

QUESTIONS FOR BURNS – CH. 1 Origins of a Multi-Racial Society

Use lined notebook paper with clean edges; write neatly in ink; label each by number

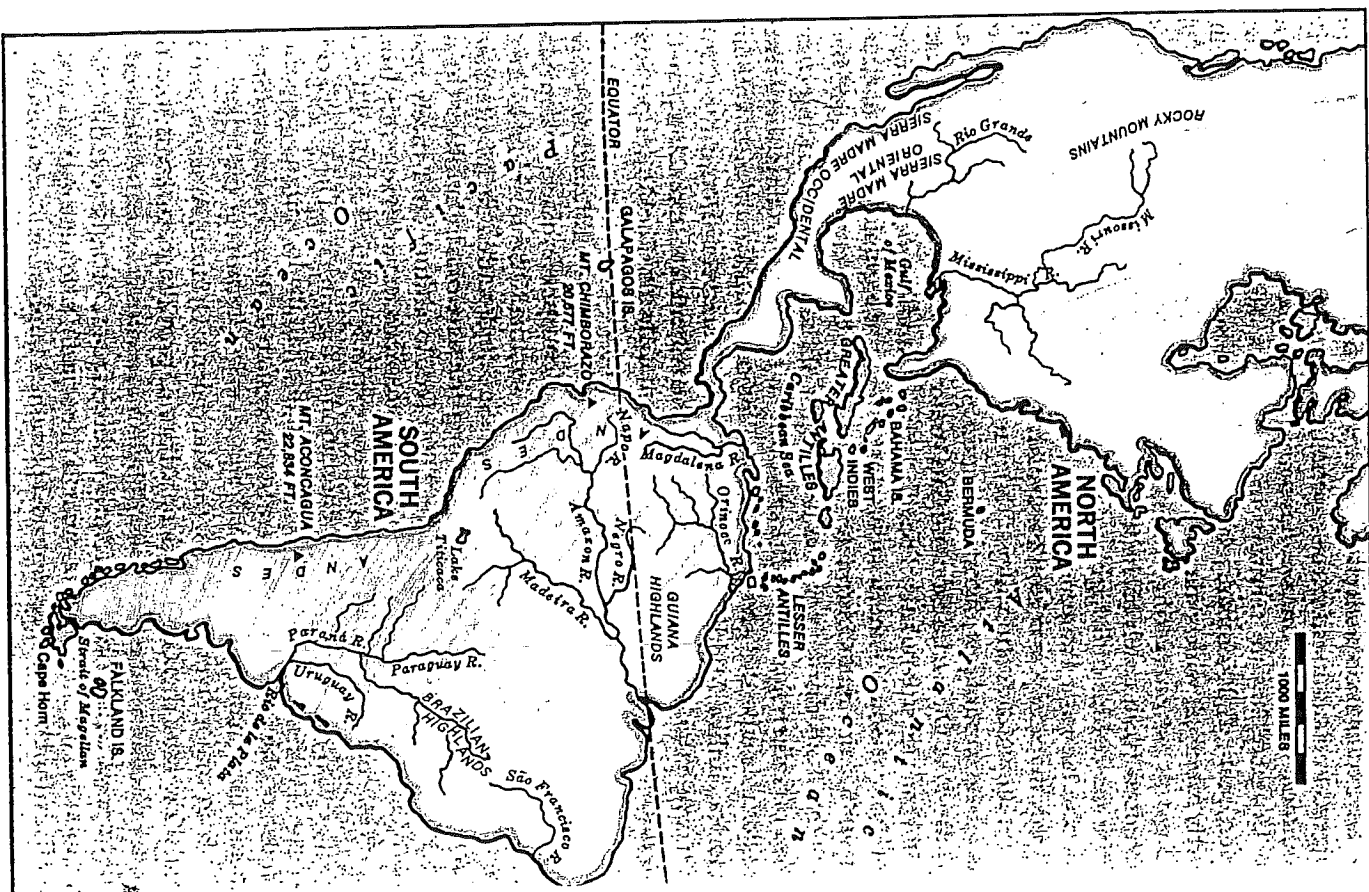
1. Write a short paragraph describing the physical diversity of Latin America:
2. Name the three Native cultures that exemplified the most complex civilizations of Latin America (approx 10th century to 16th century) and describe several of their accomplishments:
3. Describe the resources of Latin America that the European nations competed for; in your paragraph make sure to include the European nations that mainly were involved in exploration and conquest of Latin America:
4. Explain how the Europeans were able to successfully subjugate the much larger Native population in Latin America:
5. Describe the role of Africans in Latin America:

The New World provided a vast and varied stage upon which met people from three diverse and distant continents: Asia, Europe, and Africa. Representatives of the three races arrived at different times and for different reasons. They mixed, mingled, and married. From their contributions emerged the unique Latin American civilization.

THE LAND

Although history studies people through time, the historian cannot neglect space, or location, the habitat of those people. Thus, geography becomes a significant ingredient in the compound of history. Geography provides the setting for human activity, localizing action and influencing it to some degree.

Contemporary Latin America, a huge region of a continent and a half, stretching 7,000 miles southward from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, varies widely in its geographic and human composition. Geopolitically the region encompasses eighteen Spanish-speaking republics, French-speaking Haiti, five English-speaking Caribbean nations, and Portuguese-speaking Brazil, a total of approximately 8 million square miles and a rapidly growing population exceeding 460 million. That population increases at the rate of over 2 percent a year. Half of that population is either Brazilian or Mexican. Still, Latin America is relatively underpopulated, although at least two small states, Haiti and El Salvador, do suffer the effects of an overcrowded population. More than twice the size of Europe, the area contains less population than Europe. It occupies 19 percent of the world's land but contains only 7 percent of the world's population. Despite its phenomenal physical size, its growing population, and its resources, the region remains undeveloped, its potential unfulfilled. For half a millennium, the great majority of the people remained poor and the record for the past century points to increasing poverty among ever larger numbers. This reality calls



Latin America: the outstanding geographic features

for an explanation as well as a reversal. History, more than geography, suggests explanations for these grim trends.

Most of Latin America lies within the tropics. In fact, only one country, Uruguay, has no territory in the tropics. South America reaches its widest point, 3,200 miles, just a few degrees south of the equator, unlike North America, which narrows rapidly as it approaches the equator. The concept of an enervating climate is a false one. The cold Pacific Ocean currents refresh much of the west coast of Latin America, and the altitudes of the mountains and highlands offer a wide range of temperatures that belie the latitude. For centuries, and certainly long before the Europeans arrived, many of the region's most advanced civilizations flourished in the mountain plateaus and valleys. Today many of Latin America's largest cities are in the mountains or on mountain plateaus: Mexico City, Guatemala City, Bogotá, Quito, La Paz, and São Paulo, to mention only a few. Much of Latin America's population, particularly in Middle America and along the west coast of South America, concentrates in the highland areas.

In Mexico and Central America, the highlands create a rugged backbone that runs through the center of most of the countries, leaving coastal plains on either side. Part of that mountain system emerges in the Greater Antilles to shape the geography of the major Caribbean islands. In South America, unlike Middle America, the mountains closely rim the Pacific coast, while the highlands skirt much of the Atlantic coast, making penetration into the flatter interior of the continent difficult. The Andes predominate. The world's longest continuous mountain barrier, it runs 4,000 miles down the west coast and fluctuates in width between 100 and 400 miles. Aconcagua, the highest mountain in the hemisphere, rises to a majestic 22,834 feet along the Chilean-Argentine frontier. The formidable Andes have been a severe obstacle to exploration and settlement of the South American interior from the west. Along the east coast, the older Guiana and Brazilian Highlands average 2,600 feet in altitude and rarely reach 9,000 feet. Running southward from the Caribbean and frequently fronting on the ocean, they disappear in the extreme south of Brazil. Like the Andes, they too have inhibited penetration of the interior. The largest cities on the Atlantic side are all on the coast or, like São Paulo, within a very short distance of the ocean. In contrast to the west coast, the east boasts of some extraordinary natural harbors.

Four major river networks, the Magdalena, Orinoco, Amazon, and La Plata, flow into the Caribbean or Atlantic, providing an access into the interior missing on the west coast. The Amazon ranks as one of the world's most impressive river systems. Aptly referred to in Portuguese as the "river-sea," it is the largest river in volume in the world. Its volume exceeds that of the Mississippi by fourteen times. In places it is impossible to see from shore to shore, and over a good part of its course the river averages 100 feet in depth. Running eastward from its source 18,000 feet up in the Andes, it is

joined from both the north and south by more than 200 tributaries. Together this imposing river and its tributaries provide 25,000 miles of navigable water. The magnitude of the river has always excited the imaginations of those who traveled on it.

Farther to the south, the Plata network flows through some of the world's richest soil, the Pampas, a vast flat area shared by Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. The river system includes the Uruguay, Paraguay, and Paraná rivers, but it gets its name from the Río de la Plata, a 180-mile-long estuary separating Uruguay and the Argentine province of Buenos Aires. The system drains a basin of over 1.5 million square miles. Shallow in depth, it still provides a vital communication and transportation link between the Atlantic coast and the southern interior of the continent.

No single country better illustrates the kaleidoscopic variety of Latin American geography than Chile, that long, lean land clinging to the Pacific shore for 2,600 miles. One of the world's bleakest and most forbidding deserts in the north gives way to rugged mountains with forests and alpine pastures. The Central Valley combines a Mediterranean climate with fertile plains, the heartland of Chile's agriculture and population. Moving southward, the traveler encounters dense, mixed forests; heavy rainfall; and a cold climate, a warning of the glaciers and rugged coasts that lie beyond. Snow permanently covers much of Tierra del Fuego.

Chile may offer a dazzling array of extremes, but many of the other nations offer just about as much variety. Latin Americans have always been aware of the impact of their environment. Their novelists have frequently emphasized its influence on life styles and development. Visiting the harsh, arid interior of Northeastern Brazil for the first time, Euclydes da Cunha marveled in his *Rebellion in the Backlands* (*Os Sertões*, 1902) at how the land had shaped a different people and created a civilization that contrasted sharply with that of the coast:

Here was an absolute and radical break between the coastal cities and the clay huts of the interior, one that so disturbed the rhythm of our evolutionary development and which was so deplorable a stumbling block to national unity. They were in a strange country now, with other customs, other scenes, a different kind of people. Another language even, spoken with an original and picturesque drawl. They had, precisely, the feelings of going to war in another land. They felt that they were outside Brazil.

Across the continent in Peru, Ciro Alegria depicted life in the tropical rain forest dominated by the presence of a great river, the upper reaches of the Amazon. One of the characters of his novel *The Golden Serpent* (*La Serpiente de Oro*, 1935) gazes at the Amazon's tributary and exclaims, "The river, yes, the river. I never thought of it. It is so large, so masterful, and it has made all this, hasn't it?"

Latin American films, too, often assign nature the role of

tagonist. Certainly in the Argentine classic *Prisoners of the Earth* (*Prisioneros de la Tierra*, 1939), the forests and rivers of the northeast overpower the outsider. Nature even forces the local people to bend before her rather than conquer her. A schoolteacher exiled by a military dictatorship to the geographically remote and rugged Chilean south in the Chilean film *The Frontier* (*La Frontera*, 1991) quickly learns that the ocean, mountains, and elements dominate and shape the lives of the inhabitants. Nature thus enforces some characteristics on the people of Latin America. The towering Andes, the vast Amazon, the unbroken Pampas, the lush rain forests provide an impressive setting for an equally powerful human drama.

THE INDIAN

The continents of Asia, Europe, and Africa contributed to the peopling of the Western Hemisphere, and subsequently, a greater racial mixing has resulted there than in any other part of the world. From Asia came the first migrants in various waves between 20,000 and 40,000 years ago. Anthropologists generally believe that they crossed from one continent to the other at the Bering Strait in pursuit of game animals. Hunger propelled them. Moving slowly southward, they dispersed throughout North and South America. Over the millennia, at an uneven rate, some advanced through hunting and fishing cultures to take up agriculture. At the same time they fragmented into many linguistic (estimates range up to 2,200 different languages) and cultural groups, although they maintained certain general physical features in common: straight black hair, dark eyes, copper-colored skin, and short stature.

Varied as the early American cultures were, a majority of them shared enough traits to permit a few generalizations. The family or clan units served as the basic social organization. All displayed a profound faith in supernatural forces that they believed shaped, influenced, and guided their lives. For that reason, the *shamans*, those intimate with the supernatural, played important roles in the indigenous societies. They provided the contact between the mortal and the immortal, between the human and the spirit. In most rituals and celebrations, the participants danced, sang, beat drums, shook rattles, and possibly played flutes. Common to the oral literature of most of the groups were stories of the cultural hero, the ancestor who taught the early members of the tribe their way of life, and the prankster whose exploits aroused both mirth and admiration. Few of the early Americans possessed a sense of private ownership of land. More often than not, like the air they breathed, the land belonged to all. Game roamed and ate off the land. Further, the land furnished fruits, berries, nuts, and roots. Tilling the soil produced other foods, corn and potatoes, for example. The Indians revered the earth as sacred, to be neither destroyed nor mutilated

but to be preserved for the use of future generations. Many artifacts, instruments, and implements were similar from Alaska to Cape Horn. For example, spears, bows and arrows, and clubs were the common weapons of warfare or for the hunt. Although these similarities are significant, the differences among the many cultures were enormous and impressive. By the end of the fifteenth century, between 15 million and 100 million people inhabited the Western Hemisphere. Scholars still heatedly debate the figures, and one can find forceful arguments favoring each extreme.

Mistaking the New World for Asia, Christopher Columbus called the inhabitants he met "Indians," a name that has remained to cause endless confusion. Exploration later indicated that the "Indians" of the New World belonged to a large number of cultural groups of which the most important were the *Aztecs* and *Mayas* of Mexico and Central America; the *Carib* of the Caribbean area; the *Chibcha* of Columbia; the *Inca* of Ecuador, Peru, and *Bolivia*; the *Araucanian* of Chile; the *Guaraní* of Paraguay; and the *Tupí* of Brazil. Of these, the *Aztec*, *Maya*, and *Inca* exemplify the most complex cultural achievements.

Two distinct periods, the Classic and the Late, mark the history of Mayan civilization. During the Classic period, from the fourth to the tenth centuries A.D., the *Mayas* lived in Guatemala; then they suddenly migrated to Yucatán, beginning the Late period, which lasted until the Spanish conquest. The exodus baffles anthropologists, who most often suggest that the exhaustion of the soil in Guatemala limited the corn harvests and forced the *Mayas* to move in order to survive. Corn provided the basis for the Mayan civilization. The Mayan account of creation revolves around corn. The gods "began to talk about the creation and the making of our first mother and father; of yellow corn and of white corn they made their flesh; of cornmeal dough they made the arms and the legs of man," relates the *Popul Vuh*, the sacred book of the *Mayas*. All human activity, all religion centered on the planting, growing, and harvesting of corn. New archaeological evidence uncovered in the late 1970s and early 1980s indicates that the *Mayas* dug a much more extensive network of canals and water-control ditches than previously was known, an implication that they practiced a more technical and extensive agriculture than had been assumed. Efficient agricultural methods produced corn surpluses and hence the leisure for a large priestly class to dedicate its talents to religion and scientific study. Extraordinary intellectual achievements resulted. The *Mayas* progressed from the pictograph to the ideograph and thus invented a type of writing, the only Indians in the hemisphere to do so. Sophisticated in mathematics, they invented the zero and devised numeration by position. Astute observers of the heavens, they applied their mathematical skills to astronomy. Their careful studies of the heavens enabled them to predict eclipses, follow the path of the planet Venus, and prepare a calendar more accurate than that used in Europe. As the ruins of Copán, Tikal, Palenque, Chichén

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Itzá, Mayapán, and Uxmal testify, the Mayas built magnificent temples. One of the most striking features of that architecture is its extremely elaborate carving and sculpture.

To the west of the Mayas, another native civilization, the Aztecs, expanded and flourished in the fifteenth century. The Aztecs had migrated from the north in the early thirteenth century into the central valley of Mexico where they encountered and conquered some prosperous and highly advanced city-states. In 1325, they founded Tenochtitlán, their beautiful capital, and from that religious and political center they radiated outward to absorb other cultures until they controlled all of Central Mexico. The constant conquests gave prominence to the warriors, and, not surprisingly, among the multiple divinities the god of war and the sun predominated. To propitiate him, as well as other gods, required human sacrifices on a grand scale. The Aztecs devised the pictograph, an accurate calendar, an impressive architecture, and an elaborate and effective system of government.

Largest, oldest, and best organized of the Indian civilizations was the Incan, which flowered in the harsh environment of the Andes. By the early sixteenth century, the empire extended in all directions from Cuzco, regarded as the center of the universe. It stretched nearly 3,000 miles from Ecuador into Chile, and its maximum width measured 400 miles. Few empires have been more rigidly regimented or more highly centralized, a real miracle when one realizes that it was run without the benefit—or hindrance—of written accounts or records. The only accounting system was the *quipu*, cords upon which knots were made to indicate specific mathematical units. (Some scholars now claim the Incas wove some sort of code into the threads.) The highly effective government rapidly assimilated newly conquered peoples into the empire. Entire populations were moved around the empire when security suggested the wisdom of such relocations. Every subject was required to speak Quechua, the language of the court. In weaving, pottery, medicine, and agriculture, the achievements of the Incas were magnificent.

The Incan state controlled land and labor. It divided the land into three parts: one for the Sun (religion), a second for the Inca (government), and a third for the *ayllu* (community). The village community formed the foundation of the state. The Incas skillfully assimilated and adapted those communities to the needs of a vast empire. The state distributed lands each year among the heads of the community families, which owned their own produce. The Incas excelled in agriculture. Challenged by a stingy soil, they developed systems of drainage, terracing, and irrigation and learned the value of fertilizing their fields. They rank among the world's most efficient farmers, regardless of time and place. They produced impressive food surpluses, stored by the state for lean years. The government organized and directed labor to farm the lands of the Sun and Inca, to construct public projects, and to provide personal and military services for the Inca.

The Incan women played significant economic roles. In addition to their domestic duties, they planted and harvested crops, tended the llama made ceramics, wove textiles, and ran much of the local, market commerce. They also exercised a voice in community political assemblies, the *camachic* although they could not hold office.

Many differences separated these three high Indian civilizations, but at the same time some impressive similarities existed. Society was highly structured. The hierarchy of nobles, priests, warriors, artisans, farmer and slaves was ordinarily inflexible, although occasionally some mobility did occur. At the pinnacle of that hierarchy stood the omnipotent emperor the object of the greatest respect and veneration. The sixteenth-century chronicler Cieza de León, in his own charming style, illustrated the awe in which the people held the Inca: "Thus the kings were so feared that, when they traveled over the provinces, and permitted a piece of the cloth to be raised which hung round their litter, so as to allow their vassals to behold them, there was such an outcry that the birds fell from the upper air when they were flying, insomuch that they could be caught in men's hands. A man so feared the king, that they did not dare to speak evil of his shadow. Little or no distinction existed between civil and religious authority, so that for all intents and purposes church and state were one. The Incan and Aztec emperors both were regarded as representatives of the sun on earth and thus as deities, a position probably held by the rulers of the Mayan city states as well.

Royal judges impartially administered the laws of the empires and apparently enjoyed a reputation for fairness. The sixteenth-century chroniclers who saw the judicial systems functioning invariably praised them. Cieza de León, for one, noted, "It was felt to be certain that those who did evil would receive punishment without fail and that neither prayers nor bribes would avert it." These civilizations rested on a firm rural base. Cities were rare, although a few existed with populations exceeding 100,000. They were centers of commerce, government, and religion. Eyewitness accounts as well as the ruins that remain leave no doubt that some of the cities were well-organized and contained impressive architecture. The sixteenth-century chronicles reveal that some of the cities astonished the first Spaniards who saw them. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who accompanied Hernán Cortés into Tenochtitlán in 1519, gasped, "And when we saw all those cities and villages built in the water, and other great towns on dry land, and that straight and level causeway leading to Mexico [City], we were astounded. These great towns and cities and buildings rising from the water, all made of stone, seemed like an enchanted vision from the tale of Amadis. Indeed, some of our soldiers asked whether it was not a dream!" The productivity of the land made possible an opulent court life and complex religious ceremonies.

The vast majority of the population worked in agriculture. The fa

ers grew corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, manioc root, and potatoes, as well as other crops. Communal lands, the framed *ejido* of Mexico and the *ayllu* of Peru, were cultivated for the benefit of the state, religion, and community. The state thoroughly organized and directed the rural labor force. Advanced as these Indian civilizations were, however, not one learned the use of iron or used the wheel. However, the Indians had learned to work gold, silver, copper, tin, and bronze. Artifacts that have survived in those metals testify to fine skills.

The spectacular achievements of these advanced farming cultures contrast sharply with the more elementary evolution of the hunting, gathering, and fishing cultures and the intermediate farming cultures among the Latin American Indians. The Tupi tribes, the single most important native element contributing to the early formation of Brazil, illustrate the status of the many intermediate farming cultures found throughout Latin America.

The Tupi tribes tended to be very loosely organized. The small, temporary villages, often surrounded by a crude wooden stockade, were, when possible, located along a river bank. The Indians lived communally in large thatched huts in which they strung their hammocks in extended family or lineage groups of as many as 100 persons. Most of the tribes had at least a nominal chief, although some seemed to recognize a leader only in time of war and a few seemed to have no concept of a leader. More often than not, the *shaman*, or medicine man, was the most important and powerful tribal figure. He communed with the spirits, proffered advice, and prescribed medicines. The religions abounded with good and evil spirits.

The men spent considerable time preparing for and participating in tribal wars. They hunted monkeys, tapirs, armadillos, and birds. They also fished, trapping the fish with funnel-shaped baskets, poisoning the water and collecting the fish, or shooting the fish with arrows. They cleared away the forest to plant crops. Nearly every year during the dry season, the men cut down trees, bushes, and vines, waited until they had dried, and then burned them, a method used throughout Latin America, then as well as now. The burning destroyed the thin humus and the soil was quickly exhausted. Hence, it was constantly necessary to clear new land and eventually the village moved in order to be near virgin soil. In general, although not exclusively, the women took charge of planting and harvesting crops and of collecting and preparing the food. Manioc was the principal cultivated crop. Maize, beans, yams, peppers, squash, sweet potatoes, tobacco, pineapples, and occasionally cotton were the other cultivated crops. Forest fruits were collected.

To the first Europeans who observed them, these Indians seemed to live an idyllic life. The tropics required little or no clothing. Generally nude, the Tupi developed the art of body ornamentation and painted elaborate and ornate geometric designs on themselves. Into their noses, lips, and ears they inserted stone and wooden artifacts. Feathers from the colorful

forest birds provided an additional decorative touch. Their gay nude appearance prompted the Europeans to think of them as innocent children nature. The first chronicler of Brazil, Pero Vaz de Caminha, marveled the king of Portugal, "Sire, the innocence of Adam himself was not greater than these people's." In the beginning, the Europeans overlooked the affinity of the Indians for fighting and for at least ceremonial cannibalism to emphasize their inclinations to dance and sing. More extensive contact with the Indians caused later chroniclers to tell quite a different tale, one which the Indians emerged as wicked villains, brutes who desperately needed the civilizing hand of Europe.

The Tupi, like many similar or simpler cultures, never achieved more than a rudimentary civilization, in no way comparable to the remarkable civilizations of their contemporaries, the Aztecs, the Mayas, or the Incas. Obviously exaggerated. The Indians by no means had led the perfect life. Misunderstanding, if not outright ignorance, has always characterized outsiders' perceptions of the Indians. Even today it remains difficult to pull back the veil of myth to glimpse reality. We have yet to focus accurately the Indians' well-developed world vision and philosophy that put them in enviable harmony with nature. We have yet to appreciate the Indians' excellent sense of community feeling and obligation that stressed cooperation over competition. The Indians adapted in an exemplary fashion to their environments, whether the difficult craggy Andes or the lush tropics. They had much to teach the European invaders about the utilization of the land, its rivers, and products.

THE EUROPEAN

As the sixteenth century approached, the European invader was not far from Europe, on the eve of a commercial revolution, searched for new trade areas and new lands. Merchants dreamed of breaking the Arab and Italian monopolies of trade with Asia, thereby sharing the lucrative profits from the spices of precious stones, pearls, dyes, silks, tapestries, porcelains, and rugs coveted by wealthy Europeans. Portugal led the quest for those new trade routes by the neighboring kingdoms in Spain, Portugal had been the crossroads of many peoples—Iberians, Celts, Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Visigoths, and Moslems—and had blended their cultures together. The last of the many invaders of the peninsula, the Moslems, began their conquest of Iberia in 711. The Christians initiated their crusade to reconquer the peninsula in 732 at the Battle of Tours and intermittently continued it until Granada fell in 1492.

Portugal, to assert its independence, had to free itself both of Moslem control and Castilian claims. In 1139, Afonso Henriques of the House

Burgundy used for the first time the title "King of Portugal," a title officially recognized four decades later by the Pope, then arbiter of such matters. The new state struggled to expel the Moslems and finally succeeded in driving their remaining armies from the Algarve, the far south, in 1250. Neighboring Castile, deeply involved in its own campaign against the Moors, reluctantly recognized the existence of Portugal. The task of consolidating the new state fell to King Denis, whose long reign, bridging the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, marked the emergence of Europe's first modern national state.

Portugal became for a time Europe's foremost sea power. Its location, perched on the westernmost tip of continental Europe, was well suited for that role. Most of the sparse population, less than a million in the fifteenth century, inhabited the coastal area. They faced the great, gray, open sea and nearby Africa. At peace at home and with no imminent foreign threats to prepare for, Portugal could turn its attention outward. In a society dominated by the Roman Catholic Church, religious motives for expansion played at least a superficially important role. The Portuguese hoped to defeat the enemies of their faith in Africa and to carry the word of God to the continent. Thus it was in Africa that the Portuguese initiated their overseas expansion in 1415 with the conquest of strategic Ceuta, guardian of the opening to the Mediterranean. However, the commercial reasons for expansion probably outweighed the religious ones. Lisbon as the entrepôt of Asian merchandise created a vision of wealth that dazzled those of all classes.

The first to appreciate fully that the ocean was not a barrier but a vast highway of commerce was Prince Henry (1394–1460), known as "the Navigator" to English writers although he was a confirmed landlubber. Listening to the expert advice of his day, he defined Portugal's policy of exploration: systematic voyages outward, each based on the intelligence collected from the former voyager and each traveling beyond its predecessor. The improvements in geographic, astronomical, and navigational knowledge that characterized a century of accelerating seaborne activity facilitated the task. In 1488, Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope and pointed the way to a water route to India.

News from Christopher Columbus that he had reached India by sailing west in 1492 momentarily disturbed the Portuguese, who were on the verge of reaching the Orient by circumnavigating Africa. Unlike Portugal, Spain had earned little reputation for maritime prowess. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, some Spanish expeditions plied the African coast, and one of them laid Spanish claims to the Canary Islands. Most Spanish energy, however, had been expended internally on the struggle against the Moors and on the effort of unification. The marriage of Isabel of Castile to Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469 forged the major link in Spanish unity. Thereafter, first the external and then the internal policies of Castile and Aragon

harmonized. Those two monarchs increased the power of the crown by humbling both the nobility and the municipal governments. Equating religious with political unification, they expelled those Jews and Moors who refused to embrace the Roman Catholic faith. The infamous inquisition sternly enforced religious conformity. When Isabel died in 1504, Ferdinand ruled as king of Aragon and regent of Castile.

While the two monarchs were unifying Spain, they accelerated the struggle to expel the Moors. In 1492, Granada, the last Moorish domain on the Iberian Peninsula, fell. Providentially, in that same year, Columbus opened a new horizon for the Spaniards. The energy, talent, and drive that previously had gone into the reconquest, that holy and political campaign allying cross and sword for eight centuries, were invested immediately in overseas expansion. The Spaniards carried with them many of the ideas—religious intolerance and fervor, suspicion of foreigners, respect for the soldier rather than the farmer—as well as many of the institutions—vice-royalty, captaincy-general, the posts of *visitador* and *adelantado*—developed during the long reconquest. On all levels then, the Spaniards regarded their conquests in the Americas as the logical extension of reconquests on the Iberian peninsula.

The return of Columbus from his first voyage intensified rivalry between Spain and Portugal, both of which sought to guard their own sea lanes and prohibit the incursion of the other. War threatened until diplomacy triumphed. At Tordesillas in 1494, representatives of the two monarchs agreed to divide the world. An imaginary line running pole to pole 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands gave Portugal everything discovered for 180 degrees east and Spain everything for 180 degrees west. With the exception of an interest in the Philippines, Spain concentrated its attention on the Western Hemisphere. Within the half of the world reserved for Portugal, Vasco da Gama discovered the long-sought water route to India. His protracted voyage in 1497–99 joined East and West by sea for the first time. Subsequent voyages by Columbus in 1493–96, 1498–1500 and 1502–4, suggested the extent of the lands he had discovered but proved that in fact he had not reached India. Portugal, at least for the moment, monopolized the only sea lanes to India, and that monopoly promised to enrich the realm. The cargo Vasco da Gama brought back to Lisbon repaid sixty times over the original cost of the expedition. For the time being, the Portuguese maritime routes were proving to be far more lucrative than those of the Spaniards. The kings of Portugal became rich merchants and the Portuguese turned to the sea as never before. Pedro Alvares Cabral received command of the fleet being prepared to follow up the exploit of da Gama. While sailing to India in 1500, the fleet veered off course and Cabral discovered and claimed Brazil, which later was found to fall within the half of the world the Tordesillas treaty had allocated to Portugal. Along the coasts of South America, Africa, and Asia, the Portuguese eagerly estab-

lished their commercial—not colonial—empire. The Chief Cosmographer of the Realm boasted, "The Portuguese discovered new islands, new lands, new seas, new people; and what is more, new sky and new stars." It was a glorious age for Portugal, and one of the great epic poets of all times, Luis de Camões, composed *The Lusads* to commemorate the achievements.

The discovery of the Americas was an accident, the unforeseen by-product of an Iberian search for new maritime routes and desire for direct trade with the East. At first, the discovery did not seem particularly rewarding. The Western Hemisphere loomed as an undesirable barrier to a direct water route to Asia. Furthermore, the native inhabitants displayed scant interest in trading with the Iberian merchants.

CONFRONTATION AND CONQUEST

The discoveries of Columbus and Cabral brought the Iberians face to face with the peoples of the New World. The confrontation puzzled each side and awoke a great deal of mutual curiosity. The Iberians referred back to Biblical and classical literature in an effort to explain to themselves who the "Indians" were; for their part, at least two Indian societies, the Aztec and Chibcha, identified the Europeans with prophecies. The Aztecs expected a bearded white man to emerge one day from the ocean, while a Chibcha legend spoke of the arrival of the "children of the sun," for whom the Chibchas mistook the Spanish conquerors.

Since commerce had motivated the oceanic explorations that resulted in the discoveries, the Iberians hoped to trade with the inhabitants they encountered. The peoples of the simple societies of the Caribbean and along the coast of eastern South America showed scant inclination for such commercial intercourse. In fact, they had little to offer the Iberians and required even less from them. The Portuguese soon found along the coast rich stands of brazilwood, a wood that gave the newly discovered land its name and furnished an excellent red dye much in demand by the new European textile industries. The crown established a monopoly over its exploitation and eagerly sold rights to merchants. Fernão de Noronha, the first to buy the contract, dispatched ships in 1503 to fetch the dyewood. The ship captains bartered with the Indians, exchanging trinkets for the brazilwood they cut. A lucrative trade in the wood developed during the sixteenth century. In addition to its limited economic role, Brazil served strategically for many decades as the guardian of the western flank of the prized trade route to the Orient. So long as Portugal held a monopoly over that seaborne trade, Brazil received only minimal attention.

On the other hand, for three decades after Columbus's discovery, Spain searched the eastern coast of the New World for a westward passage, a route other European states began to seek as well. Columbus made three

long voyages touching the largest Caribbean islands and coasting along the shores of northern South America and Central America. In 1513, Juan Ponce de León reconnoitered the coast of Florida and that same year Vasco Núñez de Balboa marching across Panama came upon the Pacific Ocean which he promptly claimed for his monarch. The desire to get to that ocean by some water route intensified.

At the same time the Spaniards began to settle some of the major Caribbean islands. On his second voyage Columbus transported men and supplies to establish the first such colony. On the northern coast of Hispaniola, he marked out a grid pattern for a town, set up a municipal government, divided up the land among the colonists, and assigned Indians to each settler to work their land. He thereby established a pattern of colonization faithfully imitated in the succeeding decades wherever the Spaniards went in the New World. Many of the new arrivals searched hopefully for gold, and the islands yielded enough to excite speculation about even greater discoveries. Others turned to agriculture. The monarchs encouraged the migration of artisans and farmers to the New World. In his instructions to one governor departing for the Indies in 1513, the Spanish king ordered him to take "farmers so that they may attempt to plant the soil." Similar orders were repeated frequently. Sugar cane was planted as early as 1493. By 1520, it was a profitable industry with at least twenty-eight sugar mills operating on Hispaniola. Domestic animals imported onto the islands multiplied rapidly. Ships returning to Spain carried sugar and hides. The monarch and merchants of Spain sought to encourage such trade. In 1503, Ferdinand sanctioned the establishment of the Casa de Contratación in Seville to oversee the commerce between Spain and the New World. Nonetheless, much of the agricultural production in Spanish America, at least during the first century and a half, went to feed the colonists and to provide supplies for conquest, expansion, and further settlement.

The Spanish pattern of exploration and settlement changed after 1521, a year marking the circumnavigation of the globe by Ferdinand Magellan, and the conquest of central Mexico by Hernán Cortés. The long voyage begun by Magellan in 1519 but concluded by Juan Sebastián de Cano in 1521, after Magellan was killed by natives in the Philippine Islands proved—at last—the possibility of reaching Asia by sailing west. His expedition had found the way around the barrier of North and South America but it also had proven that the westward passage was longer and more difficult than the African route used by the Portuguese. At the same time Spain realized it did not need the route to India. Conquered Mexico revealed that the New World held far more wealth in the form of the coveted gold and silver than the Spaniards could hope to reap from trade with Asia. Spanish opinion changed from deprecating the New World as an obstacle to the East to considering it a rich treasure chest. No longer considered

simply a way station on the route to Asia, America became the center of Spanish attention.

History provides few epics of conquest more remarkable than Cortés's sweep through Mexico. His capture of the opulent Aztec empire initiated a period of conquest during which Spain defeated the major Indian nations and made their inhabitants subject to the Castilian monarch. Generally these conquests were private undertakings, the result of contract, known as a *capitulación*, signed between the monarch and the aspiring conquistador, who was given the title of *adelantado*. Those contracts introduced European capitalism, as it had taken shape by the earthly sixteenth century, into the Americas. The *adelantados* by no means wandered around the Americas unchecked by the monarchs. Royal officials accompanied all the private expeditions to insure respect for the crown's interests and fulfillment of the *capitulación*.

Diverse motives propelled the *adelantados*. By subjugating new peoples to the crown, they hoped to win royal titles, preferments, and positions. By introducing heathens to Christianity, they sought to assure God's favor now as well as guarantee for themselves a fitting place in the life hereafter. Conquest, exploration, and settlement offered opportunities for some marginal or impoverished men to ascend socially and economically. The enterprises required risks whose rewards could be substantial. The *adelantados* raised capital to finance their undertakings, promising rich returns to investors. Doubtless visions of gold eased the task of soliciting funds and loosened many purse strings. Some *adelantados* earned fortunes and repaid their investors. They leaped from obscurity to fame. History, for example, treats generously the once impoverished and minor noble, Hernán Cortés, and the illegitimate and modestly prepared Francisco Pizarro. However, most *adelantados* failed.

The conquest of large empires by a relatively few Spaniards proved to be surprisingly easy. Steel, the crossbow, and effective military tactics—a contrast to the ritualized warfare of many Indian groups—facilitated the European victories. Gunpowder and the horse, both of which startled the Indians, were tremendous tactical advantages, at least initially. Furthermore, the Spaniards found the Indians divided among themselves. In Mexico, the tribes subjugated by the Aztecs happily joined with the Spaniards to defeat their Indian enemies. In the Incan empire, rivalry between two claimants to the crown had already split the empire. The introduction of European diseases decimated the ranks of the Indians, who lacked immunity to them. In the regions of great pre-Columbian civilizations in both Mexico and Peru, population declined more than 90 percent during the first century after contact with the Europeans, falling from approximately 35 million to less than 2 million. No group remained untouched by the ravages of the new diseases. In some local areas entire populations, including whole culture groups, were completely obliterated. For these reasons,

Spanish conquest spread rapidly after Cortés's victory. Central America fell to the Spaniards by 1525. Yucatán put up a bitter resistance, and the coast portions of the peninsula surrendered to the invaders in 1545. Between 1513 and 1543, the Spaniards explored and claimed the territory in North America between the Carolinas and Oregon. In fact, two-thirds of the territory of the continental United States was at one time claimed by Spain. By the time George Washington was inaugurated as president, Spain had established colonies over a far greater area, ranging from San Francisco to Santa Fé to San Antonio to St. Augustine, than that encompassed by the original thirteen states.

Spain expanded just as prodigiously in South America. Once again the *adelantados* knew little or nothing of the lands they invaded. Yet they were ready to face anything, and they triumphed over everything. Inspired by the success of Cortés and excited by rumors of a wealthy kingdom along the west coast of South America, Francisco Pizarro sailed south from Panama to initiate Spanish conquest of that continent. Only on his third attempt, in 1531–32, did he succeed in penetrating the Incan heartland, but it was still not until 1535 that Pizarro completed his conquest of the Inca empire. The wealth he encountered surpassed that which Cortés had found in Mexico. From Peru, other expeditions fanned out into South America: Sebastián de Benalcázar seized Ecuador in 1533, Pedro de Valdivia conquered the central valley of Chile in 1540–41, and Gonzalo Pizarro crossed the Andes to explore the upper Amazon in 1539. From the expedition Francisco de Orellana and a small band of men floated down the Amazon, reaching the Atlantic Ocean in 1542.

Spanish attention in South America focused on Peru, and most of the other explorations, conquests, and settlements of South America radiated from that center. Two exceptions, the Caribbean coast and the Plata, illustrate how areas with no visible sources of immediate wealth failed to hold the crown's attention. Charles V granted a large section of the Venezuelan coast to the Welsers of Augsburg in 1528 in return for financial aid, but the banking house failed to colonize it successfully, and in 1546 the grant was rescinded. Several small settlements were made along the Colombian coast, and in 1536 Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada set out to conquer the Chibch Indians in the mountainous interior, and he brought the highly civilized Indian kingdom within the Spanish empire. The Río de la Plata attracted some interest first as a possible westward passage to the Orient and later as a possible route to the mines of Peru. Pedro de Mendoza searched in 1535–36 to open such a route, and the early settlements in the Platine basin date from his efforts. Finding no evidence of wealth, the Spanish ignored the estuary, guarding it only to prevent outsiders from attempting to penetrate the interior and threaten the mines.

Spanish claims to the New World expanded with amazing rapidity. Within half a century after Columbus's discovery, Spanish *adelantados*

explored and conquered or claimed the territory from approximately 40 degrees north—Oregon, Colorado, and the Carolinas—to 40 degrees south—mid-Chile and Argentina—with the exception of the Brazilian coast. Spanish settlers had colonized in scattered nuclei an impressive share of that territory. Reflecting the Spanish preference for urban living, the settlers had already founded many of Latin America's major cities: Havana, 1519; Mexico City, 1521; Quito, 1534; Lima, 1535; Buenos Aires, 1536; refounded in 1580; Asunción, 1537; Bogotá, 1538; and Santiago, 1541. The Spaniards built Mexico City and Bogotá where Indian cities had long existed, not an uncommon practice. The rich silver and gold mines of Mexico, Colombia, and Peru stimulated the economy, but the economy enjoyed a sounder base than that. Although gold and silver were preferred exports, agriculture provided the basis for exploration, expansion, and trade. Wherever the Spaniards settled they introduced domesticated animals and new crops. Stock raising turned once unproductive lands into profitable grazing areas, and the introduction of the plow made it possible to exploit land unmanageable under the hoe culture of the Indians. The crown encouraged agriculture by sending seeds, plants, animals, tools, and technical experts to the New World.

The opening of mines, the establishment of agriculture, and the trade between the Iberian motherlands and their American colonies did not go unnoticed in other Western European capitals. The commercial successes of Spain and Portugal whetted the already hungry appetites of the English, Dutch, and French. Brazil attracted both the French and Dutch. The French operated a colony very near Rio de Janeiro between 1555 and 1567. The Dutch enjoyed far greater success. They controlled as much as one-third of Brazil for a time in the seventeenth century (1630–54). From their thriving capital of Recife, they shipped convoys of sugar to European markets. The Brazilian expulsion of the Dutch from the Northeast prompted the renewed attention of the Dutch to the Caribbean.

Indeed, the Caribbean, with its proximity to Europe, its important sea lane for Spanish silver shipments, and its increasingly attractive tropical products, had already aroused the interest not only of the Dutch but of the English and French as well. European monarchs applauded the pirate plundering of Spanish commerce. Merchants yearned to participate in the growing trade. Between 1595 and 1620, the English, French, and Dutch attempted to establish colonies in the Guianas. The Dutch were the most successful, but the other two nations also eventually succeeded. In 1624 the English colonized some small islands in the Lesser Antilles, while between 1630 and 1640 the Dutch expanded into the Caribbean. By the mid-seventeenth century the French had established their Caribbean presence with settlements in Martinique and Guadeloupe.

The late European arrivals hoped to disrupt Spanish trade, but primarily their interest lay in furnishing European goods to the entire Middle

America region and in growing tropical products for export. Usually tobacco supplied the first cash crop. After the expulsion of the Dutch from Brazil, attention focused on sugar production. Sugar sold well and profitably in the Old World. The Europeans introduced new production techniques, and their efficiency soon threatened markets once dominated by Portuguese America, thus depressing Brazil's sugar trade. Confronted with the problems of labor, the new European colonizers quickly imported Africans to work the plantations. A few white masters oversaw the work of armies of African slaves.

Before the end of the seventeenth century, Spain lost its monopoly in the Caribbean. The European governments employed a variety of colonial policies in the area, but their objectives were one: to work the colonies profitably for the metropolis (see "A Glossary of Concepts and Terms"). Land patterns, such as plantations, were similar; labor patterns, such as the use of slaves, were also alike.

European influence on the New World and its inhabitants was immediately visible. The Europeans transplanted their social, economic, and political institutions across the ocean. They required the Indians to swear allegiance to a new king, worship a new God, speak a new language, and alter their work habits. In the process of exploiting the Indians, the Europeans also deculturated and disorganized them, forcing them into the role of subservient workers. Their labor they were forced to give, but their loyalty they held in reserve. The gulf between the master and the laborer has seldom been bridged in Latin America. In general, and despite ceaseless and heavy pressures, the Indians opted to retain, so far as possible, their distinctive, original cultural patterns. To an amazing degree at the end of the twentieth century, which is to say after five centuries of oppression, they still keep much of their culture in the highlands of Chiapas (Southern Mexico) and Guatemala and throughout the vast Andean region.

In the confrontation of the New and Old Worlds, the Americas also influenced the course of events in Europe. The abundance of gold and silver shipped from Mexico, Peru, and Brazil caused prices to rise in Europe and helped to finance industrialization. Introduced into Europe were new products: tobacco, rubber, cacao, and cotton (today's commercial cottons derive principally from those cultivated by the American Indians); new plants: potatoes and corn, two of the four most important food crops of the world; and drugs: quinine, coca used in cocaine and novocaine, curare used in anesthetics, datura used in pain relievers, and cascara used in laxatives. The potato alone helped to transform Europe, providing an abundance of food from Ireland to Russia that facilitated both urbanization and industrialization. Corn transformed animal husbandry by supplying the food to promote its astonishing increase. Both of those cheap, abundant, and relatively reliable crops contributed mightily to the rise of European capitalism and the modern state.

The Americas also forced upon European scholars new geographic, botanical, and zoological information, much of which contradicted the classical writers. As one result, scholars questioned hoary concepts. These contradictions came at about the same time Copernicus published his heliocentric theory (1543) and thus helped to usher in the age of modern science. The vast extension of empire in the New World strengthened the European monarchs, who derived wealth and thus independence from their overseas domains and generally exercised greater power overseas than at home. Such great empires required innovation and revision of governmental institutions. The struggles over boundaries in the New World agitated the European courts and more than once threw European diplomacy into a crisis. Art, music, and literature sooner or later expressed Indian themes. It has been estimated that nearly 50,000 Indian words were incorporated into Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French. The New World was not simply the passive recipient of European civilization; rather, it modified and changed Europe's civilization and contributed to the development of the Old World.

To adapt to their new environment, the European settlers depended heavily on the Indians and learned much from the conquered. During the early decades of conquest and colonization more European males than females arrived in the New World. Regarding the Indian women as part of their conquest, the conquerors freely sought sexual pleasure with them. Concubinage and casual intercourse were common, but so was marriage between Europeans and Indians. Inter-marriage was permitted by the Spanish monarch in 1501 and often encouraged for reasons of state, as in Brazil during the years that Pombal directed the Portuguese Empire (1750-77). As a result there appeared almost at once a "new race," the *mestizo*, a blend of European and Indian well adapted physically and psychologically to the land. Borrowing the essential from the diverse cultures of both parents, the mestizos accelerated the amalgamation of two cultures. However, the Indians provided more than sexual gratification. They showed the Europeans the best methods to hunt and fish, the value of the drugs the forests offered, the quickest way to clear the lands, and how to cultivate the crops of the New World. When necessary, the Europeans adopted the light boats skillfully navigated by the Indians on the inland waters and copied the methods used by the Indians to build simple, serviceable structures. As a concession to the tropics, the Europeans adopted the Indian hammock—as did the navies of the world. One early arrival to Brazil noted his delight with the hammock in these words: "Would you believe that man could sleep suspended in a net in the air like a bunch of hanging grapes? Here this is the common thing. I slept on a mattress but my doctor advised me to sleep in a net. I tried it, and I will never again be able to sleep in a bed, so comfortable is the rest one gets in the net." In truth, the Europeans everywhere in the hemisphere depended heavily on the Indians during the early

decades of settlement in order to accommodate to the novel conditions. Thomas Turner, an Englishman who lived in Brazil for two years at the end of the sixteenth century, summed up that dependence of Spaniard and Portuguese alike in his observation. "The Indian is a fish in the sea and a fox in the woods, and without them a Christian is neither for pleasure or profit fit for life or living."

Basically the Indians did not want to forego communal life to work for the Europeans. The Spaniards and Portuguese failed to persuade them of the merits of laboring to turn the wheels of European capitalism. They applied coercion. They forced the natives to paddle their canoes; to guide them through the interior; to plant, tend, and harvest their sugar, wheat, tobacco, and cotton; to guard their cattle and sheep; to mine their gold and silver; and to wait upon them in their homes. Passively or actively the Indians resisted.

When the Indians proved inadequate, reluctant, or rebellious, or where their numbers were insufficient, (particularly in the Caribbean and Brazil), the colonists began to look elsewhere for their labor supply. Their attention focused on Africa. At that moment they forcibly introduced Africans into the New World.

THE AFRICAN

Africa, the second largest continent, offers extremes of contrasts: mountains and savannas, deserts and jungles. Three impressive river networks, the Nile, the Congo, and the Zambesi, add to the variety. The relatively small population contributes further to the diversity. Divided into hundreds of tribes, African cultures range from the primitive to the sophisticated. The improving quality and greater quantity of studies of the African can past reveal that many groups developed highly complex societies. The base of the social structure was the family. Many of the societies were rigidly hierarchical. The political units varied from village tribes to extensive empires. The economy was agricultural, but many artistic and mechanical skills were well developed: woodcarving, bronzework, basketry, goldsmithing, weaving, and ironworking. One early European visitor to the Gambia Coast marveled. "The blacksmiths make all sorts of tools and instruments for tillage, etc. as also weapons and armour, being indifferent skillful at hardening of iron, and whetting it on common stones." Trade was carried on in organized markets. Indeed, commerce was well developed on local and regional levels and in some instances reached transcontinental proportions.

Repeated invasions by the Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, and Arabs brought foreigners to Africa as early as 100 B.C. The fall of Ceuta in A.D. 1415 heralded new European incursions. Africa's commercial potential—

gold, ivory, cotton, and spices—attracted the Europeans, who soon enough discovered that the Africans themselves were the continent's most valuable export. Between 1441 and 1443, the Portuguese began to transport Africans to Europe for sale. The intercontinental slave trade initiated and for centuries carried on by the European marks one of the most inhumane chapters of world history.

From the very beginning, some Africans from the Iberian Peninsula participated in the exploration and conquest of the Americas. It is believed that the first African slaves reached the New World as early as 1502. Later, the slave trade, carried on with the sanction of the Iberian monarchs, transported large numbers of slaves directly from Africa to the New World. Probably the first shipments of slaves arrived in Cuba in 1512 and in Brazil in 1538, and they continued until Brazil abolished its slave trade in 1850 and Spain finally terminated the slave trade to Cuba in 1866. As the American colonies grew, accommodated themselves to European demands, and developed plantation economies, the rhythm of slave importation accelerated. A majority of the 3 million slaves sold into Spanish America and the 5 million sold into Brazil over a period of approximately three centuries came from the west coast of Africa between the Ivory Coast and South Africa, a stretch of territory exceeding 3,000 miles. These numbers do not reflect the millions of Africans killed in the process of transportation and "seasoning," a genocide of dismal proportions. Africans could be found in all parts of Latin America and formed a large part of the population. They quickly became and remained the major work force in the Caribbean and Brazil. Their presence dominated the plantations that they worked, and their influence spread quickly to the "big house" where African women served as cooks, wet nurses, and companions of the woman of the house, while black children romped with white children.

Male slaves outnumbered females by a ratio of almost two to one. The plantation owners preferred men and paid more for them because they considered them better field hands and hence more profitable. But the women worked hard too. Indeed, traditionally they were regarded more as laborers than mothers. Their owners discouraged large-scale reproduction as uneconomical. Thus, the Latin American slave system was seldom self-sustaining and required constant replacement through the slave trade. African influence also permeated the cities where they worked as domestic servants, peddlers, mechanics, and artisans. In the sixteenth century, blacks outnumbered whites in Lima, Mexico City, and Salvador da Bahia, the three principal cities of the Western Hemisphere. The sex ratio among slaves seems to have been more equal in the cities, where women played particularly active roles as domestic servants, street vendors, prostitutes, and mistresses. The urban records seem to indicate that more freedwomen than freedmen existed. The city apparently offered the African woman more opportunity to change her status, partly because of her skills as ven-

dor and her appeal as prostitute and mistress, partly because her sale price was lower than a man's, and partly because of her economic acumen.

Handcapped by the removal of all their possessions when taken into captivity, the Africans, uprooted and brutalized, still contributed handsomely to the formation of a unique civilization in the New World. First and foremost were the Africans themselves: their strength, skill, and intelligence. They utilized their former skills, and their intelligence permitted them to master new ones quickly. In fact, they soon exercised—and in some cases perfected—all the trades and crafts of the Europeans. Visitors to the Caribbean and Brazil remarked on the diversity of skills mastered and practiced by the Africans. They were masons, carpenters, smiths, lithographers, sculptors, artists, locksmiths, cabinetmakers, jewelers, and cobblers. Around the plantations and in the cities, these crafts people, artisans, and mechanics became an indispensable ingredient in New World society.

Herdsmen in Africa, they mounted horses to become cowboys in the New World. They followed the cattle into the Brazilian hinterlands and helped to occupy the rich platine pampas. In these as well as other ways they participated in the conquest and settlement of the interior. In Brazil, after the discovery of gold, the Africans were transported into Minas Gerais to mine the gold that created the Luso-Brazilian prosperity of the eighteenth century. From the plantations and mines, they helped to transport the raw products of the land to the ports where other Africans loaded the wealth of Latin America into ships that carried it to the markets of Europe. The slaves were even expected to defend the system that exploited them. In doing so, they sacrificed their blood to protect the Luso-Spanish empires at Havana, San Juan, Cartagena, Recife, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and elsewhere. The first black historian of Brazil, Manuel Querino (1851–1923), reviewed the great contributions of the Africans in these words:

Whoever takes a look at the history of this country will verify the value and contribution of the Negro to the defense of national territory, to agriculture, to mining, to the exploitation of the interior, to the movement for independence, to family life and to the development of the nation through the many and varied tasks he performed. Upon his well-muscled back rested the social, cultural, and material development. . . . The black is still the principal producer of the nation's wealth, but many are the contributions of that long suffering and persecuted race which has left imperishable proofs of its singular valor. History in all its justice has to respect and praise the valuable services which the black has given to this nation for more than three centuries. In truth it was the black who developed Brazil.

The Africans possessed a leadership talent that the slave system never fully tapped. It became evident when the runaway slaves organized their own communities, known variously as *palestres* or *cumbes* in Spanish America and *quilombos* in Brazil, or when slaves revolted against their masters. The



Manuel Raimundo Querino (1851–1923) was the first African-Brazilian historian. A founding member of the Bahian Geographical and Historical Institute, he synthesized many of his conclusions in an important essay written in 1918, "The African Contribution to Brazilian civilization."

extent of slave rebellions is still unknown and awaits the careful investigation of scholars. An authority on the Africans in Mexico points out that slave revolts occurred there in 1537, 1546, 1570, 1608, 1609, 1611, 1612, and 1670. One viceroy informed his monarch that the slaves in New Spain sought "to buy their liberty with the lives of their masters." According to our present knowledge, most of the slave revolts in Brazil took place in the early nineteenth century. Between 1807 and 1835, there were nine revolts or attempted revolts. Brilliant leadership directed the slaves to freedom in Haiti; we will consider this story later along with the other independence movements. The Africans repeatedly protested their enslavement by running away, rebelling, and killing their masters. Many women practiced abortion to avoid bringing children into such a horrible life.

Mixing with both European and Indian, the Africans contributed their blood to the increasing racial mixture of the New World. Mulattoes, the cross of white and black, and myriad other interracial types resulting from the combination of the mixed descendants of white, black, and Indian appeared immediately after the introduction of the African slaves. Illustrative of the extent of the mixture of white and black was the population of Salvador da Bahia at the end of the colonial period. In 1803, the city

boasted of a population of approximately 100,000, of which 40,000 were black, 30,000 white, and another 30,000 mulatto. Most Brazilians, in fact, could claim at least some African ancestry.

It would be difficult to think of any activity concerned with the formation and development of society in Latin America in which Africans did not participate. They helped to smooth away the asceticism of churchgoing by enlivening some of the religious festivals. The drew the festivals out into the streets and enhanced them with folkplays, dances, and music. Much of their contribution was rooted in the syncretism by which they sought to fuse their own beliefs with those of the Roman Catholic Church. They did, in fact, develop a syncretized religion, still very visible in Cuba, Haiti, and Brazil. Wherever the Africans went in the New World, they modified the culinary and dietary habits of those around them. Many of the rice and bean dishes so common in Latin America have African origins. Yams, okra, cola nuts, and palm oil are but a few of the contributions of the African cooks. The Africans introduced thousands of words into the Spanish and Portuguese languages and helped to soften the pronunciation of both. Their proverbs, riddles, tales, and myths mixed with those of Europeans and Indians to form the richly varied folklore of Latin America. The music, whether classical or popular, bears the imprint of African melodies. The Africans continued to sing the songs they remembered from their homelands, and to accompany themselves they introduced a wide range of percussion instruments. With the music went dances. The samba, frevo, and merengue descend from African imports.

With the forced migration of the Africans to the New World, the racial triptych—Mongoloid, Caucasian, and Negroid—was complete. Each contributed to the formation of a unique civilization representing a blend of the three. Overlaying that civilization were powerful institutions imported unchanged from the Iberian Peninsula.