics, Quakers, and Jews to worship freely. Williams also founded one of the first Baptist churches in America.

Another dissident who questioned the doctrines of the Puritan authorities was Anne Hutchinson. She believed in antinomianism—the idea that faith alone, not deeds, is necessary for salvation. Banished from the Bay colony, Hutchinson and a group of followers founded the colony of Portsmouth in
1638, not far from Williams' colony of Providence. A few years later, Hutchinson migrated to Long Island and was killed in an American Indian uprising.

In 1644, Roger Williams was granted a charter from the Parliament that joined Providence and Portsmouth into a single colony, Rhode Island. Because this colony tolerated diverse beliefs, it served as a refuge for many.

Connecticut To the west of Rhode Island, the fertile Connecticut River Valley attracted settlers who were unhappy with the Massachusetts authorities. The Reverend Thomas Hooker led a large group of Boston Puritans into the valley and founded the colony of Hartford in 1636. The Hartford settlers then drew up the first written constitution in American history, the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut (1639). It established a representative government consisting of a legislature elected by popular vote and a governor chosen by that legislature. South of Hartford, a second settlement in the Connecticut Valley was started by John Davenport in 1637 and given the name New Haven.

In 1665, New Haven joined with the more democratic Hartford settlers to form the colony of Connecticut. The royal charter for Connecticut granted it a limited degree of self-government, including election of the governor.

New Hampshire The last colony to be founded in New England was New Hampshire. Originally part of Massachusetts Bay, it consisted of a few settlements north of Boston. Hoping to increase royal control over the colonies, King Charles II separated New Hampshire from the Bay colony in 1679 and made it a royal colony, subject to the authority of an appointed governor.

Halfway Covenant In the 1660s, a generation had passed since the founding of the first Puritan colonies in New England. To be a full member of a Puritan congregation, an individual needed to have felt a profound religious experience known as a conversion. However, fewer members of the new native-born generation were having such experiences. In an effort to maintain the church's influence and membership, a halfway covenant was offered by some clergy. Under this, people could become partial church members even if they had not had felt a conversion.

Other ministers rejected the halfway covenant and denounced it from the pulpit. Nevertheless, as the years passed, strict Puritan practices weakened in most New England communities in order to maintain church membership.

New England Confederation In the 1640s, the New England colonies faced the constant threat of attack from American Indians, the Dutch, and the French. Because England was in the midst of a civil war, the colonists could expect little assistance. Therefore in 1643, four New England colonies (Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven) formed a military alliance known as the New England Confederation. The confederation was directed by a board composed of two representatives from each colony. It had limited powers to act on boundary disputes, the return of runaway servants, and dealings with American Indians.

The confederation lasted until 1684, when colonial rivalries and renewed control by the English monarch brought this experiment in colonial cooperation to an end. It was important because it established a precedent for colonies taking unified action toward a common purpose.

King Philip's War Only a few years before the confederation's demise, it helped the New England colonists cope successfully with a dire threat. A chief of the Wampanoags named Metacomet—known to the colonists as King Philip—united many tribes in southern New England against the English settlers, who were constantly encroaching on the American Indians' lands. In a vicious war (1675–1676), thousands on both sides were killed, and dozens of towns and villages were burned. Eventually, the colonial forces prevailed, killing King Philip and ending most American Indian resistance in New England.

Restoration Colonies New American colonies were founded in the late 17th century during a period in English history known as the Restoration. (The name refers to the restoration to power of an English monarch, Charles II, in 1660 following a brief period of Puritan rule under Oliver Cromwell.)
The Carolinas

As a reward for helping him gain the throne, Charles II granted a huge tract of land between Virginia and Spanish Florida to eight nobles, who in 1663 became the lord proprietors of the Carolinas. In 1729, two royal colonies, South Carolina and North Carolina, were formed from the original grant.

South Carolina

In 1670, in the southern Carolinas, a few colonists from England and some planters from the island of Barbados founded a town named for their king. Initially, the southern economy was based on trading furs and providing food for the West Indies. By the middle of the 18th century, South Carolina’s large rice-growing plantations worked by enslaved Africans resembled the economy and culture of the West Indies.

North Carolina

The northern part of the Carolinas developed differently. There, farmers from Virginia and New England established small, self-sufficient tobacco farms. The region had few good harbors and poor transportation; therefore, compared to South Carolina, there were fewer large plantations and less reliance on slavery. North Carolina in the 18th century earned a reputation for democratic views and autonomy from British control.

New York

Charles II wished to consolidate the crown’s holdings along the Atlantic Coast and close the gap between the New England and the Chesapeake colonies. This required compelling the Dutch to give up their colony of New Amsterdam centered on Manhattan Island and the Hudson River Valley.

In 1664, the king granted his brother, the Duke of York (the future James II), the lands lying between Connecticut and Delaware Bay. As the lord high admiral of the navy, James dispatched a force that easily took control of the Dutch colony from its governor, Peter Stuyvesant. James ordered his agents in the renamed colony of New York to treat the Dutch settlers well and to allow them freedom to worship as they pleased and speak their own language.

James also ordered new taxes, duties, and rents without seeking the consent of a representative assembly. In fact, he insisted that no assembly should be allowed to form in his colony. But taxation without representation met strong opposition from New York’s English-speaking settlers, most of whom were Puritans from New England. Finally, in 1683, James yielded by allowing New York’s governor to grant broad civil and political rights, including a representative assembly.

New Jersey

Believing that the territory of New York was too large to administer, James split it in 1664. He gave the section of the colony located between the Hudson River and Delaware Bay to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. In 1674, one proprietor received West New Jersey and the other East New Jersey. To attract settlers, both proprietors made generous land offers and allowed religious freedom and an assembly. Eventually, they sold their proprietary interests to various groups of Quakers. Land titles in the Jerseys changed hands repeatedly, and inaccurate property lines added to the general confusion. To settle matters, the crown decided in 1702 to combine the two Jerseys into a single royal colony: New Jersey.
Pennsylvania and Delaware

To the west of New Jersey lay a broad expanse of forested land that was originally settled by a peace-loving Christian sect, the Quakers.

Quakers: Members of the Religious Society of Friends—commonly known as Quakers—believed in equality of men and women, nonviolence, and resistance to military service. They further believed that religious authority was found within each person’s soul and not in the Bible and not in any outside source. Such views posed a radical challenge to established authority. Therefore, the Quakers of England were persecuted and jailed for their beliefs.

William Penn: William Penn was a young convert to the Quaker faith. His father had served the king as a victorious admiral. Although the elder Penn opposed his son’s religious beliefs, he respected William’s sincerity and bequeathed him considerable wealth. In addition, the royal family owed the father a large debt, which they paid to William in 1681 in the form of a grant of American land for a colony that he called Pennsylvania, or Penn’s woods.

“The Holy Experiment”: Penn put his Quaker beliefs to the test in his colony. He wanted his new colony to provide a religious refuge for Quakers and other persecuted people, to enact liberal ideas in government, and generate income and profits for himself. He provided the colony with a Frame of Government (1682–1683), which guaranteed a representative assembly elected by landowners, and a written constitution, the Charter of Liberties (1701), which guaranteed freedom of worship for all and unrestricted immigration.

Unlike other colonial proprietors, who governed from afar in England, Penn crossed the ocean to supervise the founding of a new town on the Delaware River named Philadelphia. He brought with him a grid pattern of streets, which was later imitated by other American cities. Also unusual was Penn’s attempt to treat the American Indians fairly and not to cheat them when purchasing their land.

To attract settlers to his new land, Penn hired agents and published notices throughout Europe, which promised political and religious freedom and generous land terms. Penn’s lands along the Delaware River had previously been settled by several thousand Dutch and Swedish colonists, who eased the arrival of the newcomers attracted by Penn’s promotion.

Delaware: In 1702, Penn granted the lower three counties of Pennsylvania their own assembly. In effect, Delaware became a separate colony, even though its governor was the same as Pennsylvania’s until the American Revolution.

Georgia: The Last Colony

In 1732, a thirteenth colony, Georgia, was chartered. It was the last of the British colonies and the only one to receive direct financial support from the government in London. There were two reasons for British interest in starting a new southern colony. First, Britain wanted to create a defensive buffer to protect the prosperous South Carolina plantations from the threat of Spanish Florida. Second, thousands of people in England were being imprisoned for debt. Wealthy philanthropists thought it would relieve the overcrowded jails if debtors were shipped to an American colony to start life over.

Special Regulations: Given a royal charter for a proprietary colony, a group of philanthropists led by James Oglethorpe founded Georgia’s first settlement, Savannah, in 1733. Oglethorpe acted as the colony’s first governor and put into effect an elaborate plan for making the colony thrive. There were strict regulations, including bans on drinking rum and slavery. Nevertheless, partly because of the constant threat of Spanish attack, the colony did not prosper.

Royal Colony: By 1752, Oglethorpe and his group gave up their plan. Taken over by the British government, Georgia became a royal colony. Restrictions on rum and slavery were dropped. The colony grew slowly by adopting the plantation system of South Carolina. Even so, at the time of the American Revolution, Georgia was the smallest and poorest of the 13 colonies.

Mercantilism and the Empire

Most European kingdoms in the 17th century adopted the economic policy of mercantilism, which looked upon trade, colonies, and the accumulation of wealth as the basis for a country’s military and political strength. According to mercantilist doctrine, a government should regulate trade and production to enable it to become self-sufficient. Colonies were to provide raw materials to the parent country for the growth and profit of that country’s industries. Colonies existed for one purpose only: to enrich the parent country.

Mercantilist policies had guided both the Spanish and the French colonies from their inception. Mercantilism began to be applied to the English colonies, however, only after the turmoil of England’s civil war had subsided.

Acts of Trade and Navigation: England’s government implemented a mercantilist policy with a series of Navigation Acts between 1660 and 1673, which established three rules for colonial trade:

1. Trade to and from the colonies could be carried only by English or colonial-built ships, which could be operated only by English or colonial crews.
2. All goods imported into the colonies, except for some perishables, had to pass through ports in England.
3. Specified or “enumerated” goods from the colonies could be exported to England only. Tobacco was the original “enumerated” good, but over the years, the list was greatly expanded.

Impact on the Colonies: The Navigation Acts had mixed effects on the colonies. The acts caused New England shipbuilding to prosper, provided Chesapeake tobacco with a monopoly in England, and provided English military forces to protect the colonies from potential attacks by the French and Spanish. However, the acts also severely limited the development of colonial
manufacturing, forced Chesapeake farmers to accept low prices for their crops, and caused colonists to pay high prices for manufactured goods from England.

In many respects, mercantilist regulations were unnecessary, since England would have been the colonies’ primary trading partner in any case. Furthermore, the economic advantages from the Navigation Acts were offset by their negative political effects on British-colonial relations. Colonists resented the regulatory laws imposed by the distant government in London. Especially in New England, colonists defied the acts by smuggling in French, Dutch, and other goods.

**Enforcement of the Acts** The British government was often lax in enforcing the acts, and its agents in the colonies were known for their corruption. Occasionally, however, the crown would attempt to overcome colonial resistance to its trade laws. In 1684, it revoked the charter of Massachusetts Bay because that colony had been the center of smuggling activity.

The **Dominion of New England** A new king, James II, succeeded to the throne in 1685. He was determined to increase royal control over the colonies by combining them into larger administrative units and doing away with their representative assemblies. In 1686, he combined New York, New Jersey, and the various New England colonies into a single unit called the Dominion of New England. Sir Edmund Andros was sent from England to serve as governor of the dominion. The new governor made himself instantly unpopular by levying taxes, limiting town meetings, and revoking land titles.

James II did not remain in power for long. His attempts at asserting his royal powers led to an uprising against him. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 succeeded in deposing James and replacing him with two new sovereigns, William and Mary. James’s fall from power brought the Dominion of New England to an end and the colonies again operated under separate charters.

**Permanent Restrictions** Despite the Glorious Revolution, mercantilist policies remained in force. In the 18th century, there were more English officials in the colonies than in any earlier era. Restrictions on colonial trade, though poorly enforced, were widely resented and resisted.

**The Institution of Slavery**

More important than mercantilism in the early 18th century was the growth of slavery. By 1750, half of Virginia’s population and two-thirds of South Carolina’s population were enslaved.

**Increased Demand for Slaves** The following factors explain why slavery became increasingly important, especially in the southern colonies:

1. **Reduced migration:** Increases in wages in England reduced the supply of immigrants to the colonies.
2. **Dependable workforce:** Large plantation owners were disturbed by the political demands of small farmers and indentured servants and by the disorders of Bacon’s Rebellion (see page 29). They thought that slavery would provide a stable labor force totally under their control.
3. **Cheap labor:** As tobacco prices fell, rice and indigo became the most profitable crops. To grow such crops required a large land area and many inexpensive, relatively unskilled fields.

**Slave Laws** As the number of slaves increased, white colonists adopted laws to ensure that African Americans would be held in bondage for life and that slave status would be inherited. In 1641, Massachusetts became the first colony to recognize the enslavement of “lawful” captives. Virginia in 1661 enacted legislation stating that children automatically inherited their mother’s enslaved status for life. By 1664, Maryland declared that baptism did not affect the enslaved person’s status, and that white women could not marry African American men. It became customary for whites to regard all blacks as social inferiors. Racism and slavery soon became integral to colonial society.

**Triangular Trade** In the 17th century, English trade in enslaved Africans had been monopolized by a single company, the Royal African Company. But after this monopoly expired, many New England merchants entered the lucrative slave trade. Merchant ships would regularly follow a triangular, or three-part, trade route. First, a ship starting from a New England port such as Boston would carry rum across the Atlantic to West Africa. There the rum would be traded for hundreds of captive Africans. Next, the ship would set out on the horrendous
Middle Passage. Those Africans who survived the frightful voyage would be traded as slaves in the West Indies for a cargo of sugarcane. Third, completing the last side of the triangle, the ship would return to a New England port where the sugar would be sold to be used in making rum. Every time one type of cargo was traded for another, the slave-trading entrepreneur usually succeeded in making a substantial profit.

**HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: HOW INFLUENTIAL WERE THE PURITANS?**

To what extent did the Puritan founders of Massachusetts shape the development of an American culture? Although some early historians such as James Truslow Adams have minimized the Puritan role, more recent scholars generally agree that the Puritans made significant cultural and intellectual contributions. There is continuing disagreement, however, about whether the Puritan influence encouraged an individualistic spirit or just the opposite.

Some historians have concentrated their study on the writings and sermons of the Puritan clergy and other leaders. They have concluded that the leaders stressed conformity to a strict moral code and exhorted people to sacrifice their individuality for the common good. According to these historians, in other words, the Puritan influence tended to suppress the individualism that later came to characterize American culture.

Other historians believe that the opposite is true. They raise objections to the method of studying only sermons and the journals of leading Puritans such as John Winthrop. If one examines the writings and actions of ordinary colonists in Massachusetts society, say these historians, then one observes many instances of independent thought and action by individuals in Puritan society. According to their argument, American individualism began with the Puritan colonists.
# Reading Log Format

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Reading Logs

Throughout the year you will be reading articles from prominent historians about topics we will be discussing in class. This will give you various perspectives about important people or events in American history. In addition, you will learn new information, engage with a text, and be exposed to examples of thesis statements and how to craft an argument from actual historians.

How do you complete a reading log?

1. Read the assigned article
2. While you are reading, make note of interesting quotes and/or facts from the article.
3. Record these quotes in the left hand column; be sure to include the page number you got the quote.
4. In the right hand column you need to explain and reflect on the quote
   a. Examples of things you can include in the right hand column about the quote
      i. Explain why that quote is significant
      ii. Explain how the information in the quote connects to something you read in AMSCO, something you learned in another class, or something you read in a different book
      iii. Explain how it relates to something we discussed in class
      iv. Explain how it relates to you personally, how it made you feel, what it made you think, or what questions it raised for you
5. Decide what the author’s thesis was and write it word for word
6. Explain the author’s point of view and audience
   a. What is the author’s opinion about the topic and what in his or her background is giving them that opinion
   b. Who is the author writing this article for and how do you know?
7. Summarize the article
   a. What is the overall message of the article, what did you learn from the article, and how did it relate to what we have learned in class or what you have read in AMSCO or your textbook.

See the examples below to help you as you write your first reading log.
Title of the article: “The Master of Steel: Andrew Carnegie”

Author & Date of the Article: Robert L. Heilbroner, August 1960

Author’s Thesis (word for word from the article):
“Where he had got all that money was indeed a legendary story, for even in an age known for its acquisitive triumphs, Carnegie’s touch had been an extraordinary one. He had begun. In true Horatio Alger fashion, at the bottom; he had ended, in a manner that put the wildest of Alger’s novels to shame, at the very pinnacle of success,” (pg. 57).

As an economist and native to New York City, one of America’s foremost industrial cities, Heilbroner certainly would have some distinct biases about the economic practices of Carnegie, and possibly a more biased, positive attitude towards Carnegie because of the man’s “rags to riches” success story that everyone aspires to achieve; it can leave anyone is awe of how wondrous Carnegie was. The author’s audience is probably students seeking to learn more about Carnegie.

Facts/Details/Quotes/Notes: | Inference/Significance/Meaning of your quote/notes:
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“From the crucible of civil war emerged a new America of big business, heavy industry, and commercial farming that became by 1880 ‘the foremost industrial nation’ in the world,” (pg. 54) | Despite the losses of the Civil War, its aftermath really was the revitalization of America as industry expanded to new bounds in the North and it finally latched on in the South. With this industrial expansion, cities started to expand into large epicenters of diversity and people developed a new subtle sense of nationalism that they had never felt before. The expansion towards the West only reaped more benefits for the overall of America as more and more territories became states, new inventions sprouted out like flowers that helped make all American lives easier, and new industries popped up across the country to modernize even the most remote areas of the American frontier. However, despite these gains, I personally think it came at a cost of humanity. Environments were destroyed, homes were taken over, and people, namely the American Indians, were displaced. But this trend isn’t unique as all nations in the past and present have given up some of its humanity to achieve new levels of success and power, to be known in the world.

“Thirty-three and an income of $50,000 per annum! By this time two in years I can so arrange all my business as to secure at least $50,000 per annum. Beyond this never earn – make no effort to increase fortune, but spend the surplus each year for benevolent purposes. Cast aside business forever, except for other,” (pg. 57). | This quote makes me very honored to have the same name as this man (unlike Andrew Johnson, ugh!). He was rich and could’ve become even richer, however, he chose not to use his money to make himself more fortunate, but to invest in more meaningful purposes: “cast aside business forever, except for others.” He wasn’t selfish – he worked to help others. I commend him on this aspect as today, too many people are focused on just making themselves look good and to only give themselves more benefit (I’m looking at you Donald Trump) with their money, instead of helping others who are need. Yes, there are still some people who use their fortunes to help others, however, I just thought by this day and age, “some” would’ve become “all” – shouldn’t everyone by now what we truly need to do to make the world a better place? What really upsets me is that even
“Instead of retiring in two years, Carnegie went on for thirty-three more; even then it was with considerable difficulty that he as persuaded to quit. Far from shunning further money-making, he proceeded to roll up his fortune with an uninhibited drive that led on unfriendly biographer to characterize him as ‘the greediest little gentleman ever created’,” (pg. 58).

“It is this contrast between his hopes and his performance that makes Carnegie interesting. For when we review his life, what we see is more than the career of another 19th century acquisitor. We see the unequal struggle between a man who loved money... and a man who, at bottom, was ashamed of himself for his acquisitive desires. All during his lifetime, the moneymaker seemed to win. But what lifts Carnegie’s story out of the ordinary is that the other Carnegie ultimately triumphed,” (pg. 58).

“Virtually alone among his fellow acquisitors, he was driven by a genuine respect for the power of thought to seek answers for questions that never some charitable organizations use the money they acquire to benefit themselves more than the people they are supposed to be helping. I’m sure Andrew Carnegie has had his fair share of scandals and controversy, but at the core, he still believed in helping others. The same can’t be said about the business leaders of today. L

Okay... this is extremely awkward; I should really read a bit more ahead before I start writing next time. J Okay, so, maybe he wasn't that great of a man, and maybe he was a money grabber, but I do have to commend him on his ambition and drive. Although it made him a little money hungry (as money does to all great people), it was his ambition and drive that truly pushed him to seek out new ways to earn money, and I still think that is honorable. Although I no longer feel honored to share a name with Carnegie (yes, this has been an emotional 10 minutes for me), I still think he was a way better Andrew than Johnson; at least Carnegie was SUCCESSFUL! Anyways, although I don’t want to become corrupt with money, I do wish I had the motivation of Carnegie because that’s a factor that made him successful; something I want to be as well. Also, I think it was quite rude of that biographer to call him “the greediest little gentlemen ever created” because, first of all, that’s short shaming and there is nothing wrong with being short. Second of all, has he seen Donald Trump (second Trump reference), because he’s tiny and greedy too! And third of all, Carnegie in his later life was still a philanthropist and gave to the community portions of his fortunes – does that sound greedy to you?

Add a few more action scenes to this and it would make a great plot for a book. So Carnegie was money crazed, yet not. I think this is a struggle almost everyone faces, especially people of high wealth, because they earn so much money that earning more seems just like a game, but many of these business leaders do have a humanitarian side that tells them to use some of that money to help others. What I love about Carnegie’s story is reflected in the last sentence of the quote: “...the other Carnegie ultimately triumphed,” talking about the humanitarian Carnegie. Yes, he did make millions of dollars throughout his life with his wolf like fierceness and determination to get more money, but in the end, as mentioned above, Carnegie did end up helping others by donating lots of his money to organizations to help others and to promote education. With his fortune, he built Carnegie Hall, founded the Carnegie Corporation of NY, founded Carnegie Mellon University, the Carnegie Hero Fund, and numerous more organizations. He’s unique because we was able to overcome the businessman and allow the humanitarian side of him shine through. He was pretty good guy! J

I find it amazing that with all the money in the world,
even occurred to them,” (pg. 59).

“What made him change his mind? The story goes that he was awe-struck by the volcanic, spectacular eruption of a Bessemer converter, which he saw for the first time during a visit to a British mill. It was precisely the sort of display that would have appealed to Carnegie’s mind – a wild, demonic, physical process miraculously contained and controlled by the dwarfed figures of the steel men themselves,” (pg. 62).

Carnegie, at his core, still cherished knowledge above all else. Earlier in the article, it was said that Carnegie was supposed to retire to Oxford and attend school there. He even said, “I would not exchange [Vanderbilt’s] millions for my knowledge of Shakespeare,” (pg. 59). That’s shocking because it shows that he wasn’t as money obsessed as most people thought he was. (Even I would trade my knowledge of Shakespeare for Vanderbilt’s millions) His advocacy for academics is clearly shown through the amount of educational institutions he built with his money, like Carnegie Mellon University (originally Carnegie Technical Schools), the Carnegie Institution for Science, and the Carnegie Museums of Pittsburgh.

I honestly don’t want to know what goes on inside of Carnegie’s mind, like, “wild” and “demonic?” No thanks. But, it is pretty surprising that this is what caused Carnegie to become crazy about steel and to create his steel empire; this little demonstration did all that! Carnegie was so excited about steel but many of his colleagues were skeptical and thought he was nuts (which I understand), but because of this ended up missing out contributing to a world changing industry and the chance to become rich! This is such a great example of how you must take risks in order to reap greater outcomes – something Carnegie was even skeptical about earlier in his career. This is such a great life lesson that I will be sure to listen to, as did Carnegie and so many other pioneers throughout history! Always take risks!

Summary:
After reading this article, I understand Andrew Carnegie’s story so much better! I honestly connect with him on an emotional level about conflicting values/wants (although mine is music vs. academics, not money vs charity). But I also realized that history has yet to see an uncontroversial figure named Andrew! I guess it’s up to me to give all subsequent Andrews a proper, pure role model. Anyways, Heilbroner was very successful in showing the hidden parts of Carnegie’s life and to paint an informative and accurate picture of Carnegie’s success. The part of this article that truly made it stand out to me was not that it explained how Carnegie became successful, but that it gave little glimpses into the man’s life, the behind the scenes kind of explanation of how Carnegie got his ideas and his riches. This article did a very good job in describing Carnegie and actually making him seem like a real person, not some glorified figure of history. It explained his hardships, his successes, his doubts, etc., aspects that other writings about Carnegie lack. Overall, this is one of my favorite articles so far!
Title of the article: The Master of Steel: Andrew Carnegie

Author & Date of the Article: Robert L. Heilbroner, 1999

Author’s Thesis (word for word from the article):
In the failures of Andrew Carnegie we see many of the failures of America itself. In his curious triumph, we see what we hope is our own steadfast core of integrity.

Democrat or Republican; personal opinion on government involvement in economy? The author’s audience is probably historians or any economist seeking to understand Carnegie’s rise to power.

Facts/Details/Quotes/Notes: | Inference/Significance/ Meaning of your quote/notes: |
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“The Federal government played a crucial role in the postwar boom. One Republican administration after another not only maintained a protective tariff to minimize foreign competition but gave away millions of dollars’ worth of public land to railroad companies, adopted a hard money policy that pleased big business and...” (page 1) | This quote was significant to me for two reasons. The first reason was because it is a cause/effect relationship quote. It outlines the causes that led to the industrialized world that allowed Carnegie to rise to power. Additionally, I think this is interesting because in Economics, we learn that the federal government didn’t really regulate the economy to an extreme extent until after the Great Depression but you can see here that they really did have a major role. |
Fact: Carnegie had big plans to be benevolent with his money. He wanted to not seek to increase his fortune and to education himself and be a model for those who observed his practices. (page 4) | This fact is interesting to me because of the fact that at least at the beginning, power did NOT corrupt. In most cases, we can see power, fame, and wealth corrupt. For example, Boss Tweed and his corruption resulted from too much wealth. Additionally, Andrew Jackson used his presidential power more than extended to him due to the corruption of power. But here, we see a man who wanted to use his power for good and to be humble. Even if he didn’t follow these policies, it was still interesting to see his intentions. |
“We see the unequal struggle between a man who loved money- loved making it, having it, spending it- and a man who, at bottom, was ashamed of himself for his acquisitive desires.” (page 5) | This quote is meaningful because it’s a universal theme of addiction in some sense. Carnegie was addicted to money but deep down was ashamed of his addiction. This little bit of shame is important to note about his character as a person. |
Fact: Carnegie was connected to railroads and realized that making the equipment needed to expand the railroads would be a good profit. (page 8) | I think this fact is important because once again, you can see Carnegie’s character. Instead of attempting to make profit through railroads, like many other people at the time, he thought about making a different profit through an already profitable venue. This shows how
Fact: Carnegie got the idea to manufacture and monopolize steel from a British mill where he saw a Bessemer converter. (page 9)

“In the failures of Andrew Carnegie we see many of the failures of America itself. In his curious triumph, we see what we hope is our own steadfast core of integrity.” (page 13)

Summary:

In a post-civil war period, the economy was booming due to federal involvement and stimulus. Carnegie rose from nothing; he immigrated to America in a family of weavers and through ambition, he rose into the railroad industry and gained success. He originally wanted to stay a self-made man; he would have a humble fortune, educate himself, and serve as a model. When he saw steel in Britain, he revolutionized the process and created his own steel company. Through an economic need for steel, talent in his company, and his own personal drive, he became the richest man in America. In the end of his life, he donated his money to charity finally, fulfilling his original dreams. The universal theme in APUSH this addresses is the rise from nothing to the very top. America as a country rose from nothing to the very top. Constantly, countries are the “underdogs” and rise to defeat higher powers in battles. Similarly, people can be underdogs and rise to political/social/economic power. The North didn’t have the advantage in the South because the South was fighting a defensive war but they won anyways. Carnegie rose from no money at all to being the richest man in America through hard work and innovation.
In fourteen hundred and ninety-two, Christopher Columbus sailed in from the blue. American history books present Columbus pretty much without precedent, and they portray him as America's first great hero. In so canonizing him, they reflect our national culture. Indeed, now that President's Day has combined Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays, Columbus is one of only two people the United States honors by name in a national holiday. The one date that every school child remembers is 1492, and sure enough, all twelve textbooks I surveyed include it. But they leave out virtually everything that is important to know about Columbus and the European exploration of the Americas. Meanwhile, they make up all kinds of details to tell a better story and to humanize Columbus so that readers will identify with him.

Columbus, like Christ, was so pivotal that historians use him to divide the past into epochs, making the Americas before 1492 "pre-Columbian." American history textbooks recognize Columbus's importance by granting him an average of eight hundred words—two and a half pages including a picture and a map—a lot of space, considering all the material these books must cover. Their heroic collective account goes something like this:

Born in Genoa, Italy, of humble parents, Christopher Columbus grew up to become an experienced seafarer. He sailed the Atlantic as far as Iceland and West Africa. His adventures convinced him that the world must be round. Therefore the fabled riches of the East—spices, silk, and gold—could be had by sailing west, superseding the overland route through the Middle East, which the Turks had closed off to commerce.

To get funding for his enterprise, Columbus beseeched monarch after monarch in western Europe. After at first being dismissed by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, Columbus finally got his chance when Queen Isabella decided to underwrite a modest expedition.
Columbus outfitted three pitifully small ships, the *Nina*, the *Pinto*, and the *Santa Maria*, and set forth from Spain. The journey was difficult. The ships sailed west into the unknown Atlantic for more than two months. The crew almost mutinied and threatened to throw Columbus overboard. Finally they reached the West Indies on October 12, 1492.

Although Columbus made three more voyages to America, he never really knew he had discovered a New World. He died in obscurity, unappreciated and penniless. Yet without his daring American history would have been very different, for in a sense Columbus made it all possible.

Unfortunately, almost everything in this traditional account is either wrong or unverifiable. The authors of history textbooks have taken us on a trip of their own, away from the facts of history, into the realm of myth. They and we have been duped by an outrageous concoction of lies, half-truths, truths, and omissions, that is in large part traceable to the first half of the nineteenth century.

The textbooks' first mistake is to underplay previous explorers. People from other continents had reached the Americas many times before 1492. Even if Columbus had never sailed, other Europeans would have soon reached the Americas. Indeed, Europeans may already have been fishing off Newfoundland in the 1480s. In a sense Columbus's voyage was not the first but the last "discovery" of the Americas. It was epoch-making because of the way in which Europe responded. Columbus's importance is therefore primarily attributable to changing conditions in Europe, not to his having reached a "new" continent.

American history textbooks seem to understand the need to cover social changes in Europe in the years leading up to 1492. They point out that history passed the Vikings by and devote several pages to the reasons Europe was ready this time "to take advantage of the discovery" of America, as one textbook puts it. Unfortunately, none of the textbooks provides substantive analysis of the major changes that prompted the new response.

All but one of the twelve books I examined begin the Columbus story with Marco Polo and the Crusades. (*American Adventures* starts simply with Columbus.) Here is their composite account of what was happening in Europe:

"Life in Europe was slow paced." "Curiosity about the rest of the world was at a low point." Then, "many changes took place in Europe during the 500 years before Columbus's discovery of the Americas in 1492,"
"People's horizons gradually widened, and they became more curious about the world beyond their own localities." "Europe was stirring with new ideas. Many Europeans were filled with burning curiosity. They were living in a period called the Renaissance." "What started Europeans thinking new thoughts and dreaming new dreams? A series of wars called the Crusades were partly responsible." "The Crusades caused great changes in the ways that Europeans thought and acted." "The desire for more trade quickly spread." "The old trade routes to Asia had always been very difficult."

The accounts resemble each other closely. Sometimes different textbooks even use the same phrases. Overall, the level of scholarship is discouragingly low, perhaps because their authors are more at home in American history than European history. They provide no real causal explanations for the age of European conquest. Instead, they argue for Europe's greatness in transparently psychological terms—"people grew more curious." Such arguments make sociologists smile: we know that nobody measured the curiosity level in Spain in 1492 or can with authority compare it to the curiosity level in, say, Norway or Iceland in 1005.

Here is the account in The American Way.

What made these Europeans so daring was their belief in themselves.

The people of Europe believed that human beings were the highest form of life on earth. This was the philosophy, or belief, of humanism. It was combined with a growing interest in technology or tools and their uses. The Europeans believed that by using their intelligence, they could develop new ways to do things.

This is not the place to debate the precepts or significance of humanism, a philosophical movement that clashed with orthodox Catholicism. In any case, humanism can hardly explain Columbus, since he and his royal sponsors were devout orthodox Catholics, not humanists. The American Way tells us, nonetheless, that Columbus "had the humanist's belief that people could do anything if they knew enough and tried hard enough." This is Columbus as the Little Engine That Could!

Several textbooks claim that Europe was becoming richer and that the new wealth led to more trade. Actually, as the historian Angus Calder has pointed out, "Europe was smaller and poorer in the fifteenth century than it had been in the thirteenth," owing in part to the bubonic plague.
Some teachers still teach what their predecessors taught me forty years ago: that Europe needed spices to disguise the taste of bad meat, but the bad Turks cut off the spice trade. Three books—*The American Tradition*, *Land of Promise*, and *The American Way*—repeat this falsehood. In the words of *Land of Promise*, "Then, after 1453, when Constantinople fell to the Turks, trade with the East all but stopped." But A. H. Lybyer disproved this statement in 1915! Turkey had nothing to do with the development of new routes to the Indies. On the contrary, the Turks had every reason to keep the old Eastern Mediterranean route open, since they made money from it. In 1957 Jacques Barzun and Henry Graff published a book that has become a standard treatise for graduate students of history, *The Modern Researcher*, in which they pointed out how since 1915 textbooks have perpetuated this particular error. Probably several of the half-dozen authors of the offending textbooks encountered *The Modern Researcher* in graduate school. Somehow the information did not stick, though. This may be because blaming Turks fits with the West's archetypal conviction that followers of Islam are likely to behave irrationally or nastily. In proposing that Congress declare Columbus Day a national holiday in 1963, Rep. Roland Libonati put it this way: "His Christian faith gave to him a religious incentive to thwart the piratical activities of the Turkish marauders preying upon the trading ships of the Christian world." *The American Tradition*, *Land of Promise*, and *The American Way* continue to reinforce this archetype of a vaguely threatening Islam. College students today are therefore astonished to learn that Turks and Moors allowed Jews and Christians freedom of worship at a time when European Christians tortured or expelled Jews and Muslims. Not a single textbook tells that the Portuguese fleet in 1507 blocked the Red Sea and Persian Gulf to stop trade along the old route, because Portugal controlled the new route, around Africa.

Most textbooks note the increase in international trade and commerce, and some relate the rise of nation-states under monarchies. Otherwise, they do a poor job of describing the changes in Europe that led to the Age of Exploration. Some textbooks even invoke the Protestant Reformation, although it didn't begin until twenty-five years after 1492!

What is going on here? We must pay attention to what the textbooks are telling us and what they are not telling us. The changes in Europe not only prompted Columbus's voyages and the probable contemporaneous trips to America by Portuguese, Basque, and Bristol fishermen, but they also paved the way for Europe's domination of the world for the next five hundred years. Except for the invention of agriculture, this was probably the most consequential
development in human history. Our history books ought to discuss seriously what happened and why, instead of supplying vague, nearly circular pronouncements such as this, from The American Tradition: "Interest in practical matters and the world outside Europe led to advances in shipbuilding and navigation."

Perhaps foremost among the significant factors the textbooks leave out are advances in military technology. Around 1400, European rulers began to commission ever bigger guns and learned to mount them on ships. Europe's incessant wars gave rise to this arms race, which also ushered in refinements in archery, drill, and siege warfare, China, the Ottoman Empire, and other nations in Asia and Africa now fell prey to European arms, and in 1493 the Americas began to succumb as well.³

We live with this arms race still. Since the demise of the Soviet Union, the nuclear arms race may have come to a temporary resting point. But the West's advantage in military technology over the rest of the world, jealously maintained from the 1400s on, remains very much contested. Western nations continue to try to keep non-Western nations disadvantaged in military technology. Just as the thirteen British colonies tried to outlaw the sale of guns to Native Americans, the United States now tries to outlaw the sale of nuclear technology to Third World countries. Since money is to be made in the arms trade, however, and since all nations need military allies, the arms trade with non-Western nations persists. The Western advantage in military technology is still a burning issue. Nonetheless, not a single textbook mentions arms as a cause of European world domination.

In the years before Columbus's voyages, Europe also expanded the use of new forms of social technology—bureaucracy, double-entry bookkeeping, and mechanical printing. Bureaucracy, which today has negative connotations, was actually a practical innovation that allowed rulers and merchants to manage far-flung enterprises efficiently. So did double-entry bookkeeping, based on the decimal system, which Europeans first picked up from Arab traders. The printing press and increased literacy allowed news of Columbus's findings to travel across Europe much farther and faster than news of the Vikings' expeditions.

A third important development was ideological or even theological: amassing wealth and dominating other people came to be positively valued as the key means of winning esteem on earth and salvation in the hereafter. As Columbus put it, "Gold is most excellent; gold constitutes treasure; and he who has it does all he wants in the world, and can even lift souls up to Paradise."¹⁰ In 1005 the Vikings intended only to settle Vineland, their name for New England or, more likely, the maritime provinces of Canada. By 1493 Columbus planned
to plunder Haiti. The sources are perfectly clear about Columbus's motivation: in 1495, for instance, Michele de Cuneo wrote about accompanying Columbus on his 1494 expedition into the interior of Haiti: "After we had rested for several days in our settlement, it seemed to the Lord Admiral that it was time to put into execution his desire to search for gold, which was the main reason he had started on so great a voyage full of so many dangers." Columbus was no greedier than the Spanish, or later the English and French. But textbooks downplay the pursuit of wealth as a motive for coming to the Americas when they describe Columbus and later explorers and colonists. Even the Pilgrims left Europe partly to make money, but you would never know it from our textbooks. Their authors apparently believe that to have America explored and colonized for economic gain is somehow undignified.

A fourth factor affecting Europe's readiness to embrace a "new" continent was the particular nature of European Christianity. Europeans believed in a transportable, proselytizing religion that rationalized conquest. (Followers of Islam share this characteristic.) Typically, after "discovering" an island and encountering a tribe of Indians new to them, the Spaniards would read aloud (in Spanish) what came to be called "the Requirement." Here is one version:

I implore you to recognize the Church as a lady and in the name of the Pope take the King as lord of this land and obey his mandates. If you do not do it, I tell you that with the help of God I will enter powerfully against you all. I will make war everywhere and every way that I can. I will subject you to the yoke and obedience to the Church and to his majesty. I will take your women and children and make them slaves. . . . The deaths and injuries that you will receive from here on will be your own fault and not that of his majesty nor of the gentlemen that accompany me."

Having thus satisfied their consciences by offering the Indians a chance to convert to Christianity, the Spaniards then felt free to do whatever they wanted with the people they had just "discovered."

A fifth development that caused Europe's reaction to Columbus's reports about Haiti to differ radically from reactions to earlier expeditions was Europe's recent success in taking over and exploiting various island societies. On Malta, Sardinia, the Canary Islands, and, later, in Ireland, Europeans learned that conquest of this sort was a route to wealth. In addition, new and more deadly forms of smallpox and bubonic plague had arisen in Europe since the Vikings had
sailed. Passed on to those the Europeans met, these diseases helped Europe conquer the Americas and, later, the islands of the Pacific. Except for one paragraph on disease in *The American Pageant*, not one of the twelve textbooks mentions either of these factors as contributing to European world dominance.

Why don't textbooks mention arms as a facilitator of exploration and domination? Why don't they treat any of the foregoing factors? If crude factors such as military power or religiously sanctioned greed are perceived as reflecting badly on us, who exactly is "us"? Who are the textbooks written for (and by)? Plainly, descendants of the Europeans.

High school students don't usually think about the rise of Europe to world domination. It is rarely presented as a question. It seems natural, a given, not something that needs to be explained. Deep down, our culture encourages us to imagine that we are richer and more powerful because we're smarter. Of course, there are no studies showing Americans to be more intelligent than, say, Iraqis. Still, since textbooks don't identify or encourage us to think about the real causes, "we're smarter" festers as a possibility. Also left festering is the notion that "it's natural" for one group to dominate another. While history brims with examples of national domination, it also is full of counterexamples. The contact between Norse and Indians around 1000 A.D., for example, though mostly unfriendly, was not marked by domination. The triracial Native American societies that developed after 1492—from Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, through Florida to Ecuador—also offer evidence that domination is not natural but cultural.

The way American history textbooks treat Columbus reinforces the tendency not to think about the process of domination. The traditional picture of Columbus landing on the American shore shows him dominating immediately, and this is based on fact; Columbus claimed everything he saw right off the boat. When textbooks celebrate this process, they imply that taking the land and dominating the Indians was inevitable if not natural. This is unfortunate, because Columbus's voyages constitute a splendid teachable moment. As official missions of a nation-state, they exemplify the new Europe. Merchants and rulers collaborated to finance and authorize them. The second expedition was heavily armed. Columbus carefully documented the voyages, including directions, cur-rents, shoals, and descriptions of the Indians as ripe for subjugation. Thanks to the printing press, detailed news of Haiti and later conquests spread swiftly. Columbus had personal experience of the Atlantic islands recently taken over by Portugal and Spain, as well as with the slave trade in West Africa. Most impor-tant, his purpose from the beginning was not mere exploration or even trade,
but conquest and exploitation, for which he used religion as a rationale.\textsuperscript{16} If textbooks included these facts, they might induce students to think intelligently about why the West dominates the world today.

The textbooks concede that Columbus did not start from scratch. Every textbook account of the European exploration of the Americas begins with Prince Henry the Navigator, of Portugal, between 1415 and 1460. Henry is portrayed as discovering Madeira and the Azores and sending out ships to circumnavigate Africa for the first time. The textbook authors seem unaware that ancient Phoenicians and Egyptians sailed at least as far as Ireland and England, reached Madeira and the Azores, traded with the aboriginal inhabitants of the Canary Islands, and sailed all the way around Africa before 600 B.C. Instead, the textbooks credit Bartolomeu Dias with being the first to round the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa in 1488. Omitting the accomplishments of the Afro-Phoenicians is ironic, because it was Prince Henry's knowledge of their feats that inspired him to replicate them." But this information clashes with another social archetype: our culture views modern technology as a European development. So the Afro-Phoenicians' feats do not conform to the textbooks' overall story line about how white Europeans taught the rest of the world how to do things. None of the textbooks credits the Muslims with preserving Greek wisdom, enhancing it with ideas from China, India, and Africa, and then passing on the resulting knowledge to Europe via Spain. Instead, they show Henry inventing navigation and imply that before Europe there was nothing, at least nothing modern.

In fact, Henry's work was based mostly on ideas that were known to the ancient Egyptians and Phoenicians and had been developed further in Arabia, North Africa, and China. Even the word the Portuguese applied to their new ships, \textit{caravel}, derived from the Egyptian \textit{caravos}.\textsuperscript{7} Cultures do not evolve in a vacuum; diffusion of ideas is perhaps the most important cause of cultural development. Contact with other cultures often triggers a cultural flowering. Anthropologists call this phenomenon efflorescence. Children in elementary school learn that Persian and Mediterranean civilizations flowered in antiquity due to their location on trade routes. Here with Henry at the dawn of European world domination, textbooks have a golden opportunity to apply this same idea of cultural diffusion to Europe. They squander it. Not only did Henry have to develop new instruments, according to \textit{The American Way}, but "people didn't know how to build seagoing ships, either." Students are left without a clue as to how aborigines ever reached Australia, Polynesians reached Madagascar, or Afro-Phoenicians reached the Canaries. By "people" \textit{Way} means, of course, Europeans—a textbook example of Eurocentrism.
These books are expressions of what the anthropologist Stephen Jett calls "the doctrine of the discovery of America by Columbus." Table 1 provides a chronological list of expeditions that may have reached the Americas before Columbus, with comments on the quality of the evidence for each as of 1994.

While the list is long, it is still probably incomplete. A map found in Turkey dated 1513 and said to be based on material from the library of Alexander the Great includes coastline details of South America and Antarctica. Ancient Roman coins keep turning up all over the Americas, causing some archaeologists to conclude that Roman seafarers visited the Americas more than once.

Native Americans also crossed the Atlantic: anthropologists conjecture that Native Americans voyaged east millennia ago from Canada to Scandinavia or Scotland. Two Indians shipwrecked in Holland around 60 B.C. became major curiosities in Europe.

The evidence for each of these journeys offers fascinating glimpses into the societies and cultures that existed on both sides of the Atlantic and in Asia before 1492. They also reveal controversies among those who study the distant past. If textbooks allowed for controversy, they could show students which claims rest on strong evidence, which on softer ground. As they challenged students to make their own decisions as to what probably happened, they would also be introducing students to the various methods and forms of evidence—oral history, written records, cultural similarities, linguistic changes, human blood types, pottery, archaeological dating, plant migrations—that researchers use to derive knowledge about the distant past. Unfortunately, textbooks seem locked into a rhetoric of certainty. James West Davidson and Mark H. Lytle, coauthors of the textbook The United States—A History of the Republic, have also written After the Fact, a book for college history majors in which they emphasize that history is not a set of facts but a series of arguments, issues, and controversies. Davidson and Lytle's high school textbook, however, like its competitors, presents history as answers, not questions.

New evidence that emerges, as archaeologists and historians compare American cultures with cultures in Africa, Europe, and Asia, may confirm or disprove these arrivals. Keeping up with such evidence is a lot of work. To tell about earlier explorers, textbook authors would have to familiarize themselves with sources such as those cited in the three preceding footnotes. It's easier just to retell the old familiar Columbus story.

Seven of the twelve textbooks I studied at least mention the expeditions of the Norse. These daring sailors reached America in a series of voyages across the North Atlantic, establishing communities on the Faeroe Islands, Iceland, and
Table 1. Explorers of America

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>FROM</th>
<th>TO</th>
<th>QUALITY OF EVIDENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70,000? B.C.-12,000? B.C.</td>
<td>Siberia</td>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>High: the survivors peopled the Americas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6000? B.C.-1500? B.C.</td>
<td>Indonesia (or other direction)</td>
<td>South America</td>
<td>Moderate: similarities in blowguns, paper making, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5000? B.C.</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>Moderate: similar pottery, fishing styles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000? B.C.-600? B.C.</td>
<td>Siberia</td>
<td>Canada, New Mexico</td>
<td>High: Navajos and Crees resemble each other culturally, differ from other Indians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9000?B.C. to present</td>
<td>Siberia</td>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>High: continuing contact by Inuits across Bering Sea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 B.C.-300 A.D.</td>
<td>Afro-Phoenicia</td>
<td>Central America</td>
<td>Moderate: Negroid and Caucasoid likenesses in sculpture and ceramics, Arab history, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800 B.C.</td>
<td>Phoenicia, Celtic Britain</td>
<td>New England, perhaps elsewhere</td>
<td>Low: megaliths, possible similarities in script and language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600 A.D.</td>
<td>Ireland, via Iceland</td>
<td>Newfoundland? West Indies?</td>
<td>Low: legends of St. Brendan, written c. 850 A.D., confirmed by Norse sagas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000-1350</td>
<td>Greenland, Iceland</td>
<td>Labrador, Baffin Land, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, possibly Cape Coo and further south</td>
<td>High: oral sagas, confirmed by archaeology on Newfoundland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1311?-1460?</td>
<td>West Africa</td>
<td>Haiti, Panama, in possibly Brazil</td>
<td>Moderate: Portuguese sources West Africa, Columbus on Haiti, Balboa in Panama.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 1460</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>Newfoundland? Brazil?</td>
<td>Low: inference from Portuguese sources and actions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1375?-1491</td>
<td>Basque Spain</td>
<td>Newfoundland coast</td>
<td>Low: cryptic historical sources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1481-91</td>
<td>Bristol, England</td>
<td>Newfoundland coast</td>
<td>Low: cryptic historical sources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1492</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Caribbean, including Haiti</td>
<td>High: historical sources.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Greenland. The Norse colony on Greenland lasted five hundred years (982-c. 1500), as long as the European settlement of the Americas until now. From Greenland a series of expeditions, some planned, some accidental, reached various parts of North America, including Baffin Land, Labrador, Newfoundland, and possibly New England.

Textbooks that mention the Viking expeditions minimize them. Land of Promise writes, "They merely touched the shore briefly, and sailed away." Perhaps the authors of Promise did not know that, around 1005, Thorfinn and Gudrid Karlsefni led a party of 65 or 165 or 265 homesteaders (the old Norse sagas vary), with livestock and supplies, to settle Vineland. They lasted two years; Gudrid gave birth to a son. Then conflict with Native Americans caused them to give up. This trip was no isolated incident: Norse were still exporting wood from Labrador to Greenland 350 years later. Some archaeologists and historians believe that the Norse got as far down the coast as North Carolina. The Norse discoveries remained known in western Europe for centuries and were never forgotten in Scandinavia. Columbus surely learned of Greenland and probably also of North America if he visited Iceland in 1477 as he claimed to have done."

It may be fair to say that the Vikings' voyages had little lasting effect on the fate of the world. Should textbooks therefore leave them out? Is impact on the present the sole reason for including an event or fact? It cannot be, of course, or our history books would shrink to twenty-page pamphlets. We include the Norse voyages, not for their ostensible geopolitical significance, but because including them gives a more complete picture of the past. Moreover, if textbooks would only intelligently compare the Norse voyages to Columbus's second voyage, they would help students understand the changes that took place in Europe between 1000 and 1493. As we shall see, Columbus's second voyage was ten times larger than the Norse attempts at settlement. The new European ability to mobilize was in part responsible for Columbus's voyages taking on their awesome significance.

Although seafarers from Africa and Asia may also have made it to the Americas, they never make it into history textbooks. The best known are the voyages of the Afro-Phoenicians, probably launched from Morocco but ultimately from Egypt, that are said to have reached the Atlantic coast of Mexico in about 750 B.C. Organic material associated with colossal heads of basalt that stand along the eastern coast of Mexico stand has been dated to around 750 B.C. The stone heads are realistic portraits of West Africans, according to the anthropologist Ivan Van Sertima, who has done much to bring these images into popular consciousness. Around the same time Indians elsewhere in Mexico
created small ceramic and stone sculptures of what seem to be Caucasoid and Negroid faces. As Alexander von Wuthenau, who collected many such terra-cotta statues, put it, "It is contradictory to elementary logic and to all artistic experience that an Indian could depict in a masterly way the head of a Negro or of a white person without missing a single racial characteristic, unless he had seen such a person." Although some scholars have dismissed the Caucasoid images as "stylized" Indian heads and the Negroid faces as representing jaguars or human babies, the faces nonetheless stare back at us, steadfastly Caucasoid or Negroid, hard to explain away. Ivan von Sertima and others have adduced additional bits of evidence, including similarities in looms and other cultural elements, identical strains of cotton that probably required human intervention to cross the Atlantic, and information in Arab historical sources about extensive ocean navigation by Africans and Phoenicians in the eighth century B.C.

What is the importance today of these African and Phoenician predecessors of Columbus? Like the Vikings, they provide a fascinating story, one that can hold high school students on the edge of their seats. We might also realize another kind of importance by contemplating the particular meaning of Columbus Day. Italian Americans infer something positive about their "national character" from the exploits of their ethnic ancestors. The American sociologist George Homans once quipped, explaining why he had written on his own ancestors in East Anglia, rather than on some larger group elsewhere; "They may be humans, but not Homans!" Similarly, Scandinavians and Scandinavian Americans have always believed the Norse sagas about the Vikings, even when most historians did not, and finally confirmed them by conducting archaeological research in Newfoundland.

If Columbus is especially relevant to western Europeans and the Vikings to Scandinavians, what is the meaning to African Americans of the pre-Columbian voyagers from Africa? After visiting the Von Wuthenau museum in Mexico City, the Afro-Carib scholar Tiho Narva wrote, "With his unique collection surrounding me, I had an eerie feeling that veils obscuring the past had been torn asunder. . . . Somehow, upon leaving the museum I suddenly felt that I could walk taller for the rest of my days." Von Sertima's book is in its sixteenth printing and he is lionized by black undergraduates across America. Rap music groups chant "but we already had been there" in verses about Columbus. Obviously, African Americans want to see positive images of "themselves" in American history. So do we all.

As with the Norse, including the Afro-Phoenicians gives a more complete and complex picture of the past, showing that navigation and exploration did
Rock heads nine feet tall face the ocean in southeastern Mexico. Archaeologists call them Olmec heads after their name for the Indians who carved them. According to an archaeologist who helped uncover them, the faces are "amazingly Negroid." Today some archaeologists believe that the mouth lines resemble jaguar-like expressions Mayan children still make. Others think the statues are of "fat babies" or Indian kings or resemble sculptures in Southeast Asia.

not begin with Europe in the 1400s. Like the Norse, the Afro-Phoenicians illustrate human possibility, in this case black possibility, or, more accurately, the prowess of a multiracial society. Unlike the Norse, the Africans and Phoenicians seem to have made a permanent impact on the Americas. The huge stone statues in Mexico imply as much. It took enormous effort to quarry these basalt blocks, each weighing ten to forty tons, move them from quarries seventy-five miles away, and sculpt them into heads six to ten feet tall. Wherever they were from, the human models for these heads were important people, people to be worshiped or obeyed or at least remembered.” However, archaeologists have not agreed that they were Afro-Phoenicians, so including the story opens a window through which students can view an ongoing controversy.

Of the twelve textbooks I surveyed, only two even mention the possibility of African or Phoenician exploration. The American Adventure simply poses two questions: "What similarities are there between the great monuments of the Maya and those of ancient Egypt?" and "Might windblown sailors from Asia, Europe, Africa, or the South Pacific have mingled with the earlier inhabitants of the New World?" The textbook supplies no relevant information and even claims, "You should be able to deal with these questions without doing research.” Nonsense. Most classrooms will simply ignore the questions. The United States—A History of the Republic mentions pre-Columbian expeditions only to assure us that we need not concern ourselves with them: "None of these Europeans, Africans, or Asians left lasting traces of their presence in the Americas, nor did they develop any lasting relationships with the first Americans.” Unsatisfactory as these fragments are, they are the entire treatment of the issue in all twelve textbooks.
American history textbooks promote the belief that most important developments in world history are traceable to Europe. To grant too much human potential to pre-Columbian Africans might jar European American sensibilities. As Samuel Marble put it, "The possibility of African discovery of America has never been a tempting one for American historians." Teachers and curricula that present African history and African Americans in a positive light are often condemned for being Afrocentric. White historians insist that the case for the Afro-Phoenicians has not been proven; we must not distort history to improve black children's self-image, they say. They are right that the case hasn't been proven, but textbooks should include the Afro-Phoenicians as a possibility, a controversy.

Standard history textbooks and courses discriminate against students who have been educated by rap songs or by von Sertima. Imagine an eleventh-grade classroom in American history in early fall. The text is *Life and Liberty*; students are reading Chapter Two, "Exploration and Colonization." What happens when an African American girl shoots up her hand to challenge the statement "Not until 1497-1499 did the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama sail around Africa"? From rap songs the girl has learned that Afro-Phoenicians beat Da Gama by more than 2,000 years. Does the teacher take time to research the question and find that the student is right, the textbook wrong? More likely, s/he puts down the student's knowledge: "Rap songs aren't appropriate in a history class!" Or s/he humors the child: "Yes, but that was long ago and didn't lead to anything. Vasco da Gama's discovery is the important one." These responses allow the class to move "forward" to the next topic. They also contain some truth: the Afro-Phoenician circumnavigation didn't lead to any new trade routes or national alliances, because the Afro-Phoenicians were already trading with India through the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Textbooks don't name Vasco da Gama because something came from his "discovery," however. They name him because he was white. Two pages later, *Life and Liberty* tells us that Hernando De Soto "discovered [the] Mississippi River." (Of course, it had been discovered and named Mississippi by ancestors of the Indians who were soon to chase De Soto down it.) Textbooks portray De Soto in armor, not showing that by the time he reached the river, his men and women had lost almost all their clothing in a fire set by Indians in Alabama and were wearing replacements woven from reeds. De Soto's "discovery" had no larger significance and led to no trade or white settlement." His was merely the first white face to gaze upon the Mississippi. That's why ten of the twelve American history textbooks include him. From Erik the Red to Peary at the North Pole to the first man on the moon, we celebrate most discoverers because they were
first and because they were white, not because of events that flowed or did not flow from their accomplishments. My hypothetical teacher subtly changed the ground rules for Da Gama, but they changed right back for De Soto. In this way students learn that black feats are not considered important while white ones are.”

Continuing down the list of likely pre-Columbian explorations, we arrive at an interesting vantage point from which to consider this debate. Let us compare two other possible pre-Columbian expeditions, from the west coasts of Africa and Ireland.

When Columbus reached Haiti, he found the Arawaks in possession of some spear points made of “guanine.” The Indians said they got them from black traders who had come from the south and east. Guanine proved to be an alloy of gold, silver, and copper, identical to the gold alloy preferred by West Africans, who also called it “guanine.” Islamic historians have recorded stories of voyages west from Mali in West Africa around 1311, during the reign of Mansa Bakari II. From time to time in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, shipwrecked African vessels—remnants, presumably, of transatlantic trade—washed up on Cape Verde. From contacts in West Africa, the Portuguese heard that African traders were visiting Brazil in the mid-1400s; this knowledge may have influenced Portugal to insist on moving the pope’s “line of demarcation” further west in the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494). 6 Traces of diseases common in Africa have been detected in pre-Columbian corpses in Brazil. Columbus’s son Ferdinand, who accompanied the admiral on his third voyage, reports that people they met or heard about in eastern Honduras “are almost black in color, ugly in aspect,” probably Africans. The first Europeans to reach Panama—Balboa and company—reported seeing black slaves in an Indian town. The Indians said they had captured them from a nearby black community. Oral history from Afro-Mexicans contains tales of pre-Columbian crossings from West Africa. In all, then, data from diverse sources suggest that pre-Columbian voyages from West Africa to America were probable. 17

In contrast, the evidence for an Irish trip to America comes from only one side of the Atlantic. Irish legends written in the ninth or tenth century tell of “an abbot and seventeen monks who journeyed to the ‘promised land of the saints’ during a seven-year sojourn in a leather boat” centuries earlier. The stories include details that are literally fabulous: each Easter, the priest and his crew supposedly conducted Mass on the back of a whale. They visited a “pillar of crystal” (perhaps an iceberg) and an “island of fire.” We cannot simply dismiss these legends, however. When the Norse first reached Iceland, Irish
monks were living on the island, whose volcanoes could have provided the "island of fire."

How do American history textbooks treat these two sets of legendary voyagers? Five of the textbooks admit the possibility of an Irish expedition. The Challenge of Freedom gives the fullest account:

Some people believe that . . . Irish missionaries may have sailed to the Americas hundreds of years before the first voyages of Columbus. According to Irish legends, Irish monks sailed the Atlantic Ocean in order to bring Christianity to the people they met. One Irish legend in particular tells about a land southwest of the Azores. This land was supposedly discovered by St. Brendan, an Irish missionary, about 500 AD.

Not one textbook mentions the West Africans, however.

While leaving out Columbus's predecessors, American history books continue to make mistakes when they get to the last "discoverer." They present cut-and-dried answers, mostly glorifying Columbus, always avoiding uncertainty or controversy. Often their errors seem to be copied from other textbooks. Let me repeat the collective Columbus story they tell, this time italicizing everything in it that we have solid reason to believe is true.

Horn in Genoa, of humble parents, Christopher Columbus grew up to become an experienced seafarer, venturing as far as Iceland and West Africa. His adventures convinced him that the world must be round and that the fabled riches of the East—spices and gold—could be had by sailing west, superseding the overland routes, which the Turks had closed off to commerce. To get funding for his enterprise, he begged monarch after monarch in Western Europe. After at first being dismissed by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, Columbus finally got his chance when Isabella decided to underwrite a modest expedition. Columbus outfitted three pitifully small ships, the Nina, the Pinta, and the Santa Maria, and set forth from Spain. After an arduous journey of more than two months, during which his mutinous crew almost threw him overboard, Columbus discovered the West Indies on October 12, 1492. Unfortunately, although he made three more voyages to America, he never knew he had discovered a New World. Columbus died in obscurity, unappreciated and penniless. Yet without his daring American history would have been very different, for in a sense he made it all possible.
As you can see, textbooks get the date right, and the names of the ships. Most of the rest that they tell us is untrustworthy. Many aspects of Columbus's life remain a mystery. He claimed to be from Genoa, Italy, and there is evidence that he was. There is also evidence that he wasn't: Columbus didn't seem to be able to write in Italian, even when writing to people in Genoa. Some historians believe he was Jewish, a converso, or convert to Christianity, probably from Spain. (Spain was pressuring its Jews to convert to Christianity or leave the country.) He may have been a Genoese Jew. Still other historians claim he was from Corsica, Portugal, or elsewhere.15

What about Columbus's social class background? One textbook tells us he was poor, "the son of a poor Genoese weaver," while another assures us he was rich, "the son of a prosperous wool-weaver." Each is certain, but people who have spent years studying Columbus say we cannot be sure. We do not even know for certain where Columbus thought he was going. Evidence suggests he was seeking Japan, India, and Indonesia; other evidence indicates he was trying to reach "new" lands to the west. Historians have asserted each viewpoint for centuries. Because "India was known for its great wealth," Las Casas points out, it was in Columbus's interest "to induce the monarchs, always doubtful about his enterprise, to believe him when he said he was setting out in search of a western route to India." After reviewing the evidence, Columbus's recent biographer Kirkpatrick Sale concluded "we will likely never know for sure." Sale noted that such a conclusion is "not very satisfactory for those who demand certainty in their historical tales." Predictably, all our textbooks are of this type: all "know" he was seeking Japan and the East Indies. Thus authors keep their readers from realizing that historians do not know all the answers, hence history is not just a process of memorizing them.

The extent to which textbooks sometimes disagree, particularly when each seems so certain of what it declares, can be pretty scary. What was the weather like during Columbus's 1492 trip? According to Land of Promise, his ships were "storm-battered"; but American Adventures says they enjoyed "peaceful seas." How long was the voyage? "After more than two months at sea," according to The Challenge of Freedom, the crews saw land; but The American Adventure says the voyage lasted "nearly a month." What were the Americas like when Columbus arrived? "Thickly peopled," in one book, quoting Columbus; "thinly spread," according to another.

To make a better myth, American culture has perpetuated the idea that Columbus was boldly forging ahead while everyone else, even his own crew, imagined the world was flat. The American Pageant is the only textbook that still

THE TRUE IMPORTANCE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS - 45
Most textbooks include a portrait of Columbus. These head-and-shoulder pictures have no value whatsoever as historical documents, because not one of the countless images we have of the man was painted in his lifetime. To make the point that these images are inauthentic, the Library of Congress sells this T-shirt featuring six different Columbus faces.

repeats this hoax, "The superstitious sailors . . . grew increasingly mutinous," according to Pageant, because they were "fearful of sailing over the edge of the world." In iruth, few people on both sides of the Atlantic believed in 1492 that the world was flat. Most Europeans and Native Americans knew the world to be round. It looks round. It casts a circular shadow on the moon. Sailors see its roundness when ships disappear over the horizon, hull first, then sails.

Washington Irving wins credit for popularizing the flat-earth fable in 1828. In his bestselling biography of Columbus, Irving described Columbus's supposed defense of his round-earth theory before the flat-earth savants at Salamanca University. Irving himself surely knew the story to be fiction, "He probably thought it added a nice dramatic nourish and would do no harm. But it does. It invites us to believe that the "primitives" of the world, admittedly including pre-Columbian Europeans, had only a crude understanding of the planet they lived on, until aided by a forward-thinking European. It also turns Columbus into a man of science who corrected our faulty geography.

Intense debunking of the flat-earth legend by professional historians has made an impact. Yet even the eleven textbooks that do not repeat Irving's fiction choose wholly ineffectual words to counter it. This passage from Triumph of the American Nation exemplifies the problem: "Convinced that the earth was round, a knowledge shared by many informed people of" the day, Columbus
Without project funding, the world might still be flat.

American culture perpetuates the image of Columbus boldly forging ahead while everyone else imagined the world was flat. A character in the movie Star Trek V, for instance, repeats the Washington Irving lie: ‘The people of your world once believed the earth to be flat; Columbus proved it was round.” Every October, Madison Avenue makes use of the flat-earth theme. This ad seeks clients for daring and courageous stock brokers!
believed that if he sailed far enough to the west he would reach Asia. To be sure, the minor subordinate clause quietly notes that not everyone, perhaps not even most people, believed in flat-earth geography. But the main subordinate clause and the primary clause emphasize Columbus's own belief that the earth was round. The sentence makes little sense unless the reader infers that Columbus's belief was unusual. I have talked not only with students but also with teachers who have read textbooks like Triumph without noticing this point. Thus teachers often still believe and still relay to their students the flat-earth legend.

Even the death of Columbus has been changed to make a better story. Having Columbus come to a tragic end—sick, poor, and ignorant of his great accomplishment—adds melodramatic interest. "Columbus's discoveries were not immediately appreciated by the Spanish government," according to The American Adventure. "He died in neglect in 1506." In fact, Spain "immediately appreciated" Columbus's "discoveries," which is why they immediately outfitted him for a much larger second voyage. In 1499 Columbus made a major gold strike on Haiti, and his successors then forced hundreds of thousands of Indians to mine the gold for them. Money from the Americas continued to flow in to Columbus in Spain, perhaps not what he felt he deserved, but enough to keep all wolves far from his door. Columbus died well off and left his heirs well endowed, even with the title, "Admiral of the Ocean Sea," now carried by his eighteenth-generation descendant. Moreover, Columbus's own journal shows clearly that he knew he had reached a "new" continent.4

The errors textbooks make about Columbus do not result simply from sloppy scholarship. Textbooks want to magnify Columbus as a great hero, a "man of vision, energy, resourcefulness, and courage," in the words of The American Pageant. Some of the details the textbook authors pile on are harmless, I suppose, such as the fabrications about Isabella's sending a messenger galloping after Columbus and pawning her jewels to pay for the expedition.44 All of the enhancements humanize Columbus, however, to induce readers to identify with him. Here is a passage from Land of Promise:

It is October, 1492. Three small, storm-battered ships are lost at sea, sailing into an unknown ocean. A frightened crew has been threatening to throw their stubborn captain overboard, turn the ships around, and make for the safety of familiar shores.

Then a miracle: The sailors see some green branches floating on the water. Land birds fly overhead. From high in the ship's rigging...
lookout cries, "Land, land ahead!" Fears turn to joy. Soon the grateful captain wades ashore and gives thanks to God.

Now, really. The Nifia, Pinca, and Santd Mdrid were not "storm-battered." To make a better myth, the textbook authors want the voyage to seem harder than it was, so they invent bad weather. Columbus's own journal reveals that the three ships enjoyed lovely sailing. Seas were so calm that for days at a time sailors were able to converse from one ship to another. Indeed, the only time they experienced even moderately high seas was on the last day when they knew they were near land.

To make a better myth, to make the trip seem longer than it was, most of the textbooks overlook Columbus's stopover in the Canary Islands. The voyage across the unknown Atlantic took one month, not two.

To make a better myth, the textbooks describe Columbus's ships as tiny and inefficient, when actually "these three vessels were fully suited to his purpose," as naval author Pietro Barozzi has pointed out."

To make a better myth, six of twelve textbooks exaggerate the crew's complaints into a near-mutiny. The primary sources differ. Some claim the sailors threatened to go back home if they didn't reach land soon. Other sources claim that Columbus lost heart and that the captains of the other two ships persuaded him to keep on. Still other sources suggest that the three leaders met and agreed to continue on for a few more days and then reassess the situation. After
studying the matter, Columbus's biographer Samuel Eliot Mortson reduced the complaints to mere griping: "They were all getting on each other's nerves, as happens even nowadays." So much for the crew's threat to throw Columbus overboard.

Such exaggeration is not entirely harmless. Another archetype lurks below the surface: that those who direct social enterprises are more intelligent than those nearer the bottom. Bill Bigelow, a high school history teacher, has pointed out that "the sailors are stupid, superstitious, cowardly, and sometimes scheming, Columbus, on the other hand, is brave, wise, and godly." These portrayals amount to an "anti-working class pro-boss polemic." Indeed, the only textbook that still repeats the old flat-earth myth thinks badly of the sailors, whom it characterizes as "a motley crew."

False entries in the log of the Santa Maria constitute another piece of the myth, "Columbus was a true leader," says A History of the United States. "He altered the records of distances they had covered so the crew would not think they had gone too far from home," Salvador de Madariaga has persuasively argued that to believe this, we would have to think the others on the voyage were fools. Columbus had "no special method, available only to him, whereby distances sailed could be more accurately reckoned than by the other pilots and masters."

Indeed, Columbus was las experienced as a navigator than the Pinion brothers, who captained the Nina and Pinto. During the return voyage, Columbus confided in his journal the real reason for the false log entries: he wanted to keep the route to the Indies secret. As paraphrased by Las Casas, "He says that he pretended to have gone a greater distance in order to confound the pilots and sailors who did the charts, that he might remain master of that route to the Indies."

To make a better myth, our textbooks find space for many other humanizing particulars. They have the lookout cry "Tierra!" or "Land!" Most of them tell us that Columbus's first act after going ashore was "thanking God for leading them safely across the sea"—even though the surviving summary of Columbus's own journal states only that "before them all, he took possession of the island, as in fact he did, for the King and Queen, his Sovereigns."

Christopher Columbus introduced two phenomena that revolutionized race relations and transformed the modern world: the taking of land, wealth, and labor from indigenous peoples, leading to their near extermination, and the transatlantic slave trade, which created a racial underclass.
Columbus's initial impression of the Arawaks, who inhabited most of the islands in the Caribbean, was quite favorable. He wrote in his journal on October 13, 1492: "At daybreak great multitudes of men came to the shore, all young and of fine shapes, and very handsome. Their hair was not curly but loose and coarse like horse-hair. All have foreheads much broader than any people I had hitherto seen. Their eyes are large and very beautiful. They are not black, but the color of the inhabitants of the Canaries." (This reference to the Canaries was ominous, for Spain was then in the process of exterminating the aboriginal people of those islands.) Columbus went on to describe the Arawaks' canoes, "some large enough to contain 40 or 45 men." Finally, he got down to business: "I was very attentive to them, and strove to learn if they had any gold. Seeing some of them with little bits of metal hanging at their noses, I gathered from them by signs that by going southward or steering round the island in that direction, there would be found a king who possessed great cups full of gold." At dawn the next day, Columbus sailed to the other side of the island, probably one of the Bahamas, and saw two or three villages. He ended his description of them with these menacing words: "I could conquer the whole of them with fifty men and govern them as I pleased."

On his first voyage, Columbus kidnapped some ten to twenty-five Indians and took them back with him to Spain. Only seven or eight of the Indians arrived alive, but along with the parrots, gold trinkets, and other exotica, they caused quite a stir in Seville. Ferdinand and Isabella provided Columbus with seventeen ships, 1,200 to 1,500 men, cannons, crossbows, guns, cavalry, and attack dogs for a second voyage.

One way to visualize what happened next is with the help of the famous science fiction story *War of the Worlds*. H. G. Wells intended his tale of earthlings' encounter with technologically advanced aliens as an allegory. His frightened British commoners (New Jerseyites in Orson Welles's radio adaptation) were analogous to the "primitive" peoples of the Canaries or America, and his terrifying aliens represented the technologically advanced Europeans. As we identify with the helpless earthlings, Wells wanted us also to sympathize with the natives on Haiti in 1493, or on Australia in 1788, or in the upper Amazon jungle in the 1990s. When Columbus and his men returned to Haiti in 1493, they demanded food, gold, spun cotton—whatever the Indians had that they wanted, including sex with their women. To ensure cooperation, Columbus used punishment by example. When an Indian committed even a minor offense, the Spanish cut off his ears or nose. Disfigured, the person was sent back to his village as living evidence of the brutality the Spaniards were capable of.
After a while, the Indians had had enough. At first their resistance was mostly passive. They refused to plant food for the Spanish to take. They abandoned towns near the Spanish settlements. Finally, the Arawaks fought back. Their sticks and stones were no more effective against the armed and clothed Spanish, however, than the earthlings' rifles against the aliens' death rays in *War of the Worlds*.

The attempts at resistance gave Columbus an excuse to make war. On March 24, 1495, he set out to conquer the Arawaks. Bartolome de Las Casas described the force Columbus assembled to put down the rebellion. "Since the Admiral perceived that daily the people of the land were taking up arms, ridiculous weapons in reality . . . he hastened to proceed to the country and disperse and subdue, by force of arms, the people of the entire island . . . For this he chose 200 foot soldiers and 20 cavalry, with many crossbows and small cannon, lances, and swords, and a still more terrible weapon against the Indians, in addition to the horses: this was 20 hunting dogs, who were turned loose and immediately tore the Indians apart." Naturally, the Spanish won. According to Kirkpatrick Sale, who quotes Ferdinand Columbus's biography of his father "The soldiers mowed down dozens with point-blank volleys, loosed the dogs to rip open limbs and bellies, chased fleeing Indians into the bush to skewer them on sword and pike, and 'with God's aid soon gained a complete victory, killing many Indians and capturing others who were also killed.'"

Having as yet found no fields of gold, Columbus had to return some kind of dividend to Spain. In 1495 the Spanish on Haiti initiated a great slave raid. They rounded up 1,500 Arawaks, then selected the 500 best specimens (of whom 200 would die en route to Spain). Another 500 were chosen as slaves for the Spaniards staying on the island. The rest were released. A Spanish eyewitness described the event: "Among them were many women who had infants at the breast. They, in order the better to escape us, since they were afraid we would turn to catch them again, left their infants anywhere on the ground and started to flee like desperate people; and some fled so far that they were removed from our settlement of Isabela seven or eight days beyond mountains and across huge rivers; wherefore from now on scarcely any will be had." Columbus was excited. "In the name of the Holy Trinity, we can send from here all the slaves and brazil-wood which could be sold," he wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1496. "In Castile, Portugal, Aragon, . . . and the Canary Islands they need many slaves, and I do not think they get enough from Guinea." He viewed the Indian death rate optimistically: 'Although they die now, they will not always die. The Negroes and Canary Islanders died at first.'
In the words of Hans Koning, "There now began a reign of terror in Hispaniola." Spaniards hunted Indians for sport and murdered them for dog food. Columbus, upset because he could not locate the gold he was certain was on the island, set up a tribute system. Ferdinand Columbus described how it worked: "(The Indians) all promised to pay tribute to the Catholic Sovereigns every three months, as follows: In the Cibao, where the gold mines were, every person of 14 years of age or upward was to pay a large hawk's bell of gold dust; all others were each to pay 25 pounds of cotton. Whenever an Indian delivered his tribute, he was to receive a brass or copper token which he must wear about his neck as proof that he had made his payment. Any Indian found without such a token was to be punished." With a fresh token, an Indian was safe for three months, much of which time would be devoted to collecting more gold. Columbus's son neglected to mention how the Spanish punished those whose tokens had expired: they cut off their hands. 59

All of these gruesome facts are available in primary source material—letters by Columbus and by other members of his expeditions—and in the work of Las Casas, the first great historian of the Americas, who relied on primary materials and helped preserve them. I have quoted a few primary sources in this chapter. Most textbooks make no use of primary sources. A few incorporate brief extracts that have been carefully selected or edited to reveal nothing unseemly about the Great Navigator.

The tribute system eventually broke down because what it demanded was impossible. To replace it, Columbus installed the encomienda system, in which he granted or "commended" entire Indian villages to individual colonists or groups of colonists. Since it was not called slavery, this forced-labor system escaped the moral censure that slavery received. Following Columbus's example, Spain made the encomienda system official policy on Haiti in 1502; other conquistadors subsequently introduced it to Mexico, Peru, and Florida. 60

The tribute and encomienda systems caused incredible depopulation. On Haiti the colonists made the Indians mine gold for them, raise Spanish food, and even carry them everywhere they went. The Indians couldn't stand it. Pedro de Cordoba wrote in a letter to King Ferdinand in 1517, "As a result of the sufferings and hard labor they endured, the Indians choose and have chosen suicide. Occasionally a hundred have committed mass suicide. Tired women, exhausted by labor, have shunned conception and childbirth . . . Many, when pregnant, have taken something to abort and have aborted. Others after delivery have killed their children with their own hands, so as not to leave them in such oppressive slavery." 61
American History reproduces "Columbus Landing in the Bahamas," the first of eight huge "historical" paintings in the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol (above). The 1847 painting by John Vanderlyn illustrates the heroic treatment of Columbus in most textbooks. An alternative representation of Columbus's enterprise might be Theodore de Bry's woodcut, created around 1504 (opposite). De Bry based this engraving on accounts of Indians who impaled themselves, drank poison, jumped off cliffs, hanged themselves, and killed their children. The artist squeezed all of these fatal deeds into one picture! De Bry's images became important historical documents in their own right. Accompanied by Las Casas's writings, they circulated throughout sixteenth-century Europe and gave rise to the "Black Legend" of Spanish cruelty, which other European countries used to denounce Spain's colonialism, mostly out of envy. No textbook includes any visual representation of the activities of Columbus and his men that is other than glorious.

Beyond acts of individual cruelty, the Spanish disrupted the Indian ecosystem and culture. Forcing Indians to work in mines rather than in their gardens led to widespread malnutrition. The intrusion of rabbits and livestock caused further ecological disaster. Diseases new to the Indians played a role, although smallpox, usually the big killer, did not appear on the island until after 1516. Some of the Indians tried fleeing to Cuba, but the Spanish soon followed them there. Estimates of Haiti's pre-Columbian population range as high as 8,000,000 people. When Christopher Columbus returned to Spain, he left his brother Bartholomew in charge of the island. Bartholomew took a census of Indian adults in 1496 and came up with 1,100,000. The Spanish did not count.
children under fourteen and could not count Arawaks who had escaped into the mountains. Kirkpatrick Sale estimates that a more accurate total would probably be in the neighborhood of 3,000,000. "By 1516," according to Benjamin Keen, "thanks to the sinister Indian slave trade and labor policies initiated by Columbus, only some 12,000 remained." Las Casas tells us that fewer than 200 Indians were alive in 1542, By 1555, they were all gone.*2

Thus nasty details like cutting off hands have somewhat greater historical importance than nice touches like "Tierra!" Haiti under the Spanish is one of the primary instances of genocide in all human history. Yet only one of the twelve textbooks, The American Pageant, mentions the extermination. None mentions Columbus's role in it.

Columbus not only sent the first slaves across the Atlantic, he probably sent more slaves—about five thousand—than any other individual. To her credit, Queen Isabella opposed outright enslavement and returned some Indians to the Caribbean. But other nations rushed to emulate Columbus. In 1501 the Portuguese began to depopulate Labrador, transporting the now extinct Beothuk Indians to Europe and Cape Verde as slaves. After the British established beachheads on the Atlantic coast of North America, they encouraged coastal Indian tribes to capture and sell members of more distant tribes. Charleston, South Carolina, became a major port for exporting Indian slaves. The Pilgrims and Puritans sold the survivors of the Pequot War into slavery in Bermuda in 1637. The French shipped virtually the entire Natchez nation in chains to the West Indies in 1731.*3
A particularly repellent aspect of the slave trade was sexual. As soon as the 1493 expedition got to the Caribbean, before it even reached Haiti, Columbus was rewarding his lieutenants with native women to rape. On Haiti, sex slaves were one more perquisite that the Spaniards enjoyed. Columbus wrote a friend in 1500, "A hundred castellanos are as easily obtained for a woman as for a farm, and it is very general and there are plenty of dealers who go about looking for girls; those from nine to ten are now in demand." The slave trade destroyed whole Indian nations. Enslaved Indians died. To replace the dying Haitians, the Spanish imported tens of thousands more Indians from the Bahamas, which "are now deserted," in the words of the Spanish historian Peter Martyr, reporting in 1516. Packed in below deck, with hatchways closed to prevent their escape, so many slaves died on the trip that "a ship without a compass, chart, or guide, but only following the trail of dead Indians who had been thrown from the ships could find its way from the Bahamas to Hispaniola." Puerto Rico and Cuba were next.

Because the Indians died, Indian slavery then led to the massive slave trade the other way across the Atlantic, from Africa. This trade also began on Haiti, initiated by Columbus's son in 1505. Predictably, Haiti then became the site of the first large-scale slave revolt, when blacks and Indians banded together in 1519. The uprising lasted more than a decade and was finally brought to an end by the Spanish in the 1530s.

Of the twelve textbooks, only six mention that the Spanish enslaved or exploited the Indians anywhere in the Americas. Of these only four verge on mentioning that Columbus was involved. The United States—A History of the Republic places the following passage about the fate of the Indians under the heading "The Fate of Columbus": "Some Spaniards who had come to the Americas had begun to enslave and kill the original Americans. Authorities in Spain held Columbus responsible for the atrocities." Note that A History takes pains to isolate Columbus from the enslavement charge—others were misbehaving. Life and Liberty implies that Columbus might have participated: "Slavery began in the New World almost as soon as Columbus got off the boat." Only The American Adventure clearly associates Columbus with slavery. American History levels a vague charge: "Columbus was a great sailor and a brave and determined man. But he was not good at politics or business." That's it. The other books simply adore him.

As Kirkpatrick Sale poetically sums up, Columbus's "second voyage marks the first extended encounter of European and Indian societies, the clash of cultures that was to echo down through five centuries." The seeds of that five-century battle were sown in Haiti between 1493 and 1500. These are not mere
details that our textbooks omit. They are facts crucial to understanding American and European history. Capt. John Smith, for example, used Columbus as a role model in proposing a get-tough policy for the Virginia Indians in 1624: "The manner how to suppress them is so often related and approved, I omit it here: And you have twenty examples of the Spaniards how they got the West Indies, and forced the treacherous and rebellious infidels to do all manner of drudgery work and slavery for them, themselves living like soldiers upon the fruits of their labors." The methods unleashed by Columbus are, in fact, the larger part of his legacy. After all, they worked. The island was so well pacified that Spanish convicts, given a second chance on Haiti, could "go anywhere, take any woman or girl, take anything, and have the Indians carry him on their backs as if they were mules." In 1499, when Columbus finally found gold on Haiti in significant amounts, Spain became the envy of Europe. After 1500 Portugal, France, Holland, and Britain joined in conquering the Americas. These nations were at least as brutal as Spain. The British, for example, unlike the Spanish, did not colonize by making use of Indian labor but simply forced the Indians out of the way. Many Indians fled British colonies to Spanish territories (Florida, Mexico) in search of more humane treatment.

Columbus's voyages caused almost as much change in Europe as in the Americas. This is the other half of the vast process historians now call the Columbian exchange. Crops, animals, ideas, and diseases began to cross the oceans regularly. Perhaps the most far-reaching impact of Columbus's findings was on European Christianity. In 1492 all of Europe was in the grip of the Catholic Church. As L-trousu puts it, before America, "Europe was virtually incapable of self-criticism." After America, Europe's religious uniformity was ruptured. For how were these new peoples to be explained? They were not mentioned in the Bible. The Indians simply did not fit within orthodox Christianity's explanation of the moral universe. Moreover, unlike the Muslims, who might be written off as "damned infidels," Indians had not rejected Christianity, they had just never encountered it. Were they doomed to hell? Even the animals of America posed a religious challenge. According to the Bible, at the dawn of creation all animals lived in the Garden of Eden. Later, two of each species entered Noah's ark and ended up on Mt. Ararat. Since Eden and Mt. Ararat were both in the Middle East, where could these new American species have come from? Such questions shook orthodox Catholicism and contributed to the Protestant Reformation, which began in 1517.

Politically, nations like the Arawaks—without monarchs, without much hierarchy—stunned Europeans. In 1516 Thomas More's Utopia, based on an
account of the Incan empire in Peru, challenged European social organization by suggesting a radically different and superior alternative. Other social philosophers seized upon the Indians as living examples of Europe's primordial past, which is what John Locke meant by the phrase "In the beginning, all the world was America." Depending upon their political persuasion, some Europeans glorified Indian nations as examples of simpler, better societies, from which Euro-pean civilization had devolved, while others maligned the Indian societies as primitive and underdeveloped. In either case, from Montaigne, Montesquieu, and Rousseau down to Marx and Engels, European philosophers' concepts of the good society were transformed by ideas from America.75

America fascinated the masses as well as the elite. In The Tempest, Shakespeare noted this universal curiosity: "They will not give a doit to relieve a lambe beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian."76 Europe's fascination with the Americas was directly responsible, in fact, for a rise in European self-consciousness. From the beginning America was perceived as an "opposite" to Europe in ways that even Africa never had been. In a sense, there was no "Europe" before 1492. People were simply Tuscan, French, and the like. Now Europeans began to see similarities among themselves, at least as contrasted with Native Americans. For that matter, there were no "white" people in Europe before 1492. With the transatlantic slave trade, first Indian, then African, Europeans increasingly saw "white" as a race and race as an important human characteristic.77

Columbus's own writings reflect this increasing racism. When Columbus was selling Queen Isabella on the wonders of the Americas, the Indians were "well built" and "of quick intelligence." "They have very good customs," he wrote, "and the king maintains a very marvelous state, of a style so orderly that it is a pleasure to see it, and they have good memories and they wish to see everything and ask what it is and for what it is used." Later, when Columbus was justifying his wars and his enslavement of the Indians, they became "cruel" and "stupid," "a people warlike and numerous, whose customs and religion are very different from ours."

It is always useful to think badly about people one has exploited or plans to exploit. Modifying one's opinions to bring them into line with one's actions or planned actions is the most common outcome of the process known as "cognitive dissonance," according to the social psychologist Leon Festinger. No one likes to think of himself or herself as a bad person. To treat badly another person whom we consider a reasonable human being creates a tension between act and attitude that demands resolution. We cannot erase what we have done, and to alter our future behavior may not be in our interest. To change our attitude is easier.78
Columbus gives us the first recorded example of cognitive dissonance in the Americas, for although the Indians may have changed from hospitable to angry, they could hardly have evolved from intelligent to stupid so quickly. The change had to be in Columbus.

The Americas affected more than the mind. African and Eurasian stomachs were also affected. Almost half of all major crops now grown throughout the world originally came from the Americas. According to Alfred Crosby, adding corn to African diets caused the population to grow, which helped fuel the African slave trade to the Americas. Adding potatoes to European diets caused the population to explode in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which in turn helped fuel the European emigration to the Americas and Australia. Crops from America also played a key role in the ascendancy of Britain, Germany, and, finally, Russia; the rise of these northern nations shifted the power base of Europe away from the Mediterranean.

Shortly after ships from Columbus's second voyage returned to Europe, syphilis began to plague Spain and Italy. There is likely a causal connection. On the other hand, more than two hundred drugs derive from plants whose pharmacological uses were discovered by American Indians.

Economically, exploiting the Americas transformed Europe, enriching first Spain, then, through trade and piracy, other nations. Columbus's gold finds on Haiti were soon dwarfed by discoveries of gold and silver in Mexico and the Andes. European religious and political leaders quickly amassed so much gold that they applied gold leaf to the ceilings of their churches and palaces, erected golden statues in the corners, and strung vines of golden grapes between them. Marx and Engels held that this wealth "gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry an impulse never before known." Some writers credit it with the rise of capitalism and eventually the industrial revolution. Capitalism was probably already underway, but at the least, American riches played a major role in the transformation. Gold and silver from America replaced land as the basis for wealth and status, increasing the power of the new merchant class that would soon dominate the world. Where Muslim nations had once rivaled Europe, the new wealth undermined Islamic power. American gold and silver fueled a 400 percent inflation that eroded the economies of most non-European countries and helped Europe to develop a global market system. Africa suffered: the trans-Saharan trade collapsed, because the Americas supplied more gold and silver than the Gold Coast ever could. African traders now had only one commodity that Europe wanted: slaves. In anthropologist Jack Weatherford's words, "Africans thus became victims of the discovery of America as surely as did the American Indians."
Astonishingly, not one textbook I surveyed describes these geopolitical implications of Columbia's encounter with the Americas. Three of the twelve books credit Indians with having developed important crops. Otherwise, the west-to-east flow of ideas and wealth goes unnoticed. Eurocentrism blinds textbook authors to contributions to Europe, whether from Arab astronomers, African navigators, or American Indian social structure. By accepting this limited viewpoint, our history textbooks never invite us to think about what happened to reduce mainland Indian societies, whose wealth and cities awed the Spanish, to the impoverished peasantry they are today. They also rob us of the chance to appreciate how important America has been in the formation of the modern world.

This theft impoverishes us, keeps us ignorant of what has caused the world to develop as it has. Clearly our textbooks are not about teaching history. Their enterprise is Building Character. They therefore treat Columbus as an origin myth: He was good and so are we. In 1989 President Bush invoked Columbus as a role model for the nation: "Christopher Columbus not only opened the door to a New World, but also set an example for us all by showing what monumental feats can be accomplished through perseverance and faith." The columnist Jeffrey Hart recently went even further: "To denigrate Columbus is to denigrate what is worthy in human history and in us all." Textbook authors who are pushing Columbus to build character obviously have no interest in mentioning what he did with the Americas once he reached them— even though that's half of the story, and perhaps the more important half.

I am not proposing the breast-beating alternative: that Columbus was bad and so are we. On the contrary, textbooks should show that neither morality nor immorality can simply be conferred upon us by history. Merely being part of the United States, without regard to our own acts and ideas, does not make us moral or immoral beings. History is more complicated than that.

Again we must pause to consider: who are "we"? Columbus is not a hero in Mexico, even though Mexico is much more Spanish in culture than the United States and might be expected to take pride in this hero of Spanish history. Why not? Because Mexico is also much more Indian than the United States, and Mexicans perceive Columbus as white and European. "No sensible Indian person," wrote George P. Horse Capture, "can celebrate the arrival of Columbus." Cherishing Columbus is a characteristic of white history, not American history.

Columbus's conquest of Haiti can be seen as an amazing feat of courage and imagination by the first of many brave empire builders. It can also be under-
stood as a bloody atrocity that left a legacy of genocide and slavery that endures in some degree to this day. Both views of Columbus are valid; indeed, Columbus's importance in history owes precisely to his being both a heroic navigator and a great plunderer. If Columbus were only the former, he would merely rival Leif Erikson. Columbus's actions exemplify both meanings of the word exploit—a remarkable deed and also a taking advantage of. The worshipful biographical vignettes of Columbus in our textbooks serve to indoctrinate students into a mindless endorsement of colonialism that is strikingly inappropriate in today's postcolonial era. In the words of the historian Michael Wallace, the Columbus myth "allows us to accept the contemporary division of the world into developed and underdeveloped spheres as natural and given, rather than a historical product issuing from a process that began with Columbus's first voyage."

We understand Columbus and all European explorers and settlers more clearly if we treat 1492 as a meeting of three cultures (Africa was soon involved), rather than a discovery by one. The term New World is itself part of the problem, for people had lived in the Americas for thousands of years. The Americas were new only to Europeans. The word discover is another part of the problem, for how can one person discover what another already knows and owns? Our textbooks are struggling with this issue, trying to move beyond colonialized history and Eurocentric language. "If Columbus had not discovered the New World," states Land of Promise, "others soon would have." Three sentences later, the authors try to take back the word; "As is often pointed out, Columbus did not really 'discover' America. When he arrived on this side of the Atlantic there were perhaps 20 or more million people already here," Taking back words is ineffectual, however. Promise's whole approach is to portray whites discovering nonwhites rather than a mutual, multicultural encounter. The point isn't idle. Words are important—they can influence, and in some cases ration-alize, policy. In 1823 Chief Justice John Marshall of the United States Supreme Court decreed that Cherokees had certain rights to their land in Georgia by dint of their "occupancy" but that whites had superior rights owing to their "discovery." How Indians managed to occupy Georgia without having previously discovered it Marshall neglected to explain."

The process of exploration has itself typically been multiracial and multicultural. William Erasmus, a Canadian Indian, pointed out, "Explorers you call great men were helpless. They were like lost children, and it was our people who took care of them." African pilots helped Prince Henry's ship captains learn their way down the coast of Africa. On Christmas Day 1492, Columbus
needed help. The *Santa Maria* ran aground off Haiti. Columbus sent for help to the nearest Arawak town, and "all the people of the town" responded, "with very big and many canoes." "They cleared the decks in a very short rime," Columbus continued, and the chief "caused all our goods to be placed together near the palace, until some houses that he gave us where all might be put and guarded had been emptied." On his final voyage Columbus shipwrecked on Jamaica, and the Arawaks there kept him and his crew of more than a hundred alive for a whole year until Spaniards from Haiti rescued them.

So it has continued. Native Americans cured Cartier's men of scurvy near Montreal in 1535. They repaired Francis Drake's *Golden Hind* in California so he could complete his round-the-world voyage in 1579, Lewis and Clark's expedition to the Pacific Northwest was made possible by tribe after tribe of American Indians, with help from two Shoshone guides, Sacagawea and Toby, who served as interpreters. When Admiral Peary discovered the North Pole, the first person there was probably neither the European American Peary nor the African American Matthew Henson, his assistant, but their four Inuit guides, men and women on whom the entire expedition relied. Our histories fail to mention such assistance. They portray proud Western conquerors bestriding the world like the Colossus at Rhodes.

So long as our textbooks hide from us the roles that people of color have played in exploration, from at least 6000 B.C. to the twentieth century, they encourage us to look to Europe and its extensions as the seat of all knowledge and intelligence. So long as our textbooks simply celebrate Columbus, rather than teach both sides of his exploit, they encourage us to identify with white Western exploitation rather than study it.

The passage in the left-hand column of the opposing page is one of the many legends that hang about Columbus like barnacles—"myths, all without substance." The passage in the right-hand column is part of a contemporary account of an Arawak cacique (leader) who had fled from Haiti to Cuba,
A man riding a mule moved slowly down a dusty road in Spain. He wore an old and shabby cloak over his shoulders. Though his face seemed young, his red hair was already turning white. It was early in the year 1492 and Christopher Columbus was leaving Spain.

Twice the Spanish king and queen had refused his request for ships. He had wasted five years of his life trying to get their approval. Now he was going to France. Perhaps the French king would give him the ships he needed.

Columbus heard a clattering sound. He turned and looked up the road. A horse and rider came racing toward him. The rider handed him a message, and Columbus turned his mule around. The message was from the Spanish king and queen, ordering him to return. Columbus would get his ships.

Learning that Spaniards were coming, one day [the cacique] gathered all his people together to remind them of the persecutions which the Spanish had inflicted on the people of Hispaniola:

"Do you know why they persecute us?"

They replied: "They do it because they are cruel and bad."

"I will tell you why they do it," the cacique stated, "and it is this—because they have a lord whom they love very much, and I will show him to you."

He held up a small basket made from palms full of gold, and he said, "Here is their lord, whom they serve and adore. . . . To have this lord, they make us suffer, for him they persecute us, for him they have killed our parents, brothers, all our people. . . . Let us not hide this lord from the Christians in any place, for even if we should hide it in our intestines, they would get it out of us; therefore let us throw it in this river, under the water, and they will not know where it is."

Whereupon they threw the gold into the river.
The reader will have already guessed that the passage on the left comes from an American history textbook, in this case *American Adventures*. Since the incident probably never happened, including it in a textbook is hard to defend. One way to understand its inclusion is by examining what it does in the narrative. The incident is melodramatic. It creates a mild air of suspense, even though we can be sure, of course, that everything will turn out all right in the end. Surely the passage encourages identification with Columbus’s enterprise, makes Columbus the underdog—riding a mule, shabby of cloak—and places us on his side.

The passage on the right was recorded by Las Casas, who apparently learned it from Arawaks on Cuba. Unlike the mule story, the *cacique’s* story teaches important facts: that the Spanish sought gold, that they killed Indians, that Indians fled and resisted. (Indeed, after futile attempts at armed resistance on Cuba, this *cacique* fled “into the brambles.” Weeks later, when the Spanish captured him, they burned him alive.) Nonetheless, no history textbook includes the *cacique’s* story. Doing so might enable us to identify with the Indians’ side. By avoiding the names and stories of individual Arawaks and omitting their points of view, authors “otherize” the Indians. Readers need not concern themselves with the Indians’ ghastly fate, for Indians never appear as recognizable human beings. Textbooks themselves, it seems, practice cognitive dissonance.

Excluding the passage on the right, including the passage on the left, excluding the probably true, including the improbable, amounts to colonialist history. This is the Columbus story that has dominated American history books. All around the globe, however, the nations that were “discovered,” conquered, “civilized,” and colonized by European powers are now independent, at least politically. Europeans and European Americans no longer dictate to them as master to native and therefore need to stop thinking of themselves as superior, morally and technologically. A new and more accurate history of Columbus could assist this transformation.

Of course, this new history must not judge Columbus by standards from our own time. In 1493 the world had not decided, for instance, that slavery was wrong. Some Indian nations enslaved other Indians. Africans enslaved other Africans. Europeans enslaved other Europeans. To attack Columbus for doing what everyone else did would be unreasonable.

However, some Spaniards of the time—Bartolome de las Casas, for example—opposed the slavery, land grabbing, and forced labor that Columbus introduced on Haiti. Las Casas began as an adventurer and became a plantation owner. Then he switched sides, freed his Indians, and became a priest who
fought desperately for humane treatment of the Indians. When Columbus and other Europeans argued that Indians were inferior, Las Casas pointed out that Indians were sentient human beings, just like anyone else. When other historians tried to overlook or defend the Indian slave trade, begun by Columbus, Las Casas denounced it as "among the most unpardonable offenses ever committed against God and mankind." He helped prompt Spain to enact laws against Indian slavery. Although these laws came too late to help the Arawaks and were often disregarded, they did help some Indians survive. Centuries after his death, Las Casas was still influencing history; Simon Bolivar used Las Casas's writings to justify the revolutions between 1810 and 1830 that liberated Latin America from Spanish domination.

When history textbooks leave out the Arawaks, they offend Native Americans. When they omit the possibility of African and Phoenician precursors to Columbus, they offend African Americans. When they glamorize explorers such as De Soto just because they were white, out histories offend all people of color. When they leave out Las Casas, they omit an interesting idealist with whom we all might identify. When they glorify Columbus, our textbooks prod us toward identifying with the oppressor. When textbook authors omit the causes and process of European world domination, they offer us a history whose purpose must be to keep us unaware of the important questions. Perhaps worst of all, when textbooks paint simplistic portraits of a pious, heroic Columbus, they provide feel-good history that bores everyone.
PART III- PRE-COLUMBIAN CHART

Directions:
- Complete the following chart using your notes from your notes.
- Be as detailed as you can be. The more information, the better.
  - You can go online for more information if needed.
- You do not need to use complete sentences.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre Columbian Societies</th>
<th>Names of Tribes</th>
<th>Social Characteristics</th>
<th>Political Characteristics</th>
<th>Economic Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples of Conflicts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southwest</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Eastern Woodlands</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>(Northeast/Atlantic Settlement)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Great Plains</strong></td>
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</table>