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Why This Reader

This morning when I woke up, I grabbed my iPhone—made of components designed in Taiwan, Germany, Japan, China, Switzerland, South Korea, and assembled in China—and scanned the headlines from a dozen international news sources, read about events in at least six locations around the world, flipped through photos of friends in Mendoza (Argentina), Tbilisi (Georgia), and Waco (Texas, U.S.) on social media, and noticed that I had missed a call from a telemarketer in Sierra Leone. After answering an email from a friend in the military posted in the Canary Islands, I wrote two others destined for colleagues in Canada and Kazakhstan. I put on an outfit made by workers in Colombia, Bangladesh, and Mexico, got in my Honda Pilot, and drove to work while listening to music by The Chieftains, an Irish band, picking up coffee sourced in Kenya along the way. Later, I ate Thai food prepared by a man who recently immigrated to the U.S. while having a conversation about the influence of protests in Hong Kong on Disney’s stock prices, mulling over the effects Brexit might have on our university’s study abroad program in London, and pondering an article written by a Russian historian. All this by 11 a.m.!

In unprecedented ways, today’s technology has enabled us to see and experience the connection between the United States and the world. These connections are interwoven into our daily lives and activities, often in ways we do not notice or take for granted. Consider how differently my morning might have unfolded had nothing in my life been made in, part of, or related to the rest of the world.

Likewise, the history of the United States cannot be fully told without recognizing and understanding the many ways that it not only links to a broader history of the world, but also intersects with dozens of other national histories. Put simply, the events of the collective past in the U.S. involved areas beyond its borders. The U.S., from its beginnings as a European colonizing venture in an already inhabited North America to its modern-day role as world power in an international community, has never existed or acted in a vacuum. The world has influenced the U.S., and the U.S. has influenced the world. What we see at the micro-level in our daily lives is the reality of national and global history. U.S. national history is part of a broader global narrative about the past.
This way of viewing U.S. history explains our idea in putting together the reader of primary sources you are holding. The various sources included demonstrate some essential, representative connections between the United States and the rest of the world. These links and relationships have always existed, and without them, the story of the U.S. is incomplete. We hope you encounter both the expected and the unexpected as you use this book, and that it enriches your understanding of both U.S. and world history.

### Primary Sources

History is a story that we tell about the past based on evidence. Though the past cannot change, history can; you can't change what happened in your life yesterday, but over time, you may interpret those events differently, based on the information you have, its meaning, and its context. In most cases, the best evidence historians can use to construct a high-quality, reliable narrative is provided by the people who lived the moment in the past being investigated. A **primary source** is any source of information, in any form—a treaty, a birth certificate, a diary, a photograph, an advertisement, an artifact, a video, a social media post, etc.—that is left behind by those who experienced an event in the past. This firsthand evidence is invaluable in puzzling out the past and providing a legitimate interpretation of it.

Historians seek out primary source materials about a particular topic in the past and then face the difficult task of locating, comparing, compiling, selecting, sometimes translating, and interpreting them—a series of actions usually encapsulated by the single word “research”—in order to build a story about the past. That work is then reviewed by other trained historians, who decide if the evidence is adequate in amount and type and if the story, built on analyzing the evidence, is legitimate and reasonable. Whether or not these historians agree with their colleague’s interpretation is another story entirely!

### Thinking Historically and Why It Matters

It will not come as a surprise to you to learn that historians look at things differently than, say, theologians or scholars of literature . . . or maybe it will! The way we, as historians, approach a primary source document is very much a product of years of training in asking particular sorts of questions for particular purposes. That is not to say you must train for years before being able to use this reader. It simply means that to read primary sources effectively, as a historian, takes practice.

A number of tools have been developed to help us practice reading primary sources, some of which are listed at the end of this note under “For Further Reading.” Here is a quick guide to getting the most out of a primary source.

- **Start with the basics.** What is it? Identify the type of primary source and its general contents. Who created it? Figure out who the creator was, looking for clues about age, gender, class, race, nationality, religion, position in society,
and so on. How reliable is he, she, or this group? When was it created? Think about the relationship between the creation of the primary source and past events. Where was it created? Reflect on the significance of place in the making of this account or artifact and the places it might have traveled. Make sure that you are familiar with words, places, and names mentioned.

- **Dig a little deeper.** What was the purpose of this source? Think about the context in which the creator existed. Can you tell if the creator was reacting to another person, idea, or event? Who might the audience(s) have been? Is the source reflective of a particular set of ideas, politics, traditions, values, or culture? How representative is it? Are there any unspoken messages to decipher? Is possible that language has changed over time, so that what the author meant by a certain word or phrase at that time means something different now? If the source is an image, what might symbols or colors represent? Might the way figures are positioned, dressed, or drawn mean something important?

- **Answer the big questions.** How does this source help us understand this time, place, and society? What might the producer’s argument and/or point of view be, and does it demonstrate a change from past ideas, values, actions, roles, or traditions? How does it fit with other sources generated by others on the same or related topics? Does this source demonstrate cause and/or effect? In what ways might the source challenge or affirm or modify existing narratives about the past?

Each of the primary sources in this reader has been carefully chosen to highlight a variety of voices, both international and national, commenting on issues, both international and national, of the United States’ past. Some of the primary sources include outdated language or images that are offensive, while others may feature text and visual content that seem comfortable and harmless; we encourage you to confront each source with the critical eye of the historian. Moving through the questions above will help you develop good habits of historical thinking and historical question-asking.

Five of the most important aspects of thinking historically are (1) Change and continuity: how have ideas/relationships/events changed or remained the same over time? To make useful and reliable comparisons, historians constantly need to ask “How is this different than or similar to what came before it and what came after it?” (2) Context: how are time, place, and conditions significant? The environment in which evidence was created matters immensely to historians in order to adequately grasp the reasons for its creation and the meaning of its message. A second aspect of context involves placing a primary source in conversation with other sources produced at approximately the same time or context in order to assess how representative (or not) the source was of a particular time, place, and group. (3) Causality: what can be learned about causes and consequences from the past? Though historians are often accused of obsessing over dates, this is a misunderstanding; what historians really get excited about is chronology. Understanding the chronological relationship of past events reveals
cause-and-effect, the key to making connections between people, places, and ideas and unraveling motives and consequences. (4) Contingency: what conditions needed to be in place for this past event to occur as it did? Historians rarely, if ever, concede that an event was inevitable. We recognize that many preconditions must exist to create the opportunity for each past event. Speculating about the absence or presence of specific conditions lets us play the “what if” game, an exercise in which historians occasionally dabble but don’t often dwell. (5) Complexity: humans and their civilizations are messy and, thus, so is the past. Any attempt to distill the past into a neat, one-size-fits-all package pretends that all people acted in predictable ways with the same motives and goals, that the “good life” for one group was the “good life” for every group, and that there are simple explanations for the way of the world. Rejecting this, historians embrace the complicated and revel in nuance. Because we continually strive to construct a fuller and more complete narrative that accounts for the complex, history—the story we tell about the past—changes. History is dynamic, not static.

These characteristics highlight what make a historian’s interests different from those of other scholars. Think about Dr. Martin Luther King’s 1963 “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” a primary source that could be read in a variety of college departments, for a number of reasons. While all scholars would be interested in establishing basic who-what-when-where facts, people of different disciplines then ask specific questions tailored to the contours of that discipline. For example, a historian would be interested in the significance of King’s document for the U.S. civil rights movement and its place in a longer history of nonviolent resistance in order to understand the ways in which the African American freedom struggle had evolved by the 1960s, what influences from around the world inspired King’s argument, what consequences King’s letter and message had for civil rights movements in the U.S. and beyond, and how it differed from methods and goals of other prominent figures of the civil rights movement. A theologian would highlight the biblical references in King’s letter, seeking to understand their function and interpretation, or analyze how references to God or religious themes reflected a particular religious tradition and that tradition’s interaction with the civil rights movement. A scholar of literature would be concerned with genre, the use of language tools and rhetoric, literary movements, theme, and ways of reading the text; so, King’s nonfiction essay might be read for its stunning use of ethical appeal in a writing course or as an example of protest literature or an example of African American literature employing themes of conscience, justice, and human rights in a literature course. Scholars of the humanities and social sciences differ even further in their use of primary sources. A sociologist, political scientist, or psychologist might read King’s letter and use it to make a broad statement about humanity or political theory or group behavior. Historians, however, do not look for what the letter tells us about all people in all times, but for what it tells us about a specific person or group (King, his audience) in a particular time (1963) and place (Birmingham, Alabama, U.S.). Though there is some overlap, even this brief description shows how differently the disciplines look at the same primary source.

Good things come from studying history: it develops critical thinking skills, habits of good question-asking, and confidence in the ability to find answers, assess evidence,
and build an argument all while bringing new life to the past. Learning to view the past through someone else’s eyes, from another person’s point of view, is one of the most important things that learning to think historically can do for us. It is not easy, nor should we expect it to be. We must be willing to step outside ourselves and “the now.” Too many times we read something from the past with our present-day glasses on, forgetting that political systems and parties, geographies, cultural expressions, language, and ideas about race, class, gender, childhood, science, religion, education—almost everything!—have changed over time; if we do so, we risk misinterpreting evidence and creating a story that does not accurately reflect the reality of past lives. Acknowledging and casting off the “now” glasses takes some humility: not only must we be willing to allow that our way of seeing isn’t necessarily a superior way of seeing, but also, more fundamentally, we have to be willing—collectively and individually—to admit that the way we see today isn’t the only way of seeing. The art of viewing the past through others’ eyes translates to daily life. The more practice you can get in thinking historically through reading, reflecting on, and interpreting primary sources, the better you will become at appreciating complicated present-day issues from multiple perspectives. History matters!

**For Further Reading**


NOTE TO INSTRUCTORS

As demonstrated in the “Note to Students,” we truly live in a global era. To meet the needs of our students and our discipline, instructors must meet this new age with fresh models for teaching the American past. Twentieth-century frames for U.S. history instruction are inadequate, can be overly narrow, and are often unsuited for the demands of the new millennium. With this publication, the editors have crafted a tool that can support this necessary shift to a broader global historical perspective. Whether the need be to teach an introductory course on the United States from an international perspective, to globalize a U.S. survey course, or simply to bring U.S. elements into a class on world history or Western civilization, this reader can be a useful device in developing a new approach.

For more than two decades now, historians have discussed the importance of moving away from a strictly national frame and internationalizing the teaching of American history.1 This shift provides a history that is both more connected to the present and more representative of the past, intertwined with the larger processes and forces that shaped both the development of the United States and the broad paths of world history. As historian Peter N. Stearns argues, “even those aspects of the American history course designed to provide a sense of national experience and identity—a staple of the survey course since its inception in the nineteenth century—are vastly improved through a global perspective. In what ways has the nation moved in rhythms shared with other parts of the world? In what institutions and values does national distinctiveness rest?”2 The rewards of shifting our pedagogical focus can reap a host of positive outcomes for both instructors and students.

Envisioning teaching a survey of United States history from a global perspective can be a daunting task. Choosing to narrow the course thematically offers a wealth of avenues to both understand and learn aspects of the topic. The editors organized this publication to support a variety of themes that instructors can use as a concentration, including encountering the other, environment, foreign policy, women’s history, war and society, and immigration. Within these pages, instructors will find

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1 An important early effort is encapsulated in Thomas Bender’s “The LaPietra Report: A Report to the Profession,” the outcome of a four-year series of discussions among historians from a host of different countries sponsored by the Organization of American Historians. The full report can be found here: https://www.oah.org/insights/archive/the-lapietra-report-a-report-to-the-profession/.

some entries here that will be new to them and some that may be quite familiar. Even familiar texts or images, however, take on new meaning when framed and analyzed in a global context.

A special feature that begins each chapter is the 360. This section offers a collection of sources organized around a discrete theme, such as the rights of the individual (chapter 2), motives for empire (chapter 6), or the digital world (chapter 15). These pieces position assorted primary sources around a topic, are less strictly chronological, and place items in conversation with one another. The 360 discussion questions will prove useful in encouraging students to explore the relationship between these sources from disparate contexts and periods.

Discussion questions are included for all items in the reader. These are designed to encourage analysis of primary sources through in-class discussions or short student writing assignments. As this reader will often be used in college and university general survey courses, the text may also offer some students one of their sole experiences to understand the historian’s work. This compilation includes a rich mix of primary sources for undergraduates to analyze and interpret. In our “Note to Students,” your students are provided suggested pathways and approaches for working with primary source material. The issues raised through the discussion questions and primary source analysis should be enriched by the specialized methodologies and interests of each individual instructor.

As is quickly evident, a distinctive feature of this primary source reader is its extensive visual content. Students will find it of added benefit to have the opportunity to work with these images in and out of class. The publishers took additional steps to provide these images in color, as it offers a fuller representation of the original image and reveals additional layers for inquiry and interpretation.

A priority in planning the volume was also to include a diverse mix of perspectives and materials. About 60 percent of the pieces in the reader originate outside the U.S. This makes this publication distinctive from many texts which have primarily consisted of domestic looks outward rather than more inclusive global viewpoints on the U.S. To broaden students’ understanding of where historians get their source material, you will also find an array of types of primary sources, including memoirs, statistical reports, oral histories, government documents, ephemera, maps, and political cartoons.

The exciting developments in transnational research and publication in history over the past two decades have been impressive. It is time that our undergraduate students benefit from this important historiographical turn. As it has done in research, this shift can reinvigorate the teaching of U.S. history at the undergraduate level. As historian John R. Gillis maintains, “the internationalization of American history provides an opportunity to restore history to its position at the core of a civic education by connecting it to that which really matters in the lives of people caught in the force field of transnational rather than purely national events.”3 As you embrace this challenge in your classroom, we, the editors, hope you find this volume useful in your efforts.

1

Contact and Colonization

360 | Columbian Exchange

Early Contact

Colonial Politics and Society
Scholars have long since shed the image of Christopher Columbus as the discoverer of America—after all, the Americas were full of people when the sailor showed up in 1492—but agree that his voyage from Europe to the Caribbean and back to Europe set in motion one of the most momentous events of the modern era. The Columbian Exchange—named after Columbus—refers to the two-way transfer of plants, animals, microbes, ideas, and peoples between the Old World and the New World. It was the knitting together of dramatically different ecosystems, with all the ruptures and variations that resulted. This exchange significantly influenced cuisines, nutrition, and agriculture worldwide, but led to massive depopulation in the New World due to virgin soil epidemics from the introduction of Old World diseases. The examples collected here focus on evidence of the effects of crop transfer from the New World to the Old World.

**Painting by Giuseppe Arcimboldo, Vertumnus (Rudolf II as Vertumnus), Milan, 1590**
Chocolate, a type of cake or bar prepared with different ingredients but whose basic element is cocoa. . . . The beverage made from this bar retains the same name; the cocoa nut originates from the Americas: Spanish travelers established that it was much used in Mexico, when they conquered it around 1520. . . .

Spaniards, who learned about this beverage from the Mexicans and were convinced, through their own experience that this beverage, though unrefined, was good for the health, set out to correct its defaults by adding sugar, some ingredients from the Orient, and several local drugs that it is unnecessary to list here, as we only know their name and as, from all these extras, only the vanilla leaf traveled to our regions (similarly, cinnamon was the only ingredient that was universally approved) and proved to resist time as part of the composition of chocolate.

The sweet scent and potent taste it imparts to chocolate have made it highly recommended for it; but time has shown that it could potentially upset one’s stomach, and its use has decreased; some people who favor the care of their health to the pleasure of their senses, have stopped using it completely. In Spain and in Italy, chocolate prepared without vanilla has been termed the healthy chocolate; and in our French islands in the Americas, where vanilla is neither rare nor expensive, as it can be in Europe, it is never used, when the consumption of chocolate is as high as in any other part of the world. . . .

When the cocoa paste has been well shredded on the stone, sugar can be added once it has been filtered through a silk-cloth sifter; the secret to the true proportion of cocoa and sugar is to put equal quantity of both: one could in fact subtract one quarter out of the dosage of sugar, as it might dry up the paste too much, or render it too sensitive to changes in the air, or endanger it even more to the apparition of worms. But that suppressed quarter of sugar must be used when chocolate, the beverage, is being prepared.

Once sugar is well mixed with the cocoa paste, a very thin powder can be added, made with vanilla seeds and cinnamon sticks finely cut and sifted together; this new mixture shall be mixed on the stone; once every ingredient is well incorporated, the mixture shall be poured into chocolatière pots, the shape of which it will take, and where it will harden. When one loves scents, one could add some amber essence into the pots.
Recipe for salsa di pomodoro, Italy, 1891

There once was a priest in a city of Romagna who stuck his nose into everything, and inserted himself into families, desiring to have a hand in every domestic affair. On the other hand, he was an honest man, and since more good than bad came from his eagerness, people let him do it. But the witty christened him Don Pomodoro (Father Tomato), to show that tomatoes were everywhere. Therefore a good tomato sauce will be a valuable help in the kitchen.

Make a battuto with a quarter of an onion, a clove of garlic, a finger-length stalk of celery, some basil leaves and enough parsley. Season with a little olive oil, salt, and pepper, and mash 7 or 8 tomatoes and put everything together on the stove. Stir from time to time and once you see the sauce condensed like a creamy liquid, pass it through a strainer and serve.

This sauce is fit for very many uses, as I shall indicate accordingly. It is good with boiled meat, and goes best with pasta topped with butter and cheese, as well as for making risotto (recipe 77).

First known reference to the peanut, Huang Hsing-tsêng, China, early 16th c.

There is another [kind of tuber] whose skin is yellow and whose flesh is white. It is delicious and highly edible. Its stem and leaves are like those of the broad bean but slimmer. It is called hsiang-yü (fragrant taro). There is yet another kind whose flowers are on the vinelike stem. After the flowers fall, [the pods] begin to develop [underground]. It is called lo-hua-sheng. Both are produced in Chia-ting country (near Shanghai).

Adam Smith on the potato, Wealth of Nations, England, 1776

Book 4, Chapter 7, Of Colonies
The vegetable food of the inhabitants, though from their want of industry not very abundant, was not altogether so scanty. It consisted in Indian corn, yams, potatoes, bananas, etc. plants which were then altogether unknown in Europe, and which have never since been very much esteemed in it, or supposed to yield a sustenance equal to what is drawn from the common sorts of grain and pulse, which have been cultivated in this part of the world time out of mind.

Book 1, Chapter 11, Part I: Of the Produce of Land which Always affords Rent
The food produced by a field of potatoes is not inferior in quantity to that produced by a field of rice, and much superior to what is produced by a field of wheat. Twelve thousand weight of potatoes from an acre of land is not a greater produce than two thousand weight of wheat. The food or solid nourishment, indeed which can be drawn from each of those two plants, is not altogether in proportion to their weight, on account of the watery nature of potatoes. Allowing, however, half the weight of this root to go to water, a very large allowance, such an acre of potatoes will still produce six thousand weight of solid nourishment, three times the quantity produced by the acre of wheat. An acre of potatoes is cultivated with less expense than an acre of wheat; the fallow, which generally precedes
the sowing of wheat, more than compensating the hoeing and other extraordinary culture which is always given to potatoes. Should this root ever become in any part of Europe, like rice in some rice countries, the common and favourite vegetable food of the people, so as to occupy the same proportion of the lands in tillage which wheat and other sorts of grain for human food do at present, the same quantity of cultivated land would maintain a much greater number of people, and the labourers being generally fed with potatoes, a greater surplus would remain after replacing all the stock and maintaining all the labour employed in cultivation. A greater share of this surplus, too, would belong to the landlord. Population would increase, and rents would rise much beyond what they are at present.

The land which is fit for potatoes, is fit for almost every other useful vegetable. If they occupied the same proportion of cultivated land which corn does at present, they would regulate, in the same manner, the rent of the greater part of other cultivated land.

In some parts of Lancashire it is pretended, I have been told, that bread of oatmeal is a heartier food for labouring people than wheaten bread, and I have frequently heard the same doctrine held in Scotland. I am, however, somewhat doubtful of the truth of it. The common people in Scotland, who are fed with oatmeal, are in general neither so strong nor so handsome as the same rank of people in England who are fed with wheaten bread. They neither work so well, nor look so well; and as there is not the same difference between the people of fashion in the two countries, experience would seem to show, that the food of the common people in Scotland is not so suitable to the human constitution as that of their neighbours of the same rank in England. But it seems to be otherwise with potatoes. The chairmen, porters, and coal-heavers in London, and those unfortunate women who live by prostitution, the strongest men and the most beautiful women perhaps in the British dominions, are said to be, the greater part of them, from the lowest rank of people in Ireland, who are generally fed with this root. No food can afford a more decisive proof of its nourishing quality, or of its being peculiarly suitable to the health of the human constitution. It is difficult to preserve potatoes through the year, and impossible to store them like corn, for two or three years together. The fear of not being able to sell them before they rot, discourages their cultivation, and is, perhaps, the chief obstacle to their ever becoming in any great country, like bread, the principal vegetable food of all the different ranks of the people.

The circumstances of the poor through a great part of England cannot surely be so much distressed by any rise in the price of poultry, fish, wild fowl, or venison, as they must be relieved by the fall in that of potatoes.

360 DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1 Do the sources gathered here seem to suggest that new crops from the Americas were received positively in the Old World?

2 How might the Columbian Exchange challenge the idea of “traditional” or “national” cuisines being timeless?

3 How might the documents here provide evidence of increasing globalization as far back as the sixteenth century?
Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli (1397–1482) was an Italian astrologer, mathematician, and cosmographer who, in 1474, proposed a plan to King Afonso V of Portugal for sailing westward to reach the Spice Islands and Asia. Later, a transcript of this letter outlining the strategy and a version of the map below were sent to Christopher Columbus, who took them on his first voyage to the New World. For reference, the 1911 publication by British cartographer John George Bartholomew superimposed Toscanelli’s chart on a more modern atlas.

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

1. What does Toscanelli’s map signal about the extent of European knowledge of world geography in 1474?
2. Cipangu (Japan) and Cathay (China) are indicated on the map. Why would European explorers be seeking a route to those places?

*The Requerimiento* (Requirement) (1510) was authored by the Council of Castile, the ruling body of the Crown of Castile, and was intended to be read aloud as notice to indigenous populations in the New World of the Spanish right to conquest. It draws on
the 1493 papal bull (decree) that split the territory of the western hemisphere between Spain and Portugal. In many cases, *The Requerimiento* was proclaimed in Latin to American peoples without an interpreter or even read from aboard ship to an empty beach.

On the part of the King, Don Fernando, and of Doña Juana, his daughter, Queen of Castile and León, subduers of the barbarous nations, we their servants notify and make known to you, as best we can, that the Lord our God, Living and Eternal, created the Heaven and the Earth, and one man and one woman, of whom you and we, all the men of the world, were and are descendants, and all those who came after us. But, on account of the multitude which has sprung from this man and woman in the five thousand years since the world was created, it was necessary that some men should go one way and some another, and that they should be divided into many kingdoms and provinces, for in one alone they could not be sustained.

Of all these nations God our Lord gave charge to one man, called St. Peter, that he should be Lord and Superior of all the men in the world, that all should obey him, and that he should be the head of the whole human race, wherever men should live, and under whatever law, sect, or belief they should be; and he gave him the world for his kingdom and jurisdiction.

And he commanded him to place his seat in Rome as the spot most fitting to rule the world from; but also he permitted him to have his seat in any other part of the world, and to judge and govern all Christians, Moors [Muslims], Jews, Gentiles, and all other sects. This man was called Pope, as if to say, Admirable Great Father and Governor of men. The men who lived in that time obeyed that St. Peter and took him for Lord, King, and Superior of the universe; so also they have regarded the others who after him have been elected to the pontificate, and so has it been continued even till now and will continue till the end of the world.

One of these Pontiffs [popes] who succeeded that St. Peter as Lord of the world, in the dignity and seat which I have before mentioned, made donation of these isles and Tierra-firme to the aforesaid King and Queen and to their successors, our lords, with all that there are in these territories, as is contained in certain writings which passed upon the subject as aforesaid, which you can see if you wish.

So their Highnesses are kings and lords of these islands and land of Tierra-firme by virtue of this donation: and some islands, and indeed almost all those to whom this has been notified, have received and served their Highnesses, as lords and kings, in the way that subjects ought to do, with good will, without any resistance, immediately, without delay, when they were informed of the aforesaid facts. And also they received and obeyed the priests whom their Highnesses sent to preach to them and to teach them our Holy Faith; and all these, of their own free will, without any reward or condition, have become Christians, and are so, and their Highnesses have joyfully and benignant-
ly received them, and also have commanded them to be treated as their subjects and vassals; and you too are held and obliged to do the same. Wherefore, as best we can, we ask and require you that you consider what we have said to you, and that you take the time that shall be necessary to understand and deliberate upon it, and that you acknowledge the Church as the Ruler and Superior of the whole world, and the high priest called Pope, and in his name the King and Queen Doña Juana our lords, in his place, as superiors and lords and kings of these islands and this Tierra-firme by virtue of the said donation, and that you consent and give place that these religious fathers should declare and preach to you the aforesaid.

If you do so, you will do well, and that which you are obliged to do to their Highnesses, and we in their name shall receive you in all love and charity, and shall leave you, your wives, and your children, and your lands, free without servitude, that you may do with them and with yourselves freely that which you like and think best, and they shall not compel you to turn Christians, unless you yourselves, when informed of the truth, should wish to be converted to our Holy Catholic Faith, as almost all the inhabitants of the rest of the islands have done. And, besides this, their Highnesses award you many privileges and exemptions and will grant you many benefits.

But, if you do not do this, and maliciously make delay in it, I certify to you that, with the help of God, we shall powerfully enter into your country, and shall make war against you in all ways and manners that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their Highnesses; we shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as their Highnesses may command; and we shall take away your goods, and shall do you all the mischief and damage that we can, as to vassals who do not obey, and refuse to receive their lord, and resist and contradict him; and we protest that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault, and not that of their Highnesses, or ours, nor of these cavaliers who come with us. And that we have said this to you and made this Requisition, we request the notary here present to give us his testimony in writing, and we ask the rest who are present that they should be witnesses of this Requisition.

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

1. What choices and consequences did the Spaniards place before the indigenous peoples?
2. Why did the Spaniards feel justified in treating Native Americans this way?
3. What connections were made between exploration, conquest, and religion?

**1–3 | Jacques Cartier, excerpt from The First Voyage, France, 1534**

In 1534, navigator Jacques Cartier (1491–1557) led an expedition to the New World under the authority of France’s King Francis I. For this voyage, he was to explore the “northern lands,” as the east coast of North America had been well defined at that...
On account of the continuous bad weather with over-cast sky and mist, we remained in that harbour and river, without being able to leave, until [Saturday], the twenty-fifth of the said month [of July]. During that time there arrived a large number of savages, who had come to the river [Gaspé basin] to fish for mackerel, of which there is a great abundance. They [the savages] numbered, as well men, women as children, more than 300 persons, with some forty canoes. When they had mixed with us a little on shore, they came freely in their canoes to the sides of our vessels. We gave them knives, glass beads, combs and other trinkets of small value, at which they showed many signs of joy, lifting up their hands to heaven and singing and dancing in their canoes. This people may well be called savage; for they are the sorriest folk there can be in the world, and the whole lot of them had not anything above the value of five sous, their canoes and fishing-nets excepted. They go quite naked, except for a small skin, with which they cover their privy parts, and for a few old furs which they throw over their shoulders. They are not at all of the same race or language as the first we met. They have their heads shaved all around in circles, except for a tuft on the top of the head, which they leave long like a horse’s tail. This they do up upon their heads and tie in a knot with leather thongs. They have no other dwelling but their canoes, which they turn upside down and sleep on the ground underneath. They eat their meat almost raw, only warming it a little on the coals; and the same with their fish. On St. Magdalen’s day, we rowed over in our long-boats to the spot on the shore where they were, and went on land freely among them. At this they showed great joy, and the men all began to sing and dance in two or three groups, exhibiting signs of great pleasure at our coming. But they made all the young women retire into the woods, except two or three who remained, to whom we gave each a comb and a little tin bell, at which they showed great pleasure, thanking the captain by rubbing his arms and his breast with their hands. And the men, seeing we had given something to the women that had remained, made those come back who had fled to the woods, in order to receive the same as the others. These, who numbered some twenty, crowded about the captain and rubbed him with their hands, which is their way of showing welcome. He gave them each a little tin ring of small value; and at once they assembled together in a group to dance; and sang several songs. We saw a large quantity of mackerel which they had caught near the shore with the nets they use for fishing, which are made of hemp thread, that grows in the country where they ordinarily reside; for they only come down to the sea in the fishing-season, as I have been given to understand. Here likewise grows Indian corn like pease, the same as in Brazil, which they eat in place of bread, and of this they had a large quantity with them. They call it in their language, Kagaige. Furthermore they have plums which they dry for
the winter as we do, and these they call, *honnesta*; also figs, nuts, pears, apples and other fruits, and beans which they call, *sahe*. If one shows them something they have not got and they know not what it is, they shake their heads and say, *nouda*, which means, they have none of it and know not what it is. Of the things they have, they showed us by signs the way they grow and how they prepare them. They never eat anything that has a taste of salt in it. They are wonderful thieves and steal everything they can carry off.

On [Friday] the twenty-fourth of the said month [of July], we had a cross made thirty feet high, which was put together in the presence of a number of Indians on the point at the entrance to this harbor, under the cross-bar of which we fixed a shield with three *fleurs-de-lys* in relief, and above it a wooden board, engraved in large Gothic characters, where was written, LONG LIVE THE KING OF FRANCE. We erected this cross on the point in their presence and they watched it being put together and set up. And when it had been raised in the air, we all knelt down with our hands joined, worshipping it before them; and made signs to them, looking up and pointing towards heaven, that by means of this we had our redemption, at which they showed many marks of admiration, at the same time turning and looking at the cross.

When we had returned to our ships, the chief, dressed in an old black bear-skin, arrived in a canoe with three of his sons and his brother; but they did not come so close to the ships as they had usually done. And pointing to the cross he [the chief] made us a long harangue, making the sign of the cross with two of his fingers; and then he pointed to the land all around about, as if he wished to say that all this region belonged to him, and that we ought not to have set up this cross without his permission. And when he had finished his harangue, we held up an axe to him, pretending we would barter it for his fur-skin. To this he nodded assent and little by little drew near the side of our vessel, thinking he would have the axe. But one of our men, who was in our dinghy, caught hold of his canoe, and at once two or three more stepped down into it and made the Indians come on board our vessel, at which they were greatly astonished. When they had come on board, they were assured by the captain that no harm would befall them, while at the same time every sign of affection was shown to them; and they were made to eat and to drink and to be of good cheer. And then we explained to them by signs that the cross had been set up to serve as a land-mark and guide-post on coming into the harbor, and that we would soon come back and would bring them iron wares and other goods; and that we wished to take two of his [the chief’s] sons away with us and afterwards would bring them back again to that harbour. And we dressed up his two sons in shirts and ribbons and in red caps, and put a little brass chain round the neck of each, at which they were greatly pleased; and they proceeded to hand over their old rags to those who were going back on shore. To each of these three, whom we sent back, we also gave a hatchet and two knives at which they showed great pleasure. When they returned on shore, they told the others what had happened. About noon on that day six canoes came off to the ships, in each of which were five or six Indians, who had come to say good-bye to the two we had detained, and to bring them some fish. These made signs that they would not pull down the cross, delivering at the same time several harangues which we did not understand.
DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What kind of observations were the French making about the people they encountered?
2. How did the French interpret the chief’s response to the French cross?
3. Why might Native Americans be receptive to the presence of the French? What signs of tension can be observed?

1–4a | Engraving by Theodor de Bry of a watercolor by John White, The arrival of the Englishmen in Virginia, England and Germany, 1590

John White (ca. 1540–ca. 1593) was an English artist and colonist that participated in six expeditions to the New World during his lifetime, including a 1585 expedition to found a settlement at Roanoke Island. That same year, he was commissioned to sketch the natural bounty and inhabitants of the area. Published in an illustrated 1590 edition of Thomas Harriot’s A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, the image below is an engraving by Belgian Theodor de Bry (1528–1598) of White’s watercolor depicting the arrival of the English in Virginia. Roanoac (Roanoke Island) is a central feature of the image.
Many good religious devout men have made it a great question, as a matter in conscience, by what warrant they might goe to possesse those Countries, which are none of theirs, but the poore Salvages. Which poore curiosity will answer it selfe; for God did make the world to be inhabited with mankind, and to have his name knowne to all Nations, and from generation to generation: as the people increased they dispersed themselves into such Countries as they found most convenient. And here in Florida, Virginia, New-England, and Cannada, is more land than all the people in Christendome can manure, and yet more to spare than all the natives of those Countries can use and culturate. And shall we here keepe such a coyle for land, and as such great rents and rates, when there is so much of the world uninhabited, and as much more in other places, and as good, or rather better than any wee possesse, were it manured and used accordingly. If this be not a reason sufficient to such tender consciences; for a copper kettle and a few toyes, as beads and hatchets, they will sell you a whole Countrey; and for a small matter, their houses and the ground they dwell upon; but those of the Massachusetts have resigned theirs freely.

Now the reasons for plantations are many; Adam and Eve did first begin this innocent worke to plant the earth to remaine to posterity, but not without labour, trouble, and industry: Noah and his family began againe the second plantation, and their seed as it still increased, hath still planted new Countries, and one Country another, and so the world to that estate it is; but not without much hazard, travell, mortalities, discontentes, and many disasters: had those worthy Fathers and their memorable off-spring not beeene more diligent for us now in those ages, than wee are to plant that yet unplanted for after-livers. Had the seed of Abraham, our Saviour Christ Jesus and his Apostles, exposed themselves to no more dangers to plant the Gospell wee so much professe, than we, even we our selves had at this present beeene Salvages, and as miserable as the most barbarous Salvage, yet uncivilized. The Hebrewes, Lacedemonians, the Goths, Grecians, Romans, and the rest, what was it they would not undertake to inlarge their Territories, inrich their subjects, and resist their enemies. Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies and their vertues, were no silvered idle golden Pharisies, but industrious honest hearted Publicans, they regarded more provisions and necessaries for their people, than jewels, ease and delight for themselves; riches was their servants, not their masters; they ruled as fathers, not as tyrants; their people as children, not as
slaves; there was no disaster could discourage them; and let none thinke they incountered not with all manner of incumbrances, and what hath ever beene the worke of the best great Princes of the world, but planting of Countries, and civilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations to civility and humanity, whose eternall actions fils our histories with more honour than those that have wasted and consumed them by warres.

Lastly, the Portugals and Spaniards that first began plantations in this unknowne world of America till within this 140. yeares, whose everlasting actions before our eyes, will testifie our idlenesse and ingratitude to all posterity, and neglect of our duty and religion wee owe our God, our King, and Countrey, and want of charity to those poore Salvages, whose Countries we challenge, use, and possesse, except wee be but made to mar what our forefathers made, or but only tell what they did, or esteeme our selves too good to take the like paines where there is so much reason, liberty, and action offers it selfe, having as much power and meanes as others: why should English men despaire and not doe so much as any? Was it vertue in those Heros to provide that doth main-taine us, and basenesse in us to doe the like for others to come? Surely no; then seeing wee are not borne for our selves but each to helpe other, and our abilities are much alike at the howre of our birth and minute of our death: seeing our good deeds or bad, by faith in Christs merits, is all wee have to carry our soules to heaven or hell: Seeing hon-our is our lives ambition, and our ambition after death, to have an honourable memory of our life: and seeing by no meanes wee would be abated of the dignitie and glorie of our predecessors, let us imitate their vertues to be worthily their successors, or at least not hinder, if not further them that would and doe their utmost and best endeavours.

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

1. What features did the artist choose to highlight in his etching?

2. Why did Smith deem colonies necessary? How did Smith employ religion to promote colonization?

3. What, according to Smith, was the purpose of land and its acquisition? How does the image reinforce his view of the land?

**1–5| Waniyetu Wowapi (Nakota Winter Count), Lone Dog, first recorded 1800–1871**

Lone Dog, a member of the Yanktonai Nakota community, was the last known keeper of the winter count included below. With pictorial symbols on a buffalo hide, this winter count provided mnemonic devices that recorded notable events from the winter of 1800 to 1871. The keeper, often a position that passed from father to son, painted a new pictograph each year. Symbols begin in the center and spiral counterclockwise outward.
DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How does this piece challenge a definition of history that privileges written texts?
2. What types of images appear most frequently? What can that tell us about Nakota culture?
3. Why would the use of a single image be a useful way to capture the events of an entire year?
James Glen (1701–1777) was appointed Royal Governor of South Carolina in 1738 but arrived in the province in December 1743. Indian affairs were a key issue during his governorship. In Glen’s view, the French were the primary enemy, and Glen worked, with mixed results, to unite all local tribes to tip the colonial balance of power in the English favor. His term as governor lasted until June 1756.

The people of most experience in the affairs of this country, have always dreaded a French war; from an apprehension that an Indian war would be the consequence of it; for which reasons, I have ever since the first breaking out of the war with France, redoubled my Attention to Indian affairs: and I hope, not without Success.

For notwithstanding all the intrigues of the French, they have not been able to get the least footing among our Nations of Indians; as very plainly appears by those Nations still continuing to give fresh proofs of their attachment to us: and I have had the happiness to bring over and fix the Friendship of the Chactaw Nation of Indians in the British Interest.

This powerful Engine, which the French for many years past, played against us and our Indians, even in times of Peace, is now happily turned against themselves, and I believe they feel the force of it.

For according to last accounts, which I have received from thence, by the Captain of a Sloop that touched at Mobile about two months ago, the Chactaw Indians had driven into the Town of Mobile all the French Planters who were settled either upon the river bearing the same name or in the Neighbouring Country, and there kept them in a manner besieged, so that a few of the French who ventured out of the Town to hunt up Cattle were immediately scalped.

Monsieur Vaudreuille the Governor of Louisiana was then in Mobile endeavoring to support his people, and trying to recover the friendship of those Indians. At the same time there were some head men with about Twenty of their People in Charles-Town.

I have been the fuller in my Relation of this matter, because I humbly conceive it to be a very delicate Affair, for these Chactaw Indians, have formerly and even so lately as I have been in this Province, at the instigation of the French and assisted and headed by them, in time of Peace, murdered our Traders in their Way to the Chickesaw Indians, and Robbed them of their goods: but I hope the French Governors will never have it in their power to charge us with such unfair Practises.
I shall be particularly cautious of doing any thing inconsistent with the peace so lately concluded: but I think it incumbent on me to say, that it will be impossible to retain those Indians, or any other, in his Majesty’s interest unless we continue to trade with them.

And since war and hunting are the business of the lives, both Arms and Ammunition as well as Cloaths other necessaries, are the goods for which there is the greatest demand among them—I therefore hope to receive instructions in this particular, as a rule of my conduct.

There are a pretty many Indians among the Kays, about the cape of Florida, who might be easily secured to the British Interest: but as they have little communication with any others on the main Land, and have not any goods to trade for, they could not be of any advantage either in peace or war.

There are also a few Yamasees, about twenty men near St. Augustine: and these are all the Indians in this part of the world that are in the Interest of the Crown of Spain.

The French have the Friendship of some few of the Creek Indians, such as inhabit near the Holbama Fort: and some of the Chactaw Indians have not as yet declared against them: They have also some tribes upon Mississippi River, and Ouabash, and in other parts: but most of these and all other Indians whatsoever, inhabit above a Thousand miles from Charles-Town; and yet it may be proper to give attention even to what happens among those who are so far from us; for to an Indian, a thousand miles is as one mile their Provisions being in the Woods, and they are never out of the way: they are slow, saying the Sun will rise again tomorrow, but they are steddy.

We have little intercourse with the French; but unless there have been alterations lately, the Accounts I have formerly sent may be relied on, there are not above six hundred men (Soldiers) in what they call Louisiana, and those thinly spread over a widely extended Country: some at New Orleans some at Mobile, and some as far up as the Illinois.

They had a Fort at the Mouth of the Mississippi river called the Balise, but they found it was not of any service, and therefore they have built another farther up, where it commands the passage: their Forts Holbama, Chactawhatche, Notche, Notchitosh, and another on Ouabash are all inconsiderable stockadoed Forts, garrisoned by 40 and some by only 20 men each. If ever the French settlements on the Mississippi grow great, they may have pernicious effects upon South Carolina, because they produce the same sorts of Commodities as are produced there, viz: Rice and Indigo: but hitherto, the only Inconvenience that I know of, is, their attempting to withdraw our Indians from us, and attacking those who are most attached to our interest.

I beg Leave to assure you that I shall never do any thing inconsistent with that good faith which is the basis of all his Majesty’s Measures, but it is easy for me at present to divert the French in their own way, and to find them business for double the number of men they have in that Country.

However, this, and even the Tranquility of South Carolina will depend upon preserving our Interest with the Indians, which it will be very difficult to do, unless the presents are continued to them, and those Forts built which I have formerly proposed, or at least, one of them, and that to be in the Country of the Cherokees.
DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What was Governor Glen’s goal in relating to Native Americans, particularly the Chactaw? How did the governor think this goal could be best accomplished?

2. Why were alliances with Native Americans important to European colonial powers?

1–7a | John Nathan Hutchins, woodcut, Prospect of the City of New-York from New York Almanac, 1771

Hugh Gaine (1726–1807), an eighteenth-century American printer, bookseller, and newspaper publisher, began the New-York Mercury in 1752. Although a patriot early on, he supported accommodation with England between 1768 and 1774. After Lexington and Concord in April 1775, he supported the revolutionary effort fully, with the Mercury as an instrument of that cause. Below is a published image of a woodblock depicting the 1771 New York skyline. Note the diversity of religious meetinghouses in this emerging city of approximately 20,000.

1–7b | Andrew Burnaby, description of colonial Philadelphia, England, 1759

Andrew Burnaby (1732–1812), an English reverend and travel writer, published his celebrated travelogue, Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America, In the Years 1759 and 1760, in 1775. It reached a second edition and was published in an expanded form in 1798. His work contains close observations but avoids discussions of political developments in the colonies. Here, Burnaby reflects on the development of the city of Philadelphia.
Philadelphia, if we consider that not eighty years ago the place where it now stands was a wild and uncultivated desert, inhabited by nothing but ravenous beasts, and a savage people, must certainly be the object of every one's wonder and admiration. It is situated upon a tongue of land, a few miles above the confluence of the Delaware and Schuylkill; and contains about 3,000 houses, and 18 or 20,000 inhabitants. It is built north and south upon the banks of the Delaware; and is nearly two miles in length, and three quarters of one in breadth. The streets are laid out with great regularity in parallel lines, intersected by others at right angles, and are handsomely built: on each side there is a pavement of broad stones for foot passengers; and in most of them a causeway in the middle for carriages. Upon dark nights it is well lighted, and watched by a patrol: there are many fair houses, and public edifices in it. The stadt-house is a large, handsome, though heavy building; in this are held the councils, the assemblies, and supreme courts; there are apartments in it also for the accommodation of Indian chiefs or sachems; likewise two libraries, one belonging to the province, the other to a society, which was incorporated about ten years ago, and consists of sixty members. Each member upon admission, subscribed forty shillings; and afterward annually ten. They can alienate their shares, by will or deed, to any person approved by the society. They have a small collection of medals and medallions, and a few other curiosities, such as the skin of a rattlesnake killed at Surinam twelve feet long; and several Northern Indian habits made of furs and skins. At a small distance from the stadt-house, there is another fine library, consisting of a very valuable and chosen collection of books, left by a Mr. Logan; they are chiefly in the learned languages. Near this there is also a noble hospital for lunatics, and other sick persons. Besides these buildings, there are spacious barracks for 17 or 1800 men; a good assembly-room belonging to the society of Free Masons; and eight or ten places of religious worship; viz. two churches, three Quaker meeting-houses, two Presbyterian ditto, one Lutheran church, one Dutch Calvinist ditto, one Swedish ditto, one Anabaptist meeting-house, one Moravian ditto: there is also an academy or college, originally built for a tabernacle for Mr. Whitefield. At the south end of the town, upon the river, there is a battery mounting thirty guns, but it is in a state of decay. It was designed to be a check upon privateers. These, with a few alms-houses, and a school-house belonging to the Quakers, are the chief public buildings in Philadelphia. The city is in a very flourishing state, and inhabited by merchants, artists, tradesmen, and persons of all occupations.

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

1. Burnaby is from England. How does that influence what and how he describes colonial Philadelphia and its people?

2. Why might the religious diversity present in Philadelphia and New York be remarkable? What does this illustrate about differences between the colonies and imperial powers?
1–360 | Columbian Exchange

1 Giuseppe Arcimboldo and Jens Mohr, *Vertumnus*, 1590, photograph via Wikimedia Commons.


1–6 Governor Glen, “Section VIII,” in *Historical Collections of South Carolina: Embracing Many Rare and Valuable Pamphlets and Other Documents*, by B. R. Carroll (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1836), 244–47.


2 | The United States in the Age of Revolution

2–360 | Rights of the Individual