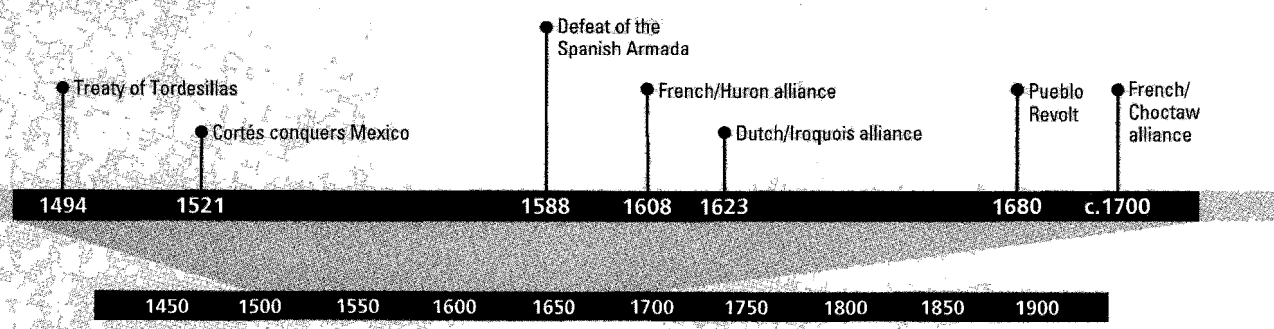


EUROPEANS AND INDIANS IN NORTH AMERICA Although Europeans did not realize immediately that Columbus had encountered an entirely new world in 1492, they quickly came to understand the economic, political, and military potential involved in American colonization. As this map shows, exploration continued into the seventeenth century as Europeans scrambled to claim individual pieces of New World real estate.



A Continent on the Move,

1400-1725

The New Europe and the Atlantic World

- What were some economic constraints that pushed European rulers to promote exploration and colonization in North America?
- What political and religious rivalries influenced European choices regarding New World colonization?

European Empires in America

- What similarities and differences characterized the choices that Spanish, French, and Dutch officials made in starting their empires in North America?
- What constraints did the choices made by colonists themselves place on administrative policies?

Indians and the European Challenge

- What constraints did environmental changes place on Indians?
 - What constraints and opportunities came with the arrival of Europeans?
 - What social and political choices did Indians
-

make in response to these changes?

**Conquest and
Accommodation in a Shared
New World**

- What constraints most affected the lives of settlers in New Mexico, Louisiana, and New Netherland?
- How did choices made by settlers and American Indians help both groups to deal with these constraints?

(INTRODUCTION)

The European powers that colonized the New World intended to impose their own political, economic, and cultural stamp on the regions they occupied. But they encountered many *constraints*. New World environments did not resemble those in the Old World, and Native Americans had their own agendas for dealing with the newcomers. As the colonizers and the colonized confronted each other and changing conditions, they found themselves making *choices* and witnessing *outcomes* that neither group ever expected.

As Spain's rulers moved in to capitalize on the unexpected return from their investment in Columbus's voyages, they found themselves embroiled in an emerging crisis. Portugal already claimed vast holdings to the west of Europe and feared Spanish competition, making some sort of accommodation necessary. Also, France, Holland, and England were not content to watch Spain and Portugal divide the world between themselves. Stirred by *expectations* of increasing wealth and power, each of the leading European nations launched colonizing enterprises.

Spain capitalized on its lead by sending adventurous military captains on exploring tours throughout the Aztec realm they had conquered and into South America and the unknown frontiers to the north. By 1700, the Spaniards controlled more New World real estate than any other power. Their empire stretched from the tip of South America up through and around the Gulf of Mexico and into the high deserts of the North American Southwest.

France was determined not to be outdone. Following up on the early trading between fishermen and Indians along the Atlantic shore, French explorers moved inland along riverways that teemed with valuable fur-bearing animals and provided a highway for carrying on commerce. Although France's early efforts at establishing large settlements in America's interior were largely unsuccessful, fur hunters continued to trace the continent's rivers. They eventually found and traveled the Mississippi River, giving France a claim to the vast midsection of North America.

Expectations
Constraints
Choices
Outcomes

Even the recently created nation of the Netherlands got into the colonizing game, establishing a fur-trading station at the mouth of the Hudson River. Radiating outward from there, Dutch fur traders and farmers began to place their own particular stamp on the land.

One *constraint* that all the European nations had to face was the large and powerful presence of Native Americans. Although they were in the midst of a serious historical crisis, Indians continued to make *choices* that influenced North American life profoundly. The Pueblo Indians drove Spain out of New Mexico altogether for a period of time. In New France and New Netherland, different Indian groups seriously endangered European occupation. At all times, Europeans had to be sharply aware of the *constraints* that Indian *expectations* imposed.

The *outcome* of this constant interplay among European traditions, a novel physical environment, and a dynamic Indian presence was a series of new societies across the North American continent. Throughout the colonial era and beyond, these hybrid societies continued to influence historical development and color the life of the people and the nation.

New World Colonies and American Indians

- | | | | |
|-------------|---|----------------|---|
| 1494 | Treaty of Tordesillas | 1609 | Henry Hudson sails up the Hudson River
Spanish found the town of Santa Fe in
present-day New Mexico |
| 1512 | Creation of the encomienda system | 1623 | Beginning of Dutch/Iroquois alliance |
| 1519-1521 | Cortés invades Mexico | 1626 | Dutch lease Manhattan Island |
| 1558 | Elizabeth I becomes queen of England | 1634 | Creation of the French West India Company |
| 1565 | Spanish found St. Augustine in present-day
Florida | 1680 | Pueblo Revolt |
| 1588 | Defeat of the Spanish Armada | 1683 | La Salle expedition down the Mississippi
River to the Gulf of Mexico |
| 1598 | Defeat of Acoma pueblo by Don Juan de
Oñate | C. 1700 | Beginning of French/Choctaw alliance |
| 1608 | French/Huron alliance, completing the con-
federacy encompassing the Great Lakes
and St. Lawrence River | | |

The New Europe and the Atlantic World

Expansion into the New World aggravated the crisis of authority in Europe. The crisis, however, also helped to promote overseas enterprises. Eager to enlist political allies against Protestant dissenters, popes during this era used land grants in the New World as rewards to faithful monarchs. At the same time, England's Protestant rulers, constantly fearful of being outflanked by Catholic adversaries, promoted the development of a powerful navy and geographical exploration as defensive measures.

The Spanish Empire in America

Spain's Atlantic explorations created a diplomatic crisis with Portugal. In 1493, the pope settled the

dispute by drawing a line approximately 300 miles west of Portugal's westernmost holdings in the Atlantic. Spanish exploration was to be confined to areas west of the line (that is, to the New World) and Portuguese activity to the eastern side (to Africa and India). A year later, Spain and Portugal revised the agreement in the **Treaty of Tordesillas**, which moved the line 1,000 miles westward. This revision unwittingly gave Portugal a claim in the New World because part of Brazil bulged across the line. Most of the Western Hemisphere, however, fell to Spain.

With the pope's blessing, Ferdinand and Isabella in 1493 issued Columbus instructions that set the

Treaty of Tordesillas The treaty, signed by Spain and Portugal in 1494, that moved the line separating Spanish and Portuguese territory in the non-Christian world and gave Portugal a claim to

tone for Spanish colonization in America. They told him to make the conversion of the natives to Catholicism his first priority. In addition, they authorized Columbus to establish a trading center. He would receive one-eighth of the profits, and the rest would go directly to the Spanish Crown. Ferdinand and Isabella also told Columbus to continue exploring the Caribbean region for "good things, riches, and more secrets."

Although Columbus was a skillful navigator and sailor, he was not a particularly gifted leader. Spanish officials and settlers could never forget that he was a foreigner, and they gave him only grudging loyalty. Only after Columbus was removed from office did Ferdinand and Isabella's vision of missionary outreach and riches begin to materialize.

Hernando Cortés helped to realize that vision. In 1519, he and an army of six hundred Spanish soldiers landed in Mexico. Within three years, Cortés and his small force had conquered the mighty Aztec Empire. Smallpox and other deadly diseases, the Spaniards' armor and guns, and help from numerous native enemies of the Aztecs contributed to this quick and decisive victory. Establishing themselves in Mexico City, the Spanish took over the Aztecs' tributary empire, quickly bringing the Indian groups to the south under their rule.

The Spanish Crown supported many other exploratory ventures. In 1513 and again in 1521, Juan Ponce de Leon led expeditions to Florida. (For an account of a later expedition to Florida, see Individual Choices: Cabeza de Vaca.) The Spanish sent Hernando de Soto to claim the Mississippi River in 1539. De Soto penetrated into the heart of the mound builders' territory in present-day Louisiana and Mississippi. One year later, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado left Mexico to look for some supposedly very wealthy Indian towns. Coronado crossed what are now New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Oklahoma, and Kansas in his unsuccessful quest for these rumored "cities of gold." These explorations were but a few of the ambitious undertakings of Spanish conquistadors.

Increasingly, the conquistadors' hunger for riches outstripped the quest for souls or trade. In Bolivia, Colombia, and north-central Mexico, explorers unearthed rich silver deposits. In 1533,

Francisco Pizarro conquered the Inca Empire, an advanced civilization that glittered with gold. Enslaving local Indians to provide labor, Spanish officials moved quickly to rip precious metals out of the ground. Between 1545 and 1660, Indian and African slaves dug over 7 million pounds of silver from these mines—twice the volume of silver held by all of Europe before 1492. In the process, Spain became the richest nation in Europe.

Philip, Elizabeth, and the English Challenge

Spain's early successes in the New World stirred conflict in Europe, particularly with England. Tension between Spain and England had been running high ever since Henry VIII divorced his Spanish wife. That he quit the Catholic church to do so and began permitting Protestant reforms in England deepened the affront. Firmly wedded to the Catholic church, Spain was aggressive in denouncing England. For his part, Henry was concerned primarily with domestic issues and steered away from direct confrontations with Spain.

The Spanish threat could no longer be ignored after Henry VIII's daughter Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558. Relations between Spain and England deteriorated after Elizabeth rejected Philip II's offer of marriage. (The Spanish monarch had been married to Elizabeth's half sister, Mary, a Catholic, who ruled England between 1553 and

Hernando Cortés Spanish soldier and explorer who conquered the Aztecs and claimed Mexico for Spain.
conquistadors Spanish soldiers who conquered the Indian civilizations of Mexico, Central America, and Peru.

Francisco Pizarro Spanish soldier and explorer who conquered the Incas and claimed Peru for Spain.

Inca Empire The Indian civilization, based in present-day Peru, that ruled peoples in the lands from northern Ecuador to central Chile until the Spanish conquest.

1558.) Elizabeth was determined to be her own ruler and to steer England on a Protestant course. That course resulted in a collision when Philip II in 1567 sent an army of twenty thousand soldiers to the Low Countries to crush Protestantism there. To counter Philip's threat just across the English Channel, Elizabeth began providing secret aid to the Dutch Protestants, supporting a revolt against Spanish rule.

She also struck at Philip's New World empire. In 1577, Elizabeth secretly authorized the English privateer Francis Drake to attack Spanish ships in the area reserved for Spain under the Treaty of Tordesillas. Drake raided Spanish ships and seized tons of gold and silver during a three-year cruise around the world. Philip demanded that Drake be hanged for piracy, but Elizabeth rewarded the captain on his return in 1580 by knighting him.

The conflict between Elizabeth's England and Philip's Spain escalated during the 1580s. In 1585, Elizabeth incensed the Spanish king by sending an army of six thousand troops across the Channel to aid Dutch rebels. Philip retaliated by supporting a plot within England to have the Catholic Mary Stuart—Mary Queen of Scots—usurp Elizabeth's throne. Elizabeth was outraged when the plot was exposed and executed her cousin for treason. Philip, in turn, was incensed that Elizabeth would behead a legitimate Catholic queen. As tensions increased, so did Drake's piracy. In 1586, Drake not only raided Spanish ships at sea but looted settlements in the New World. By 1586 war between England and Spain loomed on the horizon.

Elizabeth was open to whatever ventures might vex her troublesome brother-in-law. New World colonies promised to do precisely that. Like the rest of Europe, sixteenth-century England was experiencing a population boom that put great stress on traditional economic institutions. Farmland was becoming extremely scarce, and there was a clamor for overseas expansion. The English began eyeing the New World for this purpose.

Thus in 1578, Elizabeth granted her friend and political supporter Sir Humphrey Gilbert permission to found a colony in America. In 1583 he set out with two hundred colonists for what is today Newfoundland. Gilbert and his party were ultimately lost at sea.

Gilbert's vision lived on with his half brother, Sir Walter **Raleigh**, a great favorite of Queen Elizabeth. Petitioned by Raleigh, the queen gladly gave the dashing young man Gilbert's former land grant. To repay her kindness, Raleigh named the proposed colony Virginia, in honor of the unwed queen.

For his initial settlement, Raleigh chose an island off the coast of present-day North Carolina. He advertised **Roanoke Island** as an "American Eden" where the Indians were friendly innocents and "the earth bringeth

forth all things in abundance, as in the first Creation, without toile or labour." Encouraged by such rosy promises, 108 settlers sailed to Roanoke in 1585. The venture started out peacefully enough, as the Indians and Europeans labored to understand each other. A dispute over a silver cup, however, led to a series of English raids against Indian villages and an armed confrontation between the two societies. Before the conflict was resolved, trust and friendship had broken down. Thus when Francis Drake visited Roanoke in the late summer of 1586 to warn of a Spanish raid, most of the settlers chose to go back to England with him. Fifteen men remained on the island to protect Raleigh's claim, but none survived.

Despite this loss, Raleigh sent John White, another English courtier, with a new party of settlers in 1587. Remaining only a month, White concluded that his community of ninety-one men, seventeen women, and nine children was safe and well established and set sail for England to get supplies and additional colonists. White's return was delayed considerably by a new threat from Spain.

privateer A captain who owned his own ship and hired his own crew and was authorized by his government to attack and capture enemy ships.

Sir Walter Raleigh English courtier, soldier, and adventurer who attempted to establish the Virginia Colony.

Roanoke Island English colony that Raleigh planted on an island off North Carolina in 1585; the colonists who did not return to England had disappeared without a trace by 1590.

INDIVIDUAL CHOICES

Escape and Exploration



Cabeza de Vaca

Captured by Indians along the Gulf Coast of Spanish Florida, Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca was made a slave. Most of his companions were afraid to resist or run away, but Cabeza de Vaca chose freedom over safety, eventually leading a small party of men all the way back to Mexico. Courtesy of Frederic Remington Art Museum, Ogdensburg, NY.

Ever since leaving Spain in June 1527, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca had survived one disaster after another. But in November 1528, this heir to a long line of Spanish nobles found himself in a sorrier state than he ever could have imagined: he was a slave belonging to a tribe of Indians along the Gulf Coast of America.

Hardship was nothing new to Núñez. Like so many others in his generation of young nobles, he had chosen a military career and, during this time of intense competition among European powers, had often been in great danger. Early in his career, he had fought in the Battle of Ravenna, in which twenty thousand men were killed, and he had earned a reputation for bravery and good sense under fire. Since that time, he had established such a name for himself that he was made second-incommand of the expedition that was to colonize Florida in 1527. His future appeared bright.

But the expedition seemed cursed from the start. Arriving in the West Indies, the small fleet was hit by a hurricane, and most of the vessels were destroyed. Finally landing somewhere near Tampa Bay in May 1528, the commander, Pánfilo de Narváez, chose to divide his force, leading a small detachment overland in order to explore the country. The unfamiliar and rough terrain along the coast made travel difficult, and the Indians the Spaniards met were not friendly. After a series of running battles, the Spanish expedition was all but wiped out, and the survivors were enslaved by their Indian captors.

Escape seemed impossible. The Indians held the few surviving Spaniards at sites dis-

tant from each other, eliminating any chance for them to plan a getaway. And the natives' hostility, combined with the unfamiliar terrain, promised certain death to anyone escaping alone. Most of the Spaniards settled dejectedly into life as servants. But not He chose strategy over surrender. He later wrote, "I set to contriving how I might transfer to the forest-dwellers, who looked more propitious [agreeable]." He hit upon the notion of serving as a trader, striving always "to making my traffic profitable so I could get food and good treatment." In this way, he earned a degree of freedom to travel among various tribes, and although he experienced great hardship, he was able to contact other survivors and explore for escape routes.

Núñez served as a traveling trader among the Gulf Coast Indians for six years. He tried to escape, but his masters chased him down and recaptured him. He needed companions, but other survivors fearfully refused to join him. Finally, in 1534, Núñez encountered Andres Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo, and Castillo's black servant, Estevanico. For six months, Núñez pleaded and planned with these three, but only when the Indians announced they were splitting up and taking their Spanish slaves in different directions did the whole company resolve to escape. "Although the season was late and the prickly pears nearly gone, we still hoped to travel a long distance on acorns which we might find in the woods," Núñez recalled.

Having made this fateful choice, Núñez and his companions were forced to see things through. For fourteen months, the four Spaniards traveled from village to village, exchanging their skills as healers for food, clothing, and other necessities. Finally, in the early spring of 1536, the little party overtook a Spanish exploring and slave-raiding company. "They were dumbfounded at the sight of me, strangely undressed and in company with Indians," Núñez reported. "They just

stood staring for a long time, not thinking to hail me or come closer to ask questions." Over the next several months, Núñez and his companions rested up and composed a memoir of their experiences, which they presented to the king himself.

The outcome of Núñez's choice to escape was not only his own freedom and that of his companions but a new season of territorial expansion and exploration for Spain. In the course of his travels, he visited places that no other European had ever seen, he saw things that would dazzle those who eventually followed his course, and he heard about treasure that prompted generations of Spaniards and others to search for gold, silver, and other riches in the deserts of the American Southwest. Núñez's stories of vast amounts of gold, silver, and precious gems located just to the north of Spain's New World frontier captured the imagination of a new generation of conquistadors and stirred enormous new interests in America's interior.

Spain's Crisis and England's Opportunity

Each New World claim asserted by England, France, or some other country represented the loss of a piece of treasure that Spain considered necessary for its continued survival. Philip finally undertook a gamble designed to remove the Protestant threat, rid him of Elizabeth's vexing harassment, and demonstrate to the rest of Europe that Spain intended to exercise absolute authority over the Atlantic world. In the spring of 1585, Philip decided to invade England.

He began massing the largest marine force the world had ever witnessed. Finally in the spring of 1588 he launched an **armada** of 132 warships carrying over 3,000 cannons and an invasion force of 30,000 men. Arriving off England in July, the Spanish Armada ran up against small, maneuverable English ships commanded by Elizabeth's pirate captains. Drake and his fleet seriously crippled the sluggish Spanish fleet. Then a fierce storm scattered the remaining Spanish ships and destroyed Philip's chance to end English advances into his New World realm. Although Spanish power remained great, the Armada disaster ended Spain's near monopoly over New World colonization.

John White returned to Roanoke in 1590, only to find the colony abandoned. The only clue to what had happened was the word "Croatoan" carved on a doorpost. The Croatoan Indians lived on a neighboring island. The carving led to speculation that the colonists had either gone to live with this tribe or had been attacked by them. Neither theory has ever been confirmed. White returned to England, but found that Raleigh's fortune had been exhausted. Only after Elizabeth's death in 1603 did Englishmen return to carry out Raleigh's dream of an English empire in the New World.

European Empires in America

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Spain, France, England, and a number of other European nations vied for control of the Americas and for domination of transatlantic trade. By the time

England became deeply involved in New World ventures, Spain, France, and Holland had already made major progress toward establishing empires in America. These European settlements not only affected England's colonization process profoundly, but through their interactions among themselves and with the Native Americans, they also created unique societies in North America whose presence influenced the entire course of the continent's history.

The Troubled Spanish Colonial Empire

Although the destruction of the Armada in 1588 struck a terrible blow at Spain's military power, the Spanish Empire continued to grow. By the end of the seventeenth century, it stretched from New Mexico southward through Central America and much of South America into the Caribbean islands and northward again into Florida. Governing such a vast empire was difficult. Two agencies in Spain, the House of Trade and the Council of the Indies, set Spanish colonial policy. In the colonies, Crown-appointed viceroys wielded military and political power in each of the four divisions of the empire. The Spanish colonies had local governments as well, and each town had a *cabildo secular*, a municipal council, as well as judges and other minor officials. The colonial administrators were appointed rather than elected; most came from Spain.

Over the centuries, as the layers of bureaucracy developed, corruption and inefficiency developed too. The Spanish government made efforts to regulate colonial affairs, sending *visitadores* to inspect local government operations. Despite these safeguards, colonial officials ignored their written instructions and failed to enforce laws.

One major source of corruption was a persistent shortage of labor. The Spanish adapted their traditional institutions to address the demand for work-

armada A fleet of warships.

cabildo secular Secular municipal council that provided local government in Spain's New World empire.

ers in mines and on plantations. In Spain, **feudal** landlords, called *encomenderos*, were entitled by their military service to the king to harness the labor of peasants. In New Spain, Indians took the place of the peasants in what was called the *encomienda* system. Under a law passed in 1512, administrators gave to the Spanish colonists Indian workers, who were required to labor for nine months each year. The *encomendero* paid a tax to the Crown for each Indian he received and agreed to teach his workers the Catholic faith, Spanish Language and culture, and a "civilized" vocation.

Such workers came from among Indians who peacefully acknowledged Spanish rule. For Indians who did not, a completely different labor system prevailed. Under Spanish law, any Indian who resisted Spanish rule "had no rights save such as the conqueror might freely choose to concede to them." Thus any Indian rebels who survived an uprising against Spanish authority could be put to death or enslaved.

As a result of church pressure, the Spanish government issued a law that required the conquistadors to explain to Indians the obligations they owed to the Spanish king and to the Catholic church, and to offer to absorb them peacefully if they would acknowledge those obligations. Thereafter, all conquistadors had to take with them a priest who would certify that they had read (in Spanish, of course) a document called the **Requerimiento** to each Indian group they encountered. Indians who acknowledged the king's authority were to receive the "protection" of the *encomienda* system. Those who did not could be enslaved.

Colonists and conquistadors often ignored even these slim protections. Conquistadors frequently stood outside an Indian village, read the *Requerimiento* in a whisper, and then attacked when the community made no immediate response. Some simply forged a priest's signature, anticipating that by the time the document reached administrators in faraway Madrid, no one would know the difference. Others ignored the law altogether.

As such behavior demonstrates, a degree of tension always existed between New Spain and old. Bureaucratic and church interference in the labor system was one source of tension. Taxes were another. Spanish colonists were taxed to support the

huge and largely corrupt, unrepresentative, and self-serving imperial bureaucracy. But for many decades, the wealth produced within this empire overshadowed all governing problems. The gold, silver, and copper mined by Indian and later by African slaves satisfied the Spanish government until the end of the seventeenth century.

The French Presence in America

If the Spanish overgoverned their New World provinces, the French may have erred in the opposite direction. Despite the long existence of the fur trade in Canada, French colonial authorities at first took little interest in it. **Samuel de Champlain**, the "father of New France," established trading posts in Nova Scotia and elsewhere, founded the city of Quebec, and in 1608 formed an enduring alliance with the Huron Indians. But officials in France did little to capitalize on the achievements of Champlain and other enterprising individuals.

In 1627, the king awarded a group of his favorites a charter to develop resources in New France. The resulting Company of One Hundred Associates failed for several reasons. Few French

feudal Relating to a system in which landowners held broad powers over peasants or tenant farmers in exchange for their loyalty and for protection from abuse by others.

encomienda system A system of bonded labor in which Indians were assigned to Spanish plantation and mine owners in exchange for the payment of a tax and an agreement to "civilize" and convert them to Catholicism.

Requerimiento A statement delivered in Spanish explaining the obligations of Indian people to the king of Spain and to the church and requiring their cooperation; Indians who failed to accept the statement could be killed or enslaved.

Samuel de Champlain French explorer who traced the St. Lawrence River inland to the Great Lakes, founded the city of Quebec, and formed the French alliance with the Huron Indians.

New France The colony established by France in what is now Canada and the Great Lakes region of the United States.

Catholics showed any interest in migrating to New France. French Protestants, who might have emigrated to avoid religious persecution, were forbidden to move to the colony. Thus the Company of One Hundred Associates did not attract enough rent-paying tenants to make the envisioned estates profitable. Equally important, the few French peasants and small farmers who did venture to the New World found life in the woods preferable to life as tenant farmers. So-called ***coureurs de bois***, or "runners of the woods," married Indian women and lived among the tribes, returning to the French settlements only when they had enough furs to sell to make the trip worthwhile. Because of their activity, the fur trade gradually came to dominate French Canada's culture and economy.

Frustrated by the lack of profits from the Company of One Hundred Associates, the king revoked its charter in 1633 and in the following year created the French West India Company. This company became quite profitable by focusing on the fur trade. Setting up posts in Quebec, Montreal, and some more remote locations, the French West India Company became the primary outfitter of and buyer from the *coureurs de bois*.

Local officials exercised considerable control *over* colonial affairs in New France. The governor of New France was in charge of Indian matters and military decisions. An ***intendant*** directed the judicial and commercial affairs of the colony, and a Catholic bishop supervised religious affairs. Colonists had no representative assembly, although the governor did call on colonists for their opinion when he wished.

Only after 1663 did the French Crown begin to intervene seriously in Canadian affairs. In that year, the king revoked the French West India Company's charter and took direct control of New France. While the king continued to reap enormous profits from the fur trade, his interests ranged beyond this single source of income. In 1673, a French expedition led by Louis Joliet and Jacques Marquette set out to explore the riverways that had long been the domain of the Indians and the *coureurs de bois*. Leaving Green Bay on Lake Michigan, Marquette and Joliet eventually located the Fox and Wisconsin rivers and from there traced the origins of the Mississippi. Although they did not follow the great river all the way to its mouth,

they speculated, correctly, that it led to the Gulf of Mexico.

An ambitious French nobleman, **Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle**, recognized the strategic and economic promise in Joliet and Marquette's discovery. In 1683, he and a party of French *coureurs de bois* and Indians followed the Mississippi all the way to the Gulf of Mexico. La Salle immediately claimed the new territory for Louis XIV of France, naming it Louisiana in his honor. In 1698, the king sent settlers to the lower Mississippi valley under the leadership of Pierre LeMoyne d'Iberville. In 1718, French authorities built the city of New Orleans to serve as the capital of the new territory.

The acquisition of Louisiana was a major accomplishment for France. The newly discovered riverway gave the French a rich, unexploited source of furs as well as a warm-water port. But perhaps of greatest importance was Louisiana's strategic location between Spain's claims in the Southwest and England's colonies along the eastern seaboard. Controlling this piece of real estate gave Louis a valuable bargaining chip.

The Dutch Enterprise

Another source of competition to Spain's New World monopoly came from a former colony of Spain: the Netherlands. The Armada disaster tipped the scales in favor of Dutch Protestant

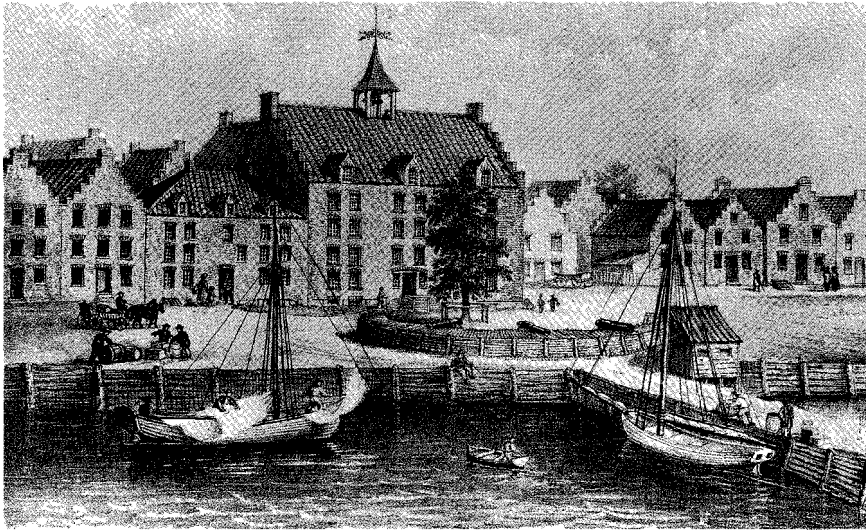
coureurs de bois Independent French fur traders who lived among the Indians and sold furs to the French; literally, "runners of the woods."

French West India Company Company of investors that became profitable by ignoring royal orders and engaging in the fur trade in Canada.

intendant A French government official who directed colonial judicial and commercial affairs.

Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle French explorer who followed the Mississippi River from its origin in present-day Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico in 1683, giving France a claim to the entire river-way and adjoining territory.

Louisiana French colony south of New France, it included the entire area drained by the Mississippi River and all its tributary rivers.



◆ New Amsterdam's location at the mouth of the Hudson River made the Dutch settlement a particularly important colonial trading center. Furs flowed down the river from Fort Orange (near modern Albany, New York), while guns, tools, and other trade goods traveled the other way. Both river and sea traffic were central to the city's existence, as shown in this 1679 painting of the Dutch statehouse, which stood overlooking the harbor. *Prints Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photography. The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundation.*

rebels in 1588, and the newly independent nation quickly developed a thriving commercial economy. Dutch privateers outshone Queen Elizabeth's in the profitable raiding of Spanish and Portuguese treasure ships, and by the 1630s the Dutch dominated the African slave trade. In 1634, Dutch forces overcame weak Spanish and Portuguese resistance, conquering a number of islands in the Caribbean. Holland's next goal was to establish an empire on the North American mainland.

Henry Hudson established Holland's first serious claim to American territory in 1609, when he explored the east coast in search for the Northwest Passage. He sailed up a large river that he hoped would lead him west to the Pacific. After realizing that he had not found the hoped-for Northwest Passage, he returned to Holland and reported that the Hudson valley was very pleasant country. But the region attracted little immediate attention.

In 1621, the Dutch **West India Company** was formed for planting colonies on mainland America. The company's director, Peter Minuit, negotiated a lease for the entire island of Manhattan from the Manhatas Indians in 1626. For three more years, the company did nothing to attract settlers.

But in 1629, the Dutch West India Company drew up a comprehensive plan to maximize profits and minimize dependence on local Indians for food and other support. To encourage the agricultural development necessary to support the fur in

dustry, the company offered huge estates called patroonships to any company stockholder willing and able to bring fifty colonists to New Netherland at his own expense. The patroons would enjoy broad powers over their tenants. However, few prosperous Dutchmen were interested in becoming New World pioneers. Rensselaerswyck, the estate of Kilian Van Rensselaer, was the only patroonship to develop in accordance with the company's plan.

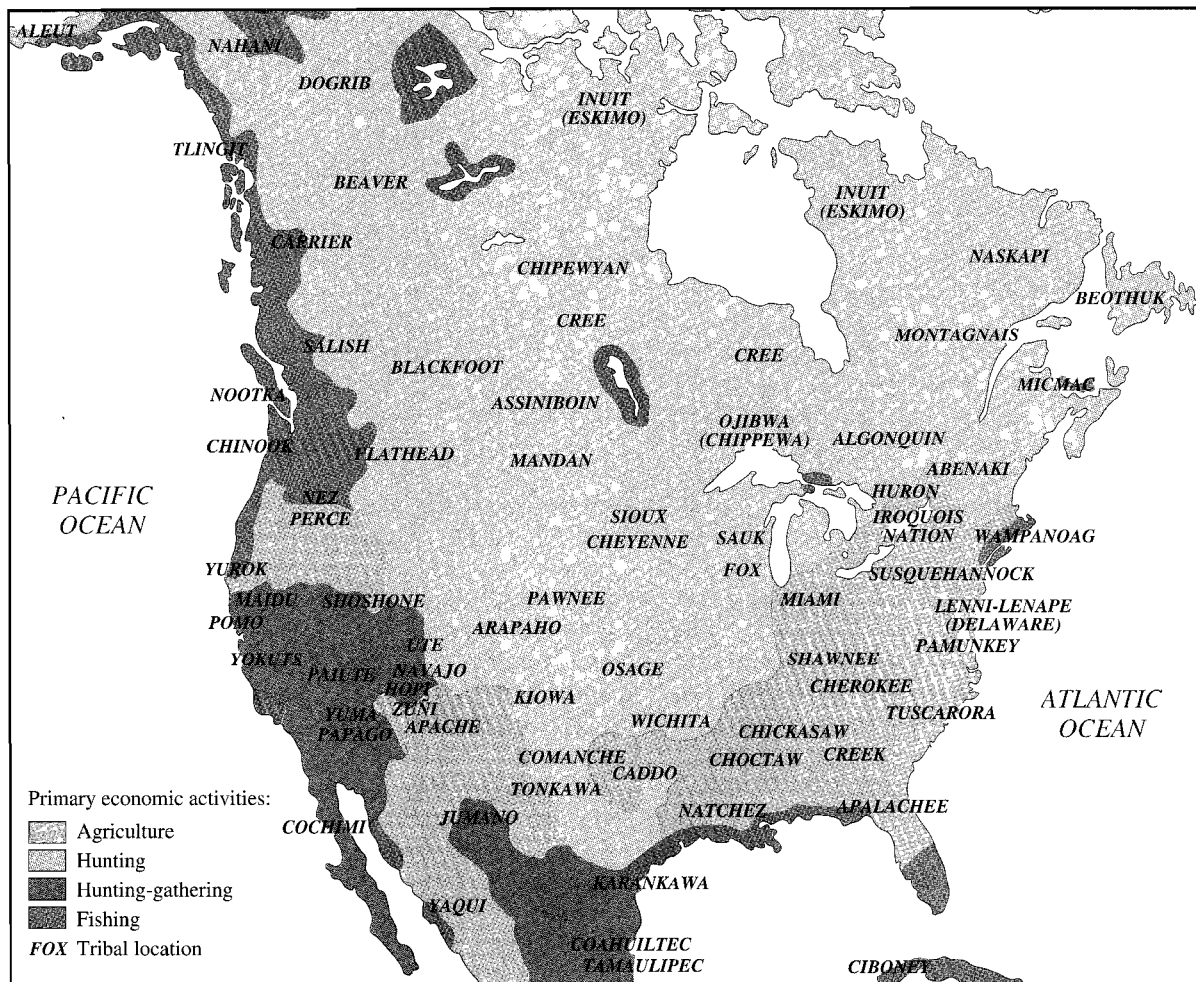
Settlers seeking land did come on their own. At first, people from just about anywhere were welcome in New Netherland, including German and

Henry Hudson Dutch ship captain and explorer who sailed up the Hudson River in 1609, giving the Netherlands a claim to the area now occupied by New York.

Dutch West India Company Dutch investment company formed in 1621 to develop colonies in North America.

patroonship A huge grant of land given to any Dutchman who, at his own expense, brought fifty colonists to New Netherland; the colonists became the tenants of the estate owner.

New Netherland The name of the colony founded by the Dutch West India Company in present-day New York; its capital was New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island.



◆ **MAP 2.1 Indian Economies in North America** Indian economic activities helped to shape patterns of European settlement and investment in the New World. Regions that were primarily agricultural, like the Atlantic shoreline, lent themselves to European farming activities. Farther north and west, however, where hunting played a more prominent role in native life, the fur trade was a more attractive investment for European settlers.

French Protestants, free and enslaved Africans, Catholics, Jews, and Muslims. In 1638, four hundred Swedish immigrants gained financial support and political blessings from the Dutch company to establish a colony called **New Sweden** within the boundaries of New Netherland along the Delaware River. For about seventeen years, New Sweden existed peacefully and independently as a fur-trading community. By 1655, however, the Swedes had be-

come so successful as fur traders that they aroused the jealousy of New Netherland governor Peter

New Sweden Swedish fur-trading community established with the assistance of the Dutch on the Delaware River in 1638 and absorbed by New Netherland in 1655.

Stuyvesant. He sent a militia force larger than the entire Swedish population to demand their submission. The Swedes had little choice but to agree.

Indians and the European Challenge

Native Americans did not sit idly by while the European powers carved out empires in North America. Some joined the newcomers, serving as advisers and companions. Others sought to use the Europeans as allies to accomplish their own economic, diplomatic, or military goals (see Map 2.1). Still others, overwhelmed by the onset of European diseases, withdrew into the interior. The changes in native America created both obstacles and opportunities, giving shape to the patterns of expansion and conflict that characterized the colonial world.

The Indian Frontier in New Spain

Indian assistance had been critical in Spain's successful military campaigns throughout the Americas. In Mexico, for example, groups who had been forced to pay tribute to the Aztec Empire gladly allied themselves with the Spanish to win their independence. Their hopes were soon dashed when the Spanish simply replaced the Aztecs as the new lords of a tributary empire.

A similar pattern occurred wherever the Spanish went in North America. The rumors of great wealth that spread after Cabeza de Vaca's adventure pulled conquistadors northward. The Spanish repeatedly encountered new Indian populations, read the Requerimiento, and placed the Indians under Spanish rule as either serfs or slaves.

Spanish expansion met little native resistance until 1598, when a particularly brutal conquistador named **Don Juan de Oñate** led a large expedition to the Rio Grande region of New Mexico. Many of the Pueblo people soon found themselves subjected to Spanish and Catholic authority. Some, however, resisted Oñate's efforts to force Spanish culture and religion onto them. The conquistador chose to make an example of the **Ácoma pueblo**. It

took Oñate's troops three days to subdue the settlement. When the battle was over, Oñate ordered eight hundred Indians executed and made slaves of the nearly seven hundred remaining survivors, mostly women and children. In addition, each male survivor over the age of 25 had one foot chopped off to prevent his escape from slavery.

Despite Oñate's excesses, New Mexico remained relatively peaceful for nearly a century. Then, in 1680, the Pueblo Indians rebelled against Spanish attempts to destroy their native religion. Led by a religious prophet named Popé, the **Pueblo Revolt** left 400 Spaniards dead. The rebels captured Santa Fe and drove the surviving Spaniards from the land. The Spanish needed more than a decade to regroup sufficiently to reinvade New Mexico and recapture the territory.

Elsewhere along the northern frontier of New Spain, the unsettled nature of Indian life and the arid and uninviting character of the land made settlement unappealing to the Spaniards. Efforts at mining, raising livestock, and missionizing in Arizona and Texas were largely unsuccessful until after 1700.

The Indian World in the Southeast

Members of Spanish exploring expeditions under would-be conquistadors like Ponce de Leon and de Soto were the first Europeans to contact the mound builder societies and other Indian groups in the

serfs Peasants who were bound to a particular estate but, unlike slaves, were not the personal property of the estate owner and received traditional feudal protections.

Don Juan de Oñate Spaniard who conquered New Mexico and claimed it for Spain in the 1590s.

Ácoma pueblo Pueblo Indian community that resisted Spanish authority in 1598 and was destroyed by the Spanish.

Pueblo Revolt Indian rebellion against Spanish authority in 1680 led by Pope; succeeded in driving the Spanish out of New Mexico for nearly a decade.

Santa Fe Spanish colonial town established in 1609; eventually the capital of the province of New Mexico.

Southeast. Although their great cities impressed the Spaniards, the Cherokees, Creeks, and other agricultural groups had no gold and could not be enslaved easily. The conquistadors moved on without attempting to impose Spanish rule or the Catholic religion on these peoples. Given sufficient incentive, however, the Spanish were quick to strike at Indian independence and culture.

In Florida, for example, the need to protect Spanish ships from English and other raiders led Spain to establish garrisons like **St. Augustine**, founded in 1565. Using these military posts as staging areas, Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries ranged outward to bring Catholicism to Indians in the region. By 1600, they had established missions from the Gulf coast of Florida all the way to Georgia.

Although the Spanish presence in the region was small, its impact was enormous. The Spanish introduced European diseases into the densely populated towns in the Mississippi River region. Epidemics wiped out entire Native American civilizations and forced survivors to abandon their cities and entirely modify their ways of life.

Epidemic diseases forced the Cherokees, Creeks, and other groups to abandon city life in favor of a village-based economy that combined agriculture, hunting, and gathering. The consequences in the Southeast were similar to those in the Northeast; warfare became increasingly common. Groups became more inclined to join in formal alliances for mutual support. And when new Europeans arrived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Indians found it beneficial to welcome them as trading partners and allies.

For example, the **Creek Confederacy**, a union of many groups who had survived the Spanish epidemics, played a careful diplomatic game. The confederacy balanced the competing demands of the Spanish and French, and later the English, taking as much advantage as possible of the competition among the European powers.

The Indian World in the Northeast

By the time Europeans had begun serious exploration and settlement of the Northeast, the economic and cultural changes among Indians that had begun between 1350 and 1450 had resulted in

the creation of two massive alliance systems. On one side were the Hurons, Algonquins, Abenakis, Micmacs, Ottawas, and several smaller tribes. On the other was the Iroquois Confederacy.

The costs and benefits of sustained European contact first fell to the Hurons and their allies. The Abenakis, Micmacs, and others who lived along the northern shore of the Atlantic were the first groups drawn into trade with French and other fishermen. As the *coureurs du bois* pushed farther into Indian territory, these were the Native American groups they met in the woods and with whom they settled and intermarried. These family ties became firm economic bonds when formal French exploration brought these groups into more direct contact with the European trading world.

The strong alliance between these Indians and the French posed a serious threat to Iroquois plans for expansion. The arrival of the Dutch in the Albany area, however, offered the Iroquois an attractive diplomatic opportunity. In 1623, the Dutch West India Company invited representatives from the Iroquois Confederacy to a meeting at Fort Orange, offering them friendship and trade. The Iroquois responded enthusiastically but sought to dominate this trade by imposing their authority over all of the Indian groups already trading with the Dutch. They began a bloody war with the **Mohicans**, who had been the Dutch traders' main source for furs in the Hudson valley. By 1627, the Iroquois had driven the Mohicans away from the river and had taken control over the flow of furs.

Recognizing the value of a powerful alliance, the Dutch abandoned a long-standing policy of

St. Augustine First colonial city in the present-day United States; located in Florida and founded by Pedro Menendez de Aviles for Spain in 1565.

Creek Confederacy Confederacy of Indians living in the Southeast; formed after the spread of European diseases to permit a cooperative economic and military system among survivors.

Fort Orange Dutch trading post established near present-day Albany, New York, in 1614.

Mohicans Algonkian-speaking Indians who lived along the Hudson River. They were dispossessed in a war with the Iroquois Confederacy, and eventually were all but exterminated.



- ◆ Alfred Jacob Miller based this 1837 painting of eighteenth-century mounted buffalo hunters on interviews with Shoshone Indians he met on a trip through the American West. It illustrates the enormous impact the arrival of horses had on Plains Indian life. Note how few mounted men it took to drive vast numbers of animals over a cliff to their deaths. The meat, bones, and hides that would be taken from the butchered bison would provide food, clothing, tools, tents, and trade goods sufficient to support an entire band of Indians for some time. The arrival of the horse on the plains in the late 1600s marked the beginning of 150 years of unprecedented wealth and power for the Indians in the region. *Alfred Jacob Miller, Walter's Art Gallery, Baltimore.*

neutrality in Indian wars and a prohibition against the sale of guns to the natives. Throughout the 1630s, guns flowed up the Hudson and into the hands of the Mohawks and other Iroquois tribes, while furs from northern and western New York flowed down to Manhattan.

The Iroquois soon wiped out fur supplies in their own territory and began an even more serious push to acquire new lands. Beginning in the late 1630s, the Iroquois Confederacy entered into a long-term war against the Hurons and their allies in New France; against the Munsees, Delawares, and other groups in the Susquehanna and Delaware river valleys to the south; and even against the Iroquois-speaking Eries to the west.

Through it all, the Dutch maintained a pro-Iroquois policy. Following the massacre of a Mohican party by a joint Dutch/Mohawk force in 1643, non-Iroquois Indians living along the lower Hudson valley finally became disgusted with Dutch policies. They raided outlying Dutch settlements and maintained a light siege on Manhattan itself. The Dutch responded with a winter campaign, staging surprise attacks against Indian settlements, burning houses and food stores, killing those who resisted, and capturing and enslaving those

who did not. By the spring of 1644, Indian resistance was broken.

The New Indian World of the Plains

Though largely unexplored and untouched by Europeans, the vast area of the Great Plains also underwent profound change during the period of initial contacts. Climate change, the pressure of shifting populations, and the introduction of novel European goods created an altogether new culture and economy among the Indians in this region.

Before about 1400, Indians living on the plains rarely strayed far from the riverways that form the Missouri River drainage. The climate change that affected their neighbors to the east had a similar effect on them: growing seasons became shorter, and the need to hunt became greater. But this

climatic force that undermined their existing way of life provided an attractive alternative as well: buffalo.

The buffalo, or American bison, is particularly well adapted to survival in cold climates. Unlike European cattle, which often starve when snow buries the grasses on which they graze, buffalo use their hooves to dig out the grass they need. Although buffalo were always a presence on the plains, the cold weather during the Little Ice Age spurred a massive increase in their numbers. Between 1300 and 1800, herds numbering in the millions roamed the new environment created by the climate change.

The Wichitas, Pawnees, and Arikaras virtually abandoned their agricultural villages and became hunters. The Hidatsas split into factions: those called Hidatsas remained in their villages, and those called Crows went off to the grasslands to hunt. The Mandans and several other groups remained in their villages and established a thriving trade with hunters like the Arikaras.

The increase in buffalo not only provided an attractive resource for the Indians already on the Great Plains but also drew new groups to the area. As the climate farther north became unbearably severe, the Blackfeet and other Indians swept down from the subarctic northeast to hunt on the plains. Other Algonkian-speaking Indians, such as the Gros Ventres, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, soon followed.

As the climate change affected the Northeast and groups like the Hurons and Iroquois expanded their territories, many other groups chose to flee rather than fight or be absorbed by the warring confederacies. These pressures became even more severe as the coureurs du bois carried the fur trade farther west. Experiencing such pressure, groups like the **Lakotas** moved into the plains to hunt but maintained trading relations with their Dakota neighbors in Minnesota, who continued to farm and harvest wild rice and other crops.

The buffalo also began to play an important role on the southern plains. The Apaches, Comanches, and Kiowas specialized in hunting the ever-increasing herds and then exchanging part of their take for village-based products from their neighbors and kinsmen the Navajos, Hopis, and Pueblos.

Although buffalo hunting was attractive to many of the groups displaced by climate change and population pressure, at first the life of a hunter was ex-

tremely difficult. Lacking any draft animals larger than dogs, early plains hunters had to travel light and on foot. That changed after the Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico in 1680.

One unintentional outcome of the Pueblo Revolt was the liberation of thousands of Spanish horses. The Pueblos had little use for these animals, but the Kiowas and Comanches quickly put the animals to use. Horses could move much larger loads than dogs and could survive on a diet of grass rather than taking a share of the meat. In less than a generation, horses became a mainstay of the buffalo-hunting culture on the southern plains. From there, horses spread quickly to other hunting peoples.

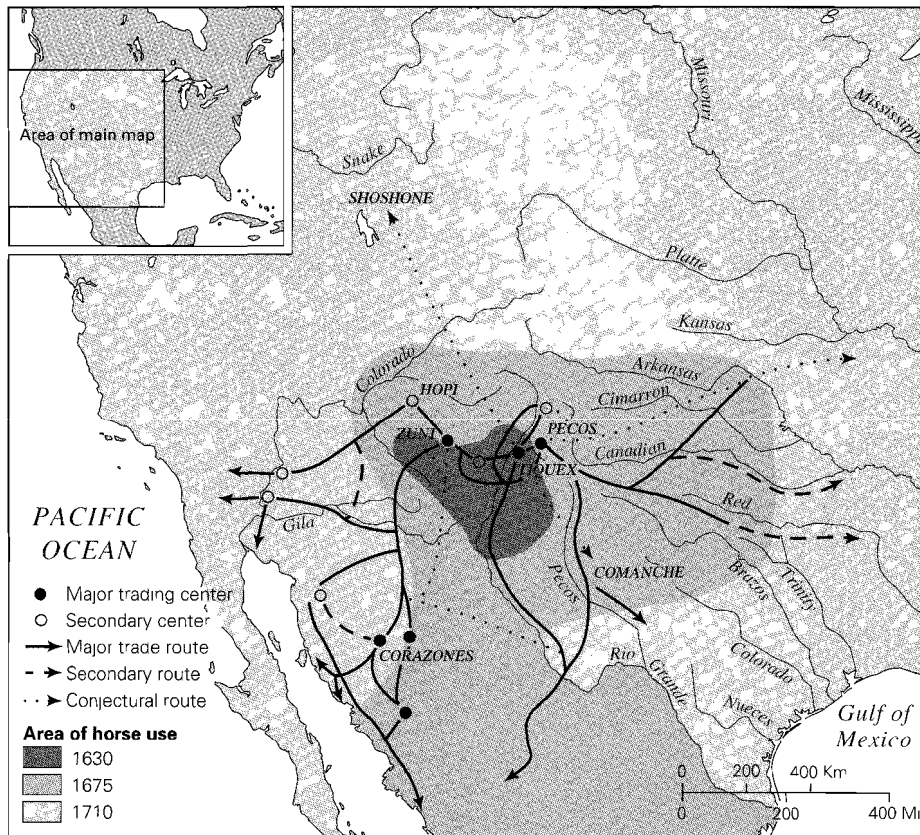
Northern plains dwellers like the Shoshones quickly began acquiring horses from their southwestern kinsmen and trading partners. Following a northward path along the eastern flank of the Rocky Mountains, horses were passed from one group to another. Well adapted to grasslands and virtually free from natural predators or diseases, horses greatly increased in number. By 1730, virtually all of the plains hunting peoples had some horses and were clamoring for more.

The continual demand for horses and the need for space in which to hunt created a new dynamic on the Great Plains (see Map 2.2). After the Spanish reconquest of New Mexico, Indians could obtain horses only through warfare and trade, and both increased significantly. Surprise raids to steal horses from neighboring Indian groups and European settlements brought both honor and wealth to those who were successful. As groups raided back and forth, human captives also became valuable prizes. In exchange for horses, human cap-

buffalo The American bison, a large member of the ox family, native to North America and the staple of the Plains Indian economy between the fifteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries.

Blackfeet Algonkian-speaking Indians from the Canadian subarctic who moved onto the Great Plains in the sixteenth century.

Lakotas/Dakotas Collectively the Sioux Nation; Lakotas were the western branch, living mostly on the Great Plains, and Dakotas were the eastern branch, living mostly in the prairie and lakes region of the Upper Midwest.



MAP 2.2 Intergroup Trading on the Southern Plains Located on New Spain's northern frontier and Louisiana's western frontier, the southern plains became a hotbed of cultural and economic interchange among Indian groups and between them and Europeans. As this map shows, trade routes that had existed before Europeans entered the region acquired added importance in distributing the novel technologies and ideas that the newcomers brought with them. The most important of these contributions was horses, which followed these trade routes and became the single most important feature in Plains Indian life.

tives might be sold as slaves to the Spanish. Thus horse trading and slave trading became linked.

company executives, life in the colonies developed in its own peculiar ways. Entire regions in what would become the United States assumed cultural contours that would shape all future developments in each.

Conquest and Accommodation in a Shared New World

Old World cultures, Native American historical dynamics, and New World environmental conditions combined to create new societies in European

pioneer settlements. Despite the regulatory efforts of Spanish bureaucrats, French royal officials, and Dutch

New Spain's Northern Frontiers

Daily life along the Spanish frontier in New Mexico combined the formality of Spain's highly

organized imperial structure and the disorderliness that one might expect to find in a place so distant and different from the rest of the empire. Spanish notions of civil order were rooted in the local community—city, town, or village—and its ruling elite. Responsibility for maintaining order belonged to the *cabildo secular*, the secular town council composed of members of the elite. In all of its colonies, Spain established towns and immediately turned authority over to a ruling *cabildo*. In Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere, this practice was usually successful, but in the high desert of New Mexico, it was at odds with environmental and cultural conditions.

Although economic conditions were far from ideal, Spaniards began drifting back into New Mexico after the Pueblos had been subdued. Unlike areas to the south, New Mexico offered no rich deposits of gold or silver, and the climate would not support large-scale agriculture. With neither mines nor plantations to support the *encomienda* system, the basic underpinnings of the traditional ruling order never emerged. Even so, the Spanish colonial bureaucracy followed conventional imperial procedures and made Santa Fe the official municipal center for the region.

As in the days before the Pueblo Revolt, the most attractive economic enterprise in the region was ranching. During the period of control by the Pueblos, the small flocks of sheep abandoned by the fleeing Spanish grew dramatically. By the time the Spanish returned, sheep ranching had become a reliable way to make a living. Thus, rather than concentrating near the municipal center in Santa Fe, the population in New Mexico spread out across the land. South of Santa Fe, people settled on scattered ranches. Elsewhere, they gathered in small villages established along streams, and they pooled their labor to make a living from irrigated **subsistence farming**.

Like colonists elsewhere in Spain's New World empire, the New Mexico colonists were almost entirely male. Isolated on the sheep ranch or in small villages, these men sought Indian companionship and married into local populations. The marriages brought into being lines of kinship, trade, and authority that were in sharp contrast to the imperial ideal. For example, when Navajo or Apache raid

ing parties struck, ranchers and villagers turned to their Indian relatives for protection rather than to Spanish officials in Santa Fe.

Far away from the imperial economy centered in Mexico City, New Mexicans looked northward for trading opportunities. Southern Plains Indians needed a continuous supply of horses. Facing labor shortages New Mexicans accepted Indian slaves—especially children—in exchange for horses. Soon these young captives became another important commodity in the already complex trading and raiding system that prevailed among the southwestern Indians and Spanish New Mexicans.

In this frontier world, a man's social status came to depend less on his Spanish background than on his ability to work effectively in the complicated world of kinship that prevailed in the Indian community. The people who eventually emerged as the elite class in New Mexico were those who perfected these skills. Under their influence, Santa Fe was transformed from a traditional imperial town into a cosmopolitan frontier trading center. During the next two centuries, this multiethnic elite absorbed first French and then Anglo-American newcomers while maintaining its own social, political, and economic style.

Life in French Louisiana

France's colony in Louisiana faced many of the same problems as Spain's North American possessions. Like most European settlements, Louisiana suffered from a critical shortage of labor. Few Frenchmen showed any interest in settling in Louisiana in the seventeenth century. In the first years of the colony's existence, the population consisted primarily of three groups: military men, who were generally members of the lower nobility; *coureurs de bois* from Canada looking for new sources of furs; and French craftsmen seeking in the New World the economic and social opportunities that

subsistence farming Farming that produces enough food for survival but does not produce a surplus that can be sold.

were denied them in France. These men had no knowledge of or interest in food production.

Recognizing the problem, the French government tried everything it could think of to make the colony more attractive to French farmers. In the late 1690s, officials in Louisiana proposed that the government pay the passage of young women of good character to the colony. Agents in France were able to attract only about twenty-four women, who arrived in the colony in 1704. But they were ill suited for the primitive life offered by Louisiana and entirely unprepared to work as farm laborers. By 1708, even officials who had been enthusiastic about the project were advising that it be discontinued. As a result, French men, like their Spanish neighbors, married Indians and, later, African slaves, creating a hybrid creole population.

In the absence of an agricultural establishment, the settlers in Louisiana depended at first on imported food, but war in Europe frequently interrupted this source. In desperation, the colonists turned to the Indians.

The Natchez, Chickasaws, and Choctaws were all well provisioned and close by. The Chickasaws refused to deal with the French, and the Natchez were sometimes helpful and sometimes hostile. But the Choctaws, locked into a war with the Chickasaws and a tense relationship with the Natchez, found the prospect of an alliance with the French quite attractive.

Despite the Choctaw alliance, which guaranteed ample food supplies and made territorial acquisitions possible, Louisiana remained unattractive to French farmers. Although Louisiana officials advised against it, the French government finally resorted to recruiting German refugees, paupers, and criminals to people the new land. But even with these newcomers, there was not enough labor to ensure survival. Increasingly, settlers in Louisiana imported slaves to do necessary work. By 1732, slaves made up two-thirds of the population.

The Dutch Settlements

The existence of Rensselaerswyck and other great landed estates made the New Netherland colony seem prosperous and secure, but in actuality it was

neither. Few of the wealthy stockholders in the Dutch West India Company wanted to trade their lives as successful gentleman investors for a pioneering existence on a barely tamed frontier. The economy in Holland was booming, and only the most desperate or adventurous wanted to leave. But having no one to pay their way, most could not afford to emigrate to the colony.

Desperate to draw settlers, the Dutch West India Company offered a tract of land to any free man who would agree to farm it. This offer appealed to many groups in Europe who were experiencing hardships in their own countries but were prohibited from moving to other colonies. French Protestants, for example, were forbidden to go to France's New World provinces. Roman Catholics, Quakers, Jews, Muslims, and a wide variety of others chose to migrate to New Netherland. Most settled on small farms, called *bouweries* in Dutch. Thus New Netherland was dotted with little settlements, each having its own language, culture, and internal economy.

Farming was the dominant activity of the emigrants, but some followed the example of the French *coureurs du bois*. Called *bosch loopers*,

creole In colonial times, a term referring to anyone of European or African heritage who was born in the colonies; in Louisiana, a term referring to the ethnic group that was the result of intermarriage by people of mixed languages, races, and cultures.

Natchez An urban, mound-building Indian people who lived on the lower Mississippi River until they were destroyed in a war with the French in the 1720s; survivors joined the Creek Confederacy.

Chickasaw An urban, mound-building Indian people who lived on the lower Mississippi River and became a society of hunters after the change in climate and the introduction of disease after 1400; they were successful in resisting French aggression throughout the colonial era.

Choctaw Like the Chickasaws, a mound-building people who became a society of hunters after 1400; they were steadfast allies of the French and helped them in wars against the Natchez and Chickasaws.

bosch loopers Independent Dutch fur traders; literally, "woods runners."

these independent traders traveled through the forests, trying to intercept Indian parties on their way to Dutch West India Company posts. They traded cheap brandy and rum for the Indians' furs, which they then sold to the company for enormous profits. Although both tribal leaders and company officials complained about the bosch loopers' illegal activities, the authorities could not control them.

In fact, the Dutch West India Company was unable to control much of anything in New Netherland. Poor leadership and unimaginative policies contributed to the disorder. Following Peter Minuet's dismissal by the company in 1631, a long line of incompetent governors ruled the colony. One of these governors, William Kieft, was not only incompetent but dangerously hot tempered. He personally ordered the massacre that touched off a disastrous Indian war in 1643 and 1644. The company finally replaced Kieft in 1647 with the much more competent Peter Stuyvesant, but his authoritarian style alienated settlers who were used to doing things in their own way.

SUMMARY

Expectations
Constraints
Choices
Outcomes

Spain's opening ventures in the Americas were wildly successful, making the Iberian kingdom the envy of the world. With *expectations* of cashing in on similar finds, other European nations began

to contest Spain's monopoly on American colonization, creating an outward explosion of exploring energy. Although slow to consolidate an imperial presence in North America, England was the first to confront the Spanish in force, wounding them severely. France and the Netherlands took advantage of the situation to begin building their own American empires.

For Native Americans, the entry of Europeans into their realms combined with other forces to create an air of crisis. Presented with a series of new *constraints*, Indians created altogether new societies and sought new ways to solve their problems. This often involved difficult *choices*, perhaps allying with the newcomers, resisting them, or fleeing. As different groups exercised different options, the *outcome* was a historically dynamic world of interaction involving all the societies that were coming together in North America.

This dynamic interaction yielded interesting fruit. In New Spain, New France, Louisiana, New Netherland, and throughout the Great Plains, new societies emerged. These were truly cosmopolitan societies, bearing cultural traits and material goods taken from throughout the world. As we will see in Chapter 3, societies on the Atlantic coast also were evolving as English colonists interacted with the land and its many occupants. The *outcome* of such interchange, over the centuries, was the emergence of a multicultural, multiethnic, and extraordinarily rich culture—an essential element in the making of America.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Boxer, Charles R. *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800* (1965).

A comprehensive overview of Dutch colonial activities and the trading economy that evolved in the Netherlands following its independence from Spain.

Eccles, W. J. *France in America* (rev. ed., 1990).

A newly revised version of the classic work on France's activities in the New World; inclusive and readable.

Richter Daniel K., and James H. Merrell. *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America* (1987).

Two leading ethnohistorians collaborated to write this excellent study of the changing Indian world of the Northeast during the colonial era.

Weber, David. *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (1992).

A broad synthesis of the history of New Spain by the foremost scholar in the field.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (1991).

Although it covers material far beyond the chronological scope of this chapter, students interested in the relations between Indians and Europeans in the colonial era will find this book extraordinarily rich.

