



Forging *the* Modern World

SECOND EDITION

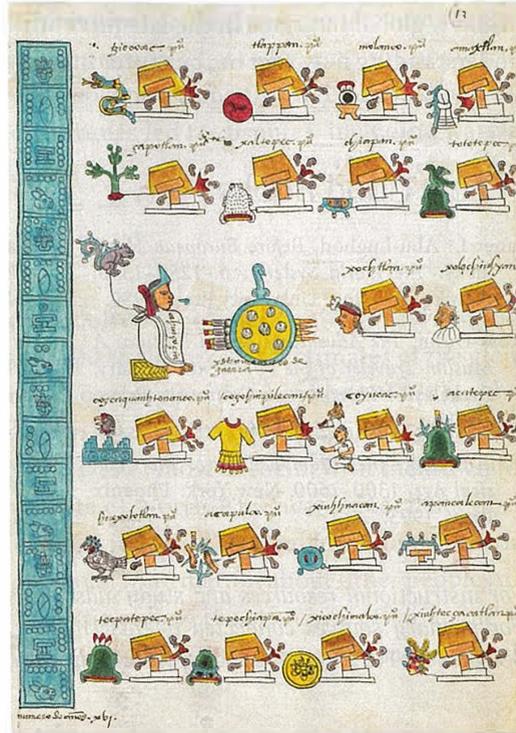
A HISTORY

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(RIGHT) A Roster of City States Subjected by the Aztecs Under the Rule of Ahuitzotl. This is a page from the *Codex Mendoza*, which contains both pictograms and Spanish-language commentary. Produced in the 1540s, two decades after the Aztec Empire fell, this book, painted on indigenous paper, contains over seventy pages of text and images depicting the history and daily life of the Aztecs and their relationship to other peoples in central Mexico from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.



(BOTTOM) A Japanese Perspective of Dejima, the Dutch Trading Post at Nagasaki. Japanese leaders restricted most overseas trade to a single port, at Nagasaki, from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century. Dejima, an artificial island in Nagasaki harbor, served as the most important link between Japan and Europe for more than two hundred years. This painting, ca. 1800, is an example of *megane-e*, produced to be used in an optical device that would give viewers the illusion of depth in the picture. Originally made in Holland, these devices were most likely first imported through Nagasaki in the early eighteenth century.



The New Global Interface

1486–1639

In 1486, a man named Ahuitzotl (r. 1486–1502) assumed power in the Mexica capital of Tenochtitlan. The following year, he presided over a rededication of the city's main temple, constructed to honor the gods of war and rain. Amid thousands of human sacrifices, Ahuitzotl—military, political, and religious leader—spilled some of his own blood as part of the rituals. Over the preceding half century, the Mexica had grown from their power base in the Valley of Mexico to gain supremacy in a triple alliance of city states that dominated one of the most densely populated and wealthiest regions in the Western Hemisphere. Driven by the same worldview that motivated his predecessors to military action, Ahuitzotl was determined to reignite Mexica expansion, which had stagnated in recent decades. He launched more than forty campaigns, subjugating new tributary states from the Gulf coast to the Pacific Ocean and south to the present-day border between Mexico and Guatemala.

Ahuitzotl was unaware that a Genoese navigator, looking for a sea passage to Asia, had landed on an island in the Caribbean Sea during his reign. No one could have predicted what would happen in the decades after this small group of Europeans made landfall in 1492. After Ahuitzotl's death in 1502, his successor, Moctezuma II (r. 1502–1520), came into contact for the first time with Europeans in 1519. Within two years, the mighty Aztec Empire had collapsed, as a new and cataclysmic era in world history unfolded.

Ahuitzotl was the last Aztec leader to rule in isolation from a rapidly accelerating, and profoundly disrupting, flow of goods and people. Over the subsequent century and a half, rulers around the world struggled with the mounting consequences of this wave of globalization. Continuing the search for greater access to Asia, European merchants and firearms first arrived in Japan in the early 1540s, followed soon after by Catholic missionaries. Over the following century, as complex alliances grew and fractured, Japanese leaders determined that contact with Europeans had to be severely limited. In 1639, the hereditary Tokugawa leader Iemitsu (1604–1651) banned Portuguese trade with Japan and expelled foreigners. A series

First Encounters

The first contact with village-dwelling indigenous peoples living on islands off the coast of North America confused Christopher Columbus and his crew. Numerous sponsors, including merchants from his native Genoa and the Iberian monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, thought they had financed a voyage to Asia to expand possibilities for trade and Christian evangelization there. It soon became apparent that what Columbus stumbled on challenged European conceptions of how the world fit together. Most Europeans who were interested in such things at the time believed that there was one great sea on the earth, with Europe on its eastern shore and Asia—China, Japan, and India—on its west. Columbus went to his grave believing that the Asian mainland was much closer to where he had landed than it actually was. Subsequent generations of seafarers continued to search for a western sea route to Asia.

When he returned to Spain, Columbus convinced Queen Isabella to sponsor additional voyages across the Atlantic. In 1493, he returned to the Caribbean to establish a fortified trading post with over one thousand sailors, artisans, and soldiers. This failed; the indigenous population had neither the interest nor the surplus to engage in commerce, and some Caribbean peoples resisted the strangers furiously. Those who arrived with Columbus grew impatient with promises of the future and began to look for ways to gain wealth more quickly. Borrowing from experiences, understandings, and self-serving interpretations of the Iberian and Christian traditions, they distributed among themselves mineral and land rights and implemented an *encomienda* system, similar in intent to European feudalism. Spanish *encomenderos* divided up the indigenous population and gave themselves the responsibility to Christianize and care for their charges in return for the right to exploit their labor. The potential profits to be gained from this access to indigenous labor power made the *encomiendas* immensely valuable. They became the primary reward sought by men expanding the Spanish presence in the Americas over the next half century.

Over time, Columbus lost favor with the Spanish monarchs. They appointed a new governor to oversee royal interests in the Americas, including the collection of tribute payments from indigenous taxpayers. Concern over the return on their investment, as well as the spiritual dimension of their claim to rule in the New World, led the Crown to instruct the governor to “ensure that the Indians are well treated” and to send more priests. As these decisions demonstrate, long before Europeans became aware that tens of millions of people lived on the American mainland, both Spaniards in the Americas and their rulers in Spain developed complex and competing goals for their relationships with the indigenous population. The indigenous peoples themselves had their own political, economic, and spiritual motivations, which impacted the nature of Spanish exploration and settlement.

The wealth of the Americas transformed European life, but the encounter between Old World and New devastated the people of North and South America. All manner of indigenous people, regardless of their rank or response to the Spaniards, began to die in numbers heartbreaking to contemplate. We know now that disease-causing microorganisms had been the conquerors’ invisible cargo as they migrated to the Americas, but at the time no one was aware of the scientific explanation for the spread of the infectious diseases that decimated the indigenous population. The mounting death toll could not be ignored, however, and critics decried the terrible impact of the indigenous population’s poor treatment. Early in the sixteenth century, priests like Antonio de Montesinos (ca. 1470–ca. 1545) and Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566) condemned the *encomenderos*’ abuse of indigenous peoples.

In response, the Crown issued the Laws of Burgos (1512), which required those holding *encomiendas* to provide Catholic religious instruction, food, and clothing to their indigenous charges, and they banned certain types of corporal punishment. Around the same time, Spanish jurists also drew up a legal document known as the *Requerimiento* (Requirement). This text was to be read at the time of encounter with any new indigenous groups, offering the opportunity to accept Christianity and the authority of the Spanish Crown peacefully or refuse and jeopardize life, property, and freedom. Similar pronouncements were used during the long conflict between Christian and Muslim forces on the Iberian Peninsula.

Even at the time it was first issued, critics called the *Requerimiento* absurd because it presumed the indigenous people could understand the decree. It was supposed to be translated into the local language, but it was difficult, if not impossible, to translate the political and theological implications of the text adequately. Besides, it was often read in Latin or Spanish. In practice, even the barest threads of justice unraveled, as the *Requerimiento* was pronounced at times in the midst of empty villages, recited to trees, or accompanied by the burning of huts. The ritual may have assuaged the consciences of some Spaniards, but it did not offer the indigenous peoples genuine options.

Searching for additional resources and population centers, Spaniards established settlements across the Caribbean—Hispaniola, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Cuba—and explored the coastline from present-day Venezuela to the Yucatán Peninsula to Florida. *Encomiendas* and land grants were distributed, while new arrivals and anxious veterans spurred further exploration and settlement. Disputes over chain of command were common, because the rights to move, explore, and conquer were in theory separate and controlled from above. Defiance was often the order of the day. In 1519, when the governor of Cuba decided that he did not want the *encomendero* Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) to lead an ambitious new expedition, Cortés simply left before the governor’s agents could stop him. Cortés

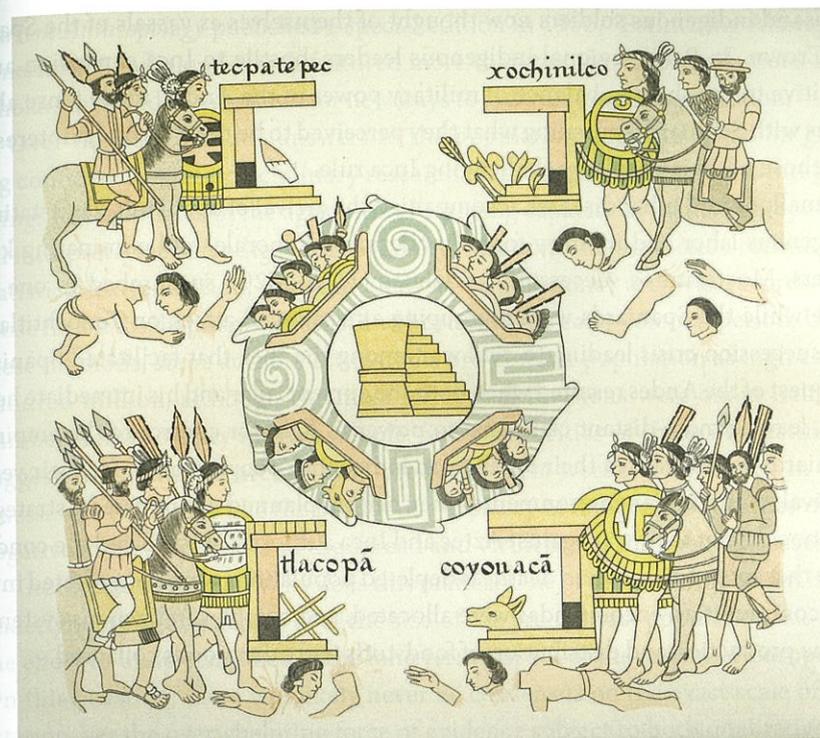
spent the rest of his life in disputes over the legitimacy of his subsequent actions in the Aztec Empire. When another group of adventurers subverted the Inca Empire over a decade later, they too argued with representatives of the Crown, leading to armed conflict and the assassination of royal officials by Spanish rebels.

The Fall of the Aztec and Inca Empires

Cortés, with about five hundred men, eleven ships, and thirteen horses, made landfall on the Yucatán coast of modern-day Mexico in February 1519. There, remarkably, he met a Spanish priest named Gerónimo de Aguilar, who had survived a shipwreck, washed ashore, and learned one of the Maya languages before escaping from an indigenous village. Soon thereafter, Cortés took several women from local villages after the Spaniards defeated an indigenous group in battle. One of these women, Malintzin, spoke Maya and Nahuatl, the language of the Mexica. Malintzin and Aguilar provided the links in a language chain that enabled Cortés to communicate with indigenous groups throughout the region. Working his way up the coast, Cortés founded the town of Veracruz in April 1519. From there, over the course of the coming months, he fought and negotiated his way into the center of the Aztec Empire. In November 1519, an uneasy encounter between Cortés and Moctezuma II, ruler of Tenochtitlan, soon broke down into open warfare that only ended two years later with Cortés in control of the city and its environs.

In the meantime, other Spanish expeditions were moving down the Pacific coast into South America. More than a decade after the fall of Tenochtitlan, the first Spaniards arrived at the heart of the Inca Empire high in the Andes on the Pacific coast of South America. With the indigenous population there in the midst of a civil war, the Spaniards kidnapped the Inca ruler Atahualpa (1497–1533) and later killed him. Like their counterparts in Mexico, this small group of Spaniards, led by the Pizarro brothers, swiftly undermined Inca authority in much of the Andes. From 1532 on, they began to reorganize the political, economic, and social structures of the region.

The falls of the Aztec and Inca Empires are most closely associated in our contemporary popular culture with the Spanish Conquest. They are also poorly understood and subject to great mythologizing, so we offer here several empirical observations about how and why things turned out as they did. By the time Cortés founded Veracruz in 1519, Spanish goals and motivations had shifted away from the trading-post model of the Portuguese *feitoria* to a more complete form of sovereignty that went well beyond the exchange of merchandise. In pursuing their goals, the Spanish had some advantages. Their guns were impressive noisemakers but they were inaccurate and slow to reload; the real battlefield advantages lay in steel swords and horses. Spanish motivations and limitations diverged from those



The Spaniards and Their Indigenous Allies Prepare to Take Tenochtitlan. This image is from a reproduction of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, prepared by order of the indigenous city council of Tlaxcala in the 1550s. The council commissioned the work to demonstrate to Emperor Charles V the important role that the Spanish king's indigenous vassals played alongside Hernán Cortés in conquering the Aztecs.

of the indigenous populations. For indigenous leaders and warriors, concern for the survival of families and communities influenced their decisions; Spanish risk-takers did not include such factors in their calculations when preparing strategies and executing tactics. To remove the option of returning to their Caribbean home port, Cortés deliberately sank the ships that had transported his men to Mexico.

At least as important, this conflict was not simply one of Europeans on one side and indigenous Americans on the other. By the time the Spaniards made their final assaults on the power structures of the largest American empires, they had thousands of allies. Almost two years passed between Cortés's arrival at Tenochtitlan and the surrender of the city in August 1521. During the final siege of the city, which was nestled in the middle of a lake and crisscrossed by canals, the Spaniards had tens of thousands of laborers build more than a dozen ships, each over forty feet long. Squadrons of canoe-borne warriors enforced an embargo on food and other goods entering the capital city, and at least twenty-five

thousand indigenous soldiers now thought of themselves as vassals of the Spanish Crown. In Peru, regional indigenous leaders, hostile to Inca expansion and sensitive to the shifting balance of military power in the Andes, made tense alliances with Spaniards, pursuing what they perceived to be their own best interests and those of their people by challenging Inca rule.

Smallpox and other diseases accompanied the arrival of Spaniards, devastating indigenous labor and military forces, undermining morale, and eliminating key leaders. Moctezuma's successor, Cuitlahuac (1476–1520), succumbed to one of these while the Spaniards were regrouping after a failed attack on Tenochtitlan. The succession crisis leading to civil war among the Inca that facilitated Spanish conquest of the Andes resulted when both the current ruler and his immediate heir died, leaving more distant claimants to power to fight for control of the empire. Spaniards were aware of their reliance on indigenous peoples, often for their very survival in unfamiliar environments. They neither planned nor pursued a strategy of genocide, but their war against Aztec and Inca authority exacerbated the conditions that spread disease and death, as depleted populations were congregated into new communities, *encomiendas* were allocated, and complex indigenous systems for the production and distribution of foodstuffs and other goods collapsed.

Historians Explore Indigenous Population Decline

There is no question that the European conquest devastated the indigenous population of the Americas. Trying to understand the scope and scale of the cataclysmic changes in the population, scholars have focused on several connected issues: the size of the Western Hemisphere's population prior to the arrival of Europeans; the different causes of population decline; and how the causes and effects of population decline and recovery varied by region.

There is no direct evidence, even of questionable reliability, with which to start the task. Archives, one of the places historians usually look for primary sources about population, are of limited use. The comprehensive censuses and tax rolls that in modern states provide detailed records about population do not exist. The written record from the post-contact era, which includes the memoirs of conquistadors and priests, provides descriptions of indigenous populations from small villages to large cities in only vague and impressionistic ways. Indigenous documents, such as maps and tributary records, are fragmentary. Guessing and estimating from these traces, early twentieth-century scholars debated whether the total population of the Americas in 1492 reached even ten million. Subsequent researchers assailed these estimates as ridiculously low, but still varied widely in their methodologies and conclusions. To encourage additional scholarly inquiry into the matter, the journal

Current Anthropology published a special edition in 1966, "Estimating Aboriginal American Population," which featured more than two dozen contributions from scholars involved in the search for new ways to answer this vexing question.

Over the next decades, answers to the population question relied on growing confidence in interdisciplinary research methods that attempted to integrate things like estimates of the agricultural carrying capacity of land, anthropological interpretations of indigenous social organization and production techniques, statistical extrapolation, and the analysis of additional archival records, like those for births, baptisms, deaths, and burials in the early colonial period. Using these methods, some authors estimated a pre-contact population as high as one hundred million, although the most influential revisions were about half that number: forty to sixty million people. Scholarly critics of these new estimates suggested that the researchers who produced them were too optimistic in their assessments of things like the productive capacity of indigenous societies or too negative in their estimates of the spread and virulence of European diseases.

The debate continues. Why does this matter? One of the most important issues underlying this long debate over the size of the pre-contact population has been the effort to understand better the long-term impact of the arrival of Europeans. On this question, there will likely never be consensus on the exact scale of devastation, yet the overwhelming force of evidence subject to both qualitative and quantitative analysis leads to several conclusions. Almost the entire indigenous population of the Caribbean died within decades of the Europeans' arrival. On the mainland, the rates of population decline varied greatly from place to place. Most of the evidence points to disease and the disruption of indigenous political, economic, and social systems as the main causes of demographic decline. The overall indigenous population fell to perhaps four or five million during the first century after contact, a decline of some 90 percent from the most widely accepted estimates of the pre-contact population. Even if one were to accept the lowest pre-contact estimates (which we do not), the demographic decline of the indigenous population of the Americas after European contact remains one of the great catastrophes of human history.¹

¹ Henry F. Dobyns, "An Appraisal of Techniques with a New Hemispheric Estimate," *Current Anthropology* 7, no. 4 (1966): 395–416; H. Paul Thompson, "A Technique Using Anthropological and Biological Data," *Current Anthropology* 7, no. 4 (1966): 417–449; "Comments and Replies," *Current Anthropology* 7, no. 4 (1966): 425–499; Angel Rosenblat, *La población de América en 1492: Viejos y nuevos cálculos* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1967); William M. Denevan, ed., *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); Ann Ramenofsky, *Vectors of Death: The Archaeology of European Contact* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988); David Henige, *Numbers from Nowhere: The American Indian Contact Population Debate* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); Massimo Livi Bacci, "The Depopulation of Hispanic America after the Conquest," *Population and Development Review* 32, no. 2 (June 2006): 199–232.

From Conquest to Colonialism

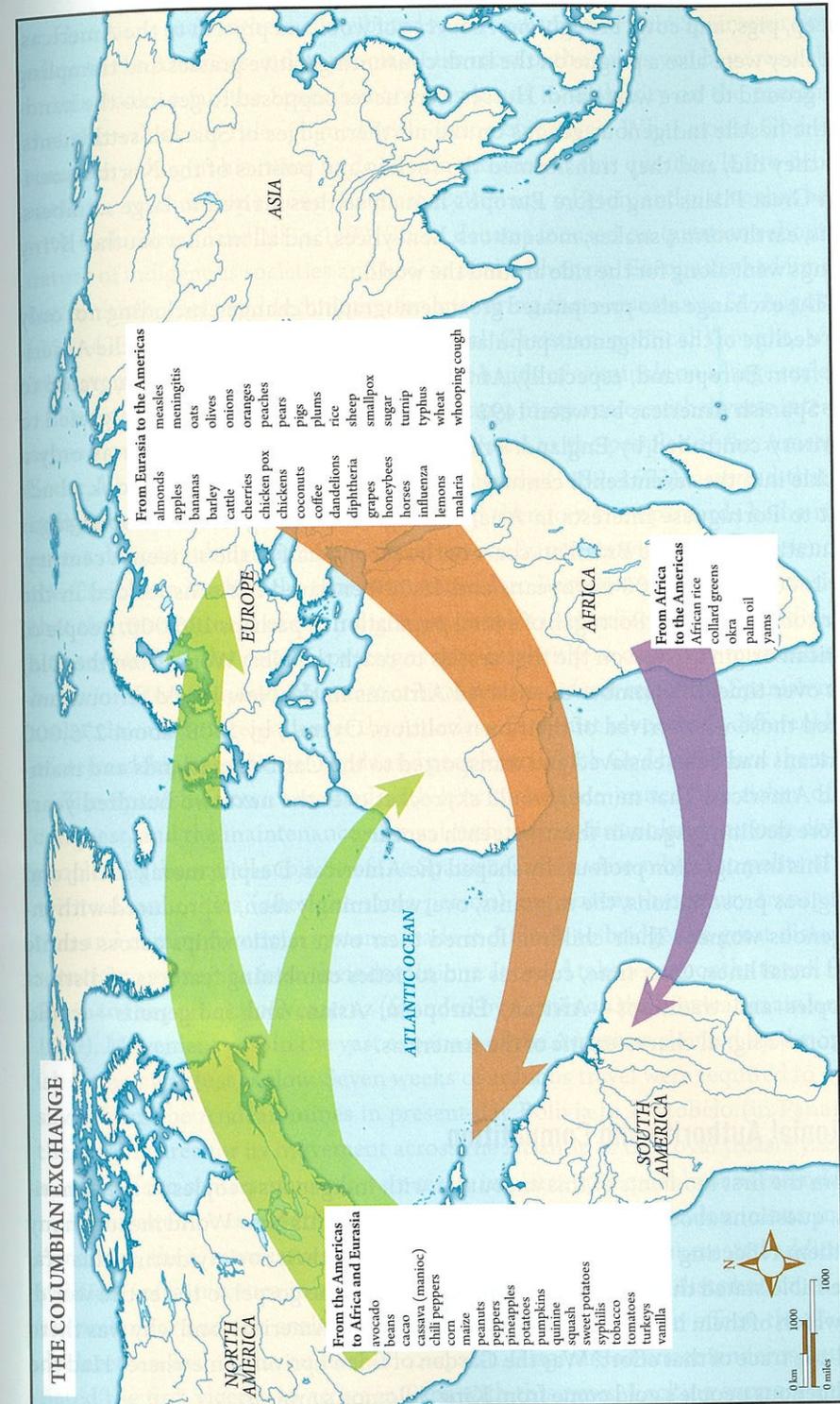
Focus on the actions of conquistadors like Cortés and Pizarro, dramatic as they were, suggests that Spanish control of the Western Hemisphere was completed with the fall of Cusco in the 1530s, but this is not the case. Vast expanses of the Americas and millions of people lay beyond central Mexico and the Andes. Much of North America remained outside the Spaniards' grasp, as did the interior regions of Central and South America. A remnant of the Inca Empire, based in the city of Vilcabamba, continued to fight the Spanish until 1572. Even places that Spaniards thought were under their control proved volatile: a 1541 revolt northwest of Mexico City (the Spanish capital, built on the ruins of Tenochtitlan) required the reconquest of the region, completed with indigenous forces loyal to the Spanish. In 1560, an Andean resistance movement (the *Taki Onqoy*) called for the complete elimination of Spaniards and their culture. Conflict and accommodation defined the next century and beyond, as the Spanish attempted to solidify their control over American resources, indigenous peoples devised strategies to survive, and the enduring impact of global integration reverberated.

The Columbian Exchange

A transfer of agricultural commodities originating in the Americas that would later be grown or consumed around the world began with Columbus's return to Europe and is often therefore called the Columbian exchange. The list of the agricultural products unknown in Afro-Eurasia prior to 1492 is long and stunning in its impact. Over time, many of these products even came to be associated with distinctive European, African, and Asian traditions. Consider, for example, that tomatoes didn't exist in Italy prior to the 1500s. Along with potatoes, peanuts, peppers, cassava, and corn, these are among the crops that originated in the Americas and then spread around the world to transform the diet of much of the world's population. Other plant products, such as chocolate, vanilla, and tobacco, changed consumption habits in similarly profound ways. The transformative power of American commodities can also be seen in the precious metals that began to flow out of the Americas to other parts of the world.

Things from the Old World also came to, and transformed, the New. Columbus himself brought Afro-Eurasian crops and seeds, including wheat, onions, radishes, and sugar cane, on his second voyage in 1493. By 1600, most of the major domesticated Afro-Eurasian crops were grown in the Americas. Rice, and the techniques for its production, arrived from Africa in the 1600s.

The Columbian exchange transformed demographic, economic, and environmental conditions around the world. New World crops did not simply enter Afro-Eurasian diets; they also fueled population growth and agricultural upheaval.



Sheep, pigs, and cows brought new sources of wool and protein to the Americas, but they were also a plague on the land, consuming native grasses and trampling the ground to bare wasteland. Horses were never supposed to get into the hands of the hostile indigenous groups on the northern edges of Spanish settlements, yet they did, and they transformed the society and politics of the North American Great Plains long before Europe's human settlers arrived in large numbers. Rats, earthworms, snakes, mosquitoes, honeybees, and all manner of other living things went along for the ride around the world.

The exchange also precipitated great demographic changes, including not only the decline of the indigenous population but also a great migration to the Americas from Europe and, especially, Africa. About 250,000 Europeans migrated to the Spanish Americas between 1492 and 1650, and similar numbers migrated to territory controlled by England. French migration to the Americas was only a trickle into the seventeenth century. During the same period, Brazil took a back seat to Portuguese interests in Asia, although the Portuguese developed sugar plantations along the Brazilian coast in the second half of the sixteenth century. By 1600 about 30,000 Europeans and 15,000 enslaved Africans resided in the territory claimed by Portugal, of a total population of perhaps 100,000. People of African origin arrived on the first vessels to reach the New World from the Old; but over time, the number of enslaved Africans in the New World far outnumbered those who arrived of their own volition. Overall, by 1600, about 275,000 Africans had been enslaved and transported to the Caribbean islands and mainland Americas. That number would skyrocket over the next two hundred years before declining again in the nineteenth century.

This immigration profoundly shaped the Americas. Despite moral, social, and religious proscriptions, the migrants, overwhelmingly men, reproduced with indigenous women. Their children formed their own relationships across ethnic and racial lines. Over time, cultures and societies combining features of distinct peoples and traditions—African, European, Asian, and indigenous—would become a signal characteristic of the Americas.

Colonial Authority and Competition

From the first moments of this encounter with indigenous peoples in the Americas, questions abounded for Europeans about what this New World meant, many of them reflecting the influence of Bible stories on their society during this era. The Bible stated that Christ's disciples had spread the gospel to the entire world, so which of them had brought the good news to the Americas, and why was there so little trace of that effort? Was the Garden of Eden upriver somewhere? Had the indigenous people's gold come from King Solomon's mines?

Questions such as these contributed to fierce disputes within Spain over how to relate to the Americas and its peoples. Like most of the rulers you have read about in this book so far, the Spanish monarchy based its authority on the contention that the will of the ruler aligned with divine objectives: What would God want someone ruling in his name to do? Trying to answer this question led to debates about the relationship among conquest, legitimacy, religion, and justice that began with Columbus's landfall in 1492. These debates focused on questions about the nature of indigenous societies and how to deal with them. Europeans had limited, but multiple, tools and techniques for answering these questions. St. Augustine (354–430), one of the pillars of medieval Christian political thought, wrote "remove justice, and what are kingdoms but bands of criminals on a large scale?"

During the first half of the sixteenth century, many voices with diverse interests argued over the meaning of justice as it related to the peoples of the Americas. Some, like the scholar Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1489–1573), asserted that the indigenous peoples were natural slaves and therefore the Spaniards had a right, even a duty, to subjugate them. Others, especially priests with some experience in the Caribbean, such as the former *encomendero* Bartolomé de las Casas, insisted that the mistreatment of the indigenous peoples jeopardized not only individual sinners but also the rule of sovereigns who implicitly or explicitly tolerated such behavior. However, even the most critical priests did not reject the Spanish monarchs' claim of sovereignty over the Americas. They just advocated a different kind of stewardship over the rich lands and peoples to which God had drawn them.

The Spanish Crown wrestled with how to balance justice, the riches of the conquest, and the maintenance of royal authority in distant lands among diverse peoples. In theory, all subjects of the Spanish Crown were subject to political and spiritual authorities (often the same person), but sixteenth-century transportation and communications systems made it difficult to bridge the great distances separating monarchs from their dominions. It could take four months to sail from Spain to the port city of Veracruz (founded by Cortés on the Mexican mainland in 1519). Movement within the vast expanses of the Americas claimed by the Spanish Crown was just as slow. Seven weeks of arduous travel were required to move silver from the Andean mines in present-day Bolivia to Portobelo (in Panama), the staging area for its movement across the Atlantic to the royal treasury. Decisions made in centers of power were rarely implemented quickly or as intended.

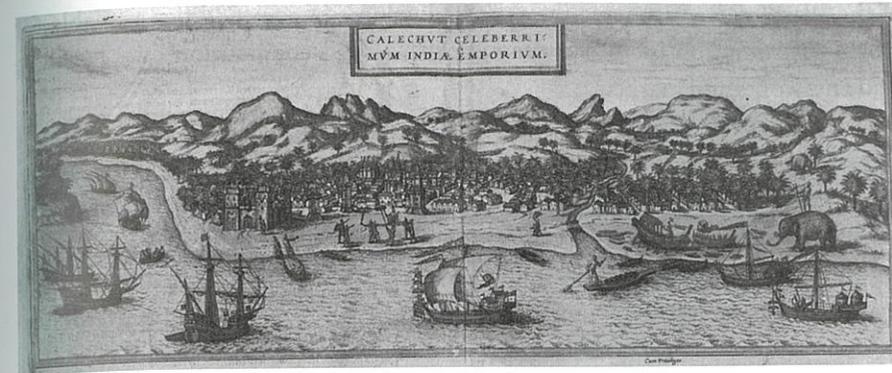
In an attempt to assert greater control over the Spanish dominions in the Americas, the Crown issued a set of "New Laws" in 1542 that created additional political infrastructure in the Americas, while banning the distribution of new *encomiendas* and the enslavement of indigenous persons. In effect, the Crown declared an end to the culture of conquest. Disgruntled *encomenderos* assassinated the first viceroy to arrive in Peru with this news. Lacking support among

settlers and the ability to impose reforms from above, the Crown backed off on many of the reform's key features. Throughout the subsequent 250 years of Spanish rule in the Americas, Spanish monarchs and their advisers strove to balance material interests, royal dependence on local power brokers in the Americas, and a sense of religious obligation.

As soon as word of Columbus's voyages reached Europe, rivals hotly contested Spain's claims to dominion over the peoples, territories, and resources of the New World. Pope Alexander VI (1431–1503) brokered the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, drawing an imaginary line from north to south in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, giving that which fell to the east to Portugal and that which fell to the west to Spain (the line crosses the South American mainland, explaining why Portugal claimed Brazil and Spain claimed the rest of South America). Although both England and France explored and made claims in North America in the sixteenth century, neither kingdom paid the New World much attention at that time. For a century after Columbus's voyage, it was primarily the people of Spain and their monarchs who invested time, energy, and resources connecting the New World to the Old. Their great maritime rivals were the Portuguese, who focused on protecting their trade routes to West Africa and around the Cape of Good Hope to the Indian Ocean.

As the sixteenth century gave way to the seventeenth, however, the English, French, and Dutch began to challenge the Spanish and Portuguese in global oceanic trade. They also employed a new model of enterprise—the joint stock company—that spread the high risks of global commerce among investors who would purchase from their sovereign the exclusive right to trade in a region. English companies received charters to trade, explore, and settle Jamestown (1607) and the Plymouth Colony (1620) on the east coast of North America. The French, trading guns for furs in the northern reaches of the continent, established Québec in 1608. The Dutch chartered the West India Company in the 1620s and built Fort Amsterdam on the tip of Manhattan Island to defend their interests. Even the Swedes established short-lived New Sweden, building Fort Christina (in today's Wilmington, Delaware) to defend their interests. From these points of entry, contact, alliances, and conflicts developed among various combinations of Europeans and indigenous groups.

By 1546, when rebel encomenderos beheaded the first viceroy of Peru, interactions among Europeans and between Europeans and the broader world had gained greater volatility and complexity as disputes over fundamental issues of Christian faith and practice fragmented the world of Christian believers. Those who remained supportive of and loyal to the traditions and teachings advocated by the papacy became known as Roman Catholics. The protesters (hence *Protestants*), drawn to the ideas of Martin Luther (1483–1546), Huldrych Zwingli



The Port at Calicut. This 1572 image shows Portuguese and other vessels in the harbor. Elephants, like the one on the right side of the image, were used for heavy lifting, such as moving timber for ship repairs. Calicut (not to be confused with Calcutta) had been an important trading hub in southern India since at least the twelfth century. Zheng He's Chinese fleet and Vasco da Gama's Portuguese ships both landed there in the fifteenth century, about ninety years apart. Portugal, France, Britain, and the Netherlands competed with Indian states for control of the city, which gave its name to the popular calico cloths (see Chapter 4, p. 94 [Figure 2]).

(1484–1531), John Calvin (1509–1564), and others, rejected the structures and practices of Roman Catholic tradition. The link between religion and claims to political sovereignty led to wars and rebellions that disrupted relationships between sovereigns and subjects in territories ruled by Christians. We will discuss the impact of this upheaval on the formation of early modern states in a subsequent chapter; but for now, it is important to note the extent to which these conflicts affected emerging globalization and European migration. First, religious groups out of favor with political power holders left Europe for other parts of the world, from southern Africa (French Protestants in the Dutch Cape colony) to New England (the Puritans). Second, the emergence of Protestant Christianity spurred a reforming spirit within Roman Catholicism, inspiring new generations of missionaries—especially Dominican, Franciscan, and Jesuit priests—who believed that God had bestowed the fruits of the world on them for the express purpose of providing the means to save millions of souls, whether from heathenism; rival religions like Islam; or, now, Protestantism.

A World Connected

Asia was the goal that brought Europeans to the Americas, so it should be no surprise that the pursuit of an increased presence there continued in the sixteenth century. However, the interactions between Europeans and Asians both intensified and changed direction as a result of the European conquest and colonization

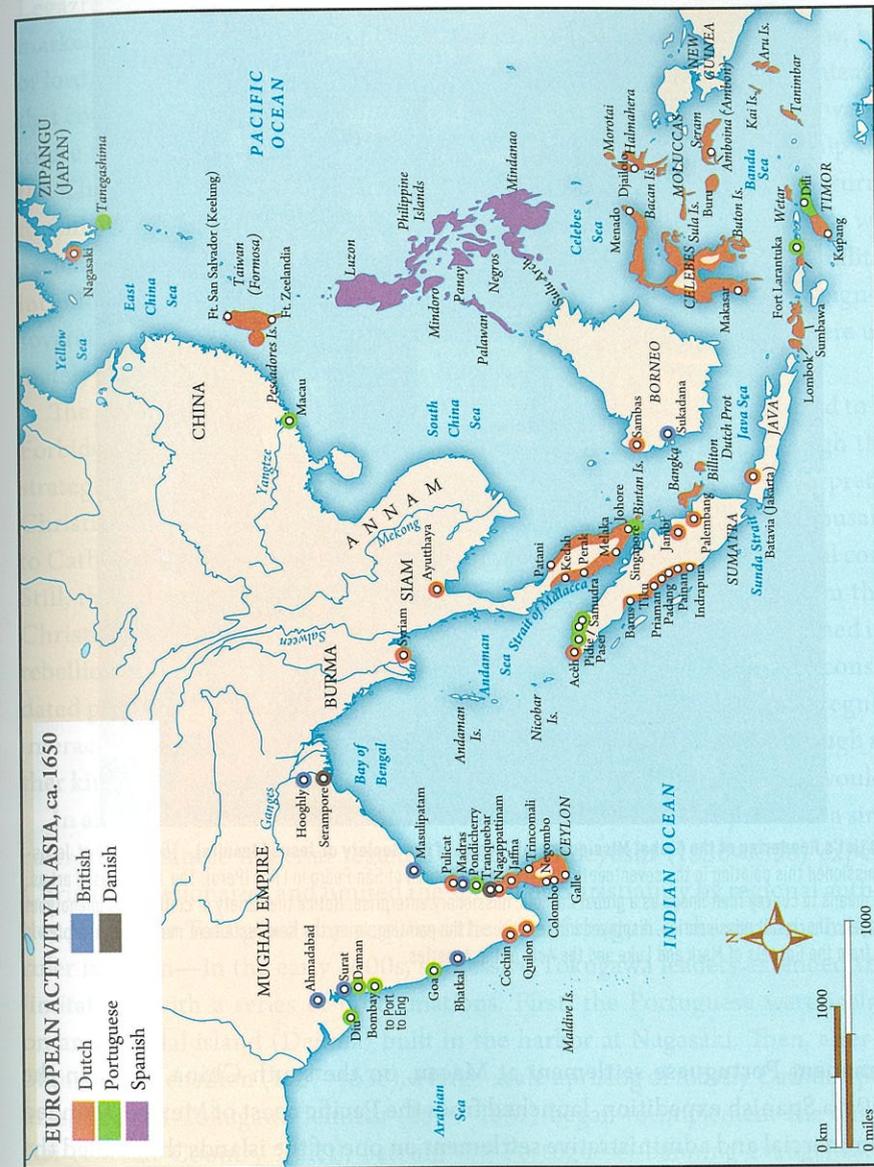
of the Western Hemisphere. The type and volume of commodities available for global consumption increased dramatically, as did competition over lucrative trade networks and markets.

Commodities and Contested Sovereignties

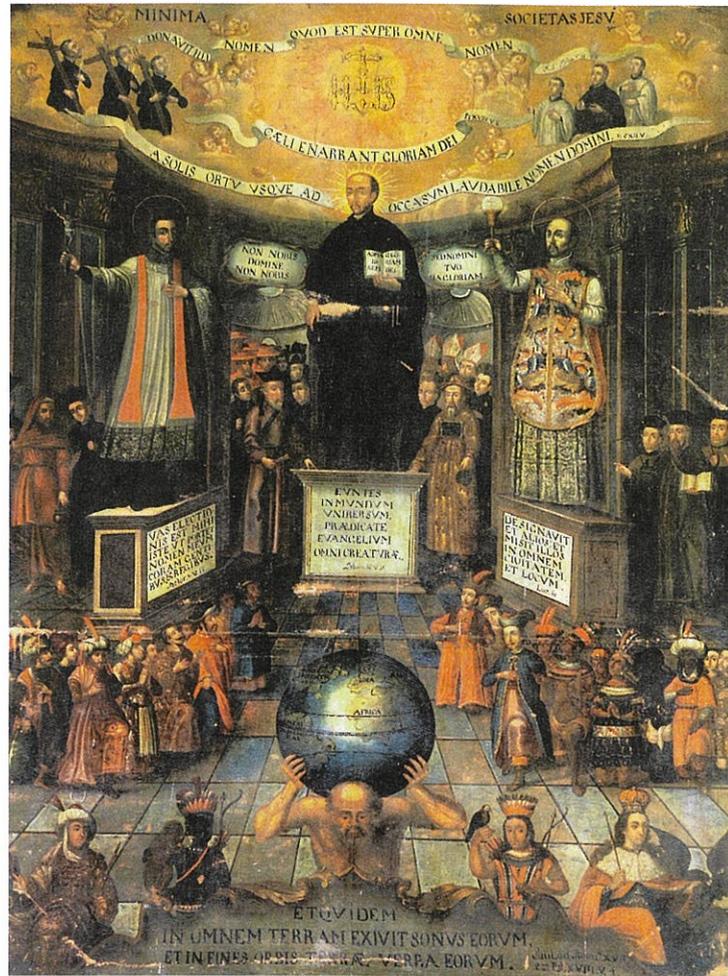
All manner of global interactions deepened in the sixteenth century. In the realm of production, consumption, and trade, the spread of plants around the world—sugar to the west, peppers to the east—is only one piece of a more comprehensive transformation of the global economy. China and India devoured American silver. The mines of Spanish America produced 85 percent of the world’s silver between 1500 and 1800, and China alone absorbed 40 percent of that. In exchange, Chinese goods were shipped to the port of Acapulco, on the Pacific coast of Mexico (New Spain), on a regular basis beginning in the 1570s. By the 1580s, Asian products were the main commodities exchanged between the two Spanish vicerealties in the Americas. At this same time, both free and unfree migrants from Asia, although fewer than those from Europe and Africa, had a substantial impact in the Americas. The Spanish Crown struggled to control the burgeoning direct trade between Asia and the Americas, while local subjects on both sides of the Pacific Ocean undermined the efforts of the distant monarchs. The struggle among priests, settlers, merchants, and royal officials over the management of and profit from the Americas accelerated over the course of the sixteenth century.

In southern India, Portuguese forces pushed out from their anchorage at Goa and in 1511 took control of Malacca, a key point of exchange between Chinese and Islamic trading networks. Through the middle decades of the sixteenth century, Portuguese traders engaged in the vibrant commerce of the Indian Ocean and South China Sea, contending with smugglers, pirates, and Chinese imperial policy. During the sixteenth century, trade through Southeast Asia grew rapidly. The rulers of *port-states*—safe harbors for trade in the places known today as the Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Myanmar, and Malaysia—collected taxes on the goods passing through their realms and used these revenues to assert their power, purchasing gunships and muskets and hiring both Muslim and Christian mercenaries. Contending with the Portuguese for control of trading routes and resources, some Muslim sultans of Southeast Asia turned to Suleiman, ruler of the Ottomans and protector of the Islamic faith, who sent materiel and perhaps even supported a military academy in the sultanate of Aceh, on the Indonesian island of Sumatra.

The promise of much-desired American silver prompted Chinese officials to open trade with the Europeans, leading in 1557 to the establishment of a



Map 2.3 European Activity in Asia, ca. 1650



An Artist's Rendering of the Global Missionary Initiatives of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits). The Society of Jesus commissioned this painting in the seventeenth century for the Church of San Pedro in Lima (Peru). The Jesuits used art as a key means to convey their image as a global Catholic missionary enterprise. Notice the variety of clothes and phenotypes portrayed. The Jesuit missionaries, displayed in the center of the painting, bring the New Testament message, excerpted in Latin from the Gospels of Mark and Luke and the Acts of the Apostles.

permanent Portuguese settlement at Macau, on the south China coast. In the 1560s, a Spanish expedition, launched from the Pacific coast of Mexico, founded a commercial and administrative settlement on one of the islands they called the Philippines, named after the Spanish monarch Philip II (1527–1598). From these bases, the Spanish and Portuguese conducted trade throughout maritime Asia. With the merchants and sailors came priests, who, as in the Americas, attempted Roman Catholic evangelization of the region's peoples.

The Asian Powers and Limits on European Expansion

The great diversity of political and social power structures both provided opportunities for and placed limits on European action in Asia. Miguel López de Legazpi (1502–1572), leader of the Spanish expedition to the Philippines, remarked that “the inhabitants of these islands are not subjected to any law, king or lord,” which meant that the islands lacked a political and military organization that could prevent Spanish dominion over them. His sovereign, Philip II, wanted to use this island base as the foundation for a new diplomatic relationship with the Chinese emperor. Chinese pirates, captured by the Spanish, were returned to Chinese imperial officials, priestly emissaries were dispatched, and gifts were exchanged; but officials in Mexico and the Philippines who advocated military intimidation rather than negotiation undermined Philip's efforts. Sovereign-to-sovereign diplomacy did not materialize, although Jesuit missionaries were ultimately permitted to enter Beijing, the imperial capital.

The Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) became the first European invited to the Forbidden City, although he never met the emperor. The Jesuits, through their strategies of adopting local customs, learning local languages, and interpreting Christian doctrine in the context of local practices, converted tens of thousands to Catholicism in the early 1600s, including some members of the imperial court. Still, this was a tiny fraction of the total population, and any momentum these Christian missionaries had at the Ming court flagged as the dynasty declined into rebellion and disorder in the 1640s. As the new Qing imperial dynasty consolidated power in the middle of the seventeenth century, its rulers chose to regulate interactions with foreigners carefully. The same was true for Korea, although neither kingdom limited the presence of foreigners to the extent that Japan would.

In an effort to limit foreign influence and consolidate authority around a single ruler, the Japanese imperial regent Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) expelled Christian missionaries and limited the spread of Christianity by regional authorities. When the Tokugawa clan acquired the title of shogun—the supreme military ruler in Japan—in the early 1600s, successive Tokugawa leaders extended these limitations with a series of proclamations. First, the Portuguese were isolated on an artificial island (Dejima) built in the harbor at Nagasaki. Then, after the Shimabara Rebellion (1637–1638), a large-scale uprising of mostly Catholic peasants, Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604–1651) began to implement the Sakoku Rei (Closed Country Edict), barring the Portuguese, banning evangelization, and forbidding Japanese from leaving the islands (and from returning to the islands if they did leave). In 1641, the Dutch received permission to serve as the only European merchants legally empowered to import goods to Japan through Dejima. The Dutch commercial privileges in Japan were given in part because

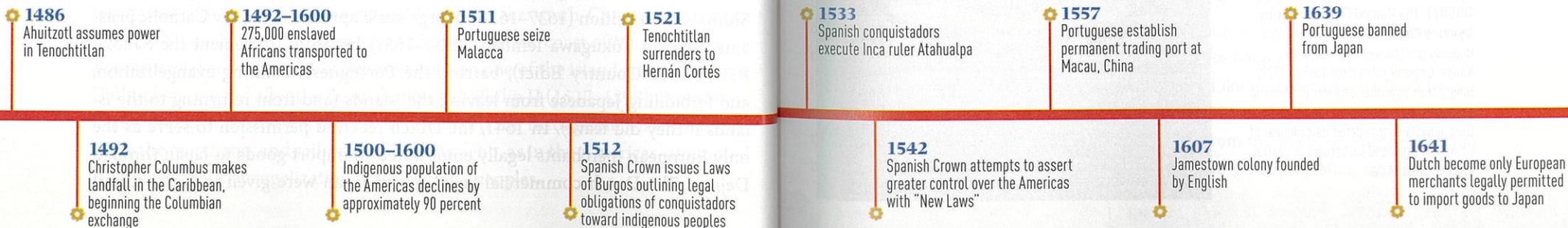
Dutch Protestants were not committed to Christian evangelization as part of their global engagements the way the Catholic Spanish and Portuguese Crowns were.

The Dutch success illustrates how competition for trade among European powers strengthened the position of Asian rulers against the Spanish and Portuguese and contributed to the decline of the Iberian powers in relation to other kingdoms. From this period forward, British, French, and Dutch merchants and seafarers would be the most important Europeans in the region. The British and Dutch East India Companies, both established in the first decade of the seventeenth century, would dominate European–Asian economic relations over the next 150 years, particularly in South and Southeast Asia. The French, too, established trading posts in West Africa (Senegal), South Asia (Pondicherry), and the Indian Ocean (Île de Bourbon) during this period.

Conclusion

First setting eyes on Tenochtitlan, Bernal Díaz del Castillo wondered if he was seeing a mirage. Arriving with Cortés, Díaz cast his gaze on a city that appeared to him straight out of medieval legends. His memoir of the conquest, written as an old man back in Spain, continued to couch the activities of Cortés and his band in the terms of these epic tales. Understanding the full scope of this era, and its importance, requires overcoming enduring misconceptions that emerge from relying on the perspective of conquistadors like Bernal Díaz or those who place these men as the only protagonists who mattered in shaping historical outcomes. In this chapter, we have tried to provide a broader perspective. Even so, through much of the sixteenth century, Spanish and Portuguese institutions, individuals, and ideas mediated the connection between the Western Hemisphere and the rest of the world. Because Iberia—Spain and Portugal—was already part of the European–Asian–African network, the Western Hemisphere was immediately

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linked into that complex. Yet, this joining of the hemispheres with Iberian political, economic, and cultural thread is not the whole story. Other changes of global significance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also wove the globe together. German and English religious dissidents, Chinese potters, Islamic sultans, Hindu textile workers, Japanese officials, and Dutch merchants joined Spanish priests, Portuguese sailors, Aztec warriors, and Inca mine workers in the new era of globalization, to which we will devote further attention in the following two chapters. First, we will describe how this emerging global economy worked. Then, we will see the ways in which rulers attempted to muster both old and new resources to gain and maintain power.

A Few Good Books

Giancarlo Casale. *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Inga Clendinnen. *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatán*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

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Roger Crowley. *Conquerors: How Portugal Forged the First Global Empire*. New York: Random House, 2009.

Douglas Hunter. *Half Moon: Henry Hudson and the Voyage That Redrew the Map of the New World*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2009.

Charles Mann. *1493: Uncovering the New World Columbus Created*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011.

Matthew Restall. *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Jonathan D. Spence. *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*. New York: Penguin, 1985.

For instructional resources and study aids, please go to www.oup.com/us/carter. For primary sources connected to this chapter, please see the table of contents for Sources for Forging the Modern World included at the back of the book.