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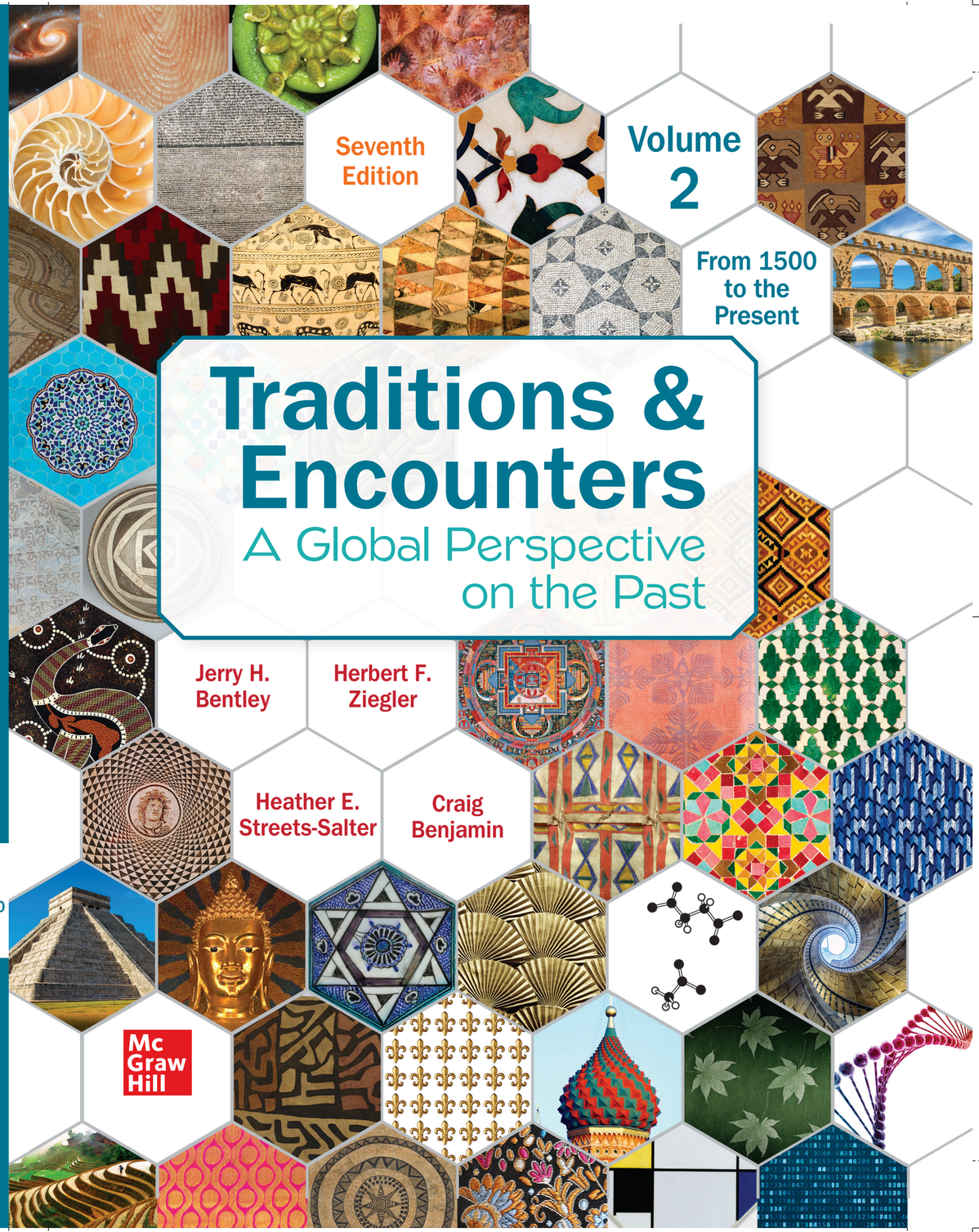
A Global Perspective on the Past

Volume 2
From 1500 to the Present

Seventh Edition

Mc Graw Hill



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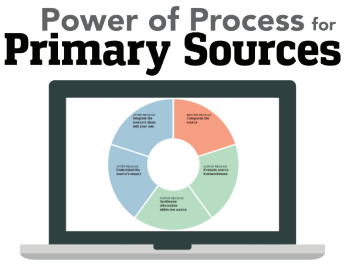

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Preface

How do the themes of traditions and encounters continue to help make sense of the entire human past in the twenty-first century?

As Jerry Bentley and Herb Zeigler noted in their original Preface to this book, world history is about both diversity and connections. They began this text with a simple goal: to help our students understand the unique histories of the world's rich variety of peoples, while at the same time allowing them to see the long histories of connections and interactions that have shaped all human communities for millennia. To do this, the authors wrote a story around the dual themes of traditions and encounters to highlight the many different religions and customs embraced by the world's peoples while also exploring the encounters with other cultures that brought about inevitable change.

It is the interaction of these traditions and encounters that continues to provide the key to making sense of our past. Human communities furthered themselves not by remaining isolated, but by interacting with others and exploring the benefits and risks of reaching out. The vitality of history—and its interpretation—lies in understanding the nature of individual cultural traditions and the scope of encounters that punctuated every significant event in human history.

This Seventh Edition of *Traditions & Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past* provides a genuinely global vision of history that is increasingly meaningful in the shrinking world of the twenty-first century. The theme of *traditions* draws attention to the formation, maintenance, and sometimes collapse of so many distinctive, individual societies. Because the world's peoples have also interacted regularly with one another since the earliest days of human history, the theme of *encounters* directs attention to communications, interactions, networks, and exchanges that have linked individual societies to their neighbors and others in the larger world. Despite many changes in the way world historians have tried to conceptualize the past and present since the appearance of the first edition of *Traditions and Encounters* decades ago, the twin themes of traditions and encounters remain at the heart of every chapter in the text, no matter how extensive revisions might have been. They provide a lens through which to interpret the affairs of humankind and the pressures that continue to shape history. All aspects of the text support these themes—from the organization of chapters, engaging stories of the world's peoples, to the robust map program, updated primary sources, and critical-thinking features that permeate the text.

Some of the changes authors Heather Streets-Salter and Craig Benjamin have introduced to the Seventh Edition of *Traditions and Encounters* include the following:

We have worked hard to eliminate any gendered or out-of-date language throughout the book, in line with most historical writing being done today.

We decided to eliminate the Part Openers and Part Closers to help provide a more seamless narrative and to downplay the somewhat compartmentalized and episodic structure that was more common when earlier editions were prepared.

We have changed the old Eyewitness feature to *Zooming in on Traditions* or *Zooming in on Encounters* to further emphasize the key organizational lens of the book. And we have streamlined the opening stories featured in these *Zooming* features to give greater voice to the many individuals from the past they include. We have also separated these stories from a new *Chapter Overview* that helps better prepare readers for the contents of the chapter that follows.

We have changed the titles of a number of chapters to reflect recent thinking within the field and, in some cases, to be more geographically and politically inclusive. We have also made numerous changes to headers and subheaders throughout, both to reflect new interpretations of how we should "label" various peoples and historical processes and also to make the structure of each chapter clearer.

We have replaced and updated a number of sources in the *Sources from the Past* and *Connecting the Sources* features and have also selected many new images to better illustrate the text. We have added in-line comprehension questions to the sources and also updated reflection questions on most sources, maps, and images to help students practice both their comprehension and analytical thinking skills.

We have changed the old *Reverberations* feature to *How the Past Shapes the Future*, both to further enhance the flow of historical processes and also to more clearly emphasize the continuing relevance of each of the themes explored to the global world of today.

We have changed the old *Summary* feature to a *Conclusion* and modified the language in each to more succinctly sum up the developments described in the chapter. We have also moved the *Chronology* section earlier in the chapter and updated it to incorporate recent date revisions by historians and added new and more relevant secondary courses to the *For Further Reading* section at the end of each chapter.

New to this edition, we have added a feature called *What's Left Out?* to call attention to issues most texts do not usually have space to discuss. Its purpose is to remind students that history is far more complicated and nuanced than any brief narrative can provide. For example, in chapter 9 the authors explore the little-known role of the Kushan King Kanishka the Great in promoting Mahayana Buddhism and helping facilitate its spread into China, enriching the standard account of its transmission by missionaries. In chapter 27 the authors give greater context on non-elite women in Southwest Asia because most textbooks focus on elite women associated with the imperial harem, while in chapter 37 they help students understand

that the rivalries of the Cold War in fact originated much earlier in the interwar period.

CHAPTER-BY-CHAPTER CHANGES

The following is a chapter-by-chapter list of topics that are new to this edition or elements that have been substantially revised or updated.

Chapter 22: Transoceanic Encounters and Global Connections

- Reversed subsections in the first section so that Technology of Exploration precedes Motives of Exploration.
- Reversed the sections on Trade and Conflict in Early Modern Asia and Ecological Exchanges so that Ecological Exchanges comes first.
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on the reasons spices were so coveted in European societies.
- Deepened the context for the "Sources from the Past" about Christopher Columbus.
- Added a new "Sources from the Past" by James Cook.
- Updated section on Ecological Exchanges to reflect current scholarship.

Chapter 23: The Transformation of Europe

- Changed title of section on Western Christendom to Western European Christendom to be more specific.
- Clarified relationship between gender and witch-hunting in early modern Europe.
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on the desperate conditions for ordinary Europeans caused by the Thirty Years' War.

Chapter 24: The Integration of the Americas and Oceania with the Wider World

- Changed title to emphasize the relations of these regions with the rest of the world.
- Changed the subsection on the Conquest of Mexico and Peru to simply Mexico and Peru to de-emphasize the idea that conquest was inevitable.
- Changed introductory vignette on Doña Marina to complicate her story.
- Emphasized the critical role of epidemic disease in the devastation of the populations of the Americas.
- Added more detail on the Taíno people so they don't appear passive at the moment of Spanish contact.
- Emphasized previous Spanish practices with slavery and sugar production in the Azores and Canary Islands for informing practices in the Americas.
- Emphasized the brutal treatment of native American peoples by European conquerors and settlers, as well as resistance to such treatment.
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on the widespread practice of British settlers enslaving native American peoples in the eastern colonies.
- Added a new "Sources from the Past" by Miantanamo.
- Streamlined and clarified section on Colonial Society in the Americas to reflect current scholarship.
- Updated the section on slavery in Brazil to reflect current scholarship.
- Added clarity regarding competition among native American groups in North America.

Chapter 25: Africa and the Atlantic World

- Removed several instances of Eurocentric text.
- Brought the sections on the trans-Saharan slave trade and Atlantic slave trade up to date.
- Updated section on consequences of the Atlantic slave trade in Africa to reflect current scholarship.
- Updated section on the African diaspora to reflect current scholarship.
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on the ways women experienced slavery differently than men.
- Updated the section on African diaspora cultures to reflect current scholarship.

Chapter 26: Tradition and Change in East Asia

- Clarified and updated section on foot-binding.
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on the parallels between Chinese foot-binding and the use of corsets in western Europe.
- Streamlined material on Zheng He.
- Rewrote the section on Government and Technology to minimize Eurocentrism.
- Eliminated comparisons of Chinese and European merchants to eliminate Eurocentrism.

Chapter 27: Empires in South and Southwest Asia

- Changed title to de-emphasize Islam for a focus on the region.
- Reversed the two subheads in the section on Empires in Transition to tell the story more clearly.
- Clarified the section on the Battle of Chaldiran.
- Significantly updated the section on the Dynastic State to reflect current thinking on succession.
- Reversed subheads on Steppe Traditions and Women in Politics in the section on the Dynastic State.
- Added a new "Sources from the Past" by Emperor Akbar of the Moghul dynasty.

- Added a "What's Left Out?" on the lives of ordinary Muslim women in the Ottoman Empire.
- Added detail to section on Food Crops.
- Significantly updated section on Economic Difficulties and Military Decline to reflect current scholarship.
- Deleted section on Cultural Conservatism because of Eurocentrism and bias.

Chapter 28: Revolutions and National States in the Atlantic World

- Changed title of first section to Revolutionary Ideas.
- Added a new section on Revolutions to cover the American, French, Haitian, and Latin American revolutions.
- Added a new heading called Consequences and Implications of the Revolutions.
- Changed first subhead under the Consequences section to The Emergence of New Ideologies.
- Changed final section to New Nations and Nationalism in Europe.
- Rewrote chapter overview to reflect extensive changes in the chapter.
- De-emphasized the revolutionary potential of ideas and emphasized the importance of war as a factor in instigating the revolutions of this period.
- Rewrote the subhead on Tightened British Control of the Colonies to reflect the importance of the experience of war.
- Clarified the reasons behind the start of the American Revolution.
- Rewrote the section on why the British lost the American Revolution, with an emphasis on the role of the French.
- Clarified that the French philosophes were deeply inspired by the American Revolution.
- Updated section on the Haitian Revolution.
- Wrote introduction to new section on the consequences of the revolutions.
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on women's participation in the revolutions.

Chapter 29: The Making of Industrial Society

- Added more on the environmental impact of the Industrial Revolution.
- Updated section on the origins of the Industrial Revolution, especially subheads on Ecological Relief and Mechanization, to reflect current scholarship.
- Added a new "Sources from the Past" on Ned Ludd.
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on the introduction of clock time.
- Revised subheads on Big Business and Corporations for greater clarity.
- Deleted claim about the strong link between industrialization and the abolition of slavery.
- Updated and clarified subheads on New Social Classes and Work and Play.
- Updated subheads on women and gender to reflect current scholarship.
- Updated and rewrote subhead on the Global Division of Labor and Economic Interdependence to reflect current scholarship.

Chapter 30: The Americas in the Age of Independence

- Added more in-depth indigenous perspectives to chapter content.
- Clarified and streamlined lead-up to the U.S. Civil War.
- Clarified the process of Canada gaining dominion status.
- Updated and streamlined subhead on Mexico.
- Rewrote the introduction to American Economic Development.
- Significantly rewrote the Section on Latin American Investments.
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on child removal in Australia, Canada, and the United States.
- Updated the section on Societies in the United States to reflect recent scholarship.

Chapter 31: Societies at Crossroads

- Changed section title from The Ottoman Empire in Decline to The Weakening of the Ottoman Empire.
- Changed subhead in this section from The Nature of Decline to Sources of Ottoman Weakness.
- Significantly rewrote opening story on Taiping Rebellion and the Chapter Overview.
- Updated subhead on Ottoman military problems to reflect current scholarship.
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on the global importance of the Russo-Japanese War.
- Updated section on Opium War in China.

Chapter 32: The Apex of Global Empire Building

- Changed title to reflect content changes in chapter.
- Changed subhead under Legacies of Imperialism from Nationalism and Anticolonial Movements to Anticolonial and Nationalist Movements.
- Wrote a new introductory story on Menelik II of Ethiopia.
- Rewrote the Chapter Overview to reflect content changes in the chapter.
- Changed subhead on Political Motives for Imperialism to Geopolitical Motives for Imperialism.
- Substantially rewrote subheads on Geopolitical Motives for Imperialism, Economic Motives for Imperialism, and Cultural Justifications for Imperialism.

- Moved subheads within the section on Foundations of Empire for better flow.
- Rewrote most of the section on the Indian Mutiny.
- Added two new "Sources from the Past," by Raden Kartini and Queen Lili'uokulani.
- Deleted some material on European explorers in Africa and added material on King Leopold's Congo.
- Added material on the British conquest of Egypt and the South African War.
- Updated section on The Emergence of New Imperial Powers to reflect current scholarship.
- Added material on the Can Vuong anti-French movement in Vietnam.
- Updated subhead on Scientific Racism to reflect current scholarship.
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on the unintended consequences of colonialism on gender relations.

Chapter 33: The Great War: The World in Upheaval

- Under the section Global War; added sections on Battles in Southwest Asia and Africa and Africans in the War.
- Streamlined and clarified introductory story.
- Clarified introduction to the section on Understandings and Alliances.
- Clarified the establishment of the Western Front.
- Updated the subhead on Women at War to reflect current scholarship.
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on the German Committee for Indian Independence.
- Added material on battles in Southwest Asia.
- Added material on Africa in the war (originally in chapter 35).
- Clarified section on the mandate system.

Chapter 34: Anxieties and Experiments in Postwar Europe and the United States

- Changed title to reflect content within chapter.
- Changed section on Probing Cultural Frontiers to New Intellectual Frontiers.
- Shortened introductory story on Hitler.
- Significantly rewrote the section on Communism in Russia.
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on the popularity of eugenics in the United States.

Chapter 35: Revolutionaries and Nationalists in the Colonial and Neocolonial World

- Changed title to reflect new content in the chapter.
- Changed section on Asian Paths to Autonomy to Paths to Autonomy in East and Southeast Asia.
- Changed subhead on China's Search for Order to China's Campaigns to End Foreign Domination.
- Added a new "Sources from the Past" by M.N. Roy.
- Changed section on Africa under Colonial Domination to Sub-Saharan Africa under Colonial Domination.
- Deleted section on Africa and Africans in the Great War.
- Significantly rewrote the material on China and India to reflect current scholarly understandings.
- Updated section on sub-Saharan Africa to reflect current scholarship.
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on the League Against Imperialism.
- Updated and clarified subhead on Neighborly Cultural Exchanges.
- Added a new ending to chapter.

Chapter 36: New Conflagrations: World War II and the Cold War

- Updated subhead on Chinese resistance to Japanese invasion to reflect current scholarship.
- Updated subhead on Italian and German Aggression by adding material on Ethiopian invasion.
- Updated and clarified subhead on Peace for Our Time by nuancing the philosophy of appeasement.
- Clarified and rewrote chain of events on the German conquest of western Europe.
- Added to subhead on Women's Roles by adding information about Soviet women.
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on the long history of anti-communism.
- Added material in the section on Cold War that clarifies Soviet perspective.
- Updated section on Cracks in the Soviet-Chinese Alliance to reflect current scholarship.

Chapter 37: The End of Empire in an Era of Cold War

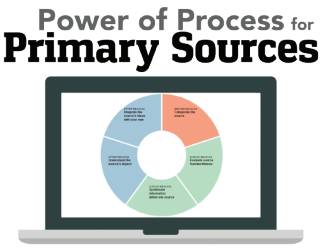
- Changed title to reflect importance of Cold War in decolonization.
- In section on After Independence, added Pan-Arab to the subhead on Islamic Resurgence in Southwest Asia and North Africa.
- Streamlined introductory story on Gandhi and significantly rewrote the chapter overview to reflect new content in the chapter.
- Rewrote introduction to Independence in Asia.
- Rewrote material on Partition in India.
- Rewrote section on nationalism in Vietnam.

- Updated section on Palestine to reflect recent scholarship.
- Rewrote section on the Suez Crisis.
- Substantially rewrote the section on French decolonization in North Africa.
- Added material on the Mau Mau Rebellion in Kenya.
- Added material on apartheid in South Africa.
- Streamlined and updated the material on Mao's China.
- Updated material on postcolonial India to reflect current scholarship.
- Updated material on Islamism and the Iranian Revolution.
- Deleted text on African disunity.
- Added "Sources from the Past" on China's Marriage law (originally in chapter 38).
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on the combination of decolonization and the Cold War in Angola.

Chapter 38: Into the Twenty-First Century

- Changed title to make it sound more current.
- Updated all dates and material to bring it current with second decade of twenty-first century.
- Changed title of section on The End of the Cold War to The End of the Cold War and the Emergence of a Unipolar World.
- Added subhead under this section called The Unipolar Moment.
- Moved the subhead on International Organizations to the section on Cross-Cultural Exchanges.
- Renamed the section on Global Problems to Urgent Global Issues in the Twenty-First Century.
- Added subheads in this section on The Continuing Inequality of Women, Migration, and Global Diseases.
- Deleted final section on Crossing Boundaries.
- Rewrote Chapter Overview to reflect content changes in the chapter.
- Added a new introduction to the section on the End of the Cold War.
- Added new text on the end of the Cold War through 2020.
- Clarified information on GATT and WTO.
- Updated section on the Rise of China.
- Added new material on the EU to Brexit.
- Updated material on OPEC.
- Deleted subhead on Pan-American culture and added material on cultural globalization.
- Deleted subhead on the Age of Access and added material on the Networked World.
- Deleted subheads on the Prominence of the English Language and Adaptations of Technology.
- Updated information on population pressure.
- Added material on climate change.
- Added new material on global diseases, specifically the COVID-19 pandemic, to bring content up to the present.
- Updated material on global terrorism.
- Added new material on women's inequality globally.
- Added a new "Sources from the Past" by Malala.
- Added a "What's Left Out?" on the difficulties about writing the history of the very recent past.
- Added new material on migrants in a global context.

PRIMARY SOURCES HELP STUDENTS THINK CRITICALLY ABOUT HISTORY



Primary sources help students think critically about history and expose them to contrasting perspectives of key events. The Seventh Edition of *Traditions & Encounters* provides four different ways to use primary source documents:

Power of Process for Primary Sources Power of Process is a critical thinking tool for reading and writing about primary sources. As part of Connect History, McGraw Hill's learning platform, Power of Process contains a database of more than 400 searchable primary sources in addition to the capability for instructors to upload their own sources. Instructors can then select a series of strategies for students to use to analyze and comment on a source. The Power of Process framework helps students develop essential academic skills such as understanding, analyzing, and synthesizing readings and visuals such as maps, leading students toward higher-order thinking and writing.

The Power of Process landing page makes it easy for instructors to find pre-populated documents or to add their own.

Sources from the Past These features showcase a significant primary source document of the period, such as a poem, journal account, religious writing, or letter. Thought-provoking questions prompt readers to analyze key issues raised in the document.

Connecting the Sources This feature helps students recognize that historiography is based on scholars' interpretation of historical information. It focuses on two documents or images, asking students to think critically about the different ways information can be interpreted.

McGraw Hill Create Because no two history courses are the same, you can select primary sources that meet the unique needs of your course. Using McGraw Hill's Create allows you to quickly and easily create custom course materials with cross-disciplinary content. Here's what you can do:

- Choose your own content: Create a book that contains only the chapters you want, in the order you want. Create will even renumber the pages for you!
- Add readings: Add readings from our collection or add your own original content such as syllabus or history major requirements.
- Choose your format: Print or ebook? Softcover, spiral, or loose-leaf? Black-and-white or color?
- Customize your cover: Pick your own cover image and include your name and course information right on the cover. Students will know they're purchasing the right book—and using everything they purchase!
- Review your creation: When you are all done, you'll receive a free PDF to review in just minutes. To get started, go to create.mheducation.com and register today.

SMARTBOOK 2.0 TAILORS CONTENT TO THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENT

SMARTBOOK® Available within Connect History, SmartBook has been updated with improved learning objectives to ensure that students gain foundational knowledge, while also learning to make connections to help them formulate a broader understanding of historical events. SmartBook 2.0 personalizes learning to individual student needs, continually adapting to pinpoint knowledge gaps and focus learning on topics that need the most attention. Study time is more productive, and as a result, students are better prepared for class and coursework. For instructors, SmartBook 2.0 tracks student progress and provides insights that can help guide teaching strategies.

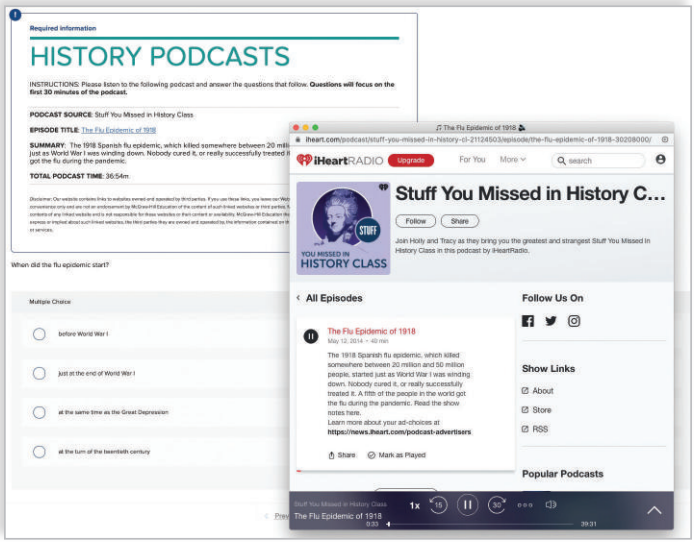
WRITING ASSIGNMENT

McGraw Hill's new Writing Assignment Plus tool delivers a learning experience that improves students' written communication skills and conceptual understanding with every assignment. Assign, monitor, and provide feedback on writing more efficiently and grade assignments within McGraw Hill Connect® and McGraw Hill Connect Master® 2.0. Writing Assignment Plus gives you time-saving tools with a just-in-time basic writing and originality checker.

Features include:

- Grammar/writing checking with McGraw Hill learning resources.
- Originality checker with McGraw Hill learning resources.
- Writing stats.
- Rubric building and scoring.
- Ability to assign draft and final deadline milestones.
- Tablet ready and tools for all learners.

CONTEXTUALIZE HISTORY



Help students experience history in a whole new way with our new Podcast Assignments. We've gathered some of the most interesting and popular history podcasts currently available and built assignable questions around them. These assignments allow instructors to bring greater context and nuance to their courses while engaging students through the storytelling power of podcasts.

APPLICATION-BASED ACTIVITIES

New to this edition, McGraw Hill's Application-Based Activities are highly interactive, automatically graded, online learn-by-doing exercises that provide students a safe space to apply their knowledge and problem-solving skills in class and in everyday life. Skill-based activities focus on topics such as "How to Read Primary Sources" and "Analyzing Audience" and map activities such as "Roman Imperial Expansion."

INSTRUCTOR RESOURCES

Traditions & Encounters offers an array of instructor resources for the world history course:

Instructor's Manual The Instructor's Manual provides a wide variety of tools and resources for presenting the course, including learning objectives and ideas for lectures and discussions.

Test Bank By increasing the rigor of the test bank development process, McGraw Hill has raised the bar for student assessment. Each question has been tagged for level of difficulty, Bloom's taxonomy, and topic coverage. Organized by chapter, the questions are designed to test factual, conceptual, and higher order thinking.

Test Builder New to this edition and available within Connect, Test Builder is a cloud-based tool that enables instructors to format tests that can be printed and administered within a Learning Management System. Test Builder offers a modern, streamlined interface for easy content configuration that matches course needs, without requiring a download.

Test Builder enables instructors to:

- Access all test bank content from a particular title.
- Easily pinpoint the most relevant content through robust filtering options.
- Manipulate the order of questions or scramble questions and/or answers.
- Pin questions to a specific location within a test.
- Determine your preferred treatment of algorithmic questions.
- Choose the layout and spacing.
- Add instructions and configure default settings.

PowerPoint The PowerPoint presentations highlight the key points of the chapter and include supporting visuals. New to this edition, all slides are WCAG compliant.

About the Authors

Jerry H. Bentley was professor of history at the University of Hawai'i and editor of the *Journal of World History*. His research on the religious, moral, and political writings of the Renaissance led to the publication of *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1983) and *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, 1987). More recently, his research concentrated on global history and particularly on processes of cross-cultural interaction. His book *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (New York, 1993) examines processes of cultural exchange and religious conversion before the modern era, and his pamphlet *Shapes of World History in Twentieth-Century Scholarship* (1996) discusses the historiography of world history. His most recent publication is *The Oxford Handbook of World History* (Oxford, 2011), and he served as a member of the editorial team preparing the forthcoming *Cambridge History of the World*. Jerry Bentley passed away in July 2012, although his legacy lives on through his significant contributions to the study of world history. The World History Association recently named an annual prize in his honor for outstanding publications in the field.

Herbert F. Ziegler is an associate professor of history at the University of Hawai'i. He has taught world history since 1980; he previously served as director of the world history program at the University of Hawai'i as well as book review editor of the *Journal of World History*. His interest in twentieth-century European social and political history led to the publication of *Nazi Germany's New Aristocracy: The SS Leadership, 1925–1939* (Princeton, 1990) and to his participation in new educational endeavors in the history of the Holocaust, including the development of an upper-division course for undergraduates. He is at present working on a study that explores from a global point of view the demographic trends of the past ten thousand years, along with their concomitant technological, economic, and social developments. His other current research project focuses on the application of complexity theory to a comparative study of societies and their internal dynamics.

Heather Streets-Salter is Professor and Director of World History Programs at Northeastern University in Boston, Massachusetts. She is the author of *World War One in Southeast Asia: Colonialism and Anticolonialism in an Era of Global Conflict* (Cambridge University Press, 2017); *Martial Races: The Military, Martial Races, and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857–1914* (Manchester University Press, 2004); and *Empires and Colonies in the Modern World* (Oxford University Press, 2015) with Trevor Getz. Her next book is called *The Chill Before the Cold War: Communism and Anti-Communism in Colonial Southeast Asia in the Interwar Period.*

Craig Benjamin is a Professor of History in the Frederik J. Meijer Honors College at Grand Valley State University in Michigan. He is the author of *The Yuezhi: Origin, Migration and the Conquest of Northern Bactria* (Brepols, 2007); *Empires of Ancient Eurasia. The First Silk Roads Era 100 BCE–250 CE* (Cambridge University Press, 2018); and *Big History: Between Nothing and Everything* (McGraw-Hill, 2014) with David Christian and Cynthia Stokes Brown. He is the editor of Volume 4 of the *Cambridge History of the World* (Cambridge University Press, 2015) and *The Routledge Companion to Big History* (Routledge, 2019) with Esther Quaedackers and David Baker. His next book is called *Eurasia Reconnected. The Second Silk Roads Era 600–1000 CE.*

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Traditions & Encounters

Volume 2
From 1500 to the Present

Chapter 22

Transoceanic Encounters and Global Connections

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ZOOMING IN ON ENCOUNTERS

Vasco da Gama's Search for Spices

On 8 July 1497 the Portuguese mariner **Vasco da Gama** led a small fleet of four armed merchant vessels with 170 crewmen out of the harbor at Lisbon. His destination was India, which he planned to reach by sailing around the continent of Africa and through the Indian Ocean, and his goal was to enter the highly lucrative trade in spices dominated in Europe by the merchants of Venice. He carried letters of introduction from the king of Portugal as well as cargoes of gold, pearls, wool textiles, bronzeware, iron tools, and other goods that he hoped to exchange for spices in India.

Before there would be an opportunity to trade, however, da Gama and his crew had a prolonged voyage through two oceans. They sailed south from Portugal to the Cape Verde Islands off the west coast of Africa, where they took on water and fresh provisions. On 3 August they headed south into the Atlantic Ocean to take advantage of the prevailing winds. For the next ninety-five days, the fleet saw no land as it sailed through some six thousand nautical miles of open ocean. By October, da Gama came across westerly winds in the southern Atlantic, which helped propel him around the Cape of Good Hope and into the Indian Ocean. The fleet slowly worked its

Vasco da Gama's flagship on the journey to India in 1497, the *San Rafael*.
Photo Researchers/Science History Images/Alamy Stock Photo

Vasco da Gama (VAHS-koh duh GAHM-uh)

way up the east coast of Africa, engaging in hostilities with local authorities at Mozambique and Mombasa, as far as Malindi, where da Gama secured the services of an Indian Muslim pilot to guide his ships across the Arabian Sea. On 20 May 1498—more than ten months after its departure from Lisbon—the fleet anchored at Calicut in southern India.

In India the Portuguese fleet encountered a wealthy, cosmopolitan society. Upon their arrival local authorities in Calicut dispatched a pair of Tunisian merchants who spoke Spanish and Italian to serve as translators for the newly arrived party. The markets of Calicut offered not only pepper, ginger, cinnamon, and other spices sought so eagerly by da Gama, but also rubies, emeralds, gold jewelry, and fine cotton textiles. But apart from gold and some striped cloth, the merchants at Calicut thought the goods that da Gama had brought to trade were worthless and showed no interest in them. Nevertheless, da Gama managed to exchange gold for a cargo of pepper and cinnamon that turned a handsome profit when the fleet returned to Portugal in August 1499. Da Gama's expedition opened the door to direct maritime trade between European and Asian peoples and helped to establish permanent links between the world's various regions.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Cross-cultural interactions and encounters have been a persistent feature of historical development. Even in ancient times mass migration, campaigns of imperial expansion, and long-distance trade deeply influenced societies throughout the world. But after 1500 C.E., cross-cultural interactions took place on a much larger geographic scale, and encounters thus affected greater numbers of people than in earlier centuries. Equipped with a variety of technologies and a powerful military arsenal, western European peoples began to cross the world's oceans in large numbers during the early modern era (ca. 1500–ca. 1800). At the same time, Russian adventurers built an enormous Eurasian empire and ventured into the Pacific Ocean.

Europeans were not the only peoples who actively explored the larger world during the early modern era. In the early fifteenth century the Ming emperors of China sponsored a series of seven massive maritime expeditions that visited all parts of the Indian Ocean basin. Although state-sponsored expeditions came to an end after 1435, Chinese merchants and mariners were prominent figures in east Asian and southeast Asian lands throughout the early modern era. In the sixteenth century Ottoman mariners also ventured into the Indian Ocean. Following the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517, both merchant and military vessels established an Ottoman presence throughout the Indian Ocean basin. Ottoman explorers traveled as far as China, but they were most active in Muslim lands from east Africa and Arabia to India and southeast Asia, where they enjoyed especially warm receptions.

Although other peoples also made their way into the larger world, it was Europeans who, initially by chance, linked the lands and peoples of the Eastern Hemisphere, the Western Hemisphere and Oceania. Because they began to travel regularly between the world's major geographic regions, in this period European peoples benefited from unparalleled opportunities to increase their power, wealth, and influence. By 1800, the projection of European influence brought about a decisive shift in the global balance of power. During the millennium 500 to 1500 C.E., the world's most powerful societies had been those organized by imperial states such as the Tang dynasty of China, the Abbasid dynasty in southwest Asia, the Byzantine Empire in the eastern Mediterranean region, and the Mongol Empires that embraced much of Eurasia. After 1500, however, European peoples became more prominent than before in the larger world, and they began to establish vast empires that by the nineteenth century dominated much of the world.

The expansion of European influence also resulted in the establishment of truly global networks of transportation, communication, and exchange. A worldwide diffusion of plants,

CHRONOLOGY

1394–1460	Life of Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal
1488	Bartolomeu Dias's voyage around the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean
1492	Christopher Columbus's first voyage to the Western Hemisphere
1497–1499	Vasco da Gama's first voyage to India
1500	Establishment of Portuguese trading post in Calicut, India
1519–1522	Ferdinand Magellan's circumnavigation of the world
1565–1575	Spanish conquest of the Philippines
1619	Establishment of Batavia by the Dutch on the island of Java
1756–1763	Seven Years' War
1768–1780	Captain James Cook's voyages in the Pacific Ocean

animals, diseases, and human communities followed European ventures across the oceans, and intricate trade networks eventually gave birth to a global economy. The consequences to the peoples of the Americas and Oceania were disastrous, as epidemic diseases killed millions of people. Over much of the rest of the world, however, the spread of food crops and domesticated animals contributed to a dramatic surge in global population. The establishment of global trade networks established in this period ensured that interactions between the world's peoples would continue and intensify.

THE EXPLORATION OF THE WORLD'S OCEANS

Between 1400 and 1800, European mariners launched a remarkable series of exploratory voyages that took them to all the earth's waters, with the exception of those in extreme polar regions. These voyages were very expensive and required the latest technologies for their success. Yet private investors and government authorities had strong motives to underwrite the expeditions and outfit them with advanced nautical technology. The voyages of exploration paid large dividends: they enabled European mariners to chart the world's ocean basins and develop an accurate understanding of world geography. On the basis of that knowledge, European merchants and mariners established global networks of communication, transportation, and exchange that had dramatic consequences for the whole world.

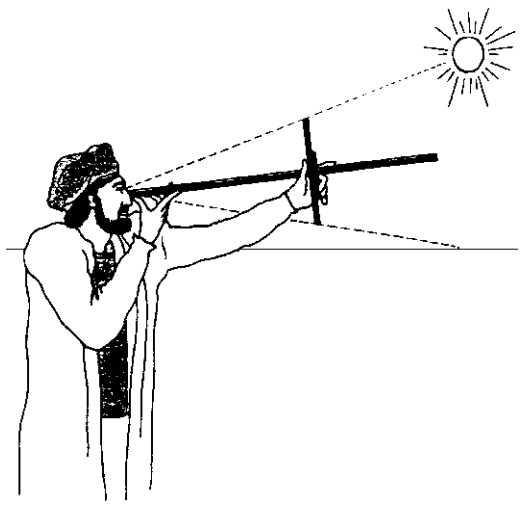
The Technology of Exploration

Without advanced nautical technology and navigational skills, European mariners would not have been able to explore the world's oceans. Embarking on voyages that would keep them out of the sight of land for weeks at a time, mariners needed sturdy ships, navigational equipment, and sailing techniques that would permit them to make their way across the seas and back again. They inherited much of their nautical technology from Mediterranean and northern European maritime traditions and combined it imaginatively with elements of Chinese and Arabic origin.

Ships and Sails From their experiences in the coastal waters of the Atlantic, European sailors learned to construct ships strong enough to survive most adverse conditions. Beginning about the twelfth century, they increased the maneuverability of their craft by building a rudder onto the stern. (The sternpost rudder was a Chinese invention that had diffused across the Indian Ocean and probably became known to Europeans through Arab ships in the Mediterranean.) They outfitted their vessels with two main types of sail, both of which Mediterranean mariners had used since classical times. Square sails enabled them to take full advantage of a following wind (a wind blowing from behind), although these sails did not work well in crosswinds. Triangular lateen sails, on the other hand, were very maneuverable and could catch winds from the side as well as from behind. With a combination of square and lateen sails, European ships were able to use whatever winds arose. Their ability to tack—to advance against the wind by sailing across it—was crucial for the exploration of regions with uncooperative winds.

Navigational Instruments The most important navigational equipment on board these vessels were **magnetic compasses** and **astrolabes** (soon replaced by **cross staffs** and **back staffs**). The compass was a Chinese invention of the Tang or Song dynasty that had diffused throughout the Indian Ocean basin in the eleventh century. By the mid-twelfth century, European mariners used compasses to determine their heading in Mediterranean and Atlantic waters. The astrolabe was a simplified version of an instrument used by Greek and Persian astronomers to determine latitude by measuring the angle of the sun or the pole star (or North Star) above the horizon. Portuguese mariners visiting the Indian Ocean in the late fifteenth century encountered Arab sailors using simpler and more serviceable instruments for determining latitude, which the Portuguese then used as models for the construction of cross staffs and back staffs.

European mariners' ability to determine direction and latitude based on these many borrowed technologies enabled them to assemble a vast body of data about the earth's geography and to find their way around the world's oceans with reasonable accuracy and efficiency. (The measurement of longitude requires the ability to measure time precisely and so had to wait until the late eighteenth century, when dependable, spring-driven clocks became available.)



By using cross staffs to measure the angle of the sun or the pole star above the horizon, mariners could determine latitude.

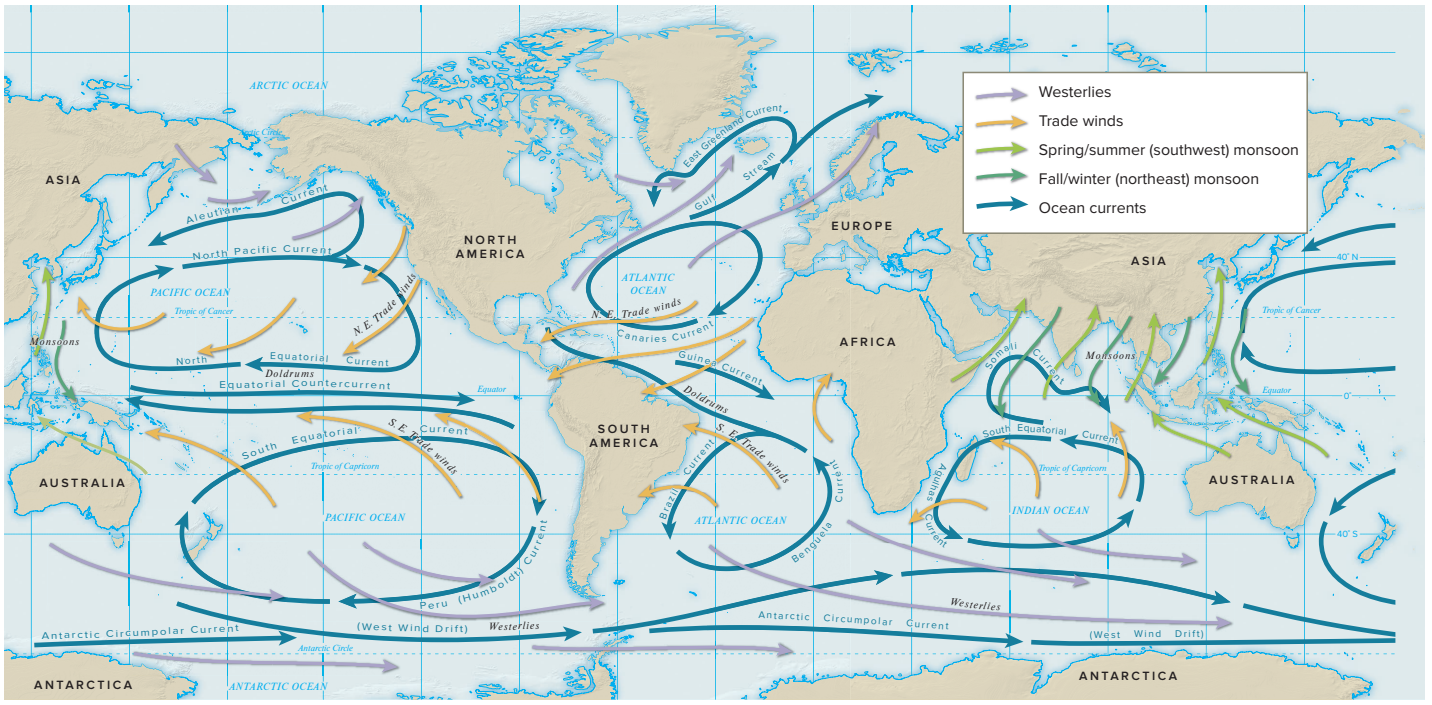
Knowledge of Winds and Currents Equipped with the latest technological hardware, European mariners ventured into the oceans and gradually compiled a body of practical knowledge about the winds and currents that determined navigational possibilities in the age of sail. In both the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, strong winds blow regularly to create giant "wind wheels" both north and south of the equator, and ocean currents follow a similar pattern. Between about five and twenty-five degrees of latitude north and south of the equator, winds (called "trade winds" by Europeans) blow from the east. Between about thirty and sixty degrees north and south, westerly winds prevail. Winds and currents in the Indian Ocean follow a different, but still regular and reliable, pattern. During the summer months, generally between April and October, monsoon winds blow from the southwest throughout the Indian Ocean basin, whereas during the winter they blow from the northeast. Once mariners understood these patterns, they were able to take advantage of prevailing winds and currents to sail to almost any part of the earth.

The *volta do mar* Prevailing winds and currents often forced mariners to take indirect routes to their destinations. European vessels sailed easily from the Mediterranean to the Canary Islands, for example, because regular trade winds blew from the northeast. But those same trade winds complicated the return trip. By the mid-fifteenth century, Portuguese mariners had developed a strategy called the ***volta do mar*** ("return through the sea") that enabled them to sail from the Canaries to Portugal. Instead of trying to force their way against the trade winds—a slow and perilous business—they sailed northwest into the open ocean until they found westerly winds and then turned east for the last leg of the homeward journey.

Although the *volta do mar* took mariners well out of their way, experience soon taught that sailing around contrary winds was much faster, safer, and more reliable than butting up against them. Portuguese and other European mariners began to rely on the principle of the *volta do mar* in sailing to destinations other than the Canary Islands. When Vasco da Gama departed for India, for example, he sailed south to the Cape Verde Islands and then allowed the trade winds to carry him southwest into the Atlantic Ocean until he approached the coast of Brazil. There da Gama caught the prevailing westerlies that enabled him to sail east, round the Cape of Good Hope, and enter the Indian Ocean. As they became familiar with the wind systems of the world's oceans, European mariners developed variations on the *volta do mar* that enabled them to travel reliably to coastlines around the world.

Motives for Exploration

A complex combination of motives prompted Europeans to explore the world's oceans. Most important of these motives



MAP 22.1 Wind and current patterns in the world's oceans.

Note how the winds of the Atlantic and Pacific resemble wind wheels, revolving clockwise north of the equator and counterclockwise south of the equator.

How crucial was an understanding of the world's wind patterns to the success of European overseas expansion?

were the search for basic resources and lands suitable for the cultivation of cash crops, the desire to establish new trade routes to Asian markets, and the aspiration to expand the influence of Christianity.

Portuguese Exploration Mariners from the relatively poor kingdom of Portugal were initially the most prominent in the search for fresh resources to exploit and lands to cultivate. Beginning in the thirteenth century, Portuguese seamen ventured away from the coasts and into the open Atlantic Ocean. They originally sought fish, seals, whales, timber, and lands where they could grow wheat to supplement the meager resources of Portugal. By the early fourteenth century, they had discovered the uninhabited Azores and Madeiras Islands. They also traveled frequently to the Canary Islands, inhabited by the indigenous Guanche people, which Italian and Iberian mariners had visited since the early fourteenth century. Because European demand for sugar was strong and increasing, the prospect of establishing sugar plantations on the Atlantic islands was very tempting. Italian entrepreneurs had organized sugar plantations in Palestine and the Mediterranean islands since the twelfth century, and in the fifteenth century Italian investors worked with Portuguese mariners to establish plantations in the Atlantic islands using slave labor (discussed more fully in chapter 25). Continuing Portuguese voyages also led to the establishment of plantations on more southerly Atlantic islands, including the Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé, Principe, and Fernando Po.

The earliest surviving world globe, produced in 1492 by the German cartographer Martin Behaim, depicts the Eastern Hemisphere quite accurately but shows almost no land west of Iberia except for east Asia.
DEA Picture Library/Getty Images

Trade Even more important than the exploitation of fresh lands and resources was the goal of establishing maritime trade routes to the markets of Asia. During the era of the Mongol Empires, European merchants often traveled overland as far as China to trade in silk, spices, porcelain, and other Asian goods. In the fourteenth century, however, with the collapse of the Mongol Empires and the spread of bubonic plague, travel on what we now call the Silk Roads became much less safe than before. Arab mariners continued to bring Asian goods through the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea to Cairo, where Italian merchants purchased them for distribution in western Europe. But prices at Cairo were high, and Europeans sought ever-larger quantities of Asian goods, particularly spices.

By the fourteenth century the wealthy classes of Europe regarded Indian pepper and Chinese ginger as expensive necessities, and they especially prized cloves and nutmeg from the spice islands of Maluku. Merchants and monarchs alike realized that by offering direct access to Asian markets and eliminating Muslim intermediaries, new maritime trade routes would increase the quantities of spices and other Asian goods available in Europe—and would also yield enormous profits. This was, indeed, the motive behind Vasco da Gama's voyage to India in 1497 that we read about in the introduction to this chapter.

Europeans were also interested in African trade. Since the twelfth century, camel caravans had delivered west African gold, ivory, and enslaved people to north African ports, where Europeans—along with many others—took part in their trade (for more on the trans-Saharan trade, see chapter 25). Gold was an especially important commodity because the precious metal from west Africa was Europeans' principal form of payment for Asian luxury goods. As in the case of Asian trade, European merchants were interested in maritime routes that eliminated Muslim intermediaries and offered more direct access to African markets.

Missionary Efforts Alongside material incentives, the goal of expanding the boundaries of Christianity also drove Europeans into the larger world. Like Buddhism and Islam, Christianity is a missionary religion. The New Testament specifically urged Christians to spread their faith throughout the world. Efforts to spread the faith often took peaceful forms. During the era of the Mongol Empires, Franciscan and Dominican missionaries had traveled as far as India, central Asia, and China in search of converts. Yet the expansion of Christianity was by no means always a peaceful affair. Beginning in the eleventh century, western Europeans had launched a series of crusades and holy wars against Muslims in Palestine, the Mediterranean islands, and Iberia. Crusading zeal remained especially strong in Iberia, where the *reconquista* (the "reconquering" of Spain and Iberia from Muslim rulers who had been there for 800 years) came to an end in 1492: the Muslim kingdom of Granada fell to Spanish Christian forces just weeks before Christopher Columbus set sail on his famous first voyage to the Western Hemisphere. Whether through

A depiction of the Indian port of Calicut in 1572, when Portugal dominated the pepper trade.
FLHC A20/Alamy Stock Photo

persuasion or violence, overseas voyages offered fresh opportunities for western Europeans to spread their faith.

In practice, the various motives for exploration combined and reinforced each other. Prince Henrique of Portugal, often called **Prince Henry the Navigator,** promoted voyages of exploration in west Africa specifically to enter the gold trade, discover profitable new trade routes, gain intelligence about the extent of Muslim power, win converts to Christianity, and make alliances against the Muslims with any Christian rulers he might find. When the Portuguese mariner Vasco da Gama reached the Indian port of Calicut in 1498, local authorities asked him what he wanted there. His reply: "Christians and spices." The goal of spreading Christianity thus became a powerful justification and reinforcement for the more material motives for the voyages of exploration.

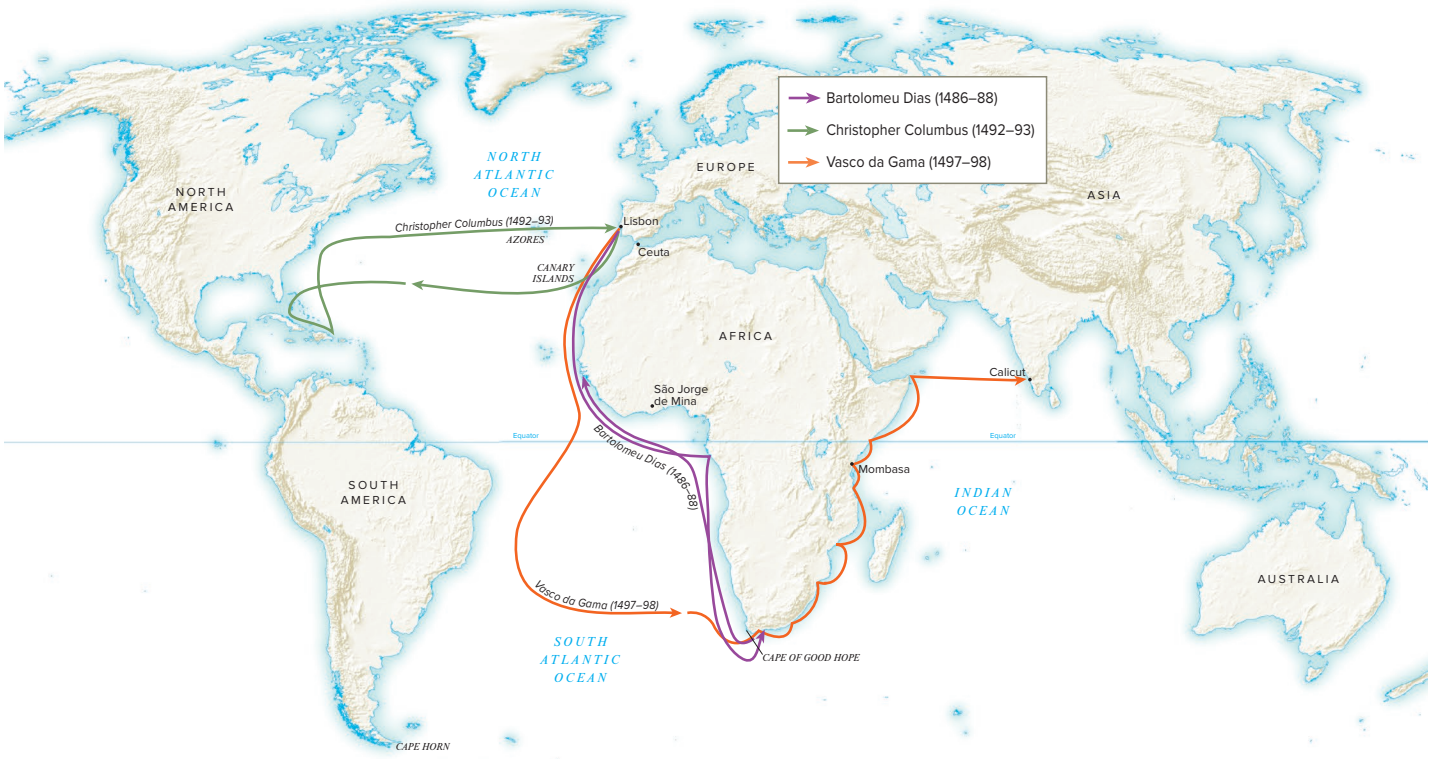
European Voyages of Exploration: From the Mediterranean to the Atlantic

In 1291 the Vivaldi brothers departed from Genoa in two ships with the intention of sailing around Africa to India. They did

What's Left Out?

In Europe during the late Middle Ages, spices like pepper, cloves, nutmeg, cinnamon, and ginger were extremely expensive, costing approximately one to three English shillings per pound. Compare this to a whole cow, which cost between six and ten shillings, or a pig, which cost two. An ordinary soldier's wages, by comparison, were about a shilling a day, while a kitchen servant's wages were between 2 and 4 shillings for a whole year. What was it about the spices we now take for granted that made people want to pay such high prices for them and for others to risk their lives and all their material possessions to trade them? Spices were used to enhance the taste and smell of many foods and drinks, to mask bad odors, and as medicines. Pepper, ginger, and cinnamon, for example, were used to treat a myriad of ailments, including headache, insomnia, and digestive problems. But scholars now believe it was the very rarity of spices, and the mythology associated with their mysterious and distant origins, that was the real source of their value. Precisely because they came from so far away and were thus so expensive, spices were viewed as the ultimate status symbols. In addition, many Europeans believed fantastic stories about the way spices were procured. Pepper, for example, was thought to come from trees guarded by serpents who would poison anyone attempting to harvest the peppercorns that grew on them. Stories such as these added to the allure of spices, which in turn helped to explain the very high prices Europeans were willing to pay for them.

Source: John Keay, *The Spice Route: A History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).



MAP 22.2 European exploration in the Atlantic Ocean, 1486–1498.

Observe the difference between Bartolomeu Dias's journey and Vasco da Gama's journey around the Cape of Good Hope.

Why did da Gama go so far out into the Atlantic before rounding the Cape?

not succeed, but the idea of exploring the Atlantic and establishing a maritime trade route from the Mediterranean to India persisted. During the fourteenth century Genoese, Portuguese, and Spanish mariners sailed frequently into the Atlantic Ocean and rediscovered the Canary Islands. The Guanche people had settled the Canaries from their original home in Morocco, in around the fifth century B.C.E. but there had been no contact between the Guanches and other peoples since the time of the Roman Empire. Iberian mariners began to visit the Canaries regularly, and in the fifteenth century—after a long and brutal war in which the Guanche put up fierce resistance—Castilian forces conquered the islands and made them an outpost for further exploration.

Prince Henry of Portugal

The pace of European exploration quickened after 1415 when Prince Henry of Portugal (1394–1460) conquered the Moroccan port of **Ceuta** and sponsored a series of voyages down the west African coast. Portuguese merchants soon established fortified trading posts at **São Jorge da Mina** (in modern Ghana) and other strategic locations. There they exchanged European horses, leather, textiles, and metalwares for gold and, increasingly, enslaved people (for an in-depth discussion of the emerging Atlantic slave trade, see chapter 25). Portuguese explorations continued after Henry's death, and in 1488 **Bartolomeu Dias** rounded the Cape of Good Hope and entered the Indian Ocean. He did not proceed farther because of storms and a restless crew, but the route to India, China, and the spice-bearing islands of southeast Asia lay open. The sea route to the Indian Ocean offered European merchants the opportunity to buy silk, spices, and pepper at the source, rather than through Muslim intermediaries, and to take part in the flourishing trade of Asia described by Marco Polo.

Vasco da Gama

Portuguese mariners did not immediately follow up Dias's voyage because domestic and foreign problems distracted royal attention from voyages to Asia. In 1497, however, Vasco da Gama departed Lisbon with a fleet of four armed merchant ships bound for India. As we saw in the introduction, his experience—and the experiences of his crew—was not pleasant. His fleet went more than three months without seeing land, and his cargoes excited little interest in Indian markets. His return voyage was especially

Ceuta (SYOO-tuh)
São Jorge da Mina (sou hor-hay dah meena)
Bartolomeu Dias (bahr-tol-uh-MEY-oh dee-as)

SOURCES FROM THE PAST

Christopher Columbus's First Impressions of American Peoples

Christopher Columbus kept journals of his experiences during his voyages to the Western Hemisphere. These journals were not meant to be private, but instead were to be shared with his benefactors, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and also to record his accomplishments for posterity. The journal of his first voyage survives mostly in summary, but it clearly communicates Columbus's first impressions of the people he met in the Caribbean islands. The following excerpts show that Columbus, like other European mariners, had both Christianity and commerce in mind when exploring distant lands. Keep in mind that Columbus treated the indigenous Taíno with brutality even from the first day of his arrival, when he had six people seized as servants. Look for places in the text in which Columbus uses dehumanizing language, or suggests how the Taíno could be useful to Europeans.

Thursday, 11 October [1492]. . . .

I . . . in order that they would be friendly to us—because I recognized that they were people who would be better freed [from error] and converted to our Holy Faith by love than by force—to some of them I gave red caps, and glass beads which they put on their chests, and many other things of small value, in which they took so much pleasure and became so much our friends that it was a marvel. Later they came swimming to the ships' launches where we were and brought us parrots and cotton thread in balls and javelins and many other things, and they traded them to us for other things which we gave them, such as small glass beads and bells. In sum, they took everything and gave of what they had willingly.

But it seemed to me that they were a people very poor in everything. All of them go as naked as their mothers bore them; and the women also, although I did not see more than one quite young girl. And all those that I saw were young people, for none did I see of more than 30 years of age. They are very well formed, with handsome bodies and good faces. Their hair [is] coarse—almost like the tail of a horse—and short. They wear their hair down over their eyebrows except for a little in the back which they wear long and never cut. . . .

They do not carry arms nor are they acquainted with them, because I showed them swords and they took them by the edge and through ignorance cut themselves. They have no iron. Their javelins are shafts without iron and some of them have at the end a fish tooth and others of other things. All of them alike are of good-sized stature and carry themselves well. I saw some who had marks of wounds on their bodies and I made signs to them asking what they were; and they showed me how people from other islands nearby came there and tried to take them, and how they defended themselves and I believed and believe that they come here from *tierra firme* [the continent] to take them captive. They should be good and intelligent servants, for I see that they say very quickly everything that is said to them; and I believe that they would become Christians very easily, for it seemed to me that they had no religion. . . .

On what basis might Christopher Columbus have been making such an observation about religious faith? What might he have been missing?

Monday, 12 November. . . .

They are very gentle and do not know what evil is; nor do they kill others, nor steal; and they are without weapons and so timid that a hundred of them flee from one of our men even if our men are teasing them. And they are credulous and aware that there is a God in heaven and convinced that we come from the heavens; and they say very quickly any prayer that we tell them to say, and they make the sign of the cross. So that Your Highnesses ought to resolve to make them Christians: for I believe that if you begin, in a short time you will end up having converted to our Holy Faith a multitude of peoples and acquiring large dominions and great riches and all of their peoples for Spain. Because without doubt there is in these lands a very great quantity of gold; for not without cause do these Indians that I bring with me say that there are in these islands places where they dig gold and wear it on their chests, on their ears, and on their arms, and on their legs; and they are very thick bracelets. And also there are stones, and there are precious pearls and infinite spicery. . . . And also here there is probably a great quantity of cotton; and I think that it would sell very well here without taking it to Spain but to the big cities belonging to the Grand [Mongol] Khan.

Does this statement contradict Columbus' earlier assertion that the people he encountered "had no religion"?

For Further Reflection

- On the basis of Columbus's account, what inferences can you draw about his plans for American lands and peoples? Based on this small excerpt, is it possible to surmise how contemporary Taíno people might have described Columbus and his men?

Source: Christopher Columbus. *The* Diario *of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America.* Trans. by Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley Jr. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989, pp. 65–69, 143–45.

difficult, and more than half of his crew died slow and painful deaths from scurvy (vitamin C deficiency) before making it back to Portugal. Yet his cargo of pepper and cinnamon was hugely profitable, and Portuguese merchants began immediately to organize further expeditions. By 1500 they had built a trading post at Calicut, the site of da Gama's original landing, and Portuguese mariners soon called at ports throughout India and the Indian Ocean basin. By the late sixteenth century, English and Dutch mariners had followed the Portuguese into the Indian Ocean basin.

Christopher Columbus

While Portuguese navigators plied the sea route to India, the Genoese mariner Cristoforo Colombo, known in English as **Christopher Columbus** (1451–1506), proposed sailing to the markets of Asia by a western route. On the basis of wide reading of literature on geography, Columbus believed that the Eurasian landmass covered 270 degrees of longitude and that the earth was a relatively small sphere with a circumference of about 17,000 nautical miles. (In fact, the Eurasian landmass from Portugal to Korea covers only 140 degrees of longitude, and the earth's circumference is almost 25,000 nautical miles.) By Columbus's calculations, Japan should be less than 2,500 nautical miles west of the Canary Islands. (The actual distance between the Canaries and Japan is more than 10,000 nautical miles.) This geography suggested that sailing west from Europe to Asian markets would be profitable, and Columbus sought royal sponsorship for a voyage to prove his ideas. The Portuguese court declined his proposal, partly out of skepticism about his geography and partly because Dias's voyage of 1488 already pointed the way toward India.

Fernando and Isabel of Spain eventually agreed to sponsor Columbus's expedition, but it was Italian bankers who actually financed the voyage. In August 1492 his fleet of three ships departed Palos in southern Spain. He sailed south to the Canaries, picked up supplies, and then turned west with the trade winds. On the morning of 12 October 1492, he made landfall at an island in the Bahamas that the native **Taíno** inhabitants called **Guanahaní** and that Columbus rechristened San Salvador (also known as Watling Island). Thinking that he had arrived in the spice islands known familiarly as the Indies, Columbus called the Taíno "Indians." He sailed around the Caribbean for almost three months searching for gold, and at the large island of Cuba he sent a delegation to seek the court of the emperor of China. When Columbus returned to Spain, he reported to his royal sponsors that he had reached islands just off the coast of Asia.

Hemispheric Links

In spite of what he believed, Columbus never reached the riches of Asia. Moreover, although he made three additional voyages across the Atlantic Ocean, he obtained very little gold in the Caribbean. Yet news of his voyage spread rapidly throughout Europe, and hundreds of Spanish, English, French, and Dutch mariners soon followed in his wake. Particularly in the early sixteenth century, many of them continued to seek the passage to Asian waters that Columbus himself had pursued. Over the longer term, however, it became clear that the American continents and the Caribbean islands themselves held abundant opportunities for entrepreneurs. Thus Columbus's voyages to the Western Hemisphere had unintended but profound consequences because they established links between the eastern and Western Hemisphere and paved the way for the conquest, settlement, and exploitation of the Americas by European peoples.

European Voyages of Exploration: From the Atlantic to the Pacific

While some Europeans sought opportunities in the Americas, others continued to seek a western route to Asian markets. The Spanish military commander Vasco Nuñez de Balboa sighted the Pacific Ocean in 1513 while searching for gold in Panama, but in the early sixteenth century no one knew how much ocean lay between the Americas and Asia. Indeed, no one even suspected the vast size of the Pacific Ocean, which covers one-third of the earth's surface.

Ferdinand Magellan

The initial exploration of the Pacific Ocean basin began with the Portuguese navigator Fernão de Magalhães (1480–1521), better known as **Ferdinand Magellan.** While sailing in the service of Portugal, Magellan had visited ports throughout the Indian Ocean basin and had traveled east as far as the spice islands of Maluku. He believed that the spice islands and Asian markets lay fairly close to the western coast of the Americas, and he decided to pursue Christopher Columbus's goal of establishing a western route to Asian waters. Because Portuguese mariners had already reached Asian markets through the Indian Ocean, they had little interest in Magellan's proposed western route. Thus, on his Pacific expedition Magellan sailed in the service of Spain.

The Circumnavigation

Magellan's voyage was an exercise in endurance. He left Spain in September 1519, and then began probing the eastern coast of South America in search of a strait leading to the Pacific. Eventually, he found and sailed through the tricky and treacherous strait, later to bear his name, near the southern tip of South America. After exiting the strait, his fleet sailed almost four months before taking on fresh provisions at Guam. During that period crewmen survived on worm-ridden biscuits only and water gone foul. Ship's rats that were unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of famished sailors quickly became the centerpiece of a meal. A

Taíno (TEYE-noh)
Guanahaní (Gwah-nah-nee)
Ferdinand Magellan (FUR-dih-nand muh-JEHL-uhn)

This 1561 map shows Ferdinand Magellan's name for the Pacific (Mare Pacificum) and the Strait of Magellan (Frenum Magaliani).
The History Collection/Alamy Stock Photo

survivor reported in his account of the voyage that crewmen even ate ox hides, which they softened by dragging them through the sea for four or five days and then grilled on coals. Lacking fresh fruits and vegetables in their diet, many of the crew fell victim to the dreaded disease of scurvy, which caused painful rotting of the gums, loss of teeth, abscesses, hemorrhaging, weakness, loss of spirit, and in most cases death. Scurvy killed twenty-nine members of Magellan's crew during the Pacific crossing.

Conditions improved after the fleet arrived in Guam in March 1521, but its ordeal had not come to an end. From Guam, Magellan proceeded to the Philippine Islands, where he became involved in a local political dispute that took the lives of Magellan himself and 40 of his crew A local chief had asked for Magellan's help in a dispute with a rival tribe, and in the fighting that ensued, Magellan was hit by a poisoned arrow and left to die by his crewmen. The survivors continued on to the spice islands of Maluku, where they took on a cargo of cloves. Rather than brave the Pacific Ocean once again, they sailed home through the familiar waters of the Indian Ocean—and thus completed the first circumnavigation of the world—returning to Spain after a voyage of almost exactly three years. Of Magellan's five ships and 280 men, only a single spice-laden ship with 18 of the original crew returned.

Exploration of the Pacific The Pacific Ocean is so vast that it took European explorers almost three centuries to

SOURCES FROM THE PAST

Captain Cook's Journal from Tahiti

James Cook (1728–1779) was an English explorer from a small village in Yorkshire. He joined the Royal Navy in 1755 and served in North America, where he learned to chart and survey coastal territories. In 1768, the Royal Society and the British Admiralty chose Cook to captain an expedition to find the as-yet-undisovered "southern continent." Between 1768 and 1771, Cook and his crew sailed the Pacific, landing in Tahiti in 1769 and then making contact with (and claiming) what is now New Zealand. He made two more Pacific voyages before he was killed in hostilities with Hawaiians in a visit there in 1779. Below, he describes in his journal one of the first interactions of his crew with the people of Tahiti in 1769.

Tahiti, Saturday [April] 15th, 1769 . . . This morning several of the Chiefs we had seen Yesterday came on board, and brought with them Hogs, Bread fruit, etc., and for these we gave them Hatchets, Linnen, and such things as they valued. Having not met with yesterday a more Convenient situation for every purpose we wanted than the place we now are, I therefore, without delay, resolved to pitch upon some spot upon the North-East point of the Bay . . . and there to throw up a small fort for our defence. Accordingly I went ashore with a party of men, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Mr. Green. We took along with us one of Mr. Banks's Tents, and after we had fix'd upon a place fit for our purpose we set up the Tent and marked out the ground we intended to Occupy. By this time a number of the Natives had got collected together about us, seemingly only to look on, as not one of them had any weapon, either Offensive or defensive. I would suffer none to come within the lines I had marked out, excepting one who appeared to be a chief . . . we endeavour'd to explain, as well as we could, that we wanted that ground to Sleep upon such a number of nights and then we should go away. Whether they understood us or no is uncertain, but no one appeared the least displeased at what we was about; indeed the Ground we had fixed upon was of no use to them, being part of the sandy Beach upon the shore of the Bay, and not near to any of their Habitations. It being too late in the day to do anything more, a party with a petty officer was left to guard the Tent, while we with another party took a Walk into the woods, and with us most of the natives. We had but just crossed the River when Mr. Banks shott three Ducks at one shott, which surprised them so much that most of them fell down as though they had been shott likewise. I was in hopes this would have had some good effect, but the event did not prove it, for we had not been long from the Tent before the natives again began to gather about, and one of them more daring than the rest pushed one of the Centinels [sic] down, snatched the Musket out of his hand and made a push at him, and then made off, and with him all the rest. Immediately upon this the Officer ordered the party to fire, and the Man who took the musket was shot Dead before he had got far from the Tent, but the musquet was carried quite off when this hapned [sic]. I and Mr. Banks with the other party was about half a Mile off, returning out of the woods, upon hearing the firing of Muskets, and the Natives leaving us at the same time, we Suspected that something was the matter and hastened our march, but before we arrived the whole was over, and every one of the Natives fled except old Owhaa, who stuck by us the whole time . . . [Soon after, Owhaa helped convince some of the Tahitians] to come to the Tent and there sit down with us, and Endeavour'd by every means in our power to Convince them that the Man was kill'd for taking away the Musket, and that we still would be friends with them. At sunset they left us seemingly satisfied, and we struck our Tent and went on board.

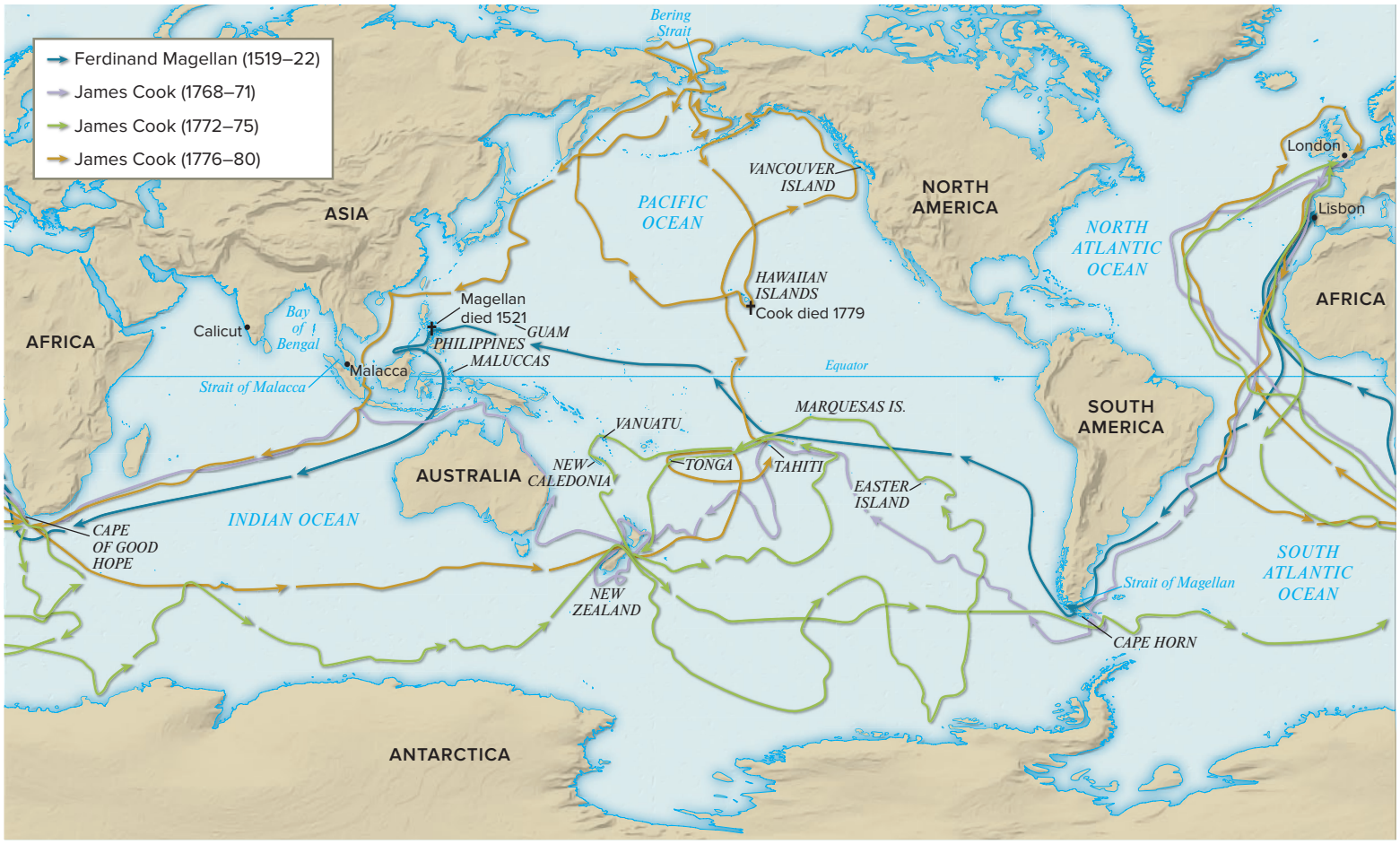
What does Captain Cook's resolve to set up a defensive fort imply about his feelings of entitlement to the land in Tahiti?

Why might the Tahitians present at the time have been so surprised by Mr. Banks's musket shot? What kind of "good effect" was Captain Cook hoping for here?

For Further Reflection

- What does this event tell us about the attitudes of Captain Cook and his men toward the indigenous people of Tahiti? Does Cook's language suggest that he and his men saw Tahitians as equals or inferiors, threatening or nonthreatening? Which specific turns of phrase suggest these attitudes?

Source: Captain James Cook, *Captain Cook's Journal During His First Voyage Round the World, Made in H.M. Bark "Endeavor," 1768–1771* (London, 1893). https://www.gutenberg.org/files/8106/8106-h/8106-h.htm#ch5



MAP 22.3 Pacific voyages of Magellan and Cook, 1519–1780.

What made exploration of the Pacific Ocean so daunting? What fate befell both Magellan and Cook?

chart its features. Spanish merchants built on information gleaned from Magellan's expedition and established a trade route between the Philippines and Mexico, but they did not continue to explore the ocean basin itself. English navigators, however, ventured into the Pacific in search of an elusive northwest passage from Europe to Asia. In fact, a northwest passage exists, but most of its route lies within the Arctic Circle. It is so far north that ice clogs its waters for much of the year, and it was only in the twentieth century that the Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen traveled from the Atlantic to the Pacific by way of the northwest passage. Nevertheless, while searching for a passage, English mariners established many of the details of Pacific geography. In the sixteenth century, for example, Sir Francis Drake scouted the west coast of North America as far north as Vancouver Island. By the mid-eighteenth century, French mariners had joined English seafarers in exploring the Pacific Ocean in search of a northwest passage.

Russian expansion was mostly a land-based affair in early modern times, but by the eighteenth century Russians also explored the Pacific Ocean. Russian officials commissioned the Danish navigator **Vitus Bering** to undertake two maritime expeditions (1725–1730 and 1733–1742) in search of a northeast passage to Asian ports. Bering sailed through the icy Arctic Ocean and the Bering Strait, which separates Siberia from Alaska, and reconnoitered northern Asia as far as the Kamchatka peninsula. Other Russian explorers made their way from Alaska down the western Canadian coast to northern California. By 1800, Russian mariners were scouting the Pacific Ocean as far south as the Hawaiian Islands. Indeed, they built a small fort on the island of Kaua`i and engaged in trade there for a few years in the early nineteenth century.

Captain James Cook

Along with the Russian explorers and Magellan, one of the most important of the Pacific explorers was **Captain James Cook** (1728–1779), who led three expeditions to the Pacific and died in a scuffle with the indigenous people of Hawai`i. Cook charted eastern Australia and New Zealand, and he added New Caledonia, Vanuatu, and

A portrait of Captain James Cook painted by William Hodges about 1775 depicts a serious and determined man.
Ian Dagnall/Alamy Stock Photo

This European drawing from Captain James Cook's first voyage focuses on the facial tattoos of a Maori chief's son, which would have seemed unusual to Europeans.
BL/Robana/age fotostock

Hawai`i to European maps of the Pacific. He probed the frigid waters of the Arctic Ocean and spent months at a time in the tropical islands of Tahiti, Tonga, and Hawai`i, where he showed deep interest in the manners, customs, and languages of Polynesian peoples. By the time Cook's voyages had come to an end, European geographers had compiled a reasonably accurate understanding of the world's ocean basins, their lands, and their peoples.

ECOLOGICAL EXCHANGES

European explorers and those who followed them established links between all the lands and peoples of the world. Interaction between peoples in turn resulted in an unprecedented volume of exchange across the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions. Some of that exchange involved biological species: plants, food crops, animals, human populations, and disease pathogens all spread to new regions. These biological exchanges had differing and dramatic effects on human populations, destroying some of them through epidemic diseases while enlarging others through increased food supplies and richer diets. Commercial exchange also flourished in the wake of the voyages of exploration as European merchants traveled to ports throughout the world in search of trade. By the late sixteenth century, they had built fortified trading posts at strategic sites in the Indian, Atlantic, and Pacific Ocean basins. By the mid-eighteenth century, they had established global networks of trade and communication.

The Columbian Exchange

Processes of biological exchange were prominent features of world history well before modern times. The early expansion of Islam, for example, had facilitated the diffusion of plants and food crops throughout much of the Eastern Hemisphere during the period from about 700 to 1100 C.E., and transplanted species helped spark demographic and economic growth in all the lands where they took root. And during the

How the Past Shapes the Future

Short-Term and Long-Term Effects of the Columbian Exchange

Some events or processes in the global past are so momentous that they produce social, political, economic, or environmental changes for centuries—even in places thousands of miles from their points of origin. In other words, we can see the effects of these events or processes in multiple places and in multiple timelines long after they occur, even up to the present. Understanding the spectrum of consequences spurred by such momentous events and processes can help us trace the historical connections between the world's people and places, even when such connections may not have been obvious to people living at the time.

Although the European mariners who first came into contact with the people, plants, and animals of the Americas could not have understood it at the time, their encounters set in motion a process that permanently transformed not just the Americas but the entire world in ways that are still relevant today. Two facets of the exchange demonstrate how this was so: disease and the transfer of flora and fauna.

Disease

In this chapter we have already seen the devastating effect of disease on populations indigenous to the Americas, with scholars estimating between 50 and 90 percent mortality across the entire region. Such high mortality was a key factor in allowing European invaders to conquer, settle, and expand throughout the Americas—a process discussed in chapter 24. In other words, if disease had not ravaged indigenous populations, it seems likely that Europeans would not have been able to use American lands for their own purposes on such a large scale, and also that the population of the present-day Americas would be composed of many more peoples whose ancestors were native to the area. A longer-term consequence of disease during the Columbian exchange was that there were simply not enough laborers in large parts of the Americas to carry out the work required by large-scale agricultural enterprises developed by Europeans after conquest. As a result, first the Portuguese and then many other Europeans began to import enslaved African laborers to the Americas, a process discussed in chapter 25. The Atlantic slave trade, in turn, had profound effects on enslaved individuals, the African states involved, and the eventual composition of populations in the Americas.

Flora and Fauna

In this chapter we have seen that the Columbian exchange involved extensive movement of plants and animals between Eurasia and the Americas. Over the long term, these exchanges transformed landscapes around the world by introducing plant and animal species that became invasive in their new environments (such as dandelions in the Americas or pigs on the island of Barbados). Some introductions to the Americas, like the horse, brought about fundamental cultural changes. For example, Plains Indians adopted horses in order to hunt wild game more effectively, resulting in dramatic changes in gender ideologies and lifestyle. Products that originated in the Americas also had a profound impact on other parts of the world. For example, nutritional foods native to the Americas—including potatoes, corn, and sweet potatoes—helped spur population growth in places like China that were not involved in the initial process of exchange at all. Nonfood crops were important to the Columbian exchange as well: tobacco, introduced from the Americas, was widely and quickly integrated into the cultures of both Europe and the Islamic empires. In fact, in just a little more than one hundred years after being introduced to tobacco for the first time, Europeans had introduced tobacco to Europe, Asia, west Africa, and the Near East. In the present, approximately 1.1 billion of the world's people are smokers, and about 25 percent of smokers die from smoke-related causes.

These are only a small sampling of the historical consequences of the Columbian exchange, both through time and across space. When reading subsequent chapters, try to identify additional developments that may have their origins in this truly momentous process.

Tobacco was long used for religious and spiritual purposes in the Americas. After their arrival in the Americas, Europeans quickly popularized tobacco as a trade item and as a recreational drug to be smoked, snuffed, or chewed.
Historical Picture Archive/Corbis Historical/Getty Images

fourteenth century the spread of bubonic plague caused drastic demographic losses when epidemic disease struck Eurasian and north African lands.

Biological Exchanges Yet the **Columbian exchange**—the global diffusion of plants, food crops, animals, human populations, and disease pathogens that took place after voyages of exploration by Christopher Columbus and other European mariners—had consequences much more profound than any of the earlier rounds of biological exchange. Unlike the earlier processes, the Columbian exchange involved lands with radically different flora, fauna, and diseases. For thousands of years the various species of the Eastern Hemisphere, the Western Hemisphere, and Oceania had evolved along separate lines. By creating links between these biological zones, the European voyages of exploration set off a round of biological exchange that permanently altered the world's human geography and natural environment.

Beginning in the early sixteenth century, infectious and contagious diseases brought devastating demographic losses to indigenous peoples of the Americas and the Pacific islands. The most virulent disease was smallpox, but measles, diphtheria, whooping cough, and influenza also took heavy tolls. Before the voyages of exploration, none of these maladies had reached the Western Hemisphere or Oceania, and the peoples of those regions consequently had no inherited or acquired immunities to those pathogens. In the Eastern Hemisphere, these diseases had mostly become endemic: they claimed a certain number of victims from the ranks of infants and small children, but survivors gained immunity to the diseases through exposure at an early age. In some areas of Europe, for example, smallpox was responsible for 10 to 15 percent of deaths, but most victims were younger than age ten. Although its effects were tragic for individual families and communities, smallpox did not pose a threat to European society as a whole because it did not carry away adults, who were mostly responsible for economic production and social organization.

Smallpox victims in the Aztec Empire. The disease killed most of those it infected and left disfiguring scars on survivors.
Peabody Museum, Harvard University (2004.24.29636).

Epidemic Diseases and Population Decline When infectious and contagious diseases traveled to previously unexposed populations, however, they touched off ferocious epidemics that sometimes destroyed entire societies. Beginning in 1519, epidemic smallpox ravaged the Aztec Empire, often in combination with other diseases, and within a century the indigenous population of Mexico had declined by as much as 90 percent, from about 17 million to 1.3 million. By that time Spanish conquerors had imposed their rule on Mexico, and the political, social, and cultural traditions of the indigenous peoples had either disappeared or fallen under Spanish domination.

Imported diseases took their worst tolls in densely populated areas such as the Aztec and Inca empires, but they did not spare other regions. Smallpox and other diseases were so easily transmissible that they raced to remote areas of North and South America and sparked epidemics even before the first European explorers arrived in those regions. By the 1530s smallpox may have spread as far from Mexico as the Great Lakes in the north and the pampas of Argentina in the south.

When introduced to the Pacific islands, infectious and contagious diseases struck vulnerable populations with the same horrifying effects as in the Americas, albeit on a smaller scale. All told, disease epidemics sparked by the Columbian exchange probably caused the worst demographic calamity in all of world history. Between 1500 and 1800, upwards of 100 million people may have died of diseases imported by Europeans into the Americas and the Pacific islands.

Food Crops and Animals Over the long term, however, the Columbian exchange increased rather than diminished human population because of the global spread of food crops and animals that it sponsored. In the long term, a better-nourished world was an important contributing factor in the growth of the world's population, which began in the eighteenth century and continues in the present. Out of Eurasia to the Western Hemisphere traveled wheat, rice, sugar, bananas, apples, cherries, peaches, peas, and citrus fruits. Wheat in particular grew well on the plains of North America and on the pampas of Argentina, regions either too dry or too cold for the cultivation of maize (corn). Africa contributed yams, okra, collard greens, and coffee. Dairy and meat-yielding animals—horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, and chickens—went from Europe to the Americas, where they sharply increased supplies of food and animal energy.

American Crops Food crops native to the Americas also played prominent roles in the Columbian exchange. American crops that took root in Africa, Asia, and Europe include maize, potatoes, beans, tomatoes, peppers, peanuts, manioc, papayas, guavas, avocados, pineapples, and cacao, to name some of the most important. (A less nutritious transplant was tobacco.) Residents of the Eastern Hemisphere only gradually developed a taste for American crops, but by the eighteenth century maize and potatoes in particular had contributed to a sharply increased number of calories in Eurasian diets. Maize became especially important in China because it grew in eco-niches unsuitable for rice and millet production. With the exception of Bengal (India), Asian lands proved less welcoming to the potato. But in northern Europe, the potato eventually became a staple crop, from Ireland to Russia, because of its impressive nutritional qualities. American bean varieties added protein to diets around the world, and tomatoes and peppers provided vitamins and zesty flavors in lands from western Europe to China. Peanuts and manioc flourished in tropical southeast Asian and west African soils that otherwise would not produce large yields or support large populations. The Americas also supplied medicinal plants. Derived from the bark of the Peruvian cinchona tree, bitter-tasting quinine was the first effective treatment for malaria and proved vital to Europeans trying to survive in tropical areas inhabited by the mosquitoes that spread the disease.

Population Growth The Columbian exchange of plants and animals fueled a surge in world population. In 1500, as Eurasian peoples were recovering from epidemic bubonic plague, world population stood at about 425 million. By 1600 it had increased more than 25 percent to 545 million. Human numbers increased less rapidly during the next century, reaching 610 million in 1700. But thereafter they increased at a faster rate than ever before in world history. By 1750 human population stood at 720 million, and by 1800 it had surged to 900 million, having grown by almost 50 percent during the previous century. Much of the rise was due to the increased nutritional value of diets enriched by the global exchange of food crops and animals.

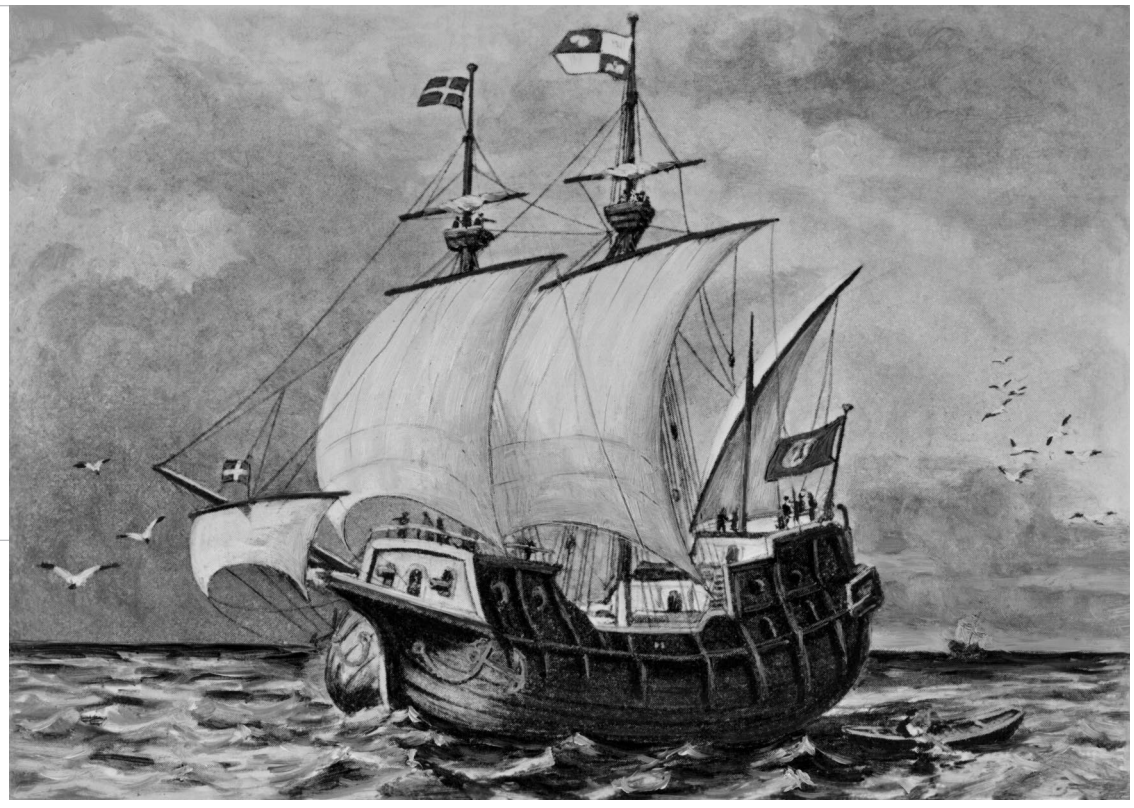
Migration Alongside disease pathogens and plant and animal species, the Columbian exchange also involved the spread of human populations through transoceanic migration, both voluntary and forced. During the period from 1500 to 1800, the largest contingent of migrants consisted of enslaved Africans transported against their will to South American, North American, and Caribbean destinations. A smaller but still sizable migration involved Europeans who traveled to the Americas as settlers. In some cases, they settled on lands that had previously been depopulated by infectious and contagious diseases, while in others they forced out existing populations through violence and forced relocation. During the nineteenth century, European peoples traveled in massive numbers mostly to the Western Hemisphere but also to south Africa, Australia, and Pacific islands where diseases had diminished indigenous populations, while equal numbers of Asian peoples migrated to tropical and subtropical destinations throughout much of the world. In combination, those migrations have profoundly influenced modern world history.

The Origins of Global Trade

Besides stimulating commerce in the Eastern Hemisphere, the voyages of European merchant mariners encouraged the emergence of a genuinely global trading system. European manufactured goods traveled west across the Atlantic in exchange for silver from Mexican and Peruvian mines and agricultural products such as sugar and tobacco, both of which were in high demand among European consumers. Trade in human beings also figured in Atlantic commerce. European textiles, guns, and other manufactured goods went south to west Africa, where merchants exchanged them for African slaves, who then were forcibly transported to the tropical and subtropical regions of the Western Hemisphere to work on plantations.

The Manila Galleons The experience of the **Manila galleons** illustrates the early workings of the global economy in the Pacific Ocean basin. For 250 years, from 1565 to 1815, Spanish galleons—sleek, fast, heavily armed ships capable of carrying large cargoes—regularly plied the waters of the Pacific Ocean between Manila in the Philippines and Acapulco on the west coast of Mexico. From Manila they took Asian luxury goods to Mexico and exchanged them for silver. Most of the precious metal made its way to China, where a thriving domestic economy demanded increasing quantities of silver, the basis of Chinese currency. In fact, the demand for silver was so high in China that European merchants exchanged it for Chinese gold, which they later traded profitably for more silver as well as luxury goods in Japan. Meanwhile, some of the Asian luxury goods from Manila remained in Mexico or went to Peru, where they contributed to a comfortable way of life for Spanish ruling elites. Most, however, went overland across Mexico and then traveled by ship across the Atlantic to Spain and European markets.

Environmental Effects of Global Trade As the demand for silver fueled growing volumes of global trade, pressures fell on several animal species that had the misfortune to become prominent commodities on the world market. Fur-bearing animals came under particularly intense pressure, as hunters sought their pelts for sale to consumers in China, Europe, and North America. During the seventeenth century, an estimated two hundred to three hundred thousand sable pelts flowed annually from Siberia to the global market, and during the eighteenth century, more than sixteen million North American beaver pelts fed consumers' demands for



This is an artist's rendering of a Spanish galleon. Galleons were large, multidecked, highly stable and maneuverable sailing ships used by Europeans for war or commerce. The Spanish and the Portuguese built the largest types for their profitable overseas trade.
Bettmann/Getty Images

fur hats and cloaks. Wanton hunting of fur-bearing animals soon drove many species into extinction or near-extinction, permanently altering the environments they had formerly inhabited. In addition to fur-bearing animals, early modern hunters harvested enormous numbers of deer, codfish, whales, walruses, seals, and other species as merchants sought to supply skins, food, oil, ivory, and other animal products to global consumers.

By the late sixteenth century, conditions favored the relentless human exploitation of the world's natural and agricultural resources, as European mariners had permanently linked the world's port cities and created global trading networks. During the next two centuries, the volume of global trade expanded, as English, Dutch, French, and other merchants contributed to the development of global markets. During the seventeenth century, for example, Dutch merchants imported, among other commodities, wheat from south Africa, cowry shells from India, and sugar from Brazil. The wheat fed domestic consumers, who increasingly worked as merchants, bankers, or manufacturers rather than as cultivators. English, Dutch, and other merchants eagerly purchased the cowry shells—which served as currency in much of sub-Saharan Africa—and exchanged them for slaves destined for plantations in the Western Hemisphere. The sugar went on the market at Amsterdam and found its way to consumers throughout Europe. During the eighteenth century, world trade became even more intricate as mass markets emerged for commodities such as coffee, tea, sugar, and tobacco. By 1750 all parts of the world except Australia participated in global networks of commercial relations in which European merchant mariners played prominent roles.

TRADE AND CONFLICT IN EARLY MODERN ASIA

The voyages of exploration taught European mariners how to sail to almost any coastline in the world and return safely. Once they arrived at their destinations, they sought commercial opportunities. In the Eastern Hemisphere they built a series of fortified trading posts that offered footholds in regions where established commercial networks had held sway for centuries. They even attempted to control the spice trade in the Indian Ocean but with limited success. They mostly did not have the human numbers or military power to impose their rule in the Eastern Hemisphere, although Spanish and Dutch forces established small island empires in the Philippines and Indonesia, respectively. In a parallel effort involving expansion across land rather than the sea, Russian explorers and adventurers established a presence in central Asian regions formerly ruled by the Mongols and in the tundra and forests of Siberia, thus laying the foundations for a vast Eurasian empire. Commercial and political competition in both the Eastern and Western Hemispheres led to

conflict between European peoples, and by the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, English military and merchant forces had gained an initiative over their rivals that enabled them to dominate world trade and build the vast British empire of the nineteenth century.

Trading-Post Empires

Portuguese Trading Posts Portuguese mariners built the earliest trading-post empire. Their goal was not to conquer territories but, rather, to control trade routes by forcing merchant vessels to call at fortified trading sites and pay duties there. Vasco da Gama obtained permission from local authorities to establish a trading post at Calicut when he arrived there in 1498. By the mid-sixteenth century, Portuguese merchants had built more than fifty trading posts between west Africa and east Asia. At São Jorge da Mina, they traded in west African slaves, and at Mozambique they attempted to control the south African gold trade. From Hormuz they controlled access to the Persian Gulf, and from Goa they organized trade in Indian pepper. At Melaka they oversaw shipping between the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean, and they channeled trade in cloves and nutmeg through Ternate in the spice islands of Maluku. Posts at Macau and Nagasaki offered access to the markets of China and Japan.

Afonso d'Alboquerque Equipped with heavy artillery, Portuguese vessels were able to overpower most other craft that they encountered, and they sometimes effectively bombarded coastal communities with their cannons. The architect of their aggressive policy was **Afonso d'Alboquerque,** commander of Portuguese forces in the Indian Ocean during the early sixteenth century. Alboquerque's fleets seized Hormuz in 1508, Goa in 1510, and Melaka in 1511. From these strategic sites, Alboquerque sought to control Indian Ocean trade by forcing merchant ships to purchase safe-conduct passes and present them at Portuguese trading posts. Ships without passes were subject to confiscation, along with their cargoes. Alboquerque's forces punished violators of his policy by executing them or cutting off their hands. Alboquerque was confident of Portuguese naval superiority and its ability to control trade in the Indian Ocean. After taking Melaka, he boasted that the arrival of Portuguese ships sent other vessels scurrying and that even the birds left the skies and sought cover.

Alboquerque's boast was an exaggeration. Although heavily armed, Portuguese forces did not have enough vessels to enforce the commander's orders. Arab, Indian, and Malay merchants continued to play prominent roles in Indian Ocean commerce, usually without taking the precaution of securing a safe-conduct pass. Portuguese ships transported perhaps half the pepper and spices that Europeans consumed during the early and middle decades of the sixteenth century, but Arab vessels delivered shipments through the Red Sea, which Portuguese forces never managed to control, to Cairo and Mediterranean trade routes.

By the late sixteenth century, Portuguese influence in the Indian Ocean weakened. Portugal was a small country with a small population—about one million in 1500—and was unable to sustain a large seaborne trading empire for long. The crews of Portuguese ships often included Spanish, English, and Dutch sailors, who became familiar with Asian waters while in Portuguese service. By the late sixteenth century, investors in other lands began to organize their own expeditions to Asian markets. Most prominent of those who followed the Portuguese into the Indian Ocean were English and Dutch mariners.

English and Dutch Trading Posts Like their predecessors, English and Dutch merchants built trading posts on Asian coasts and sought to channel trade through them, but they did not attempt to control shipping on the high seas. They occasionally seized Portuguese sites, most notably when a Dutch fleet conquered Melaka in 1641. Yet Portuguese authorities held many of their trading posts into the twentieth century: Goa remained the official capital of Portuguese colonies in Asia until independent India reclaimed it in 1961. Meanwhile, English and Dutch entrepreneurs established parallel networks. English merchants concentrated on India and built trading posts at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, while the Dutch operated more broadly from Cape Town, Colombo, and Batavia (modern Jakarta on the island of Java).

English and Dutch merchants enjoyed two main advantages over their Portuguese predecessors. They sailed faster, cheaper, and more powerful ships, which offered both an economic and a military edge over their competitors. Furthermore, they conducted trade through an efficient form of commercial organization—the **joint-stock company**—which enabled investors to realize handsome profits while limiting the risk to their investments.

The Trading Companies English and Dutch merchants formed two especially powerful joint-stock companies: the English **East India Company,** founded in 1600, and its Dutch counterpart, the United East India Company, known from its initials as the **VOC** (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie), established in 1602. Private merchants advanced funds to launch these companies, outfit them with ships and crews, and provide them with commodities and money to trade. Although they enjoyed government support, the companies were privately owned enterprises. Unhampered by political oversight, company agents concentrated strictly on profitable trade. Their charters granted them the right to buy, sell, and build trading posts, and even make war in the companies' interests.

The English and Dutch companies experienced immediate financial success. In 1601, for example, five English ships

Afonso d'Alboquerque (al-FAWN-soo d'AL-buh-kur-kee)

set sail from London with cargoes mostly of gold and silver coins valued at thirty thousand pounds sterling. When they returned in 1603, the spices that they carried were worth more than one million pounds sterling. The first Dutch expedition did not realize such fantastic profits, but it more than doubled the investments of its underwriters. Because of their advanced nautical technology, powerful military arsenal, efficient organization, and relentless pursuit of profit, the English East India Company and the VOC contributed to the early formation of a global network of trade.

European Conquests in Southeast Asia

Following voyages of exploration to the Western Hemisphere, the massive demographic catastrophe caused by the introduction of contagious diseases to indigenous peoples meant that Europeans were able to build territorial empires and establish colonies settled by European migrants. In the Eastern Hemisphere, however, they were mostly unable to force their will on large Asian populations and powerful centralized states. With the decline of the Portuguese effort to

MAP 22.4 European trading posts in Africa and Asia, about 1700.

Note how many more trading posts there were in Asia than in Africa.

What accounts for the difference?

The Tijgersgracht Canal in the Dutch VOC settlement at Batavia (modern Jakarta, Indonesia) during the seventeenth century.
ART Collection/Alamy Stock Photo

control shipping in the Indian Ocean, Europeans mostly traded peacefully in Asian waters alongside Arab, Indian, Malay, and Chinese merchants.

Yet in two island regions of southeast Asia—the Philippines and Indonesia—Europeans were able to make limited conquests during the early modern period. Though densely populated, neither the Philippines nor Indonesia were ruled by a single powerful state when Europeans arrived there in the sixteenth century. Nor did imperial authorities in China or India lay claim to the island regions. Heavily armed ships enabled Europeans to use violence to establish imperial regimes that favored the interests of European merchants.

Conquest of the Philippines Spanish forces approached the Philippines in 1565 under the command of **Miguel López de Legazpi,** who named the islands after King Philip II of Spain. Legazpi overcame local authorities in Cebu and Manila in almost bloodless contests. Because the Philippines had no central government, there was no organized resistance to the intrusion. The resistance the Spanish forces faced were from a series of small, disunited chiefdoms, who were not able to fend off Spanish ships and guns. By 1575 Spanish forces controlled the coastal regions of the central and northern islands, and during the seventeenth century they extended their authority to most parts of the archipelago. The main region outside their control was the southern island of Mindanao, where a large Muslim community stoutly resisted Spanish expansion.

Miguel López de Lagazpi (mee-GEHL LOH-pess day la-GAHS-pee)

Manila Spanish policy in the Philippines revolved around trade and Christianity. **Manila** soon emerged as a bustling, multicultural entrepôt—a port city for trade, particularly in silk—and it quickly became the hub of Spanish commercial activity in Asia. Chinese merchants were especially prominent in Manila. They occupied a specially designated commercial district of the city, and they accounted for about one-quarter of Manila's forty-two thousand residents in the mid-seventeenth century. They supplied the silk goods that Spanish traders shipped to Mexico in the so-called Manila galleons. Their commercial success brought suspicion on their community, and resentful Spanish and Filipino residents massacred Chinese merchants by the thousands in at least six major eruptions of violence in 1603, 1639, 1662, 1686, 1762, and 1819. Nevertheless, Spanish authorities continued to rely heavily on the wealth that Chinese merchants brought to Manila.

Apart from promoting trade, Spanish authorities in the Philippines also sought to spread Roman Catholicism throughout the archipelago. Spanish rulers and missionaries pressured prominent Filipinos to convert to Christianity in hopes of persuading others to follow their example. They opened schools to teach the fundamentals of Christian doctrine, along with basic literacy, in densely populated regions throughout the islands. The missionaries encountered stiff resistance in highland regions, where Spanish authority was not as strong as on the coasts, and resistance drew support from opponents of Spanish domination as well as from resentment of the newly arrived faith. Over the long term, however, Filipinos turned increasingly to Christianity, and by the nineteenth century the Philippines had become one of the most fervent Roman Catholic lands in the world.

Conquest of Java Dutch mariners, who imposed their rule on the islands of Indonesia, did not worry about seeking converts to Christianity but concentrated instead on the trade in spices, particularly cloves, nutmeg, and mace. The architect of Dutch policy was **Jan Pieterszoon Coen,** who in 1619 founded Batavia on the island of **Java** to serve as an entrepôt for the VOC. Batavia occupied a strategic site near the Sunda Strait, and its market attracted both Chinese and Malay vessels. Coen's plan was to establish a VOC monopoly over spice production and trade, thus enabling Dutch merchants to reap enormous profits in European markets. Coen brought his naval power to bear on the small Indonesian spice-growing islands and forced them to deliver spices only to VOC merchants. On larger islands such as Java, he took advantage of tensions between local princes and authorities and extracted concessions from many in return for providing them with aid against the others. By the late seventeenth century, the VOC controlled all the ports of Java as well as most of the important spice-bearing islands throughout the Indonesian archipelago.

Dutch numbers were too few for them to rule directly over their whole southeast Asian empire. They made alliances with local authorities to maintain order in most regions, reserving for direct Dutch rule only Batavia and the most important spice-bearing islands such as clove-producing Amboina and the Banda Islands. They sought less to rule than to control the production of spices. The Dutch did not embark on campaigns of conquest for purposes of adding to their holdings, but they uprooted spice-bearing plants on islands they did not control and mercilessly attacked peoples who sold their spices to merchants not associated with the VOC. In some cases, such as on the island of Banda in 1621, Dutch traders murdered most of the population and burned their villages when they resisted Dutch attempts to monopolize the spice trade on the island. Eventually, monopoly profits from the spice trade not only enriched the VOC but also made the Netherlands the most prosperous land in Europe throughout most of the seventeenth century.

Foundations of the Russian Empire in Asia

While western European peoples were building maritime empires, Russians were laying the foundations for a vast land empire that embraced most of northern Eurasia. This round of expansion began in the mid-sixteenth century, as Russian forces took over several Mongol khanates in central Asia. These acquisitions resulted in Russian control over the Volga River and offered opportunities for trade with the Ottoman empire, Iran, and even India through the Caspian Sea. Because of its strategic location on the Volga delta where the river flows

Modern image of Fort Tolukko, a trading fortification originally built by the Portuguese on the spice island of Ternate. The Dutch occupied it in the early seventeenth century.
Ali Trisno Pranoto/Getty Images

Jan Pieterszoon Coen (yahn PEE-tuhr-sohn KOH-uhn)

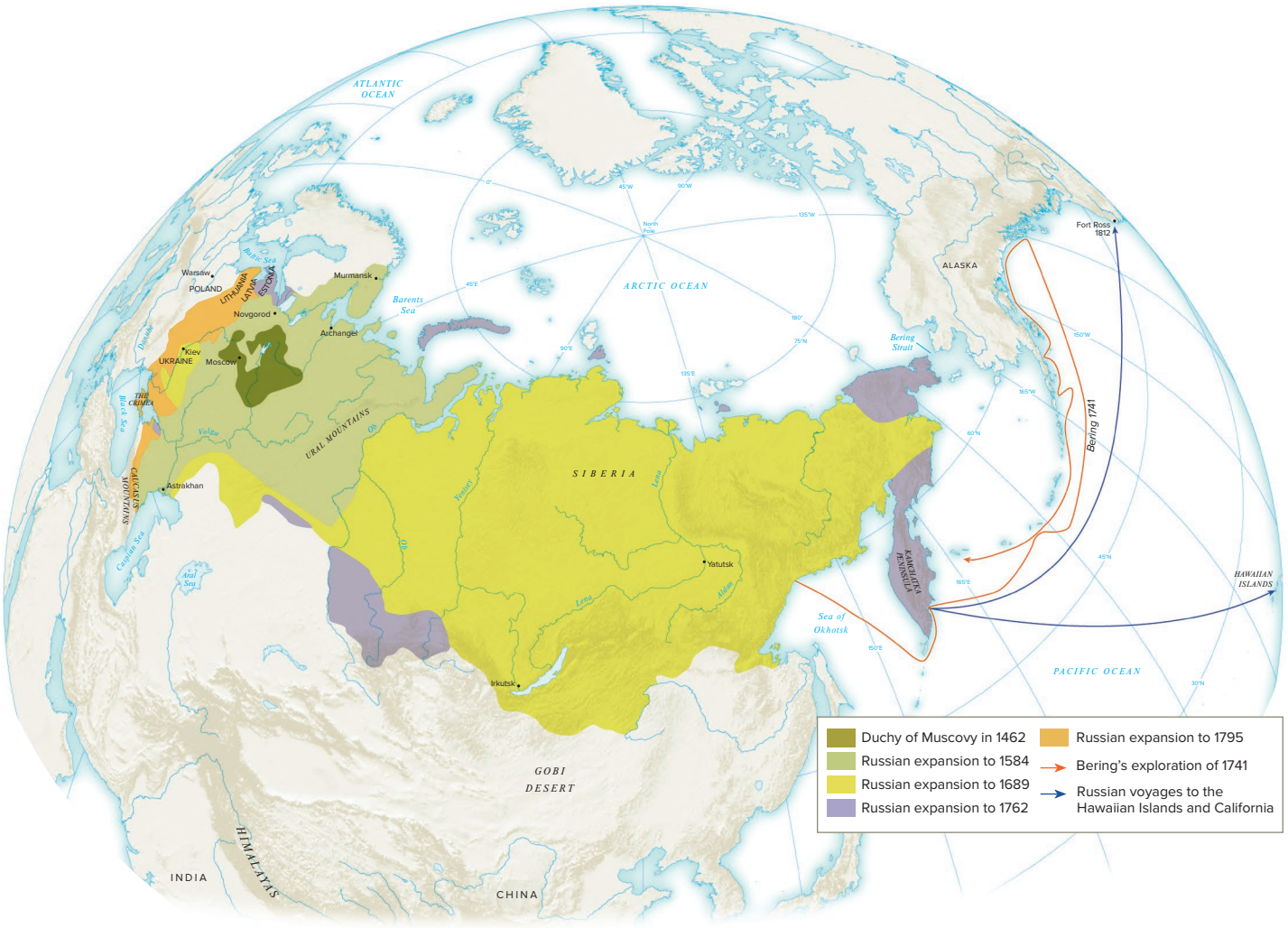
into the Caspian Sea, the city of Astrakhan became a bustling commercial center, home to a community of several hundred foreign merchants from as far away as northern India. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some of the Indian merchants regularly made their way up the Volga River to trade in Moscow and the Russian interior, while others devised plans (which they never realized) to extend their activities to the Baltic Sea and take their business to western Europe. In the eighteenth century, Russian forces extended their presence in the Caspian Sea region by absorbing much of the Caucasus, a multiethnic region embracing the modern-day states of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan.

Encounters in Siberia Far more extensive were Russian acquisitions in northeastern Eurasia. The frozen tundras and dense forests of **Siberia** posed formidable challenges, but explorers and merchants made their way into the region in a quest for fur. Throughout the early modern era, fur was a lucrative commodity that encouraged Russians to look eastward, just as North American fur attracted the interest of English, French, and Dutch merchants. Russian expansion in northeastern Eurasia began in 1581 when the wealthy Stroganov family hired an adventurer named Yermak to capture the khanate of Sibir in the Ural Mountains. In the following decades, Russian explorers pushed into the interior regions of Siberia by way of the region's great rivers. By 1639 they had made their way across the Eurasian landmass and reached the Pacific Ocean.

Indigenous Peoples of Siberia Siberia was home to about twenty-six major ethnic groups that lived by hunting, trapping, fishing, or herding reindeer. These indigenous peoples varied widely in language and religion, and they responded in different ways to the arrival of Russian adventurers who sought to exact tribute from them by coercing them to supply pelts on a regular basis. Some groups readily accepted iron tools, woven cloth, flour, tea, and liquor for the skins of fur-bearing animals such as otter, lynx, marten, arctic fox, and especially the sleek sable. Others resented the ever-increasing demands for tribute and resisted Russian encroachment on their lands. Russian forces then resorted to punishing raids and hostage taking to induce Siberian peoples to deliver furs. The Yakut people of the Lena and Aldan River valleys in central Siberia mounted a revolt against Russian oppression in 1642 and experienced a brutal retribution that continued for forty years, forcing many Yakut out of their settlements and reducing their population by an estimated 70 percent. Quite apart from military violence, like people in the Americas and Oceania, the peoples of Siberia also reeled from epidemic diseases that reduced many populations by more than half.

As violence and disease sharply diminished the delivery of furs, the Russian government recognized that its interests lay in protection of the "small peoples," as state officials called the indigenous inhabitants of Siberia. Government-sponsored missionaries sought to convert Siberian peoples to Orthodox Christianity and bring them into Russian society, but they had little success. Few Siberians expressed an interest in Christianity, and those few came mostly from the ranks of criminals, abandoned hostages,

This is an engraving of an indigenous Siberian hunter, wearing the fur he helped to collect. He grasps his weapons in one hand while the other holds two fur-pelted animal carcasses.
Science & Society Picture Library/ Getty Images



MAP 22.5 Russian expansion, 1462–1795.

Observe how vast the empire became after it added the territory of Siberia.

How did Russians exert their control over such a huge and unforgiving territory?

slaves, and others who had little status in their own societies. Furthermore, once indigenous peoples converted to Christianity, they were exempt from obligations to provide fur tributes, so the Russian government demonstrated less zeal in its religious mission than did the Spanish monarchs, who made the spread of Roman Catholic Christianity a prime goal of imperial expansion. Although they managed to attract a few Siberian converts, Orthodox missionaries mostly served the needs of Russian merchants, adventurers, and explorers in Siberia. For their part, the indigenous peoples of Siberia continued to practice their inherited religions guided by shamans.

The Russian Occupation of Siberia The settlers who established a Russian presence in Siberia included adventurers, convicted criminals, and even prisoners of war. Despite the region's harsh terrain, Russian migrants gradually filtered into Siberia and thoroughly altered its demographic complexion. Small agricultural settlements grew up near many trading posts, particularly in the fertile Amur River valley. Siberian landowners offered working conditions that were much lighter than those of Russia proper, so disgruntled peasants sometimes fled to settlements east of the Ural Mountains. Over time, Siberian trading posts with their garrisons developed into Russian towns with Russian-speaking populations attending Russian Orthodox churches. By 1763 some 420,000 Russians lived in Siberia, nearly double the number of indigenous inhabitants. In the nineteenth century, large numbers of additional migrants moved east to mine Siberian gold, silver, copper, and iron. By this time, the Russian state was well on the way toward consolidating its control over the region.

Commercial Rivalries and the Seven Years' War

Exploration and imperial expansion led to conflicts not only between Europeans and Asians but also among Europeans themselves. Mariners competed vigorously for trade in Asia and the Americas, and their efforts to establish markets—and sometimes monopolies as well—led frequently to clashes with their counterparts from different lands.

Competition and Conflict Indeed, throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, commercial and political rivalries led to running wars between ships representing different states. Dutch vessels were most numerous in the Indian Ocean, and they enabled the VOC to dominate the spice trade. Dutch forces expelled most Portuguese merchants from southeast Asia and prevented English mariners from establishing secure footholds there. By the early eighteenth century, trade in Indian cotton and tea from Ceylon had begun to overshadow the spice trade, and English and French merchants working from trading posts in India became the dominant carriers in the Indian Ocean. Fierce competition again generated violence: in 1746 French forces seized the English trading post at Madras, one of the three principal centers of British operations in India.

Commercial competition led to conflict also in the Caribbean and the Americas. English pirates and privateers preyed on Spanish shipping from Mexico, often seizing vessels carrying cargoes of silver. English and French forces constantly skirmished and fought over sugar islands in the Caribbean while also contesting territorial claims in North America. Almost all conflicts between European states in the eighteenth century spilled over into the Caribbean and the Americas.

The Seven Years' War Commercial rivalries combined with political differences and came to a head in the **Seven Years' War** (1756–1763). The Seven Years' War was a global conflict in that it took place in several distinct geographic theaters—Europe, India, the Caribbean, and North America—and involved Asian and indigenous American peoples as well as Europeans. Sometimes called "the great war for empire," the Seven Years' War had deep implications for global affairs because it laid the foundation for 150 years of British imperial hegemony in the world.

In Europe the war pitted Britain and Prussia against France, Austria, and Russia. In India, British and French forces each allied with local rulers and engaged in a contest for dominance in the Indian Ocean. In the Caribbean, Spanish forces joined with the French in an effort to limit British expansion in the Western Hemisphere. In North America—where the Seven Years' War merged with a conflict already under way known as the French and Indian War (1754–1763)—British and French armies made separate alliances with indigenous peoples in an effort to outmaneuver each other.

British Dominance British forces fought little in Europe, where their Prussian allies held off massive armies seeking to surround and crush the expansive Prussian state. Elsewhere, however, British armies and navies fought often and handily overcame their enemies. They ousted French merchants from India and took control of French colonies in Canada, although they allowed French authorities to retain most of their Caribbean possessions. They allowed Spanish forces to retain Cuba but took Florida from the Spanish empire. Despite these victories, Britain couldn't rest easy; powerful states continuously challenged British ambitions. Yet victory in the Seven Years' War placed Britain in a position to dominate world trade for the foreseeable future, and "the great war for empire" paved the way for the establishment of the British empire in the nineteenth century. The war also suggested how close together earlier global exchanges had brought the peoples of the world.

CONCLUSION

Global commercial and biological exchanges and encounters arose from the efforts of European mariners to explore the world's waters and establish sea lanes that would support long-distance trade. Their search for sea routes to Asia accidentally led them to the Western Hemisphere and the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean. The geographic knowledge that they accumulated enabled them to link the world's regions into an ever more finely articulated network of trade. But commercial exchange was not the only result of this global network. Food crops, animal stocks, disease pathogens, and human migrants also traveled the sea lanes and dramatically influenced societies throughout the world. In the Americas, the Pacific Islands, and (to a lesser extent) Siberia, epidemics sparked by unfamiliar disease pathogens ravaged indigenous populations, while massive migrations of human communities transformed the social and cultural landscape of the Americas. At the same time, in most of the Eastern Hemisphere, transplanted crops and animal species led to improved nutrition and marked population growth. Europeans did not achieve global dominance in early modern times. However, their voyages of exploration and consequent development of transoceanic trading networks meant that European peoples now played a more prominent role in world affairs than any of their ancestors. In addition, their efforts helped foster the development of an increasingly interdependent world.

STUDY TERMS

Afonso d'Alboquerque (465)
astrolabe (450)
back staffs (450)
Bartolomeu Dias (454)
Captain James Cook (459)
Ceuta (454)
Christopher Columbus (456)
Columbian Exchange (462)
cross staffs (450)
East India Company (465)
Ferdinand Magellan (456)
Guanahaní (456)
Jan Pieterszoon Coen (468)
Java (468)
joint-stock company (465)
magnetic compass (450)
Manila (468)
Manila galleons (463)
Miguel López de Legazpi (467)
Prince Henry the Navigator (453)
São Jorge da Mina (454)
Seven Years' War (471)
Siberia (469)
Taíno (456)
Vasco da Gama (448)
Vitus Bering (459)
VOC (465)
volta do mar (451)

FOR FURTHER READING

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Chapter 23

The Transformation of Europe

The Fragmentation of Western European Christendom
- The Protestant Reformation
- The Catholic Reformation
- Witch-Hunts and Religious Wars

The Consolidation of Sovereign States
- The Attempted Revival of Empire
- The New Monarchs
- Constitutional States
- Absolute Monarchies
- The European States System

Early Capitalist Society
- Population Growth and Urbanization
- Early Capitalism and Protoindustrialization
- Social Change in Early Modern Europe

Transformations in Scientific Thinking
- The Reconception of the Universe
- The Scientific Revolution
- Women and Science

ZOOMING IN ON TRADITIONS

Martin Luther Challenges the Church

In 1517 an obscure German monk posed a challenge to the Roman Catholic church. Martin Luther of Wittenberg denounced the church's sale of indulgences, a type of pardon that excused individuals from doing penance for their sins, making it easier for their souls to go to heaven when they died. Indulgences had been available since the eleventh century, but to raise funds for the reconstruction of St. Peter's basilica in Rome, church authorities began to sell indulgences aggressively in the early sixteenth century. From their point of view, indulgences were splendid devices: they encouraged individuals to reflect piously on their behavior while also bringing large sums of money into the church's treasury.

To Martin Luther, however, indulgences were signs of greed, hypocrisy, and moral rot in the Roman Catholic church. Luther despised what he saw as the pretentiousness of church authorities who claimed powers that belonged only to God: Luther believed that no human being had the power to absolve individuals of their sins and grant them admission to heaven, so for him the sale of indulgences was a huge moral and religious fraud. In October 1517, following academic custom of the

This detail from a sixteenth-century painting by François Dubois depicts the brutal murder of French Protestants in Paris during the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre on August 23, 1572.
Alfredo Dagli Orti/Shutterstock