

into the heart of the great American civilizations within a few years. English colonies were founded on the edge of a vast continent, and it would be many decades, even centuries, before settlers became aware of the great nations in the interior and saw the remains of huge cities, such as Cahokia on the Mississippi River.



ESSAYS

In the first essay, Karen Ordahl Kupperman of New York University argues that we should not overestimate the power, sophistication, and organization of the European colonizers in comparison to the American Indian polities they encountered. On all three continents involved—North America, Europe, and Africa—national consciousness and the political forms that went with it were in formation during the period of early colonization.

Sir John Elliott of Oxford University argues in the second essay that the English colonies should be seen as making an entrance into an Iberian Atlantic. Part of our new understanding involves recognizing the Spanish interest within the territory that would become the United States well before Jamestown, the first permanent English colony, was founded in 1607. Not only was the Spanish colony of St. Augustine, the first sustained European colony on North America's east coast, founded in 1565, but the Spanish were also active in the Southwest, where the colony of Santa Fe was created at about the same time as Jamestown. Quebec, the first French settlement that survived, was also planted at this time.

American, African, and European Polities Compared

KAREN ORDAHL KUPPERMAN

History begins in the East and moves steadily westward over two centuries until it finally arrives at the Pacific coast. This is the foundational conception of American history, one that all Americans accept as self-evidently true and founded in the realities of the period of first contact and settlement. But this truism comes down to us more from the nineteenth century, when it was elaborated, than the seventeenth. This version of America's founding was cemented in place as the crisis of national identification grew. Daniel Webster, giving the first of the annual Forefathers' Day speeches in 1820, endorsed the nineteenth-century invention of the Pilgrims as the emblematic founders of America. Plymouth colony, he wrote, was "so peculiar in its causes and character, and has been followed and must still be followed by such consequences, as to give it a high claim to lasting commemoration. On these causes and consequences, more than on its immediately attendant circumstances, its importance, as an historical event, depends."

Webster thus enunciated the central myth by which the history of early modern America has been written ever since: English colonists, motivated by religious ideology, entered an unchanging natural world and created in it a new, better

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version of Europe. Their only context was their relationship to England, and to later Puritan immigrants. Other colonists, even other English settlers, were seen as flawed in their motivation and were less authentic progenitors of America.

Webster went on to state the other great organizing principle of early American history: Civilization, even history itself, moved from east to west as the static native world gave way before the progress of English institutions. "Ere long, the sons of the Pilgrims will be on the shores of the Pacific. The imagination hardly keeps pace with the progress of population, improvement, and civilization." As he predicted, history was about to arrive on the West Coast in the early nineteenth century. With only minor changes, we are still telling Webster's story.

This American history forces scholars and teachers into an exceptionalist position. By positing national origins in a particular subset of early modern English culture, it reinforces the notion of a special American trajectory. Moreover, it locates the engine of history in a purely English mode of enterprise. All others act against or with the main story or merely react to it. Efforts to write a more inclusive history are hamstrung by this framework. Whether the script is tragedy or a comedy, and whether English colonists are portrayed as enlightened or rapacious, they are still the true actors. Only people in contact with them can be part of the story.

This master narrative, created in a particular political environment, has outlived its usefulness and needs to be replaced.

The new account of American history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries demonstrates that America was international before it became national. The unit of study is America, the future United States, and this space is acknowledged to exist, producing and experiencing history, throughout the period. And the motors for the generation of history are located throughout the Atlantic world and across the continent. Many nations and ethnic entities were involved in effecting history, and together they and their descendants come to make up the broad category of the American people.

Many of the pitfalls of this enterprise lie in inherited terms and the assumptions embedded in them. It is symptomatic of the problem that we have no term by which to refer to the region that would become the United States. Geographic terms such as North America are not only inaccurate, but also, while appearing to represent a simple external reality, actually convey a complex set of values. Equally value-laden are terms such as "nation" and "international," which are assumed anachronistically to apply to European polities and interactions but not to American and African forms.

We need to catch up with the early modern understandings. In ways that contemporary observers recognized, early modern polities all around the Atlantic paralleled one another more than they resemble the national forms that emerged in the nineteenth century. Europeans came from nascent nations still in the process of taking shape. As Charles Tilly remarks, "the Europe of 1500 included some five hundred more or less independent political units." Tilly's figure matches Alvin M. Josephy Jr.'s enumeration of American polities at that time. The Mohegan sachem Uncas built and consolidated his domain through a series

of dynastic marriages just as European monarchs did. Powhatan was reported to have inherited control of some peoples and to have conquered more than twenty additional subject groups in the Chesapeake, again like a European monarch. African kings and queens pursued similar courses. Throughout the Atlantic region, authority was achieved personally as much as through institutions.

Reorientation toward the Atlantic accelerated the creation of nations and national consciousness on all shores; American history was therefore international before it was national. All the participants came from regions where boundaries were in negotiation and definitions were in process. Their own identification was with their locality or with some larger, more amorphous entity; Anthony Parkhurst in Newfoundland, for example, wrote that he was a "Gentleman that commeth from Kent and Christendome." On both sides of the Atlantic, the process of incorporating new products into traditional categories accelerated the course of national definition; Queen Elizabeth wore American pearls and a fine beaver hat as emblems of her greatness, just as Powhatan and Miantonomi sported badges of rank made of Venetian beads.

Even before European colonization, nascent nations existed in North America, and the process of consolidation was dramatically intensified by the presence of Europeans. Europeans realized that they were dealing with highly organized American political formations, large and small, and some were aware that large-scale consolidations and movements had both preceded and accompanied the early years of transatlantic contact. Hernando de Soto led a group of Spanish adventurers on a 4,000-mile trek through the southeastern region as far west as the Mississippi River in the period 1539–43, and the chronicles of that trip describe the great chiefdoms they encountered. These, part of the system archaeologists have labeled Mississippian, were elaborate polities with hereditary aristocracies and chiefly lineages; great fortified cities indicate the expansive nature of the mightiest. Although the largest and most powerful among them, particularly the great city at Cahokia, had declined as the onset of Little Ice Age conditions made the region less hospitable for large-scale settlements, the Spanish were impressed by the extent and complexity of the chiefdoms they encountered. Later French explorers were fascinated by the elaborate political system of the Natchez Indians to the south.

In the Northeast, the powerful Iroquois League coalesced in the fifteenth century, creating the forms by means of which the League's members came, in the period of European contact and settlement, to play a key role between native groups and Europeans through the clientage relationships of the Covenant Chain. Other Iroquoians, such as the Hurons and Susquehannocks, also emerged as strong actors. As trade with Europeans expanded, Iroquoian influence spread, and the most adept of the French, Dutch, and English traders learned the forms of Iroquois diplomacy well.

America was an international arena before Europeans even knew of its existence. Diplomacy and war were carried on between polities often, over long distances and through elaborate forms, and the continent was tied together by long-distance trade lines. Pueblo-dwellers in the Rio Grande region consumed shells and coral from California and sold their dyed cotton, both woven

and raw, and pottery throughout the Southwest. Obsidian for knives was another trade commodity, as was salt. Bison meat and hides came from the Plains Indians to the North. Southern New England Indians used copper from Nova Scotia and the Great Lakes and shells from the South Atlantic and mid-Atlantic coasts. Natives around the Chesapeake Bay and the coastal Carolinas also possessed copper from the Lake Superior region. When European products began to appear in America, they were incorporated into these trade routes long before Europeans actually settled.

Early trading relationships with Europeans were often forged through American initiative, and Indian chiefs and traders expected to use their own diplomatic protocols to control the terms of the trade. Jacques Cartier's ships moving along the coast of the Gaspé Peninsula in 1534 were approached by Indians "who set up a great clamour and made frequent signs to us to come on shore, holding up to us some skins on sticks." For Cartier, this was a first encounter, but not for his Micmac hosts.

The Susquehannocks, a non-League Iroquoian chiefdom, offer an illuminating case study, as they made even more elaborate moves in order to secure a place in the just-forming European trade. These "great traders" were pivotal actors in the long-distance trade in Indian-produced commodities before colonization. As European goods increasingly entered the trade, and the Iroquois League came to play a leading role, the Susquehannocks moved three hundred kilometers south, from their home on the North Branch of the Susquehanna River to the northern reaches of Chesapeake Bay, in the middle years of the sixteenth century. Thus they were farther from the League Iroquois and closer to an independent source of trade goods. Novel urban architecture in the new location demonstrated the stakes involved in this level of trade; instead of the scattered small villages of their homeland, they built a single large fortified town.

From this vantage point, the Susquehannocks sought trading partners. Captain John Smith, exploring the upper reaches of Chesapeake Bay shortly after Jamestown's founding in 1607, was approached by sixty Susquehannocks who offered to open trading connections. Before Smith met these towering Susquehannocks, he had been amazed to find European trade goods—"hatchets, knives, and peeces [guns] of yron, and brasse"—in the hands of Indians he knew as Tockwoghs. Upon learning that these things came to the Tockwoghs via the Susquehannocks, Smith expressed his desire to know them. The Susquehannocks then came to meet with Smith, bringing items of both American and European manufacture: "skins, Bowes, Arrows, Targets [shields], Beads, Swords, and tobacco pipes for presents."

The Jamestown colonists were slow to take up this opportunity, so the Susquehannocks' first English trading partnership was with the adventurer William Claiborne, who led a small tri-racial community of "Atlantic creoles" on Kent Island in Chesapeake Bay. Beginning early in the 1630s, Claiborne and his associates were able to plug themselves into the Susquehannocks' control of the beaver trade in the Chesapeake region and their trade connections, which spanned the eastern half of the continent. The Susquehannocks welcomed this

relationship because it gave them access to European products independent of Iroquoian rivals to the north and their French connections.

Europeans who gained American experience had no doubt that many Indians lived in polities that resembled emerging nations in Europe in important respects. Many early writers praised the authority of Indian rulers. John Smith and William Strachey, writing of the "Emperour" Powhatan, both described the awe inspired in them by his majesty; Strachey even asserted that he possessed the divinity of kingship. When eyewitnesses referred to a leader as an emperor, they were using a technical term whose meaning their readers would have understood. An emperor was a ruler over other rulers who was beholden to no greater monarch. The English monarchy had adopted the closed imperial crown after Henry VIII dissolved his country's relationship with the pope, and only at that point did subjects begin to address the monarch as "Your Majesty"; "Your Grace" had been the normal mode before then. In New England, as in the Chesapeake region, writers such as William Wood and Roger Williams depicted great chiefs as ruling over "Viceroyes."

English accounts describe international law operating among Indian tribes. Roger Williams, for example, told what happened when a crime occurred "between Persons of diverse States." In that case, "the offended State sends for Justice." The governor and council of Virginia debated an invitation to join a Powhatan punitive expedition against a tribe that had reportedly killed some Powhatan women, "Contrary to ye law of Nations." Upon the marriage of Pocahontas and John Rolfe, the leader known as Powhatan gave the Virginia governor a chain of pearls for English ambassadors to wear so that he could be certain of the envoy's official status.

The nationhood of Indian polities was acknowledged even more fundamentally in the system the Spanish instituted in Florida. There they recognized self-governing towns that made up the Republic of Indians separate from and paralleling the Republic of Spaniards, and these towns largely continued to operate according to their own ancient customs.

Imperial historians have seen sixteenth- and seventeenth-century ventures as first steps in creation of the great modern empires, and their treatment has been restricted to the ties and interaction between the parent country and its overseas colonies.

Our new picture shows that the margins were crucial locations, and that all colonies were tied together by their mutual dependence. Moreover, whatever the official port books may have recorded, every colonial region was involved in trade throughout the Atlantic, and none would have survived without that trade. Commerce involved goods, often commodities produced by American Indians, but knowledge and technology were also widely traded. Whatever their sponsors might have thought, colonists necessarily acted in an international arena; without such open-ended willingness to trade widely, many more colonies would have failed.

Europeans became interested in North America's east coast in the sixteenth century. The most lucrative—and the most international—interest focused on the north, where large numbers of ships from England, Spain, Portugal, and

France converged on the Newfoundland Banks every summer. American fish brought much-needed protein to Europe's burgeoning population and, especially as it was a summer-only activity and did not require the expensive support of a colony, fishing was a financially rewarding venture. This international community of fishermen rotated the position of admiral, effectively governor, among themselves every summer, offering a remarkable early instance of internationalism.

French adventurers became involved in the fur trade in the St. Lawrence region as an Indian-initiated spin-off from the fishing, and their interest in the far north was cemented by its success. Farther south, both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of North America had been explored and found to offer little to repay the massive costs of colonization. Thus the first and only continuing sixteenth-century European settlement in the future United States was San Agustín in Florida in the 1560s, placed there to protect the plate fleet as it exited the Caribbean on its annual trip from Havana to Seville. The Spanish decided to found a settlement after they had extinguished two small French colonies on the southern coast, and San Agustín, administered from Havana, was intended to be preemptive. Thus the European phase of American history begins with a Spanish colony in the far south and an international presence along the Atlantic northern coast. England's attempt to found a colony at Roanoke in the 1580s had ended in failure, as had the French colonies of Charlesfort and La Caroline and Juan de Oñate's expedition to establish a permanent Spanish presence in New Mexico.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, France, Spain, and England all renewed their interest in North America, and the first decade saw the foundation of true American colonies: Jamestown in Virginia in 1607; Quebec on the St. Lawrence in 1608; and Santa Fe in New Mexico in 1610. As we study and teach American history, these ventures must be analyzed together. The renewed move to create presences in North America responded to changes in the Atlantic trades and in relationships on both sides of the Atlantic. All are part of American history, and it is anachronistic to allow later political distinctions to rule our view of the colonial period. The common course is to include Florida in American history only in the nineteenth century, after it had been conquered by the United States; if Florida is mentioned in discussions of an earlier period, it is only as a vacuum into which disorderly people were drawn. New Mexico and Texas enter American history in the 1840s, despite their priority in settlement, and California comes in even later—right on Daniel Webster's schedule. The unexamined assumption is that to be Spanish is to be un-American.

We need a new organizing principle to replace the old westward-moving Anglo-Saxon model, with time rather than xenophobia as the central pole of the new early modern American history. Europeans began colonization focused on the territory of the future United States in the first decade of the seventeenth century, and this new level of overseas commitment led native political entities to begin to forge different relationships both among themselves and with the newcomers. The first two decades of the seventeenth century were a period of experimentation on all sides, and it was in the 1620s that the colonies began to

grow. Plymouth, the first successful New England plantation, was founded at about the same time that Virginia, with tobacco in place as its crop, began to attract larger numbers of colonists. New Netherland was established simultaneously along the Hudson, first at Beverwijk and then at New Amsterdam, forming the first great nation-to-nation link with the Five Nations of the Iroquois League.

Large-scale colonization was a phenomenon of the 1630s. The preceding decade had been one of economic hardship and severe Little Ice Age conditions in Europe. The beginning of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 and the growth of pressure on religious consciences led people to consider uprooting themselves for transplantation elsewhere. Meanwhile, the growth of trade in American products made transatlantic emigration seem more attractive. These factors in various combinations led promoters and venturers to greater efforts, and the small trickle of people willing to transplant became, especially in England, the flood of the great migration. English Puritans fearing future persecution founded Massachusetts Bay, while English Roman Catholics planted Maryland for the same reason. In both cases, established families and servants came to the colony along with their religious leaders, and founding communities centered around the church. Large numbers also went to Virginia during this decade, and even more emigrated to the West Indies.

The 1630s also saw a new level of commitment in New Mexico, where married soldiers and their families came to settle down, and in La Florida. In both regions, cadres of priests fanned out, establishing missions over large areas. Thirty priests led by Fray Alonso de Benavides arrived in New Mexico in 1629, by which date there were already fifty churches and friaries there. In the Southeast, the missions spread through Florida and into present-day Georgia. New Sweden was settled on Delaware Bay in 1638 as part of the burgeoning European interest in America and the trade possibilities presented by linkage with American international networks. Although Virginia had reluctantly been made a royal colony in 1625, none of the European colonies founded on America's east coast in the 1620s and 1630s was, strictly speaking, a national venture. All were planted by companies that, although they were chartered by their national governments, were controlled and financed by the corporations. All contained mixed populations.

The 1620s and 1630s also saw the beginnings of an African presence. These forced migrants came bearing their own national/ethnic identity and continued to think of themselves as members of their own national group. Early in 1620, thirty-two Africans, seventeen women and fifteen men, were recorded in a census of the Virginia plantations. Recent research has demonstrated that the "20 and Odd Negroes" brought to Virginia in the summer of 1619 came directly from São Paulo de Loanda, the Portuguese capital in Angola, and shared a national/ethnic identity, which they carried forward into their American interactions. Other forced migrants from Angola came to the colony in the ensuing decade, and the records offer a striking piece of evidence confirming the ethnic/national identity they maintained. Anthony Johnson arrived in 1621, and he and his wife Mary, who arrived in 1622, earned their freedom and

founded a large family. In 1677, their grandson John purchased a farm to which he gave the name "Angola."

Africans also arrived in New Netherland in the 1620s, and the records offer the same kind of evidence of survival of national/ethnic identity among them. Many people of African descent incorporated Angola into their names, and these identifications were passed on from generation to generation. For example, Claes Emanuel, born in 1649, was the son of Emanuel van Angola and Phizithiaen D'Angool. Christyn van Angola stood godparent at his baptism. Claes married Lucretia Lovyse, daughter of Lovys Angola and Hilary Criolyo, who were married in 1660. In another instance in the 1660s, a free woman named Dorothe Angola, who had stood godparent to the child of Kleyn Anthony of Angola and his wife Louize in 1643 and had adopted the child, Anthony, when his parents died, moved to have him declared free so that he could inherit property. A free man named Domingo Angola filed a petition on behalf of the freedom of an enslaved young woman in the same period, and Jan Angola won a court suit against a Dutch servant. The many people who carried their Angolan identity in their names were joined by others; in 1646, a boy named Manuel Congo was the victim of rape by another slave. And in 1641, in a celebrated case of solidarity, nine Africans belonging to the Dutch West India Company jointly confessed to the murder of another, Jan Premero. Among the nine were Paolo d'Angola, Gracia Angola, and Simon Congo. These nine were given limited freedom and grants of land by the company in the 1640s, along with others including Pieter Santome, Anna van Angola, and Antony Congo. One of the men freed later married Isabel Kisana from Angola; another married Lucie d'Angola, daughter of Dorothy Angola. In addition to company manumissions, Bastiaen d'Angola was freed by his private owner. Other land grants went to Christoffel Santome and Assento Angola. In 1664, when the colony was under attack by the English, full freedom was granted to Ascento Angola, Christoffel Santome, Pieter Pietersz Criolie, Antony Antonysz Criolie, Salomon Pietersz Criolie, Jan Guinea, Lowies Guinea, and Bastiaen Pietersz." People from Angola and Congo would have participated in a closely related cultural and linguistic heritage. In other parts of America, migrants from these regions, even though enslaved, formed national organizations. French Louisiana, with its highly concentrated population from the Senegambia region of Africa, saw a remarkably coherent transatlantic national consciousness, especially as African methods were employed to cultivate the region's key crops.

Old World people abroad and the native leaders and traders with whom they dealt were all engaged in intricate networks of relationships that involved essential interdependence. The entire Atlantic coast of North America and the West Indies were linked by trade, which cut across national lines, even international hostilities. Delineation of the intricacies of this trade takes us back to the Susquehannock case study. The Susquehannocks' partnership with William Claiborne's Kent Island group was disrupted when Charles I granted the northern Chesapeake region, including Kent Island, to Lord Baltimore for his colony of Maryland. Lord Baltimore attempted to divert the trade to his own employees, but the Susquehannocks rebuffed his advances. Instead, they approached the

recently settled colony of New Sweden on Delaware Bay and offered a trade relationship.

Throughout their partnership with the Swedes and Finns on Delaware Bay, the Susquehannocks made it clear that they were the senior partners. They refused to entertain any missionary activities: "And when we speak to them about God they pay no attention, but they will let it be understood that they are a free people, subject to no one, but do what they please." Similarly, they made it clear that if they could not obtain high-quality trade goods reliably and in sufficient quantity from New Sweden, they would take their trade elsewhere. The Susquehannocks also oversaw New Sweden's relationship with their clients, the Algonquian-speaking Lenape Indians who lived near the colony.

Ensuring a reliable supply of trade goods was New Sweden's problem. Largely abandoned by the parent company in Sweden, the colonists found their salvation in becoming middlemen between English merchants from Hartford and New Haven in Connecticut and the Susquehannocks. This trade and others like it also spelled salvation for the New England colonies, struck by economic hard times when the outbreak of civil war in England in the early 1640s ended the flow of migrants from England and the money they brought with them. New Englanders exported food to colonies in the Caribbean and the Chesapeake region, and increasingly entered into the Atlantic trades. New England's leaders recognized that the coastal trade was key to the colonies' survival, as the Winthrop family correspondence amply demonstrates.

In the case of the Connecticut-New Sweden trade, the commodities were different. The merchants typically brought some corn to feed the colonists, but mainly their cargoes consisted of wampum produced by Indians who lived along the shores of Long Island Sound. Shells from the sound's shores made the most highly prized wampum; Delaware Bay did not produce the most desirable shells. The Susquehannocks traded furs obtained from Indians far in the interior for the wampum, a product esteemed throughout American communities for its spiritual value. Thus the New Sweden colony formed the nexus that facilitated a trade almost entirely in Indian-made commodities. Aware that the Indians wore badges and totems made of wampum, Governor Printz, who was called "Great Belly" by the Indians, fashioned himself into a personal advertisement for the trade connection. He had a suit specially made that was decorated all over with "their money, which was very artistic, threaded and worked with all kinds of animals, which came to a few thousand florins." Long Island Sound wampum circulated throughout the region east of the Mississippi, just as felt hats made from American furs set new standards of elegance in Europe. National identifications meant little in America; these same Connecticut River merchants traded all along the coast and in the Caribbean, and the colonies thrived because of their activities. Isaac Allerton, a leading merchant in these trades, had residences in English New Haven and Dutch New Amsterdam simultaneously, and he held office in both jurisdictions, as well as in Plymouth colony.

The very success of this trade drew the attention of other groups anxious to procure some of it for themselves. The Susquehannocks were involved in a devastating war in the early 1650s with a nation to the west known as the

Arrigahagas; the Swedes called them the Black Minquas because they wore black badges. At the same time, the first Anglo-Dutch War disrupted the coastal trade and New Sweden's trade system. New Netherland invaded and incorporated New Sweden, despite the early warning the Susquehannocks had given the Swedes of Dutch intentions. And the Susquehannocks took seriously their obligations to their clients in New Sweden. Peter Lindeström wrote that a force of over nine hundred Indians coordinated by the Susquehannocks then attacked New York "to exact revenge on our behalf." When they discovered Isaac Allerton at home in Manhattan, they "offered great insult." to him. But, although the attack was devastating, neither the overthrow of New Sweden nor the changes in the trade could be reversed. Partly as a result of wars and partly because of epidemics, the Susquehannocks' power also diminished by the end of the century.

The lesson of the Susquehannock-New Sweden-Connecticut connection is not that it ended, but that it existed as an international nexus and involved networks of nations on both sides of the Atlantic. When it had ceased to exist, its place was taken by many other such relationships, which cut across national lines and ramified across the North American continent.

The later seventeenth century, of course, saw some consolidation along America's east coast. New Netherland was seized by the English during the second Anglo-Dutch War; thus New Sweden went from being Dutch to being English. But in many ways America became more international. New Netherland had been a colony of mixed population from the beginning, and many settlers had emulated Isaac Allerton in moving down from New England; the change to English jurisdiction intensified that reality. As slavery became the labor system of the southern colonies and England came to dominate the slave trade after 1670, huge numbers of people were imported from Africa; the majority were from the Bight of Biafra region. The population of Africans, as of Europeans, grew by natural increase, indicating that enslaved people had some opportunities to form families and pass on their own traditions, as exemplified in creole languages and musical traditions. Angolans predominated in the South Carolina slave population, and John Thornton argues that the course of the Stono Rebellion in 1739 demonstrates the survival of Kongo military culture among them. New York received several shipments of slaves, probably Muslims, from Madagascar in the later seventeenth century, and evidence that these maintained their allegiance to Islam occurs throughout the records. National identities continued to define these populations. New European colonists came from all over Britain and much of Europe. These settled together in groups and maintained their national identifications as earlier migrants had done. Even those entities we call the English colonies were less English, judged by the composition of their populations, at the end of the seventeenth century, except perhaps for New England, which had ceased to be a promising target for migrants. But New England, even with its population of largely English and American Indian descent, was inextricably tied to international trade for its living.

A continental perspective is just as important at the end of the seventeenth century as at its beginning. Major changes were occurring with the

entrenchment of elites in the longer-settled colonies, which experienced a wave of wars and rebellions. Leisler's Rebellion in New York can be seen as an international event, as the rebels, many of whom were Dutch, proclaimed the new English monarchs William and Mary with their Netherlands connection against James II, a monarch with Scottish roots. Allegiance to international Calvinism was at the heart of the rebels' organization, as was also the case in simultaneous rebellions in Massachusetts and Maryland: All were part of the Glorious Revolution, the transatlantic challenge to increasingly authoritarian Stuart administration.

In Virginia, New England, and New Mexico, Indian resistance to European aggression, cultural and physical, led to devastating wars. The Pueblo Revolt in 1680 responded both to a massive drought that seized the region and to the Franciscans' increasing pressure on them to give up their national religion. In the Indians' eyes, the two were intimately related.

Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia reflected the spread of European settlement into an international arena. A major thoroughfare along the Appalachians had long linked great Indian nations in the Southeast—Creeks, Cherokees, and Catawbas—with the Iroquois League and the Susquehannocks. The highway saw both trade and war parties. Virginia settlers were disturbed by their proximity to these armed and powerful parties and demanded that the government in Williamsburg protect them. The circumstances in which the rebellion exploded involved Susquehannock parties caught up in a spiral of revenge attacks with the planters. Major Isaac Allerton, son of the merchant, was commissioned by Governor Sir William Berkeley along with Colonel John Washington to lead the militia against the Susquehannocks.

Rather than visualizing early American history as the story of the slow westward spread of European settlements, historians might think of the interior of the continent as the international core. The great nations in the interior grew in power and extent as they absorbed refugees from the east, and new kinds of national consciousness began to emerge in the Ohio Valley. The intricate negotiations between entities, European and Indian, in the region of the Great Lakes, the *pays d'en haut*, involved chains of policies and promises from Detroit to Albany to Montreal and beyond to London and Paris. The Iroquois League in partnership with New York formed the clientage relationships known as the Covenant Chain, and the League signed treaties of neutrality simultaneously at Montreal and Albany in 1701. At the same time, France sought to extend its control over the interior and establish links with the large Chickasaw and Choctaw nations with the establishment of Louisiana and Detroit. Certainly, policy-makers in Europe focused on this interior arena as they embarked on the series of imperial wars between France and England and their allies that began in 1689 and continued through to 1815. Alliances with Indian nations were central to the conduct of these wars in North America. As the coastal colonies spread, they inevitably became involved in the international relationships that characterized the interior.

As we adopt the continental approach to the teaching and study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century American history, the approach to later periods will also change in

beneficial ways. One effect of our traditional misconception of the colonial period has been that the history of American Indians has always been considered a separate subject—even in courses on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is within the Department of the Interior (having been moved from the War Department), and this placement, reflecting the assumption that Indians belong to nature rather than politics, is echoed in our national histories.

A continental history will necessarily include all actors, and will thus reflect more clearly the actual concerns of people in the past, who did not think in the compartmentalized terms that we have imposed on their history. The first use by the U.S. government of its treaty powers under the Constitution was with the Creek Indians, and we see vividly today the consequences of the new government's definition of the Indians as members of nations. Indian affairs were intimately involved in political fights in the nineteenth century—for example, in the connection between the forced removal of Indians from the Southeast and the challenge posed by the Nullification Crisis early in the century. In the later part of the period, we can recover the links between campaigns to improve the lives of immigrants and slum-dwellers in the East and efforts to “reform” and “civilize” Indians in the West. Often these campaigns were formed and run by the same groups of reformers and were part of the same policy initiatives. We can also recover the degree to which America's relations with the world were shaped by the United States' conquest of the West and the policies that were formed as part of that campaign.

Moreover, a continental story will acknowledge people in the West, Hispanic as well as Indian, as part of American history from the beginning. In modern times, all but the most obtuse have realized that the United States is a country of many nationalities and traditions, and that people of northern European extraction do not predominate in this population. It is time to recognize that such was also the case in the founding period.

Imperial Competition in the Early Atlantic

J. H. ELLIOTT

From the standpoint of European history, the story of early colonial Virginia is the story of the intrusion of an alien group of English men and women—totaling some 200 in 1609 and 843 in 1621—into an Iberian Atlantic world. From the standpoint of the history of the indigenous peoples of America, it is equally the story of an intrusion—that of one more set of strangers into an area inhabited by Algonquian-speaking peoples of the eastern seaboard. From the standpoint of African history, it is the story of how yet another European-American community developed an interest in a combined Afro-European slave trade that had acquired over the past century a profitable transatlantic extension.

These three stories are not easily integrated—a problem that I fear confronts every practitioner of Atlantic history. But insofar as they are capable of being