

Subjugating Native Populations in New Mexico:

Learning Objective B:

Explain how and why various European colonies developed and expanded from 1607 to 1754.

Key Concept 2.1.I

Spanish, French, Dutch, and British colonizers had different economic and imperial goals involving land and labor that shaped the social and political development of their colonies as well as their relationships with native populations.

Key Concept 2.1.I.A

Spanish efforts to extract wealth from the land led them to develop institutions based on subjugating native populations, converting them to Christianity, and incorporating them, along with enslaved and free Africans, into Spanish colonial society.

Key Concept 2.1.III.C

Interactions between European rivals and American Indian populations fostered both accommodation and conflict. French, Dutch, British, and Spanish colonies allied with and armed American Indian groups, who frequently sought alliances with Europeans against other American Indian groups.

Even though the failed entradas of Coronado and de Soto discouraged further Spanish efforts in the North American south, the missionaries who had participated in Coronado's expedition had been impressed by the receptiveness and character of the Pueblo Indians, and New Mexico continued to promise mineral wealth. As a result, in 1595, Juan de Oñate was named *adelantado* by the viceroy of New Spain, and authorized "to pacify the Rio Grande Valley and found the colony of 'New Mexico.'"

Oñate's expedition was in large part meant to further integrate New Mexico into the expanding silver economy of northern Mexico. Oñate was a mining baron: his father was one of the founders of the silver mines of Zacatecas (and was, as a result, one of the richest individuals in all of Mexico), and Oñate, born and raised in Zacatecas, knew

all there was to know about silver mining. As a result, while he was supposed to open New Mexico to Christianity, Oñate was also there to prospect for precious metals and obtain Indian laborers.

At least since the 1580s, mine owners, labor recruiters, and Indian traffickers from northern Mexico had attempted to tap into New Mexico's population. New Mexico's demography was particularly conducive to the procurement of laborers: New Mexico had 70 or more settled Pueblos, which were surrounded by nomadic groups like Apaches and Navajos. New Mexico, then, could either have coerced laborers in *encomiendas* produce goods for the mines, or supply the mines directly with Indian laborers. Oñate's expedition would increase this tie between New Mexico and the mines further south.

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Oñate's expedition finally set out in early 1598, with 500 colonists (including 129 soldiers and 7 Franciscan friars). Coming to the northern Rio Grande, they evicted the native inhabitants of a pueblo, and established their headquarters at this pueblo, which they renamed San Gabriel (between present-day Santa Fe and Taos). Governor Oñate immediately parceled out the pueblos in the area as encomiendas, and Indians who submitted peacefully were allocated to these encomiendas.

Immediately there was tension between the Spanish and the Pueblo Indians. The soldiers with Oñate "ranged far and wide, extorting maize, deerskins, cotton blankets, buffalo robes, firewood, and women," demands which the Pueblo found particularly difficult. Pueblo food supplies were further taxed when Spanish cattle invaded the Indians' "unfenced fields, severely damaging the crops."

These tensions came to a head in December of 1598, "when Oñate's nephew, Captain Don Juan de Zaldivar, led a patrol to the pueblo of Acoma to extort provisions," and the native warriors at Acoma killed Zaldivar and ten of his soldiers. In response, Oñate chose to "make a grim example of Acoma." In January 1599, the Acoma pueblo was stormed by Spanish soldiers, and over three days of fighting, 800 Indian men, women, and children were killed. 500 of the survivors were charged with treason and murder and put on trial by Oñate. He promptly found all of the male captives over the age of 12 guilty, and sentenced them to 20 years of servitude. All males over the age of 25 had a foot severed to discourage them from running away or resisting their masters. And, while all of the captive children under the age of twelve were declared innocent, he refused to return them to their families, and, instead, sent them to be raised as servants by Christian families in Mexico. As a result, hundreds of Indians were divvied up among the earliest Spanish colonists of New

Mexico.

Shortly afterwards, the colonists and priests turned against Oñate. The colonists complained bitterly "that Oñate had allured them with false promises into a harsh land where they never prosper." Disillusioned, most of the colonists had returned to Mexico. The Franciscan friars undermined Oñate's authority, denouncing him to the viceroy for adultery, and protesting that "his exactions ruined and alienated the Indians, undermining the friars' efforts to convert them." Under pressure from the viceroy, Oñate resigned as governor of New Mexico in 1607.

The viceroy wanted to abandon New Mexico, but the Franciscan friars insisted that more than 7,000 Pueblo Indians had been provisionally converted. If denied Spanish priests and protection, the converts would lapse from the faith and lose their claims to heaven. Unwilling to risk his soul on their damnation, the viceroy reluctantly retained New Mexico, subject to new restrictions meant to contain costs and avoid conflicts with the Indians.

Consequently, in 1609, Pedro de Peralta was named governor of New Mexico by the viceroy. Peralta relocated the main Spanish settlement away from the native pueblos, founding a new town named Santa Fe. To minimize the provocative food exactions on the Pueblo, the viceroy directed the colonists to raise their own crops. To reduce rapes, he ordered that only married men could serve as soldiers in New Mexico. To restrict expenditures, he also reduced the garrison to just 50 men and forbade further exploration into the hinterland.

The Spanish presence grew gradually. Still, by 1670 there were only 2,800 Spaniards in the colony, mostly in the area of Santa Fe. The Franciscan missionary effort was more successful. By the 1630s, there were 25 missions,

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serving 50,000 Indians.

New Mexican settlers sent Indian slaves, cattle hides, buffalo robes, and salt to markets farther south. A combination of factors, however, kept these activities small in scale and limited in appeal. These included the high cost of overland transportation, limited demand for furs in Mexico, measures prohibiting—albeit with varying degrees of success—Indian enslavement, meager interest among southwestern Indians in trapping and trading in small mammals, the labor demands of New Mexican agriculture, and the dangers of attacks by raiding nomadic Indians. Consequently, New Mexico and its trades in animals and people remained marginal affairs; distance and isolation sentenced most New Mexican colonists to hardships and poverty.

That being said, New Mexican traffickers were still willing to go through the trouble and expense of putting slaves on wagon transports and feeding them for months along the way to Mexico, because they knew that in the end, they would still make a profit in southerly markets. And everyone, it seemed, in New Mexico was involved in trafficking Indians.

Starting with Governor Oñate, a long list of New Mexican governors went beyond simply tolerating the trafficking of Indians, and directly and actively participated in this human trade themselves. For instance, Luis de Rosas, governor of New Mexico from 1637 through 1641, kept some thirty Indian slaves (seized in “unjust wars”) locked up in an *obraje* (textile sweatshop) in Santa Fe, where they manufactured stockings and other woolen items, and “painted mantas (cloths) with charcoal,” to export to Parral, the bustling center for silver mining in southern Chihuahua. Working conditions in *obrajes* in New Mexico “ranged from bad to appalling,” and when some of

Governor Rosas’s Indians died.

of starvation, the governor replaced them by expanding the Spaniards’ war with the Apaches and Utes.

In addition to governors, colonists who owned *encomiendas*, in addition to extracting unpaid labor from their Pueblo Indians, sent some of their Indians away “to be sold as slaves in New Spain.” And Spanish settlers without *encomiendas* could acquire Indian captives to “sell in more southerly markets or keep in New Mexico to produce export goods.”

Right from the get-go, “New Mexican colonists possessed an extraordinarily high number of servants.” In 1630, Santa Fe’s white population of about 250 had 700 servants and slaves, two or three native servants for every white man, woman, and child residing in the capital. “These Indians, Pueblos as well as Plains Indians acquired through slave raids, toiled in sweatshops or private homes weaving and decorating textiles, preparing hides, and harvesting pine nuts.”

The number of New Mexican slaves sent to Parral and its flourishing mines “increased in the 1650s, continued to expand in the 1660s, and reached record numbers in the 1670s,” as New Mexican officials and private citizens pressed more and more natives into New Mexican textile sweatshops, and raided the Apache to produce more slaves. In other words, New Mexico became “little more than a supply center for Parral.” To facilitate these efforts, Governor Juan Manso (1656-1659) declared open season on all Apaches and their allies. Manso also “devised a legal framework to bypass the crown’s prohibition against Indian slavery,” by distributing certificates “that entitled the bearers to keep Apaches ‘in deposit’—not as slaves—for a specified number of years.” For example, the

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following language was in one of these certificates that was issued on October 12, 1658:

“The Apaches have been irreducible enemies of our Catholic faith and of all Christians of this kingdom, and by virtue of this sentence they may be taken out of this kingdom [New Mexico] and kept in deposit for a period of fifteen years starting on the day when they reach twelve years of age, and at no time would they be able to come back to this kingdom.”

While the Spanish enslaved the occasional Pueblo Indian, New Mexican colonists “gradually redirected their slaving activities to Apaches and Utes” of the hinterland, exploiting various Indian antagonisms to facilitate the supply of slaves. Also enslaved were the Paiutes of the

Great Basin; during the 18th-century, hundreds of Paiutes became slaves in New Mexico. They were captured during raids by their Ute enemies, who wielded metal weapons obtained in trade from the Spanish (the Spanish maintained a Ute alliance, meant to protect New Mexico from other Indians.)

These slave raids provoked counterattacks that devastated common settlers and the Pueblo peoples. By stealing horses and some guns from Hispanic missions and ranches, the nomads gradually became faster and more dangerous raiders, quickly striking and retreating. Because New Mexico’s governors drafted Pueblo Indians to serve in the slave raids, the nomads considered them Spanish allies and the proper targets for revenge.

Converting Natives to Christianity: Franciscan Missionaries in New Mexico:

Although less exploitative than the encomenderos, the Franciscan friars in New Mexico offered the Indians a demanding alternative: that they entirely surrender their traditional cultures to adopt, instead, the strange and uncompromising ways and beliefs of their conquerors. Priests oversaw the destruction of native temples, prohibited most traditional dances, and obliged natives to build new churches and adopt the rituals of the Catholic faith. Many Indians adopted the new faith with apparent enthusiasm but continued to venerate their old idols in secret.

Hoping to isolate their Indian converts from the colonists,

the Franciscans preferred that New Mexico remain thinly populated by the Spanish. Past experience had taught the Franciscans to regard most frontier settlers as moral dregs who set a bad example: they drank too much and committed thefts, rapes, and blasphemies that contradicted Franciscan preaching and alienated Indians. Far better, the missionaries reasoned, for the Spanish to remain just numerous enough to support and defend the missions, but not so many as to harass the Indians and commandeer their labor. Given a free hand with the Pueblo peoples, the Franciscans believed that they could convert them into especially tractable and pure Christians—superior to Common Spaniards.

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Converting Natives to Christianity: Franciscan Missionaries in New Mexico, Continued:

By the 1630s there were 25 missions in New Mexico, serving 50,000 Indians whose conversions had been sealed by the public sacrament of baptism.

Throughout the 17th century, missionaries made every effort to suppress “idolatry” and “superstition” and to subdue the Native medicine men, who had become their main competitors and antagonists. Christian churches obliterated and replaced the circular kivas, sacred structures for religious dances and ceremonies. The priests smashed, burned, or confiscated the katsina images sacred to the Indians, deeming them idols offensive to the true God. In addition to mastering Christianity, the Indians were supposed to dress, cook, eat, walk and talk like Spaniards, for the friars deemed everything traditionally native to be savage and pagan. The Franciscans demanded chastity before and monogamy within marriage. To promote a new sense of shame and modesty the New Mexico Franciscans ordered the Indian women to cover themselves with cloth from neck to ankles. Backsliding or resistant converts suffered whipping with the lash, sometimes followed by a smearing dose of burning turpentine over the bloody back, which could prove fatal.

The inability of traditional shamans to shield their people from the devastating new diseases induced many natives to seek spiritual protection from the missionaries. The ceremonial richness and sacred objects of Catholic worship also impressed the natives, who regarded the crucifixes, rosaries, Agnus Dei medals, and saint’s relics as counterparts to the charms and katsinas long kept by Indians as sources of spiritual power.

The missions also proffered material and military incentives to entice native peoples. Many Indians coveted

Image One: Katsina Doll (Zuni Pueblo)



She-we-na (Zuni Pueblo). *Kachina Doll (Kjako)*, late 19th century. Wood, textile, leather, fur, feathers, pigment, shell. Brooklyn Museum, Museum Expedition 1903, Museum Collection Fund, at <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/131356>

European manufactures including metal hoes, knives, fishhooks, hatchets, and cloth blankets—as well as the benefits of domesticated livestock, especially sheep and cattle. Missions often offered a more secure food supply through the seasons than did a traditional, mobile way of life. By converting, native peoples also hoped to secure a military alliance against their enemies. In New Mexico, the Pueblo peoples needed allies to fend off the nomadic bands of Apache, Navajo, and Comanche who lived in the nearby mountains and Great Plains.

But the conversions were never as complete and irreversible as the priests initially believed, for native peoples regarded Christianity as a supplement, rather than as a substitute, for their traditional beliefs. Natives accepted and adapted features of European culture,

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including Christianity, which they found useful or unavoidable, while privately maintaining their traditional spiritual beliefs. Above all, they tried to preserve a distinct identity and core culture derived from their ancestors. But the missionaries longed to believe that their native

converts had forsaken their pagan ways once and for all, without compromise. For their part, the medicine men retained their traditional beliefs and clandestinely practiced their religion inside kivas.

RESOURCES CONSULTED:

Paul W. Mapp's *The Elusive West and the Contest for Empire, 1713-1763* (Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, 2013), pages 57-68; Felipe Fernández-Armesto's and Benjamin Sacks's "Exploration," an essay at <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/exploration/essays/exploration>; Alan Taylor's *American Colonies* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2001), pages 59, 82-83 (especially, the section on Franciscan Missionaries in New Mexico); Charles H. Lippy, Robert Choquette, and Stafford Poole, *Christianity Comes to the Americas, 1492-1776*, Pages 76-77; Reséndez, Andrés. *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (p. 116-123). HMH Books. Kindle Edition.; Alan Taylor's "The Reach of Colonial America," in *American History Now*, edited by Eric Foner and Lisa McGirr, page 12; Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery: Indian Enslavement in the Americas*, Episode 139 of Liz Covart's Ben Franklin's World podcast, at <https://benfranklinworld.com/episode-139-andres-resendez-the-other-slavery-indian-enslavement-in-the-americas/>

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Relatively Few Europeans in New France:

Learning Objective 2.1.I

Spanish, French, Dutch, and British colonizers had different economic and imperial goals involving land and labor that shaped the social and political development of their colonies as well as their relationships with native populations.

Key Concept 2.1.I.B

French and Dutch colonial efforts involved relatively few Europeans and relied on trade alliances and intermarriage with American Indians to build economic and diplomatic relationships and acquire furs and other products for export to Europe.

Key Concept 2.1.III.C

Interactions between European rivals and American Indian populations fostered both accommodation and conflict. French, Dutch, British, and Spanish colonies allied with and armed American Indian groups, who frequently sought alliances with Europeans against other American Indian groups.

French crown officials worried that France was losing the demographic race to colonize North America. By 1660, the English had 58,000 colonists in New England and the Chesapeake. Meanwhile, until 1663, Canada belonged to the fur-trading Company of New France rather than to the French crown, and the company saw no need to engage in the costly business of transporting people to a colony that was dedicated to a fur trade where Indians did most of the work; “the company placed a higher value on cooperating with the Indians than on establishing a successful French colonial footprint.” All the company needed were a few French employees, primarily soldiers to defend the posts, and clerks to handle the furs and the manufactured goods that purchased them. As a result, there were few French colonists in New France. In 1627, after nearly two decades of colonization, Quebec only had 85 French colonists. By 1650 there were 700 colonists in New France, and that number rose to 3,000 by 1663.

When the French crown ordered the Company of New France to recruit more inhabitants, the task was delegated to “ambitious men of means, who could obtain immense colonial estates and titles of nobility as ‘seigneurs’ by organizing and financing shipments of new colonists.” By 1675, most of the land between Quebec and Montreal in the St. Lawrence valley had been divided into 70 seigneuries. About 5% of Canadians belonged to seigneurial families.

Seigneurs typically lived in Montreal and Quebec, leasing their lands to farm families that they brought to Canada from France, known as habitants. “The habitants leased their farms, paying annual rents to a seigneur.” The rents were usually less than 10% of the annual crop,” and as long as they paid their rents, the habitants tenure was secure and could be passed on to heirs or sold to others. (In the 18th-century, when a habitant sold his farm to

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someone else, the seigneur received 1/12th of the purchase price.) Otherwise, habitants were required to mill their grain at their seigneur's gristmill, and pay "a toll of one sack of flour out of every fourteen." These three payments that habitants had to make to their seigneurs "were significantly smaller than those that the French aristocrats extorted from their peasants."

In fact, the overall conditions of habitants were superior to those of peasants in France. Habitants regularly consumed meat and white bread, items which few French peasants could afford. The New French could more easily afford horses, a mark of higher status among peasants. And Canadian habitants enjoyed the privileges of hunting and fishing, "both of which were environmentally and legally denied to the peasants" back home. Additionally, "the exactions of church and state in New France were much lighter than those endured by the captive peasantry of France." Canadian habitants did not have to pay the direct tax on people or lands that peasants paid in France (just export duties on furs and import duties on alcohol and tobacco). And the tithe collected by the Catholic Church in Canada (1/26th of the grain harvest) was half that collected in France.

Because of the seigneurial system, the French were much more successful creating a version of Europe's hierarchical social order in the Americas than their British rivals. Whereas they English rarely considered any colonists worthy of giving the title of noble, most officials and regular army officers in New France were colonial aristocrats.

Also, the "seigneurial system discouraged the land speculation so rampant in the British colonies," as "social custom and French law worked to perpetuate

wealth and power in inherited hands rather than to encourage the creation of new fortunes by ambitious commoners." In terms of social custom, habitants and merchants rarely became seigneurs, as "noble birth and aristocratic honor, rather than acquired wealth, were the primary criteria of status and authority in New France." And legally, a seigneurie "could not legally be subdivided and sold, only leased to habitants."

Despite these inducements, less than 250 families emigrated to Canada during the 17th century. "Growing impatient with New France's slow development and lingering insecurity, the crown took control of the colony in 1663," and over the next decade the crown attempted to stimulate emigration "by paying for transatlantic passages."

Image Two: Arrival of the Brides



Item consists of a view of women coming to Quebec in 1667, in order to be married to the French Canadian farmers.

This image can be found at this link:

https://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=2837379

Because only 12% of the immigrants coming to New France

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Relatively Few Europeans in New France, Continued:

during the 17th century were female, the French crown found an inventive way to encourage female emigration.

Between 1663 and 1673, the French crown paid for the passage of young women to New France. Known as the *filles du roi* (“daughters of the king”), they also “received an average dowry of 50 livres, along with a small hope chest containing clothing and sewing materials.” Since many of the 800 young women who participated in this program were orphans lacking family money, the cash-dowry was an alluring incentive. As part of their participation, the women agreed that within a few weeks of their arrival in New France, they would marry a French man, start a family, and help their husbands work the land.

Another element of subsidized emigration were French *engages*, or indentured servants. The *engages* typically served a three-year term, and were purchased or employed by “seigneurs, habitants, merchants, or religious orders.” They “loaded and unloaded ships, rowed boats, constructed buildings, and cleared the forest to make farms.” Similarly, soldiers were sent to New France for “long and indeterminate terms.” Soldiers “drilled, hauled supplies, constructed and repaired forts, and fought the Iroquois.”

This “expensive program of subsidized emigration produced relatively little long-term benefit.” Despite official efforts discouraging them from doing so, 2/3rd of the *engages* returned to France at the end of their terms, as did 3/4 of the soldiers. In fact, “many men refused to indenture themselves without a prior commitment from their employer to pay for their return to France at the end of three years.” As a result, the government reduced costs after 1673, and “the emigration ground to a halt.” From

that point, the colony grew through natural increase. From 3,000 people in 1663, New France’s population “grew to 15,000 in 1700.” But this growth turned out to be “too little too late to compete with the swelling numbers of English colonists, who numbered 234,000 whites plus 31,000 enslaved Africans by 1700.

A number of factors prevented France, with a population of 20 million compared to England’s 5 million, from sending as many emigrants to America. Potential French emigrants preferred Spain, the West Indies, and the French army over Canada. Spain provided potential emigrants with a cheaper, closer, and far warmer alternative to New France, and “there was considerable demand for French artisans and laborers” in Spain. “In 1669, about 200,000 French lived in Spain, compared with only about 5,000 in New France.” Alternatively, most French who did “emigrate to the Americas preferred the warmer climes of the West Indies, moving there in about 10 times the numbers that went to Canada.” Also, Louis XIV’s French army expanding from 20,000 in 1661 to 300,000 in 1710, “absorbed many of the poor and single men who might otherwise have emigrated as *engages* to New France.” Finally, while France had plenty of religious dissidents in the Protestant Huguenot minority who “might otherwise have been eager to emigrate, French policy forbade their settlement in New France after 1632.

RESOURCES CONSULTED

This section of the packet is taken from Alan Taylor’s *American Colonies* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2001); Dirk Hoerder’s “From Euro- and Afro-Atlantic to Pacific Migration System: A Comparative Migration Approach to North American History,” in Thomas Bender’s *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*; <http://www.americanyawp.com/text/02-colliding-cultures/>; <https://thediscoverblog.com/2013/07/>

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French Reliance on Trade Alliances and Intermarriage with American Indians:

The growing seasons in the St. Lawrence Valley, where Canada was located, were too short, and winters too long, to sustain an agricultural colony. So the French turned to the fur trade instead; fur was an ideal commodity that, “like gold and silver, could more than pay for its transatlantic transportation.” Demand for it was especially high in

Europe: overhunting in Europe had rendered furs scarce. Fur was widely used for hats and trimming for fine clothing (“The soft hairs of the underbellies of American beaver furs” became the mainstay of French hatters for making felt.”) As a result, American furs commanded high prices in Europe.

Image Three : Beaver Hunt in New France



Includes a European and 2 Native Americans shooting beavers, beaver dam, beavers swimming and gnawing at a tree, and guns or muskets. (1752)
https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCB~1~1~7030~10920008?qvq=sort%3Aimage_date%2Csubject_groups%3Blc%3AJCB~1~1&mi=696&trs=7336

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The St. Lawrence Valley proved to be an ideal location for a number of reasons. 1st, the valley was a safe distance from Spanish colonies to the south. 2nd in this northerly, colder location the furs were especially thick and valuable. 3rd, the surrounding Algonquian tribes were more skilled hunters than their southern Iroquois neighbors. While a “southern setting would have entailed a better growing season,” it would have come with inferior animals pelts and less skilled hunters, and borne a

Image Four: Quebec, The Capital of New-France, a Bishoprick, and Seat of the Soverain Court (1759)



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French Reliance on Trade Alliances and Intermarriage with American Indians:

Furs were controlled by Native Americans, with Europeans only involved in the final trade-off in the east. Native hunters and traders, taking advantage of vast networks that reached deep into the interior, “voluntarily performed the hard work of hunting the animals and treating the furs,” and trading them for European goods and for native-produced wampum. European traders, meanwhile, could gain a profit “without the time, trouble, expense, and violence of conquering Indians to reorganize their labor in mines and plantations.”

Because the French preferred trade over permanent settlement, they “fostered more cooperative and mutually beneficial relationships with Native Americans than was typical among the Spanish and the English.” They chose not to act as authoritarian European patriarchs in the Upper Country or pays d’en haut—the name given to “the basin of the Great Lakes, upriver from the St. Lawrence.” Instead, they found it more expedient “to act the part of generous Indian ‘fathers,’” in their efforts to maintain sway and influence in the interior.

This approach was influenced by their disadvantages when it came to the British. As we have seen, “the French North American population remained tiny by British standards.” Even as late as 1755, New France had a mere 62,000 Europeans; but as early as 1700 there were 234,000 English colonists in North America, along with 31,000 enslaved Africans. Because of New France’s small population, the French could not impose their will upon Canada’s natives; the French also required very little land, which put minimal “pressure on Canada’s natives, who had more territory than they needed after the epidemics of the 16th century.” Additionally, British manufactured goods were cheaper than French goods, and were of higher quality, which meant that the British could undersell the French. “Poor manufacturing . . . and a less

effective merchant marine left the French scrambling for alternatives to trade as the foundation of Indian alliance.”

Another disadvantage was that there were relatively few French women in Canada. This disadvantage, though, did much to help promote the more cooperative and mutually beneficial relationship that the French had with Native Americans. In New France there were *coureurs de bois*, young and independent French traders who “paddled their canoes far beyond the posts to trade with natives at their own villages.” These traders participated in a dangerous world: “in 1684 alone, 39 French traders died at the hands of their allies.” It turned out that a trader would have more security and gain more business if he married an Indian woman, which would give him access to her kin network. Once part of that network, the *coureurs de bois* “learned the patterns of the rivers and seasons, the rudiments of Indian languages, and the native ways of trade, war, and love.” The fact that French traders were far more willing to marry native women than their English or Dutch competitors “proved critical to their persistent predominance in the fur trade of the Great Lakes country.” There were benefits for Native Americans too: Indian men had become relatively scarce due to disease and war losses, “and the *coureurs de bois* offered their wives and Indian kin privileged access to the coveted grade goods of Europe.” “Over the generations, these relationships produced a distinctive mixed-blood people known as the *métis*, who spoke multiple languages, lived in their own villages, and acted as intermediaries between their French and Indian relatives.”

As underscored by the *coureurs de bois* and the *métis*, the fur trade deeply implicated Europeans and natives in mutual dependency. French traders aligned themselves with the northern Algonquians, “especially the Micmac, Montagnais, and Algonkin,” who were excellent hunters.

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They also became allies with the Huron, an especially numerous and prosperous people (at the beginning of the 17th century, 20,000 Huron lived in about 20 fortified towns) with an Iroquoian culture, who broke with their fellow Iroquoians, the Five Nations, when they allied with the French and the northern Algonquians. Serving as middlemen in the trade (the Huron did not contribute much to the fur trade as hunters), during the 1620s the Huron annually supplied 10,000 to 12,000 pelts to the French, which as almost 2/3rd of all the furs obtained in New France.

Because of the disadvantages discussed earlier, the French “could not afford to bully, dispossess, or enslave” their allies; instead, they needed to maintain good relations with their suppliers, the Montagnais, Algonkin, and Huron—who were eager to perform that role. However, aligning with the Montagnais, Algonkin, and Huron “excluded and alienated the Five Nation Iroquois,” who lived to the south in what is now upstate New York (the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca). While the Iroquois Five Nations “were inferior hunters and indifferent traders,” they were formidable warriors who had acquired weapons from their European allies, the Dutch (who colonized present-day New York). The Iroquois Five Nations proved to be especially dangerous enemies to the French, violently disrupting France’s fur trade as the frequently raided northward, attacking the Montagnais, Algonkin, and Huron. As the price of their business, “the Montagnais, Algonkin, and Huron expected the French to help them fight the Five Nation Iroquois.” By embracing their northern alliance, the French made powerful southern enemies.

In fact, “native allies repeatedly set limits to French ambitions.” Labeling themselves “fathers to Indian children,” the French dreamt of creating a universal trade

empire where they engaged “every native people in a vast alliance.” Uniting this many people into a powerful alliance required regular gifts to be made to the allies. “In the native world there was no mediation, no meaningful public action, without the delivery of gifts; words were pointless and no agreement was binding unless accompanied by presents.” These presents came in the form of “French brandy, cloth, blankets, kettles, knives, hatchets, guns, shot, and gunpowder.” The French, “through compromise, gift-giving, and native-style diplomacy . . . negotiated the most far-reaching system of Indian alliances in colonial America.” But, one of the things that the French had to do in order to cement these alliances, was to accept gifts from their Indian allies. Oftentimes these gifts consisted of captives that the native allies had taken from their native enemies. If the French rejected these captives, it would wreck the alliance; at the same time, accepting these captives alienated the raided peoples. So the French were compelled to accept or buy these captives, all of which limited the vast system of alliances the French dreamed of. (“Over time, this evolved into a system of Indian slavery.” Indian slaves never made up more than 5% of the colony’s total population, and they worked as “domestics, farmers, dock loaders, millers, and semi-skilled hands in urban trades.”) Native wars also compromised the French dream of engaging every native people in a vast alliance, as Indians manipulated their French allies into attacking their native enemies.

Over time, “Indians became dependent upon European metals, cloth, and alcohol.” They abandoned their stone tools and weapons, and eventually lost the craft skills needed to produce these traditional tools and weapons. Northern Algonquians and other hunter-gathering allies oriented their winter and spring hunts almost entirely to beaver, as commercial hunting began “to crowd out

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almost all other economic pursuits,” making “communities almost entirely dependent on European trading partners for nearly all their supplies.” As a result, if Europeans cut them off from trade, “natives faced deprivation, hunger, and destruction by their enemies,” so much so that Indians considered being cut off from trade as an act of war. Because Europeans needed their Indians as allies and hunters, they could not afford them as enemies. “Rather than risk a breakdown in trade, the traders grudgingly accepted Indian trade protocols, restrained their prices, and cultivated alliances.”

This diplomatic arrangement fashioned by the French and Algonquian Indians around the Great Lakes and into the Ohio River was described by noted historian Richard White, as “the Middle Ground,” which lasted through much of the 18th century. Pressured by the powerful Iroquois in the east, many Algonquian-speaking peoples to the north were pushed towards the French in the mid-

17th century, crafting this middle ground as “a kind of cross-cultural space that allowed for native and European interactions, negotiation, and accommodation.” The French adopted the gift-giving and mediation strategies that native leaders expected of them, while Indians “engaged the imperial European market and adapted . . . to European laws.” “Rather than a landscape dominated by Europeans, this middle ground “emphasized the power that native peoples exercised and their ability to compel accommodations from colonial intruders,” especially in the continent’s interior where European claims overlapped. Indians were able to use their competing claims to play “imperial rivals off against one another,” which gave them the ability “to negotiate more favorable terms of trade.” In essence, the Upper Country in the Great Lakes region was a place where “peoples from different cultures consciously created a place where negotiation displaced confrontation,” and where two cultures possessed roughly equivalent power.”

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Jesuit Missions in New France:

While New France was launched by the fur trade, “the colony was sustained by a Catholic bid to convert the Indians.” This missionary effort was an expression of the

Catholic or Counter-Reformation, and was part of Catholic Europe’s efforts to “stem and reverse the growth of Protestantism by bringing a new rigor and zeal to Catholic

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Jesuit Missions in New France, Continued:

institutions. The missionaries meant to steal a march on the Protestant heretics by converting the world's heathen peoples to Catholicism."

No Catholic religious order was better prepared for missionary work than the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits. "Founded in 1540 for 'the defense and propagation of the faith' and 'the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine,' it's priests were professional educators, forged in the struggle to save Europe from Protestant heresies." Many of the Jesuits who ended up serving in North America "came with long prior teaching careers in schools and universities, and quite a few were accomplished linguists."

In 1624-1626, 8 Jesuit priests arrived in New France. Because of the long, dark robes that they wore, the Indians referred to the Jesuits as the Black Robes. Whereas the previous Recollect missionaries in New France had worked among the poor and mobile Montagnais near Quebec, the Jesuits chose instead to work with the more prosperous and settled Huron to the west. By 1647, there were 18 priests and 24 lay assistants working in the Huron missions, and many Huron had converted to Christianity.

Jesuit missionaries would adopt different strategies than the Spanish Franciscans. "Rather than compel Indians to learn French and relocate into new mission towns, the Jesuits mastered the native languages and went into their villages to build churches," more often choosing to live with or alongside Indian groups. Jesuits also drew the attention of natives "by their lack of interest in the land, furs, and women that other Europeans coveted."

At first glance, it would seem that there was a vast chasm between Catholicism and Indian religion. For instance, "

"how could Indians whose concepts of justice focused on restitution for the victim" comprehend "the notion of freely given divine 'grace' that wiped [away sins] with no compensation to the aggrieved." Additionally, some Christian concepts proved untranslatable. For example, Iroquoian grammar was such that it was impossible "for priests to invoke their deity 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.'" The best they could do was "our Father, his Son, and their Holy Spirit."

Then there was the fact that priests insisted that Indians abandon many of the ritual practices that determined the course of everyday life. "The Jesuits denounced torture and ritual cannibalism, premarital sex, divorce, polygamy, and the traditional games, feasts, and dances." Jesuit priests also "ruled that Christian converts could marry only fellow converts," something that "many Indians initially balked at," concerned that if they converted they would not be able to find a wife or a husband." (However, because Jesuits also preached that Christians and non-Christians went to separate afterlives, it incentivized entire lineages of Indians to convert who "dreaded eternal separation from their ancestors and relatives.")

However, the chasm between Catholicism and Indian religions was maybe not as wide as it first appears. Jesuit missionaries in New France were able to exploit "the ceremonial complexity and sacred objects of Catholic worship to impress the natives," in ways that Protestants, who rejected many of Catholicism's ceremonies and sacred objects, could not. To Indians, Catholic priests had their own divine magic that made them effective alternatives to their own shamans. "Processions, chants, incense, bells, visual aids" were all "integral to 17th-century Catholic piety and to the ceremonies surrounding the central mystery of the Mass, and all must have at least

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been recognizable to Native people as religious behavior.” And the sacred items of Jesuits, “crucifixes, Agnus Dei medals, and saint relics,” could “replace the stone charms kept in pouches by Indians as sources of spiritual power.” In fact, many of the Jesuits’ practices bore strong resemblances to various things that their own shamans taught or advocated for: “veneration of artifacts (a crucifix or reliquary), ceremonial feasts (Holy Communion), symbolic baths (baptism), self-inflicted torments (physical penance), even such forms as ritual purity as a vow of sexual monogamy or complete celibacy.”

Just as Jesuit missionaries were more willing than their other European counterparts in New Spain to live among Native Americans, they also proved willing to die alongside Native Americans—especially during the Mourning Wars of the 1640s. “Beginning in 1642, the 25,000-strong Iroquois nations, including some 2,500 warriors, became much more aggressive,” escalating their warfare against their native enemies “to nearly genocidal proportions.” Never before had native peoples attacked and killed each other on the scale and with the ferocity of the Iroquois during the 1640s and 1650s.” This was primarily a mourning war, as the Iroquois Five Nations “especially targeted the Huron to obtain captives for adoption into Iroquois families and villages, reeling from their recent losses to disease and war.” In fact, the Iroquois eliminated the Huron villages, and systematically hunted down Huron refugees (no matter how far they ran), meaning that “the great majority of the Huron survived only as adopted captives among the

Iroquois.”

As the Iroquois destroyed Huron villages, Father Antoine Daniel was killed in July 1648. In March of 1649, “1,000 Iroquois descended upon Huronia” and took the mission of St. Ignace, capturing fathers Gabriel Lalemant and Jean de Brebeuf. Taken to the neighboring village of St. Ignace, these Jesuits “suffered one of the most horrific tortures in the annals of the Christian church.”

Christopher Regnault was able to see the priests remains shortly after their torture, and “he described how Brebeuf’s legs and arms had been stripped of flesh down to the bone; how huge blisters all over his body bore witness to the pouring of boiling water over the victim in mockery of the baptismal rite; how Brebeuf had been wrapped in resin-soaked bark that had then been set afire to infect serious burns; how a string of red-hot axeheads had been hung from his neck with manifest results; how his lips had been cut off because he constantly spoke of God; how his body was covered with bruises from a severe beating; how his head was scorched and his breast cut in order to remove his heart.”

“Father Brebeuf died on the afternoon of 16 March 1649, having been tortured for three hours. Gabriel Lalemant’s torture then began and lasted until the next day. Their colleagues collected their remains, interred them under the chapel at Sainte Marie, and then transported them to Quebec in 1650.”

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Image Five: Martyrdom of Fathers Isaac Jogues, Anton Daniel, Jean de Brébeuf, Charles Garnier, Gabriel Lalemand, and others at the hands of Native Americans (1664)



Artifacts include collars of red-hot hatchets, tomahawks, knives, and guns. Dwellings and churches are shown burning. Jogues was martyred in 1646 by the Iroquois. He was said to have had parts of his fingers cut off in earlier encounters with Indians; his hands are shown mutilated here. Brébeuf and Lalemand were killed in 1649 by the Iroquois Indians who tortured the Jesuit fathers with collars of red-hot hatchets and by pouring boiling water on them in mockery of baptism.

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Tekakwitha (1656-1680):

In 1660 a four-year-old Mohawk Iroquois named Tekakwitha was orphaned by a smallpox epidemic that killed her mother, father, and brother. The disease scarred her face and weakened her eyes. An uncle who was a prominent village chief adopted her, and as she grew in years she became noted for her solitary ways, her industrious work habits, and, especially, her repugnance toward sexual intercourse and proposals of marriage. These pure habits combined with her physical disabilities to alienate her from her family.

One day in 1675 a Jesuit missionary visited her as she lay in her house with an injured foot. She responded immediately to his message and proved a remarkably apt pupil. At Easter in 1676 she was baptized with the name Kateri (Catherine, after St. Catherine of Siena) and quickly became the most pious of the small band of Christians in her mostly pagan village. Her refusal to work on the Sabbath and her continued rejection of marriage offers infuriated her family and fellow villagers, who physically assaulted her and spread rumors that not only was she not a virgin, but she had incestuously fornicated with her uncle. In 1677 she escaped her persecutors and fled to Kahnawake, a mission village, or reserve, the Jesuits had recently established on the St. Lawrence River near Montreal. There she inspired a religious revival among female converts, who joined her in taking vows of chastity and in practicing ever-more-rigorous physical penance for their former lives of sin. Fasting and self-flagellation took their toll until she died in 1680, at the age of 24.

Almost immediately, astonishing things began to happen. Some said the marks of her childhood bout with smallpox marvelously disappeared from her face within a few minutes of her death. Her priests—using medieval language reserved for saints whose bodies were believed immune to the stench of decay—claimed she “died with an odor of sanctity.” Those who prayed at her grave

professed to be healed, and in the nearly 3 centuries since, the faithful have attributed miracles to “the Lily of the Mohawks.” In 1980 Pope John Paul II beatified her making her the first Native American candidate for sainthood.

Pierre Cholenec and Claude Chauchetière, two Jesuit priests who worked with her at Kahnawake, each wrote biographies within a few years of her death. They framed a religious, rather than historical, narrative. Modeling their work on the Lives of the Saints from which Roman Catholics had long sought inspiration, “the Jesuit missionaries who knew Kateri Tekakwitha transformed her from a Mohawk girl to the Blessed Catherine Tekakwitha, the savage saint, the first Iroquois virgin, and protectress of all Canada.”

The story of Tekakwitha proves that at least some “good Indians” appreciated what the colonizers were trying to do for them and eagerly joined them in the cause. 17th-century Europeans offered as their primary justification for the colonization of America their Christian obligation to spread the Gospel, to bring heathen lands and peoples under the dominion of Christ. In this light, the transformation of Tekakwitha into Catherine proved that the higher aims of colonization were being achieved. Beyond such moral abstractions, there were practical concerns. The Jesuit authors of Kateri’s biography needed a success story. Many people in both France and New France resented the expense of the missions, questioned the political influence wielded by the missionary order, and doubted that their methods could ever turn Indians into good Christians. “The Lily of the Mohawks” refuted them all.

The cumulative result of the mid-17th-century epidemics that had struck all eastern Native groups and the successful military campaigns that the Iroquois had until

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Tekakwitha (1656-1680), Continued:

until recently waged against their neighbors was that recently incorporated war captives made up an extraordinary proportion of those who lived in their villages. Incredible as it may seem, it is likely that as many as 2/3rd of the population traced their origins to places elsewhere than Iroquoia.

Among the throngs of captives was Tekakwitha's mother, an Algonquin prisoner who had been married to a native Mohawk. In a matrilineal society, the girl's kinship ties therefore were already weak before smallpox killed both of her parents and cast her adrift. Her visual handicap made her an economic liability to those with whom she lived. Factors such as these probably explain both the eagerness of her guardians to marry her off and their resentment when she refused the matches. It does not take much of a stretch of our imaginations to understand why a young woman trapped in such circumstances might find something attractive in the preaching of the French missionaries. Nor is it hard to imagine that when she left the Mohawk country to resettle at Kahnawake, she found there the kinship, the social acceptance, and the spiritual power she had never before had—under the tutelage of priests who supported her efforts and held her up as a model of piety among the sisterhood of women who joined her in her chastity and penance, and within a broader community that identified itself as both Indian and Catholic.

But these speculations about Kateri Tekakwitha's motives take us beyond the historical sources. What we can say is that such a story is consistent with general patterns in which hundreds of 17th-century Indians resettled in

mission villages, both Catholic and Protestant. In an era when epidemics, war, and economic transformations were everywhere causing new communities to form from fragments of old ones, reserves and "praying towns" were among the many places in which Native Americans were reinventing themselves. Some, perhaps among them Kateri, relocated because their lives in former circumstances had been intolerable. Others, including many of Kateri's Mohawk contemporaries, did so in the midst of bitter political disputes. Others who migrated to mission villages did so because they were refugees whom epidemics and warfare had left with no other homes. Still others no doubt sought material benefits or simply followed kin who for whatever reason had previously determined to move. Most presumably found some sincere spiritual meaning in the beliefs they crafted from missionary teachings and their own religious traditions. In any number of ways, thousands of Native people thus found "a lifeboat to weather the storm" and "used Christianity to revitalize their lives in a world growing more and more unfriendly."

Whatever factors may have been at work, there is no reason to doubt that many—perhaps most—Indian converts to Christianity came deeply to believe in the doctrines as well as the practices of the new belief system, without abandoning basic elements of the cultures in which they had been born. Kateri symbolizes one of the many ways in which Native Americans tried to come to grips with the challenges of the 17th century by incorporating people, things, and ideas from Europe into a world still of their own making.

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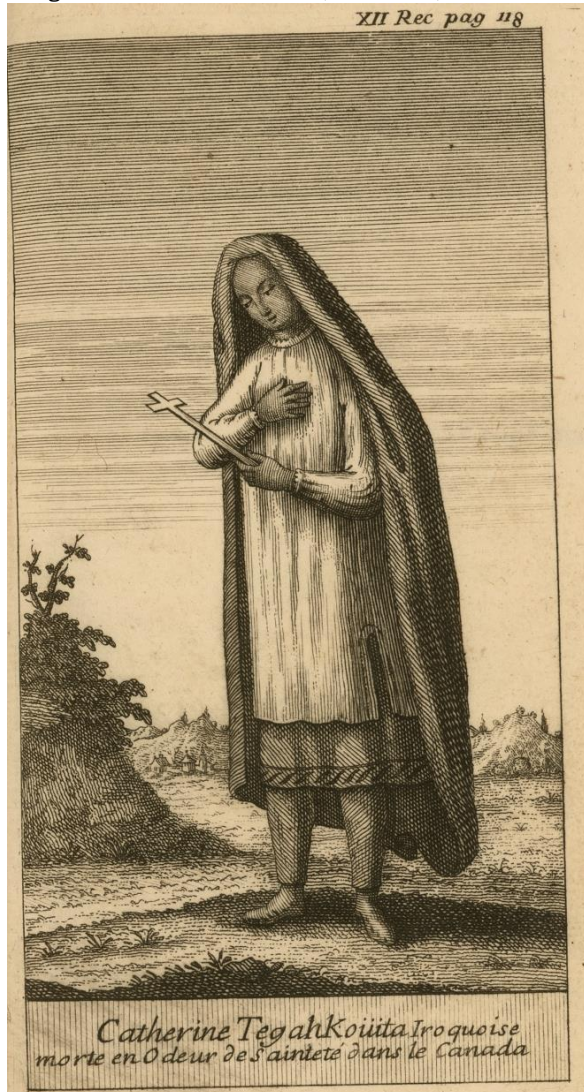
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Tekakwitha (1656-1680), Continued:

Image Six: Kateri Tekakwitha (1656-1680)



Kateri Tekakwitha (1656-1680), known as Lily of the Mohawks, was the first native American to be canonized by the Roman Catholic Church. (1717)

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Relatively Few Europeans in New Netherland:

Despite its small population of 1.5 million (the English had 5 million, the French 20 million), and confined geography, “during the early 17th century, the Netherlands emerged as an economic and military giant.” It had Europe’s “most efficient merchant marine and fishing fleet,” dominating “the carrying trade of northern and western Europe, the North Seas fisheries, and Arctic whaling.” In 1670 alone, Dutch vessels totaled 568,000 tons, which was “more than the combined shipping of Spain, France, and England.” Amsterdam, with its port of Rotterdam, “became the preeminent shipping, banking, insurance, printing, and textile manufacturing center in all of northern Europe.” The Dutch became “the primary carriers of the especially valuable spice and silk trade from Asia to Europe,” and in the early to mid-17th century, they became the primary transporter of slaves from West Africa and exporter of sugar from American plantations, refining most of the sugar consumed in Europe by 1650.

“The Dutch economy also benefited from a liberal government that adopted policies of intellectual freedom and religious toleration unique in 17th-century Europe.” Whereas most European realms persecuted religious dissidents and often expelled minorities in an effort to attain uniformity, the Dutch welcomed such outcasts (like French Protestants and Iberian and German Jews), taking advantage of “their talents and investments.” Beckoned by the Dutch’s openness to new ideas, European intellectuals gravitated to Amsterdam: the great 17th-century philosophers Rene Descartes and John Locke escaped the intolerance of their own countries by moving to Amsterdam.

“The combination of republican government, religious toleration, naval power, colonial trade, and a manufacturing boom endowed the Dutch with the greatest

national wealth and the highest standard of living in Europe.”

In April 1609, Henry Hudson, “an English mariner in Dutch employ,” left Amsterdam in search of an eastern route to the riches of the Indies by way of the Arctic seas, north of Norway. “When ice floes barred the way,” he and his 16-man crew “turned west and journeyed 5,000 miles to North America.” In August 1609, he sailed the river that was later named after him, sailing to the site of modern-day Albany. While he failed to find the Northeast Passage, he did discover a territory that was “rich in timber and furs that would please his Dutch financiers back in Amsterdam.” Shortly thereafter the Dutch formally claimed the region, calling it New Netherland. They established their main outpost on the island of Manhattan, and “in 1614 a Dutch company established a year-round trading post on the upper Hudson near present-day Albany.” The Fort was called Fort Nassau at first; after 1624 it was called Fort Orange. The Dutch West India assumed control of New Netherland in 1623.

Despite its appealing location, “the Dutch colony failed to attract sufficient settlers to compete with its English neighbors. In 1660, the 5,000 colonists in New Netherland outnumbered the 3,000 in New England, but trailed “far behind the 25,000 in the Chesapeake and the 33,000 in New England.” Not only that, about 20% of the colonists in New Netherland were actually New English settlers living on Long Island.

A number of factors help explain why New Netherland attracted so few Dutch settlers. One is that there were far more attractive places for ambitious emigrants to go within the “vast and rich Dutch empire” than New Netherland, like “Ceylon, the East Indies, and Brazil.”

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Relatively Few Europeans in New Netherland, Continued:

unlike the many discontented English who were happy to leave their homeland, the Netherlands had “a much smaller pool of potential emigrants with fewer incentives to emigrate.” Bear in mind that with “a booming economy and a higher standard of living, the 1.5 million Dutch had less reason to leave home than did the 5 million English, who were suffering through a painful economic transition and bitter religious strife.” Because of its religious tolerance, the Netherlands “did not generate a disaffected religious minority such as the Puritans who founded New England.” As historian Alan Taylor puts it, “the English succeeded as colonizers largely because their society was less successful at keeping people content at home.” In contrast, the Dutch had remarkable conditions at home that made it difficult for their people to decide to leave, especially if the location was New Netherland, which quickly built a reputation “for arbitrary government and Indian wars.”

In fact, when thousands of English Puritans began to

move into New Netherland from New England to the north, their rapidly growing and spreading settlements “threatened to overwhelm the thinly populated New Netherland.” In June 1629, in an effort to bolster New Netherland’s population, “the Company announced its intention to offer large tracts of land to patroons (a Dutch word for landowners, from the Spanish “patrón”) who agreed to ‘buy’ the land from the Indians, settle 50 families within 4 years, and thereafter administer their settlements’ civil and criminal courts.” For the reasons previously mentioned, few Dutch participated in these patroonships; only one of the prospective communities attracted a significant number of investors and settlers (Rensselaerswijck, on the banks of the Hudson River near Fort Orange.). The patroonship scheme failed to bolster the number of Dutch settlers in New Netherland, and “English colonists continued to settle in the Dutch territory.”

Dutch Reliance on Trade Alliances with American Indians:¹

Like the French to the north, the Dutch did not come to conquer; instead, they sought profit. As a result, “trade with native peoples became New Netherland’s central economic activity.” In particular, they traded for beaver pelts. This proposed coat of arms for the Dutch settlement in 1630 reveals the huge importance of the trade in beaver pelts for the economic growth of New Netherland.

Because of the Dutch’s commercial outlook, “the Dutch made virtually no missionary effort,” quite unlike the French, Spanish, and the Puritan English. Not only were missions expensive, but they were “an impediment to free trade with natives, who preferred their traditional beliefs and disliked meddling missionaries.” And unlike the French, who compensated for their economic

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Dutch Reliance on Trade Alliances with American Indians, Continued:

Image Seven: Proposed Coat of Arms, Dutch Settlement (1630)



This image can be found at

<http://www.nyhistory.org/exhibit/proposed-coat-arms-new-amsterdam-new-netherland-preparatory-drawing-presentation-dutch-west->

disadvantages by using missions to “bind natives into their orbit,” the Dutch attracted Indian trade with “the high quality and low prices of their goods,” since they were “Europe’s premier manufacturers and traders.”

The Dutch created trade relations with the Iroquois. Whereas the Iroquois had been at a disadvantage geographically in terms of accessing trade goods from the French, they “suddenly enjoyed immediate proximity on the Hudson to the Dutch.” This relationship would prove fruitful in many ways for the Iroquois: the Dutch traded better-quality goods at lower costs than the French, and the Dutch were more willing to offer guns to their Indian customers than the French were. (The Iroquois, now “much better armed than their Algonkin, Montagnais, and Huron enemies,” escalated their raids to the north.)

Both the Iroquois Five Nations and the French were equally ambivalent about making peace with one another. The northern Indians possessed better furs than the Iroquois could acquire (their more northern climate made for thicker, more valuable furs, and they were better hunters). In the event of peace, these northern Indians would “become the preferred clients and customers of the Dutch, to the detriment of the Iroquois.” The French, meanwhile, recognizing that they “could not compete with the quality, quantity, or price of the Dutch trade goods,” recognized that “a prolonged peace with the Iroquois would tempt northern Indians to carry their furs to Fort Orange for shipment to Amsterdam—to the detriment of Quebec and Paris.” The result was that the Iroquois, as inferior suppliers of furs, “had a perverse common interest with the French, an inferior source of manufactured goods,” and “they both tacitly worked to keep apart the best suppliers of furs (the northern Indians) and of manufactures (the Dutch.)”

By the mid-17th century, land became New Netherland’s greatest resource, as farms, settlements, and lumber camps became more valuable and significant than the fur trading networks. The patroon system, implemented by the directors of the West India Company in 1629 to encourage colonization, “granted large estates to wealthy landlords, who subsequently paid passage for the tenants to work their land.” However, as New Netherland farms, settlements, and lumber camps expanded, it led to deteriorating relations with local Indians. “In the places where the Dutch built permanent settlements, the ideals of peaceful colonization succumbed to the settlers’ increasing demand for land. Armed conflicts erupted as colonial settlements encroached on Native villages and hunting lands. Profit and peace, it seemed, could not coexist.”

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