Conquest of the Americas

Part I

Professor Marshall Eakin

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A native of east Texas, Marshall Eakin first went to Latin America as a high school student during the summer of 1970 to do public health work in the highlands of Guatemala. He did his undergraduate work at the University of Kansas, spending a year and a half as an exchange student at the Universidad de Costa Rica. After receiving his B.A. in history and anthropology in 1975, he continued at the University of Kansas to complete an M.A. in history in 1977. He then continued his graduate work at UCLA, where he specialized in Brazilian history. He received his Ph.D. in 1981.

After teaching for two years at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles, Professor Eakin moved to Vanderbilt University, where he has taught since 1983. He has won numerous teaching awards at Vanderbilt, including the Jeffrey Nordhaus Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching given annually by the College of Arts and Science, the Madison Sarratt Prize for Excellence in Teaching given annually by the board of trust, and a chair of teaching excellence also awarded by the board of trust. In 1999, he was named the Carnegie Foundation/CASE Tennessee Professor of the Year.

Dr. Eakin has published three books, *British Enterprise in Brazil: The St. John d'el Rey Mining Company and the Morro Velho Gold Mine, 1830–1960* (1989), *Brazil: The Once and Future Country* (1996), and *Tropical Capitalism: The Industrialization of Belo Horizonte, Brazil* (2001). He is currently working on a single-volume history of Latin America. He has published numerous articles in a wide variety of scholarly journals and in popular publications. He has made more than twenty research and lecture trips to Latin America over the last thirty years.

Dr. Eakin is married to Michelle Beatty-Eakin, a high school teacher of English as a second language in Nashville. They have two teenage daughters.

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Scope:

The societies of the Americas emerge out of the collision, convergence, and complex mixture of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans. This process begins with the conquest of the sixteenth century, and its major features are complete and in place by about 1700. This collision and convergence provide all the American colonies (Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, and Dutch) with some unity and common patterns of historical developments, as well as enormous diversity in regions from Canada to Argentina. This course presents both the unity and diversity in the early history of the Americas—the common patterns, as well as the enormous differences, across the region.

Lecture One introduces the main themes and approaches in this course. Lectures Two and Three discuss the native peoples of the Americas, their origins, diversity, and cultural levels, highlighting the three most well known and most highly developed indigenous civilizations in the Americas: the Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas. For thousands of years, the Old World (Asia, Africa, and Europe) was cut off and evolved entirely apart from the peoples of the Americas. Between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Europeans expanded out across the globe and eventually dominated the rest of the world. Lectures Four and Five look at the peoples of Europe and Africa and the expansion of the European powers. Lecture Six examines the momentous voyage of Christopher Columbus to the Americas in 1492, a voyage that is arguably the most important event in the history of the world in the last millennium. Columbus initiates the European conquest of the Americas.

Within a generation, the Spanish swept across the Caribbean Sea and the surrounding regions, conquering and annihilating native peoples and establishing the patterns of conquest they would repeat across the Americas for nearly a century. Lectures Seven through Eleven look at the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century. Lecture Seven surveys the conquest of the Caribbean, while Lectures Eight and Nine recount the conquest of Mexico. The conquest of the Incas is another epic tale, and it is the focus of Lecture Ten. By the 1540s, three regions had emerged as the core centers of Spain's empire in the Americas: the Caribbean, Mexico, and Peru. In Lecture Eleven, we see how less successful conquistadors moved out from these three centers and into what today is the Gulf Coast of the United States and the Southwest.

In contrast to the dramatic military conquests in Spanish America, Brazil was colonized decades later, and the Portuguese turned to African slave labor rather than the exploitation of dense Indian empires. Lecture Twelve examines the rise of plantation societies in the Americas and their origins in the Portuguese Atlantic islands and in the sugar plantations in northeastern Brazil. The Portuguese, followed by other European colonial powers, turned to African slave labor to work the plantations of the Americas. Lecture Thirteen focuses on the Atlantic slave trade, a process that from the mid-fifteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century brought some 12–15 million Africans across the Atlantic in chains.

With the completion of military conquest in the core regions, the Spanish, Portuguese, and other European powers settled down to the task of making their newly conquered lands productive, long-term colonial enterprises. The most important institution to arise out of the colonial experience in most of the Americas was the large landed estate. Lecture Fourteen examines the rise of these estates, the land and labor systems, and the major variations across the Americas. The exploitation of African and Indian labor turned the wheels of empire, but American silver financed Spain's imperial ambitions. Lecture Fifteen looks at mining in Mexico and Peru and the complex and vital fleet system that carried American silver back to Spain.

Although the military conquest of the core regions of the Americas would be completed by the end of the seventeenth century, the parallel "spiritual conquest" of the native peoples, Africans, and their descendants would remain unfinished. Lectures Sixteen and Seventeen turn to the millions of Indians and Africans who tenaciously held on to their deeply rooted religious traditions. With so few missionaries to provide the non-Europeans with direct religious instruction, the spiritual conquest was doomed from the outset. Although the vast majority of Latin Americans today call themselves Catholics, they practice forms of Christianity that have been deeply imbued with indigenous and African religious beliefs.

The English, French, and Dutch followed the Spanish and Portuguese into the Americas, but they established their colonies nearly a century later. Lectures Eighteen through Twenty-One look at these later conquests, comparing their methods to those of the Spanish and Portuguese. The English (and the Dutch) Protestants vigorously and effectively portrayed their conquests as less cruel and barbaric than the Spanish conquests. The French conquests

were fitful and largely unsuccessful for nearly 200 years. The Spanish and Portuguese monopoly in the Americas ends in the seventeenth century with the rising challenge to them from the English, French, and Dutch, especially in the Caribbean. By the end of the seventeenth century, the English, French, and Dutch had established a permanent colonial presence in the Americas, ending the first wave of European conquest.

In the final section of the course, lectures Twenty-Two and Twenty-Three analyze the ways that non-Europeans resisted the cultural conquest and the hierarchical social and racial pyramid that emerges out of the conquest, colonization, and cultural clash. The focus then moves from racial and cultural mixture to social life, comparing these relationships in English America with those in Spanish and Portuguese America. Lecture Twenty-Four offers a summary and overview, stressing that the military conquest was much more successful than the spiritual and cultural conquests. The course concludes with some reflections on the burdens of these legacies of conquest and colonization and the strengths forged out of common patterns of conquest and colonization.

Lecture One
Three Peoples Collide

Scope: This lecture introduces the major themes and outlines the plan and logic for the course. I will discuss what I mean by the key terms *conquests* and *collisions* and lay out my approach in the course, an approach that links the stories of individuals with larger institutions, as well as political and economic structures. The course will combine a more traditional history of the powerful leaders and conquistadors with the story of the masses of ordinary people who make up the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Americas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Finally, I will turn to the most important themes of the course: that the Americas (Spanish, Portuguese, English, French) emerge out of the collision, convergence, and complicated mixture of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans. This process begins with the conquest of the sixteenth century and plays out in different ways across the Americas, depending on the diverse types of conquests and collisions. This collision and convergence provide the Americas with some unity and common patterns of historical developments, as well as enormous diversity in regions from Canada to Argentina.

Outline

I. This lecture discusses three main topics.
- **A.** The lecture begins by explaining what I mean by the "conquest of the Americas" and why the topic is so important.
- **B.** We then turn to an overview of the plan for all the lectures and the logic behind the plan.
- **C.** The principal objective of this lecture is to lay out the major themes for the course.

II. Discussion of the conquest and colonization of the Americas is shaped by the methods and approach of the historian presenting the material.
- **A.** The very terminology of this history is controversial and loaded.
  - **1.** To speak of *conquest* invokes a process of European invasion and domination of other peoples.
  - **2.** I prefer to see the history of the Americas as a process of *collisions* of three main groups: Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans.
  - **3.** During the Columbian Quincentennial in 1992, many turned to the more neutral term *encounters*, a term I find inadequate to describe the collision processes of discovery and conquest. I prefer to call this time the "Columbian Moment."
- **B.** This course presents a perspective that combines what has been called history from "above" and "below."
  - **1.** It will often focus on heroic, elite figures.
  - **2.** At the same time, it will also consciously combine this elite history with the struggles of the common people, the great majority of those who made and experienced this history. But it is the elites who leave the accounts.
- **C.** The course will combine a history of prominent individuals (such as Columbus or Cortés) with a discussion of key institutions (such as the Catholic Church) and the larger structures that have shaped the history of the Americas (the economy, social organization).

III. This course has six sections.
- **A.** The Americas are the creation of three peoples: Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans.
  - **1.** The next two lectures provide an overview of the native peoples of the Americas, focusing on the so-called "high civilizations": the Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas.
  - **2.** The following lecture then turns to the Europeans and Africans and their interactions before the discovery of the Americas.
- **B.** The next series of seven lectures presents the process of expansion and conquest, concentrating on the Spanish (and, to a lesser extent, the Portuguese).
  - **1.** The first two lectures in this series describe the initial expansion of Europeans into the Atlantic world in the fifteenth century.

2. This leads into the role of Christopher Columbus and the story of his momentous "discovery" of the Americas in 1492, arguably the most important event in world history during the last millennium.
3. The following five lectures then trace the Spanish conquests of the sixteenth century, beginning with the Caribbean, then moving on to the dramatic conquests of Mexico and Peru by Cortés and Pizarro, and concluding with the Spanish incursions into Central and North America.

C. The next four lectures turn to the construction of colonial societies, especially in Spanish and Portuguese America.
1. Lecture Twelve looks at the Portuguese colonization of Brazil and the beginnings of the plantation complex in the Americas.
2. Lecture Thirteen examines the largest forced migration in human history, the transatlantic slave trade that brought some 12 million Africans to the New World.
3. Lecture Fourteen provides an overview of the importance of land and the great estates all across Latin America.
4. The final lecture in this section then looks at the importance of silver mining and the great fleet system in Spanish America.

D. The fourth section of the course turns from military conquest and economic colonization to examine the "spiritual conquest."
1. Lecture Sixteen looks at how the cross and the sword, the church and the state, moved hand-in-hand in the conquest.
2. The following lecture examines the fascinating new religions that arise out of the struggle to impose Christianity on Native Americans and African slaves.

E. The fifth section of the course brings in the other European conquerors in the seventeenth century.
1. Lectures Eighteen and Nineteen survey the English in North America and how their methods of conquest differ from those of the Spanish and Portuguese.
2. Lecture Twenty discusses the French, mainly in North America.
3. The final lecture in this sequence looks at the Caribbean as the seventeenth-century ground for supremacy by all the major European powers: Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, and Dutch.

F. The final sequence of lecture comes back to the "big picture" to provide a summary and overview of the course.
1. Lecture Twenty-Two examines the struggles across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries among the European "victors" and the Native American and African peoples they "vanquished."
2. Lecture Twenty-Three discusses how these struggles produced societies that were not European, Native American, nor African—but truly American.
3. In the final lecture, we return to the themes of collision and conquest to reflect on the convergence of these three peoples and the enormous importance of the "conquest of the Americas."

Supplementary Reading:

Hanke, *Do the Americas Have a Common History?*, introduction, chapters 3–4.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think it is important to focus on both elites and masses in reconstructing the history of the Americas?
2. In what ways is this history of three peoples colliding a story of exchange, and who benefits and loses the most from the exchange?

Lecture Two
The Native Americans

Scope: In this lecture, we turn to a discussion of the native peoples of the Americas, their origins, diversity, and cultural levels. I will discuss the arrival of Native Americans in a series of migratory waves from Asia from 40,000 to 2000 B.C. and controversies over their origins. The second part of the lecture focuses on the range of cultural groups, from non-sedentary, or nomadic, tribes to those who develop some agriculture but without permanent settlements. The end of the lecture introduces the focus of the next lecture—the three most well known and most highly developed indigenous civilizations in the Americas: the Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas.

Outline

I. The "first Americans" arrived in a series of migrations from the Asian continent possibly as far back as 40,000 years ago.

- **A.** One of the most important issues in discussing the history of the Americas is what to call the native peoples.
  - **1.** *Indians* is a misnomer created by Columbus in 1492 that has persisted in many languages.
  - **2.** *Native Americans* has gained wide use in the last few decades.
  - **3.** I will use these terms interchangeably.
- **B.** The human species evolved in Africa hundreds of thousands of years ago, after the continents had emerged.
  - **1.** Two worlds emerged; the "Old World" was populated, and its peoples became incredibly diverse over millennia.
  - **2.** Peoples from the Asian landmass began to migrate across the Bering Straits, perhaps as far back as 40,000 years ago.
  - **3.** The last wave of migrants was the Eskimo or Inuit about 4,000 years ago in the Arctic.
  - **4.** By 10,000 years ago, peoples occupied nearly every region of the Americas from Tierra del Fuego to Canada.
  - **5.** As they began to diversify in language and culture, they were extraordinarily homogenous in genetic or biological terms.
- **C.** Although this is the standard story of the people of the Americas, controversies have challenged this standard narrative in recent decades.
  - **1.** Some have argued for the key role of Africans in the rise of American civilizations.
  - **2.** More significantly, recent archaeological finds have pushed back the dates of occupation and raised interesting possibilities of transoceanic contacts.
  - **3.** Nevertheless, I will stand by the gist of the traditional explanation.

II. Although an amazing array of cultures and peoples emerged in the Americas before 1492, we can divide them into a series of types that are useful for analytical purposes.

- **A.** Many different typologies exist for grouping Native American peoples.
  - **1.** Some of the most important have divided these peoples by language groups, levels of political organization, or their relationships to ecological systems.
  - **2.** I will use a simple scheme first developed by historian James Lockhart at UCLA that divides all the groups into three types based on ecological categories**.**
- **B.** The first of these groups are *non-sedentary*, or nomadic, peoples.
  - **1.** These are very small groups.
  - **2.** They live off hunting and gathering.
  - **3.** Good examples are the peoples of the Great Plains of North America and the eastern coast of Brazil.
- **C.** *Semi-sedentary* peoples settled for periods in a single location but then moved on to new lands.
  - **1.** They developed some limited knowledge of domesticating animals and growing crops.
  - **2.** "Slash-and-burn" agriculture is a typical example of semi-sedentary peoples.

3. Knowledge of agriculture allows them to produce small surpluses and frees some to engage in activities other than producing food.
4. Good examples are peoples of the Brazilian rain forest, such as the Yanonami**,** who continue to live this way.

D. *Sedentary* peoples, as the name suggests, are rooted in a single place on a permanent basis.
1. These cultures mastered the domestication of plants and animals. But in the Americas, unlike the Old World, there are no effective beasts of burden.
2. Their settlements allow them to grow in population and to develop diverse social structures.
3. Some good examples of these peoples are the tribes in the eastern woodlands of North America or the Arawaks in the Caribbean.

E. The most highly developed of the sedentary peoples were the Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas.
1. The first to develop were the Mayas in what today is Guatemala and southern Mexico, reaching two "peaks" (in 250–900 A.D. and 1200–1450 A.D.). They raised an empire in an extremely inhospitable environment.
2. The Aztecs (in central Mexico) and the Incas (in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia) were late bloomers, emerging as impressive empires in the fifteenth century, the latter at elevations above 7,000 feet.
3. All three civilizations shared common features: highly sophisticated irrigation and farming, complex social and cultural organization, sophisticated calendar and astronomical knowledge, highly developed religions, and militant ideologies of conquest and empire building.
4. The European would meet these empires as equals. Divisions within the native empires ultimately undermined them.
5. The focus of the next lecture will be a more detailed description of these three high civilizations.

Supplementary Reading:

Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, chapters 1 and 3.

Dillehay, *The Settlement of the Americas*, preface, chapters 1–2.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why is understanding the origins of the Native Americans so important in writing the history of the Americas before Columbus?
2. Why is the mastery of agriculture so important in the development of a people?

Lecture Three
Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas

Scope: The Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas were three of the great civilizations of the world. Like the great civilizations of the Old World, they arose out of a long and complex process of domesticating crops and animals. Control of the land and water allowed them to build complex empires. The Mayas were perhaps the most fascinating of the three, emerging between 300 and 900 A.D. in Central America, then collapsing and reemerging in northern Guatemala and the Yucatan peninsula before collapsing in the mid-fifteenth century. The Aztecs and Incas both built enormous empires driven by powerful religions in the fifteenth century. Both were at their peak when Columbus arrived in the Americas in the late fifteenth century.

Outline

I. The complex civilizations that arose in the Americas before the arrival of the Europeans experienced relatively similar processes of development over several millennia.

- **A.** These civilizations move through a series of phases from the origins of agriculture to empire, and they do so with neither the wheel nor beasts of burden.
  - **1.** The earliest Americans began to make tools and settle into villages by 8000 B.C., in the period often called Paleoindian.
  - **2.** From about 8000 to 2500 B.C., in the Archaic period, we see the first signs of agriculture, simple pottery, and the domestication of maize and the potato.
  - **3.** Over the next 2,000 years, the cultures that form the basis of the great civilizations begin to take shape in Mesoamerica and the Andes, with the beginnings of sophisticated agriculture, social stratification, and the first great ceremonial centers.
- **B.** Agriculture is the key to this process in the Americas, just as it is in the Old World in China, India, Egypt, or Mesopotamia.
  - **1.** These cultures not only develop sophisticated means of domesticating plants and animals, but they also develop elaborate systems of irrigation that form the backbone of the emerging states and empires.
  - **2.** In the words of a famous scholar of the 1950s, these are “hydraulic” civilizations.
  - **3.** The central crops were maize in Mesoamerica and potatoes in the Andes.

II. The Maya civilization is the first of these three great peoples to emerge.

- **A.** The Maya are, in reality, a series of city-states and empires that rise and fall over nearly 2,000 years.
  - **1.** Across Mesoamerica, several key cultures emerge in the formative, or pre-Classic, period, from 2500 B.C. to 250 A.D.
  - **2.** The first great Maya civilization reaches full flower during the Classic period, from about 250 to 900 A.D. Its accomplishments ranged from stone architecture to extensive knowledge of astronomy.
  - **3.** After the collapse of the great city-states across Mesoamerica around 900 A.D., for which many different explanations exist, another great Maya civilization emerges in the lowlands of the Yucatan peninsula and northern Guatemala after 1200 A.D. and collapses in the mid-fifteenth century. Not until the nineteenth century were the ruins of the Yucatan fully appreciated.
- **B.** The Maya are perhaps the greatest of these three high civilizations.
  - **1.** They develop a sophisticated knowledge of astronomy and complex mathematical and calendrical systems that eventually spread across the region.
  - **2.** They develop a system of writing on books and in stone inscriptions that has only recently begun to be deciphered.
  - **3.** Their great stone monuments and pyramids are some of the most impressive archaeological remains in any ancient civilization.
  - **4.** Their religion views the universe as cyclical and circular, a view common to most peoples of the Americas.
- **C.** Like the other two great civilizations, the Maya rise and fall as city-states that expand outward through conquest and empire building.
  - **1.** In the Classic period, this expansion is centered in Guatemala, in both the highlands and lowlands.

2. One of the great mysteries of American archaeology is the cause of the collapse of Maya civilization around 900 A.D.

III. The Aztecs emerge late in the post-Classic period (900–1500 A.D.) in the Valley of Mexico.

A. They build on the great cultural accomplishments of the Mayas and other Mesoamerican peoples.
1. They are probably a nomadic people who settle around a lake in the valley in the twelfth century.
2. After serving as mercenaries, they forge alliances with other cities around the lake and develop their own center, Tenochtitlan, on an island in the lake.

B. Religion and empire.
1. Speaking Nahuatl, these people are more accurately known as the Mexica or Nahuas.
2. In the fourteenth century, they expand outward, conquering all of central Mexico from coast to coast.
3. Their complex religion requires them to offer fresh human blood to appease the god Huitzilopochtli.
4. The pursuit of larger and larger numbers of sacrificial victims both drives and accompanies empire building.

C. Montezuma II.
1. The empire reached is peak in the late fifteenth century under Montezuma I.
2. His son, Montezuma II, ascended to the throne in 1502, reigning over an enormously powerful and rich empire.

IV. The Incas also emerged as a great empire in the fifteenth century.

A. The development of the Inca empire parallels many of the developments in Mesoamerica.
1. As in Mesoamerica, several cultures developed in the two millennia before the Incas and contributed the key elements of their civilization.
2. The most important of these precursors was the civilization that developed in the high plain around Lake Titicaca in modern-day Bolivia.
3. Incan civilization developed at very high altitudes (above 8,000 feet) in the Andes.
4. Like Mesoamerican cultures, the Incas developed a very sophisticated terraced agriculture, a complex religion with many gods, and an imperial ideology.

B. More so than in Mesoamerica, the Incas pursued a process of cultural imperialism.
1. As they conquered peoples and forced them to pay tribute, they also imposed their language (Quechua) and religion.
2. They built the most extensive empire in the Americas, stretching from Ecuador to northern Chile and Argentina.
3. It was connected by a vast and impressive road system and an enormous imperial bureaucracy. The Inca managed this empire with no written records.
4. Its northern capital was in Quito (contemporary Ecuador) and Cuzco (contemporary Peru).

C. Civil war broke out in this vast empire shortly before the arrival of the Spanish in the 1530s.
1. Two of the Inca ruler's many sons, Huascar and Atahualpa, were engaged in a bloody struggle for control of the empire when the Spanish arrived.
2. This struggle over the Inca empire would play into the hands of the Spanish and facilitate the conquest of the Incas.

Supplementary Reading:

Katz, *The Ancient American Civilizations*, chapters 5–9.

Demarest, *Religion and Empire*, chapters 2–3.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways were the three great civilizations of the New World similar to the great civilizations of the Old World?
2. Why is the connection between religion and empire so important and notable in all great civilizations?

Lecture Four
Europeans and Africans

Scope: The "Old World" formed three continents (Europe, Africa, and Asia) connected by trade, warfare, and migration. This world was ancient and, for thousands of years, was cut off and evolved entirely apart from the Americas. In the ancient and medieval worlds, the Mediterranean Sea formed the center of the economic and political networks of Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. Beginning in the fifteenth century, the axis of European civilization began to move out into the Atlantic. With the rise of the first nation-states in the Renaissance, Spain and Portugal moved to the forefront of European expansion and power. They had long contact with the peoples of North and West Africa through trade and war. Like the Americas, Africa was a continent with an enormous array of cultures and peoples. Until the late seventeenth century, the peoples of West and Central Africa would be drawn into an Atlantic world in which they confronted the Europeans as adversaries, allies, and equals.

Outline

I. Three continents formed the so-called "Old World"—Africa, Europe, and Asia—and the peoples of these continents had developed in almost complete isolation from the peoples of the Americas.

- **A.** In the ancient and medieval worlds, the Mediterranean Sea formed the center of the economic and political networks of Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East.
  - **1.** The primary axis of trade came out of the Indian Ocean and China, across the Middle East, then across the eastern Mediterranean to the cities of northern Italy.
  - **2.** These city-states (Florence, Genoa, Venice) were among the most vibrant and dynamic trading centers in the world.
  - **3.** They became the incubators for the rise of modern capitalism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The early explorers, then, were also businessmen and entrepreneurs.
  - **4.** These cities also became the centers for shipping and trading expeditions across the Mediterranean and into the Atlantic.
  - **5.** A second axis of trade came out of sub-Saharan Africa and through North Africa into the Mediterranean.
- **B.** The exchange of goods, diseases, and peoples followed these extensive trading networks across three continents.
  - **1.** Silver, gold, ivory, and spices were the luxury goods that came out of the East and Africa and commanded the highest profits and prices. These goods came to Europe via trading middlemen.
  - **2.** At the same time, smallpox, influenza, plague, and measles (to name a few examples) moved through the populations of all three continents over centuries.
  - **3.** Different forms of slavery also arose on all three continents, usually the enslavement of people considered ethnically distinct from the captors.
  - **4.** After 1500, however, the scale of the slave trade fundamentally changed.

II. The peoples of the Old World were numerous and diverse, with many different power centers.

- **A.** During the Renaissance (roughly 1350–1550), the first nation-states began to emerge in Europe.
  - **1.** In the Middle Ages, Europe was politically fragmented into geographically small duchies, principalities, and kingdoms.
  - **2.** The first nations began to emerge around weak monarchies that gradually extended their control over larger and larger territories.
- **B.** Spain and Portugal were at the forefront of this process.
  - **1.** The Romans had conquered the Iberian peninsula in the second century B.C.
  - **2.** After the fall of Rome in the fifth century, the conquerors left behind their language (Latin), religion (Catholicism), legal system, and settlements that would become many of the principal cities.
  - **3.** In the early eighth century, Islamic peoples from North Africa (Moors) overran most of the peninsula.
  - **4.** The "reconquest" by the Christian rulers would take nearly 800 years.

5. The process had been completed in Portugal by 1250, and the Kingdom of Portugal had emerged by then as the first nation-state in Europe.
6. The long reconquest of Spain ended in January 1492 with the fall of Granada.

C. As a result of this invasion and reconquest, Iberia and Africa had long been linked through war, trade, and religion.
1. Spain and Portugal were a transition zone between Europe and Africa.
2. They benefited enormously from the advances in science, mathematics, astronomy, and navigation in the Islamic world, one that stretched all the way across the Indian Ocean.
3. The Portuguese, in particular, had a century's experience trading along the coast of West Africa.

III. Even more so than those of Europe and the Americas, the peoples of Africa were incredibly diverse in ethnicity, religion, and languages.

A. In a fundamental sense, there was no Africa, just as there were no Native Americans.
1. Instead, there were hundreds of societies and cultures that did not see themselves as a single continent or people.
2. The Berbers of North Africa were profoundly different from, say, the Khoisan of southern Africa.
3. As on the other two continents, Africa had a wide variety of levels of political and economic development, from small tribes to empires.

B. In West and Central Africa alone, dozens of different "states" existed by the late fifteenth century, when the Europeans began to establish fairly regular trade relations.
1. These ranged from powerful kingdoms, such as the Kongo in Central Africa and the Akan states in West Africa, to small city-states similar to those on the Italian peninsula.
2. Our early sources on these cultures are limited to archaeology and oral tradition. Later sources are coastal based and European.
3. Like those in Europe, the boundaries and definitions of these states and peoples were fluid and changing.

C. Perhaps the most important point to make here is that these peoples of Africa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries met the Europeans as equals.
1. Our notions of pillage and imperialism arise out of the events of the nineteenth century.
2. In earlier centuries, these African states were the political, military, and technological equals of the Europeans.
3. The trade between Europeans and Africans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries initiated a profound transformation that would shift the axis of power out of the Mediterranean and into the Atlantic. The most attractive trade good to the Africans was steel; the Europeans sought gold, spices, and slaves.
4. They began to create an Atlantic world economy that would fundamentally alter the nature of world history.

Supplementary Reading:

Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World*, chapters 1–2.

Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, chapter 1.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why is it misleading to think of all Africans as part of a single racial group?
2. Why do you think the usual view of Europeans conquering and exploiting Africans has persisted so long and has so deeply shaped our views of early European-African relations?

Lecture Five
European Overseas Expansion

Scope: Between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Europeans expanded out across the globe and dominated the rest of the world. In the late fifteenth century, Europe was just one of many powerful civilizations. This lecture will analyze the four major factors behind the explosion of Europe onto the high seas and across the globe. I will explain why Spain and, especially, Portugal were at the forefront of this expansion. The pioneering Portuguese led the charge out into the Atlantic and down the African coast, setting the stage for the dramatic voyage of Christopher Columbus to the Americas in 1492.

Outline

I. In the late fifteenth century, Europe was just one of many powerful civilizations around the globe, but the Europeans began to move outward in a process that would eventually lead to their domination of the rest of the world.

- **A.** To look around the world in 1492, one would not have likely picked European civilization as the one on the verge of global expansion and domination.
  - **1.** In Asia, the ancient, large, and powerful civilization in China had far more resources and had already moved into the Indian Ocean.
  - **2.** A great Moghul empire was about to emerge in India.
  - **3.** The Ottoman Empire in the Middle East was perhaps the best bet for expansion and domination in this period.
  - **4.** Powerful empires in Africa (Abyssinia, Zimbabwe, and Mali) were as impressive as those in Europe.
  - **5.** As we have already seen, the aggressive and expansive Aztec and Incan empires in the Americas were also on the move.
- **B.** Europe, in 1492, was still politically fragmented and splintered.
  - **1.** Germany and Italy would not come together as unified nations until the nineteenth century.
  - **2.** France and England were still wracked by civil wars.
  - **3.** Only Portugal and Spain had emerged as nations, and they were small compared to the other empires.
- **C.** Four main factors converge to propel the Europeans outward to such enormous success.
  - **1.** Despite Europe's political fragmentation, nations were emerging in a dynamic process of competition.
  - **2.** The most dynamic economic system in world history— capitalism—was emerging in Europe. It was based on such ideas as entrepreneurship, private property, legally binding contracts, consolidation of trading networks, and double-entry bookkeeping.
  - **3.** The dynamic culture of Europe—the Judeo-Christian worldview and the emergence of modern science—was driving Europeans outward. On a philosophical plane, the Christian notion of linear history was far different than the cyclical model found in many other places around the world.
  - **4.** And the Europeans pulled together all the technology needed to move across the oceans, much of it consisting of inventions from the East: the compass, astrolabe, lateen sail, and gunpowder, among others.

II. The combination of these four factors emerged in Europe (and nowhere else), first in Spain and Portugal.

- **A.** Spain and Portugal were the leaders in this process, because they combined all four factors.
  - **1.** They put their houses in order through the consolidation of a national monarchy.
  - **2.** Portugal, especially, was at the forefront of the trade revolution.
  - **3.** Both were militant and aggressive at spreading Christianity.
  - **4.** Their Islamic era put them far ahead of the rest of Europe in scientific and technical developments in navigation.
- **B.** The Portuguese, in particular, were the pioneers in the process of expansion.
  - **1.** They had a favored geographical position as Europe's "window to the Atlantic."
  - **2.** They were at the midpoint on the axis of trade from the Mediterranean to the dynamic and growing economies of northwestern Europe.
  - **3.** The Portuguese had consolidated their nation 200 years before the Spanish.

4. In the fourteenth century, they were already out in the Atlantic discovering and conquering islands.
5. Under the Avis dynasty in the fifteenth century, the Portuguese began to work their way down the coast of West Africa. In the century following 1415, they would establish the first global trading empire.

C. In many ways, the Portuguese were the primary instigators in the creation of an Atlantic world.

1. In the fifteenth century, they established regular trade with peoples down the entire length of the Atlantic coast of Africa.
2. They became the principal agents connecting not only Europe and sub-Saharan Africa but also many African peoples. They were interested in trade, not conquest.
3. Ironically, they did this in pursuit of a longer-term goal of establishing trade directly with Asia.
4. They would eventually achieve this goal, but their key role in the movement out into the Atlantic would lead directly to the discovery of the Americas and the creation of an Atlantic world.

Supplementary Reading:

Davis, *The Rise of the Atlantic Economies*, chapters 1–5.

Parry, *The Establishment of the European Hegemony*, chapters 1–3.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think that the culture of Europe, especially its religious culture, was so important in the process of overseas expansion?
2. Do you think that the Europeans would have been so successful in moving outward had all four factors not converged?

Lecture Six
Christopher Columbus: Path to Conquest

Scope: The voyage of Christopher Columbus is arguably the most important event in the history of the world in the last millennium. This lecture explores the enormous importance of the Columbian voyage for the Americas and the rest of the world. We will look at how Columbus came to his life on the sea, how he formulated his plan to cross the Atlantic, and his early efforts to convince the Portuguese and Spanish monarchies to back his "enterprise of the Indies." The final section of the lecture reconstructs his historic voyage in 1492 and analyzes how the voyage initiated the process of the conquest of the Americas.

Outline

I. The discovery of the Americas, what I call the "Columbian Moment," is arguably the most important event in world history in the last 1,000 years.

- **A.** It is a fundamental turning point in world history.
  - **1.** It brings together two worlds, the "Old World" of Europe, Africa, and Asia and the "New World" of the Americas.
  - **2.** Both had lived in biological and cultural isolation for thousands of years.
  - **3.** Columbus's voyage begins the sustained exchange between these two worlds in an irreversible process that continues today. This is indeed the beginning of the global village.
- **B.** This moment has enormous consequences for both worlds.
  - **1.** It will lead to the invasion, conquest, and decimation of the peoples of the Americas.
  - **2.** It is the beginning of the process of European expansion and the creation of a world dominated by Europe.
  - **3.** The biological exchange of plants, animals, and diseases profoundly reshaped global ecology and culture.
- **C.** This moment and its meaning are also controversial, as we saw in the hoopla surrounding the 500th anniversary of the event in 1992.
  - **1.** First, the very term *discovery* has caused controversy. But for European and Indian alike, it amounted to a "discovery" of each other.
  - **2.** Some see Columbus as a visionary at the vanguard of Western civilization.
  - **3.** Others portray him as an evil destroyer and the epitome of all that is wrong with the West.
  - **4.** I will emphasize that we should not argue so much about the man, but rather, we should come to grips with the importance of the process he began.

II. We have about as much information about Columbus as any person in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, but nearly all of it is controversial and uncertain.

- **A.** Columbus grew up and spent his early years in Italy and the eastern Mediterranean.
  - **1.** He was born in Genoa in 1451 to a family of weavers and, as a young man, began to ship out on voyages in the Mediterranean.
  - **2.** In the mid-1470s, his ship went down off the coast of Portugal and he took up residence in Lisbon.
  - **3.** He spent nearly a decade there, marrying, fathering a son, and soaking up all the information he could about the expeditions into the Atlantic. He wasn't a common sailor but a learned mariner.
- **B.** In Portugal, he formulated what he called the "enterprise of the Indies."
  - **1.** Portugal was at the cutting edge of navigation, mapmaking, shipbuilding, and the Atlantic voyages.
  - **2.** Columbus came up with a plan to reach the trade centers of Asia by sailing west rather than east around Africa. His originality wasn't in believing that the world was round—that fact was common knowledge among educated Europeans of the age.
  - **3.** We know that this plan was based on two important miscalculations: He underestimated the circumference of the globe, and he overestimated the size of Asia.
  - **4.** As a result, he believed that one could sail west across the "Great Western Sea" and that Asia lay some 2,400 miles from Europe.
  - **5.** This was a technically feasible voyage for the ships of the late fifteenth century.

6. Columbus, in the end, was driven by the motives of gold, glory, and gospel.
7. Unfortunately for Columbus, the Portuguese king rejected his plan as wrongheaded and unfeasible.

III. After failing to persuade the Portuguese to back his venture, Columbus went to Castile in 1485 to work on the Spanish monarchs, Fernando and Isabel.

A. Once again, he met with disappointment when Spain's monarchs declined to back his venture.
1. They did, however, provide Columbus with some support, and he continued to lobby for nearly six years.
2. With the fall of Granada in January 1492 and the culmination of the reconquest, Fernando and Isabel finally accepted Columbus's arguments.
3. Queen Isabel of Castile agreed to help finance the voyage and to give Columbus enormous rewards should he succeed.

B. The voyage was a sort of joint business venture in the style of the Renaissance.
1. Isabel provided some financing and ordered the city of Palos to provide the ships and crews.
2. Columbus put up his own funds and those of his associates.
3. The three famous ships—the *Niña*, *Pinta*, and *Santa Maria*—left Palos in August of 1492, then made a stop in the Canary Islands before heading due west in early September.
4. Columbus had extraordinary luck in his voyage with winds and weather.
5. Some four weeks after his departure, about 2,500 miles west of the Canary Islands, he sighted land on the morning of October 12, 1492.
6. Columbus made several later voyages to the New World and probably always believed he had landed in the Indies.

C. The discovery of the Americas began an irreversible process of exchange between two worlds that had lived in isolation for millennia.
1. Columbus began the process of creating a truly global village.
2. The exchange of plants, animals, and cultures that he initiated has enormously enriched all parts of the planet.
3. But the Native Americans paid a high price for this "discovery."
4. Smallpox, measles, influenza, typhus, and plague, to name the most important diseases, were all new to the Americas and decimated Native American peoples.
5. Within two generations, the population of the Americas plummeted by possibly as much as 85–90 percent in the greatest demographic catastrophe in history.

Supplementary Reading:

Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange*, chapters 1–2.

Phillips and Phillips, *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus*, chapters 5–7.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think Christopher Columbus is such a controversial figure?
2. What do you think would have happened if Columbus had failed to get backing for his enterprise, or if he had failed to reach the Americas in 1492?

Lecture Seven
Stepping Stones: The Conquest of the Caribbean

Scope: Within a generation, the Spanish swept across the Caribbean Sea and the surrounding regions, conquering and annihilating native peoples and establishing the patterns of conquest they would repeat across the Americas for nearly a century. In many ways, the Spanish experience in the conquest of the Caribbean provided them with the patterns they would apply to Mexico, Central America, and the Andes. This lecture will look at the process of conquest on the major islands, especially Hispaniola and Cuba. I will then turn to the efforts of the Spanish to probe outward, taking them onto the North American mainland, the coast of South America, and eventually, to Mexico and the conquest of the Aztecs.

Outline

I. Beginning with Columbus in 1492, the Spanish swept across the Caribbean within twenty years, conquering and destroying the native peoples of the region.

- **A.** The Spanish moved through the conquest of the islands in what I call a "stepping stone" process.
  - **1.** They would conquer one island, establish a base of operations, then move outward from there in a step-by-step pattern.
  - **2.** In a pattern that would be reproduced across Latin America for the next century, the conquerors divided the spoils—plunder, land, and Indians—among themselves. And, unlike the Portuguese, the Spanish came to conquer.
  - **3.** Those who got the smaller shares and those who arrived in the next waves of conquistadores were then pushed outward to find their own riches and to conquer their own lands.
- **B.** In many ways, the Caribbean was the "crucible of the Americas," a proving ground for methods and processes that the Spanish then replicated in many other regions.
  - **1.** In the military conquest, they would seize the local Indian chief (*cacique* in the Arawak language) to "decapitate" the "nation" they were fighting.
  - **2.** They then subjugated Indian peoples and put them to work on the land to produce tribute for the Spanish. This was the *encomienda*, a grant of land and labor from the king to a Spanish conquistador in return for developing and protecting that land.
  - **3.** Whether through force or consent, they mated with Indian (and then African) women, immediately creating a new generation of racially mixed peoples. This was the beginning of Latin America.
  - **4.** Finally, they created legal and religious institutions to control and regulate the lives of the non-European majority they dominated.
  - **5.** These were the basic patterns of the Spanish conquest.

II. The greatest prizes in the Caribbean were the larger islands: Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, and Cuba.

- **A.** The island of Hispaniola became the first major staging ground for conquest and colonization in 1492–1493.
  - **1.** The first settlement on the north side of the island failed after Columbus returned to Spain.
  - **2.** When he returned in 1493, he founded Santo Domingo on the south side of the island.
  - **3.** Santo Domingo became the first Spanish city in the Americas and the founding point of the key legal, political, economic, and cultural institutions.
  - **4.** The Spanish moved across the island, subduing all the native peoples in a ferocious series of battles.
  - **5.** Despite bitter opposition, Spanish weapons and tactics overwhelmed the Indians.
  - **6.** Disease also began to annihilate the Indians, especially smallpox and syphilis (though whether the latter originated in the Old World or New is still debated).
  - **7.** The conquest of the island was witnessed by one of the greatest figures in Latin American history, Bartolomé de las Casas, who wrote scathing denunciations of Spanish methods. A conquistador-turned-priest, he crossed the Atlantic fourteen times in his appeal on behalf of the natives.
- **B.** From Hispaniola, the Spanish moved out in all directions, discovering other islands and the mainland of North, South, and Central America.
  - **1.** By 1506, they had overrun Puerto Rico, and in 1511, they swept across Cuba.

2. The smaller islands also fell like dominos.
3. Cuba, the largest and richest of the islands, soon eclipsed Hispaniola as the key staging ground.
4. The Spanish crown divided up the best lands in Cuba and awarded them (and the Indians on them) to the conquistadors.
5. The institutions developed in Hispaniola were put into place in other islands. The emergence of the large landed estate would be the most devastating legacy of the conquest.

III. As the Spanish hopped across the islands, they also landed on and explored the coastlines of the American mainland.

A. The most important expeditions to the north moved into Florida, the Mississippi valley, and the southeast of what would become the United States.
1. Ponce de León, a figure in the conquest of Cuba, went to Florida in search of the Fountain of Youth and later died in Cuba.
2. An expedition led by Pánfilo de Narváez was shipwrecked on the Gulf Coast, and a handful of survivors eventually washed up on the shores of Texas.
3. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca gradually worked his way across Texas, New Mexico, and northern Mexico in the 1520s in one of the epic sagas of the Spanish conquest. He was one of four survivors of an eight-year odyssey through the American wilderness.
4. Hernando de Soto, one of the most vicious conquistadors, died after exploring the lower Mississippi valley in 1542.
5. Those who chose to move north from the Caribbean failed to find riches even equal to those of the Caribbean conquest.

B. Those who moved southward from the islands explored and colonized what is known in English as the Old Spanish Main.
1. This region stretched from modern-day Venezuela to Panama.
2. In addition to settlements along the northern South American coast, the most important of these expeditions were to Panama.
3. In 1513, Balboa managed to cut his way across the deadly jungles and mountains of Panama to become the first European to see the Pacific Ocean.
4. As with the northward expeditions, these unlucky conquistadors failed to find riches and spoils equal to those of the Caribbean.

C. The greatest spoils of conquest lay to the west in modern-day Mexico and Central America.
1. By 1519, a series of voyages to the west, especially from Cuba, had probed the long coastline of Central America.
2. In particular, the expeditions had moved along the Yucatan Peninsula, bringing back stories of a great empire to the west.
3. A generation after the arrival of Columbus in Hispaniola, the Spanish had conquered the Caribbean islands, and they had stumbled on the gateway to one of the two greatest prizes in the Americas—the Aztec empire in Mexico.

Supplementary Reading:

Rouse, *The Tainos*, chapter 6.

Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main*, chapters 4–6.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think the conquest of the Caribbean was so swift and complete?
2. Why do you think the Spanish expeditions to North America were so unsuccessful?

Lecture Eight
The Rise of Hernán Cortés

Scope: The conquest of Mexico is the classic tale of the clash of Native Americans and Europeans in the conquest of the Americas. It has all the elements of high drama: two powerful empires colliding and two powerful figures clashing, concluding with the destruction of a once regal ruler and his empire. This lecture and the next tell this epic story. Hernán Cortés is the most famous (and notorious) of the conquistadors. This lecture looks at his emergence from obscurity in Cuba in the 1510s to become the ruthless and brilliant leader of a small army of a few hundred Spaniards who would conquer an empire of millions of Indians. I focus on the arrival of Cortés on the Mexican coast, the way in which he deftly exploits Aztec fears that he is possibly a god, and his brilliant maneuvering to bring the enemies of the Aztec empire to his side. This part concludes with his triumphant arrival in the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, and his bold capture of the Aztec ruler Montezuma in his own palace.

Outline

I. The conquest of Mexico is an epic story of two powerful and aggressively expanding empires colliding.

A. The tale has all the elements of high drama.

1. It is the story of how a thousand Spaniards toppled a mighty civilization of millions.

2. Two heroic and tragic figures provide the drama with a personal focus—Montezuma, the Aztec ruler, and Hernán Cortés, the ruthless leader of the Spanish conquistadors.

3. It is a tale of daring and cunning military tactics, tragic miscalculations, and the collapse of a once-mighty empire.

4. The story has been chronicled several times in classic accounts by Cortés himself in his letters back to the Spanish emperor; by his lieutenant, Bernal Díaz; in the nineteenth century by William H. Prescott; and more recently, by Hugh Thomas.

B. Most important, this is the story of the clash of two powerful and expanding civilizations and empires.

1. Both emerged over the previous century.

2. Both are monarchies led by powerful leaders.

3. Militant and aggressive religions drive both empires outward through conquest.

4. And both are built on complex social and cultural systems.

C. The conquest of Mexico also reveals all the motivations that drove these adventurers across the Atlantic—the pursuit of "gold, glory, and gospel."

II. In many ways, the conquest of Mexico is a classic example of the old view that great events take shape when the "man and the hour meet."

A. Hernán Cortés is that man who brilliantly exploited the opportunities that the historical moment offered him.

1. Cortés is the greatest and most famous of the Spanish conquistadors of the sixteenth century.

2. We know that Cortés was from a family in the small town of Medellín in Extremadura, the southwestern region of Spain that produced so many of the conquistadors.

3. Born in 1484 or 1485, he fought in Italy, then came to the Caribbean as a teenager participating in the conquest of Cuba.

4. Although he most likely came from a family that was down on its luck, he had studied law and was probably on the fringes of the lower nobility.

5. He tied his fortune to the new governor of Cuba, Diego Velázquez, and prospered as an estate owner, a local magistrate, and in the mining of gold.

6. In his early thirties, he could have remained a successful landowner and local figure, but he did not choose to settle down.

B. When word came back from expeditions in 1517–1518 about powerful and wealthy empires in lands to the west, Velázquez began to mount a large expedition to confront and conquer these peoples.

1. Velázquez had to find a leader, but he feared that anyone capable of leading the expedition might also eventually strike out on his own.

2. He was right, and he made the wrong choice: Hernán Cortés.
3. At the last minute, in February 1519, hearing that he was to be removed from his post by Velázquez, Cortés ordered his eleven ships and 600 men to embark for the westward voyage.

III. The first stages of the conquest of Mexico are the story of serious miscalculations by Montezuma and cunning and ruthless moves by Cortés.

A. Cortés's first moves were to establish a base of operation, consolidate control of his men, and begin to exploit divisions among the Indians of Mexico.
1. He moved his ships along the coast of the Yucatan to its western base at Tabasco, where he had his first serious battle and victory.
2. The Tabascans gave Cortés twenty women as a present; among them was a young noble Aztec captive, Malinaltzin, baptized Marina by the Spanish.
3. Doña Marina, or La Malinche as she is also known, became the mistress of Cortés and, eventually, his interpreter. The Aztecs did not have similar access to the language of the conquistadors.
4. She played a crucial role in the conquest, providing Cortés with the ability to understand the Aztecs.
5. On Easter day, April 21, 1519, Cortés established the city of Vera Cruz, where he spent the next four months ferreting out his enemies and cultivating his friends, among both Indians and Spaniards. To Isabel's grandson, Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, he appealed for the right to rule the city and to engage in conquest.

B. In mid-August 1519, Cortés began to advance inland toward the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan.
1. Montezuma, hearing of the arrival of the strangers, hesitated in his response and sealed his fate.
2. Cortés arrived at the end of the Aztec fifty-two–year calendar cycle, a period of immense uncertainty and dread in the Aztec religion.
3. It is also possible that Montezuma feared that Cortés was an exiled god, returning to claim his lands.
4. Over nearly three months, the conquistadors moved up into the mountains of central Mexico, covering more than 200 miles.
5. They fought and negotiated with various Indian groups, drawing them into their fight against the Aztec imperialists.
6. The most important of these allies were the Tlaxcalans, living around a city-state some fifty miles to the east of Tenochtitlan.
7. The Spanish went on to massacre the nobility of nearby Cholula.

C. The Spanish entered the Valley of Mexico in November 1519.
1. The entrance of the Spanish and their reception by Montezuma as they entered the Aztec capital is one of the great moments in the conquest of the Americas.
2. Much to his later chagrin, Montezuma lodged the Spanish in one of his palaces.
3. Within days, the daring Spaniards took Montezuma as their hostage, "decapitating" the empire.
4. With the capture of Montezuma, Cortés paralyzed the Aztecs for several months.
5. It was the beginning of the end for the mighty empire.

Supplementary Reading:

Pagden, *Hernán Cortés: Letters from Mexico*, translator's introduction.

Díaz, *The Conquest of New Spain*, pp. 1–219.

Questions to Consider:

1. How do you think it was possible for a thousand Spaniards to defeat an empire as vast as that of the Aztecs?
2. Do you think events might have been different had Montezuma not hesitated in responding to the arrival of the Spanish?

Lecture Nine
The Fall of Montezuma

Scope: This lecture begins by reviewing the previous lecture and the events that brought Cortés and his army of less than a thousand Spaniards to the heart of the Aztec empire. In a very short time Cortés is forced to leave half his forces behind in Tenochtitlan and march back to the coast to battle an army sent from Cuba to arrest him for treason. He brilliantly divides and defeats them, then returns to Tenochtitlan to find his men surrounded by a hostile population after the death of Montezuma. The Spanish flee from the city with their Indian allies, suffering enormous losses during the so-called "Sad Night." After regrouping with the help of his allies, the Tlaxcalans, Cortés lays siege to the capital. Superior numbers and weapons, along with disease, destroy Aztec resistance in a titanic struggle. By late 1521, Hernán Cortés had achieved a seemingly impossible feat—the defeat of one of the largest empires in the world.

Outline

I. In less than a year, Cortés and his men had moved from vague notions of an expedition to the west to the heart of the Aztec capital.

- **A.** Cortés had carefully consolidated control over his men, cunningly exploited divisions among the Indian enemies of the Aztecs, and manipulated the hesitant Montezuma.
  - **1.** From February to August 1519, he had surveyed the coast, acquired Marina, founded a city, and consolidated control over his men.
  - **2.** From August to November, he marched inland to the Aztec capital, adding thousands of Indian warriors to his band of fewer than a thousand Spaniards.
- **B.** Cortés and his men were also risking everything should they fail to conquer and acquire great riches for the king.
  - **1.** With his flight from Cuba, Cortés had defied the king's representative, the governor of Cuba.
  - **2.** He had committed treason, and his only hope was to make a case for establishing his own legal authority independent of Cuba.
  - **3.** This was his reason for founding Vera Cruz, and his famous letters back to Charles V, in essence, were making a case that his success would overshadow any possible insubordination.

II. Sitting in the center of Tenochtitlan, surrounded by hundreds of thousands of hostile Indians, Cortés faced an even greater challenge from his own people.

- **A.** From the moment of Cortés's hurried departure from Cuba, Diego Velázquez had tried to bring him back to Cuba to face the consequences of his treason.
  - **1.** Cortés had adeptly countered the first expedition to stop him in Vera Cruz, eventually scuttling his ships to prevent any retreat or second thoughts.
  - **2.** Surrounded in Tenochtitlan, he learned that a larger second expedition led by Pánfilo Narváez had landed on the coast.
  - **3.** In a daring move, Cortés left some of his men under the command of Pedro Alvarado in Tenochtitlan and took several hundred men back to the coast, where he brilliantly outmaneuvered and defeated Narváez in May 1520.
  - **4.** As Cortés returned to Tenochtitlan with hundreds more men, Alvarado had brought down the wrath of the Aztecs on the Spanish in the capital.
  - **5.** In a massacre with origins that are bitterly contested, the Spaniards fell on the Aztecs during a religious ceremony, slaughtering them in droves.
- **B.** The Aztecs allowed the Spaniards to reenter the capital, hoping to entrap and annihilate the entire Spanish force.
  - **1.** After failing to break out of the capital several times, they made one last desperate attempt.
  - **2.** On the infamous "Sad Night," the Spanish battled their way across the shortest causeway to the western side of Lake Texcoco.
  - **3.** Attacked by thousands of Aztec warriors on the causeway and in canoes on the lake, the Spaniards and their Indian allies suffered tremendous losses.

4. Most of the Spaniards' horses and their artillery were lost.
5. Many Spaniards drowned in the lake, pulled down by the gold ransom they had accumulated for Montezuma.
6. Montezuma died on the "Sad Night" either from wounds from objects thrown at him by his own people or by strangulation at the hands of the Spanish.

III. At this darkest moment for Cortés and the Spanish, they began to plan another military campaign that would eventually bring them total victory.

A. With his forces decimated, his advantage in weapons blunted, and still facing challenges from Cuba, Cortés embarked on a series of brilliant diplomatic maneuvers in the second half of 1520.
1. With the help of the Tlaxcalans, he brought many of the Indian peoples of central Mexico into an anti-Aztec alliance.
2. As he moved to lay siege on Tenochtitlan in early 1521, another deadly ally emerged—smallpox, which probably arrived with the Narváez expedition.
3. New men drawn to Mexico by news of the advancing conquest, the growing number of Indian allies, and disease gradually tightened the siege. Cortés used "selective acts of terror" against his own Indian allies to keep them in line.
4. In its final stages and under the leadership of the last Aztec leader, Cuauhtemoc, the resistance was ferocious.
5. The city finally fell on August 13, 1521, and the Spanish razed nearly all the major structures in the process. The empire had not been conquered from without, but within.

B. The top of the pyramid had been lopped off, and the Spanish replaced the Aztecs as the rulers of the Mexican heartland.
1. The Indian population would never again pose any serious military threat to the Spanish.
2. Outside the fringes of the Aztec empire, however, especially in the northern deserts, the Spanish faced tenacious resistance.
3. In central Mexico, Cortés and his men quickly moved to divide up the spoils of victory—gold, land, and Indians.
4. Back in Spain, his phenomenal success had turned the legal battle in his favor, and in October 1522, Charles V names Hernán Cortés governor and captain-general of New Spain.
5. Three and one-half years after his insubordinate flight from Cuba, he was vindicated and rewarded.
6. He had moved from a rebellious adventurer to an enormously wealthy royal governor over a vast new empire larger than Spain itself.

Supplementary Reading:

Díaz, *The Conquest of New Spain*, pp. 220–413.

Portilla, *Broken Spears*, chapters 1–6.

Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, chapters 6–11.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think so many Indian peoples joined with the Spanish against the Aztecs?
2. What is your evaluation of Hernán Cortés?

Lecture Ten
Conquistadors and Incas

Scope: The conquest of the Incas is another epic tale but without the drama and heroic individuals of the Mexican epic. This lecture presents the story of Francisco Pizarro and his band of 150 adventurers. Following the lead of Cortés, Pizarro and his men seize the Inca ruler, Atahualpa, "decapitating" the Inca empire. They also exploit the divisions among the Indian peoples to forge a large fighting force that eventually marches to the Inca capital of Cuzco, high in the Andes. After a bitter struggle, the Spaniards defeat the Inca armies but then fall into a bloody internal struggle that divides them, eventually killing off all the major leaders of the conquest. The conquistadors of Peru eventually conquer and defeat themselves.

Outline

I. The conquest of the Incas is another epic tale of a struggle between two powerful and expanding empires.

- **A.** Despite the similarities with the conquest of Mexico, the conquest of Peru has significant differences.
  - **1.** Like the conquest of Mexico, the conquest of Peru pits a ruthless Spanish conquistador and his small army against a powerful Indian ruler and his millions of subjects.
  - **2.** In both cases, the Spanish exploit the divisions among the Indians to bring down the empire.
  - **3.** The Spanish quickly seize the *cacique* and hold him for ransom, paralyzing his armies.
  - **4.** They then march to the capital, high in the mountainous interior, eventually capturing the main center of power.
- **B.** But the conquest of Peru is also a tale of betrayals and bloody, divisive struggles inside the two contending groups.
  - **1.** Shortly before the arrival of the Spanish, the Inca ruler had died, and two of his sons, Atahualpa and Huascar, were at war over control of the empire.
  - **2.** Once the Spanish succeeded in the initial phase of the conquest, they split into bitter factions, and civil war wracked Spanish Peru for years.
  - **3.** In the end, nearly all the major leaders of the conquest of Peru were killed by this factional warfare.
  - **4.** Francisco Pizarro never achieved the enormous reputation that has always surrounded Cortés.

II. The so-called "men of Cajamarca" were a smaller group than the army that began the conquest of Mexico, and they faced enormous problems at every step of the process.

- **A.** The conquest of the Incas began as a partnership among three key figures in Panama, but the dominant figure was clearly Francisco Pizarro.
  - **1.** Francisco Pizarro was the illegitimate son of a minor noble from Trujillo, also in Extremadura in southern Spain.
  - **2.** Like Cortés, he was a veteran of the conquest of the Caribbean, with even more experience.
  - **3.** He fought and then settled in Panama after 1509, becoming one of the more important settlers.
  - **4.** Born around 1478, he was older than Cortés but without his education or sophistication.
  - **5.** Along with Diego de Almagro and a priest, Hernando de Luque, Pizarro raised funds for expeditions to a land to the south called Peru.
  - **6.** Several expeditions probed the coast of western South America in the 1520s, moving Pizarro and his men to the fringes of a powerful empire.
  - **7.** Pizarro returned to Spain in 1528 and met with the triumphant Cortés and Emperor Charles V, receiving royal permission to discover and conquer "Peru."
  - **8.** In late 1530, Pizarro's expedition left Panama, landing on the coast of Ecuador.
  - **9.** After nearly two years of wanderings and hardships in southern Ecuador and northern Peru, Pizarro finally moved to confront the Inca empire, with 62 horsemen and 106 foot soldiers.
- **B.** At the moment that the Spaniards moved inland, a bloody civil war was drawing to a close in the Inca empire.
  - **1.** The Inca ruler Huayna Capac had died around 1526, possibly from smallpox or malaria.
  - **2.** He had many sons and no clear line of succession.
  - **3.** Atahualpa rallied forces around him in the northern section of the empire based in Quito.

4. Huascar controlled the southern section centered around the capital of Cuzco.
5. About the time he received news of the arrival of the strange foreigners, Atahualpa had made camp near the town of Cajamarca. From his own spies, he seriously underestimated the strength of the Spaniards.
6. He allowed the small Spanish force to approach him in the valley of Cajamarca in November 1532.
7. A small force of horsemen met with Atahualpa, and the Spanish settled into buildings around the town square after the leader agreed to meet with Pizarro the following day.

III. The march from Cajamarca to Cuzco was, in many ways, even more improbable and daring than the march from Vera Cruz to Tenochtitlan.

A. In one of the defining moments in the conquest of the Americas, Pizarro and his men seized Atahualpa and took him prisoner in Cajamarca on November 16, 1532.
1. Much like Montezuma before him, Atahualpa foolishly underestimated this force of 150 Spaniards in the face of some 40,000 Inca troops.
2. The Spanish boldly seized him, then held him hostage for months in Cajamarca, demanding and receiving a famous room full of ransom. They melted down seven tons of gold and thirteen of silver.
3. Atahualpa soon ordered his captured rival, Huascar, executed, further inflaming the divisions among the Indians.
4. In July 1533, the Spanish executed the Inca ruler and began their march to Cuzco, the center of the universe in Incan cosmology.

B. The embittered followers of Huascar joined Pizarro and took control of Cuzco in November 1533.
1. Pizarro installed a puppet ruler, Manco Inca, who eventually realized that the Spanish were not allies but exploiters.
2. At the same time, Atahualpa's supporters in Quito and the north continued to fight and were eventually crushed by the Spanish.
3. Manco Inca secretly amassed an army of 200,000 and, in May 1536, laid siege to the 190 Spaniards in Cuzco.
4. After ten months and the arrival of reinforcements, the Spanish lifted the siege, and Manco Inca and his supporters fell back into the mountains.

C. Even more so than Cortés, Pizarro faced serious challenges from among his own people.
1. Diego de Almagro, who had left Peru to explore Chile, returned and was defeated by Pizarro at the Battle of Salinas in April 1538.
2. Pizarro executed Almagro in July.
3. In July 1541, Almagro's supporters avenged his death by assassinating Francisco Pizarro, provoking open fighting between the two factions.
4. Manco Inca then offered refuge to the assassins, who killed him in 1544 in an effort to curry favor with the Crown.
5. King Charles sent out a new viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela, who met immediate opposition from the conquistadors led by Gonzalo Pizarro.
6. Gonzalo defeated and killed the new viceroy in battle in January 1546, a clear act of treason.
7. A new royal emissary, Pedro de la Gasca, astutely won over many of Gonzalo's supporters, then defeated him in April 1548.
8. Gonzalo and other rebel leaders were executed.
9. One last revolt, led by Francisco Hernández Girón, broke out in 1553 and lasted nearly a year.
10. With Girón's defeat and execution, the tragic conquest of Peru came to an end.
11. The subjugation of rebel Spaniards had taken far longer to accomplish than the defeat of the Incas.

Supplementary Reading:

Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas*, chapters 1–2.

Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca*, chapters 1–2.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways was the conquest of Peru a more challenging task than the conquest of Mexico?
2. In what ways did Pizarro's leadership differ from that of Cortés?

Lecture Eleven
The Frontiers of Empire

Scope: By the 1540s, three regions had emerged as the core centers of Spain's empire in the Americas: the Caribbean, Mexico, and Peru. From these three centers, less successful conquistadors moved into what today is the Gulf Coast of the United States and the Southwest. From Mexico and the Caribbean, Spanish conquistadors moved into Panama and southern Central America. The most successful of the conquerors on the periphery of the core regions was Pedro Alvarado, a lieutenant of Cortés, who led the conquest of the once-powerful Maya empire in Guatemala. The Maya of the Yucatan Peninsula began a resistance to conquest that would last until the twentieth century. In all these regions, the Spanish conquistadors and their descendants would be relegated to minor roles behind the power centers in Havana, Mexico City, and Lima.

Outline

I. With the completion of the conquest of Peru, the three "core" regions of the Spanish empire in the Americas were in place by 1550.

A. Spain's empire in the Americas would radiate outward from Mexico City in the Viceroyalty of New Spain; from Lima, Peru; and from the gateway to the empire, Havana, Cuba.

1. The first two were the centers of dense Indian populations that the Spanish would harness to exploit the land.

2. These regions were also, as discovered by the 1550s, blessed by enormous silver deposits in the deserts of northern Mexico and the high mountains in Upper Peru (modern-day Bolivia).

3. Although it did not have the population or the mineral deposits, Havana took on a key role in Spain's empire as the entry and exit point for the American colonies.

4. Control of the Caribbean shipping lanes held the key to the lifeline of the empire.

B. These three core regions became the principal stepping stones to the conquest of other regions.

1. From Cuba, conquistadors had moved west into the conquest of Mexico.

2. Others were not as fortunate as Cortés as they moved into the southeast of the future United States and along the northern coast of South America (Tierra Firme).

3. Panama became the staging ground for the conquest of Peru.

4. Lieutenants of Pizarro moved south from Peru into Argentina and Chile and northward into Ecuador and northern South America.

5. Some even had the misfortune of moving east into Amazonia.

6. From Mexico, expeditions moved into the future Southwest of the United States.

7. Pedro Alvarado was the luckiest of the later conquistadors, heading into the old Maya regions of Guatemala and southern Mexico.

II. Many of the most ill-fated expeditions of conquest moved into the North American mainland.

A. The general rule in the conquest, ironically, was that the least developed Indian peoples were the most difficult to conquer.

1. All along the Gulf Coast region, the conquistadors failed to find other complex and developed states to conquer.

2. Ponce de León died in a fruitless search for the Fountain of Youth in Florida in 1521.

3. The ill-fated expedition of Pánfilo Narváez in the late 1520s ended in shipwreck, new ships, and shipwreck again on the Texas coast.

4. Hernando de Soto, a lieutenant of Cortés, died on the Mississippi in 1542 after wandering through the interior of the Gulf Coast.

5. Others, such as Juan Vázquez de Ayllón, faced similar frustrations, never able to locate and conquer rich Indian empires.

B. Those who moved into the Southwest faced even worse results.

1. Cabeza de Vaca's trek across Texas, New Mexico, and northern Mexico in the late 1520s and early 1530s demonstrated the futility of expending large amounts of money and men on the northern frontier of New Spain.
2. The long and unproductive expedition of Coronado in the 1540s simply underscored the wisdom of the Aztecs in ending their efforts at conquest where the deserts of northern Mexico began.
3. Not until the eighteenth century would the Spanish make any headway in settling and trying to control this frontier, and even then, the efforts were insignificant in the larger picture of the empire.

III. Central America was the most important exception to the lack of results of those who moved outward from the core regions.

A. Pedro Alvarado's conquest of the Maya in the 1540s was a smaller- scale version of the conquest in Mexico and Peru.
1. Alvarado left Mexico in December 1523; smallpox preceded him, greatly diminishing Indian resistance.
2. After fighting his way through Chiapas in southern Mexico, Alvarado found the Cakchiquel and Quiché Maya at war with each other.
3. He allied with the Cakchiquel to defeat the Quiché, only to later turn on the Cakchiquel and enslave them.
4. He spent the rest of the 1520s conquering the remainder of Guatemala and El Salvador.
5. The irrepressible Alvarado, hearing of Pizarro's exploits in Peru, joined in the conquest of the Incas.
6. He went back to Spain and married, then returned to Guatemala as governor general in 1539, before heading off in search of the fabled golden cities in northern Mexico.
7. Alvarado died on this futile expedition after his horse fell on him.

B. In addition to the forces moving down from Guatemala and Mexico, Spanish conquistadors moved from Panama up into Central America.
1. Pedro Arias de Avila (Pedrarias Davila) ruthlessly seized control of the Spanish possessions on the Isthmus of Panama in the 1510s.
2. He sent expeditions into Costa Rica and Nicaragua in the 1520s, eventually taking up residence in the latter.
3. Francisco de Montejo, another of the lieutenants of Cortés, began the conquest of the Yucatan in 1527.
4. Although the Spanish established permanent settlements, the Maya of the Yucatan remained among the most rebellious of the native peoples of the Americas.
5. As late as 1900, they had established an independent republic for several decades before their final defeat by the Mexican government.

C. Life on the frontier would be tenuous and rustic for most Spaniards, for centuries.
1. On the North American mainland, in much of Central America, in much of northern South America, and in southern South America, Spaniards lived in small numbers and generally were surrounded by large Indian populations. By 1600, the Spanish numbered only about 100,000 in the New World.
2. Central Mexico, Peru, and Cuba would remain the principal centers of Spanish life and rule in the Americas, and the culture and power of Spain radiated outward from them.

Supplementary Reading:

MacLeod, *Spanish Central America*, chapter 1.

Pupo-Walker, *Castaways*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think that the less developed peoples were the most difficult to conquer?
2. In what ways does the life of Pedro Alvarado epitomize the career of the Spanish conquistador?

Lecture Twelve
Portuguese Brazil: The King's Plantation

Scope: Unlike the dramatic military conquests in Spanish America, Brazil was colonized decades later, and the Portuguese turned to African slave labor rather than the exploitation of dense Indian empires. The Portuguese stumbled onto Brazil on their way to creating the first global trading empire, an empire originally centered on Africa, the Indian Ocean, and East Asia. They had experience on a small scale with sugar plantations and African slave labor in the fifteenth century. This lecture looks at the origins of plantation societies in the Atlantic islands and their growth in northeastern Brazil.

Outline

I. Colonized by the Portuguese, Brazil was a late starter in the conquest in comparison with Spanish America.

A. Covering today nearly forty percent of the landmass of South America, Brazil is sometimes referred to as the "other Latin America."

1. Brazil has historically faced Africa and Europe with its back to Spanish America.

2. With no large, dense Indian civilizations, the process of conquest and colonization in Brazil is more like that in the Caribbean than Mexico or Peru.

3. But like the core regions in Spanish America, Brazil develops densely populated centers with an elaborate administrative and political structure.

B. Somewhat like the Spanish and Columbus, the Portuguese stumble onto a continent on their way to the Orient.

1. As we saw earlier, the Portuguese were the great pioneers in the Atlantic.

2. For the entire fifteenth century, they had moved into the islands of the Atlantic and down the west coast of Africa.

3. By 1488, Bartolomeu Dias had rounded the Cape of Good Hope and found a sea route to Asia.

4. Quite rightly, the Portuguese monarchy had rejected Columbus's plan to head west to arrive in Asia.

5. In 1497, the king sent a large expedition around the Cape to India under the command of Vasco da Gama.

6. When he returned in 1499, he fulfilled the old European dream of direct trade with the East.

7. The king immediately outfitted another large expedition under the command of Pedro Alvares Cabral.

C. The expedition of Cabral ventured too far west as it moved out into the Atlantic; in April 1500, the explorers spotted what they thought was a large island.

1. Fortunately, a royal scribe wrote an account of this landing and the nine days the fleet tarried on the South American coast.

2. The account reveals indigenous peoples of very low levels of technology and political organization and introduces, at the same time, an early version of the "noble savage."

3. Seeing little gold and no large cities, the Portuguese headed off to India.

4. The Portuguese experienced enormous success establishing a trading empire in Africa, the Indian Ocean, and East Asia, the largest trading empire in history.

5. With this success, they paid minimal attention to the Brazilian coast over the next fifty years.

6. They did divide up the coast into a series of captaincies**,** roughly equivalent to *encomiendas*, and two of them in the northeast became small but permanent towns.

II. It was not until the last third of the sixteenth century that the Portuguese colony began to develop, with rapidly expanding sugar plantations and slave labor at its core.

A. The Portuguese created the first great plantation society in the Americas, a pattern all the other European powers would emulate.

1. The Portuguese colonies in the islands of the Atlantic gave them a century of experience with sugar and slavery before they transferred the model on a vast scale to Brazil.

2. Sugar cane was a luxury crop, originally from the East Indies, that the Portuguese transplanted to Madeira and the Azores in the fifteenth century.

3. Facing shortages of labor, they turned in the mid-fifteenth century to importing captive black Africans.

4. By the early sixteenth century, they had long and valuable experience with growing a cash crop for export to Europe.

B. The initial phases of Portuguese conquest and colonization were tentative and weak.
1. Almost all their efforts were eventually concentrated around the captaincies of Pernambuco and Bahia in the northeast.
2. They paid little attention to the north, and the Amazon was first navigated by Spanish conquistadors from Peru. The infamous Pizarro/Orellana expedition proved to be a disaster.
3. In the 1530s, the Portuguese established some permanent settlements along the coast, primarily to fend off the French.
4. Not until 1549 did they establish a serious colonial presence, with its capital in Bahia.

C. The great sugar and slavery complex developed after 1560 around Bahia and Pernambuco.
1. The Indians died off from disease, fled, or resisted.
2. The growing plantations and demand for labor led to the importance of African slaves.
3. Brazil became the engine of growth in the rise of the Atlantic slave trade.
4. The Brazilian northeast became the core of the Portuguese presence in the Americas, as sugar and slavery became the engine of economic expansion.

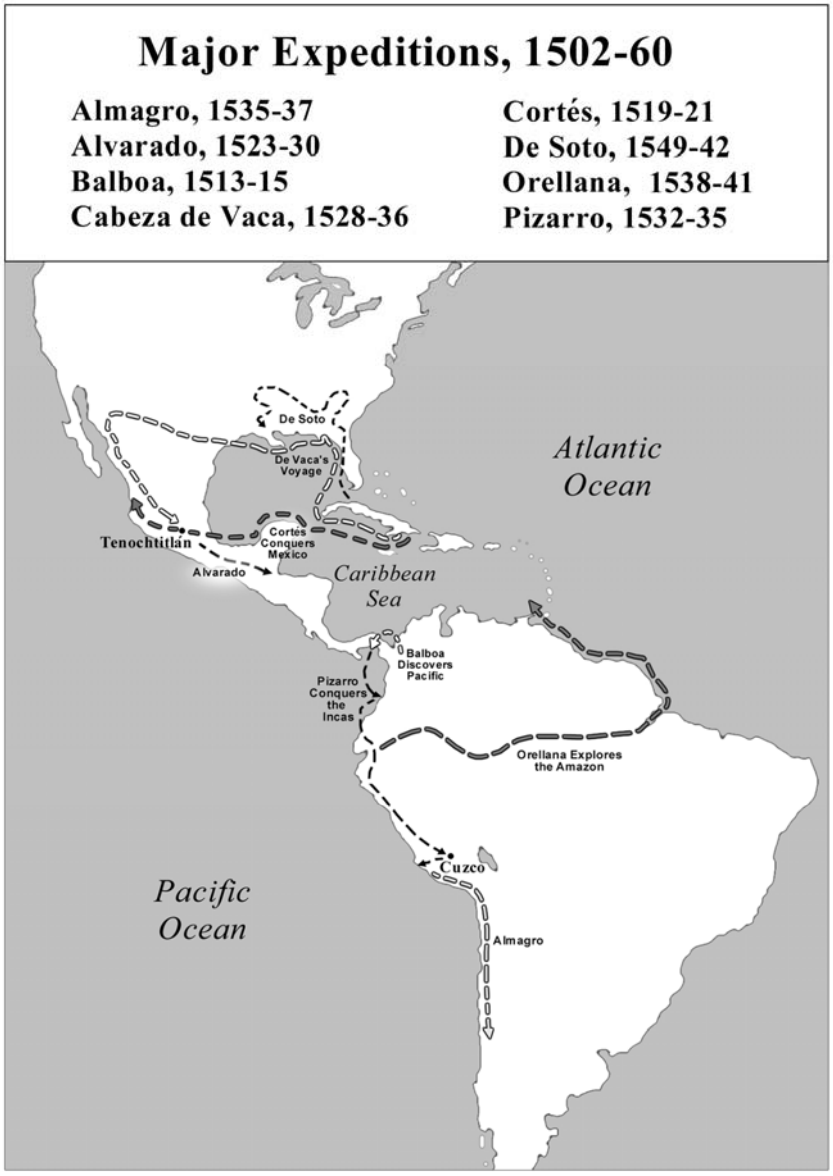
Supplementary Reading:

Lang, *Portuguese Brazil*, chapter 1.

Burns, *A Documentary History of Brazil*, sections 1–2.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways was Portuguese expansion into Asia more important than European expansion in the Americas?
2. Do you think that the Atlantic slave trade would have developed had it not been for the rise of plantations in the Americas?



Timeline

B.C.

40,000 to 12,000 ..... Arrival of first humans in the Americas.

8000 ..... Beginning of Paleoindian era.

2500 ..... Beginning of Archaic, or formative, period.

A.D.

250 ..... Beginning of Classic period in Mesoamerica.

711 ..... Moors conquer most of Iberian Peninsula.

900 ..... Beginning of post-Classic period in Mesoamerica.

1253 ..... Reconquest complete in Portugal.

1350 ..... Beginning of the Renaissance.

1441 ..... First documented shipment of black African slaves to Europe.

1488 ..... Bartolomeu Dias rounds Africa and enters the Indian Ocean.

1492 ..... Reconquest in Spain completed with the fall of Granada; first voyage of Christopher Columbus.

1497 ..... Vasco da Gama leads expedition to India.

1500 ..... Cabral lands on the coast of Brazil.

1513 ..... Balboa's expedition sees the Pacific Ocean.

1517 ..... Protestant Reformation begins in Europe.

1519 ..... Cortés begins the conquest of Mexico.

1521 ..... Fall of Tenochtitlan.

1524 ..... Pedro de Alvarado begins the conquest of Guatemala.

1528–1536 ..... Cabeza de Vaca crosses Southwest.

1532 ..... Pizarro and his men capture Atahualpa at Cajamarca.

1534 ..... Jacques Cartier identifies St. Lawrence River.

1537–1543 ..... De Soto expedition in North America.

1541 ..... Assassination of Francisco Pizarro.

1553 ..... Last revolt of Spanish conquistadors against royal officials in Peru.

1558 ..... Reign of Elizabeth I of England begins.

1565 ..... Founding of St. Augustine.

1577 ..... Francis Drake circumnavigates the globe.

1584–1590 ..... Failed colony on Roanoke Island.

1588 ..... Independence of Dutch provinces secured.

1607 ..... Founding of Jamestown.

1608 ..... Champlain founds Quebec.

1609 ..... Founding of Santa Fe, New Mexico.

1620 ..... Pilgrims arrive at Plymouth.

1625 ..... Dutch found colony on Manhattan Island.

1627 ..... English seize Barbados.

1628 ..... Piet Heyn captures Spanish silver fleet.

1655 ..... English seize Jamaica.

1665 ..... French begin to establish permanent settlement at Saint Domingue.

Glossary

Andes: Second highest mountain range on earth, running the length of western South America. Home to Inca Empire.

Avis dynasty: Ruling family of Portugal (1383–1578) during the height of overseas expansion.

Aymara: Language and Native American ethnic group centered in the region of modern-day Bolivia. Cradle of Andean and Incan civilizations.

Aztecs or Nahuas: Native American people of central Mexico who built a powerful empire in the century before 1519.

Bering Straits: Body of water between the eastern tip of Asia and Alaska that became a land bridge traversed by Asiatic peoples during Ice Ages.

Black Legend: Image created in the sixteenth century that the Spanish had brutally massacred and decimated the native peoples of the Americas through conquest and mistreatment.

cacique: Arawak word for chief that was brought into Spanish and used as a description of all Native American rulers.

candomblé: Afro-Brazilian religion primarily centered in northeastern Brazil.

castas: Term in Spanish America for racially mixed peoples.

Creole: Originally the term for the child of an African born in the Americas. Later more commonly used in Spanish to identify those of Spanish ancestry born in the Americas.

Dominicans: Religious order created in the Middle Ages that played a key role in the conversion of the peoples of the Americas.

encomienda: In Spanish America in the first half of the sixteenth century, this is a grant from the Crown to a conquistador for the use of land and the labor on it. In exchange, the *encomendero* had to protect and develop the land, pay taxes, and Christianize the Indians on the land.

folk Catholicism: Anthropological term that refers to the form of Catholicism that blends with pre-Columbian or African beliefs among large numbers of the lower classes in Latin America.

Franciscans: Very important religious order (also founded in the Middle Ages) that played a key role in the conversion of the peoples of the Americas and in the construction of the Catholic Church, especially in Mexico.

glyphs: Symbols commonly found in Mesoamerica in "books" or carved in stone. These symbols form the writing system common among the Maya.

Huitzilopochtli: "Hummingbird on the Left," one of the principal deities in the Aztec cosmology. He required fresh blood as a sacrifice.

Incas: People of the central Andes who began around Cuzco and built one of the greatest empires in the world, eventually stretching from Ecuador to Argentina.

Jesuits: Another of the great religious orders in the conversion of the peoples of the Americas. Founded in the heat of the Counter Reformation in the 1530s. The Jesuits became the educational and intellectual elite of the Catholic Church.

Mayas: Peoples of Mesoamerica who developed perhaps the greatest of the pre-Columbian American civilizations in the region of Guatemala, southern Mexico, and the Yucatan.

Mesoamerica: "Middle America," a cultural zone stretching from the deserts of northern Mexico to southern Central America.

Middle Passage: Refers to the trip of slaves from Africa to the slave societies of the Americas.

Moors: Generic term for the Islamic peoples of North Africa who conquered and occupied Spain and Portugal.

Nahuatl: Language of central Mexico, in particular, the Aztecs or Nahuas.

Potosí: The richest silver mining center in world history, located in modern-day Bolivia.

Quechua: The language of the Inca empire.

Quetzalcoatl: One of the principal Aztec deities, "feathered serpent," who was supposedly cast out of the region and predicted to one day return from the East to reclaim his lands.

Quincentennial: Term for the 500th anniversary of the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the Americas on 12 October 1492.

repartimiento: Rotary draft labor system that replaced the *encomienda* in Spanish America in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Requirement: Statement summarizing the history of Christianity from the Creation to the Resurrection that Spanish law "required" all conquistadors to read to peoples before the Spanish could attempt to conquer them.

royal patronage: Arrangement between the monarchies of Spain and Portugal and the Vatican beginning in the late fifteenth century. Allowed these monarchies to name Church officials in exchange for financial and military support for the pope.

stelae: Stone pillars in Mesoamerica covered with glyphs describing Maya history.

syncretism: Blending of old symbols with new meanings or of old meanings with new symbols. Used to describe the blending of Catholicism with Native American and African religious beliefs, symbols, and rituals.

Tenochtitlan: Capital of the Aztec empire on the site of what today is Mexico City.

Tlaxcala and Tlaxcalans: Region and people east of the valley of Mexico. Bitter enemies of Aztecs who allied with Cortés in the conquest.

Biographical Notes

Almagro, Diego de (b. 1475?). One of the key leaders of the conquest of Peru. In the 1530s, he led conquistadors into northern Chile before returning to challenge Pizarro's leadership. Executed in 1538.

Alvarado, Pedro de (b. 1485?). One of the key leaders in the conquest of Mexico, Central America, and Ecuador. Died in Mexico in 1541.

Atahualpa (b. 1498?). Inca ruler from mid-1520s until his execution at the hands of Francisco Pizarro in 1533.

Avila, Pedro Arias (b. 1440?). Also known as Pedrarias Davila, conquistador in Panama and Nicaragua (1514–1531) and governor of Panama (1514–1526).

Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar Núñez (b. 1490?–1564). Survivor of a shipwreck on the Texas coast, he wandered across what today is the Southwest of the United States and northern Mexico (1528–1536). Later, he became the governor of the Río de la Plata (1540–1545). Wrote rich accounts of both experiences.

Cabral, Pedro Alvares (b. 1467?–1520?). Portuguese nobleman and leader of an expedition to India that accidentally "discovered" Brazil in 1500.

Champlain, Samuel de (1567–1635). French explorer and founder of Quebec.

Charles I (or V) (1500–1558). King of Spain (Charles I, 1516–1556) and Holy Roman Emperor (Charles V, 1519–1556); the great warrior king of the Counter Reformation.

Columbus, Christopher (1451?–1506). Better known as Cristóbal Colón, the Genoese adventurer who led the first known expedition to reach the Americas and return (1492–1493).

Cortés, Hernán (1484?–1547). A native of southern Spain, he was the principal figure in the conquest of Mexico (1519–1523).

Drake, Francis (1540?–1596). English privateer/pirate who circumnavigated the globe in 1577. Bitter antagonist of the Spanish throughout the Caribbean region.

Elizabeth I (1533–1603). Powerful Queen of England in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Equiano, Olaudah (1745–1797). West African enslaved in the late eighteenth century and author of one of the most famous slave narratives of the era.

Fernando and Isabel. King of Aragon (1479–1516) and Queen of Castile (1474–1504) who jointly ruled a united Spain after 1474. Known as the "Catholic Monarchs" for their devotion and support of the Catholic Church.

Gasca, Pedro de la. Royal emissary to Peru during the civil wars of the 1540s. Captured and executed Gonzalo Pizarro in 1548, reestablishing royal control of the region.

Huascar. One of two sons of the Inca ruler Huayna Capac (1488?–1525?); battled his brother Atahualpa. Captured and executed in 1532.

Lasalle, René-Robert Cavelier. French explorer who descended the Mississippi River in the 1580s.

Las Casas, Bartolomé de (1474–1566). Dominican priest who participated in the conquest of the Caribbean, then became the defender of the Indians. His prolific denunciations of Spanish atrocities gave rise to the Black Legend.

Léry, Jean de (1534–1611). French Huguenot pastor who participated in the failed colony French Antarctic on the coast of Brazil in the 1550s. His account of the experience is one of the finest sixteenth-century accounts of South American Indians.

Marina or La Malinche (1504?–1527?). Aztec woman given to Hernán Cortés as a present on the Mexican Gulf Coast in 1519. She became his mistress, bore him a son, and served as his translator, playing a critical role in the conquest of the Aztecs.

Montejo, Francisco de. Participated in the conquest of Mexico, then led the conquest of the Yucatan in the late 1520s.

Montezuma II (also known as Moctezuma, Motecuhzoma) (1466?–1520). Aztec ruler (1502–1520) seized as a hostage by Cortés, then killed in the battle for the Aztec capital, Technochtitlan.

Narváez, Pánfilo de (1478?–1528). A conquistador throughout the Caribbean, he attempted to arrest Cortés in Mexico in 1520. Died in a shipwreck on another expedition along the Gulf Coast of the present-day United States.

Pizarro, Francisco (1478?–1541). Principal conquistador of Peru, he was the illegitimate son of a minor noble in southern Spain. After participating in the conquest of Panama in the 1510s, he led expeditions to Peru in the 1520s and 1530s. Assassinated by the followers of Diego de Almagro in 1541.

Ponce de León, Juan (1460–1521). Conquistador and first governor of Puerto Rico (1509–1511). Died in Cuba from wounds received in battles with Indians in Florida.

Raleigh, Walter (1554–1618). English courtier and navigator who played a key role in the conquest and colonization of British North America, especially Virginia.

Soto, Hernando de (b. 1496?). Participated in the conquest of Panama and Peru (as a key lieutenant of Pizarro). His ill-fated expedition through what is now the southeastern United States (1539–1543) was the last great foray from Cuba in the conquest of New Spain. Died in Louisiana in 1542 and was buried in the river by his followers.

Velázquez, Diego. Conquistador and the governor of Cuba who selected Hernán Cortés to lead the conquest of Mexico in 1519.

Virgin of Guadelupe. Patron saint of Mexico who appeared before an Indian peasant on a hillside on the outskirts of Mexico City in 1531. Identified by many Indians as the Aztec goddess of the earth, Tonantzin.

Bibliography

Essential Reading:

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Supplementary Reading:

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Boyer, Richard, and Geoffrey Spurling, eds. *Colonial Lives: Documents on Latin American History, 1550–1850*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. Selection of short essays analyzing lives of individuals through key documents.

Burkholder, Mark A., and Lyman L. Johnson. *Colonial Latin America*. 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. An excellent textbook survey of colonial Latin American history.

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Davis, Ralph. *The Rise of the Atlantic Economies*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973. Excellent overview of Europe's move out into the Atlantic world in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Degler, Carl N. *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986. Dated, but still stimulating, comparison of the differing experiences with slavery and the different race relations in the two largest slave societies in the Americas.

Diamond, Jared. *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1997. Sweeping Pulitzer-prize–winning look at the rise and fall of civilizations since ancient times. Diamond is a biologist with fascinating things to say about world history.

Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. *The Conquest of New Spain*. trans. J. M. Cohen. New York: Penguin, 1963. One of the classic firsthand accounts of the conquest of the Aztecs by one of the lieutenants of Cortés.

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Sauer, Carl O. *The Early Spanish Main*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966. Old, traditional, but clear and informative survey of the early explorations in the Caribbean basin.

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———. *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1870*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997. New synthesis written for the general public. Like all of his books, massive, thorough, and very well written.

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Conquest of the Americas

Part II

Professor Marshall Eakin

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Marshall Eakin, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of History, Vanderbilt University

A native of east Texas, Marshall Eakin first went to Latin America as a high school student during the summer of 1970 to do public health work in the highlands of Guatemala. He did his undergraduate work at the University of Kansas, spending a year and a half as an exchange student at the Universidad de Costa Rica. After receiving his B.A. in history and anthropology in 1975, he continued at the University of Kansas to complete an M.A. in history in 1977. He then continued his graduate work at UCLA, where he specialized in Brazilian history. He received his Ph.D. in 1981.

After teaching for two years at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles, Professor Eakin moved to Vanderbilt University, where he has taught since 1983. He has won numerous teaching awards at Vanderbilt, including the Jeffrey Nordhaus Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching given annually by the College of Arts and Science, the Madison Sarratt Prize for Excellence in Teaching given annually by the board of trust, and a chair of teaching excellence also awarded by the board of trust. In 1999, he was named the Carnegie Foundation/CASE Tennessee Professor of the Year.

Dr. Eakin has published three books, *British Enterprise in Brazil: The St. John d'el Rey Mining Company and the Morro Velho Gold Mine, 1830–1960* (1989), *Brazil: The Once and Future Country* (1996), and *Tropical Capitalism: The Industrialization of Belo Horizonte, Brazil* (2001). He is currently working on a single-volume history of Latin America. He has published numerous articles in a wide variety of scholarly journals and in popular publications. He has made more than twenty research and lecture trips to Latin America over the last thirty years.

Dr. Eakin is married to Michelle Beatty-Eakin, a high school teacher of English as a second language in Nashville. They have two teenage daughters.

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Part II

Conquest of the Americas

Scope:

The societies of the Americas emerge out of the collision, convergence, and complex mixture of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans. This process begins with the conquest of the sixteenth century, and its major features are complete and in place by about 1700. This collision and convergence provide all the American colonies (Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, and Dutch) with some unity and common patterns of historical developments, as well as enormous diversity in regions from Canada to Argentina. This course presents both the unity and diversity in the early history of the Americas—the common patterns, as well as the enormous differences, across the region.

Lecture One introduces the main themes and approaches in this course. Lectures Two and Three discuss the native peoples of the Americas, their origins, diversity, and cultural levels, highlighting the three most well known and most highly developed indigenous civilizations in the Americas: the Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas. For thousands of years, the Old World (Asia, Africa, and Europe) was cut off and evolved entirely apart from the peoples of the Americas. Between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Europeans expanded out across the globe and eventually dominated the rest of the world. Lectures Four and Five look at the peoples of Europe and Africa and the expansion of the European powers. Lecture Six examines the momentous voyage of Christopher Columbus to the Americas in 1492, a voyage that is arguably the most important event in the history of the world in the last millennium. Columbus initiates the European conquest of the Americas.

Within a generation, the Spanish swept across the Caribbean Sea and the surrounding regions, conquering and annihilating native peoples and establishing the patterns of conquest they would repeat across the Americas for nearly a century. Lectures Seven through Eleven look at the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century. Lecture Seven surveys the conquest of the Caribbean, while Lectures Eight and Nine recount the conquest of Mexico. The conquest of the Incas is another epic tale, and it is the focus of Lecture Ten. By the 1540s, three regions had emerged as the core centers of Spain's empire in the Americas: the Caribbean, Mexico, and Peru. In Lecture Eleven, we see how less successful conquistadors moved out from these three centers and into what today is the Gulf Coast of the United States and the Southwest.

In contrast to the dramatic military conquests in Spanish America, Brazil was colonized decades later, and the Portuguese turned to African slave labor rather than the exploitation of dense Indian empires. Lecture Twelve examines the rise of plantation societies in the Americas and their origins in the Portuguese Atlantic islands and in the sugar plantations in northeastern Brazil. The Portuguese, followed by other European colonial powers, turned to African slave labor to work the plantations of the Americas. Lecture Thirteen focuses on the Atlantic slave trade, a process that from the mid-fifteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century brought some 12–15 million Africans across the Atlantic in chains.

With the completion of military conquest in the core regions, the Spanish, Portuguese, and other European powers settled down to the task of making their newly conquered lands productive, long-term colonial enterprises. The most important institution to arise out of the colonial experience in most of the Americas was the large landed estate. Lecture Fourteen examines the rise of these estates, the land and labor systems, and the major variations across the Americas. The exploitation of African and Indian labor turned the wheels of empire, but American silver financed Spain's imperial ambitions. Lecture Fifteen looks at mining in Mexico and Peru and the complex and vital fleet system that carried American silver back to Spain.

Although the military conquest of the core regions of the Americas would be completed by the end of the seventeenth century, the parallel "spiritual conquest" of the native peoples, Africans, and their descendants would remain unfinished. Lectures Sixteen and Seventeen turn to the millions of Indians and Africans who tenaciously held on to their deeply rooted religious traditions. With so few missionaries to provide the non-Europeans with direct religious instruction, the spiritual conquest was doomed from the outset. Although the vast majority of Latin Americans today call themselves Catholics, they practice forms of Christianity that have been deeply imbued with indigenous and African religious beliefs.

The English, French, and Dutch followed the Spanish and Portuguese into the Americas, but they established their colonies nearly a century later. Lectures Eighteen through Twenty-One look at these later conquests, comparing their methods to those of the Spanish and Portuguese. The English (and the Dutch) Protestants vigorously and effectively portrayed their conquests as less cruel and barbaric than the Spanish conquests. The French conquests

were fitful and largely unsuccessful for nearly 200 years. The Spanish and Portuguese monopoly in the Americas ends in the seventeenth century with the rising challenge to them from the English, French, and Dutch, especially in the Caribbean. By the end of the seventeenth century, the English, French, and Dutch had established a permanent colonial presence in the Americas, ending the first wave of European conquest.

In the final section of the course, lectures Twenty-Two and Twenty-Three analyze the ways that non-Europeans resisted the cultural conquest and the hierarchical social and racial pyramid that emerges out of the conquest, colonization, and cultural clash. The focus then moves from racial and cultural mixture to social life, comparing these relationships in English America with those in Spanish and Portuguese America. Lecture Twenty-Four offers a summary and overview, stressing that the military conquest was much more successful than the spiritual and cultural conquests. The course concludes with some reflections on the burdens of these legacies of conquest and colonization and the strengths forged out of common patterns of conquest and colonization.

Lecture Thirteen
The Atlantic Slave Trade

Scope: The Atlantic slave trade was the largest forced migration in world history. From the mid-fifteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, some 12–15 million Africans were brought across the Atlantic in chains to labor in the mines and on the plantations from North America to southern South America. This lecture looks at the transatlantic slave trading networks, a system that involved all the European powers and many African states. I then provide an overview of the size and phases of the trade, including the major exporters and importers. The last part of the lecture describes the so-called "middle passage" across the Atlantic and the importance of Africans in the conquest and construction of all the Americas.

Outline

I. The transatlantic slave trade was the largest forced migration in world history.

- **A.** Although slavery is often seen as a "peculiar institution," it has existed in nearly all periods of history and in all regions of the world.
  - **1.** Here, we are focusing on the modern Atlantic slave trade that arose in the mid-fifteenth century, moving millions of black Africans to all regions of the Americas.
  - **2.** Some 12–15 million Africans arrived in the New World via the so-called "middle passage" from capture in Africa to arrival in the Americas.
- **B.** The trade took place for 400 years and involved many nations and peoples on both sides of the Atlantic.
  - **1.** All the major European powers were involved—Spain, Portugal, England, France, and Holland.
  - **2.** What often goes unspoken was the participation of many African peoples and states in the trade.
  - **3.** Again, the view that somehow all peoples in Africa saw themselves as one or that they had a single sense of identity is false.
  - **4.** If one is looking to place blame, it would be hard to find anyone who did not participate in this extraordinarily inhumane episode.
  - **5.** What is striking is how long it took for anyone even to question the morality of the slave trade and slavery.

II. The transatlantic slave trade began in the 1440s and lasted until the 1860s.

- **A.** Best estimates place the number of black Africans arriving in the Americas in slavery at some 12–15 million.
  - **1.** For every African who arrived alive on our shores, probably another had died between the point of capture in Africa and disembarkation in the New World.
  - **2.** The study of the trade has become very sophisticated, and a large literature provides serious responses to many of the popular and sometimes ludicrous claims in the press.
- **B.** We have very good estimates of the rise and fall of the slave trade and its phases.
  - **1.** The first black Africans were shipped back to Lisbon in the 1440s.
  - **2.** With the discovery of the Americas in the 1490s, African slaves began to cross the Atlantic.
  - **3.** The rise of sugar plantations gave the trade its first great push after 1560.
  - **4.** With the rise of sugar plantations in the Caribbean in the 1600s, the trade accelerated dramatically to Spanish, English, and French colonies.
  - **5.** Nearly two-thirds of the slaves who crossed the Atlantic made the passage in the eighteenth century.
  - **6.** With the rise of an anti-slave trade and anti-slavery movement in the late eighteenth century, the trade would gradually decline until its extinction in 1870.
- **C.** Although all regions of the Atlantic world felt the impact of the trade, several key regions played the most important roles.
  - **1.** The region around the Bight of Benin in West Africa became the first great exporter of human cargoes.
  - **2.** The Angola/Congo region supplied many Bantu peoples to the Americas.
  - **3.** In the late eighteenth century, the Portuguese turned increasingly to Mozambique in East Africa for slaves.

4. In the Americas, the single largest importer was Brazil, absorbing possibly thirty-three percent of all the trade.
5. The Caribbean basin devoured another fifty percent into Spanish, English, French, and Dutch possessions.
6. The Thirteen Colonies (the future United States) came into the trade late and ended it early, taking in perhaps six percent of all imports, some 750,000 Africans. Slave imports ended in the United States in 1808.

III. The "middle passage" was a journey that is almost beyond the comprehension of peoples living in the comfort of developed nations in the early twenty-first century.

A. The first stage of the journey began with the capture of prisoners in the interior of Africa.
1. We have some classic personal accounts of this journey in the writings of Gustavus Vassa and Bequaqua.
2. Slavery existed in Africa before the Europeans but in a different form.
3. The captives often traveled great distances and changed hands several times before arriving at the European trading posts on the coast.
4. At such places as Elmina (Ghana) and Luanda (Angola), the captives were placed in pens, branded, and often nominally baptized.
5. For most, it was their first experience with the ocean and Europeans.

B. The passage across the Atlantic was harrowing at best.
1. The best documentation for the passage is an enormous database of 27,000 voyages now available on CD-ROM.
2. The average ship probably held around 400 slaves, chained in groups and stacked like books on shelves below decks.
3. With minimal food and water, disease, punishments, and tropical temperatures above 100 degrees below deck, probably some ten to twenty percent of the passengers died en route on a typical voyage. (The European crews may well have died at the same rate.) Most of the captives were male.

C. Upon arrival in the Americas, whether in Baltimore, Charleston, Havana, or Rio de Janeiro, the process was similar.
1. Exhausted and weakened Africans were placed in pens, groomed, and put on the auction block.
2. The vast majority went to work in fields and mines of the American South, the Caribbean, and Brazil.
3. As we shall see, they and their descendants then quite literally built the new societies of the Americas.

Supplementary Reading:

Miller, *Way of Death*.

Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*, chapters 1–2.

Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, chapters 1–2.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think it took so long for anyone to question the morality of slavery and the slave trade?
2. Why do you think the slave traders did not attempt to cut the mortality rates on board their ships, given the financial losses they must have incurred with high death rates?

Lecture Fourteen
Haciendas and Plantations

Scope: With the completion of the military conquest in the core regions, the Spanish, Portuguese, and other European powers settled down to the task of making their newly conquered lands productive, long-term colonial enterprises. The key to the conquest of the Americas was not only military success, but also the ability to dominate a labor force that would make the land productive for Europeans. The most important institution to arise out of the colonial experience in most of the Americas was the large landed estate. From region to region, these estates were known as haciendas, plantations, and many other names. What they all had in common was the systematic exploitation of a large non-European labor force, primarily Indians or Africans. Without labor, land was useless to the Europeans. This lecture surveys the rise of these estates, the land and labor systems, and the major variations across the Americas.

Outline

I. As the military conquest in the core regions drew to a close in the sixteenth century, the Spanish and Portuguese turned to making their new possessions productive, long-term enterprises.

- **A.** The most important institution to arise out of the colonial experience in Latin America was the large landed estate.
  - **1.** Land without labor was useless to the Spanish and Portuguese.
  - **2.** The key to success hinged on the mobilization of a large and compliant labor force.
  - **3.** This requirement was met primarily through the exploitation of forced Indian labor in Mexico and Peru.
  - **4.** In the Caribbean and Brazil, the Spanish and Portuguese turned to African slave labor.
  - **5.** The estates then used the unfree labor force to produce the wealth of the land that made the colonial economies work.
- **B.** The large landed estates were one of the three pillars of the Latin American economies.
  - **1.** The large estates produced the commodities (grains, meats, and supplies) that fed Latin Americans. They also supplied the cash crops for export to Europe (sugar, chocolate, dyestuffs).
  - **2.** The second major pillar was also a form of landed estate, gold and silver mines that generated the financial fuel for the Spanish and (later) the Portuguese empires.
  - **3.** The third pillar was a large and complicated commercial system that moved goods around the empires.

II. The great estates were the dominant economic institution in Latin America for nearly 300 years.

- **A.** The nature of these estates has been debated for nearly 500 years.
  - **1.** Although the dominant type of landholding, they have always been fewer in number than the many landholdings of all sizes and kept in the hands of a very small percentage of landholders.
  - **2.** Control of these large estates has historically been the key to control of the economy and the political system.
  - **3.** These estates have gone by many names—*haciendas*, *estancias*, *fincas*, *fazendas*.
  - **4.** A more traditional approach divided the estates into two main types: haciendas and plantations, a useful, but deceptive, dichotomy.
  - **5.** Haciendas, according to tradition, tended to be in temperate climates, were worked with Indian labor, and were largely self-sufficient. The plantations were traditionally tropical, used slave labor, and grew cash crops. But both kinds of estates were profit- oriented, and the boundary between them was ambiguous.
- **B.** The land and labor systems that the Spanish and Portuguese developed are key to understanding the evolution of Latin America and the ways in which this evolution has been very different from the colonial experience of the United States.
  - **1.** In the Caribbean crucible during the first years of the conquest, the Spanish turned to the *encomienda* system.

2. This emerged full-blown in Mexico and Peru as a system of land grants and the use of the labor on the land. Even the most humble conquistador received a grant. But diseases often destroyed the Indian labor force.
3. The system became increasingly unworkable; the Crown then turned to the *repartimiento* system, a means of dividing up available Indian labor among the Spanish landowners, similar to a quota system. It was a rotary draft labor system based on indigenous models in Peru and Mexico.
4. Although most of the region would move toward some sort of wage labor system after 1600, the *repartimiento* system endured in some regions of Spanish America into the twentieth century.
5. In the Caribbean and Brazil, the nearly complete annihilation of the Indians, or their flight, turned the Spanish and Portuguese toward the growing use of African slave labor.
6. The Brazilian plantation usually wasn't a single piece of contiguous land. Sharecropping arrangements developed with small landowners. Their dependency was mutual, but the landowner was the patron and the sharecropper, the client. Each side had its responsibilities—the former provided sustenance, the latter, loyalty.
7. In all cases, the Spanish and Portuguese built colonial societies on a clear and harsh hierarchy: a small, white elite controlled power through control of land and the non-European labor force.
8. This is the most enduring and burdensome legacy of the conquest and colonization of Latin America. It was a world bound together by inequality and hierarchy, but also collectivity.

Supplementary Reading:

Bakewell, *A History of Latin America*, chapter 10.

Burkholder and Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, chapters 4–5.

Davis, *Landowners in Colonial Peru*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think the Spanish and Portuguese resorted to forced labor systems of non-European peoples rather than bringing in Europeans to work the land?
2. Why is the legacy of a colonial institution, such as the large landed estate in Latin America, so important in the centuries after 1800?

Lecture Fifteen
American Silver and Spanish Galleons

Scope: The colonial economy of Spanish America was built on three pillars: the great estates, silver mining, and the commercial system that moved goods throughout the Americas and across the Atlantic and Pacific. Although the military conquest paved the way to empire, and the exploitation of African and Indian labor turned the wheels of empire, American silver financed Spain's imperial ambitions. A lust for gold had driven the conquistadors throughout the conquest, and gold had been found in Mexico, northern South America, and the Andes. The fabulously rich silver mines in northern Mexico and Upper Peru (modern-day Bolivia), however, provided the great wealth of the Spanish empire. This lecture looks at mining in Mexico and Peru and the complex and vital fleet system that carried American silver back to Spain. Ironically, the so-called "Golden Age" (1550–1650) in Spain was really an age of silver.

Outline

I. The period 1550–1650 is known as the "Golden Age" in Spain, but it was, more accurately, a century of silver.

- **A.** Gold was a powerful motivating factor for all the European conquerors in the Americas.
  - **1.** The Spanish lust for gold so impressed the Aztecs that their chroniclers described them as "greedy like pigs" for gold.
  - **2.** All the European conquering powers found some gold in the Americas, but in most areas, the pillaging during the initial conquest provided most of the gold that would cross the Atlantic.
  - **3.** Silver, on the other hand, was plentiful in Mexico and Peru.
- **B.** The silver mines of Mexico and Upper Peru formed the crucial third pillar of the Spanish American economy.
  - **1.** Silver production from Upper Peru alone amounted to nearly half of Spain's spending in the 1590s.
  - **2.** After the discovery of silver deposits in Mexico and Peru in the 1540s, production rose continually until the first decade of the seventeenth century.
  - **3.** Declining silver production in the seventeenth century sent Spain into an economic decline that would not end until the late twentieth century.
  - **4.** The most important gold deposits in the Americas before 1700 were in the region that is the modern nation of Colombia.
  - **5.** The Brazilians would find enormous gold deposits in the 1690s, setting off the first great gold strike in the Americas.

II. Two regions dominated the silver economy of Spanish America: Mexico and Upper Peru (Bolivia).

- **A.** The first silver strikes came in Mexico in the 1530s and 1540s.
  - **1.** The most important mining centers were all in northern Mexico: Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí, and Guanajuato.
  - **2.** The Spanish had substantial experience with mining and brought in experienced miners from Spain and the central European possessions of Charles V.
  - **3.** They perfected a refining process, amalgamation, to extract the silver; this process would be adapted all over the Americas for nearly 300 years. One-fifth of all production, the *quinto*, went to the king.
  - **4.** The mining operations were highly capital intensive, requiring sophisticated machinery and skilled labor.
  - **5.** Under the medieval system, all subsoil rights belonged to the Crown, and mining was a concession.
  - **6.** The state carefully regulated and supervised the mines and silver shipments.
- **B.** The richest silver mines in the world in the centuries of conquest were in Upper Peru at Potosí.
  - **1.** Potosí alone produced half of all American silver in the so-called "Golden Age."
  - **2.** As they had in Mexico, the Spanish encountered special difficulties extracting silver at Potosí because of very high altitudes, above 15,000 feet, and shortages of fuel.
  - **3.** The demand for labor in the mines led to the expansion of the *repartimiento* system, a rotary draft labor system that became known as the *mita*.

4. The mine owners in Upper Peru became, quite possibly, the richest men in the world in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
5. Best estimates place Spanish silver production at 10–11 million kilograms in the century before 1610.

III. American silver became the lifeblood of the Spanish empire, and the Crown gradually developed an elaborate system to ensure its continual flow across the Atlantic.

A. Spain in the late fifteenth century had an economy that is usually labeled mercantilist.
1. The basic idea was to control and direct trade to produce profit and taxes for the monarchy.
2. Guilds and bureaucrats abounded and worked hard to regulate trade.
3. The Board of Trade in Seville, created in 1503, became the conduit for all trade with the American colonies.

B. The king eventually created a fleet system to move silver and other goods back and forth across the Atlantic.
1. This fleet system was in place by the mid-1560s, making the "Indies run" once a year.
2. In the late sixteenth century, the fleet typically departed from Seville in April, sailed to the Caribbean via the Canaries, and split there.
3. About fifty ships went to Panama and a smaller number sailed to Veracruz, Mexico.
4. In late winter or early spring, the two groups rejoined in Havana, then moved through the Straits of Florida to the Azores and Seville. The schedule allowed them to avoid the hurricane season.
5. In essence, they followed the original route of Columbus.

C. The fleet became the lifeline of the Spanish empire in the Americas.
1. In effect, the annual fleet brought to Spain its most important source of wealth, and any threat of loss threatened the empire.
2. The colonists depended heavily on the fleet for valuable European goods, orders from Madrid, and new colonists.
3. As we shall see in Lecture Twenty-One, protecting the fleet became increasingly difficult in the seventeenth century.
4. The imperial fleet system forced the colonies to trade with Spain only, a monopoly that resulted in economic underdevelopment.
5. With the disruption of the fleet system in the seventeenth century came the long slide of Spain from the greatest power in the world to a weak and unimportant nation, even in Europe.

Supplementary Reading:

Elliott, *The Old World and the New*, chapters 3–4.

Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain*, chapter 1.

Questions to Consider:

1. What do you think the Spanish American empire would have looked like without silver?
2. Do you think a mercantilist economic philosophy held Spain back? Why?

Lecture Sixteen
The Sword and the Cross

Scope: The core regions of the Americas would be conquered and controlled by the European powers by the end of the seventeenth century. The military conquest of the frontiers would last into the twentieth century in the most remote regions of the Americas. The parallel "spiritual conquest" of the native peoples, Africans, and their descendants will never be completed. This lecture and the next look at the religious zeal of the Spanish and Portuguese and their efforts to convert new peoples to the Christian (Catholic) faith. Coming out of a centuries-long religious and military struggle against the Moors in Spain and Portugal, the conquistadors and clergy moved across the Atlantic in a continuation of the "reconquest" of the Iberian peninsula. They first had to decide what to do about Indians, peoples who did not appear in the Bible or in the works of classical authorities. Once they decided that the Indians had souls, the priests and nuns set out to convert them by persuasion and force. This lecture concentrates on the efforts of two religious orders—the Jesuits and the Franciscans—as examples of the spiritual conquest.

Outline

I. Religious conversion and the military conquest across the Americas advanced together, although in many different forms.

- **A.** The most difficult part of teaching about religion in the early modern world is to get students to place themselves in the mindset of the era.
  - **1.** For the men and women of the sixteenth century, there was no separation of the sacred and the secular as we think of them today.
  - **2.** All life and all actions, for most, if not all, peoples, were imbued with religious significance.
  - **3.** This mindset was as true for Native Americans as it was for Africans and Europeans.
- **B.** For the Spanish and the Portuguese, their conquest of the Americas was an extension of the centuries-long religious and military struggle against the Moors.
  - **1.** Conquest was both military and spiritual, pitting the "true believer" against the "infidel."
  - **2.** Christianity, by its very nature, was an aggressive and militant religion that has always sought to make new converts.
  - **3.** The Spanish, in particular, were perhaps the most militant and proselytizing of all Christians in Europe.
  - **4.** For them, the sword and the cross conquered new peoples together.

II. In Spain and Portugal, the Church and the state were intimately intertwined, unlike our worldview today.

- **A.** The reconquest forged this linkage in Iberia.
  - **1.** The king ultimately received his authority from God via the pope's blessing.
  - **2.** In Spain and Portugal, the monarchy forged a special relationship with the Vatican in the late fifteenth century known as *royal patronage*.
  - **3.** The Catholic Church in Spain and Portugal became a virtual arm of the state.
  - **4.** When the Reformation broke out in central and northern Europe in the early sixteenth century, it did not cross the Pyrenees.
- **B.** With the discovery of the Americas, the Catholic Church faced a serious theological and practical question: "What to do about the Indians?"
  - **1.** The Native Americans and the American continents did not appear in either of the two great sources of authority: the Bible and the ancient Greek and Roman writers.
  - **2.** As strange as it may sound to us today, the Spanish engaged in a debate over the nature of the Indian to determine if he had a soul and the faculty of reason.
  - **3.** One of the greatest figures in colonial American history, Bartolomé de las Casas, emerged as the defender of the Indians in this debate. Formerly a conquistador, he experienced a religious awakening and spoke out against injustice the rest of his life.
  - **4.** Eventually, the king decided that the indigenous peoples were humans who had souls and the faculty of reason, but they were to be treated as wards of the Crown.

III. An extraordinary group of men and women were the principal religious conquistadors.

A. These priests and nuns moved into Latin America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to bring the word of their god to Native Americans and Africans.

1. Two kinds of clergy engaged in the construction of the Catholic Church in the Americas: regular and secular.

2. The most important of these were priests from the mendicant religious orders, especially the Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans.

B. Whatever one thinks of their theology and methods, these clergy spread their gospel under some of the most extraordinary conditions imaginable.

1. Never numbering more than a few thousand across all of Latin America, they moved into a sea of Indians and Africans, learning their languages and customs.

2. In many ways, they were the first anthropologists in the Americas. They learned Indian languages and developed written scripts for them.

3. Yet, one must remember that the reason they so conscientiously learned languages and customs was to eradicate them and to turn Native Americans into good Europeanized Christians.

4. Complete success, for them, would be the complete and total annihilation of pre-Columbian religious beliefs and practices.

C. The Jesuits and Franciscans are but two of the most striking examples of these religious orders.

1. The Franciscans were founded in the Middle Ages, while the Jesuits were a new order founded in the 1530s.

2. Both set out to serve as the vanguard of Christian missionaries.

3. The Franciscans played the key role in the creation of the Catholic Church in Mexico.

4. The Jesuits played the key role in the creation of the Church in Brazil.

5. Both would have a powerful influence across the Americas.

D. Ignatius Loyola formed a "company of Jesus," later the Society of Jesus.

1. The Jesuits were the shock troops of the Counter Reformation.

2. In fulfilling this role, the order became one of the great educators of the Catholic Church.

3. The career of Antonio Vieira is particularly instructive in suggesting the role of the Jesuits.

4. Prolific educators, the Jesuits were also powerful businessmen. Eventually, their operations were closed down in the eighteenth century by the Spanish and Portuguese crowns. Only in the mid-nineteenth century did they return to Latin America.

Supplementary Reading:

Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests*, chapters 1–4.

Las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways is the early twentieth-century view of religion and society so different than the view of the sixteenth century?

2. Why do you think that the American view of the role of the Catholic Church in the conquest has usually been so negative?

Lecture Seventeen
New Peoples, New Religions

Scope: With millions of Indians and Africans holding tenaciously on to their deeply rooted religious traditions and so few missionaries to provide the non-Europeans with direct religious instruction, the spiritual conquest was doomed from the outset. Although the vast majority of Latin Americans today call themselves Catholics, they practice forms of Christianity that have been deeply imbued with indigenous and African religious beliefs. This lecture will focus on two prime examples of the religious mixing (*syncretism*) that emerges out of the spiritual conquest: the folk Catholicism of Mesoamerica with its pre-Columbian indigenous influences and religions that emerge in Brazil from the mixing of Christian and African religious beliefs.

Outline

I. The efforts to impose Christianity on millions of non-Europeans, and their efforts to resist the new religion, produced a religious mixing that defines much of Latin America today.

- **A.** The blending of old symbols with new meanings, or new symbols with old meanings, is known as *syncretism* among anthropologists.
  - **1.** This blending was sometimes conscious resistance and, at times, unconscious.
  - **2.** The two most powerful blends to emerge out of this struggle for the hearts and souls of the peoples of the Americas were folk Catholicism in Mexico, Central America, and the Andes and African-influenced religions in the Caribbean and Brazil.
  - **3.** In both cases, elements of Christianity and non-Christian beliefs mixed to produce new religions that are not indigenous to Africa or Europe, but are truly American.
- **B.** Unlike the military conquest, the spiritual conquest was incomplete and imperfect, and it will never be completed.
  - **1.** Although the vast majority of Latin Americans today call themselves Catholics, large numbers of them engage in religious rituals and practices that are clearly of non-Western origin.
  - **2.** With the end of religious intolerance and the Catholic monopoly on Latin America after independence in the nineteenth century, the religious pluralism of Latin America has increased, and the dream of imposing a single Catholic religion will now never be accomplished.
  - **3.** Spain and Portugal won the political battle to impose a European system on the peoples of Latin America, but they only partially conquered the hearts and souls of those Latin Americans.

II. Folk Catholicism in Mesoamerica is one of the most striking examples of the failure of the spiritual conquest.

- **A.** It should come as no great surprise that the native peoples of Mesoamerica would fight tenaciously to hold on to their age-old religious worldview.
  - **1.** They had a centuries-old cosmology built on the notion of cyclical and circular time and history.
  - **2.** They had many gods that animated the forces of the natural and supernatural worlds. Such was the purpose of the Aztec sacrifices—to appease the gods.
  - **3.** Their universe included realms similar to heaven and hell in Christianity.
  - **4.** Ancestors and mountaintops, not to mention the pyramids, held special significance for them.
- **B.** Given the large Indian populations in Mesoamerica and the few hundred priests, it is not surprising that the conversion of the native peoples was slow and imperfect and that blending took place.
  - **1.** Perhaps the most striking example of the process of syncretism is the cult around the Virgin of Guadalupe, Mexico's patron saint, which dates from the appearance of the Virgin to a peasant in 1531. It has since become a powerful national cult in Mexico.
  - **2.** Another vivid example of this blending is in the celebration of the Day of the Dead, a week-long celebration in much of Latin America that merges Catholic celebrations of All Saints Day with pre-Columbian practices.
  - **3.** In both examples, we see the emergence of peoples who eventually describe themselves as Catholics, but whose religious rituals and beliefs also include many influences from pre-Hispanic times.

4. The anthropologists have labeled this blending among the large masses of Indians in Mesoamerica folk Catholicism—Catholicism of the people. This mixing is both conscious and unconscious.

III. Afro-Brazilian religions are another powerful example of this religious syncretism.

A. The African peoples brought with them many different religions to the Americas: animism, Islam, and Christianity.

1. The followers of Islam had swept across East, North, and some of West Africa long before the arrival of the European slave traders.

2. The Portuguese had converted some African peoples, most notably in the Kingdom of Kongo. Some captives were already Christian.

3. The most powerful religious influences to come across the Atlantic, however, were animist, especially from West Africa.

4. The hundreds of African gods or deities were eventually reduced to about fifteen to twenty in the Caribbean and Brazil.

5. The most influential came from modern-day Nigeria and Benin.

B. Candomblé in northeastern Brazil is one of the most notable examples of the mixtures of African and Christian beliefs.

1. Its origins are primarily from Yoruba peoples in West Africa.

2. About a dozen or more African deities eventually merge with Catholic saints, Jesus, and Mary. In some ways, they resemble the ancient Greco-Roman deities.

3. Although suppressed for centuries, Afro-Brazilian religions are freely practiced today and are widely accepted in Brazil by nonbelievers. Spiritual possession is part of the ritual, similar to speaking in tongues. Brazil, then, is both a Western and a non-Western nation.

4. As with *vodun* in Haiti and folk Catholicism in Spanish America, Afro-Brazilian religions are vivid testimony to the resistance of Indians and Africans to the spiritual conquest. These are new American religions created out of the collision of three peoples.

5. They are also witness to the creativity and ingenuity of those people and their descendants.

Supplementary Reading:

Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests*, chapter 12.

Landes, *City of Women*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think Indians and Africans turned to Catholicism, whether by persuasion or by force?

2. Can you think of examples of this type of syncretism in the United States?

Lecture Eighteen
Late Arrivals: The English in North America

Scope: The English, French, and Dutch followed the Spanish and Portuguese into the Americas, but they established their colonies nearly a century later. Not until they consolidated their internal political order were they able to move into the Americas (and across the globe) with the forcefulness of the Spanish and Portuguese. This lecture examines English efforts to embark on their own conquest of the Americas by looking at English efforts in Virginia and New England. I will compare their methods of conquest to those of the Spanish and the Portuguese.

Outline

I. The English followed the Spanish and Portuguese into the Americas but took nearly a century to begin serious efforts at conquest and colonization.

- **A.** The late start of the English and other European powers goes back to the reasons for the initial advantages of the Iberians.
  - **1.** The most important factors holding back the English were their own internal political battles.
  - **2.** Not until they consolidated the state in the sixteenth century, especially under Elizabeth I, would they begin to pose a serious challenge to the Iberian monopoly in the New World.
  - **3.** The famous (or infamous) English privateers in the second half of the sixteenth century were the early wave of English expansion.
  - **4.** Only in the first half of the seventeenth century, however, did the English begin serious colonial projects in North America and the Caribbean.
- **B.** The English movement into the Americas was part of a larger wave of European powers breaking the Iberian monopoly on the region in the seventeenth century.
  - **1.** In each case (England, France, Holland), new nation-states emerged to challenge Spanish power in Europe and across the globe.
  - **2.** The first wave of challenges came with the French and English in the second half of the sixteenth century.
  - **3.** Most expeditions were to explore or to attack and run.
  - **4.** A few attempts at colonies by both nations failed miserably.
  - **5.** The tide would turn against the Spanish and Portuguese quite dramatically in the seventeenth century, as the English and French, in particular, conquered and carved out important New World possessions.

II. The English chose to pursue two tracks in their early efforts in the Americas, colonization on the North American mainland and capture of Spanish islands in the Caribbean.

- **A.** Under Elizabeth I, in the last third of the sixteenth century, the English expeditions had two main objectives: to find a northwest passage to Asia and to raid the Spanish fleets and ports.
  - **1.** The first objective was a miserable failure, but Drake and Hawkins did manage to "singe the king of Spain's beard" in the Americas. The voyages of Martin Frobisher and John Davis to northern climes were also failures.
  - **2.** The most dramatic expedition was Drake's circumnavigation of the globe in 1577, which included reconnaissance of the coast of California.
  - **3.** In the 1570s and 1580s, Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh secured royal charters to found colonies in Newfoundland and Virginia.
  - **4.** The miserable failure of the Roanoke Island (North Carolina) colony in the 1580s is emblematic of the inability of the English to get into the game of conquest and colonization.
- **B.** The founding of the Virginia colony marks the beginning of English colonization in the Americas.
  - **1.** The English experience on the North American mainland looks more like that of the Portuguese in Brazil than the Spanish in Mexico and Peru.
  - **2.** Rather than harnessing dense Indian populations and precious metals, the English established coastal settlements.
  - **3.** The sugar cane of the English was tobacco, a truly American plant.

4. English efforts to attract white settlers met with little success; the Indians resisted, died, or fled to the interior; and like the Portuguese, the English turned to African slave labor.
5. The Spanish were also in the Chesapeake Bay. The Indian later known as "Don Luis de Velasco" is a fascinating case of divided loyalties.

C. In 1607, the English arrived in Jamestown after one-third of the colonists died at sea.
1. The story of John Smith, Pocahontas, and John Rolfe is a near legendary account of cultural contact.
2. In the winter of 1609–1610, 400 colonists died, many of starvation.
3. In 1622, a bloody Indian uprising failed to uproot the English.

D. Just as Virginia would become the model for the development of "southern" society, so would Massachusetts become the model for "northern" society.
1. The religious refugees from England known as the Pilgrims settled at Massachusetts Bay in 1620. The Mayflower Compact established for them a civil body politic.
2. Barely surviving with the assistance of some Indians, they eventually made their living from trading goods with the Indians.
3. They eked out a precarious existence without the gold, lands, and silver mines of Mexico and Peru.
4. They also foreshadowed the ways that their successors would deal with Native Americans, and they were the beginning of a large wave of immigrants who would follow them throughout the seventeenth century.

Supplementary Reading:

Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, chapters 1–3.

Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, chapter 1.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think the English eventually concentrated their efforts on the North American mainland and not South America?
2. What were some of the advantages over the long term of settling into such territories as New England that did not have dense Indian populations or plantation agriculture?

Lecture Nineteen
Conquest by Dispossession

Scope: In many ways, the British conquest of the North American mainland was similar to the Portuguese experience in Brazil and unlike the experience of the Spanish in Mexico and Peru. The British struggled to establish a foothold on the North American coastline and traded with, fought, and pushed back native peoples. The elaborate legal and religious rationale to justify their conquests was also very different from that of the Spanish. The English (and the Dutch) Protestants vigorously and effectively portrayed their conquests as less cruel and barbaric than the Spanish conquests, creating the notorious Black Legend. According to this view, the Spanish had brutally and immorally annihilated the native peoples of Central and South America. The English turned to their religious beliefs to justify the conquest of the Americas, a rationale that would eventually give the United States the underpinnings of its "manifest destiny" to rule the continent from ocean to ocean.

Outline

I. Each of the major European powers pursued conquest and colonization in its own way.

- **A.** In recent years, a number of scholars have written about the different "national" styles of conquest.
  - **1.** The Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, and Dutch brought with them different religions, different experiences with expansion in Europe, and different political traditions.
  - **2.** Although religious heritage is important, it is not the only important factor.
  - **3.** The best recent work using this comparative approach is Patricia Seed's *Ceremonies of Possession*.
- **B.** The ways in which each European power "took possession" of land in the Americas, and the ways in which they dispossessed the lands of Native Americans, tell us a great deal about the nature of conquest.
  - **1.** Seed points out the style of the Portuguese and Dutch obsession with mapping the land and the French fascination with processions ending in dialogue with the Indians.
  - **2.** Spaniards made speeches—particularly, the "Requirement"— then launched attacks. For the Spanish, the word was law.
  - **3.** The English took possession by laying out fences and hedges. To use something, for the English, was to own it.
  - **4.** These "styles" of conquest had immense consequences for the conquered peoples and for the later development of the nations of the Americas.

II. The English and the Spanish dealt with native peoples and Africans in different ways.

- **A.** Spanish treatment of Indians was roundly condemned in the sixteenth century and led to the birth of the so-called Black Legend.
  - **1.** The Native Americans in regions the Spanish conquered died in droves. The Berkeley School calculates a population of 25 million Indians in central Mexico alone at the time of contact.
  - **2.** They died from brutality and mistreatment, and Las Casas passionately and prolifically condemned the Spanish abuses and atrocities.
  - **3.** But the vast majority of deaths came from the devastating impact of new diseases that killed some eighty to ninety percent of all Native Americans. The last thing the Spanish wanted was to see their source of labor disappear.
  - **4.** Nonetheless, the Protestant English and Dutch quickly translated Las Casas and the accounts of others and, through the new technology of the printing press, publicized Spanish (Catholic) atrocities, giving birth to the Black Legend.
- **B.** Ironically, the English treatment of Indians in North America was equally brutal but in different ways.
  - **1.** As in the rest of the Americas, native peoples in British North America died in droves from disease, but probably most of them died before Jamestown.
  - **2.** The experience of the British, however, was similar to that of the Portuguese in Brazil; they encountered few Indians, most of whom died, fled, or resisted.

3. The attitude was that the land was not occupied and that the native peoples were savages; the Protestant desire to convert was much less fervent than that of the Spanish, Portuguese, or French Catholics.
4. Again, the powerful irony is that the Catholic priests, for all the bad press they have received, at least saw the Indians as humans who were capable of redemption and salvation. No such debate occurred in England over the humanity of Native Americans.
5. Consequently, the Spanish had to justify their conquest through a Catholic theology and Roman law that recognized and gave some rights to Indians and African slaves, however limited.
6. Comparative discussions of whether slaves and Indians were treated worse in a given area are often misguided. Still, the rights of slaves were fundamentally recognized in Roman (Iberian) law.
7. The English, on the other hand, found little room for Indians in their common law system or in their churches.

C. The important point is not to find someone to blame for the invasion, pillage, and conquest of millions of Native Americans.
1. Rather, we must recognize that each of these European peoples engaged in harsh and brutal actions that we would judge immoral and unjust by today's standards.
2. As with the slave trade, all the European powers shared in the process, and none should be singled out through some sort of black legend.
3. Moral condemnation may be personally satisfying but more important is an understanding of how and why the conquest took place.
4. This study will help us understand who we are by knowing our own origins; in turn, this knowledge will help us know how to deal with the legacies of the past, especially the consequences of those injustices.

Supplementary Reading:

Las Casas, *A Brief History of the Destruction of the Indies*.

Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, chapter 3 and conclusion.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think the Black Legend has been so powerful and persisted for so long?
2. Why do you think there was so little blending of Protestant religions and Indian and African religions?

Lecture Twenty
Late Arrivals: The French in the Americas

Scope: Like the English, the French were late in mounting a serious challenge to the Spanish and Portuguese in the Americas. The French conquests were fitful and largely unsuccessful for nearly 200 years. This lecture concentrates on the two most important French efforts at conquest outside the Caribbean. I will discuss the failed French efforts to establish a permanent presence in Brazil in the mid-sixteenth century and the more successful effort to carve out a colony in Canada.

Outline

I. Like the English, the French had been probing into various regions of the Americas since the first half of the sixteenth century.

A. Political struggles in France in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries handicapped the French in their efforts to establish a permanent foothold in the New World.

1. The first serious French effort at colonization was on the Brazilian coast in the 1550s, an effort that collapsed from internal fighting.

2. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the French encroached on the South American coast and on the islands of the Caribbean.

3. The French and the English had fished in the Grand Banks in the north Atlantic throughout the sixteenth century, eventually establishing trade relations with the Indians in Canada.

4. They had little success anywhere in the Americas before 1600.

B. As Spain and Portugal declined in the seventeenth century, the French (along with the English and Dutch) became an important new entrant into the colonization of the Caribbean, North America, and the northern coast of South America.

1. In North America, French presence grew far up the St. Lawrence River at what would become Quebec and gradually moved down the Mississippi River. The French created an inland, rather than a coastal, empire.

2. New France grew slowly and, by the end of the century, had about 1,000 French inhabitants.

3. In the last third of the century, the bases for French pirates (western Hispaniola, Guadeloupe, Martinique) were settled on a more permanent basis by the French monarchy.

4. On the northern coast of South America, the French also eventually established a permanent presence at what today is French Guiana.

II. This lecture will focus on two examples of French conquest and colonization at opposite ends of the earth.

A. Antarctic France in Brazil is an early example of how poorly the French fared at conquest and colonization.

1. The expedition of Villegagnon in 1556 was the first Protestant mission to the Americas.

2. The expedition was wracked from the beginning by Protestant-Catholic divisions, reflecting the bitter religious struggles back in France.

3. The French settled on a small island that today sits in front of Rio de Janeiro.

4. Two of the colonists left accounts, both published in the sixteenth century. The one by the Calvinist Jean de Léry, who lived with the Tupinamba Indians, is one of the great ethnographies of the sixteenth century.

5. With the collapse of the colony in 1558, the French would concentrate their efforts north of the Amazon and in North America.

B. Quebec was one of the two most successful French conquests in the New World.

1. Jacques Cartier probed the St. Lawrence River in the mid-sixteenth century.

2. Samuel de Champlain founded the settlement in 1608 and began a growing and lucrative fur trade with the Hurons.

3. Several Jesuits arrived soon after and, like those in Brazil, began preaching among the Indians.

4. In the 1660s, the French Crown took control of the settlement, which began to expand rapidly with new colonists.

5. Joliet and Marquette moved into the upper reaches of the Mississippi in the 1670s.

6. In the 1680s, LaSalle descended the entire length of the Mississippi and claimed it for France. But French control over the interior was tenuous at best.
7. By 1700, the French had established settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi, and the Louisiana colony grew throughout the eighteenth century. But these were frontier regions, far different from the colonial core regions in Spanish and Portuguese America.
8. Along with Saint Domingue, Quebec and Louisiana were France's most successful ventures in the Americas. By 1804, the French had lost almost all their possessions in the Americas.
9. Their successes, along with those of the English and the Dutch, turned the Americas into a battleground for contending European powers in the seventeenth century.

Supplementary Reading:

Eccles, *The French in North America*, chapters 1–2.

Usner, *Indians, Settlers and Slaves*, part 1.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think the French were successful in North America and the Caribbean but not in Brazil?
2. In what ways were the French colonists in North America similar to the British? In what ways were they more like the Spanish?

Lecture Twenty-One
Pirates of the Caribbean

Scope: This lecture surveys the end of the Spanish and Portuguese monopoly in the Americas and the rising challenge to them from the English, French, and Dutch, especially in the Caribbean. These latecomers to American conquest and colonization move from harassing the Spanish and Portuguese in the sixteenth century to establishing a permanent colonial presence in the seventeenth century. I focus first on the extraordinary rise of the Dutch as an imperial pretender and the series of global wars that they initiate, especially in the Atlantic. The second part of the lecture focuses on these European power struggles in the Caribbean Sea. By the end of the seventeenth century, the English, French, and Dutch had established a permanent colonial presence in the Americas, ending the first wave of European conquest.

Outline

I. The Spanish and Portuguese exercised a virtual monopoly on European conquest and colonization in the Americas for nearly a century.

A. The rise of the English, French, and Dutch nations in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries brought that monopoly to an end after 1600.

1. We have seen the rise of England under Elizabeth I and the French under Henry IV and Louis XIII.

2. This lecture will focus on the Dutch, then turn to the Caribbean as a battleground for all the major powers.

3. Although we come to them last, the Dutch were the first great catalysts in the challenges to the Iberians and their decline.

B. All three newcomers moved from harassing the Spanish and Portuguese to establishing a permanent presence and challenge.

1. The French began this process in South America in the mid-sixteenth century, followed by the English shortly thereafter.

2. The Dutch appeared on the scene in the last two decades of the sixteenth century in a spectacular fashion.

3. In retrospect, the Dutch arrival was the beginning of a centuries-long decline for Spain and Portugal, even though they managed to hold on to their possessions in the Americas.

II. The rise of the Dutch Republic at the beginning of the seventeenth century initiated a series of global struggles among the European powers.

A. The Dutch Republic was the first nation in the world controlled by "capitalists" rather than a landed elite.

1. The Low Countries had been controlled by the Austrian Hapsburgs and formed part of the inheritance of Charles V when he became the king of Spain in 1516.

2. During the Reformation of the mid-sixteenth century, the region, especially what we loosely call Holland, became primarily Calvinist.

3. The region had long been a hotbed of trade, finance, fishing, and shipping.

4. In the last half of the century, the Dutch burghers fought a series of bloody wars with the Spanish monarchy, eventually leading to the rise of the Dutch Republic in 1609.

B. The Dutch emerged as the great maritime power in the first half of the seventeenth century and immediately struck at Spanish and Portuguese possessions on both sides of the Atlantic, in the Indian Ocean, and in East Asia.

1. Portugal suffered because it had come under the control of the Spanish monarchy in 1580.

2. Portuguese possessions were, in fact, more vulnerable than such places as Mexico and Peru.

3. The Dutch would seize Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, and Recife, as well as Elmina and Luanda, in the 1620s and 1630s.

4. During these years, the Dutch ended the Portuguese domination of the Asian trade by establishing bases in Ceylon, Indonesia, and Japan. For the first time, sugar became a major world commodity. Like Portugal before it, a small country had established a world empire.

5. The great weakness of the Spanish was the fleet system, the lifeline of the American empire.
6. In 1628, Piet Heyn captured the entire fleet as it left Havana.

C. Dutch supremacy lasted until mid-century, when the English emerged as the greatest maritime power ever.
1. The Dutch had challenged the English with settlements on Manhattan Island, in the Caribbean, and in South America.
2. In a series of Anglo-Dutch wars in the 1650s, 1660s, and 1670s, the English replaced the Dutch as the great naval power on the oceans.
3. Much like that of the Portuguese, the Dutch empire endured for centuries but primarily as a trading and maritime empire.

III. With the appearance of the new challengers, the Caribbean became a battleground for imperial rivalries in the seventeenth century.

A. The English were the most successful challenger to the Spanish in the West Indies.
1. As the power struggles emerged, Spain concentrated its forces in the larger islands: Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica.
2. When Spain and the Dutch Republic went to war in the 1620s, English pirates began seizing islands vacated by the Spanish.
3. In 1655, an English fleet seized Jamaica and held it.
4. By the late seventeenth century, the English held some twenty colonies, from the Mosquito Coast in Central America, to British Guiana in South America, to the Bahamas.
5. Well into the eighteenth century, the English would have to fight Indians, rebellious slaves, pirates, and European rivals to hold on to these colonies.

B. The French and Dutch had less dramatic success in conquering and colonizing, but they did establish permanent settlements.
1. We have already seen the initial French incursions in the region.
2. In the long run, Saint Domingue would be the prize French colony, becoming the richest colonial possession in the world in the mid-eighteenth century.
3. The Dutch were the also-rans in this grab for territory, seizing Curação in 1634.
4. With the English, French, and Dutch conquests, the Caribbean became a multinational, multilingual, and multiracial region, a microcosm of the larger struggles among Europeans, Indians, and Africans in the conquest of the Americas.

Supplementary Reading:

Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire*, chapters 1–3.

Lane, *Pillaging the Empire*, chapters 3–4.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways were these European struggles in the seventeenth century the first “world wars”?
2. How can we see the legacies of this seventeenth-century battleground in the Caribbean today?

Lecture Twenty-Two
Clash of Cultures: Victors and Vanquished

Scope: The European military conquest of the Americas was largely successful in the two centuries after the arrival of Columbus. It was accompanied by a parallel and less successful effort to impose European cultures and values on Native Americans, Africans, and their descendants. This lecture looks at the ways in which non-Europeans resisted the cultural conquest. I compare the different ways that the English—especially in North America—and the Spanish and Portuguese respond to racial and cultural mixing. The final section of the lecture discusses the hierarchical social and racial pyramid that emerges out of the conquest, colonization, and cultural clash.

Outline

I. The Europeans conquered the Americas, but they did not subdue the cultures of the Indians and Africans.

A. Military imperialism succeeded for centuries, but cultural imperialism only partially succeeded.

1. By 1700, the conquest of the Americas was over, except for the frontiers of North and South America.

2. The European empires were in place and would last, in some cases, into the late twentieth century.

3. The nation-states of our time, legal and political systems of these countries, and their economies are the direct descendants of the European conquistadors and colonists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

4. Beneath this European political, legal, and economic surface, however, lies the legacy of non-European peoples' resistance to complete Westernization.

B. Through intense resistance and calculated accommodation, Native Americans and Africans held onto much of their pre-contact culture.

1. We have seen the best example of this through religious struggle and the failure of the spiritual conquest.

2. Yet, we can also see this resistance in language, music, dance, and many other areas of the cultures of the great majority of Latin Americans in 1700—and today.

3. Perhaps the most powerful legacy of the conquest and colonization of the Americas is the tremendous racial and cultural mixture that defines nearly all of the Americas.

II. Cultural and racial mixing took place across the Americas in Spanish, Portuguese, British, French, and Dutch colonies.

A. Each of these colonies gradually developed differing approaches in dealing with this mixture.

1. In Brazil and much of the Caribbean, the mix of Africans and Europeans produced many societies that were overwhelmingly racially mixed. For most of its history, Brazil has been a "non-white" nation.

2. In the heavily indigenous regions of Mesoamerica and the Andes, the same thing happened, but the result was a mix primarily of Indians and Europeans.

3. In British North America, especially in the southern colonies, racial mixture also took place, but the "racial" system that developed looked very different from that of the first two examples.

B. In Latin America, the system that emerged was one of a "color continuum," rather than the North American "racial bipolarity."

1. We must remember that race is a social construct that has no genetic basis. The interpretation of appearance—and cultural factors in general—varies widely across the Americas.

2. In much of Latin America, racial mixture was acknowledged, and the categories were multiple and flexible. In the United States, race typically trumps class; in Latin America, the opposite generally holds.

3. For complex reasons, in the Thirteen Colonies, the mixture was often denied and the categories were fewer; as time passed, the categories became less and less flexible. These characteristics of the North American perspective are partly the result of demography and partly of the stronger role of families and women in British North America.

4. The British Caribbean is a good counterpoint to British North America, because it also developed a mix and a set of perceptions more like those of Latin America.

5. These differing constructions came to have powerful, and often devastating, consequences for people of color.

III. All these American societies, including our own, were built on systems of hierarchy and inequality.

A. All developed a sort of racial and social pyramid.

1. In those societies with large African and Indian populations, these peoples formed the large base. They were often depicted as subhuman.
2. At the top were those who looked, acted, and sounded European. Even a poor Spaniard was better off than those of other "races."
3. The large middle ground was occupied by the racially and culturally mixed: *mestizos*, mulattos, and *zambos*.
4. In the more constrained society of British North America, the racially mixed were pushed down into the ranks of the Africans and Indians.

B. The identities that all these people constructed were complex and, often, fluid.

1. What it meant to be Indian was fairly clear, but even that identity evolved as Indians gradually took on more and more borrowings from other peoples.
2. The Europeans also borrowed from Indians and Africans, developing their own "European" identity in the Americas, a "Creole" identity.
3. Perhaps the most interesting groups, however, were those in between, because they truly created American identities that blended cultural traits in new and unique ways.
4. African influences in music and speech patterns and Indian influences in diet and language are but some of the most visible examples of this mix.
5. We need to remember that the vast majority of the peoples of the Americas, for most of their history, have been Africans, Indians, and their racially mixed descendants.
6. They are closer to a "typical" American identity (if there is such a thing) than our traditional European vision of "Americans."
7. In this fundamental sense, we can say that the European peoples were clearly the victors of the conquest, but the Indians and Africans were never completely vanquished.
8. Indeed, they are still with us and a part of us.

Supplementary Reading:

Degler, *Neither Black nor White*, chapters 1–2.

Harris, *Patterns of Race in the Americas*, pages 120–133.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do you think British North America developed such a restrictive bipolar racial system so different than Latin America's color continuum?
2. In what sense are the descendants of all races in the Americas Creoles?

Lecture Twenty-Three
The Rise of "American" Identities

Scope: This lecture turns to the societies that emerged out of the processes of conquest and colonization across the Americas. We move from racial and cultural mixture to social life. I focus on the emergence of cities and their relationship to the estates in the countryside. I then compare these relationships in English America with those in Spanish and Portuguese America. The final section of the lecture provides an overview of the social life and work in the new American societies. I discuss the major social classes and their ways of life and the main forms of work in colonial societies.

Outline

I. In the aftermath of conquest came the more long-term process of colonization and the construction of new societies in the Americas.

- **A.** The clash of peoples in the conquest gave way to the convergence and struggles among peoples over the succeeding centuries.
  - **1.** In the core regions of Spanish America, the conquest was complete and the basic institutions of colonial society were in place by 1570.
  - **2.** Portuguese Brazil reached this stage around 1600.
  - **3.** The English, French, and Dutch did not have their colonies in place until well into the 1600s.
  - **4.** In comparative terms, then, much of Latin America developed for more than a century before English, French, and Dutch America.
- **B.** Some of the central creations of the conquistadors were cities and estates.
  - **1.** As we have already seen, the estates became the main economic sustenance of the colonies, and the vast majority of the population lived in the countryside.
  - **2.** The cities, in many ways, were European islands amidst a sea of Indians and Africans.
  - **3.** From these urban centers, European culture and power radiated outward.
  - **4.** The great wealth from the land eventually flowed inward into the cities, and much of it, across the Atlantic to Europe.
  - **5.** Town and country were inextricably linked through this economic and social bond.

II. Until the eighteenth century, the cities of Latin America far outstripped those of North America.

- **A.** In Spanish and Portuguese America, the conquistadors built their principal cities on the ruins of ancient indigenous cities or in completely new locations.
  - **1.** Mexico City, built on the razed Aztec city, was the largest urban area in the Americas until the mid-eighteenth century—with one exception, Potosí, in Bolivia.
  - **2.** Lima and Havana, on the other hand, were completely Spanish cities created fresh out of the conquest.
  - **3.** By 1580, there were more than 200 Spanish American towns and cities, and more than 300 by 1630.
  - **4.** In Brazil, Salvador was the largest city, with smaller urban centers at Olinda and Recife.
- **B.** The English cities in North America were much smaller than those of Latin America and later in developing.
  - **1.** By the late seventeenth century, New York, Boston, and Philadelphia had emerged as the leading cities and ports, with Charleston a distant fourth.
  - **2.** Less than five percent of the population lived in cities at the end of the seventeenth century, a bit lower than in Latin America.
  - **3.** Cities also served as funnels for trade.
  - **4.** Philadelphia developed much like the grid plan of Spanish America.

III. A fine example of the Creole high culture that developed in urban areas can be seen in the work of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, the greatest colonial literary figure of the Americas.

- **A.** Born Juana de Asbaje on the outskirts of Mexico City in 1651, she was the illegitimate daughter of a landowner with connections to the viceregal court.

B. Still short of her third birthday, she accompanied an older sister to school, quickly learning to read, not only in Spanish, but also eventually in Latin.

C. Eventually, Juana became a protégé of the viceroy's wife and, with her great beauty and enormous learning, a star of the court.

D. She must have been an intimidating figure for any male. She was clearly too strong a woman for her own time.

E. She became a nun (thus, she is known as Sister or Sor Juana) because she was not interested in either of the two other options open to women of her station at the time: becoming a wife or a courtesan.

F. The poetry of Sor Juana is some of the greatest literature produced in Spanish and outshines any other writing produced in Latin America in the colonial era.

G. Although she was clearly not a feminist by modern standards (she did not believe in equal rights for women but accepted a hierarchical universe), she spoke out for the rights of women to education and intellectual pursuits.

H. Sor Juana was eventually silenced by the church for her outspokenness. She died of the plague in Mexico City in 1695 at the age of 44.

IV. Although the cities were vital centers, the social life and labor of most "Americans" took place in the countryside.

A. Most Americans lived and worked in rural areas and in small villages and towns.

1. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the vast majority of the population was composed of Indians and Africans.

2. In the southern colonies of British North America, some thirty to forty percent of the population consisted of slaves, while in the northern colonies, the figure was under ten percent.

3. Life was hard, with very high mortality and birth rates and low life expectancy.

4. Informal unions outside the church were the norm in most places.

5. Leisure was constrained by the long hours and hard work of the agricultural cycle.

B. Most people worked in agriculture, but occupations were extraordinarily diverse.

1. In the Caribbean and Brazil, the majority of the population was enslaved, and the rural workers were overwhelmingly slaves.

2. In Mexico and the Andes, the same statement could be made substituting "Indians" for "slaves."

3. Both free and enslaved worked in every conceivable kind of occupation, urban and rural.

Supplementary Reading:

Boyer and Spurling, *Colonial Lives*, chapters 5 and 7.

Joseph and Szuchman, *I Saw a City Invincible*, chapters 1 and 3.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why were cities in the Americas so important if such a small percentage of the population lived in them?

2. Do you think the average person's outlook on life was fundamentally different than ours given the high mortality rates and low life expectancy of the era?

Lecture Twenty-Four
The Americas: Collisions and Convergence

Scope: In this final lecture, I come back to the big picture. I begin with an overview of the logic of the course, then turn to a review of the major themes. The middle section of the lecture reemphasizes the multiple and complex nature of the various conquests. The European powers carried out military conquests across the various regions of the Americas. At the same time, the Europeans attempted a spiritual and cultural conquest, an effort to refashion the Native Americans and African slaves into American versions of European peoples. The military conquest was much more successful than the spiritual and cultural conquests. Finally, I summarize the legacies of the conquests, in particular, the differing colonial heritages for Latin America and North America. I close this lecture series with some reflections on the burdens of these legacies of conquest and colonization and the reasons to see strengths in common patterns of conquest and colonization.

Outline

I. I hope you will have seen by now the "method to my madness" in this series of lectures on the conquest of the Americas.

- **A.** We have now moved through the six sections of the course that I set out in the first lecture.
  - **1.** We first looked at the three peoples who would collide, beginning in the late fifteenth century, Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans.
  - **2.** In the next seven lectures, we brought these peoples together through the process of European overseas expansion; the conquests of the Caribbean, Mexico, and Peru; and into the frontiers of the Spanish empire in the Americas.
  - **3.** The next four lectures looked at the construction of colonial societies, beginning with the rise of the plantation complex in Brazil, the transatlantic slave trade, and the construction of the great estates and silver mines.
  - **4.** In the third section of the course, we examined the incomplete spiritual conquest and the emergence of new American religious mixtures.
  - **5.** In the fourth section, we brought in the other conquerors, the latecomers from England, France, and the Netherlands, and saw how the Americas became a battleground for contending imperial powers in the seventeenth century.
  - **6.** Finally, in these last three lectures, we came back to the big picture—the results of the collision of peoples and cultures and the creation of new peoples and new "American" societies.
- **B.** I have tried to combine a discussion of the larger structures and institutions with specific stories of individuals—both elites and the masses.
  - **1.** In the terminology of the historical profession today, this may have been largely history "from above," but it has been combined with history "from below."
  - **2.** For this reason, the images of collision and convergence have been central to my story.
  - **3.** It has been a story of conflict, struggle, and the emergence of new societies in a New World.

II. I have tried to emphasize that conquest must be seen in all its complexities.

- **A.** We have seen multiple conquests but especially the efforts to conquer lands and minds.
  - **1.** The Europeans succeeded in conquering spaces but much less so in conquering the hearts and minds of the non-European peoples.
  - **2.** Over the long haul, the conquerors created new nations with European political and legal systems, European languages, and (at least on the surface) European religions.
- **B.** The Americas, however, were conquered and colonized in the image of Europe, but the collision and the struggles created societies that today are both Western and non-Western.
  - **1.** In those regions of the Americas with sparse indigenous populations and where large numbers of slaves were not imported, the Europeans created new societies that were the closest to their homelands.

2. But in regions where large indigenous populations existed or where large numbers of slaves were imported, the new societies were European on the surface and non-Western beneath.
3. In the end, the Americas are a sort of continuum of cultures that range from very European (New England, Argentina) in their heritage to very non-Western (Haiti, the Andean countries).
4. The societies of the Americas today are a sort of collage or rainbow that came of out the many different types of collisions.

III. The legacies of these conquests of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been enduring and pronounced across all of the Americas.

A. The colonial heritages of Latin America and the United States have been fundamentally different.
1. Origins do not lock a nation or region into an inevitable path, but they do shape all future directions.
2. In the case of Latin America, for example, the bitter price of the subjugation of Indian and enslaved African peoples in a centralizing and hierarchical political culture has had profound consequences. The Creole elites eventually replaced the Spanish.
3. The heritage of the U.S. South has been similar, and the region has paid a price for its colonial heritage.
4. Ironically, the weakness of the conquest, the lack of peoples and riches in the U.S. North, set the region on another path of less hierarchy, no great estates, and a move toward what would become the economic cutting edge of the future: commerce and trade.
5. The U.S. North benefited in the long term from the "advantages of backwardness," while Latin America and the U.S. South suffered from the burdens of people and resources that made them the prime targets for the conquerors and colonizers.

B. History, however, is not destiny.
1. Paradoxically, the only constant in history is change.
2. Just as the riches and peoples of the now less developed regions of the Americas made them the sources of Spanish and Portuguese world power in the age of conquest, so did the conquest handicap these regions for centuries afterward.
3. Yet, the rapid emergence of Latin America, especially Brazil and Mexico, is a sign of shifting historical patterns once again.
4. With the rearrangement of the world historical landscape of power in this century, we may see another series of conquests in the Americas.
5. These conquests may embody economic development and greater social and political equality with the integration of all the Americas.
6. This would truly be the convergence of three peoples into one and the culmination of the collision that began in the conquests five centuries ago.

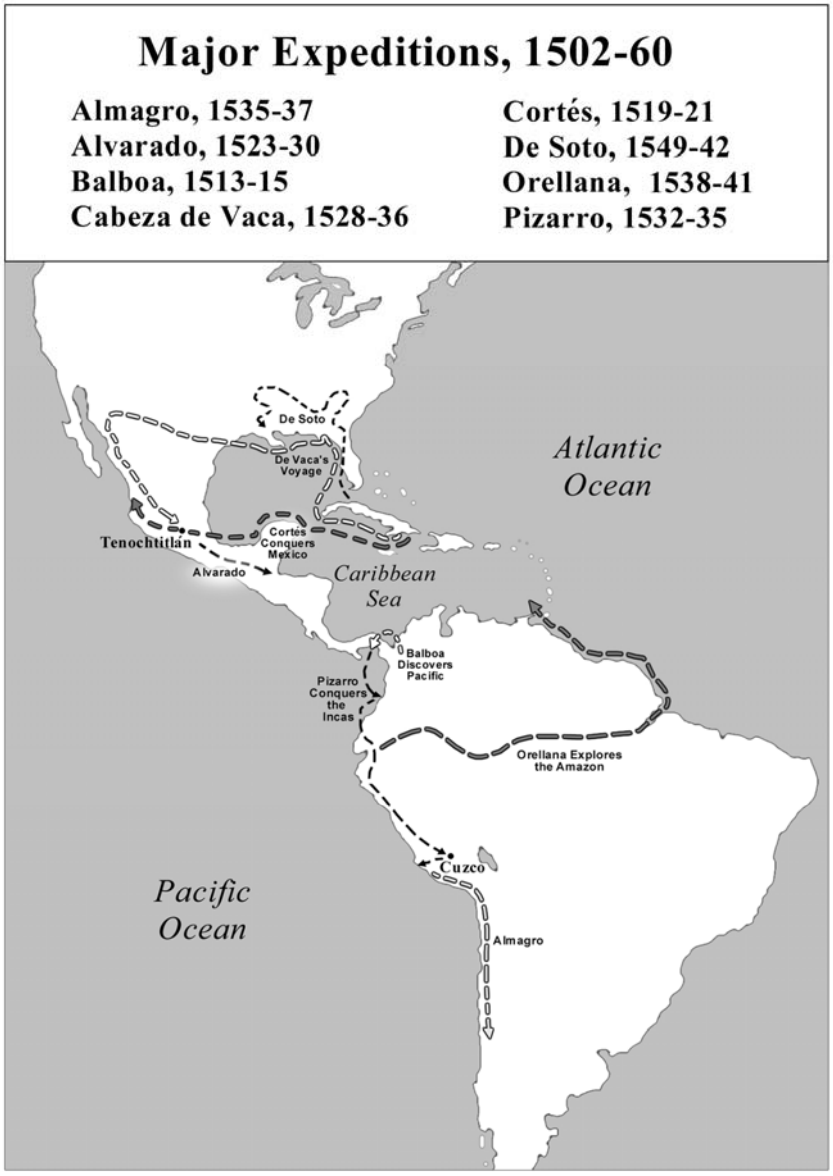
Supplementary Reading:

Hanke, *Do the Americas Have a Common History?*, chapters 3–4.

Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways are the colonial heritage of Latin America and the U.S. South truly similar, and why has the U.S. South been able to move beyond that heritage more so than Latin America?
2. Do you think that the integration of the economies of the Americas will eventually take place, and what will be the cultural consequences for the United States?



Timeline

B.C.

40,000 to 12,000 ..... Arrival of first humans in the Americas.

8000 ..... Beginning of Paleoindian era.

2500 ..... Beginning of Archaic, or formative, period.

A.D.

250 ..... Beginning of Classic period in Mesoamerica.

711 ..... Moors conquer most of Iberian Peninsula.

900 ..... Beginning of post-Classic period in Mesoamerica.

1253 ..... Reconquest complete in Portugal.

1350 ..... Beginning of the Renaissance.

1441 ..... First documented shipment of black African slaves to Europe.

1488 ..... Bartolomeu Dias rounds Africa and enters the Indian Ocean.

1492 ..... Reconquest in Spain completed with the fall of Granada; first voyage of Christopher Columbus.

1497 ..... Vasco da Gama leads expedition to India.

1500 ..... Cabral lands on the coast of Brazil.

1513 ..... Balboa's expedition sees the Pacific Ocean.

1517 ..... Protestant Reformation begins in Europe.

1519 ..... Cortés begins the conquest of Mexico.

1521 ..... Fall of Tenochtitlan.

1524 ..... Pedro de Alvarado begins the conquest of Guatemala.

1528–1536 ..... Cabeza de Vaca crosses Southwest.

1532 ..... Pizarro and his men capture Atahualpa at Cajamarca.

1534 ..... Jacques Cartier identifies St. Lawrence River.

1537–1543 ..... De Soto expedition in North America.

1541 ..... Assassination of Francisco Pizarro.

1553 ..... Last revolt of Spanish conquistadors against royal officials in Peru.

1558 ..... Reign of Elizabeth I of England begins.

1565 ..... Founding of St. Augustine.

1577 ..... Francis Drake circumnavigates the globe.

1584–1590 ..... Failed colony on Roanoke Island.

1588 ..... Independence of Dutch provinces secured.

1607 ..... Founding of Jamestown.

1608 ..... Champlain founds Quebec.

1609 ..... Founding of Santa Fe, New Mexico.

1620 ..... Pilgrims arrive at Plymouth.

1625 ..... Dutch found colony on Manhattan Island.

1627 ..... English seize Barbados.

1628 ..... Piet Heyn captures Spanish silver fleet.

1655 ..... English seize Jamaica.

1665 ..... French begin to establish permanent settlement at Saint Domingue.

Glossary

Andes: Second highest mountain range on earth, running the length of western South America. Home to Inca Empire.

Avis dynasty: Ruling family of Portugal (1383–1578) during the height of overseas expansion.

Aymara: Language and Native American ethnic group centered in the region of modern-day Bolivia. Cradle of Andean and Incan civilizations.

Aztecs or Nahuas: Native American people of central Mexico who built a powerful empire in the century before 1519.

Bering Straits: Body of water between the eastern tip of Asia and Alaska that became a land bridge traversed by Asiatic peoples during Ice Ages.

Black Legend: Image created in the sixteenth century that the Spanish had brutally massacred and decimated the native peoples of the Americas through conquest and mistreatment.

cacique: Arawak word for chief that was brought into Spanish and used as a description of all Native American rulers.

candomblé: Afro-Brazilian religion primarily centered in northeastern Brazil.

castas: Term in Spanish America for racially mixed peoples.

Creole: Originally the term for the child of an African born in the Americas. Later more commonly used in Spanish to identify those of Spanish ancestry born in the Americas.

Dominicans: Religious order created in the Middle Ages that played a key role in the conversion of the peoples of the Americas.

encomienda: In Spanish America in the first half of the sixteenth century, this is a grant from the Crown to a conquistador for the use of land and the labor on it. In exchange, the *encomendero* had to protect and develop the land, pay taxes, and Christianize the Indians on the land.

folk Catholicism: Anthropological term that refers to the form of Catholicism that blends with pre-Columbian or African beliefs among large numbers of the lower classes in Latin America.

Franciscans: Very important religious order (also founded in the Middle Ages) that played a key role in the conversion of the peoples of the Americas and in the construction of the Catholic Church, especially in Mexico.

glyphs: Symbols commonly found in Mesoamerica in "books" or carved in stone. These symbols form the writing system common among the Maya.

Huitzilopochtli: "Hummingbird on the Left," one of the principal deities in the Aztec cosmology. He required fresh blood as a sacrifice.

Incas: People of the central Andes who began around Cuzco and built one of the greatest empires in the world, eventually stretching from Ecuador to Argentina.

Jesuits: Another of the great religious orders in the conversion of the peoples of the Americas. Founded in the heat of the Counter Reformation in the 1530s. The Jesuits became the educational and intellectual elite of the Catholic Church.

Mayas: Peoples of Mesoamerica who developed perhaps the greatest of the pre-Columbian American civilizations in the region of Guatemala, southern Mexico, and the Yucatan.

Mesoamerica: "Middle America," a cultural zone stretching from the deserts of northern Mexico to southern Central America.

Middle Passage: Refers to the trip of slaves from Africa to the slave societies of the Americas.

Moors: Generic term for the Islamic peoples of North Africa who conquered and occupied Spain and Portugal.

Nahuatl: Language of central Mexico, in particular, the Aztecs or Nahuas.

Potosí: The richest silver mining center in world history, located in modern-day Bolivia.

Quechua: The language of the Inca empire.

Quetzalcoatl: One of the principal Aztec deities, "feathered serpent," who was supposedly cast out of the region and predicted to one day return from the East to reclaim his lands.

Quincentennial: Term for the 500th anniversary of the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the Americas on 12 October 1492.

repartimiento: Rotary draft labor system that replaced the *encomienda* in Spanish America in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Requirement: Statement summarizing the history of Christianity from the Creation to the Resurrection that Spanish law "required" all conquistadors to read to peoples before the Spanish could attempt to conquer them.

royal patronage: Arrangement between the monarchies of Spain and Portugal and the Vatican beginning in the late fifteenth century. Allowed these monarchies to name Church officials in exchange for financial and military support for the pope.

stelae: Stone pillars in Mesoamerica covered with glyphs describing Maya history.

syncretism: Blending of old symbols with new meanings or of old meanings with new symbols. Used to describe the blending of Catholicism with Native American and African religious beliefs, symbols, and rituals.

Tenochtitlan: Capital of the Aztec empire on the site of what today is Mexico City.

Tlaxcala and Tlaxcalans: Region and people east of the valley of Mexico. Bitter enemies of Aztecs who allied with Cortés in the conquest.

Biographical Notes

Almagro, Diego de (b. 1475?). One of the key leaders of the conquest of Peru. In the 1530s, he led conquistadors into northern Chile before returning to challenge Pizarro's leadership. Executed in 1538.

Alvarado, Pedro de (b. 1485?). One of the key leaders in the conquest of Mexico, Central America, and Ecuador. Died in Mexico in 1541.

Atahualpa (b. 1498?). Inca ruler from mid-1520s until his execution at the hands of Francisco Pizarro in 1533.

Avila, Pedro Arias (b. 1440?). Also known as Pedrarias Davila, conquistador in Panama and Nicaragua (1514–1531) and governor of Panama (1514–1526).

Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar Núñez (b. 1490?–1564). Survivor of a shipwreck on the Texas coast, he wandered across what today is the Southwest of the United States and northern Mexico (1528–1536). Later, he became the governor of the Río de la Plata (1540–1545). Wrote rich accounts of both experiences.

Cabral, Pedro Alvares (b. 1467?–1520?). Portuguese nobleman and leader of an expedition to India that accidentally "discovered" Brazil in 1500.

Champlain, Samuel de (1567–1635). French explorer and founder of Quebec.

Charles I (or V) (1500–1558). King of Spain (Charles I, 1516–1556) and Holy Roman Emperor (Charles V, 1519–1556); the great warrior king of the Counter Reformation.

Columbus, Christopher (1451?–1506). Better known as Cristóbal Colón, the Genoese adventurer who led the first known expedition to reach the Americas and return (1492–1493).

Cortés, Hernán (1484?–1547). A native of southern Spain, he was the principal figure in the conquest of Mexico (1519–1523).

Drake, Francis (1540?–1596). English privateer/pirate who circumnavigated the globe in 1577. Bitter antagonist of the Spanish throughout the Caribbean region.

Elizabeth I (1533–1603). Powerful Queen of England in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Equiano, Olaudah (1745–1797). West African enslaved in the late eighteenth century and author of one of the most famous slave narratives of the era.

Fernando and Isabel. King of Aragon (1479–1516) and Queen of Castile (1474–1504) who jointly ruled a united Spain after 1474. Known as the "Catholic Monarchs" for their devotion and support of the Catholic Church.

Gasca, Pedro de la. Royal emissary to Peru during the civil wars of the 1540s. Captured and executed Gonzalo Pizarro in 1548, reestablishing royal control of the region.

Huascar. One of two sons of the Inca ruler Huayna Capac (1488?–1525?); battled his brother Atahualpa. Captured and executed in 1532.

Lasalle, René-Robert Cavelier. French explorer who descended the Mississippi River in the 1580s.

Las Casas, Bartolomé de (1474–1566). Dominican priest who participated in the conquest of the Caribbean, then became the defender of the Indians. His prolific denunciations of Spanish atrocities gave rise to the Black Legend.

Léry, Jean de (1534–1611). French Huguenot pastor who participated in the failed colony French Antarctic on the coast of Brazil in the 1550s. His account of the experience is one of the finest sixteenth-century accounts of South American Indians.

Marina or La Malinche (1504?–1527?). Aztec woman given to Hernán Cortés as a present on the Mexican Gulf Coast in 1519. She became his mistress, bore him a son, and served as his translator, playing a critical role in the conquest of the Aztecs.

Montejo, Francisco de. Participated in the conquest of Mexico, then led the conquest of the Yucatan in the late 1520s.

Montezuma II (also known as Moctezuma, Motecuhzoma) (1466?–1520). Aztec ruler (1502–1520) seized as a hostage by Cortés, then killed in the battle for the Aztec capital, Technochtitlan.

Narváez, Pánfilo de (1478?–1528). A conquistador throughout the Caribbean, he attempted to arrest Cortés in Mexico in 1520. Died in a shipwreck on another expedition along the Gulf Coast of the present-day United States.

Pizarro, Francisco (1478?–1541). Principal conquistador of Peru, he was the illegitimate son of a minor noble in southern Spain. After participating in the conquest of Panama in the 1510s, he led expeditions to Peru in the 1520s and 1530s. Assassinated by the followers of Diego de Almagro in 1541.

Ponce de León, Juan (1460–1521). Conquistador and first governor of Puerto Rico (1509–1511). Died in Cuba from wounds received in battles with Indians in Florida.

Raleigh, Walter (1554–1618). English courtier and navigator who played a key role in the conquest and colonization of British North America, especially Virginia.

Soto, Hernando de (b. 1496?). Participated in the conquest of Panama and Peru (as a key lieutenant of Pizarro). His ill-fated expedition through what is now the southeastern United States (1539–1543) was the last great foray from Cuba in the conquest of New Spain. Died in Louisiana in 1542 and was buried in the river by his followers.

Velázquez, Diego. Conquistador and the governor of Cuba who selected Hernán Cortés to lead the conquest of Mexico in 1519.

Virgin of Guadelupe. Patron saint of Mexico who appeared before an Indian peasant on a hillside on the outskirts of Mexico City in 1531. Identified by many Indians as the Aztec goddess of the earth, Tonantzin.

Bibliography

Essential Reading:

Galeano, Eduardo. *Memory of Fire: I. Genesis*. trans. New York: Pantheon, 1985. Outstanding fictional recreation of the history of Latin America through vignettes. Galeano is an Uruguayan writer and essayist.

Supplementary Reading:

Bakewell, Peter J. *A History of Latin America: Empires and Sequels, 1450–1930*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1997. The best single-volume history of colonial Latin America; by an eminent English historian.

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Boyer, Richard, and Geoffrey Spurling, eds. *Colonial Lives: Documents on Latin American History, 1550–1850*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. Selection of short essays analyzing lives of individuals through key documents.

Burkholder, Mark A., and Lyman L. Johnson. *Colonial Latin America*. 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. An excellent textbook survey of colonial Latin American history.

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Clendinnen, Inga. *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. Short, dense, but brilliant examination of the conquest from the perspectives of the Spanish colonists and Franciscans and the Yucatec Maya.

Conrad, Geoffrey W., and Arthur Demarest. *Religion and Empire: The Dynamics of Aztec and Inca Expansion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. Fine overview and comparison of the imperial expansion of these two powerful Native American empires.

Crosby, Alfred W., Jr. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972. The classic account of the biological consequences of the voyage of Columbus.

Davis, Ralph. *The Rise of the Atlantic Economies*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973. Excellent overview of Europe's move out into the Atlantic world in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Degler, Carl N. *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986. Dated, but still stimulating, comparison of the differing experiences with slavery and the different race relations in the two largest slave societies in the Americas.

Diamond, Jared. *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1997. Sweeping Pulitzer-prize–winning look at the rise and fall of civilizations since ancient times. Diamond is a biologist with fascinating things to say about world history.

Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. *The Conquest of New Spain*. trans. J. M. Cohen. New York: Penguin, 1963. One of the classic firsthand accounts of the conquest of the Aztecs by one of the lieutenants of Cortés.

Dillehay, Thomas D. *The Settlement of the Americas: A New Prehistory*. New York: Basic Books, 2000. Revisionist look that argues for pushing back the traditional arrival dates of humans to the Americas.

Eccles, W. J. *The French in North America, 1500–1765*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998. Good overview of the French role in North America.

Elliott, J. H. *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970. Beautifully written series of four lectures/essays on the intellectual and economic impact of the New World on the Old by one of the greatest historians of Spain and Spanish America.

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Sauer, Carl O. *The Early Spanish Main*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966. Old, traditional, but clear and informative survey of the early explorations in the Caribbean basin.

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Thomas, Hugh. *The Conquest of Mexico*. London: Hutchinson, 1993. The best account since the classic history by William H. Prescott in the 1840s.

———. *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1870*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997. New synthesis written for the general public. Like all of his books, massive, thorough, and very well written.

Thornton, John K. *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. A rare volume that takes the Atlantic world as a single system, bringing together Africa, Europe, and the Americas.

Usner, Daniel. *Indians, Settlers and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992. Excellent academic analysis of the relations among Indians, Africans, and Europeans in early America.

