APUSH Summer Reading Instructions

Hello and welcome to APUSH! We have a lot of material to cover this year, so the summer reading is a way to get started so you are not swamped at the start of the fall semester. Scanned with these instructions are Chapters 1-4 out of your textbook along with the CHAPPY guide for how to analyze documents for the DBQs.

Here is what you should do this summer:

1) Read the chapters. As you read, take notes by doing the focus questions you find at the start of each chapter. They will also be at the top of the pages for each section in the chapter.
2) Know the focus terms you find at the end of each chapter.
3) Do the multiple choice questions at the end of each chapter to check your understanding and do these especially if you are not used to stimulus multiple choice questions. (it would also be a good idea to look at the SAQ and essay questions they have just so you get an idea of what may be asked on future exams)
4) Read the CHAPPY guide (with sentence frame examples)
    a) Each chapter contains a "Voices of Freedom" section that has **two** primary documents.
    b) Do CHAPPY for ONE of them in **each** chapter. So by the end of summer you will have **4 CHAPPY documents (one from each chapter)**. Try to do all parts of CHAPPY for each document. (included is a blank CHAPPY page you can print and use to fill out) THESE MUST BE HANDWRITTEN to turn in on the first day of class.
5) When the fall starts you will be quizzed over this material, so doing the steps above will help you on that quiz.

Have a great summer and we look forward to seeing you in the fall.

C	**Content**	• What is the main idea of the source? What point is the source trying to make? What is it generally about? • Is there a key sentence you can underline that conveys this main idea? • What is the format of the source? (letter, diary, newspaper, speech, cartoon, photo, etc.) **How is the content relevant to a historical argument?**
H	• **Historical Situation**	• Many historians begin by "sourcing" the document before they even read it - read the source line, then consider these questions. • When and where was the source produced? • What was the historical situation at the time that this document was created? • How might the historical situation have influenced the author's account, point of view, or message? • How did the historical situation in which the source was produced affect its reliability? **How is this historical situation relevant to a historical argument?**
A	• **Intended Audience**	• For whom was the source created? • How might the intended audience have affected the content or reliability of the source? **How is this intended audience relevant to a historical argument?**
P	• **Point of View of the Author**	• Who created this source? • What do you know about the author from previous knowledge and/or from examining the source? • What was the relationship of the author to the content of the source? • What was the author's position in society? • What was the Point of View of the author on the topic expressed in the image? • How does who the author was affect the reliability of the document? Can you identify an important aspect of WHO the author is, and explain HOW this might have impacted what they wrote? Can you identify an influence that shaped the author or source, and EXPLAIN HOW THAT INFLUENCE specifically affected the document's content? **How is this point of view relevant to a historical argument?**
P	• **Purpose:**	• Why did the author create this source? • How does the author hope to impact or influence the audience? • How does its purpose affect its reliability or usefulness? • Why has the source survived to the present? **How is this purpose relevant to a historical argument?**
Y	• **Why**	• Why is this document important? • Which part of your CHAPPY analysis is most significant for this source? **Write one sentence that:** • **explains why the source is important in relation to --** **-OR-** • **what the source has to do with -** **the Question being asked**

HAPPY Sentence Frames

HAPP - For Sourcing

Historical Context – What else do you know about the author, time period, and/or an event that helps give the bigger picture of what was going on related to the specific document?

- Living back then, this person would have experienced…. Therefore, this person would have said . . .
- Some things that were different back then were…this would have caused this person to say ….
- Even though much is different, it is important to remember that… was probably the same, therefore the document...
- Back then, people would have been (worried about) or (hoping for)…This is why this person says …
- It is important to understand that …. happened during … because people at that time would have…

ALWAYS use a specific date/time period. *Replace the generic terms used above.

Intended Audience – Who is the author writing to and why? How does this support your thesis?

- The speaker addresses _____ because/since he/she says, "_____." This would have impacted the reliability of the document since the speaker….
- The intended audience for this (speech, text, or piece) is ____ because _____. This is important because it proves the document ….
- Because the speaker says, "_____", the intended audience must be _____. This is important to understanding this document because . . .
- The (projected, anticipated, intended, etc.) audience must be _____ since the speaker says, "_____." This impacted the views of the speaker because…
- After (reading, viewing, listening to) the (speech, text, or piece), the speaker's intended audience is _____ because _____. This would have made a difference in what was said because…

ALWAYS refer to the speaker by name when sourcing the document!

Purpose – Why is the author writing or making this speech? (Inform, persuade, entertain…) How does the purpose of the document support your thesis?

- The purpose of the (speech, text, or piece) is to _____ because the document says/depicts _____. This is significant because…
- The speaker's main point is to _____ because they state that _____. This is significant because…

Point of View – What about the author made them make the statement? Why would the author's point of view make the document more or less reliable/valid? How does the author's point of view support your thesis?

- This _____(letter, speech, etc--type of document) is most likely biased because _____.
- _____(the author) is probably saying _____ in an attempt to _____.
- _____ (the author) is probably saying _____ because he/she is a _____ and this would influence...
- _____ (the author) probably felt this way because as a _____ (occupation, social status, nationality, etc), he believed _____ due to….
- _____ (name of document) is likely propaganda and therefore unreliable since it was created by _____ in order to...
- Not surprisingly, as a _____ (occupation, social status, etc), _____(the author) said _____ because _____.

Source:

C	**Content**	
H	**• Historical Situation**	
A	**• Intended Audience**	
P	**• Point of View of the Author**	
P	**• Purpose:**	
Y	**• Why**	

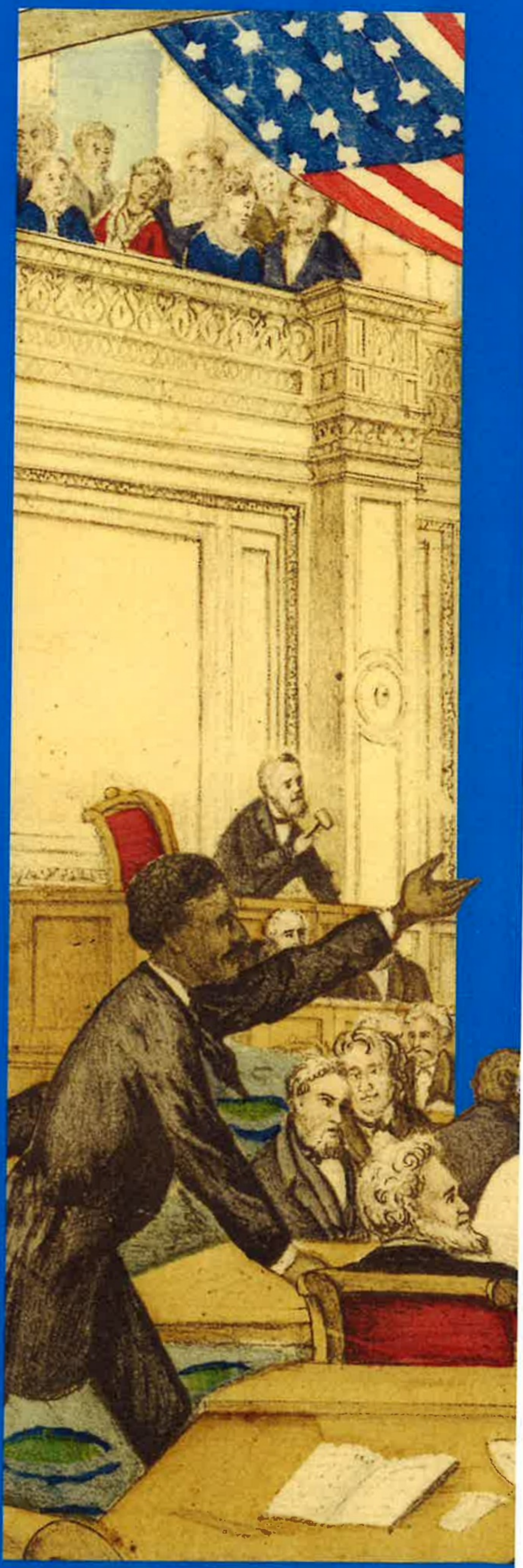
Argument:

GIVE ME LIBERTY!

AN AMERICAN HISTORY

ERIC FONER
KATHLEEN DuVAL
LISA McGIRR

SEVENTH
AP®
EDITION

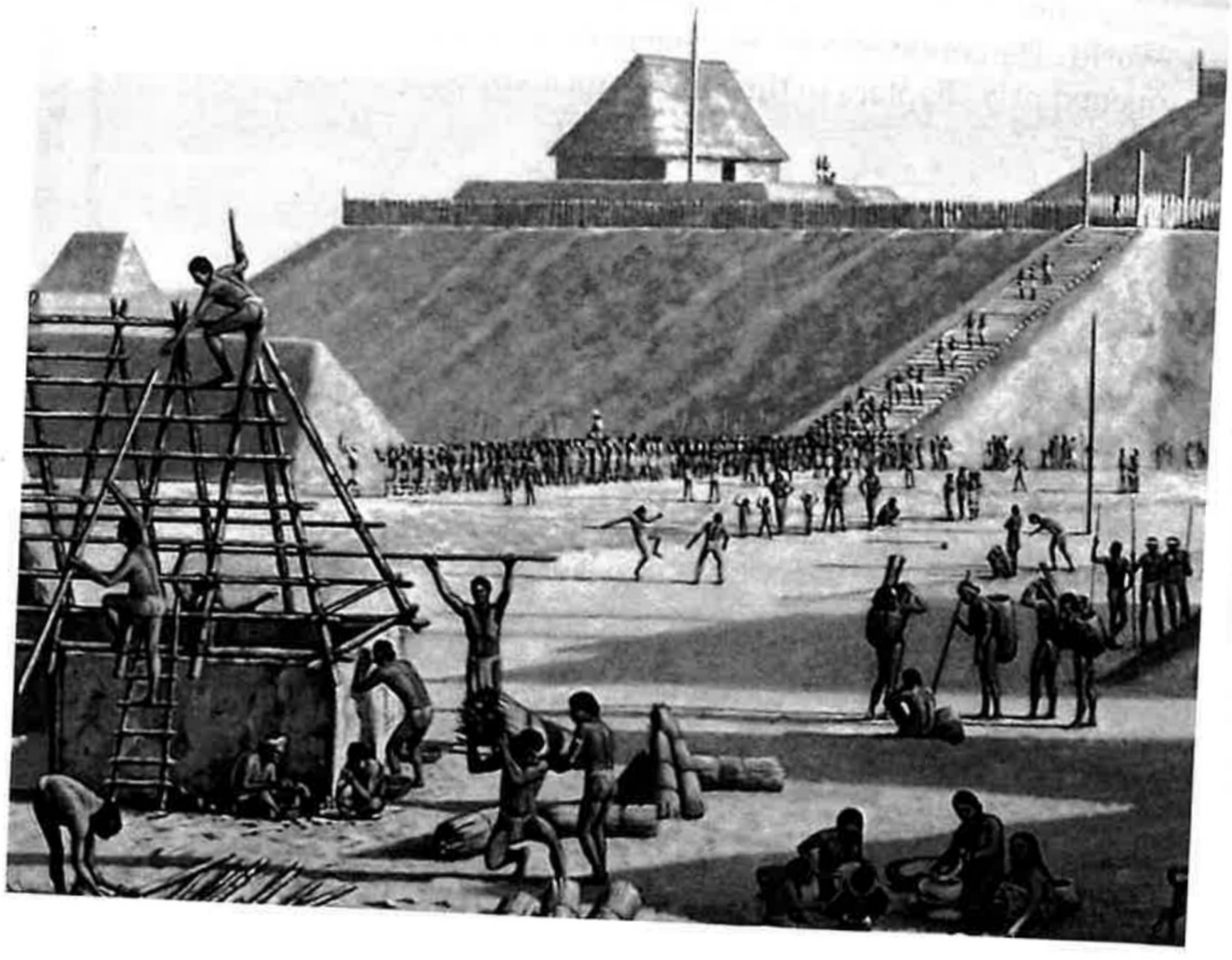


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ca. 7000 BCE	Agriculture develops in Mexico and Andes
ca. 900 CE	Ancestral Publoans and Huhugam begin to build planned towns
ca. 1000–1400	Height of the Huhugam
1050–1200	Height of Cahokia
ca. 1200	Rise of Mali and Benin
ca. 1400	Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) League established
1434	Portuguese explore sub-Saharan African Coast
1492	*Reconquista* of Spain completed
	Spain expels Muslims and Jews
	Columbus's first voyage to the Americas
1502	First African slaves transported to Caribbean islands
1517	Martin Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses*
1519	Hernán Cortés arrives in Mexico
1528	Las Casas writes the first volume of his *History of the Indies*
1530s	Pizarro's conquest of Peru
1542	Spain proclaims the New Laws, abolishing Indian slavery
1608	Champlain establishes Quebec
1609	Hudson claims New Netherland
1610	Santa Fe established
1680	Pueblo Revolt

CHAPTER 1

OLD WORLDS AND NEW



In 1534, Mi'kmaq Indians rowed a fleet of canoes out into the Gulf of St. Lawrence to meet Frenchman Jacques Cartier's ship. Cartier was frightened until he realized that the pointed sticks the Mi'kmaqs were waving at his men had animal skins attached to them. They were signaling that they wanted to trade. Everywhere in the Americas that Europeans went, Native people met them with their own diplomatic rituals and invitations to make trading and military alliances. Although Europeans sometimes called the Americas a "New World" that Christopher Columbus "discovered," the nations and peoples of the Americas composed a world just as fully developed as those in the "Old World." Fortunately for Europeans, trade with these newcomers was exactly what many of them wanted.

Human communities have always interacted. For centuries before the conquest of the Americas, Europeans had intersected with Muslim populations in North Africa and Eurasia; indeed, the very idea of Europe as a distinct community arose out of such encounters. But since the voyages of Columbus, the interconnection of cultures and peoples has taken place on a global scale. Crops new to each hemisphere crossed the Atlantic and Pacific, reshaping diets and transforming the natural environment. Building on long-standing trade with North Africa and beyond, West Africans traded with Europeans who came to their Atlantic coasts. But in Africa, Europeans built a slave trade that gave them a supply of unfree labor with which they exploited the fertile lands of the Western Hemisphere. Indeed, of the approximately 10 million men, women, and children who crossed to the Americas between 1492 and 1820, the vast majority, about 7.7 million, were enslaved Africans.

Europeans saw the Americas as a land of abundance. Here, many believed, would arise unparalleled opportunities for riches, or at least liberation from poverty. Europeans envisioned America as a religious refuge, a society of equals, a source of power and glory. They searched for golden cities and fountains of eternal youth. Some sought to establish ideal communities based on the lives of the early Christian saints or other blueprints for social justice.

Some of these dreams of riches and opportunity would indeed be fulfilled. To many European settlers, America offered a far greater chance to own land and worship as they pleased than existed in Europe. Yet the conditions that enabled millions of settlers to take control of their own destinies were made possible by many forms of unfree labor, including indentured servitude, forced labor, and one of the most brutal and unjust systems ever devised, plantation slavery. The conquest and settlement of the Western Hemisphere opened new chapters in the long histories of both freedom and slavery.

There was a vast human diversity among the peoples thrown into contact with one another in the Americas. Exploration and settlement took place in an era of almost constant warfare among European nations, each racked by internal religious, political, and regional conflicts. Native Americans and Africans were members of numerous nations and other polities with their own languages and cultures. They were as likely to fight one another as to unite against the European newcomers. All these peoples were changed by their integration into the new Atlantic economy. The complex interactions of these old worlds—Western Europe, North America, and West Africa—would make a new world that would change them all.

FOCUS QUESTIONS



What were the major patterns of Native American life in North America before Europeans arrived? *–p. 4*

How did Native American and European ideas of freedom differ on the eve of contact? *–p. 9*

What impelled European explorers to look west across the Atlantic? *–p. 11*

What happened when the peoples of the Americas came in contact with Europeans? *–p. 13*

What were the chief features of the Spanish empire in the Americas? *–p. 18*

What were the chief features of the French and Dutch empires in North America? *–p. 27*

Previous page: This mural painted by Michael Hampshire in the twentieth century depicts how life may have looked in the city of Cahokia in the twelfth century. Houses and work spaces were clustered around a central plaza. In the background is the city's largest pyramid mound, with three tiers for buildings and ceremonies.

AN OLD WORLD: NORTH AMERICA

The most striking feature of Native American society at the time Europeans arrived was its diversity. Each group had its own political system, religious beliefs, and language. Indians did not think of themselves as a single people, and Native Americans still today identify primarily as separate nations. Identity centered on a family, clan, town, nation, or confederacy. When Europeans first arrived, many Indians saw them as simply one group among many. Their first thought was how to use the newcomers to enhance their standing in relation to other Native peoples. The sharp dichotomy between "Indians" and "white" persons did not emerge until later in the colonial era.

The Settling of the Americas

During the Ice Age, tens of thousands of years ago, bands of hunters and fishers crossed the Bering Strait via a land bridge. Others arrived by sea from Asia or the Pacific islands earlier or later than the Bering migrants. Some Native American creation stories tell of migrations, but others describe creations within the Americas, of ancestors who fell from the sky or came into the world from a hollow log.

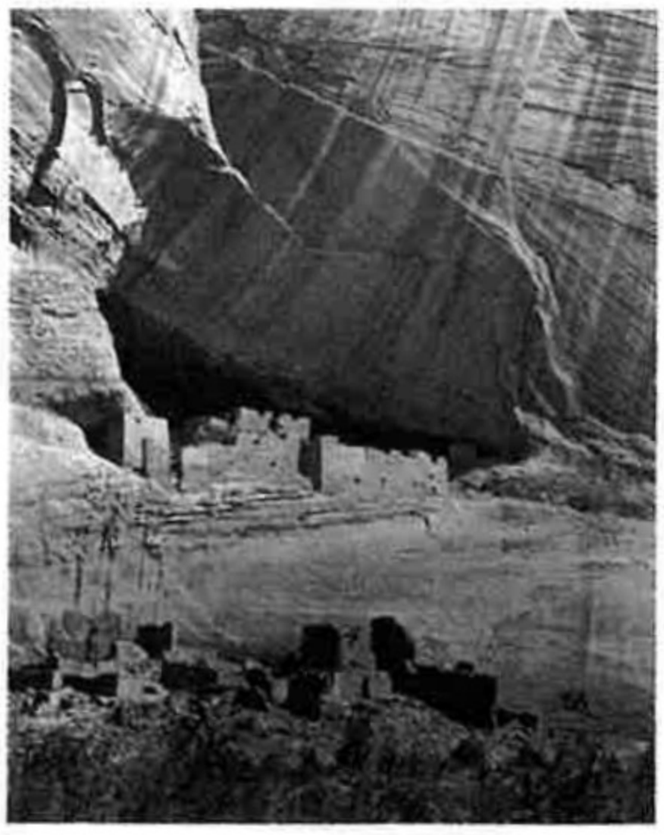
However people got there originally, the Americas were an ancient homeland to Native Americans by the time Europeans arrived. The hemisphere had witnessed many changes during its human history. First, the early inhabitants and their descendants spread across the two continents. Around 9,000 years ago, at the same time that agriculture was being developed in Mesopotamia, it also emerged in modern-day Mexico and the Andes and then spread to other parts of the Americas. Maize (corn), squash, and beans formed the basis of agriculture.

Politics and Power in Native North America

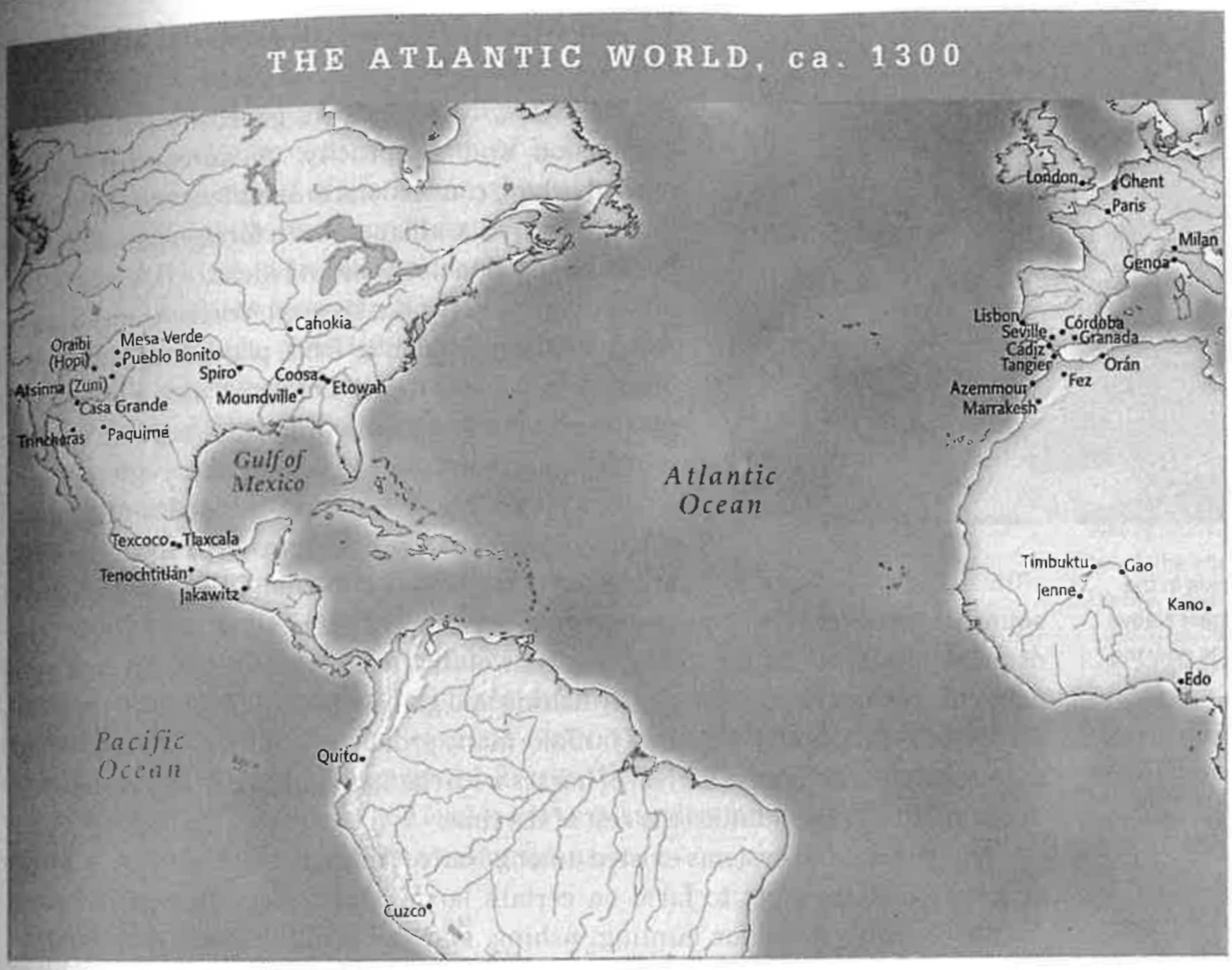
The Medieval Warm Period that began around the year 950 allowed the expansion of agriculture and the rise of cities in North America, much as it did in Europe and West Africa. The longer growing seasons and more predictable weather of the era were ideal for farming, and large-scale farming made urban living possible. The largest city north of Mexico was Cahokia, across the Mississippi River from what is now St. Louis. In the year 1200, Cahokia's central city was home to some 12,000 people, plus a large population in outlying cities, towns, and farms. Cahokia influenced other people to build their own cities and accompanying dependent provinces—what archaeologists call "Mississippian civilizations." Mississippian leaders ruled their realm from large halls, temples, and council chambers built on top of a central mound.

Ancestors of Native peoples of the arid Southwest, including the Ancestral Puebloans and the Huhugam, constructed elaborate irrigation systems to farm in the desert. They built great planned towns with large multifamily dwellings, and they conducted long-distance trade. Pueblo Bonito, in Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, stood five stories high and had more than 600 rooms. As with the Mississippians, an elite class of leaders arose.

The Medieval Warm Period ended around 1250, and the Little Ice Age began. Large-scale agriculture and cities became harder to sustain. Oral histories and



Cliff dwellings in Cañon de Chelly, in the area of modern-day Arizona, built sometime between 300 and 1300 and photographed in 1873.



The Americas, Western Europe, and West Africa on the eve of colonization. There were countless human settlements on all four continents. People lived on farms, in villages and towns, and in cities, including the cities marked on the map.

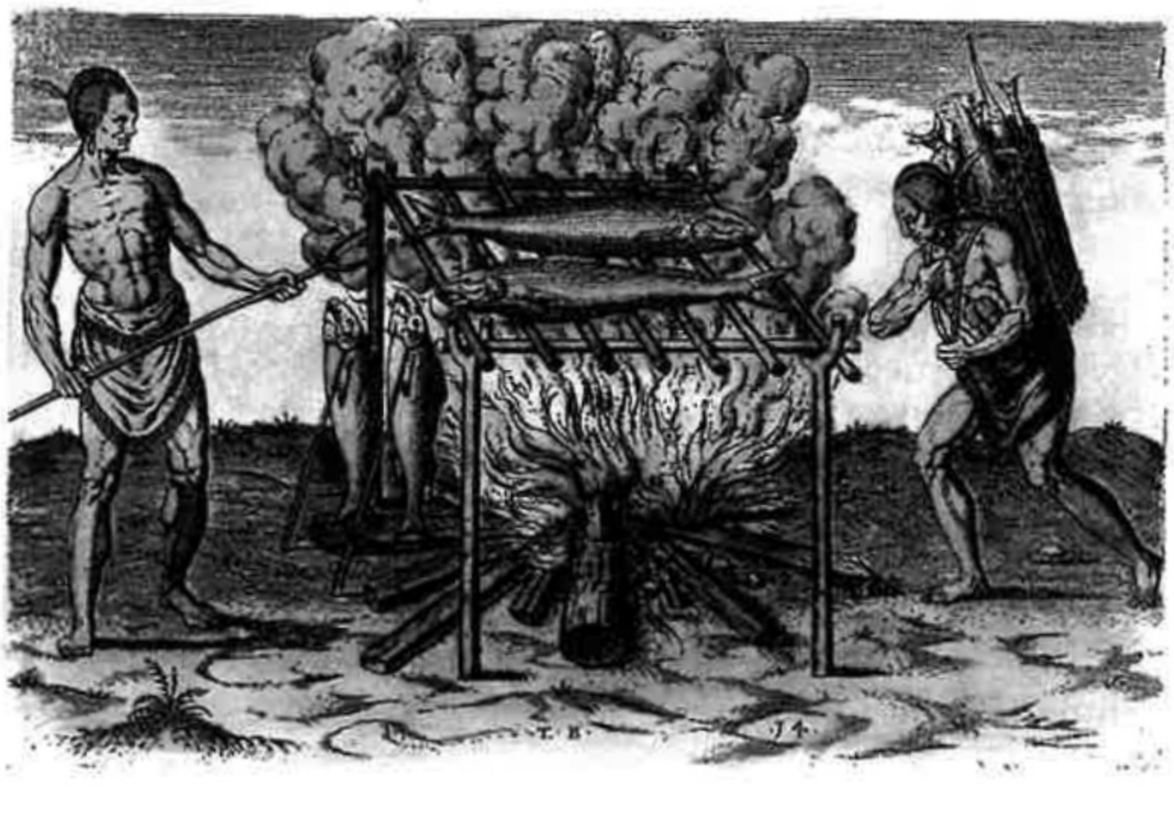
archaeological evidence indicate a period of growing distrust in powerful leaders and centralized political systems. People moved out of Mississippian and southwestern cities into smaller-scale, more ecologically sustainable towns and farms. When Spanish explorers came to the Southwest, they called some of its people the Pueblo Indians because they lived in towns, or *pueblos*. Spanish explorers in the sixteenth-century Southeast saw Mississippian cities, but the largest of them had already fallen.

In some places, confederacies formed. In present-day New York and Pennsylvania, five nations—namely, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Onondagas—formed a **Great League of Peace**. They called their league the Haudenosaunee, "the people of the longhouse." (Their enemies called them the Iroquois, which meant something like "snakes.") Each year the Haudenosaunee Great Council, with male representatives chosen by the women of the five nations, met to coordinate dealings with outsiders. In the Southeast, the Choctaw, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Muscogee (Creek), and Catawba nations each eventually united dozens of towns in loose alliances.

Great League of Peace An alliance of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) nations, originally formed at least 400 years ago.



A modern visualization of Cahokia in the Mississippi River Valley, the largest Native American urban center in what is now the United States.



This engraving shows Native men of Ossomocomuck (present-day coastal North Carolina) cooking fish they caught off the Outer Banks.

Economics and Trade in Native North America

By the 1500s, Native leaders generally led through persuasion and reciprocity. A successful leader needed to have connections to outsiders and the ability to trade and make alliances with foreign peoples, thus bringing in valuable goods and ideas.

Exchange networks crossed North America, carrying local goods such as food, plant dyes and medicines, and pottery. These networks also distributed goods from far away, including shell beads from the coasts and copper from the Great Lakes region.

In eastern North America, hundreds of peoples inhabited towns and villages scattered from the Gulf of Mexico to present-day Canada. They lived on corn, squash, and beans, supplemented by fish, deer, turkeys, and other animals. On the densely populated Pacific coast, hundreds of distinct groups resided in independent villages and lived primarily by fishing and gathering wild plants and nuts. On the Great Plains, with its herds of buffalo, many groups were hunters (who tracked animals on foot before the arrival of horses with the Spanish) part of the year, living in agricultural communities the rest of the time.

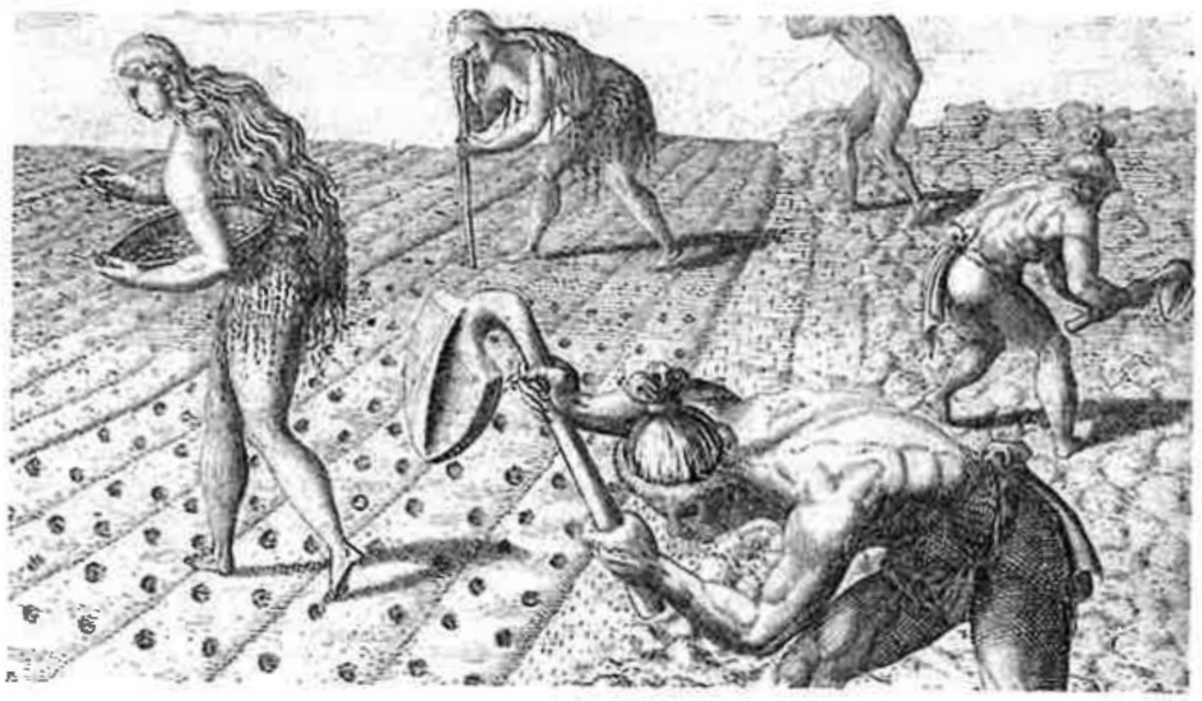
Numerous land systems existed among Native Americans. Generally, families or towns had the right to farm on certain lands, and nations or confederacies claimed specific areas for hunting, fishing, and gathering. Indians saw land as a resource that particular people had the right to use but not as an economic commodity that could be bought and sold.

Leaders tended to come from certain families or clans, and they often controlled access to resources. But their reputation and influence rested on their ability to distribute goods to their followers. Generosity was among the most valued qualities. Under normal circumstances no one in Native societies went hungry or experienced the extreme inequalities of Europe. "There are no beggars among them," reported the English colonial leader Roger Williams of Indians around New England.

Native societies were highly gendered but much more equal than the European system of gender relations. In most Native communities, women had responsibility for farming and running households, including building houses. Women made the decisions about food cultivation, storage, and preparation. They participated in councils, especially regarding matters within the realm of women. Because they provided the food for battle and diplomacy, women participated in decisions about going to war and making peace. Many North American societies were matrilineal—that is, tracing descent through the mother's line. Women generally had some power over their own sexuality and marriage, including divorce.

Religion in Native North America

For the Native societies of North America, as for people all around the world in the medieval and early modern eras, religion was a system of belief that permeated every aspect of life. Spiritual power, they believed, suffused the world, and sacred spirits could be found in all kinds of living and inanimate things—animals, plants, trees, water, and wind. Through religious ceremonies, they aimed to harness the aid of powerful supernatural forces to secure abundant crops or fend off dangerous spirits. Religious leaders and others who seemed to possess special abilities to invoke supernatural powers held positions of respect and authority.



Native women planting crops while men break the sod. An engraving by Theodor de Bry, based on a painting by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues. Le Moyne was part of an expedition of French Huguenots to Florida in 1564; he escaped when the Spanish destroyed the outpost in the following year.

A major difference with Christianity, as well as with Judaism and Islam, was that Native North American religions were inclusivist. In theory at least, Christians were supposed to be exclusively Christian, rejecting all other religions' beliefs and practices as heresy. Inclusivist religions, in contrast, allowed adherents to incorporate new religious beliefs and practices as part of a larger effort to make sense of the world. This fundamental difference between inclusivist and exclusivist ways of practicing religion would lead to grave misunderstandings when Christian missionaries tried to convert Native Americans.

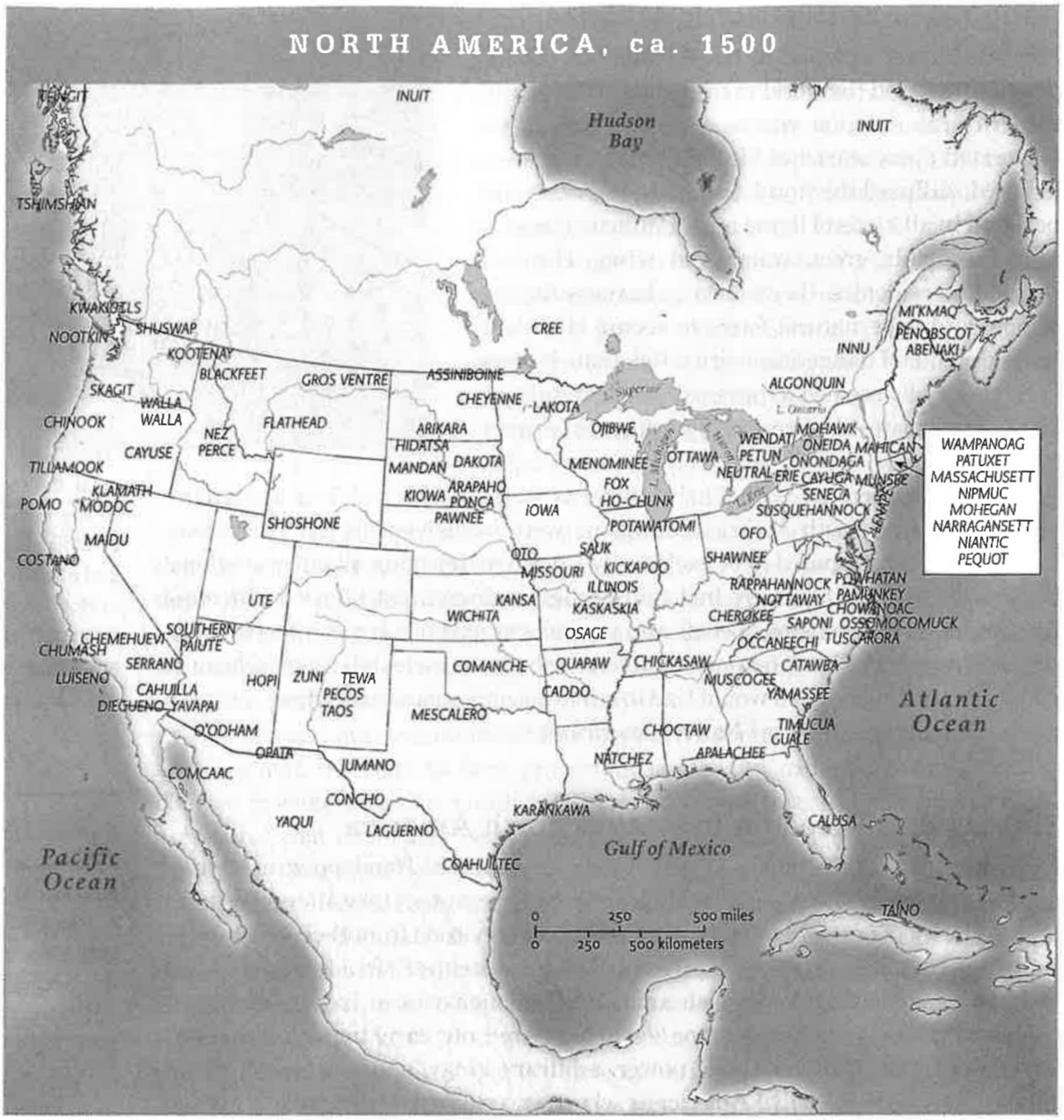
Slavery and Freedom in Native North America

Many Europeans saw Indians as embodying freedom. The Haudenosaunee, wrote one colonial official, held "such absolute notions of liberty that they allow of no kind of superiority of one over another, and banish all servitude from their territories." But most colonizers quickly concluded that the notion of "freedom" was alien to Indian societies. Early English and French dictionaries of Indian languages contained no entry for "freedom" or *liberté*. Nor, wrote one early trader, did Indians have "words to express despotic power, arbitrary kings, oppressed or obedient subjects." Of course, Native Americans whose ancestors had been part of Mississippian or other hierarchical societies in previous generations did know about the dangers of excessive power. Unlike Europeans, they had rejected that way of life to develop societies with the kind of freedom that they valued.

In Native societies, although individuals were expected to think for themselves and did not always have to go along with collective decision making, men and women judged one another according to their ability to live up to widely understood ideas of appropriate behavior. Far more important than individual autonomy were kinship ties, the ability to follow one's spiritual values, and the well-being and security of one's community. Group autonomy and self-determination, and the mutual obligations that came with a sense of belonging and connectedness, took precedence over individual freedom. The Haudenosaunee League held its leaders and representatives to a high standard: "Their hearts shall be full of peace and good will and their minds filled with a yearning for the welfare of the people."

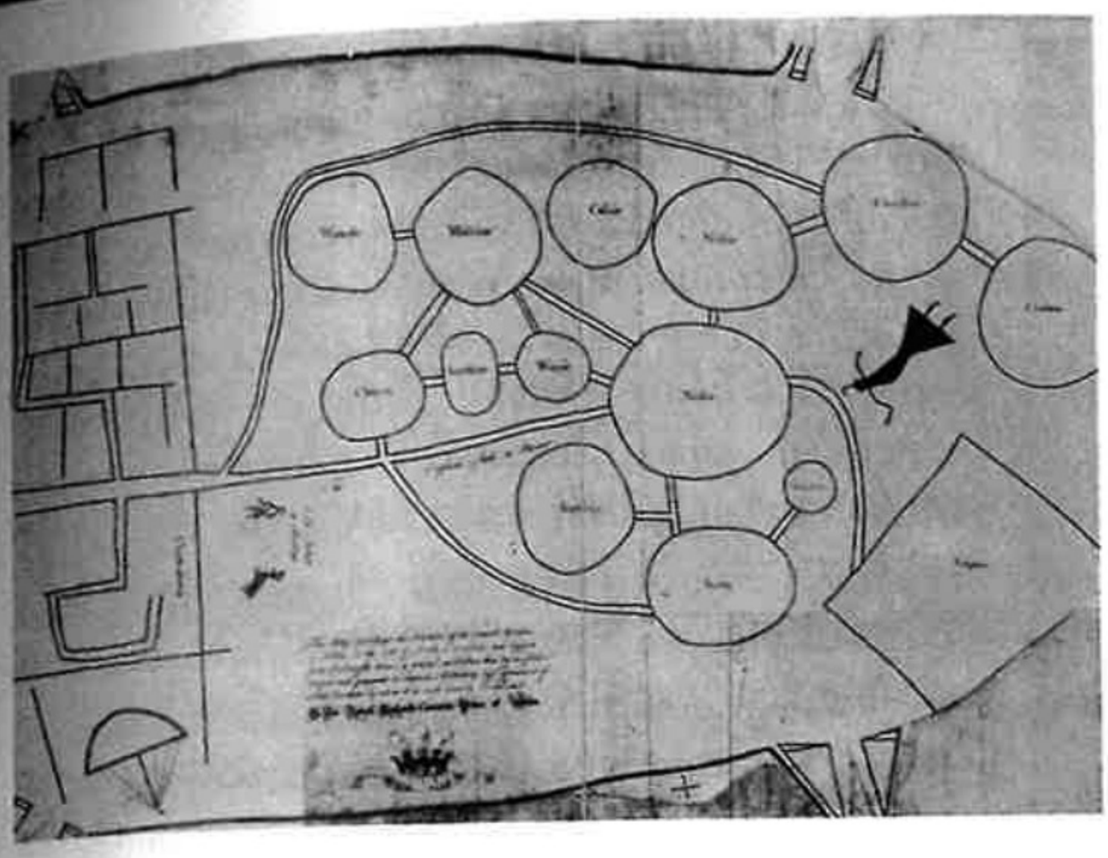
A seventeenth-century engraving by a French Jesuit priest illustrates many Europeans' view of Indian religion. A demon hovers over an Haudenosaunee longhouse, suggesting that Indians worship the devil.

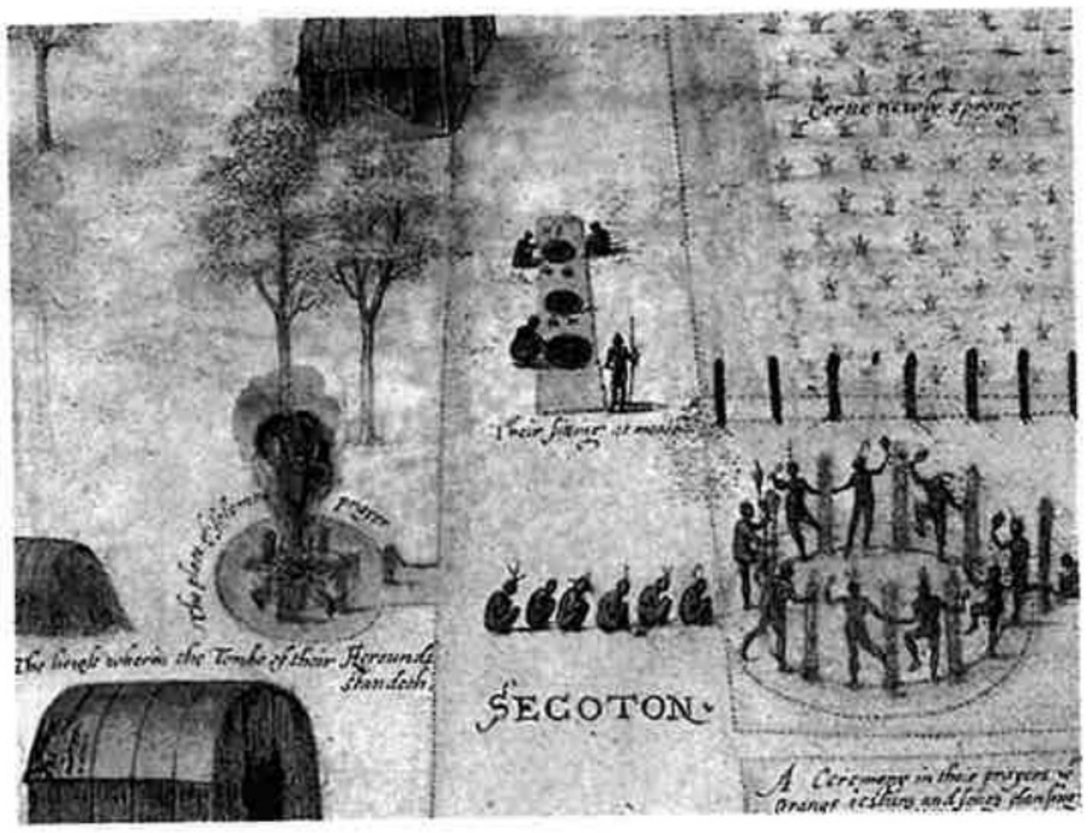




The Native population of North America at the time of first contact with Europeans consisted of numerous peoples and nations with their own languages, religious beliefs, and economic and social structures. This map gives a sense of the large number of nations. By necessity, it leaves many out and includes some names that people did not call themselves in 1500.

Like medieval and early modern people around the globe, many Native North American societies practiced small-scale slavery, mostly the enslavement of war captives. Captives had none of the rights or privileges of members of a society. Ripped from their own societies and families, they could be forced to labor or traded away. But slavery was not inheritable, and captives could become full members of the society that adopted them.





(*Left*) A Catawba map illustrates the differences between Native American and European conceptions of land. The map depicts not possession of a specific territory, but trade and diplomatic connections among various Native groups and with Charleston and Virginia. The map, inscribed on deerskin, was originally presented by Catawba chiefs to Governor Francis Nicholson of South Carolina in 1721. This copy, the only version that survives, was made by the governor for the authorities in London. It added English labels that conveyed what the Catawbas had related orally with the gift. (*Right*) *The Village of Secoton*, a drawing by John White. A central street links houses surrounded by fields of corn. In the lower part, dancers take part in a religious ceremony.

AN OLD WORLD: WEST AFRICA

Politics and Power in West Africa

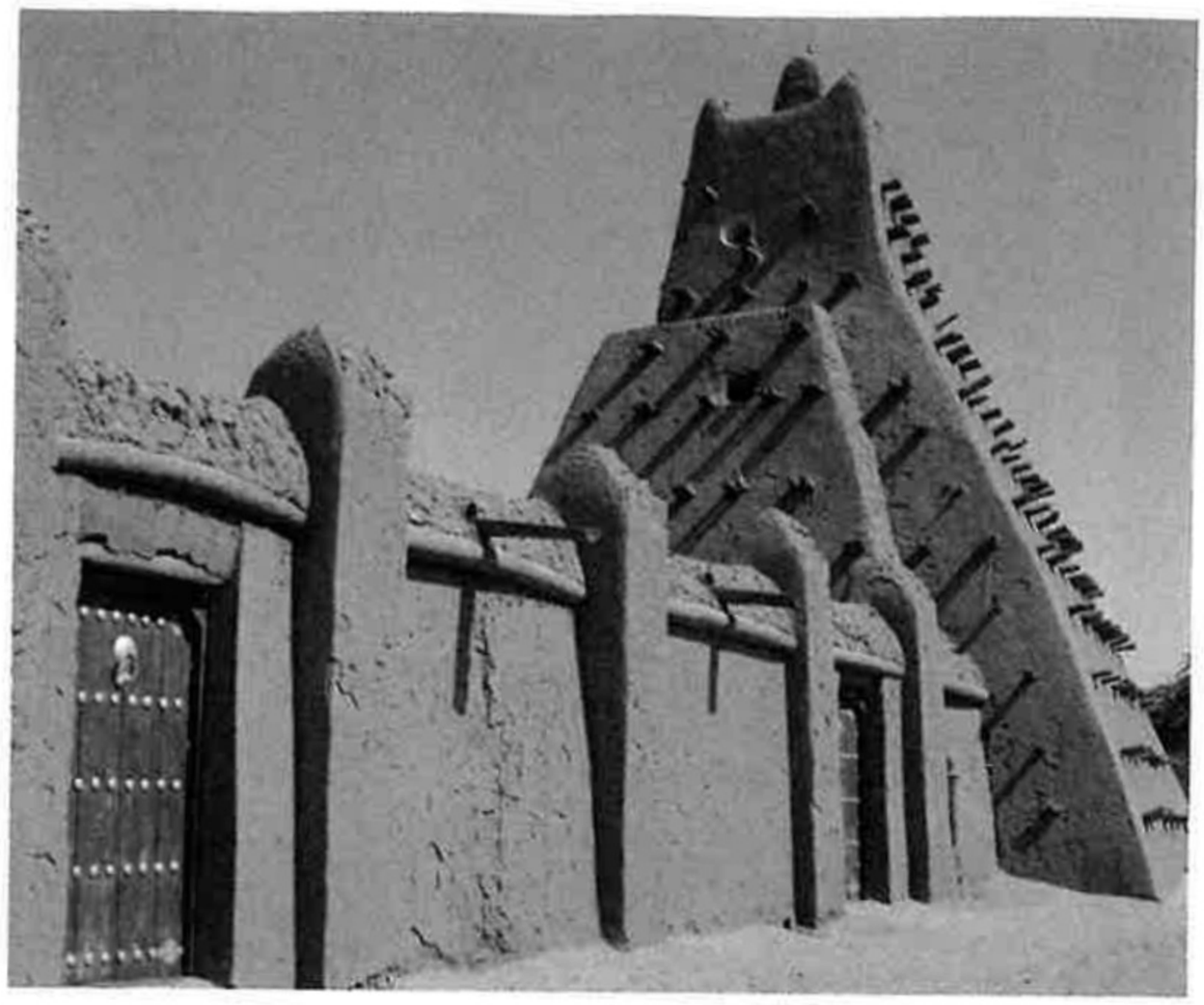
Like Native Americans and Europeans, West Africans did not consider themselves all one people. West Africans spoke dozens of different languages and hundreds of dialects. They lived under a variety of different political systems. In the late medieval and early modern eras, most West Africans lived in towns centered on kinship and run by elders. As in Native America, women in many parts of West Africa were responsible for farming and land management.

Some parts of West Africa were ruled by large empires. Gaining power in the thirteenth century, the Mali empire became the largest in West Africa, with major cities at Jenne, Gao, and Timbuktu. To the south was the smaller kingdom of Benin, in what is now Nigeria. Its capital, Edo, was an imposing city whose craftspeople produced bronze sculptures that still inspire admiration for their artistic beauty and superb casting techniques.

Economics and Trade in West Africa

The wealth of West African empires was built on trans-Saharan trade. Starting around the year 1000, Muslim traders from North Africa and the Middle East crossed the Sahara to trade with West Africa. Camel caravans carried spices, silks, and cotton south to exchange for West African products, including textiles, gold, copper, grains, nuts, and art. From North Africa, West African products reached markets in the Middle East, Asia, and Western Europe, inspiring interest among the Portuguese in establishing direct trade by sailing to West Africa.

Although connected to trading networks and regional politics, most West Africans farmed, herded, and fished locally for their living. The rice, millet, peas, okra, melons, and yams that they cultivated would spread around the world in the coming centuries, along with the products of the Americas, Europe, and Asia.



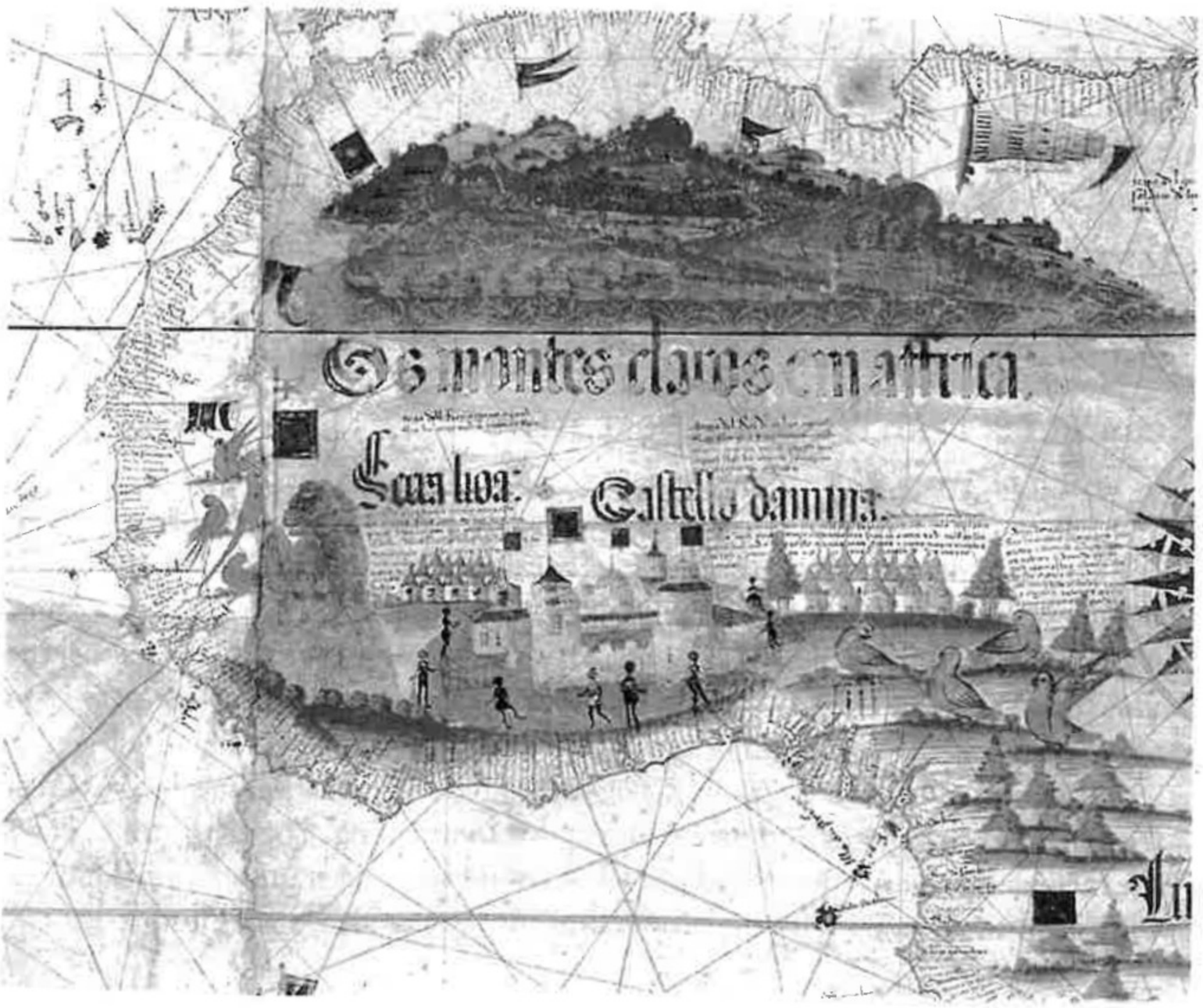
Sankore University in Timbuktu, in present-day Mali, was one of the great Islamic centers of learning in fourteenth-century Africa.

Religion in West Africa

North African traders also brought Islam to West Africa. The native religions of West Africa were well established and, like those in North America, inclusivist. Over time, many West Africans converted to Islam, in many cases blending older beliefs, practices, and rituals of planting and harvesting with Islamic doctrine. Leaders who converted to Islam built grand mosques in cities like Jenne.

Slavery and Freedom in West Africa

In addition to such products as textiles and gold, trans-Saharan trade also included enslaved people, usually war captives, criminals, or debtors. Slaves in West Africa generally worked within the households of their owners or on public works projects. They had well-defined rights, such as owning property and marrying free persons. It was not uncommon for African slaves to acquire their freedom. As in most parts of the world, slavery was one of several forms of labor, not the basis of the economy, as it would become in large parts of the Americas under colonization.



A detail from the *Cantino World Map* depicting the western coast of Africa at the beginning of the Atlantic slave trade. Created by an anonymous Portuguese mapmaker in 1502, the map included Europe, Africa, and a small part of the Western Hemisphere, described as "the islands lately discovered in the parts of India." It was smuggled out of Portugal by Alberto Cantino, a diplomat representing an Italian city-state.

Many of West Africa's rulers were converts to Islam, which forbade enslaving fellow Muslims. It allowed the enslavement of non-Muslims taken in war as long as the owner provided religious instruction to the slave. Thus, slavery was war-based and religion-based, but not race-based and not necessarily inherited.

AN OLD WORLD: WESTERN EUROPE

Politics and Power in Western Europe

Europe had been devastated by the ending of the Medieval Warm Period, famine, and the Black Death. It lost as much as half its population over the course of the fourteenth century. Whereas North Americans generally decentralized their societies and rejected authoritarian leaders in response to the crises of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, European monarchies grew in power and size.

Wars and strategic marriages created expansive states, including Portugal, Spain, France, England, and the Holy Roman Empire. They were ruled by dynasties that passed the crown through patrilineal lines of succession. Early modern European societies were extremely hierarchical, with gradations of social status ranging from the king and aristocracy down to the urban and rural poor. Inequality was built into virtually every social relationship. The king claimed to rule by the authority of God. Persons of high rank demanded deference from those below them.

Within families, men exercised authority over their wives and children. In England, the legal doctrine known as "coverture" required that when a woman married, she surrendered her legal identity, which became "covered" by that of her husband. She could not own property or sign contracts in her own name, control her wages if she worked, write a separate will, or, except in the rarest of circumstances, go to court seeking a divorce. The husband conducted business and testified in court for the entire family. He had the exclusive right to his wife's "company," including domestic labor and sexual relations.

Everywhere in Europe, family life assumed male dominance and female submission. Indeed, political writers of the sixteenth century explicitly compared the king's authority over his subjects with the husband's authority over his family. Both were ordained by God. In Europe, women's freedoms were dramatically more restricted than in North America or West Africa.

Economics and Trade in Western Europe

As in North America and West Africa, most Western Europeans were farmers. The Medieval Warm Period had allowed them to expand agriculture into previously marginal areas, but the Little Ice Age again contracted farming. When European populations rose after the ravages of the Black Death, the fertile lands of the Americas seemed ideal for feeding the excess people.

Western Europe had only recently connected to the centuries-old trade route that stretched from the Mediterranean, Africa, and the Middle East to South Asia and China. The European conquest of the Americas would begin as an offshoot of the quest for a sea route to the East Indies, the source of the gold, silk, tea, sugar, spices, and other luxury goods that Europeans had come to value.

The title page of *The Great Voyage to the Country of the Hurons*, published in Paris in 1632 by Gabriel Sagard, one of the first missionaries to New France, includes images of Native Americans and Catholic friars. Father Sagard also produced a dictionary of the Huron (Wendat) language.



Religion in Western Europe

States in Western Europe had converted to Christianity by the early Middle Ages and were officially Catholic until the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation created Protestantism. As in North America and West Africa, religion was intertwined with daily life. Cathedrals were the centers of towns, and calendars were set by the cycle of church festivals and fast days. Yet, as with Islam in West Africa, older religious traditions survived and blended with Christianity, despite its official theology of exclusivism. Many Europeans continued to believe in witches, demons, and magic.

Commercial and religious motives—namely, the desire to eliminate Islamic intermediaries and win control of lucrative trade for Christian Western Europe—combined to inspire the quest for a direct route to West Africa and Asia. The marriage of King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile in 1469 united their warring kingdoms. In 1492, they completed the ***reconquista***—that is, the "reconquest" of Spain from the Moors, African Muslims who had occupied part of the Iberian Peninsula for centuries. To ensure Spain's religious unification, Ferdinand and Isabella ordered all Muslims and Jews to convert to Catholicism or leave the country.

reconquista The "reconquest" of Spain from the Moors completed by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella in 1492.

Slavery and Freedom in Western Europe

On the eve of colonization, Europeans held numerous ideas of freedom. Some were as old as the city-states of ancient Greece, while others arose during the political struggles of the early modern era. Some laid the foundations for modern conceptions of freedom, whereas others are quite unfamiliar today. Freedom was not a single idea but a collection of distinct rights and privileges, many enjoyed by only a small portion of the population.

One conception common throughout Europe was that freedom was less a political or social status than a moral or spiritual condition. Freedom meant abandoning the life of sin to embrace the teachings of Christ. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is," declares the New Testament, "there is liberty." In this definition, servitude and freedom were mutually reinforcing, not contradictory, since those who accepted the teachings of Christ simultaneously became "free from sin" and "servants to God."

"Christian liberty" had no connection to later ideas of religious toleration, a notion that scarcely existed on the eve of colonization. Because religious systems of belief permeated every aspect of people's lives, religion was closely tied to a person's economic, political, and social position and ability to enjoy basic rights.

Every nation in Europe had an established church that decreed what forms of religious worship and belief were acceptable. Dissenters faced persecution by the state. Religious uniformity was thought to be essential to public order; the modern idea that a person's religious beliefs and practices are a matter of private choice was almost unknown. The religious wars that racked Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries centered on which religion would predominate in a kingdom or region, not the right of individuals to choose a church.

The equating of liberty with devotion to a higher authority suggested that freedom meant obedience to law. In hierarchical European societies, liberty

came from knowing one's social place and fulfilling the duties appropriate to one's rank. Most men lacked the freedom that came with economic independence. Even in places where some officials were elected, property qualifications and other restrictions limited the electorate to a minuscule part of the adult male population.

European "liberties" meant formal, specific privileges such as self-government, exemption from taxation, or the right to practice a particular trade, granted to individuals or groups by contract, royal decree, or purchase. One legal dictionary defined a liberty as "a privilege . . . by which men may enjoy some benefit beyond the ordinary subject." Modern civil liberties did not exist. The government regularly suppressed publications it did not like, and criticism of authority could lead to imprisonment. Personal independence was reserved for a small part of the population. Nonetheless, every European country that colonized the Americas claimed to be spreading freedom—for its own population and for Native Americans.

Slavery was central to the societies of ancient Greece and Rome, and it survived for centuries in northern Europe after the collapse of the Roman empire. Germans, Vikings, and Anglo-Saxons all held slaves. In the Mediterranean world, trade in Slavic peoples survived into the fifteenth century. (The English word "slavery" derives from "Slav.") The Spanish and Portuguese took Muslim war captives during their *reconquista* and bought slaves from North African traders. As Europeans began to colonize in the Atlantic, they would look to slavery more and more for labor.

CONTACT

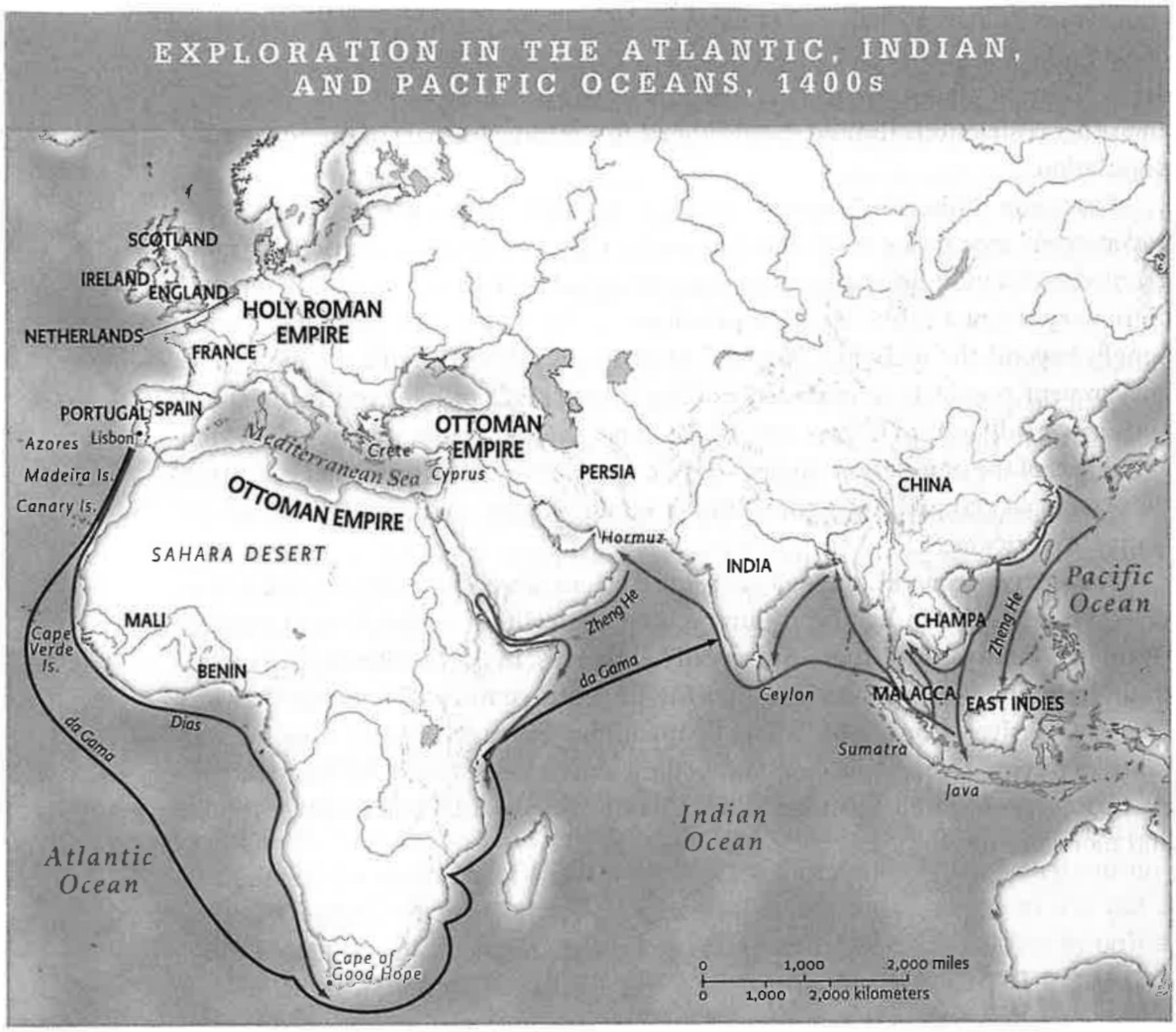
Chinese and Portuguese Navigation

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, one might have predicted that China would establish the world's first global empire. Between 1405 and 1433, Admiral Zheng He led seven large naval expeditions in the Indian Ocean. China was already the world's most important trading economy. Had his ships continued westward, they could easily have reached North and South America. But as a wealthy land-based empire, China did not feel the need for overseas expansion, and after 1433 the government ended support for long-distance maritime expeditions. It fell to Portugal, situated on the western side of the Iberian Peninsula, far removed from the overland route to Asia, to take advantage of new techniques of sailing and navigation to begin exploring the Atlantic.

Portugal and West Africa

The development of the **caravel**, a ship capable of long-distance travel, and of the compass and quadrant, devices that enabled sailors to determine their location and direction with greater accuracy than in the past, made it possible to sail down the coast of Africa and return to Portugal. In 1434, a Portuguese ship brought a sprig of rosemary from West Africa, proof that one could sail beyond the desert and return.

caravel A fifteenth-century European ship capable of long-distance travel.



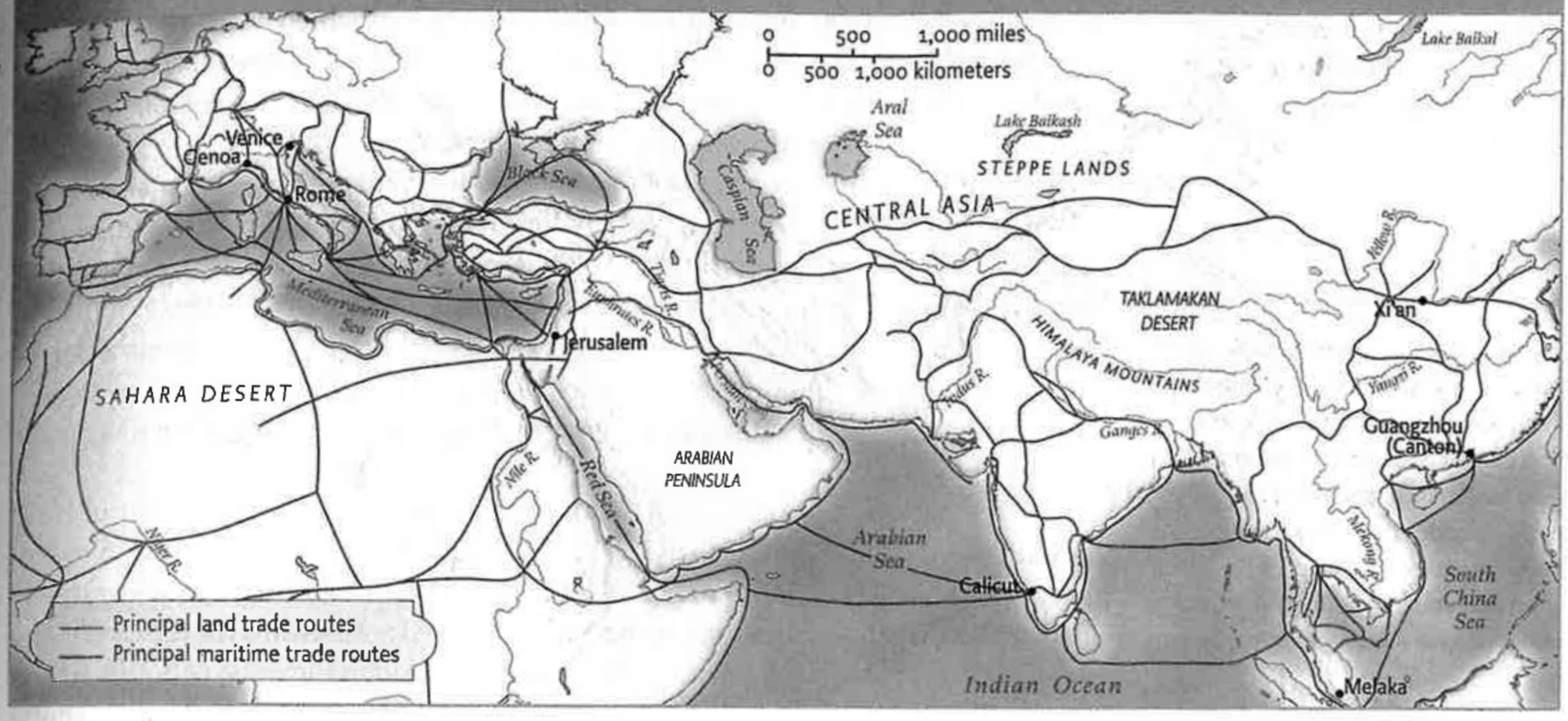
In the fifteenth century, the world known to Europeans was limited to Europe and parts of Africa and Asia. Explorers from Portugal sought to find a sea route to the East in order to circumvent the Mediterranean and especially the Ottoman Empire.

Little by little, Portuguese ships moved farther down the coast, in 1485 reaching Benin. The Portuguese and their African trading partners established fortified trading posts on the coast. Their profits inspired other European powers to follow in their footsteps.

Portugal also began to colonize islands in the Atlantic off the African coast. Sugar plantations worked by Muslim captives and slaves from Eastern Europe had flourished in the Middle Ages on Mediterranean islands. Now, the Portuguese established plantations on the Atlantic islands, eventually replacing the Native populations with thousands of enslaved men and women from Africa, setting an ominous precedent.

The coming of the Portuguese, soon followed by traders from other European nations, accelerated the buying and selling of captives within West Africa. At least

TRADE ROUTES STRETCHING FROM EUROPE AND AFRICA TO ASIA, 1400s



Europeans longed to trade with Asia and Africa without having to pass through the Italian city-states and Middle Eastern empires that controlled the overland route.

100,000 Africans were transported to Spain and Portugal between 1450 and 1500. In 1502, the first Africans were shipped to islands in the Caribbean. The transatlantic slave trade will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Having reached West Africa, Portuguese mariners pushed their explorations southward. Bartholomeu Dias reached the Cape of Good Hope at the continent's southern tip in 1487. In 1498, Vasco da Gama sailed around it to India, demonstrating the feasibility of a sea route to the East. With a population of under 1 million, Portugal established a vast trading empire, with bases in India, southern China, and Indonesia. It replaced the Italian city-states as the major European commercial partner of the East. But six years before da Gama's voyage, Christopher Columbus had, he believed, discovered a new route to China and India by sailing west.

The Voyages of Columbus

On October 12, 1492, the Taíno (Arawak) people on one of the islands that today are called the Bahamas saw a strange sight. They were accustomed to vessels approaching from far away, but these ships were built in an unusual shape and had sails. The men wore armor made of metal and spoke in an unfamiliar language. These strangers did seem at least to know how to trade, and their needles and other pieces of metal seemed interesting and useful.

The expedition's leader, Christopher Columbus, was a seasoned mariner from Genoa, a major port in northern Italy. Columbus had sailed the Mediterranean and North Atlantic, studying ocean currents and wind patterns. Like nearly all

navigators of the time, Columbus knew the earth was round. But he drastically underestimated its size. He believed that by sailing westward he could relatively quickly cross the Atlantic and reach Asia. No one in Europe knew that two giant continents lay 3,000 miles to the west. Vikings had sailed from Greenland to Newfoundland around the year 1000 and established a settlement, Vinland, at a site now known as L'Anse aux Meadows. But this outpost was abandoned after a few years and had been forgotten, except in Norse legends.

Columbus relied on a number of sources for his estimate of the size of the globe, including Marco Polo's account of his visit by land to China in the thirteenth century and, as a devout Catholic, the Bible. Most of Columbus's contemporaries, however, knew that he considerably underestimated the earth's size. Eventually, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain agreed to become his sponsors, hoping to circumvent the Muslim stranglehold on Eastern trade. Columbus set sail with royal letters of introduction to Asian rulers, authorizing him to negotiate trade agreements.

After exploring the islands of the Bahamas, Hispaniola (today the site of Haiti and the Dominican Republic), and Cuba in 1492, Columbus returned the following year with seventeen ships and more than 1,000 men to establish a Spanish outpost. He went to his grave believing that he had discovered a westward route to Asia. The explorations of another Italian, Amerigo Vespucci, along the coast of South America between 1499 and 1502 made plain that a continent entirely unknown to Europeans had been encountered. These lands would come to bear a name based on Vespucci's—America. The name "Indians," applied to Indigenous people by Columbus, has endured.

conquistadores Spanish and Portuguese soldiers who conquered lands held by Indigenous peoples in central and southern America as well as the current states of Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

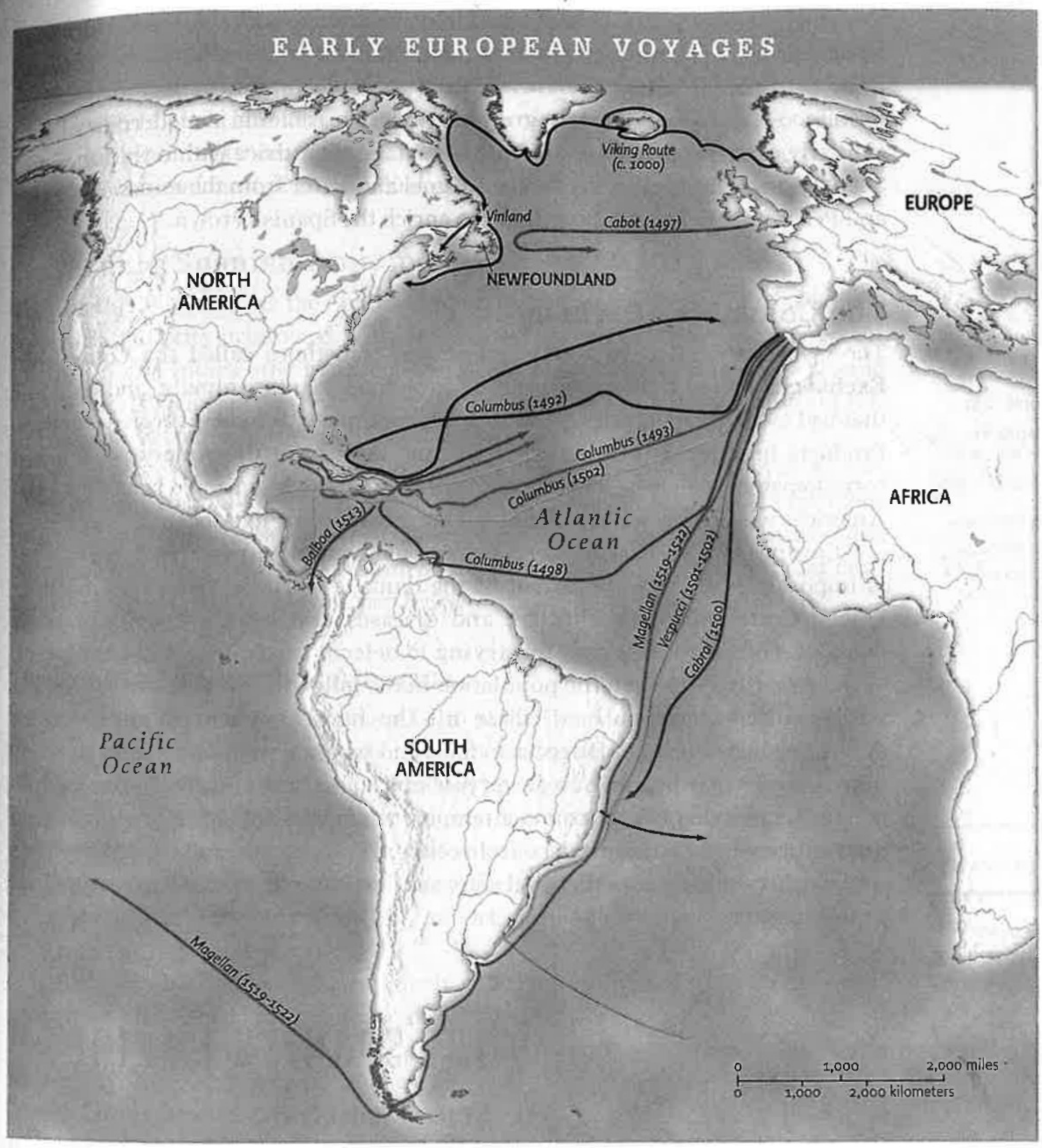


Engraving from the *Florentine Codex* of the forces of Cortés marching on Tenochtitlán and assaulting the city with cannon fire. The difference in military technology between the Spanish and Aztecs is evident. The codex (a volume formed by stitching together manuscript pages) was prepared under the supervision of a Spanish missionary in sixteenth-century Mexico.

Exploration and Conquest

The technique of printing with movable type, invented in the 1450s by the German craftsman Johannes Gutenberg, allowed news of Columbus's achievement to travel quickly. Others were inspired to follow. John Cabot, a Genoese merchant who had settled in England, reached Newfoundland in 1497. Soon, scores of fishing boats from France, Spain, and England were active in the region. Pedro Cabral claimed Brazil for Portugal in 1500.

The Spanish took the lead in exploration and conquest. Inspired by a search for wealth, national glory, and the desire to spread Catholicism, Spanish ***conquistadores***, often accompanied by religious missionaries, radiated outward from Hispaniola. In 1513, Vasco Núñez de Balboa trekked across the isthmus of Panama and became the first European to



Christopher Columbus's first Atlantic crossing, in 1492, was soon followed by voyages of exploration by English, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian explorers.

gaze upon the Pacific Ocean from the Americas. Between 1519 and 1522, Ferdinand Magellan led the first expedition to sail around the world. Magellan was killed in the Philippines, but his fleet completed the journey.

In 1519, Hernán Cortés landed on the coast of mainland Mexico and, at the urging of people he met there, decided to march on the great city of **Tenochtitlán**, the capital of the **Aztec** (Mexica) empire, whose wealth and power rested on the domination of numerous subordinate peoples nearby.

Tenochtitlán The capital city of the Aztec empire.

Aztec The Mesoamerican empire ruled by the Mexica people that was defeated by the Spanish under Hernán Cortés and his Native allies, 1519–1528.

These peoples' thousands of warriors joined forces with the several hundred heavily armed Spaniards, plus horses, giant mastiffs, and smallpox, which spread from the Spaniards into the crowded city of Tenochtitlán. A few years later, Francisco Pizarro conquered the great Inca kingdom centered in modern-day Peru, similarly using brute force and taking advantage of rivalries within the kingdom. Soon, treasure fleets carrying cargoes of gold and silver from the mines of Mexico and Peru were traversing the Atlantic to enrich the Spanish crown.

The Columbian Exchange

Columbian Exchange The transatlantic flow of goods and people that began with Columbus's voyages in 1492.

The transatlantic flow of goods and people, sometimes called the **Columbian Exchange**, altered millions of years of evolution. Plants, animals, and cultures that had evolved independently on separate continents were now thrown together. Products introduced to Europe, Africa, and Asia from the Americas included corn, tomatoes, potatoes, tobacco, and chili peppers, while people brought to the Americas wheat, rice, watermelons, and horses and other livestock.

Europeans also carried germs previously unknown in the Americas. It is impossible to know the extent of the damage of these diseases. Smallpox helped Cortés take Tenochtitlán, and diseases assisted Europeans in their conquests of North America. But trying to determine the pre-1492 population of the Americas—or even the population in the following two centuries—yields wildly different estimates. Disease hit the hardest when colonizers were simultaneously cutting off access to food and water, driving people from their homes, or forcing people into slavery or missions. Importantly, Native people actively responded to illness and attempted to curb its spread. Many instituted quarantines, isolated themselves from colonial settlements, and treated patients with basic nursing—remedies that were as effective as anything Europeans had in the same era.

Sixteenth-century Native Americans in Florida practice several healing techniques, including smoking tobacco.



THE SPANISH EMPIRE

By the middle of the sixteenth century, Spain had established an immense empire that reached from Europe to the Americas and Asia. The Atlantic and Pacific oceans, once barriers separating different parts of the world, now became highways for the exchange of goods and the movement of people.

The Spanish empire included the most populous parts of the Americas and the regions richest in natural resources. Stretching from the Andes Mountains of South America through present-day Mexico and the Caribbean and into Florida and the southwestern United States, Spain's empire

exceeded in size the Roman empire of the ancient world. Its center in North America was Mexico City, a magnificent capital built on the ruins of the Aztec city of Tenochtitlán that boasted churches, hospitals, and the Americas' first university. Unlike the English and French empires, Spanish America was essentially an urban civilization. For centuries, its great cities far outshone any urban centers in other colonies and most of those in Europe.

Governing Spanish America

To rule this vast empire, the Spanish crown established a system of government in which authority originated with the king and flowed downward through the Council of the Indies—the main body in Spain for colonial administration—and then to local officials in America. The Catholic Church also played a significant role in the administration of the Spanish colonies.

Successive kings kept elected assemblies out of Spain's empire. Royal officials were generally appointees from Spain, rather than *criollos*, or **creoles**, as persons born of European ancestry in the colonies were called. Given the vastness of the empire, local municipal councils, universities, merchant organizations, and craft guilds enjoyed considerable independence.

Colonists in Spanish America

"The maxim of the conqueror must be to settle," said one Spanish official. The government barred non-Spaniards from emigrating to its American domains, as well as non-Christian Spaniards, including Jews and Moors. But the opportunity for social advancement drew numerous colonists from Spain—a total of 750,000 in the three centuries of Spain's colonial rule. Some came as laborers, craftsmen, and soldiers. Others came as government officials, priests, and minor aristocrats, all ready to direct the manual work of Indians, since living without having to labor was a sign of noble status.

Although persons of European birth, called *peninsulares*, stood atop the social hierarchy, they never constituted more than a tiny proportion of the population of Spanish America. Native inhabitants always outnumbered European colonists. The Spanish forced tens of thousands of Indians to work in gold and silver mines, which supplied the empire's wealth, and on large-scale farms, or ***haciendas***, controlled by Spanish landlords. Yet large areas remained under Native control. Like the French empire and unlike the English, Spanish authorities granted Indians certain rights within colonial society.

In contrast, Spaniards seldom questioned the enslavement of Africans. From the early 1500s, the Spanish demand for enslaved labor fueled the Atlantic slave trade. The Spanish crown ordered wives of colonists to join them in

creoles Persons born in the Americas of European ancestry.

hacienda Large-scale farm in the Spanish empire worked by Native American laborers.



This rock painting drawn by a Native artist in southwestern Texas depicts the coming of the Spanish, including a church and horses. The handprint is the artist's signature.

mestizos Spanish word for persons of mixed Native American and European ancestry.

America and demanded that single men marry. But with the population of Spanish women in the colonies low at first, many single Spanish men married and had children with Native women. By 1600, ***mestizos*** (persons of mixed origin) made up a large part of the urban population of Spanish America. Over time, Spanish America evolved into a hybrid culture, part Spanish, part Native, and in some areas part African, but with a single official faith, language, and governmental system (although Native languages survived). In 1531, a Nahua Indian, Juan Diego, reported seeing a vision of the Virgin Mary, speaking the Nahuatl language, near a Mexican village. The Virgin of Guadalupe would come to be revered by millions as a symbol of the mixing of Native and Spanish cultures, and later of the modern nation of Mexico.

Ninety-Five Theses The list of moral grievances against the Catholic Church by Martin Luther, a German priest, in 1517.

Christianity and Conquest

What allowed one nation, the seventeenth-century Dutch legal thinker Hugo Grotius wondered, to claim possession of lands that "belonged to someone else"? This question rarely occurred to most of the Europeans who crossed the Atlantic in the wake of Columbus's voyage, or their monarchs. Following the exclusivist mandate of Christianity, they expected the people they encountered in America to abandon their own beliefs and traditions and embrace those of the newcomers.

Europeans brought with them not only a long history of using violence to subdue their internal and external foes but also a missionary zeal to spread the benefits of their own civilization to others while reaping the rewards of empire. To legitimize Spain's claim to rule the Americas, a year after Columbus's first voyage, Pope Alexander VI divided the non-Christian world between Spain and Portugal, declaring that most of the Americas belonged to Spain and most of Africa belonged to Portugal. Of course, the people who lived in those places did not agree. The pope justified this pronouncement by requiring Spain and Portugal to spread Catholicism.

Young Woman with a Harpsichord, a colorful painting from Mexico in the early 1700s, depicts an upper-class woman. Her dress, jewelry, fan, the cross around her neck, and the musical instrument all emphasize that while she lives in the colonies, she embodies the latest in European fashion and culture.



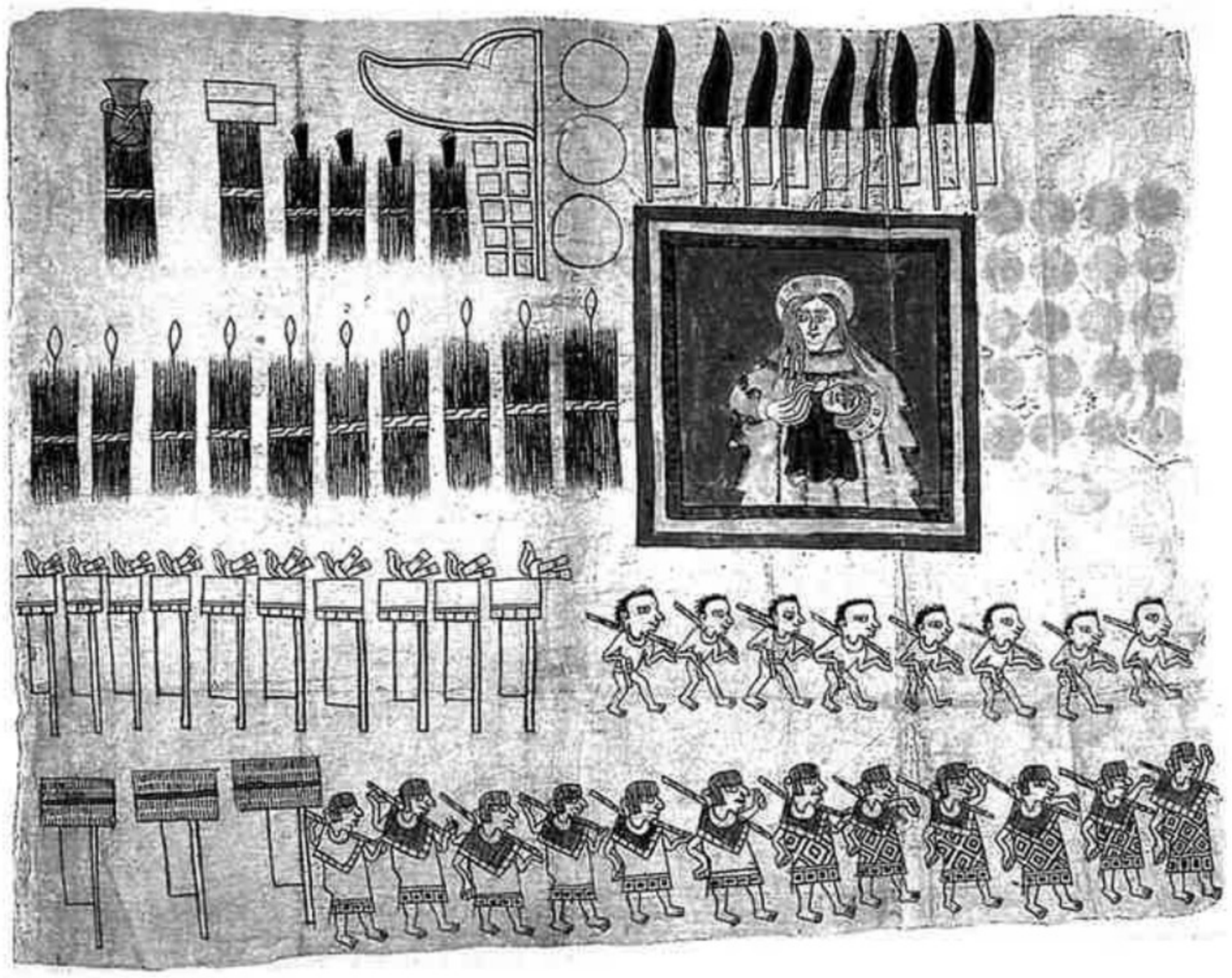
European Christians became religious rivals in the sixteenth century, when the Protestant Reformation divided the Catholic Church. In 1517, Martin Luther, a German priest, posted his ***Ninety-Five Theses***, which accused the church of worldliness and corruption. Luther wanted to cleanse the church of abuses such as the sale of indulgences (official dispensations forgiving sins). He insisted that all believers should read the Bible for themselves, rather than relying on priests to interpret it for them. His call for reform led to the rise of new Protestant churches independent of Rome and plunged Europe into more than a century of religious and political strife.

Spain, the most powerful bastion of orthodox Catholicism, redoubled its efforts to convert Indians to the "true faith." National glory and religious mission went hand in hand. Convinced of the superiority of Catholicism to all other religions, Spain insisted that the primary goal of colonization was to save Indians from heathenism and prevent them from falling under the sway of Protestantism. Lacking the later concept of "race" as an unchanging, inborn set of qualities and abilities, many Spanish writers insisted that Indians could in time be "brought up" to the level of European civilization. To them, this transition would require not only the destruction of Native political structures but also a transformation of their economic and spiritual lives.

Native Rights and Freedoms in the Spanish Empire

Spaniards argued over the balance between conversion and profits. The *conquistadores* often used brutal violence to force Native men and women to submit to them, violence that many Christians found inconsistent with the mandate to convert and "civilize" Indians.

As early as 1537, Pope Paul III, who hoped to see Indians become devout subjects of Catholic monarchs, outlawed their enslavement (an edict never extended to apply to Africans). His decree declared Indians to be "truly men," who must not be "treated as dumb beasts." Starting in the 1520s, the Dominican priest **Bartolomé de Las Casas** wrote accounts of brutal Spanish atrocities toward the Native people of the Caribbean islands. Las Casas freed his own Indian slaves and began to preach against the injustices of Spanish rule.



An illustration from the Huexotzinco Codex (1531) depicts Mexicans providing products and services as taxes to the Spanish conquerors. The banner of the Virgin Mary and baby Jesus reflects the early spread of Christianity. The people of Huexotzinco, a town near Mexico City, had aided Hernán Cortés in his conquest of the Aztec empire. The codex was part of a successful lawsuit, endorsed by Cortés, in which the Indians challenged excessive taxation by colonial officials.

Las Casas narrated in shocking detail the burning alive of men, women, and children and the imposition of forced labor. The Indians, he wrote, had been "totally deprived of their freedom and were put in the harshest, fiercest, most terrible servitude and captivity." Las Casas insisted that Spain had no grounds on which to deprive them of their lands and liberty. "The entire human race is



Bartolomé de Las Casas A Catholic missionary who renounced the Spanish practice of coercively converting Indians and advocated their better treatment.

A benign view of Spanish colonization. This engraving from a 1621 book depicts Spanish missionaries bringing Christianity to Natives while priests do construction work. A fortified colonial town is visible in the background.

***repartimiento* system** Spanish labor system under which Indians were legally free and able to earn wages but were also required to perform a fixed amount of labor yearly.

Black Legend Idea that the Spanish empire was more oppressive toward Indians than other European empires.

one," he proclaimed, and he called for Indians to enjoy "all guarantees of liberty and justice" from the moment they became subjects of Spain. "Nothing is certainly more precious in human affairs, nothing more esteemed," he wrote, "than freedom."

Largely because of Las Casas's efforts, Spain in 1542 issued a proclamation that became known as the New Laws, commanding that Indians no longer be enslaved. And the government established the ***repartimiento* system**, whereby Native towns were required to provide a fixed amount of labor each year to Spanish mines or farms. As tributary towns, they were ruled by Native leaders and lived according to their own laws and customs, as long as they paid their annual tribute.

Las Casas's writings, translated into several European languages, contributed to the spread of the **Black Legend**—the image of Spain as a uniquely brutal and exploitative colonizer. In reality, all empires were highly exploitative. But the Black Legend would provide a potent justification for other European powers to challenge Spain's predominance in the Americas.

Exploring North of Mexico

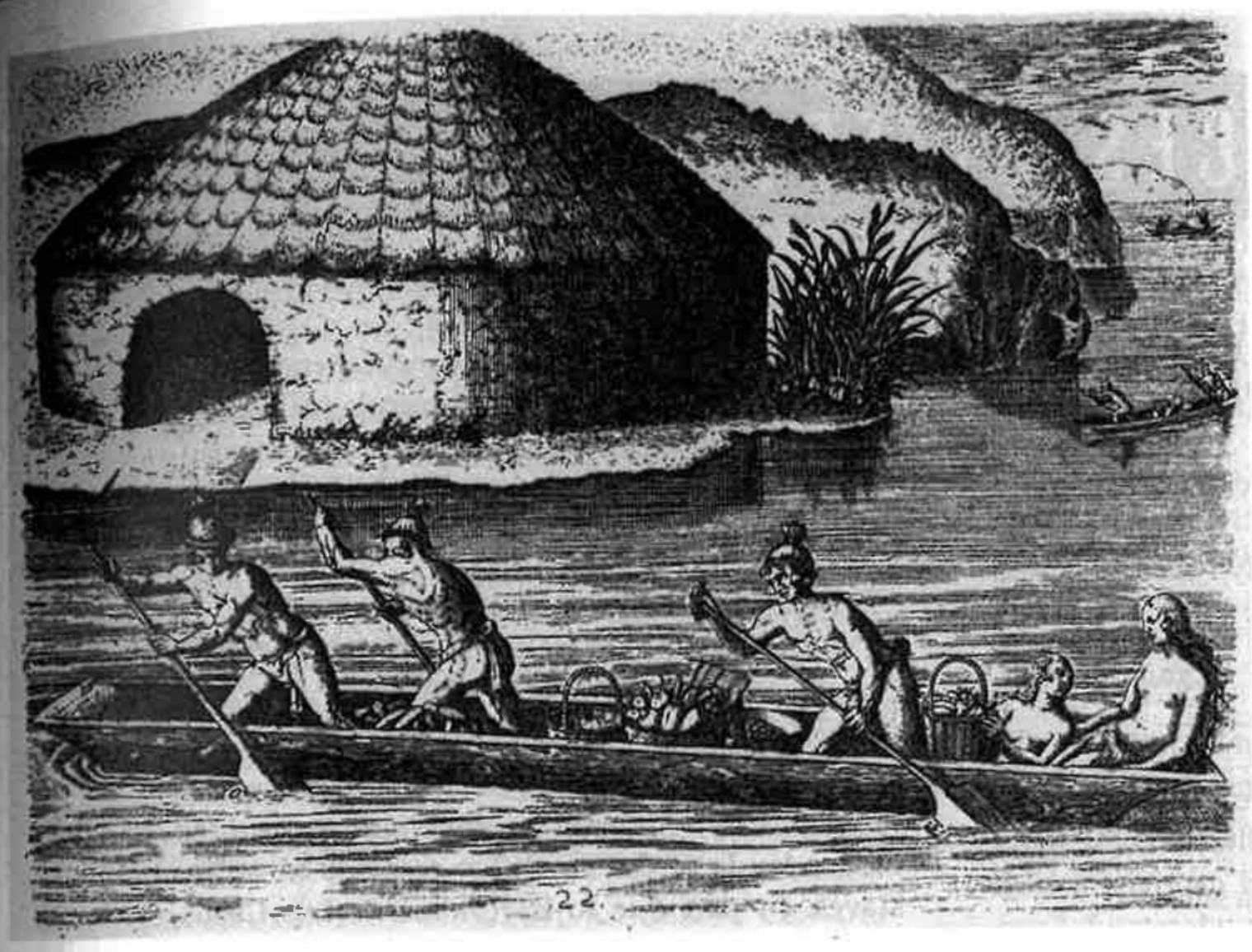
The hope of finding a new kingdom of gold soon led Spanish explorers north. In 1508, Spain established the first permanent colony in what is now the United States. That first colony was on the island of Puerto Rico, now a U.S. "commonwealth." Juan Ponce de León sent a considerable amount of Puerto Rican gold to Spain, while keeping some for himself. In 1513, he embarked for Florida, in search of wealth, slaves, and a fountain of eternal youth, only to be repelled by Calusa Indians. In 1528, another Spanish expedition landed in Florida, but the men became separated from their ships, and only four of them made it back to Mexico. For seven years, the four survivors wandered through the lands of Native peoples, from Florida to the desert of the Southwest and northern Mexico. One, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, wrote an account of his adventures.



Spanish *conquistadores* murdering Indians at Cuzco, in Peru. The Dutch-born engraver Theodor de Bry and his sons illustrated ten volumes about the exploration of the Americas published between 1590 and 1618. A Protestant, de Bry created vivid images that helped to spread the Black Legend of Spain as a uniquely cruel colonizer.

One of the four survivors was an enslaved African named Esteban. After walking all the way to Mexico with Cabeza de Vaca in 1536, Esteban returned north, leading the expedition of Friar Marcos de Niza. Esteban went farther north than Niza, becoming the first African and first non-Indian to explore northern Mexico, Arizona, and New Mexico.

In the late 1530s and 1540s, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo explored the Pacific coast as far north as present-day Oregon, and expeditions led by Hernando de Soto, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, and others marched through the Gulf region and the Southwest, fruitlessly searching for gold. Coronado followed Esteban's path to the interior of the continent and became the first European to encounter the immense herds of bison that roamed the Great Plains. The armies led by Coronado and de Soto spread devastation among Native communities. But they were unsuccessful in their quest for riches, and most of the men—including de Soto—did not make it out alive.



In this engraving, sixteenth-century Timucuas, Native people of northern Florida, are transporting food they have grown to the public storehouse.

Florida and the Spanish

Spain hoped to establish a military base in present-day Florida to combat pirates who threatened the treasure fleet that each year sailed from Havana for Europe loaded with gold and silver from Mexico and Peru. Spain also wanted to forestall French incursions in the area. In 1565, Philip II of Spain authorized Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to lead a colonizing expedition to Florida. Menéndez destroyed a small outpost at Fort Caroline, which a group of Huguenots (French Protestants) had established in 1562 near present-day Jacksonville.

The Spanish did not fulfill their ambitions for Florida. After destroying the French Fort Caroline, they established forts from present-day Miami to the Chesapeake Bay. Yet by 1574, Native people had destroyed almost all of these attempts. Only St. Augustine, Florida, survived. It remains the oldest site in the continental United States continuously inhabited by European settlers and their descendants.

Having found no gold and little to attract Spanish settlers, the crown invited Franciscan missionaries to establish missions, including among the Guales north of St. Augustine in what is now Georgia, the Timucuas in central Florida, and the Apalachees in the Florida panhandle. Many Native communities were interested in the missionaries, who brought useful goods and had compelling spiritual ideas that the inclusivist nature of Indigenous religions allowed them to incorporate. Some Native leaders or communities were able to increase their power in the region by establishing permanent connections to Spanish trade. But people who lived in or near missions also found they were subjected to violence and to European diseases that wreaked havoc on the crowded communities.



VOICES OF FREEDOM

FROM BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, *HISTORY OF THE INDIES* (1528)

Las Casas was the Dominican priest who condemned the treatment of Indians in the Spanish empire. His widely disseminated writings helped to establish the Black Legend of Spanish cruelty.

The Indians [of Hispaniola] were totally deprived of their freedom and were put in the harshest, fiercest, most horrible servitude and captivity which no one who has not seen it can understand. Even beasts enjoy more freedom when they are allowed to graze in the fields. But our Spaniards gave no such opportunity to Indians and truly considered them perpetual slaves, since the Indians had not the free will to dispose of their persons but instead were disposed of according to Spanish greed and cruelty, not as men in captivity but as beasts tied to a rope to prevent free movement. When they were allowed to go home, they often found it deserted and had no other recourse than to go out into the woods to find food and to die. When they fell ill, which was very frequently because they are a delicate people unaccustomed to such work, the Spaniards did not believe them and pitilessly called them lazy dogs and kicked and beat them; and when illness was apparent they sent them home as useless. . . . They would go then, falling into the first stream and dying there in desperation; others would hold on longer but very few ever made it home. I sometimes came upon dead bodies on my way, and upon others who were gasping and moaning in their death agony, repeating "Hungry, hungry." And this was the freedom, the good treatment and the Christianity the Indians received.

About eight years passed under [Spanish rule] and this disorder had time to grow; no one gave it a thought and the multitude of people who originally lived on the island . . . was consumed at such a rate that in these eight years 90 per cent had perished. From here this sweeping plague went to San Juan, Jamaica, Cuba and the continent, spreading destruction over the whole hemisphere.

FROM FRIAR MARCOS DE NIZA'S ACCOUNT OF HIS VOYAGE WITH ESTEBAN (1539)

In the 1520s and 1530s, after the conquest of Mexico City, Spanish conquistadores raided Native lands to the north for captives to sell as slaves. In part due to Bartolomé de Las Casas, the Spanish monarchs outlawed Indian slavery in their empire. In 1539, Friar Marcos de Niza traveled north from Mexico City to spread the news that the slave raids would stop and priests would come instead. His guide was Esteban, an African man who had been enslaved by the Spanish. Esteban had journeyed from Florida through Texas to northern Mexico with the man who owned him under Spanish law, Andrés Dorantes, as well as Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca. Still technically enslaved to Dorantes, Esteban now set off to lead Niza through northern Mexico to Arizona and New Mexico. Niza begins his account by explaining that two different Native groups will accompany him, Esteban, and another priest, Father Onoratto. The first are northern Indians, whom the Spanish had previously captured in the north and held in bondage near Mexico City. The Viceroy of Mexico has freed them to return home. The second group is Opatas of northwestern Mexico who came to offer to accompany Niza and Esteban as they returned the formerly enslaved people to their homes.

I took with me, as my colleague, Father Onoratto, and Dorantes' Negro Esteban and certain Indians

whom the lord Viceroy freed and bought for this purpose and whom the governor of New Galicia, Francisco Vasques de Coronado turned over to me, as well as many Indians [who] came to the valley of Culiacán expressing great joy, because the freed Indians assured them that the governor sent us ahead to let them know about their freedom and that people would not be enslaving them or making war on them or mistreating them, and that this was the wish and the order of his Majesty.

With this company I made my journey . . . and on the way I found much welcome and many offerings of things to eat . . . and they made houses of straw mats and branches for me along the way where no people were living. I stayed in Petatlan for three days because my colleague Father Onoratto had fallen ill. I had to leave him there and, as I had been instructed, continue my journey, led by the Holy Spirit through no merit of my own and accompanied by the above-mentioned Esteban, Dorantes' Negro, and some of the freed Indians and many people of the region, who received me with welcome and rejoicing and triumphal arches and who gave me of their food, which wasn't much, because, they said, they had had no rain for three years and because the Indians of that region were more intent on hiding than on sowing, for fear of the Christians, who up until then had been making war on them and enslaving them. . . .

MINI-DBQ PRACTICE

1. Complete SOAPSTone for each document included here. See pages lxviii–lxxi in the AP® U.S. History Skills Handbook for the steps of the SOAPSTone procedure.

2. Evaluate the extent of change in treatment of Native Americans by the Spanish from 1528 to 1680.

In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
- Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
- Support an argument using both documents.
- Use ONE additional piece of specific historical evidence (outside the documents) relevant to an argument about the prompt.
- For ONE document, explain how or why the document's point of view, purpose, historical situation, and/or audience is relevant to your argument.
- Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify your argument.



By around 1600, New Spain had become a vast empire stretching from the modern-day American Southwest through Mexico and Central America and into the former Inca kingdom in South America. This map shows early Spanish exploration, especially in the present-day United States.

In some places, Indians and the Spanish reached compromises that allowed the missionaries to stay. In others, the Native people threw them out. Beginning in 1597, Guale Indians planned and launched an attack on missions in their province. One Guale explained the attacks by noting that the missionaries had sought to eliminate "our dances, banquets, feasts, celebrations, and wars. . . . They persecute our old people by calling them witches." Guales and their allies ransacked missions and killed missionaries. In general, Florida remained a Native-dominated place. As late as 1763, Spanish Florida had only 4,000 inhabitants of European descent.

The Southwest and the Spanish

Half a century after Coronado's failed expedition, the Spanish returned to the pueblos on the Rio Grande to attempt a permanent colony called New Mexico. In 1598, Juan de Oñate led a group from Mexico of several hundred soldiers, Franciscan missionaries, and colonists.

Rather than establishing their own town and farms, Oñate and his followers demanded that Native people feed and work for them, killing and raping those who did not comply. Fighting back was difficult because the Puebloans were not one people but instead inhabited over eighty independent towns and spoke six different languages. Finally, the people of the pueblo of Acoma had enough, and they killed a Spanish patrol that included Oñate's nephew. In the ensuing battle, Oñate's forces killed an estimated 800 of Acoma's men, women, and children.

In response to protests from the missionaries and Native leaders of the Pueblos, authorities in Mexico City in 1606 deposed and punished Oñate. In 1609, they ordered the New Mexican colonists to establish a separate town and grow their own food. In the future, only married soldiers were to be stationed in New Mexico to reduce the likelihood of sexual violence. Founded around 1610, the colonial town of Santa Fe would be the first permanent European settlement in the Southwest, but it remained a small settlement, surrounded by Native peoples.

The Pueblo Revolt

Some Native people left their pueblos to build new towns farther from the Spanish. Others saw benefits in Spanish alliance, including new tools and crops and the protection of Spanish forces against their Apache and Navajo enemies. Many also found Catholicism appealing and accepted baptism, adding Jesus and the

Catholic saints to their already rich spiritual pantheon. But as the Inquisition—the persecution of non-Catholics—became more intense in Spain, so did the friars' efforts to stamp out traditional religious ceremonies. By burning Native sacred objects and threatening Native religious leaders, the missionaries alienated far more Indians than they converted. A prolonged drought that began around 1660 and Navajo and Apache attacks added to local discontent.

The Pueblo peoples came together under the inspiring leadership of a man named Popé. A religious leader born around 1630 in San Juan Pueblo, Popé was one of forty-seven Indians arrested in 1675 for practicing their traditional religion. Four of the prisoners were hanged, and the rest, including Popé, were brought to Santa Fe to be publicly whipped. After this brutal humiliation, Popé returned home and began holding secret meetings in Pueblo communities.

Under Popé's leadership, the Puebloans joined in a coordinated uprising. Some 2,000 warriors destroyed farms and missions, killing 400 colonists, including 21 Franciscan missionaries. The Spanish had no choice but to abandon the colony. Within a few weeks, a century of colonization in the area had been destroyed. The Pueblo Indians had reestablished the freedom lost through Spanish conquest.

The **Pueblo Revolt** was a complete victory over the Spanish. The victors turned with a vengeance on symbols of European culture, uprooting fruit trees, destroying cattle, burning churches and images of Christ and the Virgin Mary, and wading into rivers to wash away their Catholic baptisms. They rebuilt their places of worship, called *kivas*, and resumed sacred dances the friars had banned. "The God of the Spaniards," they shouted, "is dead."

The Pueblo Revolt inspired revolts across northern Mexico. Native towns that had experienced similar troubles with the Spanish struck back in attempts to regain their independence. Apache bands took advantage of the fighting to expand their raids across the region. While the Spanish never gave up their ambitions to colonize northern Mexico, their hold on it was always tenuous.

Yet at the same time, cooperation among the Rio Grande Pueblos evaporated. By the end of the 1680s, warfare had broken out among several Pueblos, even as Apache and Navajo raids continued. Popé died around 1690. In 1692, the Spanish launched an invasion that eventually reestablished the colony of New Mexico. Some communities welcomed them back as a source of military protection. And Spain had learned a lesson. In the eighteenth century, colonial authorities adopted a more tolerant attitude toward traditional religious practices and made fewer demands on Indian labor.



St. Anthony and the Infant Jesus, painted on a tanned bison hide by a Franciscan priest in New Mexico in the early eighteenth century. This was not long after the Spanish reconquered the area, from which they had been driven by the Pueblo Revolt.

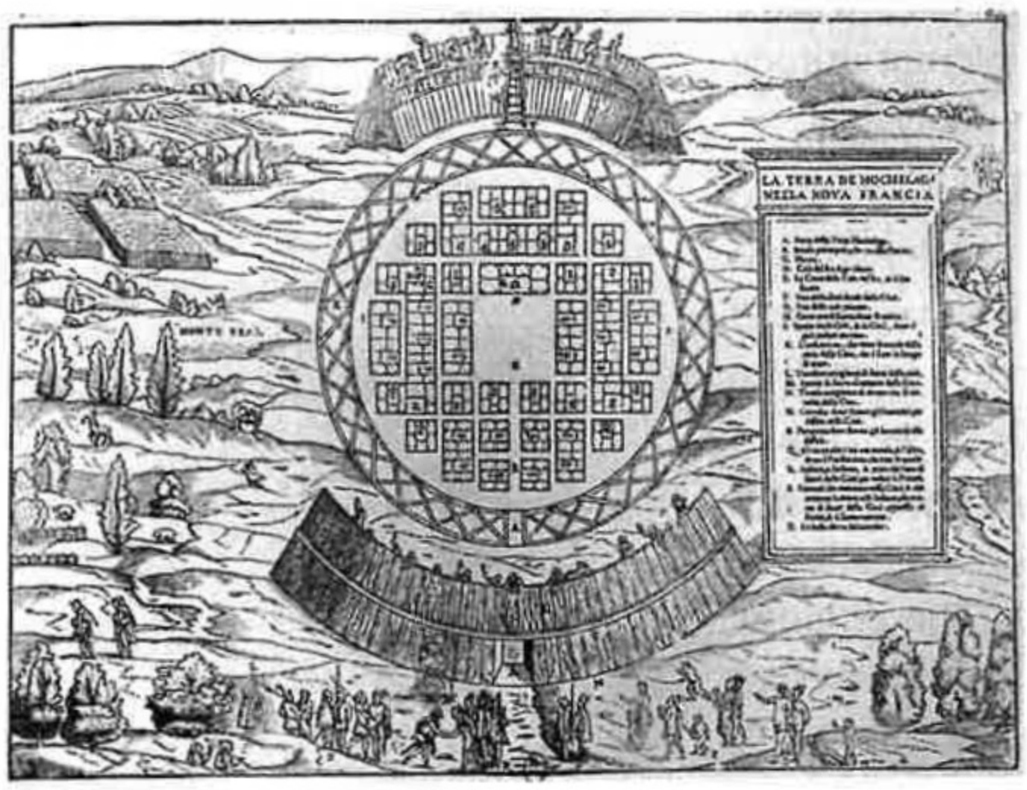
Pueblo Revolt Uprising in 1680 by allied Pueblo led by Popé that temporarily drove Spanish colonists out of New Mexico.

THE FRENCH AND DUTCH EMPIRES

If the Black Legend inspired a sense of superiority among Spain's European rivals, the precious metals that poured from the Americas into the Spanish treasury aroused the desire to try to match Spain's success. The establishment of Spain's American empire transformed the world economy. The Atlantic replaced the overland route to Asia as the major axis of global trade. During the seventeenth century, the French, Dutch, and English established colonies in



Acoma, the "sky city," as it appeared in 1904.



An engraving of the Wendat town Hochelaga, site of modern-day Montreal, from a book about exploration by Giovanni Battista Ramusio, an Italian geographer, published in 1556.

North America. England's mainland colonies, to be discussed in the next chapter, consisted of agricultural settlements with growing populations whose hunger for land produced incessant conflict with Native peoples. New France and New Netherland were primarily commercial ventures that, like Spanish Florida and New Mexico, never attracted large numbers of colonists. Because French and Dutch settlements were more dependent than the English on Indians as trading partners and military allies, Native Americans exercised more power and enjoyed more freedom in their relations with these settlements.

French Colonization

The French initially aimed to find gold and to locate a Northwest Passage—a sea route connecting the Atlantic to the Pacific. But early French explorers were soon disappointed. For most of the sixteenth century, only explorers, fishermen, pirates preying on Spanish shipping farther south, and, as time went on, fur traders visited the eastern coast of North America. French efforts to establish settlements in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia failed, beset by Native resistance and inadequate planning and financing. Not until the seventeenth century would France, as well as England and the Netherlands, establish permanent settlements in North America.

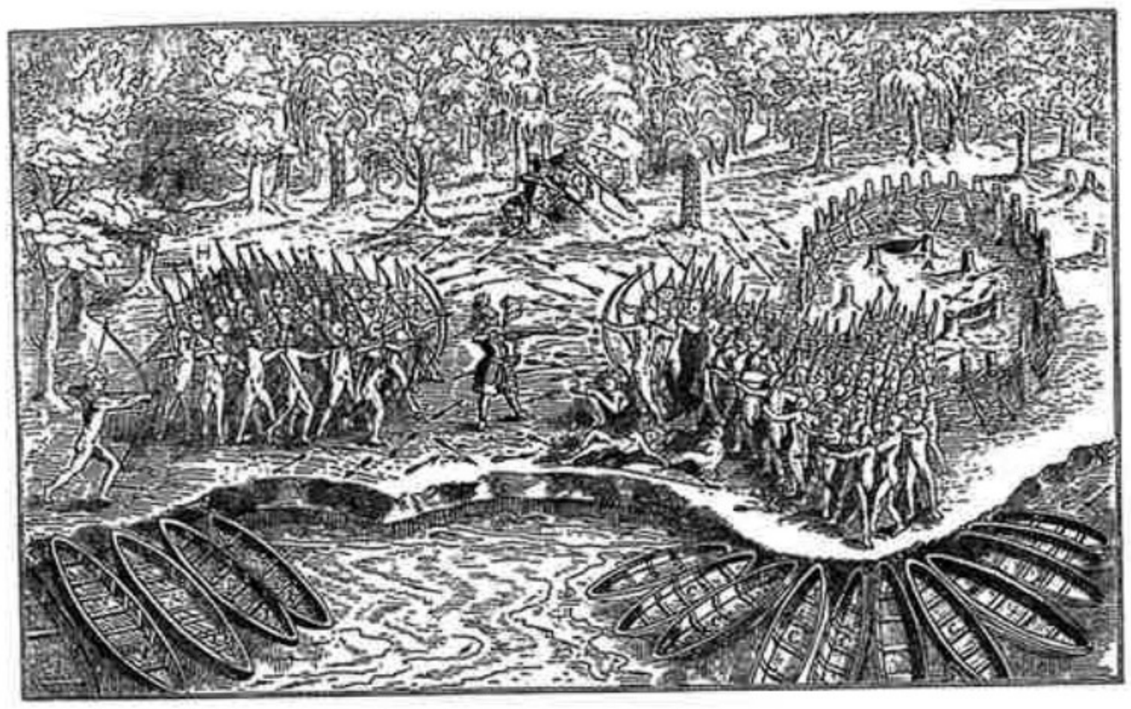
The explorer Samuel de Champlain, sponsored by a French fur-trading company, founded Quebec in 1608. In 1673, the Jesuit priest Jacques Marquette and the fur trader Louis Joliet located the Mississippi River, and by 1681 René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, had descended to the Gulf of Mexico, claiming the entire Mississippi River valley for France. On European maps, New France eventually formed a giant arc along the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers. But the colonial population would remain small and dependent on Native alliances.

By 1700, the number of white inhabitants of New France had risen to only 19,000. With a far larger population than England, France sent many fewer emigrants to the Western Hemisphere. The government at home feared that significant emigration would undermine France's role as a European great power and might compromise its effort to establish trade and good relations with Native Americans. Unfavorable reports about America circulated widely in France. Canada was widely depicted as an icebox, a land of "savage" Indians, a dumping ground for criminals. Most French who left their homes during these years preferred to settle in the Netherlands, Spain, or the West Indies. The revocation in 1685 of the Edict of Nantes, which had extended religious toleration to French Protestants, led well over 100,000 Huguenots to flee their country. But they were not welcome in New France, which the crown desired to remain an outpost of Catholicism.

What were the chief features of the French and Dutch empires in North America?

The Fur Trade

The viability of New France, with its small white population and emphasis on the fur trade, depended on friendly relations with Native nations. The French and their Native allies worked out a complex series of military, commercial, and diplomatic connections. The Jesuits, a missionary religious order, did seek, with some success, to convert Indians to Catholicism. Unlike Spanish missionaries in early New Mexico, they allowed Christian Indians to retain a high degree of independence and much of their traditional social structure, and they did not seek to suppress all traditional religious practices. Indians who converted to Catholicism were promised full membership in French colonial society. In fact, however, it was far rarer for Natives to adopt French ways than for French settlers to become attracted to the "free" life of the Indians.



In this engraving, which appears in Samuel de Champlain's 1613 account of his voyages, Champlain, wearing European armor and brandishing an arquebus (an advanced weapon of the period), stands at the center of this 1609 pitched battle between his Algonquin, Innu, and Wendat allies and their Mohawk enemies.

Native Americans required French traders to follow their rules. The first French trading partners along the St. Lawrence River were Innus (Montagnais), Algonquins, and Wendats (Hurons), who recruited French trade and demanded good prices for furs. (The Algonquins were a nation within the large linguistic grouping known as Algonquian.) When the French established Quebec, it was on Algonquin land and because Algonquin leaders invited them. As Champlain recognized, "my enterprises and discoveries . . . seem to be possible only through their means." These allies of the French also insisted that the French join their military alliance against their enemy: the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) League, discussed previously.

It is no surprise that Native Americans wanted European trade. They incorporated European goods into their existing ways of life, using copper kettles as well as ceramic pots and wielding guns for some tasks and bows and arrows for others. Some Native women married the single French men who came to New France and incorporated them and their children into Native communities.

The Dutch Empire

In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman employed by the Dutch East India Company, sailed into New York Harbor searching for a Northwest Passage to Asia. Hudson and his crew became the first Europeans to sail up the river that now bears his name. Hudson did not find a route to Asia, but he did encounter Lenapes, Munsees, and Mahicans more than willing to trade furs for European goods. He claimed the area for the Netherlands, and his voyage planted the seeds for what would eventually become a great metropolis, New York City. When the powerful Mohawks of the Haudenosaunee League learned about the Dutch, they and their Mahican allies persuaded them that the most lucrative fur trade would be on the Hudson River near present-day Albany. By 1614, Dutch traders had established an outpost there at Fort Orange. Ten years later, the Dutch West India Company, which had been awarded a monopoly of Dutch trade with America, settled colonists on Manhattan Island.

These ventures formed one small part of the rise of the Dutch overseas empire. In the early seventeenth century, the Netherlands dominated international commerce, and Amsterdam was Europe's foremost shipping and banking center. The Dutch invented the joint stock company, a way of pooling financial resources and sharing the risk of maritime voyages, which proved central to the development of modern capitalism. With a population of only 2 million, the Netherlands established a far-flung empire that reached from Indonesia to South Africa and the Caribbean and temporarily wrested control of Brazil from Portugal.

Dutch Freedom

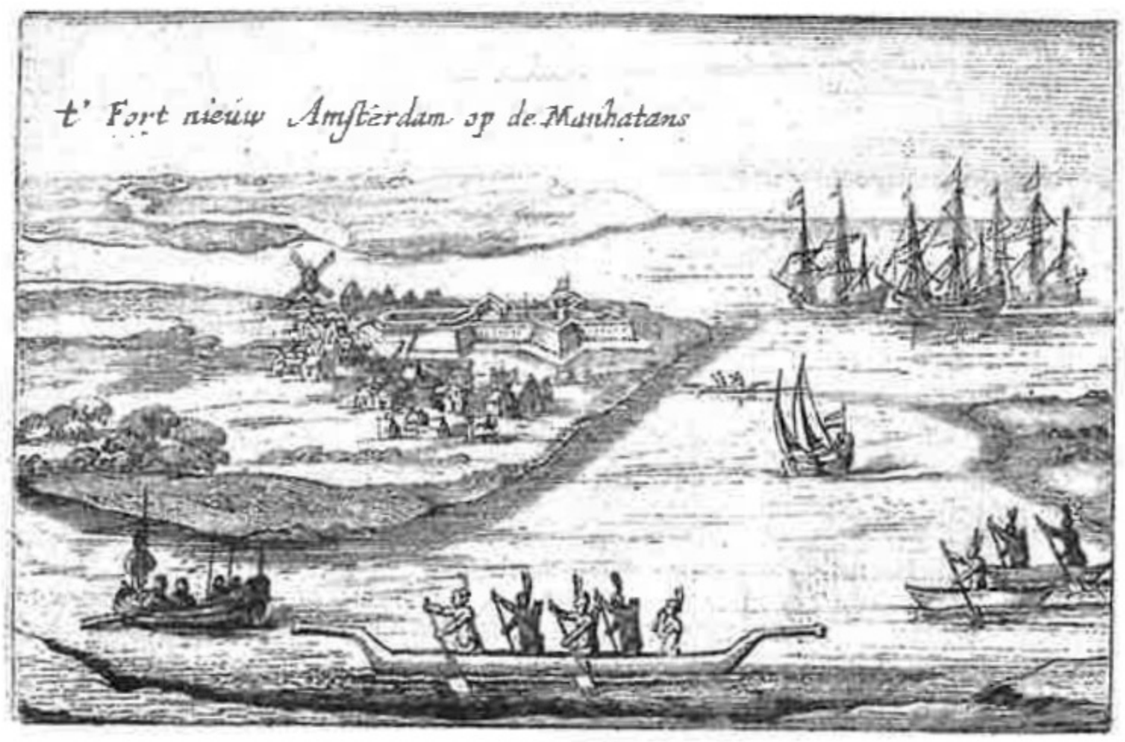
The Dutch prided themselves on their devotion to liberty. Indeed, in the early seventeenth century they enjoyed two freedoms not recognized elsewhere in Europe—freedom of the press and of private religious practice. Amsterdam became a haven for persecuted Protestants from all over Europe, including French Huguenots, German Calvinists, and those, like the Pilgrims, who desired to separate from the Church of England. Jews, especially those fleeing from Spain, also found refuge there. During the seventeenth century, the nation attracted about half a million migrants from elsewhere in Europe. Many of these newcomers helped to populate the Dutch overseas empire.

Freedom in New Netherland

Despite the Dutch reputation for cherishing freedom, New Netherland was hardly governed democratically. New Amsterdam, the main population center, was essentially a fortified military outpost controlled by appointees of the Dutch West India Company. Neither an elected assembly nor a town council, the basic unit of government at home, was established. In other ways, however, the colonists enjoyed more liberty, especially in religious matters, than their counterparts elsewhere in North America.

Dutch women enjoyed far more independence than in other colonies. Unlike in England and its colonies, under Dutch law, married women retained their separate legal identity. They could go to court, borrow money, and own property. Men's wills generally left their possessions to their widows and daughters as well as sons. Margaret Hardenbroeck, the widow of a New Amsterdam merchant, expanded her husband's business and became one of the town's richest residents after his death in 1661.

Enslaved men and women in New Netherland were able to establish some rights for themselves as well. The Dutch dominated the Atlantic slave trade in the early seventeenth century, and they introduced slaves into New Netherland. But in the 1640s a petition by a group of enslaved Africans persuaded the Dutch West India Company to institute a system of "half-freedom"—that is, they were required to pay an annual fee to the company and work for it when called upon, but they were given land to support their families. Enslaved people worked on family farms or for household or craft labor, not on large plantations as in the West Indies.



Coastal Native Americans were adept mariners. This detail from the earliest known engraving of New Amsterdam (1627) depicts Dutch and Lenape Indian boats in the harbor.

What were the chief features of the French and Dutch empires in North America?

The Dutch and Religious Toleration

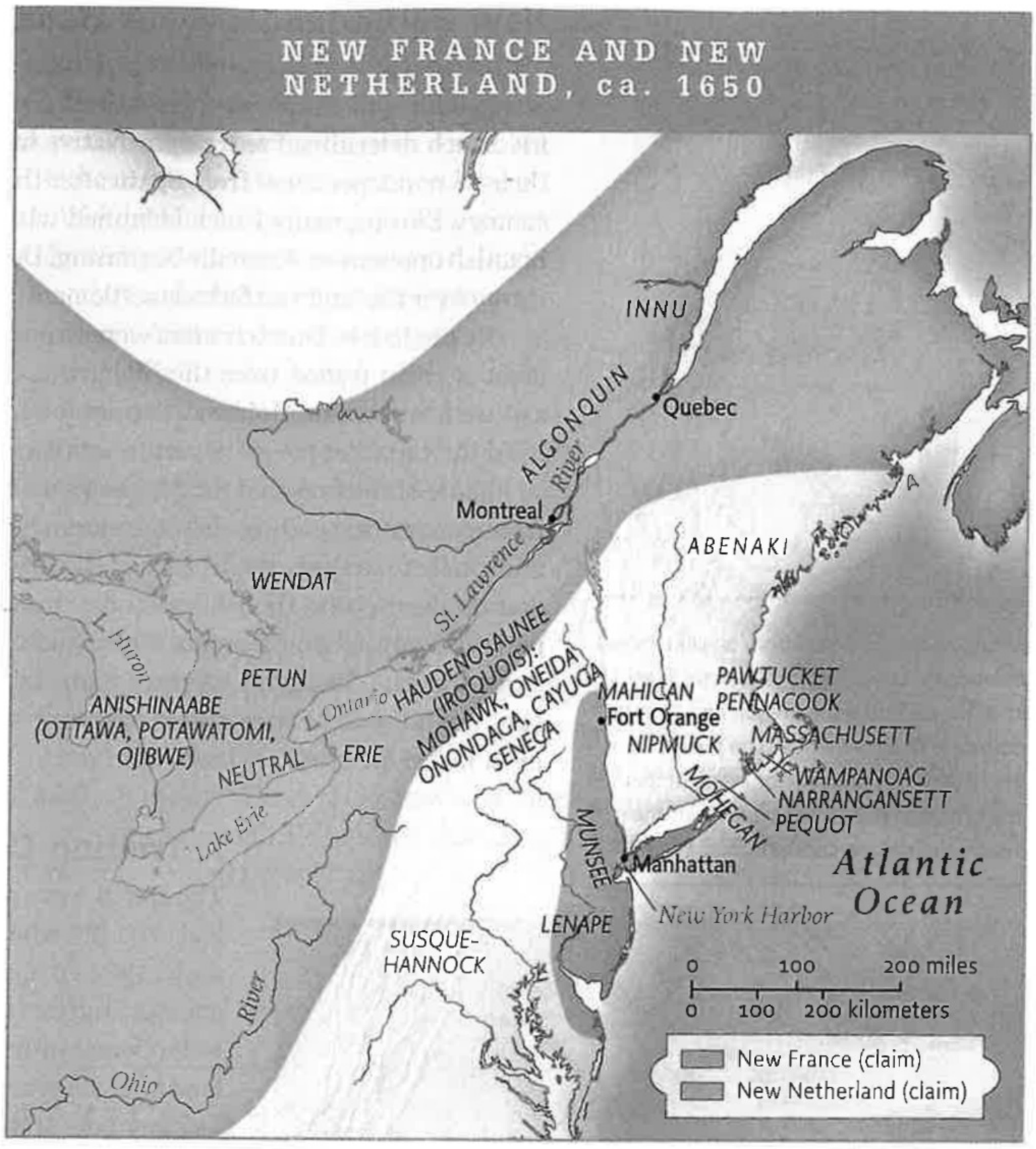
New Netherland attracted a remarkably diverse population. As early as the 1630s, at least eighteen languages were said to be spoken in New Amsterdam, whose residents included not only Dutch settlers but also Africans, Belgians, English, French, Germans, Irish, and Scandinavians.

Though Dutch settlers adhered to a wide variety of religions, it would be wrong to attribute modern ideas of religious freedom to either the Dutch government and company at home or the rulers of New Netherland. Both Holland and New Netherland had an official religion, the Dutch Reformed Church, one of the Protestant national churches to emerge from the Reformation. The Dutch commitment to freedom of conscience extended to religious devotion exercised in private, not public worship in nonestablished churches.

When Jews, Quakers, Lutherans, and others demanded the right to practice their religion openly, Governor Petrus Stuyvesant adamantly refused, seeing such diversity as a threat to a godly, prosperous order. Under Stuyvesant, the colony was more restrictive in its religious policies than the Dutch government at home. When twenty-three Jews arrived in New Amsterdam in 1654 from Brazil and the Caribbean, Stuyvesant ordered them to leave. But the company overruled him, noting that Jews at home had invested "a large amount of capital" in its shares.

As a result of Stuyvesant's policies, challenges arose to the limits on religious toleration. One, known as the Flushing Remonstrance, was a 1657 petition by a group of English settlers protesting the governor's order barring Quakers from living in the town of Flushing, on Long Island. Stuyvesant ordered several signers arrested for defying his authority.

Nonetheless, it is true that the Dutch dealt with religious pluralism in ways quite different from the practices common in other European empires. Religious dissent was tolerated—often grudgingly—as long as it did not involve open and public worship. No one in New Netherland was forced to attend the official church, nor was anyone executed for holding the wrong religious beliefs (as would happen in Puritan New England).



On European maps, New France and New Netherland were large land claims, but in reality they were a few trading posts and small settlements surrounded by Native nations.

New Netherland and the Haudenosaunee

The Dutch came to North America to trade, and they prided themselves on getting along well with Native peoples. Mindful of the Black Legend of Spanish cruelty, the Dutch determined to treat the Native inhabitants more humanely. Having won their own independence from Spain after the longest and bloodiest war of sixteenth-century Europe, many Dutch identified with American Indians as fellow victims of Spanish oppression. From the beginning, Dutch authorities recognized Native sovereignty over the land and forbade settlement in any area unless it had been purchased.

By the 1640s, Dutch traders were exporting tens of thousands of furs each year, most of them traded from the Mohawks, one of the five nations of the Haudenosaunee League. The Mohawks dominated trade at Fort Orange (later Albany). They used their market power in furs to set prices.

Some of the furs that the Mohawks sold were stolen from their enemies, seized from canoes descending the St. Lawrence River to the French posts of Montreal and Quebec. In the early decades of the 1600s, the Haudenosaunee expanded their domain far beyond their homelands, driving off or forcibly incorporating Native nations from the St. Lawrence River to the Carolinas and from the Atlantic to the Great Lakes. Although European maps labeled vast regions as New France, New Netherland, and New England, everyone knew that the Haudenosaunee were the most powerful people in the Northeast.

A map of the Americas from an illuminated manuscript produced in Le Havre, France, in 1613, depicting the French ambition to dominate North America. The precision of the coastline is unusual for maps of this era, although it reflects in large part the imagination of the cartographer.



A Trading Colony

The Dutch were good allies to the Mohawks because they had to be, but where they attempted settlements rather than trade, they created conflict with Native neighbors. In an attempt to attract settlers to North America, the Dutch West India Company promised colonists cheap livestock and free land after six years of labor. Eventually, it even surrendered its monopoly of the fur trade, opening this profitable commerce to all. The Dutch desire to attract colonists put New Amsterdam and its surrounding farms in conflict with Delawares (Lenapes and Munsees). The Dutch took more land than the Delawares had agreed to, and Dutch pigs and cattle damaged Delaware women's crops. Delawares in turn killed and ate the invasive livestock. New Netherland Governor Willem Kieft in 1639 demanded that Delawares start paying yearly tribute in corn. A group of Delawares noted that Kieft "must be a very mean fellow to come to live in this country without being invited by them, and now wish to compel them to give him their corn for nothing." A three-year conflict known as Kieft's War followed that resulted in the death of an estimated 1,000 Delawares and their allies and more than 200 colonists. Many Dutch settlers fled the colony, and the war dissuaded new settlers. By the mid-1660s, the European population of New Netherland numbered only 9,000. The colony remained a tiny backwater in the Dutch empire.

Borderlands and Empire in Early America

A **borderland**, according to one historian, is "a meeting place of peoples where geographical and cultural borders are not clearly defined." Numerous such places came into existence during the era of European conquest and settlement, including the contested region bordered by New Netherland, the Haudenosaunee League, New France, and France's Algonquian and Wendat allies. In a few areas, Europeans consolidated their control, and the power of nearby Native peoples weakened. But at the edges of empire, power was always unstable, and overlapping cultural interactions at the local level defied any single pattern. And beyond those edges, across most of North America, Native nations still held all of the power. The Spanish, French, Dutch, and English empires fought one another for dominance in various parts of the continent. Despite laws restricting commerce between empires, traders challenged boundaries, traversing lands claimed by both Europeans and Indians.

Despite their differences, European empires shared certain features. All brought Christianity, new forms of technology, new legal systems and family relations, and new forms of economic enterprise and wealth creation. They also brought savage warfare and disease. These empires studied and borrowed from one another, each lauding itself as superior to the others. From the outset, dreams of freedom—for Native peoples, for settlers, for the entire world through the spread of Christianity—inspired and justified colonization. And Native peoples acted on their own dreams of freedom to fight colonialism in some times and places and, in others, to forge economic and diplomatic relationships with Europeans that they hoped would advance their own people's sovereignty and prosperity.

borderland A place between or near recognized borders where no group of people has complete political control or cultural dominance.



The seal of New Netherland, adopted by the Dutch West India Company in 1630, suggests the centrality of the fur trade to the colony's prospects.

CHAPTER REVIEW AND AP® PRACTICE

REVIEW THE FOLLOWING:

1. Briefly explain the different global economies that Europeans participated in or created during the European age of exploration.
2. Evaluate the extent to which the following statement is accurate: "One of the most striking features of Indian societies at the time of the encounter with Europeans was their diversity."
3. Compare European and Native American worldviews. In your response, address TWO of the following: religion, land ownership, gender relations, OR notions of freedom.
4. Briefly explain the main factors fueling European exploration.
5. Evaluate the different economic and political systems of European powers in the age of exploration. In your response address TWO of the following nations: Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, OR France.
6. Evaluate the political, economic, and religious motivations behind the French, Dutch, and Spanish empires.

7. Briefly explain how the Black Legend affected the policies of Spain and ONE of the following: the Netherlands or France.

8. Briefly address how European settlers justified both the conquest of Native lands and the enslavement of their people.

9. Briefly address how Native Americans would have explained to Europeans their own views of freedom and desires for their relationships with Europeans.

10. Evaluate the extent to which Native Americans exercised more power in their relations with the Dutch and French than with the English.

KEY TERMS

Great League of Peace (p. 5)
reconquista (p. 12)
caravel (p. 13)
conquistadores (p. 16)
Tenochtitlán (p. 17)
Aztec (p. 17)
Columbian Exchange (p. 18)
creoles (p. 19)
hacienda (p. 19)
mestizos (p. 20)
Ninety-Five Theses (p. 20)
Bartolomé de Las Casas (p. 21)
repartimiento system (p. 22)
Black Legend (p. 22)
Pueblo Revolt (p. 27)
borderland (p. 33)

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following illustration that depicts Pueblo Grande in the fourteenth century.



A depiction of how one of the great cities of the Huhugam, today known as Pueblo Grande, may have looked at its height in the fourteenth century.

1. The illustration best serves as evidence that many Native American groups
   (A) participated in hunting and gathering for survival
   (B) had advanced irrigation and economic development
   (C) relied heavily on fishing for survival
   (D) were at constant war with neighboring tribes

2. Which of the following can be inferred about the peoples who inhabited this city from the illustration?
   (A) They led a mobile lifestyle
   (B) They were not religious or spiritual
   (C) They developed a complex society and a social hierarchy
   (D) They had not yet developed the capacity to cultivate maize

3. By 1600, which of the following most dramatically altered the lifestyle of the Pueblo peoples?
   (A) The Spanish exploration and conquest
   (B) The conflict with migrating tribes from the south (the Aztecs from Mexico)
   (C) The introduction of cattle
   (D) The development of more advanced agricultural techniques

Questions 4–6 refer to the following excerpt.

The Indians [of Hispaniola] were totally deprived of their freedom and were put in the harshest, fiercest, most horrible servitude and captivity which no one who has not seen it can understand. Even beasts enjoy more freedom when they are allowed to graze in the fields. But our Spaniards gave no such opportunity to Indians and truly considered them perpetual slaves. . . . When they fell ill, which was very frequently because they are a delicate people unaccustomed to such work, the Spaniards did not believe them and pitilessly called them lazy dogs and kicked and beat them; and when illness was apparent they sent them home as useless. . . . And this was the freedom, the good treatment and the Christianity the Indians received.

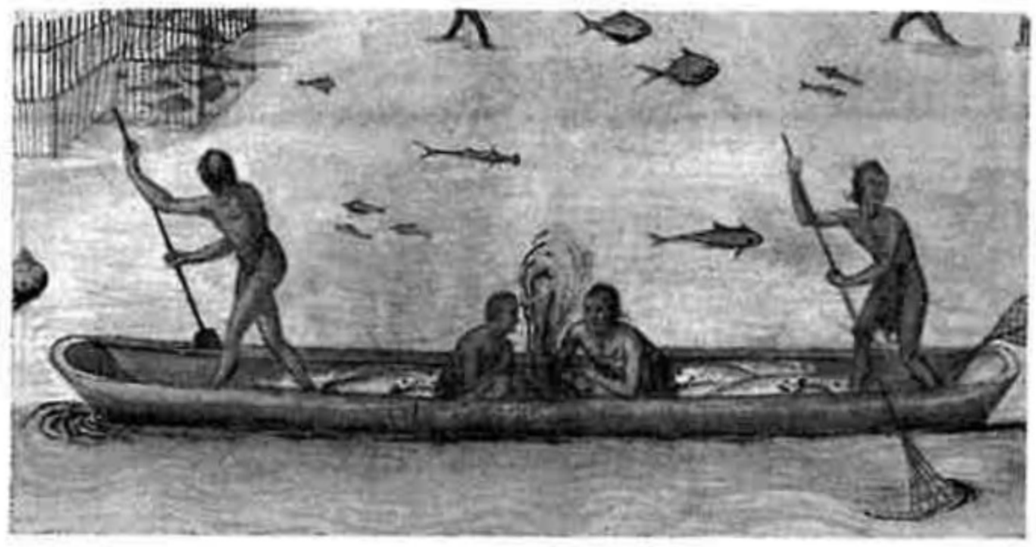
Bartolomé de Las Casas, Dominican priest, *History of the Indies*, 1528

4. Which of the following best describes the primary purpose of the excerpted document?
   (A) Advocating for French intervention against the Spanish
   (B) Promoting the spread of Christianity to the Indians
   (C) Encouraging the Spanish to stop the abuse of the Indians
   (D) Organizing the resistance of the Indians

5. Which of the following labor systems does Las Casas describe in the excerpt?
   (A) Serfdom
   (B) Chattel slavery
   (C) *Hacienda*
   (D) *Encomienda*

6. Which of the following is most useful in examining the point of view of Las Casas?
   (A) His vocation as a priest
   (B) His Spanish nationality
   (C) His gender
   (D) His economic status

Questions 7–8 refer to the following image from 1585.



John White, drawing of natives of Ossomocomuck, 1585

7. Which of the following can be inferred by the activities depicted in the image?
   (A) Most Native American tribes worked with Europeans to survive
   (B) Native American tribes used advanced weaponry
   (C) Some Native Americans developed mixed economies based on agriculture, hunting, fishing, and gathering
   (D) Native American tribes developed complex agricultural societies

8. The activities depicted in the image are an example of which of the following?
   (A) Native societies adapting to their environments
   (B) Native Americans competing for resources with numerous tribes
   (C) Native Americans changing their lifestyle after contact with Europeans
   (D) Native American religious beliefs about nature

Questions 9–10 refer to the following image from 1493.



Columbus's Landfall, 1493 pamphlet

9. Which of the following best serves as the motivation for the activities depicted in the image?
   (A) Escaping religious persecution
   (B) Having an outlet for surplus population
   (C) Securing labor for the burgeoning economy
   (D) Searching for wealth

10. Which of the following was the most significant result from the activities depicted in the image?
   (A) The Columbian Exchange
   (B) Improvements in cartography
   (C) The increased power of certain American Indian tribes
   (D) The decreased power of Western European nations

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS



Andrés de Islas, *Four Racial Groups*, eighteenth century

1. Using the images on the previous page, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   (A) Briefly describe ONE economic cause of the development depicted in the image.
   (B) Briefly describe ONE social cause of the development depicted in the image.
   (C) Briefly describe ONE environmental cause of the development depicted in the image.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   (A) Briefly explain ONE cause of the Columbian Exchange.
   (B) Briefly explain ONE effect of the Columbian Exchange on the Americas.
   (C) Briefly explain ONE effect of the Columbian Exchange on Europe and/or Africa.

LONG ESSAY QUESTION

Evaluate the extent to which European contact changed the lives of Native Americans during 1492–1607.

Go to INQUIZITIVE

To see what you know—and learn what you've missed—with personalized feedback along the way.



HISTORIANS' VOICES

FROM RAMÓN A. GUTIÉRREZ, *WHEN JESUS CAME, THE CORN MOTHERS WENT AWAY: MARRIAGE, SEXUALITY, AND POWER IN NEW MEXICO, 1500–1846* (1991)

Roman Catholicism was the official state religion in Spain and its colonial empire in the 1600s. The particular Church-state relationship [was] known collectively as the *real patronato*. . . . With the conquest of America the *real patronato* was extended to the Indies, adding . . . the king's jurisdiction over military, judicial, legislative, and commercial matters. . . . The crown's power in the colonies was exercised throughout the colonial empire by [the bureaucracy].

FROM JULIANA BARR, *PEACE CAME IN THE FORM OF A WOMAN: INDIANS AND SPANIARDS IN THE TEXAS BORDERLANDS* (2007)

In the 1680s and 1690s, Caddoan [native American Indian people in Texas] greeting ceremonies had welcomed, purified, and honored Europeans. . . . [H]andfuls of Europeans came and went from Caddo lands as two very small populations, one Spanish and the other French, [and] established a long-term presence there. Throughout that time period, there was no question of who held the power to determine the terms by which the two groups would remain in the region—that power resided in the hands of the Caddoan leaders and their people.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION PRACTICE

Using these secondary-source excerpts, answer all parts of the questions below.

A. *Briefly describe ONE major difference between Gutiérrez's and Barr's historical interpretations of Spanish power in their colonial holdings.*

B. *Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1500 to 1700 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Gutiérrez's argument.*

C. *Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1500 to 1700 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Barr's argument.*

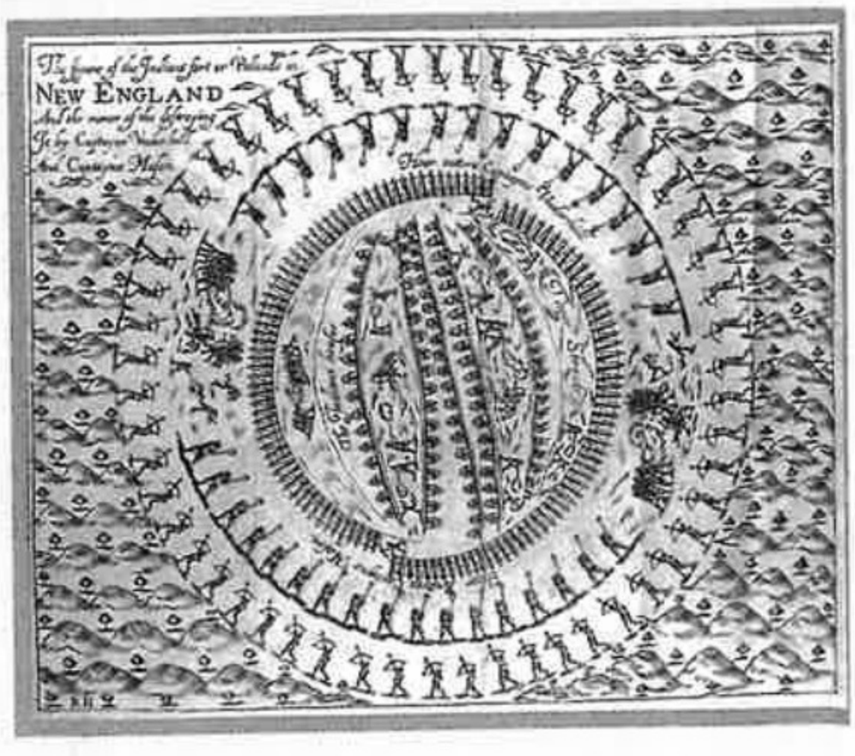
1607–1754

PERIOD 2



Long before Christopher Columbus sailed, Europeans had dreamed of a land of abundance, riches, and ease beyond the western horizon. Once "discovery" took place, they invented an America of the imagination, projecting onto it their hopes for a better life. Here, many believed, would arise unparalleled opportunities for riches or, at least, liberation from poverty. Europeans envisioned America as a religious refuge, a society of equals, a source of power and glory. They searched the New World for golden cities and fountains of eternal youth. Some of these dreams would indeed be fulfilled. For many European settlers, America offered a far greater chance to own land and worship as they pleased than existed in Europe, with its highly unequal social order and official churches. Yet the conditions that enabled millions of persons to take control of their destinies were made possible by the debasement of millions of others. The idyllic New World also became the site of many forms of unfree labor, including indentured servitude, forced labor by Indians, and one of the most brutal and unjust systems ever devised by man, plantation slavery.

There was a vast human diversity among the peoples thrown into contact with one another in the Atlantic world. Exploration, settlement, and the rapid growth of New World colonies took place in an era of almost constant warfare among European nations, each racked by internal religious, political, and regional conflicts. The empires established by Spain, France, the Netherlands, and Great Britain differed in their economic and political structures and in their relations with the hemisphere's indigenous inhabitants. Native Americans and Africans consisted of numerous groups with their own languages and cultures. They were as likely to fight one another as to unite against European newcomers. All these peoples were changed by their integration into the new Atlantic economy and by their relationships with one another. The complex interactions of Europeans, American Indians, and Africans would shape American history during the colonial era.



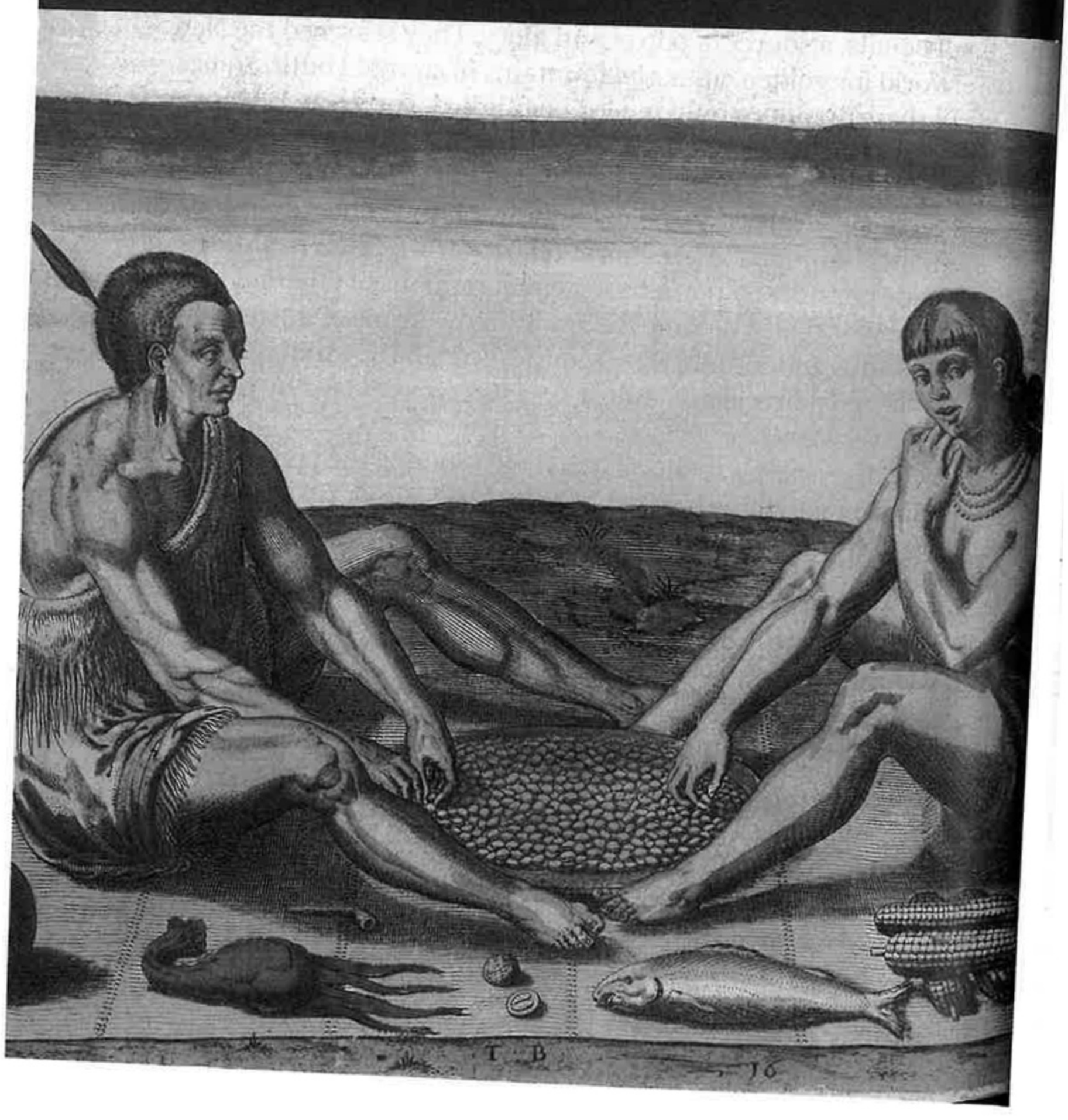
1215	Magna Carta
1584	Hakluyt's *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting*
1584–1590	English attempt to colonize Roanoke Island
1607	Jamestown established
1610–1614	First Anglo-Powhatan War
1619	First Africans arrive in Virginia
	House of Burgesses convenes
1620	Pilgrims found Plymouth
1622–1626	Second Anglo-Powhatan War
1624	Virginia becomes first royal colony
1630s	Great Migration to New England
1630	Massachusetts Bay Colony founded
1632	Maryland founded
1636	Roger Williams banished from Massachusetts to Rhode Island
1636–1637	Pequot War
1637	Anne Hutchinson placed on trial in Massachusetts
1642–1651	English Civil War
1644–1646	Third Anglo-Powhatan War
1649	Maryland adopts an Act Concerning Religion
1662	Puritans' Half-Way Covenant

CHAPTER 2

EUROPEAN COLONIES AND NATIVE NATIONS

★

1600–1660



A man and woman of Ossomocomuck (coastal North Carolina) share a meal.

In 1584, two explorers visited London. Their names were Manteo and Wanchese, and they came from what today are North Carolina's Outer Banks, a place they called Ossomocomuck. After a miserable two-month voyage across the Atlantic, they met with members of Parliament and Queen Elizabeth's court. They saw London Bridge, where the heads of traitors mounted on stakes revealed a much more hierarchical society than their own. London's surging population starkly contrasted the spread-out towns and farms to which Manteo and Wanchese were accustomed. They stayed in Sir Walter Raleigh's mansion, where they had long conversations with the scholar Thomas Harriot. He asked them about profitable resources in North America while they learned about goods England could export to their people, including metal weapons. Manteo and Wanchese taught Harriot some of their Algonquian language and learned English in return. Less than a year after leaving, Manteo and Wanchese returned home on another English ship, bearing gifts from the queen and lots of news for their people.

In the era of exploration after 1492, Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans were curious about new peoples and places. Manteo and Wanchese were two of hundreds of Native Americans from the late fifteenth through nineteenth centuries who traveled to see Europe for themselves and formalize their peoples' alliances with Europeans.

The journey of Manteo and Wanchese and Raleigh's attempt to found an English colony at Roanoke in Ossomocomuck took place at a time of heightened European involvement in North America. Interest in colonization was spurred by national and religious rivalries and the growth of a merchant class eager to invest in overseas expansion and to seize for itself a greater share of world trade. Although the Roanoke colony failed, it would be followed in the early seventeenth century by a permanent English colony at Jamestown and, as noted in Chapter 1, the founding of Quebec by France, New Netherland by the Dutch, and New Mexico by the Spanish. More than a century after the voyages of Columbus, European settlement in North America had finally begun in earnest. It occurred from many directions at once—from east to west from the Atlantic coast, north to south along the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers, and south to north in what is now the American Southwest. Only the English Atlantic coast efforts would draw large numbers of colonists.

English North America in the seventeenth century was a place where entrepreneurs sought to make fortunes, religious minorities hoped to worship without governmental interference and to create societies based on biblical teachings, and aristocrats dreamed of re-creating feudalism. Those who drew up blueprints for settlement expected to reproduce the social structure with which they were familiar, with all its hierarchy and inequality. Women and the lower orders of men would occupy the same less-than-fully-free status as in England, subject to laws regulating their labor and depriving them of a role in politics. But for the average man, emigration offered an escape from a life of deprivation and inequality. "No man," wrote **John Smith**, an early leader of Jamestown, "will go from [England] to have less freedom" in America. In the 1606 charter of the **Virginia Company**, a private business organization whose shareholders included merchants, aristocrats, and members of Parliament, James I promised that colonists would enjoy "all

FOCUS QUESTIONS

What were the main contours of English colonization in the seventeenth century? *–p. 42*

How did Native peoples respond to incoming English settlers? *–p. 46*

What was the significance of the Anglo-Powhatan Wars? *–p. 48*

How was slavery established in the western Atlantic world? *–p. 51*

What made the English settlement of New England distinctive? *–p. 55*

What were the main sources of discord in early New England? *–p. 62*

How did the English Civil War affect the colonies in America? *–p. 68*

liberties" of those residing in "our realm of England." The male settlers of English America came to enjoy greater rights than colonists of other empires, including the power to choose members of elected assemblies, protections of the common law such as the right to trial by jury, and access to land, the key to economic independence. In some colonies, colonists enjoyed considerably more religious freedom than existed in Europe. But women enjoyed few of these freedoms. Women in English colonies had fewer legal rights than those in Spanish, French, or Dutch colonies. And unlike in Native American societies, women in European colonies had no direct political power and unequal economic opportunities.

Many degrees of freedom coexisted in seventeenth-century North America, from enslaved men and women, stripped completely of liberty, to the independent landowner, who enjoyed a full range of rights. During a lifetime, a person could occupy more than one place on this spectrum. The settlers' success, however, often rested on taking Native American land and importing Africans as enslaved laborers. Freedom and lack of freedom expanded together in seventeenth-century America.

John Smith An English soldier and explorer who became one of the leaders of the Jamestown colony and helped to establish relations with the Powhatans.

Virginia Company A joint-stock enterprise that King James I chartered in 1606; the company was to spread Christianity in the Americas as well as find ways to make a profit in it.

Anglican Church The established state church of England, formed by Henry VIII after the pope refused to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon.

ENGLAND AND THE AMERICAS

Unifying the English Nation

Although John Cabot, sailing from England in 1497, had been the first European since the Vikings to encounter the North American continent, English exploration and colonization would wait for many years. During the sixteenth century, England was a second-rate power racked by internal disunity. Henry VII, who assumed the throne in 1485, had to unify the kingdom after a long period of civil war. His son and successor, Henry VIII, launched the Reformation in England. When the pope refused to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, Henry severed the nation from the Catholic Church. In its place he established the Church of England, or **Anglican Church**, with himself at the head. Decades of religious strife followed.

Queen Mary I, who tried to restore Catholicism in England, as painted in 1554 by Antonis Mor, a Dutch artist who made numerous portraits of European royalty. He depicts her as a woman of firm determination. During her brief reign (1553–1558), nearly three hundred Protestants were burned at the stake.



England and Ireland

England's struggle to conquer Ireland, which lasted well into the seventeenth century, absorbed money and energy that might have been directed toward the Americas. In subduing Ireland, whose Catholic population was deemed a threat, the government employed a variety of approaches, including military conquest, the slaughter of civilians, the seizure of land, and the dispatch of large numbers of settlers. Rather than seeking to absorb the Irish into English society, the English excluded the native population from a territory of settlement known as the Pale.

Just as the "reconquest" of Spain from the Moors established patterns that would be repeated in Spanish colonization, the methods used in Ireland anticipated policies England would undertake in America. Some sixteenth-century English writers directly compared the allegedly barbaric "wild Irish" with American Indians. Like the Indians, the Irish supposedly confused liberty and license. They refused to respect English authority and resisted conversion to English Protestantism.

England and North America

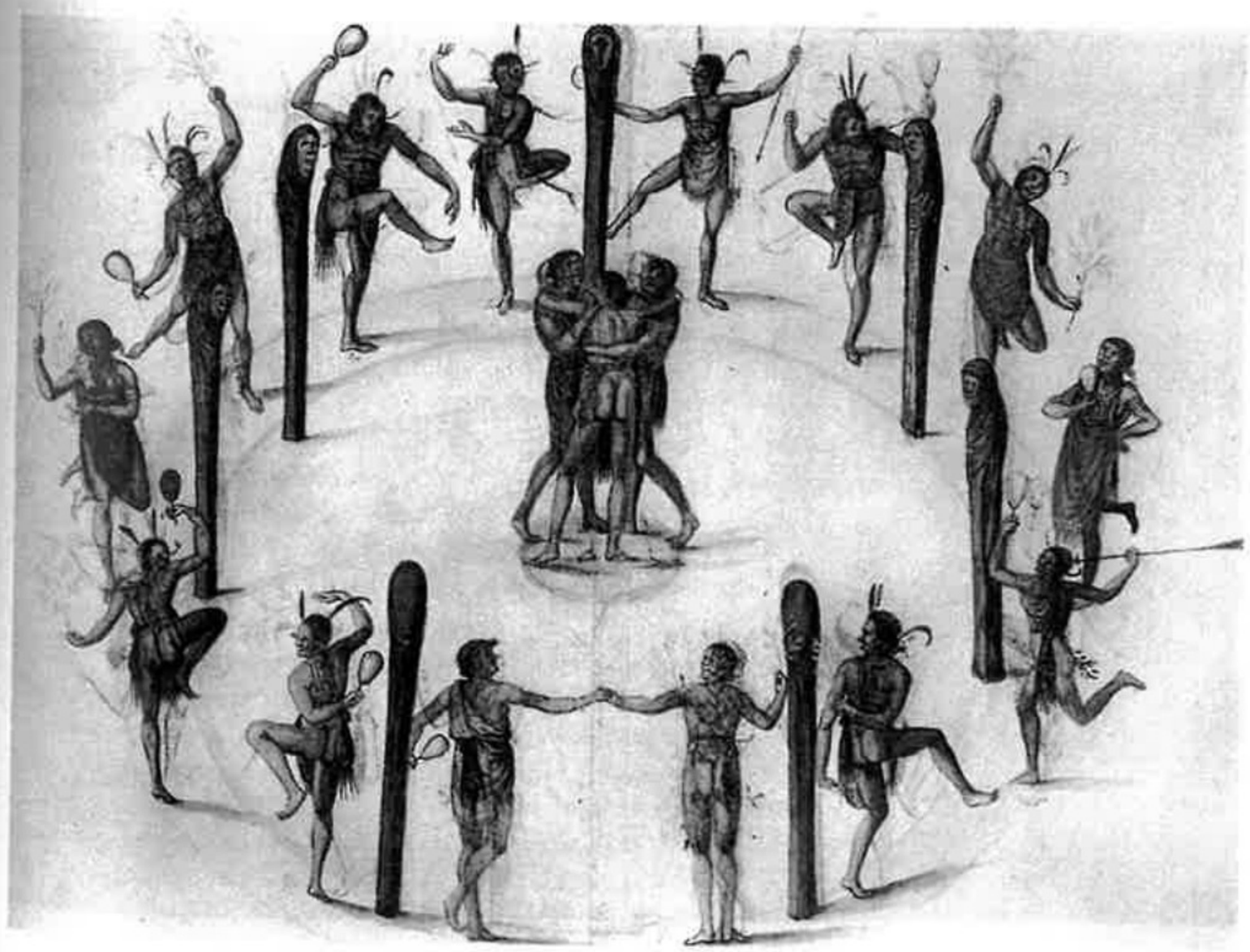
Not until the reign of Elizabeth I did the English turn their attention to North America, although sailors and adventurers still showed more interest in raiding Spanish treasure fleets than establishing settlements. The government granted charters (grants of exclusive rights and privileges) to Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, authorizing them to establish colonies in North America at their own expense.

Both ventures failed. Gilbert, who had earned a reputation for brutality in the Irish wars, established a short-lived settlement on Newfoundland in 1582. Three years later, Raleigh dispatched a fleet of five ships carrying Manteo, Wanchese, and some 100 Englishmen to set up a base on Roanoke Island, where the people of Ossomocomuck had a fishing village. To the English, it seemed a good location for raiding Spanish shipping and searching for gold. But the colonists angered local Native communities. By the spring of 1586, the Native people of Ossomocomuck had trapped them on Roanoke Island, where they were dangerously short on food. When Sir Francis Drake sailed by to check on them, the English abandoned the colony. A second group of 100 settlers, composed of families that hoped to establish a permanent colony, was dispatched that year. Their fate remains a mystery. When a ship bearing supplies arrived in 1590, the sailors found the **Roanoke colony** abandoned. Its inhabitants had evidently moved to live among Manteo's people, whose name, "Croatoan," had been carved



The artist John White spent time on the Outer Banks of North Carolina in the 1580s as part of an expedition sponsored by Sir Walter Raleigh. In this drawing, he depicts a town surrounded by a stockade.

Roanoke colony Failed English attempt to establish a colony on Roanoke Island in the Outer Banks.



A drawing by the artist John White shows men and women of Ossomocomuck dancing around a circle of posts in a religious ritual. White was a careful observer of their clothing and body markings and the objects used in the ceremony.

on a tree. Raleigh, by now nearly bankrupt, lost his enthusiasm for colonization. To establish a successful colony, it seemed clear, would require more planning and economic resources than any individual could provide.

Spreading Protestantism

As in the case of Spain, national glory, profit, and religious mission merged in early English thinking about the Americas. Just as Spain justified its empire by claiming to convert Indians to Catholicism, England expressed an obligation to liberate the Americas from the tyranny of the pope. By the late sixteenth century, anti-Catholicism had become deeply ingrained in English popular culture.

Although atrocities were hardly confined to any one nation—as England's conduct in Ireland and Roanoke demonstrated—the idea that the empire of Catholic Spain was uniquely murderous and tyrannical enabled the English to describe their own imperial ambitions in the language of freedom. In *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting*, written in 1584, the Protestant minister and scholar Richard Hakluyt listed reasons why Queen Elizabeth I should support the establishment of colonies. Among them was the idea that English settlements would strike a blow against Spain's empire and rescue the Americas and its inhabitants from the tyranny of Catholicism. "Tied as slaves" under Spanish rule, he wrote, the Indians of the Americas would welcome English settlers. England would repeat much of Spain's behavior in the Americas. But the English always believed that, in their case, empire and freedom would go hand in hand.

National power and glory were also on the minds of the era's propagandists of empire. Through colonization, Hakluyt and other writers argued, England, a relatively minor power in Europe, could come to rival the wealth and standing of great nations like Spain and France.



An engraving by Theodor de Bry depicts colonists hunting and fishing in Virginia. Promotional images such as this emphasized the abundance of the Americas and suggested that colonists could live familiar lives there.

The Social Crisis

Equally important, America could be a refuge for England's "surplus" population. The late sixteenth century was a time of social crisis in England, with economic growth unable to keep pace with the needs of a population that grew from 3 million in 1550 to about 4 million in 1600. For many years, English peasants had enjoyed a secure hold on their plots of land. But landlords sought profits by raising sheep for the expanding trade in wool and introducing more productive farming practices such as crop rotation. They evicted small farmers and fenced off "commons" previously open to all.

The **enclosure movement**, as this process was called, uprooted thousands of people. Many flooded into England's cities, where wages fell dramatically. Others wandered in search of work. Their situation grew worse as prices throughout Europe rose, buoyed by the influx of gold and silver from the mines of Latin America into Spain. Half the population lived at or below the poverty line. The cost of poor relief fell mainly on local communities. "All our towns," wrote the Puritan leader John Winthrop in 1629, shortly before leaving for Massachusetts, "complain of the burden of poor people." England, he added somberly, "grows weary of her inhabitants."

The government struggled to deal with this social crisis. Under Henry VIII, those without jobs could be whipped, branded, forced into the army, or hanged. During Elizabeth's reign, a law authorized justices of the peace to put the unemployed to work. Another solution was to encourage the unruly poor to leave for the Americas. As colonists, they could become productive citizens, contributing to the nation's wealth.

Masterless Men

As early as 1516, when Thomas More published *Utopia*, a fictional account of an imaginary island in the Western Hemisphere, the image of America as a place where settlers could escape from the economic inequalities of Europe had been circulating in England. Although authorities saw wandering or unemployed "masterless men" as a danger to society, popular attitudes viewed economic dependence as lack of freedom. Only those who controlled their own labor could be truly free. Indeed, popular tales and ballads romanticized the very vagabonds, highwaymen, and even beggars denounced by the propertied and powerful, since despite their poverty they at least enjoyed freedom from wage work.

enclosure movement A legal process that divided large farm fields in England that were previously collectively owned by groups of peasants into smaller, individually owned plots.



William Hogarth's well-known engraving Gin Lane (1751) offers a satiric glimpse of lower-class life in London. Hogarth was particularly concerned about the abuse of alcohol. A drunken woman allows her baby to fall from her arms while, on the left, a man and his wife pawn their coats, tools, and cooking utensils for money for liquor.

The image of the Americas as a unique place of opportunity, where English laboring men could regain economic independence by acquiring land and where even criminals would enjoy a second chance, was deeply rooted from the earliest days of settlement. John Smith wrote in 1607 that in America "every man may be the master and owner of his own labor and land." The main lure for emigrants from England to the Americas was not so much riches in gold and silver as the promise of independence that followed from owning land and passing it on to one's children.

EARLY ENGLISH EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION

English Emigrants

Seventeenth-century North America was an unstable and dangerous environment. Warfare, disease, and starvation killed so many colonists that, without sustained immigration, most settlements would have collapsed. With a population of between 4 million and 5 million, or about half that of Spain and a quarter of that of France, England produced a far larger number of men and women willing to emigrate to the Americas. In large part, this was because economic conditions in England were so bad. Between 1600 and 1700, more than half a million people left England to seek opportunities in Ireland, the sugar plantations of the West Indies, and England's mainland American colonies.

Indentured Servants

Settlers who could pay for their own passage—officials, clergymen, merchants, artisans, landowning farmers, and their families—arrived in America as free persons. Most quickly acquired land. In the seventeenth century, however, nearly two-thirds of English settlers came as indentured servants, who voluntarily surrendered their freedom for a specified time (usually five to seven years) in exchange for passage to America.

Like slaves, servants could be bought and sold, could not marry without the permission of their owner, and were subject to physical punishment. To ensure uninterrupted work by female servants, the law lengthened the term of their indenture if they became pregnant. Elizabeth Sprigs, an indentured servant in Maryland, described being forced to work "day and night . . . then tied up and whipped." But, unlike slaves, servants could look forward to a release from bondage. Assuming they survived their period of labor, servants would receive a payment known as "freedom dues" and become free members of society.

For most of the seventeenth century, however, indentured servitude was not a guaranteed route to economic autonomy. Given the high death rate, many servants did not live to the end of their terms. Freedom dues were sometimes so meager that they did not enable recipients to acquire land. Many servants found the reality of life in the Americas less appealing than they had anticipated. Employers

constantly complained of servants running away, not working diligently, or being unruly, all manifestations of what one commentator called their "fondness for freedom."

Land and Liberty

Land, English settlers believed, was the basis of liberty. Owning land gave men control over their own labor and, in most colonies, the right to vote. The promise of immediate access to land lured free settlers, and freedom dues that included land persuaded people to come as indentured servants. Land in America also became a way for the king to reward relatives and allies. Each colony was launched with a huge grant of land from the crown, either to a company or to a private individual known as a proprietor.

Land was a source of wealth and power for colonial officials and their favorites, who acquired enormous estates. Without labor, however, land would have little value. Since immigrants did not come to America intending to work the land of others (except temporarily, in the case of indentured servants), the very abundance of "free" land eventually led many property owners to turn to an enslaved workforce.


His Indenture Witnesseth that

An indenture (a contract for labor for a period of years) signed by James Mahoney, who emigrated from Ireland to North America in 1723.

The Native Atlantic Coast

Land in North America, of course, was already occupied. The large number of English settlers placed far greater pressure on their Native neighbors than the lightly populated colonies of New France, New Mexico, and Florida. The English were chiefly interested in settling on their land. Yet trading with the English appealed to many Native Americans. Native men and women quickly integrated items like woolen cloth, hoes, and guns into their daily lives. European manufacturers began to make products specifically for the Indian market, such as glass beads (called wampum in the Algonquian language of the people of Long Island). As with the French and Dutch, Native men and women incorporated English traders into their family networks and economic systems.

But the combination of a growing population and promises of land for freed servants and new settlers meant that the English colonies were dangerous neighbors. Settlers fenced in more and more land and let their pigs and cattle roam freely, trampling Native women's cornfields. Colonists' need for wood to build and heat homes and export to England depleted forests in eastern North America. The seventeenth century was marked by recurrent warfare between colonists and Indians.

The Jamestown Colony

On April 26, 1607, three small ships carrying colonists from England sailed into the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. They chose a site sixty miles inland on the James River for their settlement, hoping to protect themselves from Spanish warships. Here they established Jamestown (named for the king of England) as the capital of the colony of Virginia (named for his predecessor, Elizabeth I, the "virgin queen").



This 1681 painting portrays Robin Cassacinamon, an influential Pequot leader and friend of John Winthrop II, a governor of colonial Connecticut, who originally owned the painting. Cassacinamon's portrait shows how Indians incorporated European goods, such as the loincloth's fabric, into their own styles of dress. Note the wampum beads around his neck and in his headdress. The importation of European-manufactured beads and iron drills for making shell beads greatly increased the availability of wampum throughout the Northeast.

The voyage was sponsored by the Virginia Company. When the three ships returned home, 104 settlers remained in Virginia. All were men, for the Virginia Company had more interest in searching for gold than in establishing a functioning society. Nevertheless, Jamestown became the first permanent English settlement in the area that is now the United States.

The early history of Jamestown was not promising. The colony's leadership changed repeatedly, its inhabitants suffered an extraordinarily high death rate, and supplies from England proved inadequate. The hopes of locating riches such as the Spanish had found in Mexico were quickly dashed. The first settlers were "a quarrelsome band of gentlemen and servants." They included few farmers and laborers and numerous sons of English gentry and high-status craftsmen (jewelers and the like), who preferred to prospect for gold. They "would rather starve than work," declared John Smith, one of the colony's first leaders.

Jamestown lay beside a swamp infested with malaria-carrying mosquitoes, and the garbage that settlers dumped into the river bred germs that caused dysentery and typhoid fever. Disease and lack of food took a heavy toll. By the end of the first year, the population had fallen by half. New arrivals (including the first two women, who landed in 1608) brought the numbers up to 400 in 1609, but by 1610, after a winter long remembered as the "starving time," only 65 settlers remained alive. At one point, the survivors abandoned Jamestown and sailed for England, only to be intercepted and persuaded to return to Virginia by ships carrying a new governor, 250 colonists, and supplies. By 1616, about 80 percent of the immigrants who had arrived in the first decade were dead. Only rigorous military discipline held the colony together. John Smith imposed a regime of forced labor. "He that will not work, shall not eat," he declared.

FROM COMPANY TO SOCIETY

The Virginia Company slowly realized that for the colony to survive it would have to abandon the search for gold, grow its own food, and find a marketable commodity. It would also have to attract more settlers. With this end in view, it announced new policies in 1618 that shaped Virginia's development as a functioning society rather than an outpost of London-based investors. Instead of retaining all the land for itself, the company introduced the **headright system**, awarding fifty acres of land to any colonist who paid for his own or another's passage. Thus, anyone who brought in a sizable number of servants would acquire a large estate. A "charter of grants and liberties" was issued, including the establishment of a **House of Burgesses**. When it convened in 1619, this became the first elected assembly in colonial America.

headright system A land-grant policy that promised fifty acres to any colonist who could afford passage to Virginia, as well as fifty more for any accompanying servants.

House of Burgesses The first elected assembly in colonial America established in 1619 in Virginia.

The House of Burgesses was hardly a model of democracy—nly freemen could vote, and the company and its appointed overnor retained the right to nullify any measure the body dopted. But its creation established a political precedent hat all English colonies would eventually follow. Also in 619, the first enslaved Africans arrived in Virginia. The full ignificance of these two events would not be apparent until ears later. But they laid the foundation for a society that would one day be dominated economically and politically by laveowning planters.

Powhatan and Pocahontas

When the English arrived at Jamestown, they landed in n area inhabited by some 15,000 to 25,000 Algonquian-peaking people living in numerous agricultural towns. Most cknowledged the rule of Wahunsonacock, a shrewd and orceful leader from a town near present-day Richmond. Usu-lly referred to by his title Powhatan, he had recently consoli-lated his authority over 100 subordinate towns, collectively known as the Powhatans. Like Native leaders throughout the Americas, Powhatan quickly realized the advantages of trade with the newcomers. For its part, mindful of Las Casas's con-demnation of Spanish behavior and the failures at Roanoke, the Virginia Company instructed its colonists to treat the Powhatans fairly. Realizing that the colonists depended on the Native women's farming for food, John Smith tried to stop set-tlers from seizing produce from nearby villages, lest Powhatan cut off all trade.

In the first two years of Jamestown's existence, relations were mostly peaceful. At one point, Smith was captured and threatened with execution by Powhatan, only to be rescued by Pocahontas, reputedly the favorite among his many children. The incident was probably part of an elaborate ceremony designed by Powhatan to demonstrate his power over the colonists and incorporate them into his realm. To Powhatan, Jamestown was one of the many towns under his rule. Pocahontas subsequently became an intermediary between the two peoples.

But after Pocahontas married a fellow Powhatan and stopped coming to Jamestown and John Smith returned to England, tension grew between the two groups. The First **Anglo-Powhatan War** broke out in 1610, with Powhatans killing settlers who stole corn and the English killing Powhatans and destroying towns to try to scare them into feeding the colony. Pocahontas was captured and held as a hostage by the settlers. As part of the restoration of peace, she converted to Christianity and in 1614 married the English colonist John Rolfe. Two years later, she accompanied him to England, where she caused a sensation in the court of James I as a symbol of Anglo-Indian harmony and missionary



Most of the Native nations shown in this map were under Powhatan's rule. By 1640, English settlement in the Chesapeake had spread well beyond the initial colony at Jamestown, as tobacco planters sought fertile land near navigable waterways.

Anglo-Powhatan Wars Three wars fought between the Powhatans and the Jamestown colonists in 1610–1614, 1622–1626, and 1644–1646.



The only portrait of Pocahontas during her lifetime was engraved by Simon van de Passe in England in 1616. This is a later copy. After converting to Christianity, she took the name Rebecca.

success. In England, she became sick and died in 1617. Her father died the following year.

The Second and Third Anglo-Powhatan Wars

Once it became clear that the English were interested in establishing a constantly expanding colony, not a trading post, conflict with the Powhatans was inevitable. The peace that began in 1614 ended abruptly in 1622 when Powhatan's brother and successor, Opechancanough, led a surprise attack that in a single day wiped out a quarter of Virginia's settler population of 1,200. Opechancanough hoped the English would abandon Virginia or submit to his rule, but instead the surviving colonists organized themselves into military bands and massacred scores of Powhatans.

The English victory in the Second Anglo-Powhatan War began to shift the balance of power. Although most of the settlers died from war, starvation, or disease, more kept coming. The Third Anglo-Powhatan War, which began in 1644, caused the deaths of some 500 colonists. But by then, colonists outnumbered Powhatans, whose population was reduced due to war, disease, and flight. After the war ended in 1646 with Opechancanough's death, Virginia forced a treaty on the peoples who had been part of Powhatan's realm. The treaty acknowledged their subordination to the government at Jamestown and required them to move to reservations.

The destruction caused by the First and Second Anglo-Powhatan Wars doomed the Virginia Company, whose investors had never turned a profit. In 1624, the company surrendered its charter, and Virginia became the first royal colony, its governor now appointed by the crown. Henceforth, the local elite controlled the colony's development. And that elite was growing rapidly in wealth and power thanks to the cultivation of a crop introduced from the West Indies by John Rolfe—tobacco.

A Tobacco Colony

King James I considered tobacco "harmful to the brain and dangerous to the lungs." But increasing numbers of Europeans enjoyed smoking and believed the tobacco plant had medicinal benefits. As a commodity with a mass market in Europe, tobacco became Virginia's substitute for gold. The crown profited from customs duties (taxes on tobacco that entered or left the kingdom). By 1624, more than 200,000 pounds of tobacco were being grown. Forty years later, the crop totaled 15 million pounds, and it doubled again by the 1680s. The spread of tobacco farming produced a dispersed society with few towns and little social unity. It inspired a get-rich-quick attitude and a frenzied scramble for land and labor. By the middle of the seventeenth century, a new influx of immigrants with ample financial resources had taken advantage of the headright system and governmental connections to acquire large estates along navigable rivers. They established themselves as the colony's social and political elite.

The expansion of tobacco cultivation also led to an increased demand for field labor, met for most of the seventeenth century by indentured servants. Of the 120,000 English immigrants who entered the Chesapeake region during the seventeenth century, three-quarters came as servants.



Theodor de Bry's engraving of Opechancanough's 1622 surprise attack on Virginia depicts the Powhatans massacring defenseless colonists (who are shown unarmed although many in fact owned guns).

ORIGINS OF AMERICAN SLAVERY

No European nation embarked on the colonization of the Americas with the intention of relying on enslaved Africans for its labor force. But the incessant demand for workers spurred by the spread of tobacco cultivation eventually led Chesapeake planters to turn to the transatlantic trade in slaves. Compared with employing indentured servants, using enslaved labor had advantages for planters. Africans could not claim the protections of English common law. Slaves' terms of service never expired. Their children could be enslaved, and their skin color made it more difficult for them to escape into the surrounding society.

Englishmen and Africans

The English had long viewed alien peoples with disdain, including the Irish, Native Americans, and Africans. They described these strangers in remarkably similar language as savage, pagan, and uncivilized. "Race"—the idea that humanity is divided into well-defined groups associated with skin color—is a concept that had not fully developed in the seventeenth century. Nor had "racism"—an ideology based on the belief that some races are inherently superior to others and entitled to rule over them. The main lines of division within humanity were thought to be civilization versus barbarism or Christianity versus heathenism, not color or race.

An advertisement for tobacco includes images of slaves handling barrels and tobacco plants.



Nonetheless, anti-Black stereotypes flourished in seventeenth-century England. Africans were seen as so alien—in color, religion, and social practices—that they were "enslavable" in a way that poor English people were not. Most English also deemed Indians to be uncivilized, and some were sold into slavery in the Caribbean. Although colonizers at times were able to use extreme force to enslave Native people on islands cut off from escape or rescue, in general it is difficult to enslave a people on or near their native soil. Slaves are almost always outsiders, transported from elsewhere to their place of forced labor.

Slavery in History

Slavery has existed for nearly the entire span of human history, as we have seen (see Chapter 1). In the Mediterranean world, trade in Slavic peoples survived into the fifteenth century. Pirates from the Barbary Coast of North Africa regularly seized Christians from ships and enslaved them. In West Africa, as noted in Chapter 1, slavery and a slave trade predated the coming of Europeans, and captive-based slavery existed among Native Americans. But slavery in nearly all these instances differed greatly from the institution that developed in American colonies.

plantation An early word for a colony, a settlement "planted" from abroad among an alien population in Ireland or the Americas.

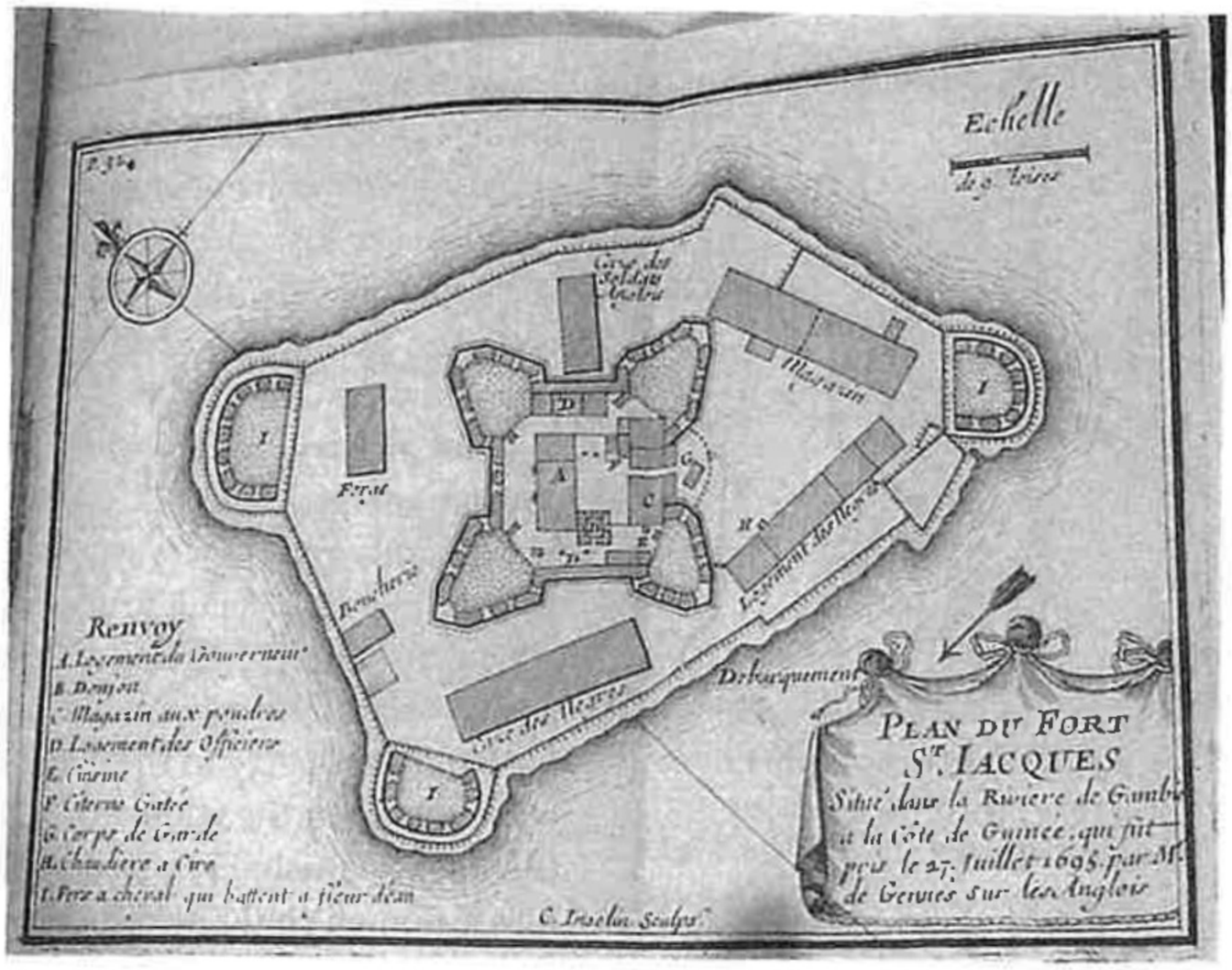
In the Americas, slavery was based on the **plantation**, an agricultural enterprise that brought together large numbers of workers under the control of a single owner. This imbalance magnified the possibility of slave resistance, and so enslavers policed the system rigidly. It encouraged the creation of a sharp boundary between slavery and freedom. Labor on slave plantations was far more demanding than in small-scale slavery, and the death rate among slaves was much higher. In the Americas, slavery would come to be associated with race, a concept that drew a permanent line between white and Black people.

Slavery in the West Indies

Europeans' belief that Africans were inferior enabled American slavery but did not alone create it. Planters and government authorities became convinced that importing enslaved Africans was the best way to solve their shortage of labor. By the time plantation slavery became a major feature of life in English North America, it was already well entrenched in the Western Hemisphere. By 1600, sugar plantations worked by enslaved Africans had made their appearance in Brazil, a colony of Portugal. In the seventeenth century, England, Holland, Denmark, and France joined Spain in colonizing West Indian islands.

The backbreaking, monotonous work of sugar cultivation relied on the massive importation of enslaved Africans. In 1645, for example, Barbados, a tiny island owned by England, was home to around 11,000 white farmers and indentured servants and 5,000 slaves. As sugar cultivation intensified, planters turned increasingly to slave labor. By 1660, the island's population had grown to 40,000, half European and half African. Ten years later, the slave population had risen to 82,000, concentrated on some 750 sugar plantations. By the end of the seventeenth century, huge sugar plantations dominated the West Indian economy, and on most of the islands the African population far outnumbered Europeans.

Sugar was the first crop to be mass-marketed to consumers in Europe. Sugar plantations in the Americas produced immense profits for planters, merchants, and imperial governments. Saint Domingue, modern-day Haiti, was the jewel of the French empire. In 1660, Barbados generated more trade than all the other English colonies combined.



Fort St. Jacques was a slave-trading fort on an island in the Gambia River, on the coast of West Africa. It repeatedly changed hands among the Dutch, English, and French after its founding in the 1650s. Tens of thousands of violently captured West Africans passed through this fort, bound for slavery in the Americas.

1619

In August 1619, white Virginians bought enslaved Africans for the first time. British pirates had seized these men and women from a Portuguese ship that had taken them from Angola, on the southwestern coast of Africa. They were farmers and herders who spoke a Bantu language and had been captured and forced to march over 100 miles from their homes and then packed into slave ships for a horrific journey across the Atlantic. The English at Jamestown bought between twenty and thirty men and women from the pirates and sent them to work on tobacco plantations and farms and in colonial households. Sources rarely tell much about enslaved women in the early seventeenth century, but we know that one of the Africans sold in Virginia in 1619 was a woman called Angela, who later worked in the household of a wealthy planter.

Slavery developed slowly in North America. Slaves cost more than indentured servants, and the high death rate among tobacco workers made it economically disadvantageous to pay for a lifetime of labor. As late as 1680, there were only 4,500 Black people in the Chesapeake, a little more than 5 percent of the region's population. The most important social distinction in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake was not between Black and white but between the white plantation owners who dominated politics and society and everybody else—namely, the small farmers, indentured servants, and slaves. But the arrival of enslaved African men and women in 1619 would shape the future of Virginia and the United States for centuries to come.

Women and the Family

Virginia's white society increasingly came to resemble that of England, with a wealthy landed gentry at the top; a group of small farmers, mostly former indentured servants who had managed to acquire land, in the middle; and an army of poor laborers—servants and landless former indentured servants—at the bottom. By 1700, the region's white population had grown to nearly 90,000. Virginia, however, lacked one essential element of English society—stable family life.

The colony avidly promoted the immigration of women, including several dozen "tobacco brides" who arrived in 1620 and 1621 for arranged marriages. But given the demand for male servants to work in the tobacco fields, men in the Chesapeake outnumbered women for most of the seventeenth century by four or five to one. The vast majority of women who immigrated to the region came as indentured servants. Since they usually had to complete their terms of service before marrying, they did not begin to form families until their mid-twenties. The high death rate, unequal ratio between the sexes, and late age of marriage for those who found partners produced a society with large numbers of single men, widows, and orphans. Although patriarchal ideals remained intact in Virginia, in practice the traditional authority of husbands and fathers was weakened. Because of their own low life expectancy, fathers found it difficult to supervise the careers and marriages of their children.

In the English colonies as in England, a married woman possessed certain rights before the law, including a claim to **dower rights** of one-third of her husband's property in the event that he died before she did. Because of coverture, however, when the widow died, the property passed to the husband's male heirs. (Because Spanish, French, and Dutch law did not include coverture, in those colonies a woman could hold independently any property inherited from her parents, and a man and wife owned jointly all the wealth accumulated during a marriage.)

dower rights In colonial America, the right of a widowed woman to inherit one-third of her deceased husband's property.

Social conditions opened the door even in English colonies to roles women rarely assumed in Europe. Widows and the few women who never married took advantage of their legal status as *feme sole* (a "woman alone," who enjoyed an independent legal identity denied to married women) to make contracts and conduct business. Margaret Brent, who arrived in the Chesapeake in 1638, acquired land, managed her own plantation, and acted as a lawyer in court. Some widows were chosen to administer their husbands' estates or were willed their husbands' property outright, rather than receiving only dower rights. But women who came to Virginia as indentured servants were frequently subjected to sexual abuse by their masters. Those who married often found themselves in poverty when their husbands died.

Processing tobacco was as labor-intensive as caring for the plant in the fields. Here slaves and indentured servants work with the crop after it has been harvested.



The Maryland Experiment

Although it began under very different sponsorship and remained much smaller than Virginia, the second Chesapeake colony, Maryland, followed a similar course of development. As in Virginia, tobacco came to dominate the economy and tobacco planters the society. But in other ways, Maryland's history was strikingly different.

Maryland was established in 1632 as a proprietary colony, that is, a grant of land and governmental authority to a single individual. This was Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, the

son of a favorite of King Charles I. The charter made Lord Baltimore proprietor of the colony and granted him "full, free, and absolute power," including control of trade and the right to initiate all legislation, with an elected assembly confined to approving or disapproving his proposals. Lord Baltimore imagined Maryland as a feudal domain. Land would be laid out in manors with the owners paying "quitrents" to the proprietor. On the other hand, the charter also guaranteed to colonists "all privileges, franchises, and liberties" of Englishmen. While these were not spelled out, they undoubtedly included the idea of a government limited by the law. Here was a recipe for conflict, and Maryland had more than its share during the seventeenth century.



Englishmen smoking tobacco. European demand for tobacco enriched Virginia planters, English merchants, and the English government, and spurred an ever-increasing demand for field labor.

Religion in Maryland

Further aggravating instability in the colony was the fact that Lord Baltimore, a Catholic, envisioned Maryland as a refuge for his persecuted coreligionists. In Maryland, he hoped, Protestants and Catholics could live in a harmony unknown in Europe. The first group of 130 colonists included a number of Catholic gentlemen and two priests. Most appointed officials were also Catholic, as were those to whom he awarded the choicest land grants. But Protestants always formed a majority of the settlers. Most, as in Virginia, came as indentured servants, but others took advantage of Maryland's generous headright system to acquire land by transporting workers to the colony.

As in Virginia, the death rate remained very high. In one county, half the marriages during the seventeenth century lasted fewer than eight years before one partner died. Almost 70 percent of male settlers in Maryland died before reaching the age of fifty, and half the children born in the colony did not live to adulthood. But at least initially, Maryland seems to have offered servants greater opportunity for landownership than Virginia. Unlike in the older colony, freedom dues in Maryland included fifty acres of land. As tobacco planters engrossed the best land later in the century, however, the prospects for landless men diminished.

THE NEW ENGLAND WAY

The Rise of Puritanism

As Virginia and Maryland evolved toward societies dominated by a small aristocracy ruling over numerous bound laborers, a very different social order emerged in seventeenth-century New England. The early history of that region is intimately connected to the religious movement known as "Puritanism," which arose in

Puritans English religious group that sought to purify the Church of England; founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony under John Winthrop in 1630.

England late in the sixteenth century. The term was initially coined by opponents to ridicule those not satisfied with the progress of the Protestant Reformation in England, who called themselves not Puritans but "true Protestants." **Puritans** differed among themselves on many issues. But all shared the conviction that the Church of England retained too many elements of Catholicism in its religious rituals and doctrines. Many rejected the Catholic structure of religious authority descending from a pope or king to bishops and priests. Only independent local congregations, they believed, should choose clergymen and determine modes of worship. These Puritans were called "Congregationalists." Puritans shared many of the beliefs of the Church of England and the society as a whole, including a hatred of Catholicism and a pride in England as a champion of liberty. But they believed that neither the church nor the nation was living up to its ideals.

Puritans urged believers to read the Bible and listen to sermons by educated ministers, rather than devoting themselves to sacraments administered by priests and to what Puritans considered formulaic prayers. In their religious beliefs, Puritans followed the ideas of the French-born Swiss theologian John Calvin. The world, Calvin taught, was divided between the elect and the damned. All persons sought salvation, but God had already determined whether one was among the elect destined to be saved. Nothing one did on earth—including prayers and good works—would make any difference. But while there were no guarantees of salvation, worldly success—leading a good life, prospering economically—might well be indications of God's grace. Idleness and immoral behavior were sure signs of damnation.

Moral Liberty

Puritanism was not simply a set of ideas but a state of mind, a zealousness that alienated many who held differing religious views. A minority of Puritans (such as those who settled in Plymouth Colony) became separatists, abandoning the Church of England entirely to form independent churches. Most, however, hoped to purify the church from within. But in the 1620s and 1630s, as Charles I seemed to be moving toward a restoration of Catholic ceremonies and the Church of England dismissed Puritan ministers and censored their writings, many Puritans decided to emigrate. They departed England not so much because of persecution, but because they feared that "popish" practices had grown to "an intolerable height," as one minister complained. When Puritans emigrated to New England, they hoped to escape what they believed to be the religious and worldly corruptions of English society. They would establish a "city set upon a hill," a Bible Commonwealth whose influence would flow back across the Atlantic and rescue England from godlessness and social decay.

Like so many other immigrants to America, Puritans came in search of liberty, especially the right to worship and govern themselves in what they deemed a truly Christian manner. Freedom for Puritans was primarily a spiritual affair. It implied the opportunity and the responsibility to obey God's will through self-government and self-denial. It certainly did not mean unre-

The first book printed in the English mainland colonies, *The Whole Book of Psalmes Faithfully Translated into English Metre* was published in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1640. Worshipers used it to sing psalms (religious songs from the Bible, sung in Massachusetts unaccompanied by music, which Puritan churches banned).


PSALM xcii, xciii.

24 Concerning thee shall be my prayse
in the great assembly:
before them that him reverence
performe my vowes will I.
29 The meek shall eat & be sufficèd:
Jehovah prayse shall they
that doe him seeke: your heart shall live
unto perpetuall age.
27 All ends of th'earth remember shall
and turne unto the Lord:
and thee all kindreds families
to worship shall accord.
28 Because unto Jehovah doth
the kingdome appertaine
and he among the nations
is ruler Soveraigne.
29 Eate shall & worship shall:
all who to dust descend,
(even th' man can make alive his soule)
before his face shall bend.
30 With service a posterity
him shall attend upon,
to God is shall accounted bee
a generation.
31 Come shall they, & his righteousnes
by them declar'd shall bee,
unto a people yet unborne,
that doe this thing hath free.

A Psalme of David.

THE Lord to me a shepheard is,
wherfore therfore I shall not lack.

A Psalme of David.

1 The earth Jehovahs is,
and the fulnesse of it:
the habitable world, & they
that there upon do sit.
2 Because upon the seas
he hath it firmly laid:
and it upon the wav'd floods
most stablely hath stayd.
3 The mountaine of the Lord,
who shall thereto ascend?
and in his place of holinesse,

strained action or sinful behavior. In a 1645 speech to the Massachusetts legislature explaining the Puritan conception of freedom, **John Winthrop**, the colony's governor, distinguished sharply between two kinds of liberty. "Natural" liberty, or acting without restraint, suggested "a liberty to do evil." Genuine "moral" liberty—the Christian liberty described in Chapter 1—meant "a liberty to that only which is good." It was quite compatible with severe restraints on speech, religion, and personal behavior. True freedom, Winthrop insisted, depended on "subjection to authority," both religious and secular. To Puritans, liberty meant that the elect had a right to establish churches and govern society, not that others could challenge their beliefs or authority.

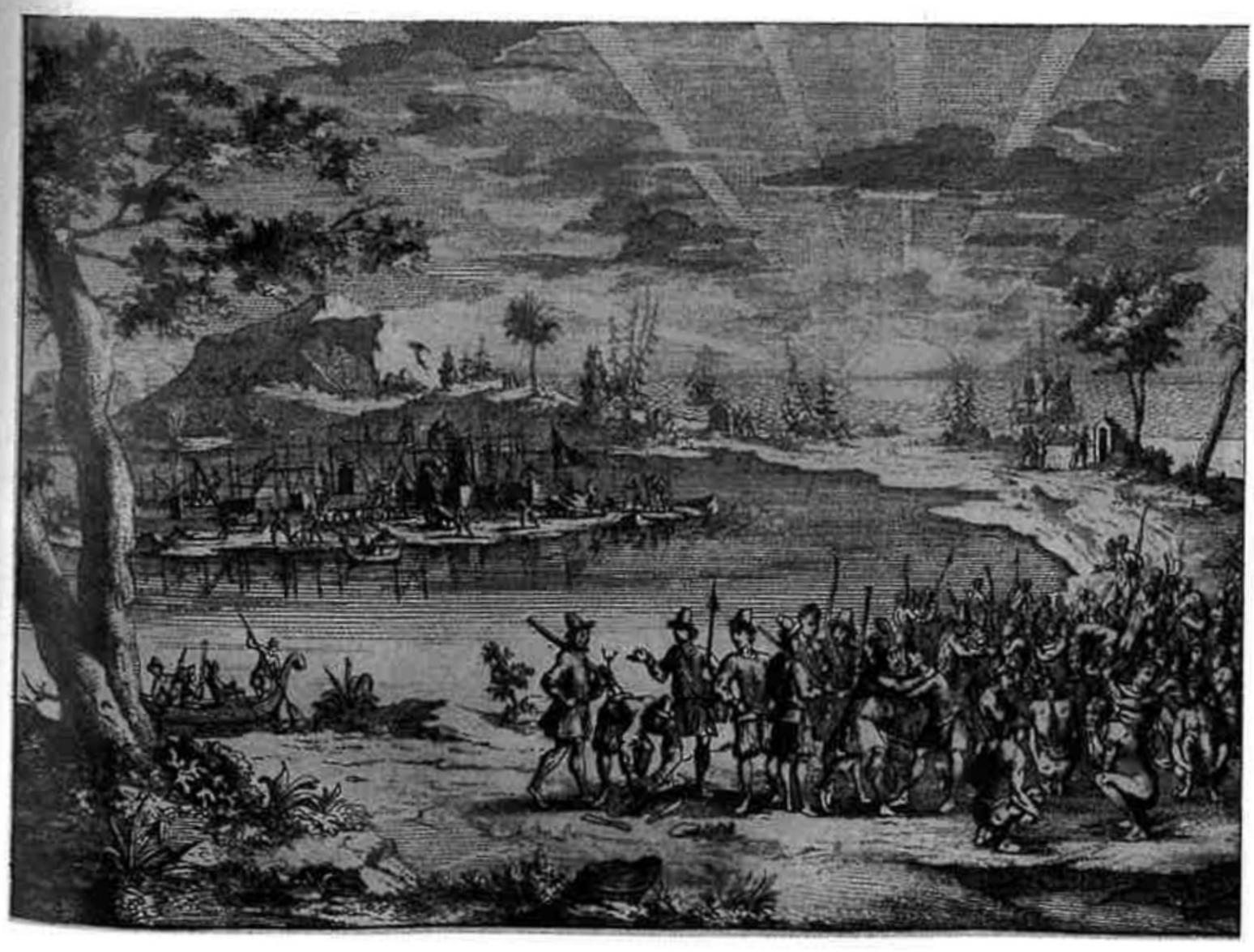
John Winthrop Puritan leader and governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony who resolved to use the colony as a refuge for persecuted Puritans and as an instrument of building a "wilderness Zion" in America.

The Pilgrims at Plymouth

The first Puritans to arrive in America were a group of separatists known as the **Pilgrims**. They had already fled to the Netherlands in 1608, believing that Satan had begun "to sow errors, heresies and discords" in England. A decade later, fearing that their children were being corrupted by being drawn into the surrounding culture, they decided to emigrate to Virginia. The expedition was financed by a group of English investors who hoped to establish a base for profitable trade. In September 1620, the *Mayflower*, carrying 150 settlers and crew (among them many non-Puritans), embarked from England. Blown off course, they landed not in Virginia but hundreds of miles to the north, on Cape Cod. Here the 102 who survived the journey established the colony of Plymouth. Before landing, the Pilgrim leaders drew up the **Mayflower Compact**, in which the adult men going ashore agreed to obey "just and equal laws" enacted by representatives of their own

Pilgrims Puritan separatists who broke completely with the Church of England and sailed to the Americas aboard the *Mayflower*, founding Plymouth Colony on Cape Cod in 1620.

Mayflower Compact Document signed in 1620 aboard the *Mayflower* before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth; the document committed the group to majority-rule government by its male colonists.



An early-seventeenth-century engraving shows Algonquian-speaking Native Americans greeting the English explorer Bartholomew Gosnold. Gosnold landed at Cape Cod in 1602 and then established a small outpost on nearby Cuttyhunk Island. The region's Native peoples had much experience with Europeans before Pilgrims settled there.

choosing. This was the first written frame of government in what is now the United States. Men not normally signatories to such documents—printers, carpenters, even indentured servants—were among those who affixed their names. (This was over 200 years before most working-class men were allowed to vote in Great Britain.)

The Pilgrims arrived in an area whose Native population had recently been devastated by smallpox. They established Plymouth on the site of an abandoned Patuxet Indian town whose fields were ready for cultivation. Nonetheless, the settlers arrived six weeks before winter without food or farm animals. Half died during the first winter. The colonists only survived through the help of local Indians, notably Squanto, a Patuxet man who had grown up in the town where the Pilgrims settled. With twenty other Indians, Squanto had been kidnapped and brought to Spain in 1614 by English sailors, who sold them as slaves. Squanto made his way to London, where he learned English. He returned home in 1619 only to find his town abandoned. He taught the Pilgrims where to fish and how to plant corn and served as an interpreter between them and Massasoit, chief of the powerful Wampanoags. They agreed to an alliance, in which the Wampanoags would help to feed and defend Plymouth and the Pilgrims would help to fight the Wampanoags' enemies. The celebration and renewal of this treaty one year later, in the autumn of 1621, later became known as the first Thanksgiving.

The Pilgrims hoped to establish a society based on the lives of the early Christian saints. Their government rested on the principle of consent. All land was held in common until 1627, when it was divided among the settlers. Plymouth survived as an independent colony until 1691, but it was soon overshadowed by Massachusetts Bay to its north.

The Great Migration

Chartered in 1629, the Massachusetts Bay Company was founded by a group of London merchants who hoped to further the Puritan cause and turn a profit through trade with the Indians. The first ships sailed from England in 1630, and by 1642 some 21,000 Puritans had immigrated to Massachusetts in what was called the **Great Migration**. After 1640, migration to New England virtually ceased, but the Great Migration established the basis for a stable and thriving society.

Great Migration The migration of approximately 21,000 English Puritans to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Although servants represented about one-quarter of the Great Migration, most settlers arrived in families. They came for many reasons, including the desire to escape religious persecution, anxiety about the future of England, and the prospect of economic betterment. Compared with colonists in Virginia and Maryland, they were older and more prosperous, and the number of men and women more equally balanced. Because of the even sex ratio and New England's healthier climate, the population grew rapidly, doubling every twenty-seven years. Although the region received only a small fraction of the century's total migration, by 1700 New England's white population of 91,000 outnumbered that of both the Chesapeake and the West Indies.

The Puritan Family

While the imbalance between male and female migrants made it difficult for patriarchal family patterns to fully take root in the Chesapeake until the end of

the seventeenth century, they emerged very quickly in New England. Puritans shared with the larger society a belief in male authority within the household as well as an adherence to coverture. Puritans in America emulated the family structure of England, insisting that the obedience of women, children, and servants to men's will was the foundation of social stability. They believed that the father's authority was vital in a farming society without large numbers of slaves or servants because control over the labor of one's family was essential to a man's economic success.

To be sure, Puritans deemed women to be the spiritual equals of men, and women were allowed to become full church members. Although all ministers were men, the Puritan belief in the ability of believers to interpret the Bible opened the door for some women to claim positions of religious leadership. The ideal Puritan marriage was based on reciprocal affection and companionship. Yet within the household, the husband's authority was virtually absolute. Indeed, a man's position as head of his family was thought to replicate God's authority in spiritual matters and the authority of the government in the secular realm. Magistrates sometimes intervened to protect wives from physical abuse, but they also enforced the power of fathers over their children and husbands over their wives.



The Savage Family, a 1779 painting by the New England artist Edward Savage, depicts several generations of a typically numerous Puritan family.

Responsibilities as wives and mothers defined women's lives. In his 1645 speech on liberty, John Winthrop noted that a woman achieved genuine freedom by fulfilling her prescribed social role and embracing "subjection to her husband's authority." Unmarried adults seemed a danger to the social fabric. An early law of Plymouth declared that "no single person be suffered to live of himself." The typical New England woman married at twenty-two, a younger age than her English counterparts, and gave birth seven times. Because New England was a far healthier environment than the Chesapeake, more children survived infancy. Thus, much of a woman's adult life was devoted to bearing and rearing children.

Government and Society in Massachusetts

In a sermon aboard the *Arabella*, on which he sailed for Massachusetts in 1630, John Winthrop spoke of the settlers binding themselves together in order to promote the glory of God and their own "common good." Puritans feared excessive individualism and lack of social unity. Unlike the dispersed, plantation-centered society of the Chesapeake, the leaders of Massachusetts organized the colony in self-governing towns. Groups of settlers received a land grant from the colony's government and then subdivided it, with residents awarded house lots in a central area and land on the outskirts for farming. Each town had its own Congregational Church. Each was required to establish a school, since the ability to read the Bible was central to Puritan belief. To train an educated ministry, Harvard College was established in 1636, and two years later the first printing press in English America was established in Cambridge.

The government of Massachusetts reflected the Puritans' religious and social vision. Wishing to rule the colony without outside interference, the shareholders of the Massachusetts Bay Company emigrated to America, taking the charter with them and transforming a commercial document into a form of government. At first, the eight shareholders chose the men who ruled the colony. In 1634, a group of deputies elected by freemen (landowning church members) was added to form a ruling body, the General Court.

The principle of consent was central to Puritanism. Church government was decentralized—each congregation, as one minister put it, had "complete liberty to stand alone." Churches were formed by voluntary agreement among members, who elected the minister. No important church decision was made without the agreement of the male members. Towns governed themselves, and local officials, delegates to the General Court, and the colonial governor were all elected. Puritans, however, were hardly believers in equality. Church membership, a status that carried great prestige and power, was a restrictive category. Anyone could worship at a church, but to be a full member required demonstrating that one had experienced divine grace and could be considered a "visible saint," usually by testifying about a conversion experience. Although male property holders generally chose local officials, voting in colony-wide elections was limited to men who had been accepted as full church members. As time went on, this meant that a smaller and smaller percentage of the population controlled the government.

Church and State in Puritan Massachusetts

Seventeenth-century New England was a hierarchical society in which socially prominent families were assigned the best land and the most desirable seats in church. "Some must be rich and some poor, some high and eminent in power and dignity; others mean and in subjection," declared John Winthrop. This was part of God's plan, reinforced by law and custom. The General Court forbade ordinary men and women from wearing "the garb of gentlemen." Ordinary settlers were addressed as "goodman" and "goodwife," while the better sort were called "gentleman" and "lady" or "master" and "mistress." When the General Court in 1641 issued a Body of Liberties outlining the rights and responsibilities of Massachusetts colonists, it adopted the traditional understanding of liberties as privileges that derived from one's place in the social order. While some liberties applied to all inhabitants, there were separate lists of rights for freemen, women, children, and servants. The Body of Liberties also allowed for slavery. The first African slave appears in the records of Massachusetts Bay in 1640.

Church and state were closely interconnected. The law required each town to establish a church and to levy a tax to support the minister. The Body of Liberties affirmed the rights of free speech and assembly and equal



An embroidered banner depicting the main building at Harvard, the first college established in the English colonies. It was probably made by a Massachusetts woman for a husband or son who attended Harvard, which admitted only male students.

protection of the law, but the laws of Massachusetts prescribed the death penalty for, among other things, worshiping "any god, but the lord god" or practicing witchcraft.

Puritans believed that religious uniformity was essential to social order. They did not believe in religious toleration. Religious liberty meant the liberty to practice this truth.

Native Nations and New England

Massasoit and the Wampanoags sought alliance with the Pilgrims in order to change the balance of power in the region. The epidemic that destroyed Squanto's town had also hit the Wampanoags, but it had not reached the Narragansetts, who used the devastation to force the Wampanoags to pay them tribute. After forging the alliance and trading partnership with the English, Massasoit was able to persuade the Narragansetts to back down. The Wampanoags became intermediaries between the English and other Native groups, profiting from the trade and increasing their regional power. Massasoit consolidated diverse Native communities that had been torn apart by disease, including Squanto's Patuxets, into a strong and prosperous Wampanoag nation.

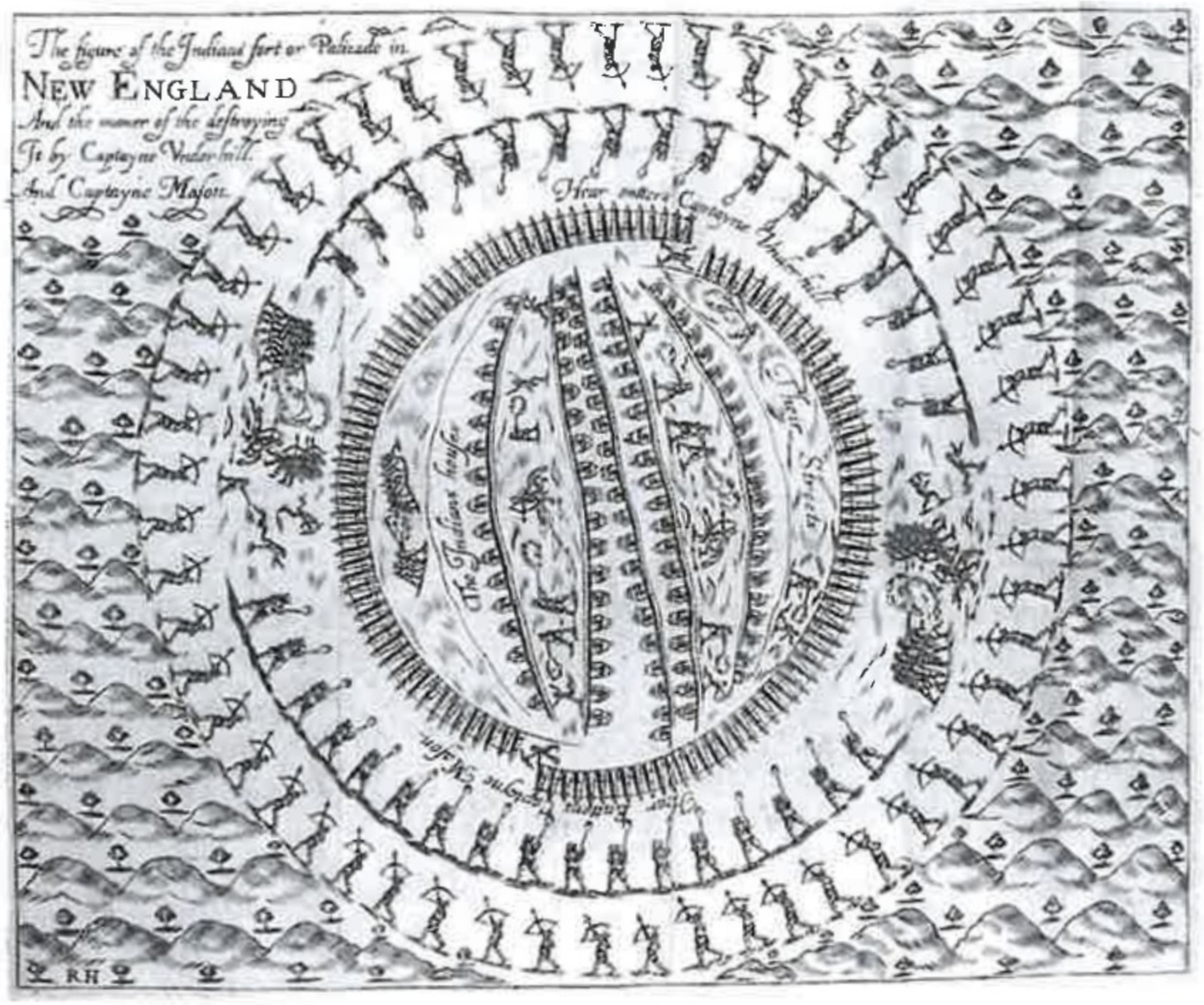
The English colonists who came to Massachusetts Bay established Boston and other settlements on formerly Native towns and fields and were recruited as allies and trading partners by local Indians. These included the Massachusetts Indians, on whose land they settled, and the Narragansetts, who had been shut out of the Plymouth trade by the Wampanoags.

Puritans made no sustained conversion efforts in the early two decades of settlement. Instead, always concerned that sinful persons might prefer a life of ease to hard work, New England's leaders feared that Native Americans might convert colonists. To Puritans, Native people enjoyed freedom, but the wrong kind—what Winthrop condemned as undisciplined "natural liberty" rather than the "moral liberty" of the Christian. To counteract the attraction of Native life, the leaders of New England encouraged the publication of **captivity narratives** by those captured by Indians. The most popular was *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* by Mary Rowlandson, who in the 1670s was seized along with a group of other settlers and held for three months until ransomed. Her book's overriding theme was her determination to return to Christian society.

captivity narratives Accounts written by colonists after their time in Indian captivity, often stressing the captive's religious convictions.

The Pequot War

Like the Wampanoags, the Pequots on the north shore of Long Island Sound and the lower Connecticut River valley became a regional power through European trade and alliance, in their case with the Dutch of New Netherland. The Pequots forced their neighbors, the Mohegans and the Narragansetts, to pay them tribute and conduct Dutch trade through them. But in the 1630s, the Narragansetts and Mohegans used their alliance with the Massachusetts Bay Colony to fight the Pequots. The fighting was fiercest at a Pequot town on the Mystic River in May 1637. The English commanders set the village ablaze, killing over 500 Pequot men, women, and children.



An engraving from John Underhill's *News from America*, published in London in 1638, shows the destruction of the Pequot town on the Mystic River in 1637. The colonial forces are firing guns, while the Narragansetts and Mohegans shoot bows and arrows.

By the end of the **Pequot War** a few months later, around one-quarter of the Pequot population of 3,000 had been killed. Survivors were enslaved in the homes of New England colonists, sold into slavery in the West Indies or Bermuda, or absorbed into other Native communities. The treaty that restored peace decreed that their name be wiped from the historical record and that surviving Pequots no longer call themselves by that name (neither decree succeeded). Although the Narragansetts and Mohegans had won the war, they also learned that the English were dangerous enemies.

NEW ENGLANDERS DIVIDED

Colonists in New England also clashed among themselves. The Puritans exalted individual judgment—hence their insistence on reading the Bible—yet modern ideas of individualism, privacy, and personal freedom would have struck them as strange. In the close-knit towns of New England, residents monitored one another's behavior and chastised or expelled those who violated communal norms. In the Puritan view, as one colonist put it, the main freedom possessed by dissenters was the "liberty to keep away from us." Towns banished individuals for such offenses as criticizing the church or government, complaining about the colony, or, in the case of one individual, Abigail Gifford, for being "a very burdensome woman."

Rhode Island and Connecticut

Differences of opinion, however, emerged almost from the founding of Massachusetts. With its emphasis on individual interpretation of the Bible, Puritanism contained the seeds of its own fragmentation. The first sustained criticism of the existing order came from the young minister Roger Williams, who arrived in 1631 and began to insist that congregations withdraw from the Church of England and that church and state be separated. To most Puritans, the social fabric was held together by certain religious truths, which could not be questioned. To Williams, law-abiding citizens should be allowed to practice whatever form of religion they chose. Rejecting the conviction that Puritans were an elect people, he denied that God had singled out any group as special favorites.

Banished from Massachusetts in 1636, Williams and his followers moved south, where they established the colony of Rhode Island. Rhode Island became a beacon of religious freedom. It had no established church, no religious qualifications for voting, and no requirement that citizens attend church. It became a haven for **Dissenters**

Pequot War An armed conflict in 1637 fought between the Pequot Indians and an alliance of Narragansett, Mohegan, and English.

Dissenters Protestants who belonged to denominations outside of the established Anglican Church.

(Protestants who belonged to denominations other than the established church) and Jews. Rhode Island's frame of government was also more democratic. The assembly was elected twice a year, the governor annually, and town meetings were held more frequently than elsewhere in New England.

Religious disagreements in Massachusetts generated other colonies as well. In 1636, the minister Thomas Hooker established Hartford, modeled on Massachusetts—with the significant exception that men did not have to be church members to vote. Quite different was the colony of New Haven, founded in 1638 with an even closer connection between church and state. In 1662, Hartford and New Haven received a royal charter that united them as the colony of Connecticut.

The Trial of Anne Hutchinson

More threatening to the Puritan establishment, both because of her gender and because she attracted a large and influential following, was Anne Hutchinson. A midwife and the daughter of a clergyman, Hutchinson arrived in Massachusetts with her husband in 1634 to join their minister, John Cotton, who had been expelled from his pulpit in England. Hutchinson began holding meetings in her home, where she led discussions of religious issues among men and women, including a number of prominent merchants and public officials. Like most Puritans, Hutchinson believed that salvation was God's direct gift to the elect and could not be earned. She charged that ministers in Massachusetts were guilty of distinguishing "saints" from the damned on the basis of activities such as church attendance and moral behavior rather than an inner state of grace.

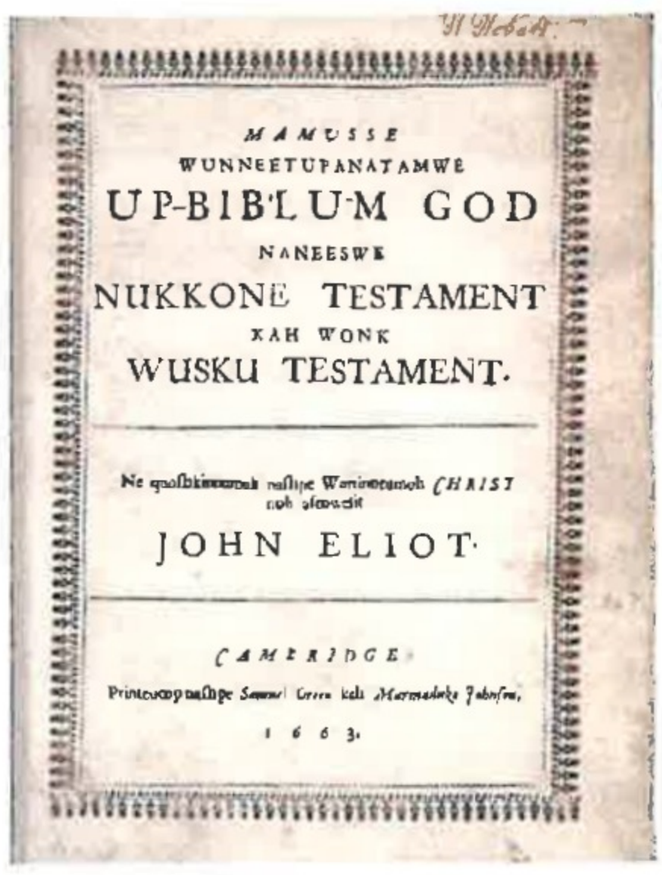
In Massachusetts, where church and state reinforced each other, both ministers and magistrates were intent on suppressing any views that challenged their own leadership. They denounced Cotton and Hutchinson for Antinomianism (a term for putting one's own judgment or faith above both human law and the teachings of the church). In 1637, she was placed on trial before a civil court for sedition (expressing opinions dangerous to authority). Her meetings, said Governor Winthrop, were neither "comely in the sight of God nor fitting to your sex." At her trial, Hutchinson ably debated interpretation of the Bible with her university-educated accusers. But when she spoke of God speaking to her directly rather than through ministers or the Bible, she violated Puritan doctrine. Such a claim, the colony's leaders felt, posed a threat to the very existence of organized churches—and, indeed, to all authority. Hutchinson and a number of her followers were banished. Her family made its way to Rhode Island and then to the religious refuge of New Netherland, where Hutchinson and most of her relatives perished during Kieft's War (see Chapter 1).

As in the case of Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson showed how the Puritan belief in each individual's ability to interpret the Bible could easily lead to criticism of the religious and political establishment. Although religious toleration became a value in New Netherland, Maryland, and to some extent Rhode Island, Massachusetts rejected it as a violation of "moral liberty" and social harmony.



Roger Williams, New England's most prominent advocate of religious toleration.

Puritan missionary John Eliot, a Massachusett Indian man called John or Job Nesutan, and a Nipmuc man called James Printer worked together to translate and publish this Bible in the Massachusett language in 1633.





By the mid-seventeenth century, English settlement in New England had spread inland and up and down the Atlantic coast.

The New England Economy

The leaders of the New England colonies prided themselves on the idea that religion was the primary motivation for emigration. But economic motives were also important. One promotional pamphlet of the 1620s spoke of New England as a place "where religion and profit jump together."

Most Puritans sought in New England not only religious liberty but also economic advancement—if not riches, at least a "competency," the economic independence that came with secure landownership or craft status. To Puritans no contradiction existed between piety and profit so long as one did not forget the needs of the larger community. Success in one's calling might be a sign of divine grace.

Lacking a marketable staple like sugar or tobacco, New Englanders turned to fishing and timber for exports. But the economy centered on family farms producing food for their own use and a small marketable surplus. There were few slaves or

indentured servants in seventeenth-century New England. Most households relied on the labor of their own members, including women in the home and children in the fields. Sons remained unmarried into their mid-twenties, when they could expect to receive land. Indeed, while religious divisions spawned new settlements, the desire for land among younger families and newcomers was the major motive for New England's expansion.

The Merchant Elite

Per capita wealth in New England lagged far behind that of the Chesapeake, but it was much more equally distributed. A majority of New England families achieved the goal of owning their own land, the foundation for a comfortable independence. Nonetheless, as in the Chesapeake, economic development produced a measure of social inequality. On completing their terms, indentured servants rarely achieved full church membership or received grants of land. Most became disenfranchised wage earners.

New England assumed a growing role within the British empire based on trade. As early as the 1640s, New England merchants shipped and marketed the staples of other colonies to markets in Europe and Africa. They engaged in a particularly profitable trade with the West Indies, whose growing slave plantations they supplied with fish, timber, and agricultural produce. Thus, New England's economy greatly profited from the Atlantic slave trade and plantation slavery. In Boston, a powerful class of merchants arose who challenged some key Puritan policies, including the subordination of economic activity to the common good. Indeed, merchants were among the most prominent backers of Anne Hutchinson's challenge to colonial authority. Some left Boston to establish a new town at Portsmouth, in the region eventually chartered as the royal colony of New Hampshire. Although the Puritans never abandoned the idea that economic activity should serve the general welfare, merchants came to exercise a decisive influence in public affairs.



A self-portrait from around 1680, painted by Thomas Smith. A sailor who came to New England from Bermuda around 1650, Smith acquired considerable wealth, as evidenced by his fashionable clothing. The background depicts a naval battle involving Dutch and English ships (possibly a reference to their joint attack on a North African port in 1670). In the foreground is a poem with Smith's initials.

The Half-Way Covenant

In the mid-seventeenth century, some Puritan leaders began to worry about their society's growing commercialization and declining piety, or "declension." Massachusetts churches were forced to deal with a growing problem—children of the elect could be baptized, but many never became full church members because they were unable to demonstrate the necessary religious commitment or testify to a conversion experience. And children of non-members could not even be baptized. New Englanders could uphold rigorous standards of church admission, which would limit the size and influence of the Congregational Church. Or they could make admission easier, which would raise fears about a loss of religious purity. The **Half-Way Covenant** of 1662 tried to address this problem by allowing for the baptism and "half-way" membership for grandchildren of those who arrived during the Great Migration. But church membership continued to stagnate.

By the 1660s and 1670s, ministers were regularly castigating the people for selfishness, violations of the Sabbath, and a "great backsliding" from the colony's

Half-Way Covenant A 1662 religious compromise that allowed baptism and partial church membership to colonial New Englanders whose parents were not among the Puritan elect.



VOICES OF FREEDOM

FROM "THE TRIAL OF ANNE HUTCHINSON" (1637)

A midwife and the daughter of a clergyman, Anne Hutchinson began holding religious meetings in her home in Massachusetts in 1634. She attracted followers who believed that most ministers were not adhering strictly enough to Puritan theology. In 1637 she was placed on trial for sedition. In her defense, she claimed to be inspired by a direct revelation from God, a violation of Puritan beliefs. The examination of Hutchinson by Governor John Winthrop and Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley is a classic example of the clash between established power and individual conscience.

GOV. JOHN WINTHROP: Mrs. Hutchinson, you are called here as one of those that have troubled the peace of the commonwealth and the churches here; you are known to be a woman that hath had a great share in the promoting and divulging of those opinions that are the cause of this trouble, . . . and you have maintained a meeting and an assembly in your house that hath been condemned by the general assembly as a thing not tolerable nor comely in the sight of God nor fitting for your sex. . . .

MRS. ANNE HUTCHINSON: What have I said or done?

GOV. JOHN WINTHROP: [Y]ou did harbor and countenance those that are parties in this faction. . . .

MRS. ANNE HUTCHINSON: That's matter of conscience, Sir.

GOV. JOHN WINTHROP: Your conscience you must keep, or it must be kept for you.

* * *

GOV. JOHN WINTHROP: Your course is not to be suffered for. Besides we find such a course as this to be greatly prejudicial to the state. . . . And besides that it will not well stand with the commonwealth that families should be neglected for so many neighbors and dames and so much time spent. We see no rule of God for this. We see not that any should have authority to set up any other exercises besides what authority hath already set up. . . .

MRS. ANNE HUTCHINSON: I bless the Lord, he hath let me see which was the clear ministry and which the wrong. . . . Now if you do condemn me for speaking what in my conscience I know to be truth I must commit myself unto the Lord.

MR. NOWEL (ASSISTANT TO THE COURT): How do you know that was the spirit?

MRS. ANNE HUTCHINSON: How did Abraham know that it was God that bid him offer his son, being a breach of the sixth commandment?

DEP. GOV. THOMAS DUDLEY: By an immediate voice.

MRS. ANNE HUTCHINSON: So to me by an immediate revelation.

DEP. GOV. THOMAS DUDLEY: How! an immediate revelation.

* * *

GOV. JOHN WINTHROP: Mrs. Hutchinson, the sentence of the court you hear is that you are banished from out of our jurisdiction as being a woman not fit for our society, and are to be imprisoned till the court shall send you away.

FROM JOHN WINTHROP, SPEECH TO THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COURT (JULY 3, 1645)

John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, describes two very different definitions of liberty in this speech.

The great questions that have troubled the country, are about the authority of the magistrates and the liberty of the people. . . . Concerning liberty,

I observe a great mistake in the country about that. There is a twofold liberty, natural (I mean as our nature is now corrupt) and civil or federal. The first is common to man with beasts and other creatures. By this, man, as he stands in relation to man simply, hath liberty to do what he lists; it is a liberty to do evil as well as to [do] good. This liberty is incompatible and inconsistent with authority, and cannot endure the least restraint of the most just authority. The exercise and maintaining of this liberty makes men grow more evil, and in time to be worse than brute beasts. . . . This is that great enemy of truth and peace, that wild beast, which all the ordinances of God are bent against, to restrain and subdue it.

The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal, it may also be termed moral. . . . This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. . . . This liberty is maintained and exercised in a way of subjection to authority; it is of the same kind of liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. The woman's own choice makes . . . a man her husband; yet being so chosen, he is her lord, and she is to be subject to him, yet in a way of liberty, not of bondage; and a true wife accounts her subjection her honor and freedom, and would not think her condition safe and free, but in her subjection to her husband's authority. Such is the liberty of the church under the authority of Christ.

MINI-DBQ PRACTICE

1. Complete SOAPSTone for each document included here. See pages lxviii–lxxi in the AP® U.S. History Skills Handbook for the steps of the SOAPSTone procedure.
2. Evaluate the different understandings of religious liberty in the period 1630–1650.

In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
- Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
- Support an argument using both documents.
- Use ONE additional piece of specific historical evidence (outside the documents) relevant to an argument about the prompt.
- For ONE document, explain how or why the document's point of view, purpose, historical situation, and/or audience is relevant to your argument.
- Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify your argument.



Mrs. Elizabeth Freake and Baby Mary, painted by an anonymous artist in the 1670s, depicts the wife and daughter of John Freake, a prominent Boston merchant and lawyer. To illustrate the family's wealth, Mrs. Freake wears a triple strand of pearls, a garnet bracelet, and a gold ring, and her child wears a yellow silk dress.

original purposes. Yet hard work and commercial success in one's chosen calling had always been central Puritan values. In this sense, the commercialization of New England was as much a fulfillment of the Puritan mission in America as a betrayal.

RELIGION, POLITICS, AND FREEDOM

The Rights of Englishmen

Even as English emigrants began colonies in North America, England itself became enmeshed in political and religious conflict, in which ideas of liberty played a central role. The struggle over **English liberty** in the first half of the seventeenth century expanded the definition of freedom at home and spilled over into early English North America.

By 1600, the traditional definition of "liberties" as a set of privileges confined to one or another social group still persisted, but alongside it had arisen the idea that certain "rights of Englishmen" applied to all within the kingdom. This tradition rested on the Magna Carta (or Great Charter) of 1215. An agreement between King John and a group of barons—local lords whose private armies frequently fought against each other and the crown—the Magna Carta attempted to put an end to a chronic state of civil unrest. It listed a series of "liberties" granted by the king to "all the free men of our realm." This was a restricted group at the time, since a large part of the English population still lived as serfs—peasants working land owned by feudal lords. The liberties mentioned in the Magna Carta included protection

English liberty The idea that English men were entitled to certain liberties, including trial by jury, habeas corpus, and the right to face one's accuser in court.



The Court of Common Pleas. Trial by jury was a central element in the definition of "English liberty." This watercolor appeared in a three-volume series, The Microcosm of London (1808–1810).

against arbitrary imprisonment and the seizure of one's property without due process of law.

The principal beneficiaries of the Magna Carta were the barons, who obtained the right to oversee the king's conduct and even revolt if he violated their privileges. But over time, the document came to be seen as embodying the idea of "English liberty"—that the king was subject to the rule of law, and that all men should enjoy security of person and property. These rights were embodied in the common law, whose provisions, such as the right to face one's accuser and trial by jury, came to apply to all free subjects of the English crown. And as serfdom slowly disappeared, the number of Englishmen considered "freeborn," and therefore entitled to these rights, expanded enormously, although women continued to be entirely excluded.

The English Civil War

The political upheavals of the seventeenth century elevated the notion of "English freedom." The struggle for political supremacy between Parliament and the Stuart monarchs James I and Charles I culminated in the English Civil War of the 1640s and early 1650s. This long-running battle arose from religious disputes about how fully the Church of England should distance its doctrines and forms of worship from Catholicism. Conflict also developed over the respective powers of the king and Parliament, a debate that led to a great expansion of the concept of English freedom. The belief in freedom as the common heritage of all Englishmen and the conception of the British empire as the world's guardian of liberty helped to legitimize English colonization in the Western Hemisphere and to cast imperial wars against Catholic France and Spain as struggles between freedom and tyranny.

The leaders of the House of Commons (the elective body that, along with the hereditary aristocracy of the House of Lords, made up the English Parliament) accused the Stuart kings of endangering liberty by imposing taxes without parliamentary consent, imprisoning political foes, and leading the nation back toward Catholicism. Civil war broke out in 1642, resulting in a victory for Parliament. In 1649, Charles I was beheaded, the monarchy abolished, and England declared "a Commonwealth and Free State"—a nation governed by the will of the people. Oliver Cromwell, the head of the victorious Parliamentary army, ruled for almost a decade after the execution of the king. In 1660, the monarchy was restored and Charles II assumed the throne. But by then, the breakdown of governance had stimulated intense discussions of liberty, authority, and what it meant to be a "freeborn Englishman."

England's Debate over Freedom

The idea of freedom took on new and expanded meanings between 1640 and 1660. The writer John Milton called for freedom of speech and of the press. New religious sects sprang up, demanding the end of public financing and special privileges for the Anglican Church and religious toleration for all Protestants. The Levellers, history's first democratic



The frontispiece of *Leviathan*, by Thomas Hobbes. Written during the English Civil War and published in 1651, two years after the execution of King Charles I, *Leviathan* argues that the only effective form of government is an absolute monarchy. Hobbes designed this image himself to illustrate his thesis. The king wields the sword of justice in one hand and the staff of an archbishop in the other—he combines the powers of church and state. His person is composed of his people; he is literally a body politic. Beneath him is a peaceful, orderly country, and beneath that, images of threats to public order, both secular and religious, against which the king must guard.

political movement, proposed a written constitution, which began by proclaiming "at how high a rate we value our just freedom," and went on to list inalienable rights Parliament could not infringe upon. At a time when "democracy" was still widely seen as the equivalent of anarchy and disorder, the document proposed to abolish the monarchy and House of Lords and to greatly expand the right to vote. "The poorest he that lives in England hath a life to live as the greatest he," declared the Leveller Thomas Rainsborough. Rainsborough even condemned slavery.

The Levellers offered a glimpse of the modern definition of freedom as a universal entitlement in a society based on equal rights. Another new group, the Diggers, went even further, hoping to give freedom an economic underpinning through the common ownership of land. True freedom applied equally "to the poor as well as the rich"; all were entitled to "a comfortable livelihood in this their own land." Even before the restoration of the monarchy, the Levellers, Diggers, and other radical movements spawned by the English Civil War had been crushed or driven underground. But some of the ideas of liberty that flourished during the 1640s and 1650s would be carried to America by English immigrants.

The Civil War and English America

These struggles, accompanied by vigorous discussions of the rights of freeborn Englishmen, reverberated in England's colonies. Most New Englanders sided with Parliament in the Civil War of the 1640s. Some returned to England to join the parliamentary army or take up pulpits to help create a godly commonwealth at home. But Puritan leaders were increasingly uncomfortable as the idea of religious toleration for Protestants gained favor in England. It was the revolutionary Parliament that in 1644 granted Roger Williams his charter for Rhode Island.

Meanwhile, a number of followers of Anne Hutchinson became Quakers, one of the sects that sprang up in England during the Civil War. Quakers held that the spirit of God dwelled within every individual, not just the elect, and that this "inner light," rather than the Bible or teachings of the clergy, offered the surest



The execution of Charles I in 1649, a central event of the English Civil War.



WHO IS AN AMERICAN?

FROM HENRY CARE, *ENGLISH LIBERTIES, OR, THE FREE-BORN SUBJECT'S INHERITANCE* (1680)

Before the United States existed as an independent nation, settlers in England's North American colonies shared a sense of identity linked with the idea that liberty was a unique possession of Englishmen. Care was an English journalist and writer on politics. His book was an influential example of how seventeenth-century identities rested, in part, on negative images of other nations. Well into the eighteenth century, it was widely reprinted in the colonies as well as the mother country.

The Constitution of our English government (the best in the world) is no arbitrary tyranny like the Turkish Grand Seignior's, or the French Kings, whose wills (or rather lusts) dispose of the lives and fortunes of their unhappy subjects; nor an Oligarchy where the great men (like fish in the ocean) prey upon, and live by devouring the lesser at their pleasure. Nor yet a Democracy or popular State, much less an Anarchy, where all confusedly are hail fellows well met, but a most excellently mixt or qualified Monarchy, where the King is vested with large prerogatives sufficient to support majesty; and restrained only from power of doing himself and his people harm, which would be contrary to the end of all government, . . . the nobility adorned with privileges to be a screen to majesty, and a refreshing shade to their inferiors, and the commonality, too, so guarded in their persons and properties by the fence of law, [which] renders them Freemen, not Slaves.

In France and other nations the mere will of the prince is law, his word takes off any . . . head, imposes taxes, or seizes any man's estate, when, how, and as often as he wishes. . . . But in England, the law is both the measure and the bond of every subject's duty and allegiance, each man having a fixed fundamental right born with him as to the freedom of his person and property in his estate, which he cannot be deprived of, but either by his consent, or some crime for which the law has imposed . . . a penalty. . . .

This original happy frame of government is truly and properly called an Englishman's liberty, a privilege not to [be] exempt from the law, but to be freed in person and estate, from arbitrary violence and oppression.

AP® QUESTIONS

1. *Evaluate Care's views regarding the English system of "balanced" government.*
2. *Briefly explain the author's perspective of other countries.*

guidance in spiritual matters. When Quakers appeared in Massachusetts, colonial officials had them whipped, fined, and banished. In 1659 and 1660, four Quakers who returned from exile were hanged, including Mary Dyer, a former disciple of Hutchinson. When Charles II, after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, reaffirmed the Massachusetts charter, he ordered the colony to recognize the "liberty of conscience" of all Protestants. But efforts to suppress the Quakers continued, as did attacks on Baptists, whose disdain for a learned ministry also seemed to threaten Puritan beliefs.

The Crisis in Maryland

Unlike the New England colonies, Virginia sided with Charles I. In Maryland, the combination of the religious and political battles of the Civil War, conflict between Catholic and Protestant settlers, and anti-proprietary feeling produced a violent civil war within the colony. The emerging Protestant planter class longed to seize power from the Catholic elite created by Lord Baltimore. The assembly's Protestant majority rejected laws proposed by the proprietor and claimed the same power to legislate and levy taxes enjoyed by the House of Commons in England.

To stabilize the colony and attract more settlers, Lord Baltimore appointed a Protestant governor and offered refuge to Protestant Dissenters being persecuted in Virginia, where Anglicanism was the established religion and laws restricted the religious and political rights of others. In 1649, Maryland adopted an **Act Concerning Religion (or Maryland Toleration Act)**, which institutionalized the principle of toleration that had prevailed from the colony's beginning. All Christians were guaranteed the "free exercise" of religion. The act did not establish religious liberty in a modern sense, since it punished those who denied the divinity of Jesus Christ or the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Indeed, a Jewish physician was soon arrested under its provisions. Nonetheless, the law was a milestone in the history of religious freedom in colonial America.

Act Concerning Religion 1649 law that granted free exercise of religion to all Christian denominations in colonial Maryland.

Cromwell and the Empire

Oliver Cromwell, who ruled England from 1649 until 1658, undertook an aggressive policy of colonial expansion and the promotion of Protestantism. His army forcibly extended English control over Ireland, massacring civilians, banning the public practice of Catholicism, and seizing land owned by Catholics. In the Caribbean, England seized Jamaica, a valuable sugar island, from Spain. In 1651, as will be related in Chapter 3, Parliament passed the first Navigation Act, which sought to challenge the Dutch hold on international commerce by forcing English colonies to trade with only English ships and ports.

Thus, by the middle of the seventeenth century, several English colonies existed along the Atlantic coast of North America along with New France, New Netherland, Spanish Florida, and hundreds of Native nations. Established as part of an ad hoc process rather than arising under any coherent national plan, the English colonies differed enormously in economic, political, and social structure. The seeds had been planted, in the Chesapeake, for the development of plantation societies based on unfree labor and, in New England, for settlements centered on



Meeting of the General Council of the Army at Putney, scene of the debate in 1647 over liberty and democracy between Levellers and more conservative army officers.

small towns and family farms. Throughout the colonies, many residents enjoyed freedoms they had not possessed at home, especially access to land and the right to worship as they desired. Others found themselves confined to unfree labor for many years or an entire lifetime.

The next century would be a time of crisis and consolidation as the English colonial population expanded, England moved to exert greater control over its flourishing North American colonies, and conflicts erupted both within the English colonies and between them and their Native and European neighbors.

North America in 1660

In 1660, the vast majority of the continent was still controlled and solely inhabited by Native Americans. European settlement was confined to the small Spanish posts at Santa Fe and St. Augustine, the French trading posts of Quebec and Montreal on the St. Lawrence River, Dutch New Amsterdam and Fort Orange (Albany), and the English settlements all within 100 miles of the Atlantic Ocean.

The Haudenosaunee were more greatly feared in the 1660s than Europeans. Armed with Dutch weapons, they had launched a successful series of wars against their enemies north of the St. Lawrence River and in the eastern Great Lakes. To the west, on the northern plains, Lakotas and Dakotas (collectively known as Oceti Sakowin or Sioux) endured attacks from people to their east such as Ottawas, who had acquired European firearms through trade with the French at Montreal.

Native North Americans developed methods of diplomacy as well as warfare. Many used the calumet (or peace pipe) ceremony to forge alliances. Probably originating among Caddoan peoples in the thirteenth century in what is now Texas, the calumet ceremony spread throughout the West as the most important diplomatic ritual between Native peoples and, eventually, in encounters with European travelers. Centered upon the ritual smoking of a calumet, this ceremony made strangers into fictive kin. Breaking the bonds created by the calumet ceremony was thus like betraying family.

Wampum strings and belts served a similar function in the Northeast, from eastern Canada through present-day New York and New England to the upper Chesapeake. Since at least the sixteenth century, the Haudenosaunee and other nations used them for opening and closing diplomatic and trade negotiations, to propose that allies join a battle, to make peace among enemies, and to console the bereaved. Strings of beads helped an orator remember a complicated speech, and they embodied the pledges that people made to one another. Recipients who accepted the wampum were agreeing to the relationship and reciprocal responsibilities it conveyed. As Europeans began to venture deeper into the continent in the century to come, they would have to learn Native ways of peace and war.

CHAPTER REVIEW AND AP® PRACTICE

REVIEW THE FOLLOWING:

1. Briefly explain the settlement patterns, treatment of Indians, and religion of both the Spanish and English in the Americas. In what ways were they similar? In what ways did they differ?

2. Evaluate the differences between the English and Indian conceptions of land.

3. Assess the factors that shaped religious freedom in the New England and Chesapeake colonies.

4. Analyze who chose to emigrate to North America from England in the seventeenth century and assess their motivations for emigration.

5. Briefly explain the ways in which the economy, government, and household structure differed between the New England and the Chesapeake colonies.

6. Evaluate the extent to which the expansion of the British empire affected the freedoms of Native Americans, the Irish, and even many English citizens. In your response, consider that the English believed their motives for colonization were pure, and that the growth of empire and freedom would always go hand in hand.

7. Briefly explain how the events and aftermath of the English Civil War demonstrated that the English North American colonies were part of a larger Atlantic community. In your response, consider politics, social tensions, and debates over the meaning of liberty.

8. Evaluate the extent to which the tobacco economy drew the Chesapeake colonies into the greater Atlantic world.

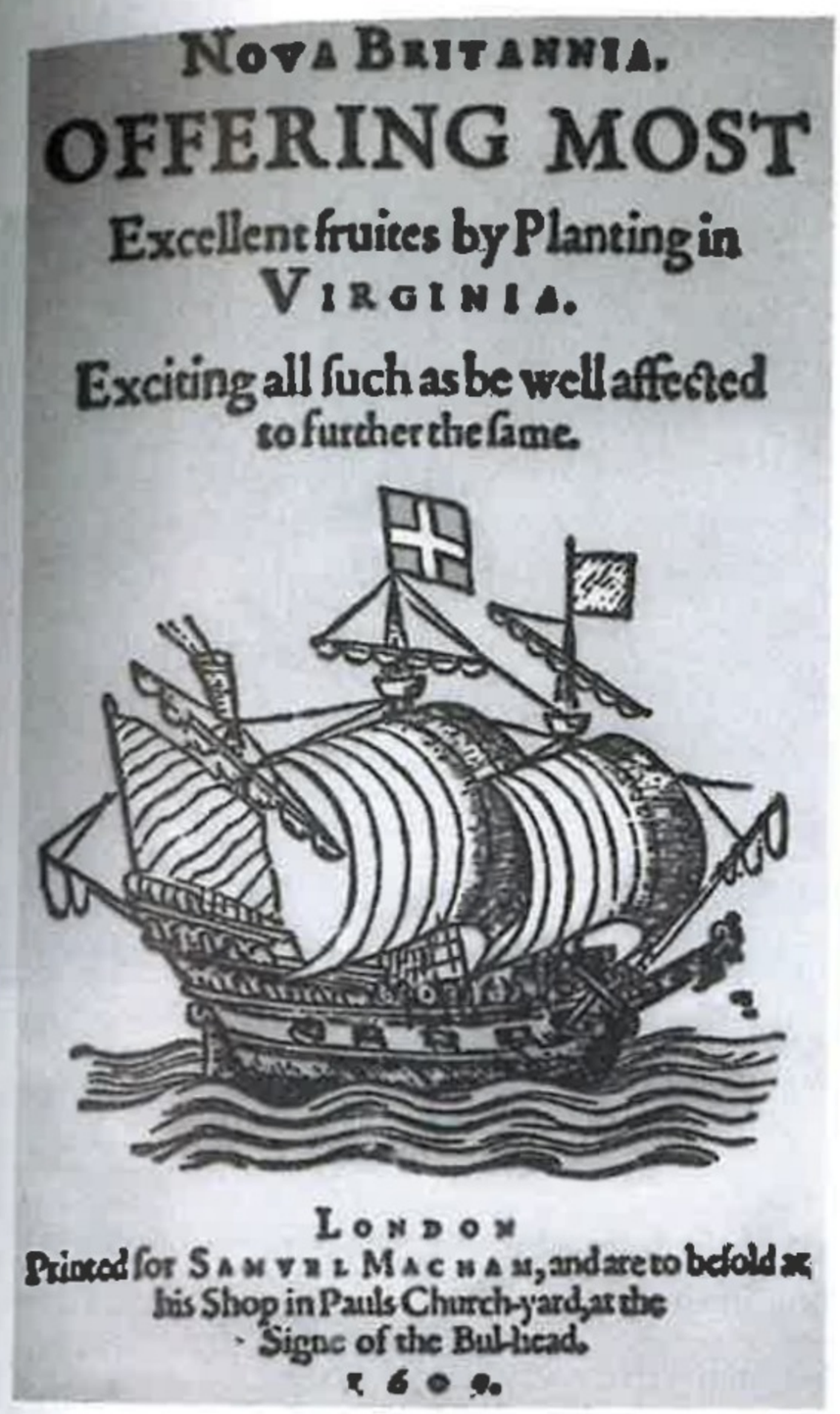
9. Assess how the idea of freedom helped legitimize English colonization.

KEY TERMS

John Smith (p. 41)
Virginia Company (p. 41)
Anglican Church (p. 42)
Roanoke colony (p. 43)
enclosure movement (p. 45)
headright system (p. 48)
House of Burgesses (p. 48)
Anglo-Powhatan Wars (p. 49)
plantation (p. 52)
dower rights (p. 54)
Puritans (p. 56)
John Winthrop (p. 57)
Pilgrims (p. 57)
Mayflower Compact (p. 57)
Great Migration (p. 58)
captivity narratives (p. 61)
Pequot War (p. 62)
Dissenters (p. 62)
Half-Way Covenant (p. 65)
English liberty (p. 68)
Act Concerning Religion (or Maryland Toleration Act) (p. 72)

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the following image from 1609.



Pamphlet published in 1609

1. The image most directly reflects which of the following developments during the seventeenth century?
   (A) English efforts to extract wealth from land in North America
   (B) English desire to spread Christianity
   (C) English efforts to escape religious persecution
   (D) English desire for social mobility and economic prosperity

2. Migration activities like those advertised in the image most directly contributed to
   (A) the development of an Atlantic economy and extensive trade networks
   (B) the Great Awakening
   (C) the intermarriage of English men and American Indians
   (D) the English domination of the fur trade

Questions 3–5 refer to the following excerpt.

> In England, the law is both the measure and the bond of every subject's duty and allegiance, each man having a fixed fundamental right born with him as to the freedom of his person and property in his estate, which he cannot be deprived of, but either by his consent, or some crime for which the law as imposed . . . a penalty. . . .
>
> The original happy frame of government is truly and properly called an Englishman's liberty, a privilege not to [be] exempt from the law, but to be freed in person and estate, from arbitrary violence and oppression.
>
> Henry Care, *English Liberties*, 1680

3. Which region in the English colonies best reflected the ideas in the passage?
   (A) Middle Colonies
   (B) New England colonies
   (C) Southern colonies
   (D) Chesapeake colonies

4. The ideas expressed in the excerpt most directly reflect which of the following?
   (A) Mercantilist economic theories
   (B) Protestant evangelicalism
   (C) Imperial systems
   (D) Enlightenment ideas

5. Which of the following seventeenth-century developments could best explain how the values expressed in the excerpt took hold in England's North American colonies?
   (A) English participation in the Columbian Exchange
   (B) Distance and England's lax attention to the colonies
   (C) The use of American Indian land to grow cash crops
   (D) The rise of a planter elite

Questions 6–8 refer to the following image from the seventeenth century.



Seventeenth-century Virginia

6. Which of the following contributed most directly to the activities depicted in the image?
   (A) The high demand for cotton in England
   (B) The caste system in Latin America
   (C) The prosperity related to the exportation of tobacco
   (D) The doctrine of coverture

7. Which of the following statements about labor in the English colonies is supported by the image?
   (A) The *encomienda* system was used on plantations
   (B) Indentured servants worked on plantations in exchange for land
   (C) Women were economic equals to men
   (D) Slavery became the dominant labor system in many southern colonies

8. Which of the following was a long-term result of the activities depicted in the image?
   (A) African Americans developed ways to resist slavery
   (B) The prosperity of cash crops began to decline after the invention of the cotton gin
   (C) Enlightenment ideas were abandoned
   (D) The Puritan church grew in power and popularity

Questions 9–10 refer to the following image from 1588.



The *Armada Portrait* of Queen Elizabeth I, 1588

9. Which of the following was the context for the creation of the painting?
   (A) English "discovery" of tobacco
   (B) Competition over resources between European rivals
   (C) Colonial resistance to imperial control
   (D) The Great Awakening

10. Which of the following would contradict the artist's message?
   (A) The English colonies experienced a gradual Anglicization
   (B) England pursued mercantilist economic aims with its colonies
   (C) The English colonies became a key producer of commodities
   (D) Most people in the English colonies were in favor of the Spanish Armada

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS



Engraving in John Smith's *General History of Virginia*, 1624

1. Using the image above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   (A) Briefly describe ONE historical situation in which this image was produced.
   (B) Briefly describe ONE cause, in 1607–1700, of the events depicted in the image.
   (C) Briefly describe ONE effect, in 1607–1700, of the events depicted in the image.

2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   (A) Briefly explain ONE important difference i the economic systems of the New England an Chesapeake colonies.
   (B) Briefly explain ONE important difference i the social systems of the New England an Chesapeake colonies.
   (C) Briefly explain ONE important similarit between the New England and Chesapeal colonies.

LONG ESSAY QUESTION

Evaluate the extent to which labor systems changed 1607–1660 in England's North American colonies.

Go to INQUIZITIVE

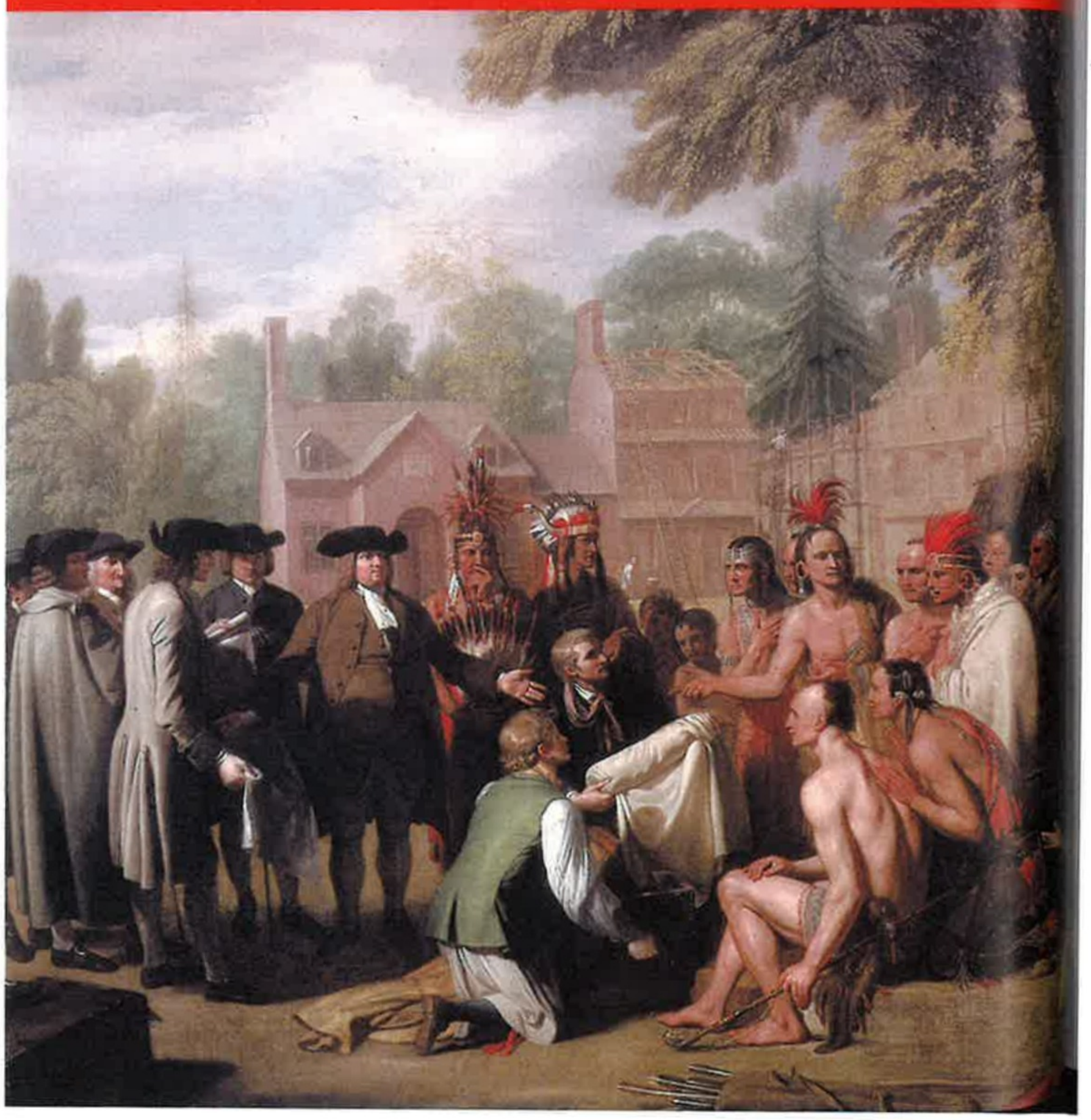
To see what you know—and learn what you've missed—w personalized feedback along the way.

1651	First Navigation Act issued by Parliament
1664–1674	Anglo-Dutch Wars, which result in New Netherland becoming New York
1670	First English settlers arrive in Carolina
1675–1676	King Philip's War
1676	Bacon's Rebellion
1677	Covenant Chain alliance
1682	Charter of Liberty drafted by William Penn
1683	Charter of Liberties and Privileges drafted by New York assembly
1686–1689	Dominion of New England
1688	Glorious Revolution in England
1689	Parliament enacts a Bill of Rights Leisler's Rebellion Parliament passes Toleration Act
1691	Plymouth colony absorbed into Massachusetts
1692	Salem witch trials
1705	Virginia passes slave code
1715–1717	Yamasee War
1718	New Orleans founded
1718	San Antonio founded
1729–1730	Natchez War
1737	Walking Purchase

CHAPTER 3

CREATING ANGLO-AMERICA

★



William Penn's Treaty with the Indians. In 1772, Benjamin West completed this painting of a 1683 meeting between William Penn and a Delaware Indian delegation. By the 1770s, harmony between the Delawares and the Pennsylvania colonists had long since turned to hostility. In the nineteenth century, many reproductions of this image circulated, reminding Americans that Indians had been their allies and military partners.

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, a series of crises rocked the European colonies of North America. Social and political tensions boiled over in sometimes ruthless conflicts between rich and poor, free and slave, settler and Indian, and members of different religious groups. At the same time, struggles within and between European empires echoed in the colonies. Colonists and Native Americans got dragged into one another's wars.

In 1675, a Native alliance launched attacks on New Englanders whose farms and settlements were encroaching on its lands. It was the most violent warfare in the region in the seventeenth century. New Englanders called the conflict **King Philip's War**, believing that the Wampanoag leader **Metacom** (known to the colonists as King Philip) was the war's mastermind. In fact, it had many leaders, including a Wampanoag woman named Weetamoo. By this time, New England's colonial population outnumbered that of the Wampanoags. But the fate of the New England colonies hung in the balance. Wampanoags and their allies attacked nearly half of New England's ninety towns and destroyed many. As English refugees fled eastward, the line of settlement was pushed back almost to the Atlantic coast. Some 1,000 settlers out of a population of 52,000 died.

In mid-1676, the tide turned when the Mohawks joined the fight against the Wampanoags. Together, colonial and Native forces inflicted devastating punishment. New Englanders beheaded Metacom and Weetamoo and mounted their heads on stakes. Native towns were destroyed, and thousands of men, women, and children were killed or sold into slavery in the West Indies. Most of the survivors fled to Canada or New York. Even the "praying Indians"—about 2,000 who had converted to Christianity and lived in autonomous communities under Puritan supervision—were targeted, and some were shipped to the West Indies as if they were war captives.

In the long run, King Philip's War broadened freedom for white New Englanders by expanding their access to land. But this freedom rested on the death or dispossession of most of the region's Native peoples.

GLOBAL COMPETITION AND THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND'S EMPIRE

The Mercantilist System

By the middle of the seventeenth century, it was apparent that the colonies could be an important source of wealth for England. According to the prevailing theory known as **mercantilism**, governments should regulate economic activity so as to promote national power. They should encourage manufacturing and commerce by special bounties, monopolies, and other measures. Above all, trade should be controlled so that more gold and silver flowed into countries than left them. That is, exports of goods, which generated revenue from abroad, should exceed imports, which required paying foreigners for their products. In the mercantilist outlook, the role of colonies was to serve the interests of the home country by producing marketable raw materials and importing manufactured goods from home. "Foreign

FOCUS QUESTIONS



How did the English empire in America expand in the mid-seventeenth century? *–p. 79*

How was slavery established in the Western Atlantic world? *–p. 84*

What major social and political crises rocked the colonies in the late seventeenth century? *–p. 88*

What were the directions of social and economic change in the eighteenth-century colonies? *–p. 93*

How did patterns of class and gender roles change in eighteenth-century America? *–p. 100*

What was the extent of Native power across the continent by the mid-eighteenth century? *–p. 104*

King Philip's War (Metacom's War) A multiyear conflict that began in 1675 between the English and a Native alliance led by Wampanoags Metacom (King Philip) and Weetamoo. Its end result was broadened freedoms for white New Englanders and the dispossession of the Wampanoags and other Indians.

Metacom Wampanoag leader whom the colonists called King Philip; he led a war against the English colonists, one in which he was killed.

mercantilism Policy of Great Britain and other imperial powers of regulating the economies of colonies to benefit the mother country.

Navigation Act Law passed by the English Parliament to control colonial trade and bolster the mercantile system, 1651–1775; enforcement of the act led to growing resentment by colonists.

trade," declared an influential work written in 1664 by a London merchant, formed the basis of "England's treasure." Commerce was to be the foundation of empire.

Parliament in 1651 passed the first **Navigation Act**, which aimed to wrest control of world trade from the Dutch, whose merchants profited from free trade with all parts of the world and all existing empires. Additional measures followed in 1660 and 1663. According to the Navigation laws, certain "enumerated" goods—essentially, the most valuable colonial products, such as tobacco and sugar—had to be transported in English ships and sold initially in English ports, although they could then be re-exported to foreign markets. Similarly, most European goods imported into the colonies had to be shipped through England, where customs duties were paid. This enabled English merchants, manufacturers, shipbuilders, and sailors to reap the benefits of colonial trade and the government to enjoy added income from taxes. As members of the empire, American colonies would profit as well, since their ships were considered English. Indeed, the Navigation Acts stimulated the rise of New England's shipbuilding industry.

The Conquest of New Netherland

The restoration of the English monarchy when Charles II assumed the throne in 1660 sparked a new period of colonial expansion. The government chartered new trading ventures, notably the Royal African Company, which was given a monopoly of the slave trade. Within a generation, the number of English colonies in North America doubled.

First to come under English control was New Netherland, seized during a series of Anglo-Dutch Wars between 1664 and 1674 that also saw England gain control of Dutch trading posts in Africa. Charles II awarded the colony to his younger brother James, the duke of York, with "full and absolute power" to govern as he pleased. (Hence the colony's name became New York.) English rule transformed this minor military and trading base into an important imperial outpost, a seaport trading with the Caribbean and Europe, and a launching pad for military operations against the French. New York's European population, around 9,000 when the English assumed control, rose to 20,000 by 1685.

English rule expanded the freedom of some New Yorkers while reducing that of others. The terms of surrender guaranteed that the English would respect the religious beliefs and property holdings of the colony's many ethnic communities. But that guarantee did not extend to women's legal rights. The English law of coverture ended the Dutch tradition by which married women conducted business in their own name. There had been many female traders and business owners in New Amsterdam, but few remained by the end of the seventeenth century. The English increased the slave trade into New York City and issued the colony's first slave code, similar to that of Virginia and other southern colonies. In a reversal of Dutch practice, the English also expelled free Blacks from many skilled jobs.

A few families benefited enormously from English rule. The duke of York and his appointed governors continued the Dutch practice of awarding immense land grants to favorites. By 1700, nearly 2 million acres of land were owned by only five New York families who intermarried regularly, exerted considerable political influence, and formed one of colonial America's most tightly knit landed elites.

How did the English empire in America expand in the mid-seventeenth century?

EASTERN NORTH AMERICA IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES



By the early eighteenth century, numerous English colonies populated eastern North America, while the French had established their own presence to the north and west. Native nations still ruled the vast interior.

New York and the Haudenosaunee

Initially, English rule also strengthened the position of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) League. After a complex series of negotiations in the mid-1670s, Sir Edmund Andros, who had been appointed governor of New York after fighting the French in the Caribbean, linked New York with the Haudenosaunee League in an alliance



An engraving representing the Grand Council of the Haudenosaunee League of present-day upstate New York, from a book about American Indians published in Paris by a Jesuit missionary, who showed his admiration for Haudenosaunee governance and diplomacy by depicting them in the attire of ancient Romans. Note the prevalence of wampum belts in the image, in the foreground and in the hand and at the feet of the central figure. Wampum was used to certify and symbolize treaties and other agreements.

Covenant Chain Alliance formed in the 1670s between the English colony of New York and the Haudenosaunee League and eventually other colonies and Native nations.

known as the **Covenant Chain**, in which the imperial ambitions of the English and Haudenosaunee reinforced one another. The Five (later Six) Haudenosaunee Nations and New York joined together to fight Native rivals and the French. Andros, for his part, accepted the Haudenosaunee claim to authority over Native communities in the vast area stretching to the Ohio River. But beginning in the 1680s, Indians around the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley regrouped and with French aid attacked the Haudenosaunee, pushing them back east. By the end of the century, the Haudenosaunee adopted a policy of neutrality with the European empires while continuing to profit from the fur trade.

The Charter of Liberties

Many New York colonists, meanwhile, began to complain that they were being denied the "liberties of Englishmen," especially the right to consent to taxation. In 1683, the duke of York agreed to call an elected assembly, whose first act was to draft a Charter of Liberties and Privileges. The charter required that elections be held every three years among male property owners and the freemen of New York City; it also reaffirmed traditional English rights such as trial by jury and security of property, as well as religious toleration for all Protestants.

The Founding of Carolina

In 1663, Charles II awarded to eight proprietors the right to establish a colony north of Florida, as a barrier to Spanish expansion. In 1670, the first settlers arrived. Carolina began as an offshoot of the tiny island of Barbados, the Caribbean's richest plantation economy, where a shortage of land led wealthy planters to seek other opportunities for their sons. The early settlers of Carolina sought Native allies by offering guns for deer hides and captives, a policy that unleashed widespread raiding. Yamasee, Muscogee (Creek), and allied raiders traded some 10,000 Indians to Carolinians, who shipped most of them to other mainland colonies and the West

Indies as slaves. Indeed, between 1670 and 1720, the number of Indian slaves exported from Charleston was larger than the number of African slaves imported.

In 1715, the Yamasees, alarmed by the debts they had incurred in trade with the settlers, the lower prices Englishmen had begun paying for captives, and slave traders' raids into their own territory, decided to fight the English in what became known as the **Yamasee War**. The Yamasees recruited their Muscogee allies to join them, and they persuaded the Spanish to provide them with weapons. The Yamasees and Muscogees slew nearly 100 English traders, attacked plantations, and killed settlers. But the English recruited the Cherokees to join the war on their side, and their combined force defeated the Yamasees and Muscogees. Most of the surviving Yamasees were enslaved or driven out of the colony into Spanish Florida. As a result of the Yamasee War, the Carolina colonists decided that the Indian slave trade was too dangerous. From then on, they would buy almost exclusively enslaved Africans.

The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, issued by the proprietors in 1669, proposed to establish a feudal society with a hereditary nobility, serfs, and slaves. Needing to attract settlers quickly, however, the proprietors also provided for an elected assembly and religious toleration. They also instituted a generous headright system, offering 150 acres for each member of an arriving family and 100 acres to male servants who completed their terms.

Intending to replicate the plantation economy of Barbados, the proprietors promised slaveowners "absolute power and authority" over their human property and granted each slaveholder an additional 150 acres for each enslaved person brought to the colony. Thus, anyone who brought slaves, including planters from Barbados, instantly acquired large new landholdings. Carolina grew slowly until planters discovered the staple—rice—that would make them the wealthiest elite in the mainland English colonies and deeply entrench slavery in the future United States.

Yamasee War War between South Carolina and Yamasee and Muscogee Indians, aggravated by rising debts and slave traders' raids; although the Yamasee lost, the war resulted in the end of South Carolina's Indian slave trade.

Society of Friends (Quakers) Religious group in England and America whose members believed all persons possessed the "inner light" or spirit of God; they were early proponents of abolition of slavery and equal rights for women.

The Holy Experiment

The last English colony to be established in the seventeenth century was Pennsylvania in 1681. The proprietor, William Penn, envisioned it as a place where those facing religious persecution in Europe could enjoy spiritual freedom, and colonists and Native Americans would coexist in harmony.

A devout member of the **Society of Friends (Quakers)**, Penn was particularly concerned with establishing a refuge for his coreligionists, who faced increasing persecution in England. He had already assisted a group of English Quakers in purchasing half of what became the colony of New Jersey from Lord John Berkeley, who had received a land grant from the duke of York. Penn was largely responsible for the frame of government announced in 1677, the West Jersey Concessions, which created an elected assembly with a broad suffrage and established religious liberty.



A Quaker Meeting, a painting by an unidentified British artist, dating from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. It illustrates the prominent place of women in Quaker gatherings.

Like the Puritans, Penn considered his colony a "holy experiment," but of a different kind—"a free colony for all mankind that should go hither." He hoped that Pennsylvania could be governed according to Quaker principles, among them the equality of all persons (including



A portrait of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, by the British artist Francis Place.

women, Blacks, and Indians) before God and the primacy of the individual conscience. To Quakers, liberty was a universal entitlement, not the possession of any single people—a position that would eventually make them the first group of whites to repudiate slavery. Penn also treated Indians with a respect unique in the English colonial experience, purchasing land before reselling it to colonists and offering refuge to Native communities driven out of other colonies by warfare. Since Quakers were pacifists who came to America unarmed and did not even organize a militia until the 1740s, peace with Pennsylvania's Native neighbors was essential.

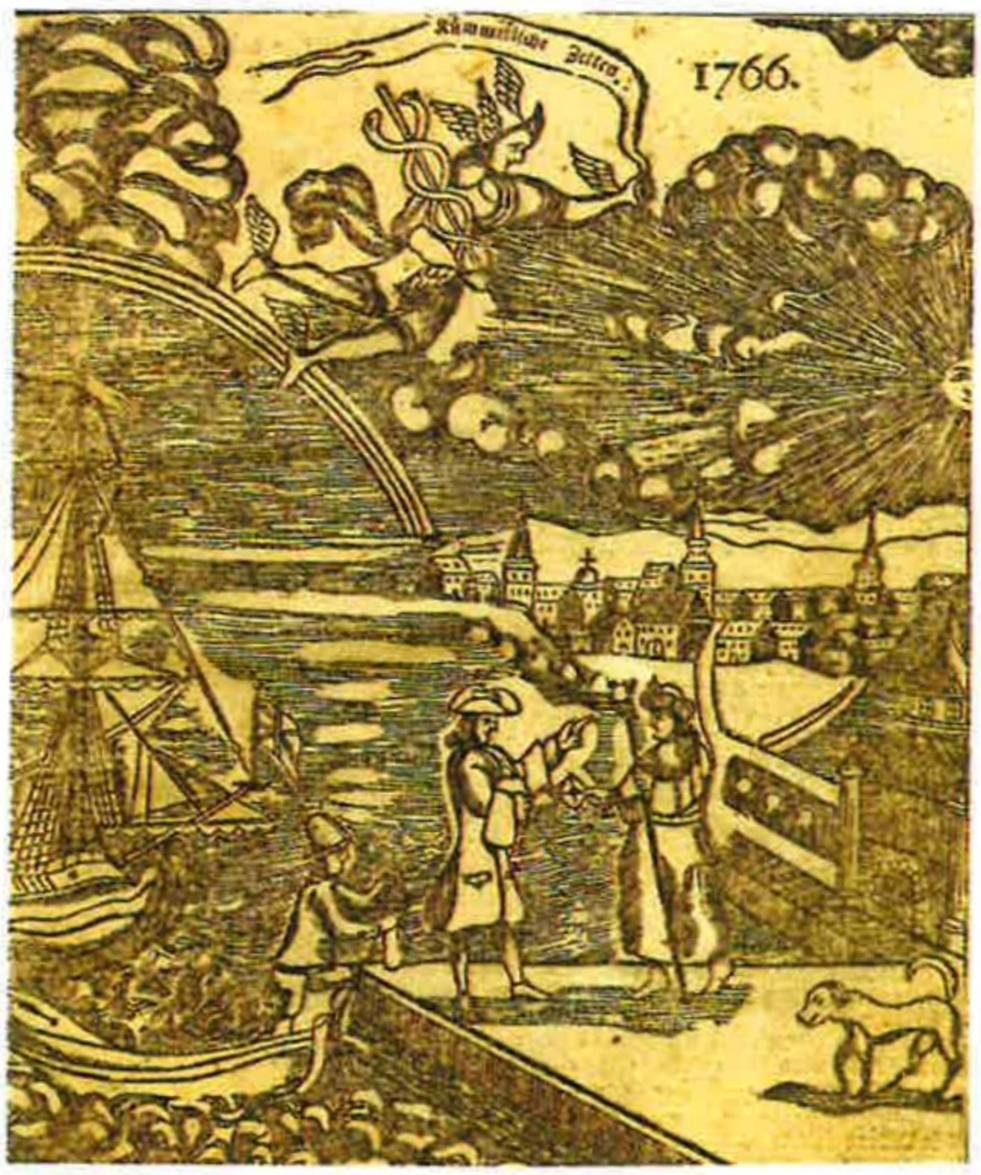
Religious freedom was Penn's most fundamental principle. His Charter of Liberty, approved by the assembly in 1682, offered "Christian liberty" to all who affirmed a belief in God and did not use their freedom to promote "licentiousness." There was no established church in Pennsylvania, and attendance at religious services was entirely voluntary, although Jews were barred from office by a required oath affirming belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ. At the same time, the Quakers upheld a strict code of personal morality. Penn's Frame of Government prohibited swearing, drunkenness, and adultery. Not religious uniformity but a virtuous citizenry would be the foundation of Penn's social order.

Land in Pennsylvania

Given the power to determine the colony's form of government, Penn established an appointed council to originate legislation and an assembly elected by male taxpayers and "freemen" (owners of 100 acres of land for free immigrants and 50 acres for former indentured servants). These rules made a majority of the male population eligible to vote. Penn owned all the colony's land and sold it to settlers at low prices, which helped the colony prosper. Pennsylvania's religious toleration, healthy climate, and inexpensive land, along with Penn's aggressive efforts to publicize the colony's advantages, soon attracted immigrants from all over western Europe.

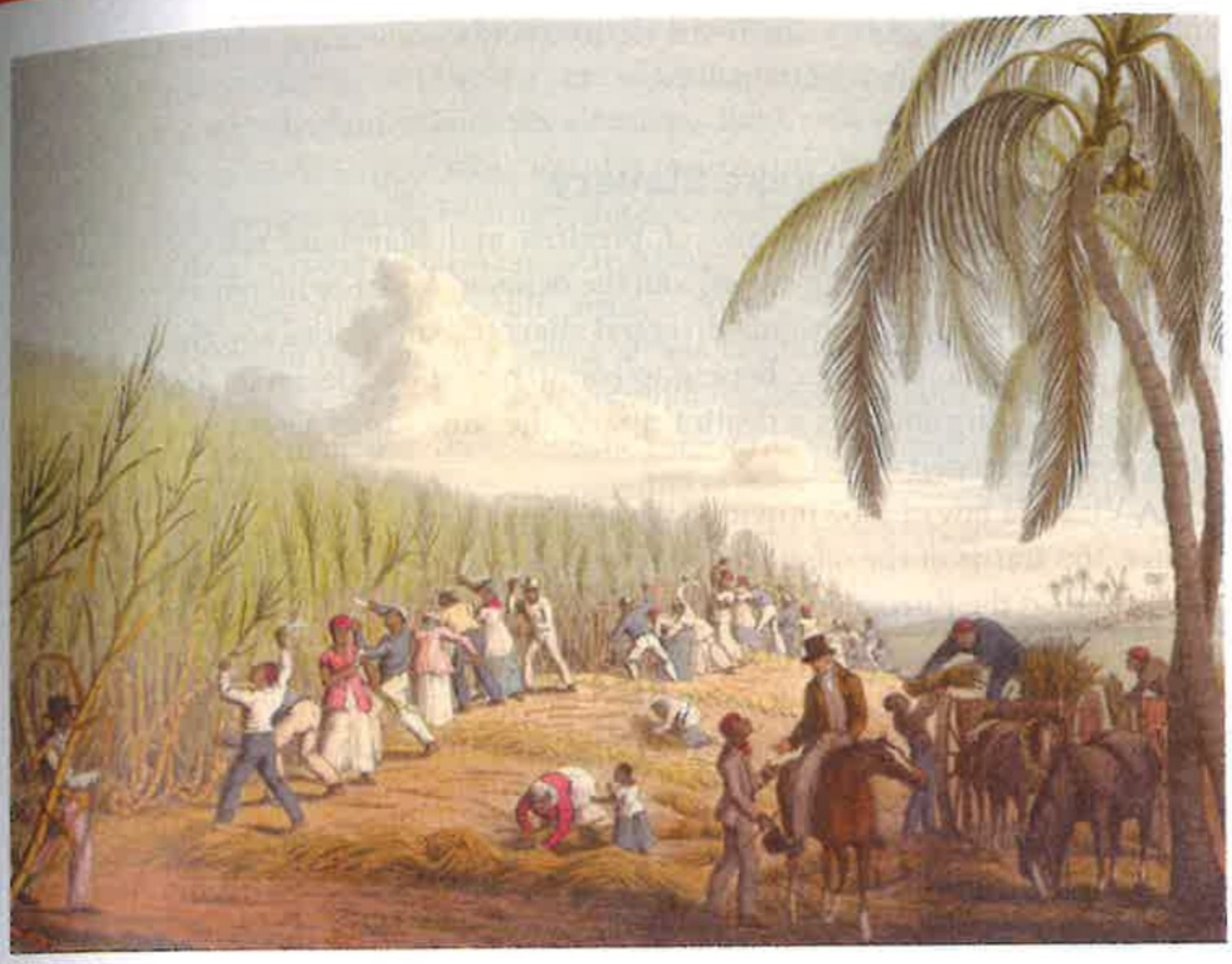
Ironically, the freedoms Pennsylvania offered to European immigrants contributed to the deterioration of freedom for others. The colony's successful efforts to attract settlers would eventually come into conflict with Penn's benevolent Indian policy. And the opening of Pennsylvania caused fewer indentured servants to choose Virginia and Maryland, a development that did much to shift those colonies toward reliance on slave labor.

An early-eighteenth-century engraving depicts William Penn welcoming a German immigrant on the dock in Philadelphia. Penn sought to make migrants from all over Europe feel at home in Pennsylvania.



ENTRENCHMENT OF AMERICAN SLAVERY

In the mid-1600s, slavery in mainland North America was a small-scale form of labor that existed alongside similar work by indentured and free laborers. By the 1800s, it would be a deeply entrenched institution that touched every part of American life.



Cutting Sugar Cane, an engraving from *Ten Views in Antigua*, published in 1823. Enslaved women and men harvest and load the sugar crop while an overseer on horseback addresses a slave. During the eighteenth century, sugar was the chief crop produced by Western Hemisphere slaves.

Gradually, starting in the second half of the 1600s, some colonies developed plantations worked by hundreds of enslaved men and women and legalized the permanent oppression of these laborers through severe legal codes. Colonies less dependent on slave labor began to benefit from the Atlantic trade that enslavement of Africans made possible.

Slavery and the Law

Centuries before the voyages of Columbus, Spain had enacted a series of laws granting enslaved people certain rights relating to marriage, the holding of property, and access to freedom. These laws were transferred to Spain's American empire. They were often violated, but nonetheless enslaved people used them to claim rights under the law. The law of slavery in English North America would become far more repressive than in the Spanish empire, especially on the all-important question of whether avenues existed by which slaves could obtain freedom.

For much of the seventeenth century, however, the line between slavery and freedom in the English mainland colonies was more permeable than it would later become. Although seventeenth-century Black arrivals were treated as slaves, at least some managed to become free after serving a term of years. To be sure, racial distinctions were enacted into law from the outset and generally were stricter than in French, Spanish, and Dutch colonies. As early as the 1620s, the law barred Black men from serving in the Virginia militia. In 1643, a poll tax (a tax levied on individuals) was imposed on African but not white women. In both Virginia and Maryland, however, free Black men could sue and testify in court, and some even managed to acquire land and purchase white servants or African slaves. Blacks

and whites labored side by side in the tobacco fields, sometimes ran away together, and established intimate relationships.

The Rise of Chesapeake Slavery

Not until the 1660s did the laws of Virginia and Maryland refer explicitly to slavery. As tobacco planting spread and the demand for labor increased, the condition of Black and white servants diverged sharply. Authorities sought to improve the status of white servants, hoping to counteract the widespread impression in England that Virginia was a death trap. At the same time, access to freedom for Black people receded.

A Virginia law of 1662 provided that in the case of a child of a free person and a slave, the status of the offspring followed that of the mother. This provision not only reversed the European practice of defining a child's status through the father but also made the sexual abuse of enslaved women profitable for slaveholders, since any children that resulted remained the owner's property. In 1667, the Virginia House of Burgesses decreed that religious conversion did not release a slave from bondage. Thus, Christians could own other Christians as slaves. Authorities also defined all offspring of interracial relationships as illegitimate. By 1680, even though the Black population was still small, notions of racial difference were well entrenched in the law. In British North America, unlike the Spanish empire, no distinctive mixed-race class existed; the law treated everyone with African ancestry as Black.

Bacon's Rebellion: Land and Labor in Virginia

Virginia's shift from white indentured servants to African slaves as the main plantation labor force was accelerated by one of the most dramatic confrontations of this era, **Bacon's Rebellion** of 1676. Governor William Berkeley had for thirty years run a corrupt regime in alliance with an inner circle of the colony's wealthiest tobacco planters. He rewarded his followers with land grants and lucrative offices. But as tobacco farming spread inland, planters connected with the governor engrossed the best lands, leaving freed servants (a growing population, since Virginia's death rate was finally falling) with no options but to work as tenants or to move to the frontier. By the 1670s, poverty among whites had reached levels reminiscent of England. In addition, the right to vote, previously enjoyed by all adult men, was confined to landowners in 1670. Governor Berkeley maintained peaceful relations with Virginia's Native population. His refusal to encourage white settlement on Native land bordering Virginia angered many land-hungry colonists.

Bacon's Rebellion Unsuccessful 1676 revolt led by planter Nathaniel Bacon against British Governor of Virginia William Berkeley's administration.

Long-simmering social tensions coupled with widespread resentment against the Berkeley regime erupted in Bacon's Rebellion. In 1676, after a confrontation between colonists and Doeg and Susquehannock Indians, settlers demanded that the governor authorize the extermination or removal of Indians on the colony's borders, to open more land for whites. When Berkeley refused, Bacon's unauthorized and shocking massacre of Occaneechi allies of Virginia quickly grew into a full-fledged rebellion.

To some extent, Bacon's Rebellion was a conflict within the Virginia elite—between Berkeley's men and the backers of Nathaniel Bacon, a wealthy and ambitious planter who disdained Berkeley's cronies. But Bacon's call for the removal of all Indians from the colony, a reduction of taxes at a time of economic recession, and an end to rule by "grandees" rapidly gained support from small farmers, landless men, indentured servants, and even some Africans. The bulk of his army consisted of discontented men who had recently been servants.

Bacon promised freedom (including access to Indian lands) to all who joined his ranks. In 1676, Bacon gathered an armed force for an unauthorized and indiscriminate campaign against those he called the governor's "protected and darling Indians." He marched on Jamestown, burning it to the ground. The governor fled, and Bacon became the ruler of Virginia. Only the arrival of a squadron of warships from England restored order.

The specter of a civil war among whites greatly frightened Virginia's ruling elite, who took dramatic steps to consolidate their power and improve their image. They restored property qualifications for voting, which Bacon had rescinded. At the same time, planters cultivated the support of poorer neighbors. The authorities reduced taxes and began granting fifty acres of land to servants who completed their indentures.

English colonists united to expand their own freedoms at the expense of others. A more aggressive Indian policy took lands from Native peoples on Virginia's western borders and gave them to landless white Virginians, many of whom prospered from a rise in tobacco prices after 1680. To avert the further growth of a rebellious population of landless former indentured servants, Virginia's authorities accelerated the shift to slaves (who would never become free) on the tobacco plantations.



Sir William Berkeley, governor of colonial Virginia, 1641–1652 and 1660–1677. Berkeley's authoritarian rule helped to spark Bacon's Rebellion.

A Slave Society

Between 1680 and 1700, slave labor began to supplant indentured servitude on Chesapeake plantations. Bacon's Rebellion contributed to this development, but so did other factors. As the death rate began to fall, it became more economical to purchase a laborer for life. Moreover, the Royal Africa Company's monopoly on the English slave trade ended, thus opening the door to other traders and reducing the price of imported African slaves.

By 1700, Black people constituted more than 10 percent of Virginia's population. Fifty years later, they made up nearly half. Recognizing the growing importance of slavery, the House of Burgesses in 1705 enacted a new slave code. Slaves were property, completely subject to the will of their enslavers and, more generally, of the white community. They could be bought and sold, leased, fought over in court, and passed on to descendants. Henceforth, Blacks and whites were tried in separate courts. No Black person, free or enslaved, could own arms, strike a white man, or employ a white servant. Virginia had changed from a "society with slaves," in which slavery was one system of labor among others, to a "slave society," where slavery stood at the center of the economic process.

Throughout history, enslaved men and women have run away and in other ways resisted bondage. Colonial newspapers were filled with advertisements for



A scene from King Philip's War, included on a 1675 map of New England.

runaway slaves. These notices described the appearance and skills of the person and included such comments as "He has great notions of freedom."

COLONIES IN CRISIS

King Philip's War of 1675–1676 and Bacon's Rebellion the following year coincided with disturbances in other colonies. In Maryland, where the proprietor, Lord Baltimore, in 1670 suddenly restricted the right to vote to owners of fifty acres of land or a certain amount of personal property, a Protestant uprising unsuccessfully sought to oust his government and restore the suffrage for all freemen. As the English colonies grew in population and the balance of power shifted, wars broke out with their Native allies. Colonists also fought with Native nations on their borders, as settlers squatted on Indian hunting and gathering lands. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 (discussed in Chapter 1) indicated that the crisis of colonial authority was not confined to the British empire.

The Glorious Revolution

Glorious Revolution A coup in 1688 engineered by a small group of aristocrats that led to William of Orange taking the British throne in place of James II.

Turmoil in England also reverberated in the colonies. In 1688, the long struggle for domination of English government between Parliament and the crown reached its culmination in the **Glorious Revolution**, which established parliamentary supremacy once and for all and secured the Protestant succession to the throne. When Charles II died in 1685, he was succeeded by his brother James II (formerly the duke of York), a practicing Catholic and a believer that kings ruled by divine right. In 1687, James decreed religious toleration for both Protestant Dissenters and Catholics. The following year, the birth of James's son raised the alarming prospect of a Catholic succession. A group of English aristocrats invited the Dutch nobleman William of Orange to assume the throne with his wife, James's Protestant daughter Mary, in the name of English liberties. As the landed elite and leaders of the Anglican Church rallied to William and Mary's cause, James II fled and the revolution was complete.

English Bill of Rights A series of laws enacted in 1689 that inscribed the rights of English men into law and enumerated parliamentary powers such as taxation.

Unlike the broad social upheaval that marked the English Civil War of the 1640s, the Glorious Revolution was in effect a coup engineered by a group of aristocrats with an ambitious Dutch prince. But the overthrow of James II entrenched more firmly than ever the notion that liberty was the birthright of all Englishmen and that the king was subject to the rule of law. To justify the ouster of James II, Parliament in 1689 enacted an **English Bill of Rights**, which listed parliamentary powers such as control over taxation as well as rights of individuals, including trial by jury. In the same year, the Toleration Act allowed Protestant Dissenters (but not Catholics) to worship freely, although only Anglicans could hold public office.

What major social and political crises rocked the colonies in the late seventeenth century?

As always, English politics were mirrored in the American colonies. After the Glorious Revolution, Protestant domination was secured in most of the colonies, while Catholics and Dissenters suffered various forms of discrimination. Throughout English America the Glorious Revolution powerfully reinforced among the colonists the sense of sharing a proud legacy of freedom and Protestantism with England.

The Glorious Revolution in America

The Glorious Revolution exposed fault lines in colonial society and offered local elites an opportunity to regain authority that had recently been challenged. Until the mid-1670s, the North American colonies had essentially governed themselves, with little interference from England. Governor Berkeley ran Virginia as he saw fit; proprietors in New York, Maryland, and Carolina governed in any fashion they could persuade colonists to accept; and New England colonies elected their own officials and openly flouted trade regulations. In 1675, however, England established the **Lords of Trade** to oversee colonial affairs. Three years later, the Lords questioned the Massachusetts government about its compliance with the Navigation Acts. They received the surprising reply that since the colony had no representatives in Parliament, the acts did not apply to it unless the Massachusetts General Court approved.

In the 1680s, England moved to reduce colonial autonomy. Shortly before his death, James II between 1686 and 1689 combined Connecticut, Plymouth, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, and East and West Jersey into a single super-colony, the **Dominion of New England**. It was ruled by the former New York governor Sir Edmund Andros, who did not have to answer to an elected assembly. These events reinforced the impression that James II was an enemy of freedom.

In 1689, news of the overthrow of James II triggered rebellions in several American colonies. In April, the Boston militia seized and jailed Edmund Andros and other officials, whereupon the New England colonies reestablished the governments abolished when the Dominion of New England was created. In May, a rebel militia headed by Captain Jacob Leisler established a Committee of Safety and took control of New York. Two months later, Maryland's Protestant Association overthrew the government of the colony's Catholic proprietor, Lord Baltimore.

All of these new regimes claimed to have acted in the name of English liberties and looked to London for approval. But the degrees of success of these coups varied markedly. Concluding that Lord Baltimore had mismanaged the Maryland colony, William and Mary revoked his charter (although the proprietor retained his land and rents) and established a new, Protestant-dominated government. In 1715, after the Baltimore family had converted to Anglicanism, proprietary power was restored. But the events of 1689 transformed the ruling group in Maryland and put an end to the colony's unique history of religious toleration.

The outcome in New York was far different. Although it was not his intention, Jacob Leisler's regime divided the colony along ethnic and economic lines. Members of the Dutch majority reclaimed local power after more than two decades of English rule, while bands of rebels ransacked the homes of wealthy New Yorkers.



King William III, a portrait by an unknown artist, painted around 1697. William, who came to power in England as a result of the Glorious Revolution, wears an ermine cape.

Lords of Trade An English regulatory board established to oversee colonial affairs in 1675.

Dominion of New England Consolidation into a single colony of the New England colonies—and later New York and New Jersey—by royal governor Edmund Andros in 1686.



VOICES OF FREEDOM

MARYLAND ACT CONCERNING NEGROES AND OTHER SLAVES (1664)

Like Virginia, Maryland in the 1660s enacted laws to clarify questions arising from the growing importance of slavery. This law made all Black servants in the colony slaves for life and required any white woman who married an enslaved man to serve her husband's owner.

Be it enacted by the Right Honorable the Lord Proprietary by the advice and consent of the upper and lower house of this present General Assembly, that all Negroes or other slaves already within the province, and all Negroes and other slaves to be hereafter imported into the province, shall serve durante vita [for life]. And all children born of any Negro or other slave shall be slaves as their fathers were, for the term of their lives.

And forasmuch as divers freeborn English women, forgetful of their free condition and to the disgrace of our nation, marry Negro slaves, by which also divers suits may arise touching the issue [children] of such women, and a great damage befalls the masters of such Negroes for prevention whereof, for deterring such freeborn women from such shameful matches. Be it further enacted by the authority, advice, and consent aforesaid, that whatsoever freeborn woman shall marry any slave from and after the last day of this present Assembly shall serve the master of such slave during the life of her husband. And that all the issue of such freeborn women so married shall be slaves as their fathers were. And be it further enacted, that all the issues of English or other freeborn women that have already married Negroes shall serve the masters of their parents till they be thirty years of age and no longer.

LETTER BY AN INDENTURED SERVANT (MARCH 20, 1623)

Only a minority of emigrants from Europe to the English colonies were fully free. Indentured servants were men and women who surrendered their freedom for a specified period of time in exchange for passage to the Americas. This letter that Richard Frethorne sent from Virginia to his parents in England expresses complaints voiced by many indentured servants.

LOVING AND KIND FATHER AND MOTHER:

My most humble duty remembered to you, hoping in god of your good health, as I myself am. . . . This is to let you understand that I your child am in a most heavy case by reason of the country, [which] is such that it causeth much sickness, [such] as the scurvy and the bloody flux and divers [many] other diseases, which maketh the body very poor and weak. And when we are sick there is nothing to comfort us; for since I came out of the ship I never ate anything but peas, and lobbollie (that is, water gruel). As for deer or venison I never saw any since I came into this land. . . . And I have nothing to comfort me, nor is there nothing to be gotten here but sickness and death, except [in the event] that one had money to lay out in some things for profit. But I have nothing at all—no, not a shirt to my back but two rags, nor clothes but one poor suit, nor but one pair of shoes, but one pair of stockings, but one cap, [and] but two bands [collars]. . . . And indeed so I find it now, to my great grief and misery; and [I] saith that if you love me you will redeem me suddenly, for which I do entreat and beg. And if you cannot get the merchants to redeem me for some little money . . . Wherefore, for God's sake, pity me. I pray you to

remember my love to all my friends and kindred. I hope all my brothers and sisters are in good health, and as for my part I have set down my resolution that certainly will be; that is, that the answer of this letter will be life or death to me.

ROT
Richard Frethorne

MINI-DBQ PRACTICE

1. Complete SOAPSTone for each document included here. See pages lxviii–lxxi in the AP® U.S. History Skills Handbook for the steps of the SOAPSTone procedure.
2. Evaluate the extent to which non-English settlers enjoyed the benefits of freedom in the American colonies.

In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
- Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
- Support an argument using both documents.
- Use ONE additional piece of specific historical evidence (outside the documents) relevant to an argument about the prompt.
- For ONE document, explain how or why the document's point of view, purpose, historical situation, and/or audience is relevant to your argument.
- Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify your argument.

William and Mary refused to recognize Leisler's authority and dispatched a new governor, backed by troops. Many of Leisler's followers were imprisoned, and he himself was executed. For generations, the rivalry between Leisler and anti-Leisler parties polarized New York politics.

The New England colonies, after deposing Governor Andros, lobbied hard in London for the restoration of their original charters. Most were successful, but Massachusetts was not. In 1691, the crown issued a new charter that absorbed Plymouth into Massachusetts and transformed the political structure of the Bible Commonwealth. Town government remained intact, but henceforth property ownership, not church membership, would be the requirement to vote in elections for the General Court. The governor was now appointed in London rather than elected. Massachusetts became a royal colony, the majority of whose voters were no longer Puritan "saints." Moreover, it was required to abide by the **English Toleration Act** of 1689—that is, to allow all Protestants to worship freely.

English Toleration Act A 1689 act of Parliament that allowed all English Protestants to worship freely.

Salem witch trials A crisis of trials and executions in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692 that resulted from anxiety over witchcraft.

These events produced an atmosphere of considerable tension in Massachusetts, exacerbated by raids by allied Native and French fighters on the northern border of New England. The advent of religious toleration heightened anxieties among the Puritan clergy, who considered other Protestant denominations a form of heresy. Indeed, quite a few Puritans thought they saw the hand of Satan in the events of 1690 and 1691.

The Salem Witch Trials

Belief in magic, astrology, and witchcraft was widespread in seventeenth-century Europe and America, existing alongside the religious beliefs sanctioned by the clergy and churches. Witches were individuals, usually women, who were accused of having entered into a pact with the devil to obtain supernatural powers, which they used to harm others or to interfere with natural processes. When a child was stillborn or crops failed, many believed that witchcraft was at work.

In Europe and the colonies, witchcraft was punishable by execution. It is estimated that between the years 1400 and 1800, more than 50,000 people were executed in Europe after being convicted of witchcraft. Witches were, from time to time, hanged in seventeenth-century New England. Most were women beyond childbearing age who were outspoken, economically independent, or estranged from their husbands, or who in other ways violated traditional gender norms.

An engraving from Ralph Gardiner's *England's Grievance Discovered*, published in 1655, depicts women hanged as witches in England. The letters identify local officials: A is the hangman, B the town crier, C the sheriff, and D a magistrate.



Until 1692, the prosecution of witches had been sporadic. But in that year, a series of trials and executions took place in Salem, Massachusetts, that made its name to this day a byword for fanaticism and persecution. The **Salem witch trials** began when several young girls began to suffer fits and nightmares, attributed by their elders to witchcraft. Soon, three "witches" had been named, including Tituba, a Native woman from the Caribbean who was enslaved in the home of one of the girls. Since the only way to avoid prosecution was

to confess and name others, accusations of witchcraft began to snowball. By the middle of 1692, hundreds of residents of Salem had come forward to accuse their neighbors. Although many of the accused confessed to save their lives, fourteen women and five men were hanged, protesting their innocence to the end.

As accusations and executions multiplied, it became clear that something was seriously wrong with the colony's system of justice. The governor of Massachusetts dissolved the Salem court and ordered the remaining prisoners released. The events in Salem discredited the tradition of prosecuting witches and encouraged prominent colonists to seek scientific explanations for natural events such as comets and illnesses, rather than attribute them to magic.

THE GROWTH OF COLONIAL AMERICA

In North America, three new and very different empires were competing for wealth and power. The urban-based Spanish empire, with a settler elite, a growing ***mestizo*** population, and a large Native labor force, still relied for wealth primarily on the gold and silver mines of Mexico and South America. The French empire centered on the plantation islands of Saint Domingue, Martinique, and Guadeloupe. On the mainland, it consisted of a string of farms and trading posts in the St. Lawrence Valley. In North America north of the Rio Grande, the English claimed less land than their rivals but outpaced them in population and trade.

mestizos Spanish word for persons of mixed Native American and European ancestry.

As stability returned after the crises of the late seventeenth century, English North America experienced an era of remarkable growth. Starvation and disease diminished, agricultural settlement pressed westward, and hundreds of thousands of newcomers arrived from Europe. Thanks to a high birthrate and immigration, the population of England's mainland colonies, 265,000 in 1700, grew to over 2.3 million by 1770. At the same time, in places where Europeans brought war, enslavement, and destruction of natural resources, Native populations declined. When disease accompanied intensive colonization, the effects were catastrophic. In 1700, Native Americans still outnumbered Europeans in North America, but over the course of the next century, the population of the English colonies would outstrip everyone else.

A Diverse Population

Probably the most striking characteristic of eighteenth-century British colonial society was its diversity. In 1700, the colonies were essentially English outposts. In the eighteenth century, African and non-English European arrivals skyrocketed, while the number emigrating from England declined.

About 40 percent of European immigrants to the colonies during the eighteenth century continued to arrive as bound laborers who had temporarily sacrificed their freedom to make the voyage to the New World. But as the colonial economy prospered, poor indentured migrants were increasingly joined by professionals and skilled craftsmen—teachers, ministers, weavers, carpenters—whom England could ill afford to lose. This brought to an end official efforts to promote English emigration.

Nevertheless, the government in London remained convinced that colonial development enhanced the nation's power and wealth. To bolster the Chesapeake

TABLE 3.1 Origins of Free and Unfree Newcomers to British North American Colonies, 1700–1775

	TOTAL	SLAVES	INDENTURED SERVANTS	CONVICTS	FREE
Africa	278,400	278,400	—	—	—
Ireland	108,600	—	39,000	17,500	52,100
Germany	84,500	—	30,000	—	54,500
England/Wales	73,100	—	27,200	32,500	13,400
Scotland	35,300	—	7,400	2,200	25,700
Other	5,900	—	—	—	5,900
Total	585,800	278,400	103,600	52,200	151,600

labor force, nearly 50,000 convicts were sent to work in the tobacco fields. Officials also encouraged Protestant immigration from the non-English parts of the British Isles and from the European continent, promising newcomers access to land and the right to worship freely.

Among eighteenth-century migrants from the British Isles, the 70,000 English newcomers were considerably outnumbered by 145,000 from Scotland and Ulster, the northern part of Ireland, where many Scots had settled as part of England's effort to subdue the island. Mostly Presbyterians, they added significantly to religious diversity in North America.

The German Migration

Germans, 85,000 in all, formed the largest group of newcomers from the European continent. In the eighteenth century, Germany was divided into numerous small states, each with a ruling prince who determined the official religion. Those who found themselves worshiping the "wrong" religion—Lutherans in Catholic areas, Catholics in Lutheran areas, and everywhere, followers of small Protestant sects such as Mennonites, Moravians, and Dunkers—faced persecution. Many decided to emigrate. Other migrants were motivated by persistent agricultural crises and the difficulty of acquiring land.

English and Dutch merchants created a well-organized system whereby **redemptioners** (as indentured families were called) received passage in exchange for a promise to work off their debt in America. Most settled in frontier areas—rural New York, western Pennsylvania, and the southern backcountry—where they formed tightly knit farming communities in which German remained the dominant language.

redemptioners Indentured families or persons who received passage to the New World in exchange for a promise to work off their debt in America.

Religious Diversity

Eighteenth-century British America was not a "melting pot" of cultures. Ethnic groups tended to live and worship in relatively homogeneous communities. But

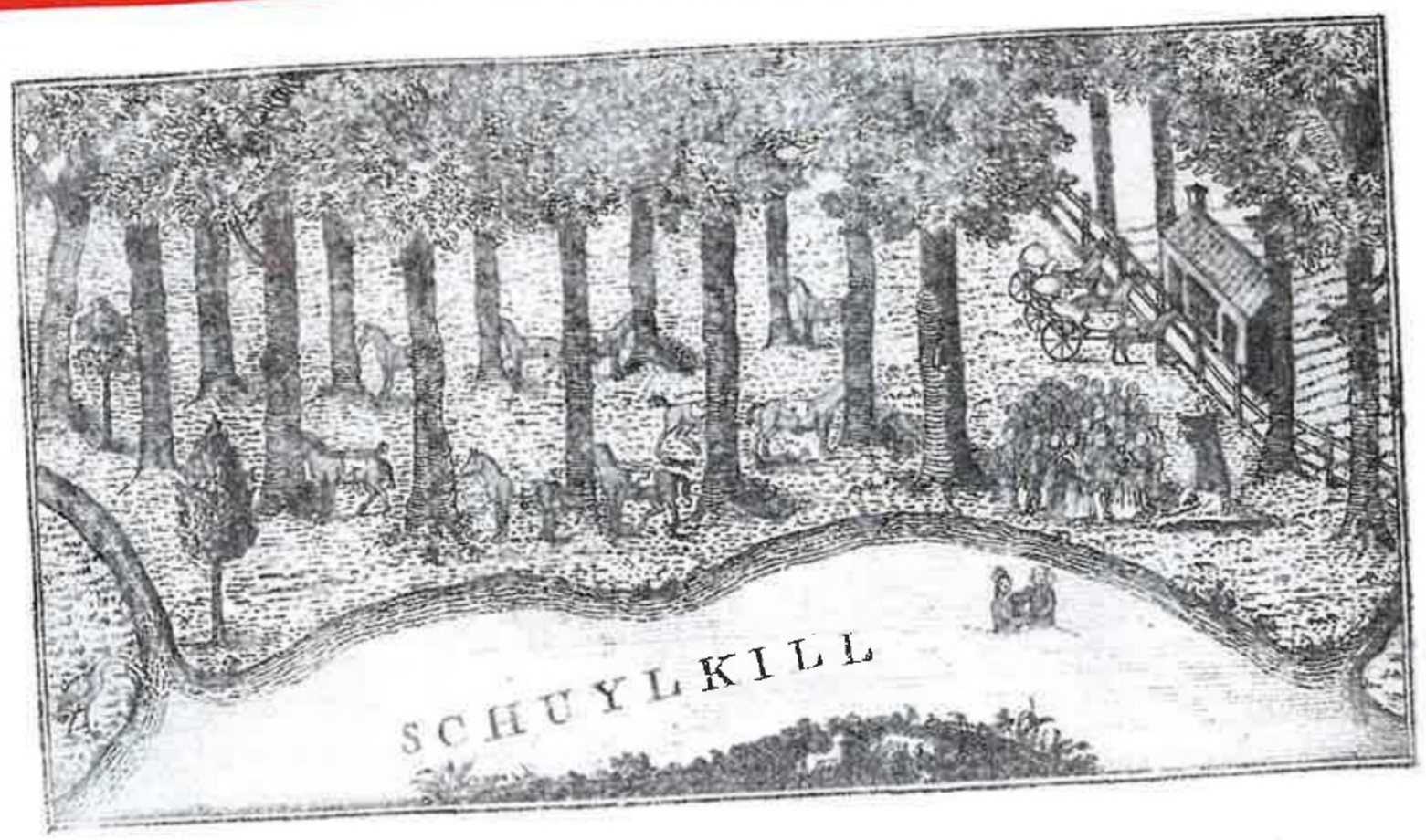
What were the directions of social and economic change in the eighteenth-century colonies?

DIVERSITY IN THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS, ATLANTIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, 1760



Among the most striking features of eighteenth-century British colonial society was the racial and ethnic diversity of the population (except in New England). This resulted from increased immigration from the non-English parts of the British Isles and from mainland Europe, as well as the rapid expansion of the slave trade from Africa. Also note how little of the continent Europeans possessed in 1760, after nearly two centuries of colonial attempts.

Baptists were among the numerous religious denominations in the eighteenth-century colonies. In this engraving, from a history of American Baptists published in 1770, a minister baptizes a new member in the Schuylkill River in Pennsylvania, while members of the congregation look on.



outside of New England, which received few immigrants and retained its overwhelmingly English ethnic character, American society had a far more diverse population than Britain. Nowhere was this more evident than in the practice of religion.

Apart from New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania, the colonies did not adhere to a modern separation of church and state. Nearly every colony levied taxes to pay the salaries of ministers of an established church, and most barred Catholics and Jews from voting and holding public office. But increasingly, de facto toleration among Protestant denominations flourished. By the mid-eighteenth century, dissenting Protestants in most colonies had gained the right to worship as they pleased and own their churches, although many places still barred them from holding public office and taxed them to support the official church. A visitor to Pennsylvania in 1750 described the colony's religious diversity: "We find there Lutherans, Reformed, Catholics, Quakers, Menonists or Anabaptists, Herrnhuters or Moravian Brethren, Pietists, Seventh Day Baptists, Dunkers, Presbyterians, . . . Jews, Mohammedans, Pagans."

Native–Colonial Relations

The newcomers, who equated liberty with possession of land, threatened Native nations on the Atlantic coast. By the eighteenth century, Native people were well integrated into global trade networks. New confederacies, including the Catawbas of South Carolina and the Muscogee (Creek) Confederacy to the west of South Carolina and Georgia, united formerly independent towns and also absorbed Indigenous refugees from colonial wars. To preserve their independence from colonists, many moved farther away and became more interdependent with other Native peoples.

Like many other Native peoples, the Delawares had built strong economic and diplomatic relationships with colonies, only to be undermined by the large numbers of immigrants pushing west. While European traders saw potential profits in



WHO IS AN AMERICAN?

FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE INCREASE OF MANKIND (1751)

Only a minority of immigrants from Europe to British North America in the eighteenth century came from the British Isles. Some prominent colonists found the growing diversity of the population quite disturbing. Benjamin Franklin was particularly troubled by the large influx of newcomers from Germany into Pennsylvania in the mid-eighteenth century.

Why should the Palatine [German] boors be suffered to swarm into our settlements, and by herding together establish their language and manners to the exclusion of ours? Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a Colony of *Aliens*, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our language or customs, any more than they can acquire our complexion?

Which leads me to add one remark: That the number of purely white people in the world is proportionably very small. All Africa is black or tawny. Asia chiefly tawny. America (exclusive of the newcomers) wholly so. And in Europe, the Spaniards, Italians, French, Russians and Swedes, are generally of what we call a swarthy complexion; as are the Germans also, the Saxons only excepted, who with the English, make the principal body of white people on the face of the earth. I could wish their numbers were increased. And while we are, as I may call it, *scouring* our planet, by clearing America of woods, and so making this side of our globe reflect a brighter light to the eyes of inhabitants in Mars or Venus, why should we . . . darken its people? Why increase the sons of Africa, by planting them in America, where we have so fair an opportunity, by excluding all Blacks and Tawneys, of increasing the lovely White and Red? But perhaps I am partial to the complexion of my country, for such kind of partiality is natural to mankind.

AP® QUESTIONS

1. *Briefly explain Franklin's objection to the growing German presence.*
2. *Evaluate the reliability of Franklin's perceptions of non-English peoples.*



In 1734, representatives of the Muscogee (Creek) Confederacy traveled to London to conduct diplomacy with British king George II and other officials, including the trustees of the colony of Georgia, pictured in this painting. Included in the Muscogee delegation are Chief Tomochichi, his wife Senawchi, and a Muscogee boy in the center. The eagle in the bottom right corner was a gift from the Muscogees to the king.

Native towns, nations, and confederacies, and British officials saw allies against France and Spain, farmers and planters viewed Indians as little more than an obstacle to their desire for land. The infamous **Walking Purchase** of 1737 brought the fraudulent dealing so common in other colonies to Pennsylvania. Colonists pressured Delawares into agreeing to an arrangement to cede a tract of land bounded by the distance a man could walk in thirty-six hours. To the Delawares' amazement, Governor James Logan hired a team of swift runners, who marked out an area far in excess of what they had anticipated.

By 1760, Pennsylvania's population, a mere 20,000 in 1700, had grown to 220,000. Native-colonist relations, initially the most harmonious in British North America, had become poisoned by suspicion and hostility. One group of Susquehannocks declared "that the white people had abused them and taken their lands from them, and therefore they had no reason to think that they were now concerned for their happiness." They pointedly reminded Pennsylvanians that "old William Penn" had treated them with fairness and respect.

Regional Diversity

By the mid-eighteenth century, the different regions of the British colonies had developed distinct economic and social orders. Small farms tilled by family labor and geared primarily to production for local consumption predominated in New England and the new settlements of the **backcountry** (the area stretching from central Pennsylvania southward through the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia and into upland North and South Carolina). The backcountry was the most rapidly growing region in North America. By the eve of the American Revolution, it contained one-quarter of Virginia's population and half of South Carolina's. Most of these people were farm families raising grain and livestock.

In the older portions of the Middle Colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, farmers were more oriented to commerce than on the frontier. They grew grain both for their own use and for sale abroad and supplemented the work of family members by employing wage laborers, tenants, and in some instances slaves. With its fertile soil, favorable climate, initially peaceful Indian relations, generous governmental land distribution policy, and rivers that facilitated long-distance trading, Pennsylvania came to be known as "the best poor man's country." Ordinary colonists there enjoyed a standard of living unimaginable in Europe.

The Consumer Revolution

During the eighteenth century, Great Britain eclipsed the Dutch as the leading producer and trader of inexpensive consumer goods, including colonial products like coffee and tea and such manufactured goods as linen, metalware, pins, ribbons, glassware, ceramics, and clothing. Trade integrated the British empire. The American

Walking Purchase An infamous 1737 purchase of Native American land in which Pennsylvanian colonists tricked the Delaware Indians, who had agreed to cede land equivalent to the distance a man could walk in thirty-six hours, but the colonists marked out an area using a team of runners.

backcountry In colonial America, the area stretching from central Pennsylvania southward through the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia and into upland North and South Carolina.

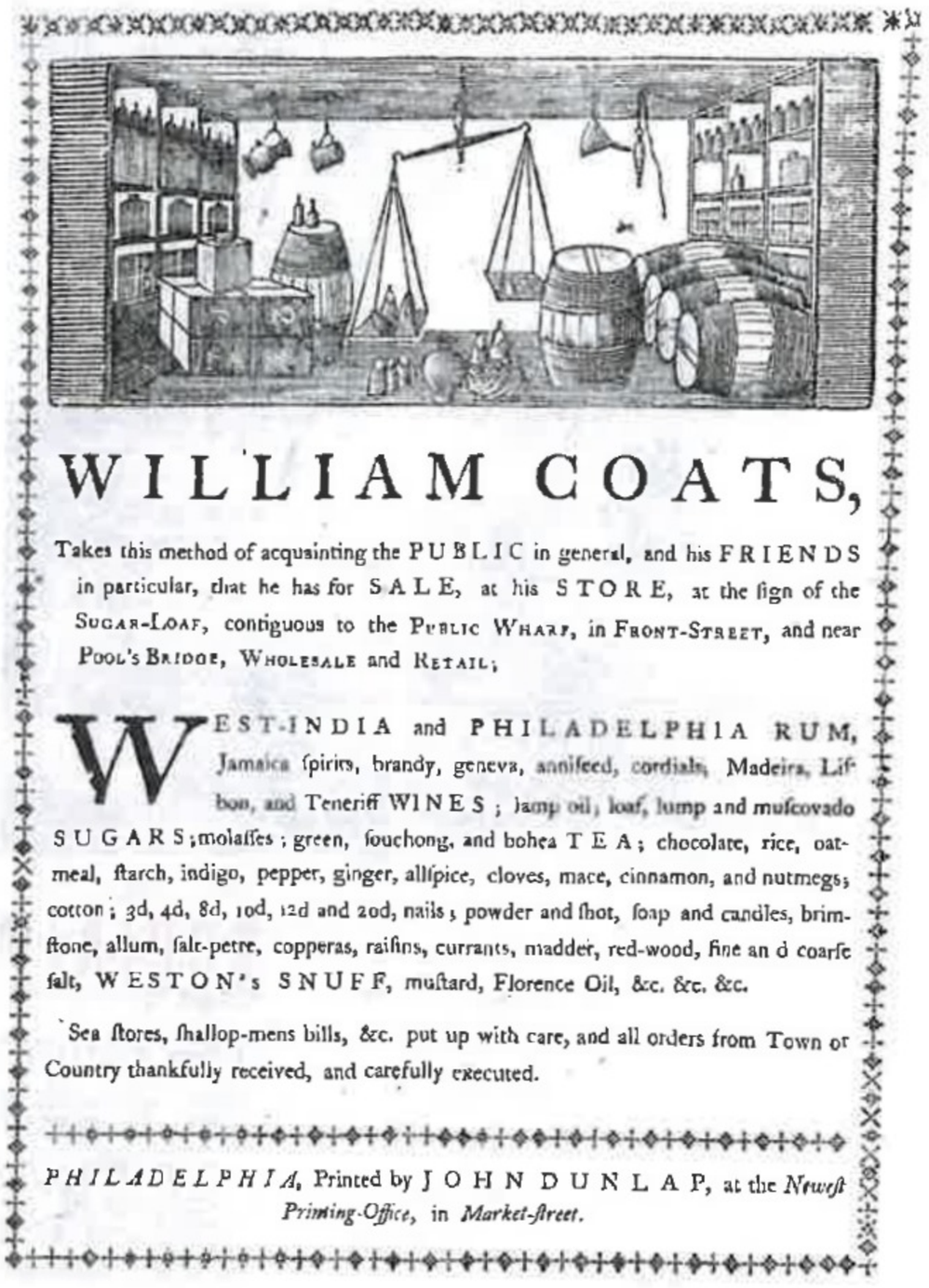
colonies shared in the era's consumer revolution. In port cities and small inland towns, shops proliferated and American newspapers were filled with advertisements for British goods.

Consumerism in a modern sense—the mass production, advertising, and sale of consumer goods—did not exist in colonial America. Nonetheless, even modest farmers and artisans owned books, ceramic plates, metal cutlery, and items made of imported silk and cotton. Tea, once a luxury enjoyed only by the wealthy, became virtually a necessity of life.

Colonial Cities

Colonial cities like Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston were quite small by the standards of Europe or Spanish America. In 1700, when the population of Mexico City stood at 100,000, Boston had 6,000 residents and New York 4,500.

English American cities were mainly gathering places for agricultural goods and for imported items to be distributed to the countryside. Nonetheless, the expansion of trade encouraged the rise of port cities, home to a growing population of colonial merchants and artisans (skilled craftsmen) as well as an increasing number of poor. In 1770, with some 30,000 inhabitants, Philadelphia was, after London and Liverpool, the empire's third busiest port. The financial, commercial, and cultural center of British America, Philadelphia founded its growth on economic integration with the rich agricultural region nearby. Philadelphia merchants organized the collection of farm goods, supplied rural storekeepers, and extended credit to consumers. They exported flour, bread, and meat to the West Indies and Europe.



WILLIAM COATS,

Takes this method of acquainting the PUBLIC in general, and his FRIENDS in particular, that he has for SALE, at his STORE, at the ſign of the SUGAR-LOAF, contiguous to the PUBLIC WHARF, in FRONT-STREET, and near POOL'S BRIDGE, WHOLESALE and RETAIL;

WEST-INDIA and PHILADELPHIA RUM, Jamaica ſpirits, brandy, geneva, anniſeed, cordials, Madeira, Liſbon, and Teneriff WINES; lamp oil, loaf, lump and muſcovado SUGARS; molaſſes; green, ſouchong, and bohea TEA; chocolate, rice, oatmeal, ſtarch, indigo, pepper, ginger, allſpice, cloves, mace, cinnamon, and nutmegs; cotton; 3d, 4d, 8d, 10d, 12d and 20d, nails; powder and ſhot, ſoap and candles, brimſtone, allum, ſalt-petre, copperas, raiſins, currants, madder, red-wood, fine and coarſe ſalt, WESTON'S SNUFF, muſtard, Florence Oil, &c. &c. &c.

Sea ſtores, ſhallop-mens bills, &c. put up with care, and all orders from Town or Country thankfully received, and carefully executed.

PHILADELPHIA, Printed by JOHN DUNLAP, at the *Neweſt Printing-Office*, in *Market-ſtreet*.

This 1772 broadside offers a rare view of the interior of a Philadelphia shop and lists some of the many European and West Indian goods on sale, including rum, tea, spices, and gunpowder—a sign of the ongoing consumer revolution linked to international trade.

Cities were also home to a large population of furniture makers, jewelers, and silversmiths serving wealthier citizens, and hundreds of lesser artisans like weavers, blacksmiths, coopers, and construction workers. The typical artisan owned his own tools and labored in a small workshop, often his home, assisted by family members and young journeymen and apprentices learning the trade. The artisan's skill gave him a far greater degree of economic freedom than those dependent on others for a livelihood.

Despite the influx of British goods, colonial craftsmen benefited from the expanding consumer market. Most journeymen enjoyed a reasonable chance of rising to the status of master and establishing workshops of their own.

An Atlantic World

People, ideas, and goods flowed back and forth across the Atlantic, knitting together the empire and its diverse populations and creating webs of interdependence among the European empires. As trade expanded, the North American and West Indian colonies became a major market. The British manufactured goods in return for furs and deerskins. Although most colonial output was consumed at

home, North Americans shipped farm products to Britain, to the West Indies, and, with the exception of goods like tobacco "enumerated" under the Navigation Acts, outside the empire. Virtually the entire Chesapeake tobacco crop was marketed in Britain, with most of it then re-exported to Europe by British merchants. Most of the bread and flour exported from the colonies was destined for the West Indies. Africans enslaved there grew sugar that could be distilled into rum, a product increasingly popular in North America. The mainland colonies carried on a flourishing trade in fish and grains with southern Europe. Ships built in New England made up one-third of the British empire's trading fleet.

Membership in the empire had many advantages for the colonists. Most Americans did not complain about British regulation of their trade because commerce enriched the colonies as well as England and lax enforcement of the Navigation Acts allowed smuggling to flourish. In a dangerous world, moreover, the Royal Navy protected American shipping. Eighteenth-century English America drew closer to, and in some ways became more similar to, England itself.

staple crops Important cash crops; for example, cotton or tobacco.

This portrait of Jane Beekman—daughter of James Beekman, one of the wealthiest colonists—was painted by the artist John Durand in 1767. It is unusual in depicting a young girl with a book (a collection, in Latin, of the works of the Renaissance scholar Erasmus), rather than simply emphasizing fashionable attire. The Beekman family was of Dutch and French Huguenot heritage, and both cultures emphasized the importance of education, including for women.



SOCIAL CLASSES IN THE BRITISH COLONIES

The Colonial Elite

Most free Americans benefited from economic growth, but as colonial society matured an elite emerged that, while neither as powerful nor as wealthy as the aristocracy of England, increasingly dominated politics and society. In New England and the Middle Colonies, expanding trade made possible the emergence of a powerful upper class of merchants, often linked by family or commercial ties to great trading firms in London. By 1750, the Chesapeake and Lower South were dominated by slave plantations producing **staple crops**, especially tobacco and rice, for the world market. Here great planters accumulated enormous wealth from the forced labor of enslaved women and men. The colonial elite also included the rulers of proprietary colonies like Pennsylvania and Maryland.

America had no titled aristocracy as in Britain. But throughout British America, men of prominence controlled colonial government. In Virginia, the upper class was so tightly knit and intermarried so often that the colony was said to be governed by a "cousinocracy." Nearly every Virginian of note achieved prominence through family connections. Thomas Jefferson's grandfather was a justice of the peace (an important local official), militia captain, and sheriff, and his father a member of the House of Burgesses. George Washington's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been justices of the peace. The Virginia gentry used its control of provincial government to gain possession of large tracts of land as the colony pushed west onto Native land.

The richest group of mainland colonists were South Carolina planters. Like their Virginia counterparts, South Carolina grandees lived a lavish lifestyle amid imported furniture, fine wines, silk

clothing, and other items from England. Their wealth enabled them to spend much of their time enjoying the social life of Charleston, the only real urban center south of Philadelphia and the richest city in British North America.

New World Cultures

Before the American Revolution, there was no real "American" identity. In the seventeenth century, the term "Americans" tended to be used to describe Indians rather than colonists. Europeans often depicted the colonies pictorially with an image of a Native American. Many European immigrants maintained traditions, including the use of languages other than English, from their home countries. Some cultures mixed more than others: intermarriage with other groups was more common among Huguenots (French Protestants) than among Jews, for example. Those from the British Isles sought to create a dominant "English" identity in the New World. This involved convincing Britons that the colonists were like themselves.

Many in Great Britain, however, saw the colonists as a collection of convicts, religious dissidents, and impoverished servants. This, in turn, inspired many colonists to assert a claim to Britishness more strongly. They insisted that British identity meant allegiance to certain values, among them free commerce and English liberty. Yet many colonists saw some people, including American Indians, Africans, and all women, as unable to wield the responsibilities of liberty due to their place of birth, culture, or inborn traits. They must be ruled over, not take part in governance.

British identity in the colonies was defined, in part, in opposition to others, including Spanish and French Catholics, Africans, and Native Americans. As early as the late sixteenth century, in his writings on colonization, Richard Hakluyt wrote that there was "no greater glory" than "to conquer the barbarian, to recall the savage and the pagan to civility, to draw the ignorant within the orbit of reason, and to fill with reverence for divinity the godless and the ungodly." But the colonists did not include Indians and Africans in a collective colonial identity. As noted in Chapter 1, intermarriage and culture exchange between settlers and Indians were far more common in the Spanish and French empires. But in all colonies, men of primarily or exclusively European descent held most of the wealth and power.

Anglicization

For much of the eighteenth century, the British colonies had more regular trade and communications with Britain than among themselves. Rather than thinking of themselves as distinctively American, they became more and more English—a process historians call "Anglicization."



A 1732 portrait of Daniel, Peter, and Andrew Oliver, sons of a wealthy Boston merchant. The prominent display of their delicate hands tells the viewer that they have never had to do manual labor.



Robert "King" Carter of Virginia, painted by an unknown artist around 1720. Carter was one of the wealthiest and most influential men in the colonies, with a fortune built from plantation slavery. At his death he owned 300,000 acres of land and over 700 slaves. He served twice as Speaker of the House of Burgesses and once as governor. He is dressed in the attire of an English gentleman.



Fashionably dressed twelve-year-old Ralph Izard, painted in 1754 by Jeremiah Theus, just before Izard's departure to receive an education in England. The boy had recently inherited a large plantation in South Carolina, upon the death of his parents.

Wealthy colonists tried to model their lives on British etiquette and behavior. Somewhat resentful at living in provincial isolation—"at the end of the world," as one Virginia aristocrat put it—they sought to demonstrate their status and legitimacy by importing the latest London fashions and literature, sending their sons to Britain for education, and building homes equipped with fashionable furnishings modeled on the country estates and town houses of the English gentry.

Throughout the colonies, elite men emulated what they saw as England's balanced, stable social order. Liberty, in their eyes, meant, in part, the power to rule—the right of those blessed with wealth and prominence to dominate others. They viewed society as a hierarchical structure in which some men were endowed with greater talents than others and were destined to govern. Each place in the hierarchy carried with it different responsibilities, and one's status was revealed in dress, manners, and the splendor of one's home. On both sides of the Atlantic, elites viewed work as something reserved for common folk and slaves. Freedom from labor was the mark of gentlemen and ladies.

Poverty in the Colonies

At the other end of the social scale, poverty emerged as a visible feature of eighteenth-century colonial life. Although not considered by most colonists part of their society, the growing number of slaves lived in impoverished conditions. Among free Americans, poverty was hardly as widespread as in Britain, where in the early part of the century between one-quarter and one-half of the people regularly required public assistance. But as the colonial population expanded, access to land diminished rapidly, especially in long-settled areas, forcing many propertyless males to seek work in their region's cities or in other colonies. In colonial cities, the number of propertyless wage earners subsisting at the poverty line steadily increased. Taking the colonies as a whole, half of the wealth at mid-century was concentrated in the hands of the richest 10 percent of the population.



The Residence of David Twining, a painting of a Pennsylvania farm as it appeared in the eighteenth century. Edward Hicks, who lived there as a youth, painted the scene from memory in the 1840s. Hicks depicts a prosperous farm, largely self-sufficient but also producing for the market, typical of colonial eastern Pennsylvania. One of the farm workers is a slave. Five-year-old Edward himself is pictured in the lower right-hand corner, listening to Mrs. Twining read the Bible.

Attitudes and policies toward poverty in colonial America mirrored British precedents. The better-off colonists generally viewed the poor as lazy, shiftless, and responsible for their own plight. To minimize the burden on taxpayers, poor persons were frequently set to labor in workhouses, where they produced goods that reimbursed authorities for part of their upkeep.

The Middle Ranks

The large majority of free Americans lived between the extremes of wealth and poverty. Along with racial and ethnic diversity, what distinguished the mainland colonies from Europe was the wide distribution of land and the economic autonomy of most ordinary free families. Altogether, perhaps two-thirds of the free male population were farmers who owned their own land.

By the eighteenth century, colonial farm families viewed landownership almost as a right, the social precondition of freedom. They strongly resented efforts, whether by Native Americans, great landlords, or colonial governments, to limit their access to land. A dislike of personal dependence and an understanding of freedom as not relying on others for a livelihood sank deep roots in British North America.



A portrait of Elijah Boardman, a merchant in New Milford, Connecticut. Boardman wears the attire of a gentleman and rests his arm on his counting desk. In the rear, bolts of cloth are visible. But Boardman chose to emphasize his learning, not his wealth, by posing with books, including two plays of Shakespeare, John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and the *London Magazine*.

Women and the Household Economy

In the eighteenth-century British mainland colonies the family was the center of economic life. The independence of the small farmer depended in considerable measure on the labor of dependent women and children. "He that hath an industrious family shall soon be rich," declared one colonial saying, and the high birthrate in part reflected the need for as many hands as possible on colonial farms.

As the population grew and the death rate declined, family life stabilized and more marriages became lifetime commitments. Free women were expected to devote their lives to being good wives and mothers. As colonial society became



This portrait of the Cheney family by an unknown late-eighteenth-century artist illustrates the high birthrate in colonial America and suggests how many years of a woman's life were spent bearing and raising children.

more structured, coverture was more strictly enforced. In Connecticut, for example, the courts were informal and unorganized in the seventeenth century, and women often represented themselves. In the eighteenth century, it became necessary to hire a lawyer as one's spokesman in court. Women, barred from practicing as attorneys, disappeared from judicial proceedings. Because of the desperate need for labor in the seventeenth century, men and women both did various kinds of work. In the eighteenth century, the division of labor along gender lines solidified. Women's work was clearly defined, including cooking, cleaning, sewing, making butter, and assisting with agricultural chores. Even as the consumer revolution reduced the demands on many women by making available store-bought goods previously produced at home, women's work seemed to increase. Lower infant mortality meant more time spent in child care and domestic chores.

NORTH AMERICA AT MID-CENTURY

By the mid-eighteenth century, the area that would become the United States was home to a remarkable diversity of peoples, from pueblos of the Southwest to tobacco plantations of the Chesapeake, towns and small farms of New England, almost feudal landholdings in the Hudson Valley, and fur-trading outposts on Indian land. Despite European claims, Native Americans still held most of the power in North America.

French and Spanish Colonies

In the late 1600s and early 1700s, French traders established trading posts among the Anishinaabe and Illinois peoples in the Great Lakes region. From there, they pushed south into the Mississippi River valley, as well as north from the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, where they established New Orleans in 1718. The French claimed both sides of the Mississippi River from the Gulf to the Great Lakes as the vast colony of Louisiana. French officials hoped that Louisiana, having a warmer climate than Canada, would become a thriving plantation colony. The French bought and enslaved Native captives, and the first enslaved Africans arrived in Louisiana in 1719.

But Native Americans far outnumbered French colonists, who were not able to make Louisiana the colony they planned. In 1729, the Natchez Indians expelled the French from the plantations they were building on the Mississippi River. Although the French and their Native allies eventually won the **Natchez War**, in order to prevent further conflict the French scaled back their plans and halted the slave trade into Louisiana.

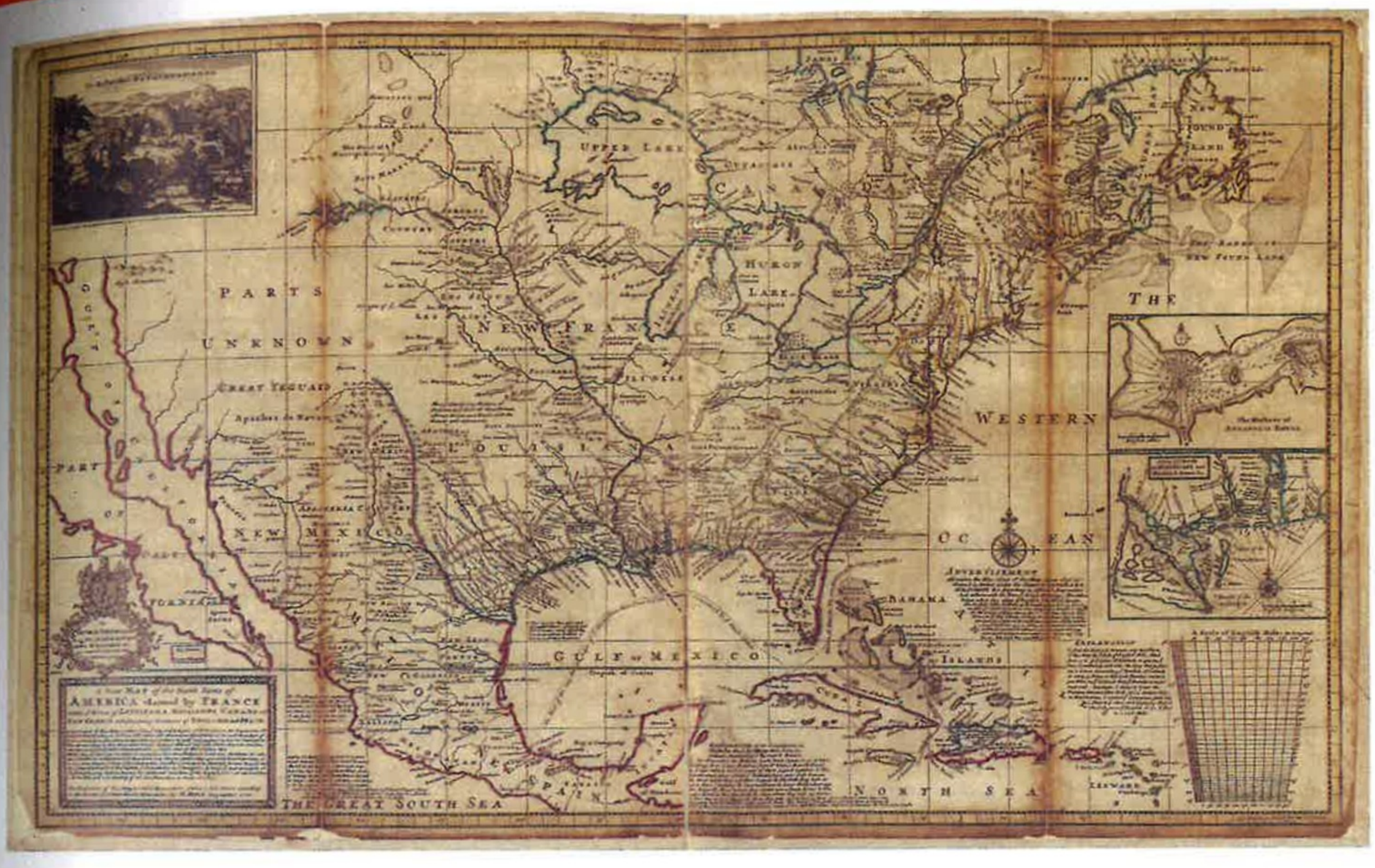
Natchez War War begun in 1729 by the Natchez Indians against the French who were building plantations on Natchez land. With help from Native allies, the French won the war and drove the Natchez from their homeland.

In the meantime, French expansion in the Mississippi Valley worried Spanish officials, who considered the region theirs. The Spanish, unable to attract settlers, allowed Franciscan friars to establish missions in Texas, including at San Antonio in 1718.

The Great Plains

In the Great Plains, Native people began riding and breeding horses, first brought by Spaniards. Rather than hunting and farming seasonally as their ancestors

What was the extent of Native power across the continent by the mid-eighteenth century?



Note how this 1720 map shows not only British, French, and Spanish colonies and claims but also the large number of Native nations in North America (as well as spaces that to Europeans are "Parts Unknown").

had, some peoples, including Apaches, Comanches, and Kiowas, developed an equestrian life with large herds of horses, living all year on the plains. A bustling economy developed, as Plains Indians traded at the pueblos and Spanish New Mexico in the west and French Louisiana in the east. They also traded with Native peoples who continued to farm in the river valleys of the plains, including the Mandans, Pawnees, Wichitas, and Caddos. Trades involved horses, bison products, war captives, food, and firearms.

Freedom in the British Colonies

Within all European empires, elites tied to imperial centers of power dominated political and economic life. But large numbers of male colonists in the British empire enjoyed new opportunities for freedom—access to the vote, prospects of acquiring land, the right to worship as they pleased, and an escape from oppressive government. The colonies' economic growth contributed to a high birthrate, long life expectancy, and expanding demand for consumer goods.

Yet many others found themselves confined to the partial freedom of indentured servitude or coverture or to the complete absence of freedom in slavery. To American Indians who lost their lands or people of African descent held in bondage, Europeans represented the greatest threat to their freedom and independence.

CHAPTER REVIEW AND AP® PRACTICE

REVIEW THE FOLLOWING:

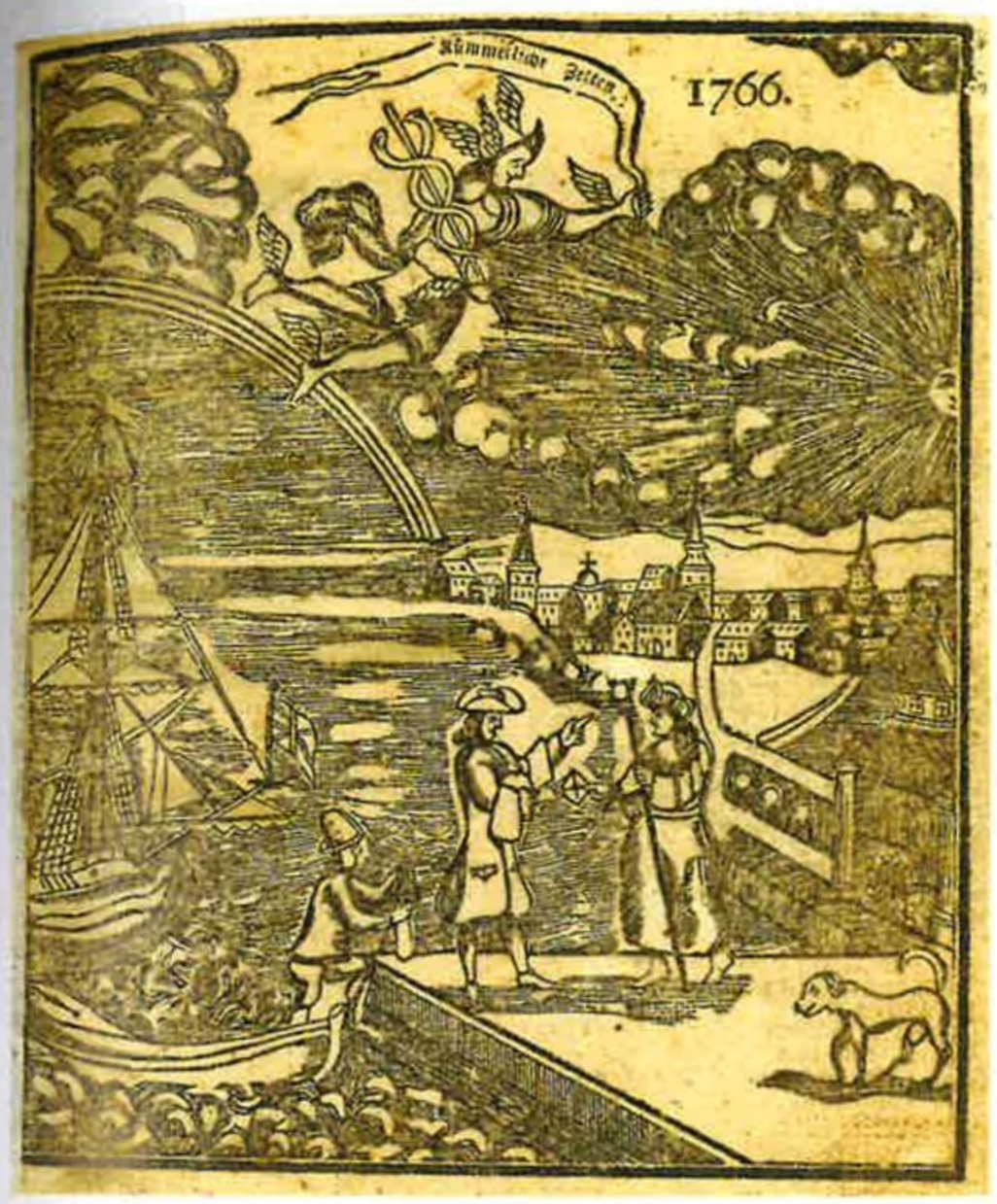
1. Analyze the ways in which the Puritans and William Penn both viewed their colonies as "holy experiments."
2. Evaluate the economic forces, events, and laws that shaped the experiences of enslaved people.
3. Briefly explain English leaders' understanding of the place and role of the American colonies in England's growing empire.
4. Assess the ways in which widespread crisis rocked British North America in the late seventeenth century. In your response address TWO of the following: King Philip's War, Bacon's Rebellion, OR the Salem witch trials.
5. Assess the validity of the following statement: "The social structure of the eighteenth-century colonies was growing more open for some but not for others." In your response address TWO of the following pairs: men and women, whites and Blacks, OR rich and poor.
6. Briefly explain how the North American colonies were directly linked to Atlantic commerce by laws and trade.
7. Evaluate the diversity between the different colonies if one were to travel from New England to the South. In your response address TWO of the following: economics, religion, OR ethnicity.
8. Analyze the impact that the family's centrality to economic life had on gender relations and the roles of women.
9. Assess the ways in which people in the colonies were both similar to and different from people in England.
10. Describe the changes brought about on the Great Plains by the introduction of horses.

KEY TERMS

King Philip's War (p. 79)
Metacom (p. 79)
mercantilism (p. 79)
Navigation Act (p. 80)
Covenant Chain (p. 82)
Yamasee War (p. 83)
Society of Friends (Quakers) (p. 83)
Bacon's Rebellion (p. 86)
Glorious Revolution (p. 88)
English Bill of Rights (p. 88)
Lords of Trade (p. 89)
Dominion of New England (p. 89)
English Toleration Act (p. 92)
Salem witch trials (p. 92)
mestizo (p. 93)
redemptioners (p. 94)
Walking Purchase (p. 98)
backcountry (p. 98)
staple crops (p. 100)
Natchez War (p. 104)

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following image from the early eighteenth century.



An early eighteenth-century engraving depicts William Penn welcoming a German immigrant on the dock in Philadelphia.

1. The image depicts which of the following?
   (A) The Atlantic slave trade
   (B) The development of societies with cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity
   (C) The Columbian Exchange
   (D) The Great Migration

2. The immigrant depicted in the image would have been most likely to settle in a
   (A) city
   (B) Puritan town
   (C) farming community
   (D) pueblo

3. The scene in the image reveals which contrast with the French colonies in North America?
   (A) The French did not participate in long distance trade
   (B) The French were more focused on Enlightenment ideas
   (C) The French were not as pluralistic
   (D) The French were granted more freedom in the Americas

Questions 4–6 refer to the following image from 1740.



Bishop Roberts, watercolor of Charles Town Harbor, 1740

4. The flags on the ships are suggestive of which of the following?
   (A) The colonists suffering taxation at the hand of the British government
   (B) The British colonists preparing for conflict with the French
   (C) The system of **free trade** that developed during the eighteenth **century**
   (D) The British attempt to incorporate its North American colonies into its empire

5. The British pursued which of the following economic policies, as depicted in the image?

   (A) Feudalism

   (B) Laissez-faire

   (C) Mercantilism

   (D) Socialist capitalism

6. Which of the following serves as the historical situation for this image?

   (A) Indian wars

   (B) Colonial resistance to the Navigation Acts

   (C) Colonial economies focusing on acquiring, producing, and exporting commodities

   (D) Colonial expansion west, which led to the demand for more British protection

Questions 7–8 refer to the following excerpt.

> Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a Colony of *Aliens*, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our language or customs, . . . And while we are, as I may call it, *scouring* our planet, by clearing America of woods, and so making this side of our globe reflect a brighter light to the eyes of inhabitants in Mars or Venus, why should we . . . darken its people?
>
> Ben Franklin, "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind," 1751

7. Which of the following is most likely Franklin's purpose?

   (A) To convince the Pope to stop German immigration

   (B) To encourage the British crown and British colonists in Pennsylvania to reject German immigration

   (C) To persuade Pennsylvanians to move farther inland and claim new territory for the British

   (D) To protest the destruction of forests by German immigrants

8. Despite the concern expressed by Franklin, which of the following occurred in the British North American colonies?

   (A) A gradual Anglicization

   (B) The near end of immigration

   (C) The end of the Atlantic slave trade

   (D) The spread of the German language to the other colonies

Questions 9–10 refer to the following image from the 1760s.



Agostino Brunias, *Free Women of Color with Their Children and Servants in a Landscape*, 1760s

9. Which historical development is depicted in the painting?

   (A) The devastating effects of the Small Pox epidemic

   (B) The trade relationship between Europeans and American Indian tribes

   (C) The three-race system that defined the status of Europeans and Africans

   (D) The impact of the *encomienda* system

10. A development related to the situation depicted in the image was the

   (A) growth of slavery

   (B) conflict between European nations for control of the Americas

   (C) decrease in demand for agricultural products from the Americas

   (D) widespread dominance of women who owned property in the Americas

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS



Scene depicted on English handkerchief, seventeenth century



Engraving of a sawmill

1. Using the images above, answer (A), (B), and (C).
   (A) Briefly describe ONE of the major causes of the differences depicted in the images.
   (B) Briefly explain ONE historical development during the period 1660–1750 that was a result of the activities depicted in one of the images.
   (C) Briefly explain the economic context of one of the images.

2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   (A) Briefly describe ONE specific historical similarity between the Spanish and British colonies in the Americas.
   (B) Briefly describe ONE specific historical difference between the Spanish and British colonies in the Americas.
   (C) Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect of either Spanish or British colonization of the Americas.

LONG ESSAY QUESTION

Evaluate the extent to which the Spanish treatment of Native Americans was similar to the English treatment of Native Americans.

Go to INQUIZITIVE

To see what you know—and learn what you've missed—with personalized feedback along the way.

1689	Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* published
1707	Act of Union creating Great Britain
1712	Slave uprising in New York City
1728	*Pennsylvania Gazette* established
1730s	Beginnings of the Great Awakening
1732	Georgia colony founded
1735	John Peter Zenger tried for libel
1739	Stono Rebellion
1741	Rumors of slave revolt in New York
1749	Virginia awards land to the Ohio Company
1754	Albany Plan of Union proposed
1756–1763	Seven Years' War
1763	Pontiac's War Proclamation of 1763
1764	Paxton farmers march on Philadelphia
1769	Father Serra establishes first mission in California
1789	*The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* published

CHAPTER 4

SLAVERY, FREEDOM, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

★

TO 1763

A detail from a 1775 map of Virginia and Maryland depicts a tobacco wharf. A planter negotiates with a merchant or sea captain, while enslaved men go about their work.

Sometime in the mid-1750s, Olaudah Equiano, the eleven-year-old son of a West African village chief, was kidnapped by slave traders. He soon found himself on a ship headed for Barbados. Equiano was sold to a plantation owner in Virginia and then purchased by a British sea captain, who renamed him Gustavus Vassa. While still a slave, he enrolled in a school in England where he learned to read and write, and then enlisted in the Royal Navy. In 1763, however, Equiano was sold once again and returned to the Caribbean. Three years later, he purchased his freedom. He went on to experience shipwrecks, a colonizing venture in Central America, and even an expedition to the Arctic Circle. Equiano eventually settled in London, and in 1789 he published *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African,* which he described as a "history of neither a saint, a hero, nor a tyrant," but of a victim of slavery who through luck or fate ended up more fortunate than most of his people. He condemned the idea that Africans were inferior to Europeans and therefore deserved to be slaves. The book became the era's most widely read account by a slave of his own experiences. Equiano died in 1797.

While Equiano may have included in his book some experiences that happened to other enslaved people, his narrative illuminates broad patterns of eighteenth-century American history. As noted in the previous chapter, this was a period of sustained development for British North America. Compared with England and Scotland—united to create Great Britain by the Act of Union of 1707—the colonies were growing much more rapidly.

Ideas, people, and goods flowed back and forth across the ocean. Even as the colonies' populations became more diverse, they were increasingly integrated into the British empire. Their laws and political institutions were extensions of those of Britain, their ideas about society and culture reflected British values, their economies were geared to serving the empire's needs.

Equiano's life also underscores the greatest irony in the history of the eighteenth century—the simultaneous expansion of freedom and slavery. This was the era when the idea of the "freeborn Englishman" became powerfully entrenched in the outlook of both colonists and Britons. More than any other principle, liberty was seen as what made the British empire distinct. Yet the eighteenth century was also the height of the Atlantic slave trade, a commerce increasingly dominated by British merchants and ships. Slavery existed in every colony of British North America. And unlike Equiano, very few slaves were fortunate enough to gain their freedom.

SLAVERY AND EMPIRE

Of the Africans transported to the Americas between 1492 and 1820, more than half arrived between 1700 and 1800. The **Atlantic slave trade** would later be condemned as a crime against humanity. But in the eighteenth century, it was a regularized business in which European merchants, African traders, and American planters engaged in complex bargaining over human lives, all with the expectation of securing a profit. The slave trade was a vital part of world commerce.

FOCUS QUESTIONS



How did African slavery differ regionally in eighteenth-century North America? –*p. 111*

What factors led to distinct African American cultures in the eighteenth century? –*p. 116*

What were the meanings of British liberty in the eighteenth century? –*p. 118*

What concepts and institutions dominated colonial politics in the eighteenth century? –*p. 120*

How did the Great Awakening challenge the religious and social structure of British North America? –*p. 125*

How did the Spanish and French empires in America develop in the eighteenth century? *p. 126*

What was the impact of the Seven Years' War on imperial and Indian-European relations? –*p. 130*



The frontispiece of Olaudah Equiano's account of his life, the best-known narrative by an eighteenth-century slave. The portrait of Equiano in European dress and holding a Bible challenged stereotypes of blacks as "savages" incapable of becoming civilized.

Atlantic slave trade The systematic importation of African people from their native continent across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas, fueled largely by rising demand for sugar, rice, coffee, and tobacco.

Middle Passage The hellish and often deadly middle leg of the transatlantic "triangular trade" in which European ships carried manufactured goods to Africa, then transported enslaved Africans to the Americas and the Caribbean, and finally conveyed American agricultural products back to Europe; from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, some 12 million Africans were transported via the Middle Passage, unknown millions more dying en route.

In the British empire of the eighteenth century, free laborers working for wages were atypical and slavery was the norm. The first mass consumer goods in international trade were produced by enslaved men and women—sugar, rice, coffee, and tobacco. The rising demand for these products fueled the rapid growth of the Atlantic slave trade.

Atlantic Trade

In the eighteenth century, the Caribbean remained the commercial focus of the British empire and the major producer of revenue for the crown. A series of triangular trading routes crisscrossed the Atlantic, carrying British manufactured goods to Africa and the colonies, colonial products to Europe, and captured Africans to the Americas. Most colonial vessels, however, went back and forth between cities like New York, Charleston, and Savannah and to ports in the Caribbean. Merchants in New York, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island participated actively in the slave trade, shipping enslaved Africans to the Caribbean or the mainland colonies. The slave economies of the West Indies were the largest market for fish, grain, livestock, and lumber exported from New England and the Middle Colonies. In Britain itself, the profits from slavery and the slave trade stimulated the rise of ports such as Liverpool and Bristol and the growth of banking, shipbuilding, and insurance. They also helped to finance the early industrial revolution.

With slavery so central to Atlantic commerce, it should not be surprising that for large numbers of free colonists and Europeans, freedom meant in part the power and right to enslave others. And as slavery became more and more entrenched, so too, as the Quaker abolitionist John Woolman commented in 1762, did "the idea of slavery being connected with the black color, and liberty with the white."

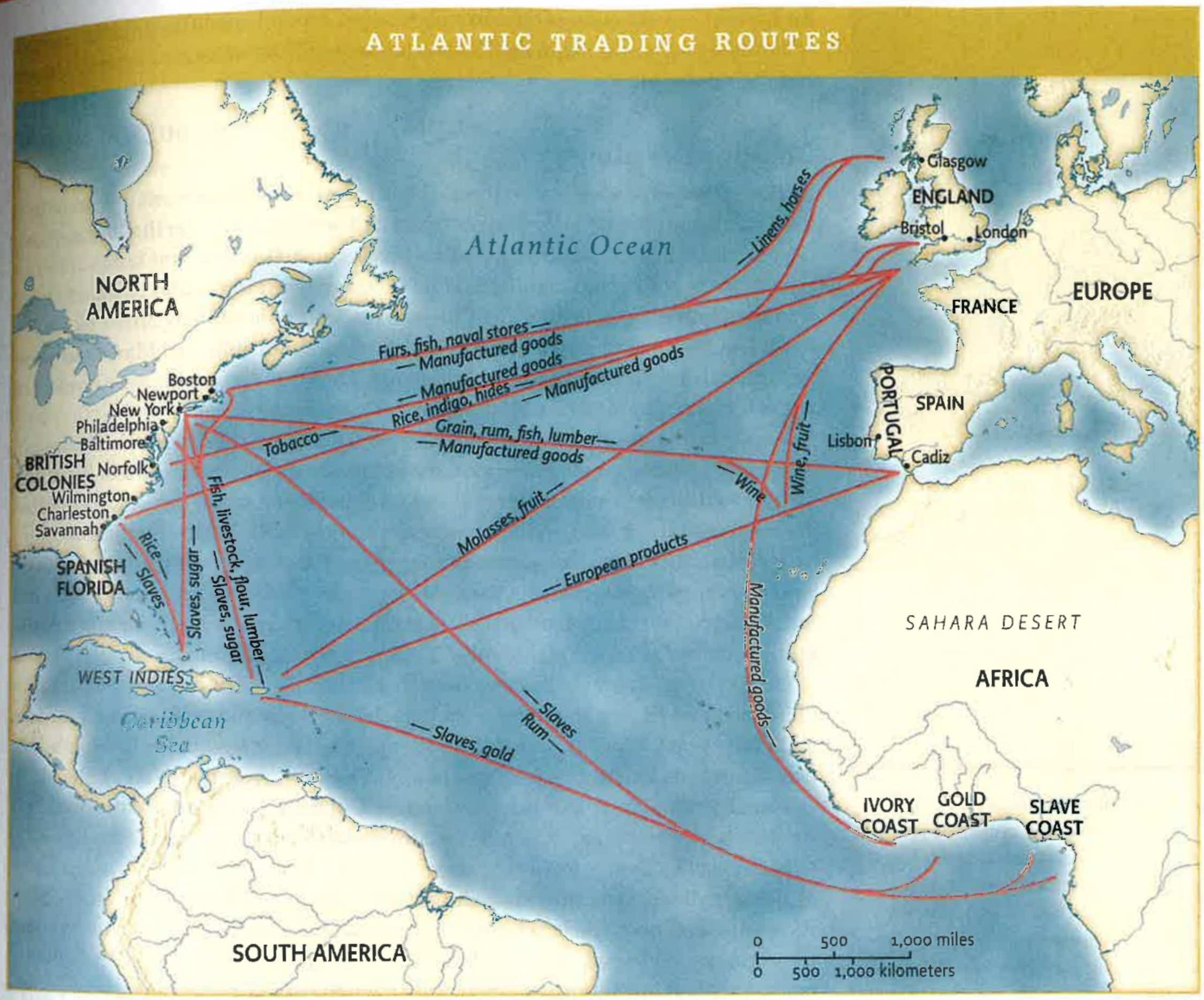
Africa and the Slave Trade

A few African societies, like Benin for a time, opted out of the Atlantic slave trade, hoping to avoid the disruptions it inevitably caused. But most African rulers took part, and they proved quite adept at playing the Europeans off against one another, collecting taxes from foreign merchants, and keeping the capture and sale of slaves under their own control. Few Europeans ventured inland from the coast. Traders remained in their "factories" and purchased slaves brought to them by African rulers and dealers.

From a minor institution, slavery grew to become more and more central to West African society, a source of wealth for African merchants and of power for newly emerging African kingdoms. But the loss every year of tens of thousands of men and women in the prime of their lives to the slave trade weakened and distorted West Africa's society and economy.

The Middle Passage

The voyage across the Atlantic—known as the **Middle Passage** because it was the second, or middle, leg in the triangular trading routes linking Europe, Africa, and



A series of trading routes crisscrossed the Atlantic, bringing manufactured goods to Africa and Britain's American colonies, enslaved Africans to the Americas, and colonial products to Europe.

America—was a harrowing experience. Men, women, and children were crammed aboard vessels as tightly as possible to maximize profits. Equiano, who later described "the shrieks of the women and the groans of the dying," survived the Middle Passage, but many Africans did not. Diseases such as measles and smallpox spread rapidly, and about one in five perished before reaching the Americas. Ship captains were known to throw the sick overboard in order to prevent the spread of epidemics.

Only a small proportion (less than 5 percent) of slaves carried across the Middle Passage were destined for mainland North America. The vast majority landed in Brazil or the West Indies, where the high death rate on the sugar plantations led to a constant demand for new slave imports. Overall, the area that was to become the United States imported between 400,000 and 600,000 slaves. By 1770, due to

the natural reproduction of the slave population, around one-fifth of the estimated 2.3 million persons living in the English colonies of North America were Africans and their descendants.

Chesapeake Slavery

By the mid-eighteenth century, three distinct slave systems were well entrenched in Britain's mainland colonies: tobacco-based plantation slavery in the Chesapeake, rice-based plantation slavery in South Carolina and Georgia, and nonplantation slavery in New England and the Middle Colonies. The largest and oldest of these was the plantation system of the Chesapeake, where more than 270,000 slaves resided in 1770, nearly half of the region's population. Virginia and Maryland were as closely tied to Britain as any other colonies, and their economies were models of mercantilist policy (described in Chapter 3).

As Virginia expanded westward, so did slavery. By the eve of the American Revolution, the center of gravity of slavery in the colony had shifted from the Tidewater (the region along the coast) to the Piedmont farther inland. Most enslaved men and women in the Chesapeake worked in the tobacco fields, but thousands labored as teamsters, as boatmen, and in skilled crafts. Numerous enslaved women became cooks, seamstresses, dairy maids, and personal servants. Slavery was common on small farms as well as plantations; nearly half of Virginia's white families owned at least one slave in 1770.

Slavery transformed Chesapeake society into an elaborate hierarchy of degrees of freedom. At the top stood large planters, below them numerous lesser planters and landowning yeomen, and at the bottom a large population of convicts, indentured servants, tenant farmers, and slaves. Violence lay at the heart of the slave system. Even a planter like Landon Carter, who prided himself on his concern for the well-being of his slaves, noted casually in his diary, "They have been severely whipped day by day."

Race took on more and more importance as a line of social division. Whites increasingly considered free blacks dangerous and undesirable. Free blacks lost the right to employ white servants and to bear arms, were subjected to special taxes, and could be punished for striking a white person, regardless of the cause. In 1723, Virginia revoked the voting privileges of property-owning free blacks.



An early-eighteenth-century panorama of the slave trade on the western coast of Africa. Canoes carry people to a waiting ship for transportation to slavery in the Americas. In the background are noted some of the many slave-trading outposts established by European powers, including Cape Coast (Corso), the chief base of the Royal African Company of England.

Because Virginia law required that freed slaves be sent out of the colony, free blacks remained only a tiny part of the population—less than 4 percent in 1750.

The Rice Kingdom in South Carolina

A different slave system based on rice production emerged in South Carolina and Georgia. The Barbadians who settled South Carolina in the 1670s were quite familiar with African slavery, but their first victims were Native Americans. As noted in Chapter 3, after the Yamasee War, the Indian slave trade largely ended, and African labor became dominant.

As in early Virginia, frontier conditions allowed leeway to South Carolina's small population of African-born slaves, who farmed, tended livestock, and were initially allowed to serve in the militia to fight the Spanish and Indians. And as in Virginia, the introduction of a marketable staple crop, in this case rice, led directly to economic development, the large-scale importation of slaves, and a growing divide between white and Black. In the 1740s, another staple, indigo (a crop used in producing blue dye), was developed. Like rice, indigo required large-scale cultivation and was grown by slaves.

Since rice production requires considerable capital investment to drain swamps and create irrigation systems, it is economically advantageous for rice plantations to be as large as possible. Thus, South Carolina planters owned far more land and slaves than their counterparts in Virginia. Moreover, since mosquitoes bearing malaria (a disease to which Africans had developed partial immunity) flourished in the watery rice fields, planters tended to leave plantations under the control of overseers and the slaves themselves.

In the Chesapeake, field slaves worked in groups under constant supervision. Under the "task" system that developed in eighteenth-century South Carolina, individual slaves were assigned daily jobs, the completion of which allowed them time for leisure or to cultivate crops of their own. In 1762, one rice district had a population of only 76 white men among 1,000 slaves. By 1770, the number of South Carolina slaves had reached 75,000, well over half the colony's population.



Young Charles Calvert, a member of an aristocratic Maryland family, painted in 1761 by John Hesselius, who produced numerous portraits of prominent residents of the Chesapeake. The boy, obviously the son of wealthy parents, stands next to a young slave, a symbol of his family's wealth. Calvert holds drumsticks and the slave his drum, an allusion to a possible future military career.

The Georgia Experiment

Rice cultivation also spread into Georgia. The colony was founded in 1732 by a group of philanthropists led by James Oglethorpe, a wealthy reformer who sought to improve conditions for imprisoned debtors and abolish slavery. Oglethorpe hoped to establish a haven where the "worthy poor" of England could enjoy economic opportunity. The government in London supported the creation of Georgia to protect South Carolina against the Spanish and their Native allies in Florida.

Initially, the proprietors banned liquor and slaves, leading to continual battles with settlers, who desired both. By the 1740s, Georgia offered the spectacle of colonists pleading for the "English liberty" of self-government so that they could enact laws introducing slavery. In 1751, the proprietors surrendered the colony to the crown. The colonists quickly won the right to an elected assembly, which met in Savannah. It repealed the ban on slavery (and liquor), as well as an early measure that had limited landholdings to 500 acres. Georgia became a miniature version of South Carolina. By 1770, as many as 15,000 slaves labored on its coastal rice plantations.

TABLE 4.1 Slave Population as Percentage of Total Population of Original Thirteen Colonies, 1770

COLONY	SLAVE POPULATION	PERCENTAGE
Virginia	187,600	42%
South Carolina	75,168	61
North Carolina	69,600	35
Maryland	63,818	32
New York	19,062	12
Georgia	15,000	45
New Jersey	8,220	7
Connecticut	5,698	3
Pennsylvania	5,561	2
Massachusetts	4,754	2
Rhode Island	3,761	6
Delaware	1,836	5
New Hampshire	654	1

Slavery in the North

Unlike in the plantation regions, slavery was less central to the economies of New England and the Middle Colonies, where small farms predominated. Enslaved people made up only a small percentage of these colonies' populations, and it was unusual for families to own more than one or two slaves. Nonetheless, slavery was not marginal to northern colonial life. Slaves worked as farm hands, in artisan shops, as stevedores loading and unloading ships, and as personal servants. With slaves so small a part of the population that they seemed to pose no threat to the white majority, laws were less harsh than in the South. In New England, where in 1770 the 15,000 slaves represented less than 3 percent of the region's population, marriages between enslaved women and men were recognized in law; severe physical punishment was prohibited; and enslaved men could bring suits in court, testify against whites, and own property and pass it on to their children—rights unknown in the South.

Slavery had been present in New York from the earliest days of Dutch settlement. As New York City's role in the slave trade expanded, so did slavery in the city. In 1746, its 2,440 slaves amounted to one-fifth of the city's total population. Most were domestic workers, but slaves worked in all sectors of the economy. In 1770, about 27,000 slaves lived in New York and New Jersey, 10 percent of their total population. Slavery was also a significant presence in Philadelphia, although the institution stagnated after 1750 as artisans and merchants relied increasingly on wage laborers, whose numbers were augmented by population growth and the completion of the terms of indentured servants.

A portrait of Ayuba Diallo, a Muslim merchant in Senegal who became a victim of the slave trade in 1731 and was transported to Maryland. He escaped in 1733 and with the help of wealthy patrons regained his freedom. Because of Diallo's unusual talents—he knew both English and Arabic and could relate the Koran from memory—he became a celebrity in England, which he visited in 1733. He returned to his homeland in 1734.



SLAVE CULTURES AND SLAVE RESISTANCE

Becoming African American

The nearly 300,000 Africans brought to the mainland colonies during the eighteenth century were not a single people. They came from different cultures, spoke different languages, and practiced many religions. Slavery threw together individuals who would never otherwise have encountered one another and who had never considered their color or residence on a single continent a source of identity or unity. Their bond was not kinship, language, or even "race," but slavery itself. By the nineteenth century, slaves no longer identified themselves as Ibo, Ashanti, Yoruba, and so on, but as African Americans. In music, art, folklore, language, and religion, their cultural expressions emerged as a synthesis of African traditions, European elements, and new conditions in America.

For most of the eighteenth century, the majority of American slaves were African by birth. Advertisements seeking information about runaways often described them by African origin ("young Gambia Negro," "new Banbara Negro

fellow"). Indeed, during the eighteenth century, black life in the colonies was "re-Africanized" as the earlier creoles (slaves born in the Americas) came to be outnumbered by large-scale importations from Africa.

Although some Africans came to the colonies familiar with Christianity or Islam, the majority of North American slaves practiced traditional African religions well into the eighteenth century. When they did adopt Protestant religious beliefs and practices, many slaves did so within the inclusivism of their African religions (discussed in Chapter 1). They added the Christian God and figures from the Bible to their own pantheon of spirits.

African American Cultures

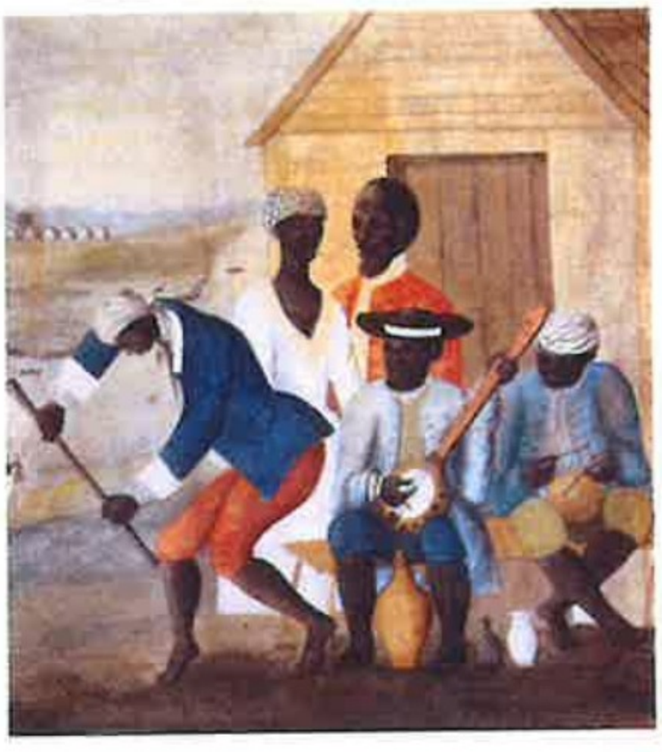
By the mid-eighteenth century, the three slave systems in British North America had produced distinct African American cultures. In the Chesapeake, the enslaved population began to reproduce itself by 1740. Because of the small size of most plantations and the large number of white **yeoman farmers**, slaves here soon learned English, and many were swept up in the religious revivals known as the Great Awakening, discussed later in this chapter.

yeoman farmers Small landowners (the majority of white families in the Old South) who farmed their own land and usually did not own slaves.

Different Black societies emerged. On the rice plantations, slaves lived in extremely harsh conditions and had a low birthrate throughout the eighteenth century, making rice production dependent on continued slave imports from Africa. These slaves seldom came into contact with whites and had far more autonomy than elsewhere in the colonies. They were able to create an African-based culture. They constructed African-style houses, chose African names for their children, and spoke Gullah, a language that mixed various African roots and was unintelligible to most whites. They created families and communities that bridged generations. The experience of slaves who labored in Charleston and Savannah as servants and skilled workers was quite different. Like enslaved people in the Chesapeake, they learned English. Some gained their freedom and founded communities of free people of color.

In the northern colonies, slaves represented a smaller part of the population, dispersed among the white population. They lived in close proximity to whites and had less independence in their daily lives than on large plantations, although their physical conditions tended to be less harsh. They had fewer opportunities to marry and have children or to create a cohesive Black community.

Music and Dance in Beaufort County, a late-eighteenth-century watercolor, depicts slaves dancing in a plantation's slave quarters, perhaps at a wedding. The musical instruments and pottery are African in origin, while much of the clothing is of European manufacture, indicating the mixing of African and white cultures among the era's slaves. The artist has been identified as John Rose, owner of a rice plantation near Beaufort, South Carolina.



Resistance to Slavery

The common threads that linked these regional African American cultures were the experience of slavery and the desire for freedom. Throughout the eighteenth century, Black people risked their lives in efforts to resist enslavement. Colonial newspapers, especially in the southern colonies, were filled with advertisements for escaped slaves. In South Carolina and Georgia, they fled to Spanish Florida, to uninhabited coastal and river swamps, or to Charleston and Savannah, where they could pass for free. In the Chesapeake and Middle Colonies, freedom seekers tended to be familiar with English language and culture and therefore, as one advertisement put it, could "pretend to be free."

What Edward Trelawny, the colonial governor of Jamaica, called "a dangerous spirit of liberty" was widespread among people enslaved in the Americas.



This portrait of William Duguid, a Boston textile merchant, was painted in 1773 by Prince Demah Barnes. It depicts Duguid wearing imported clothing with an elaborate floral pattern. What makes the painting unique, however, is that Barnes was a slave, whose owner, a Massachusetts merchant, encouraged what he called Barnes's "natural genius" and took him on a brief visit to London for training. Still a slave, Barnes enlisted in the Massachusetts militia in 1777 after his Loyalist owners fled the state. He died of smallpox in 1778.

The eighteenth century's first slave uprising occurred in New York City in 1712, when a group of slaves set fire to houses on the outskirts of the city and killed the first nine whites who arrived on the scene. During the 1730s and 1740s, continuous warfare involving European empires and Indians opened the door to slave resistance. In 1731, slaves in Louisiana took advantage of the Natchez War to start a rebellion.

Slaves seized the opportunity for rebellion offered by the War of Jenkins' Ear, which pitted England against Spain. In September 1739, a group of South Carolina slaves, most of them recently arrived from Kongo, where some had been soldiers, seized a store containing numerous weapons at the town of Stono. Beating drums to attract followers, the armed band marched southward toward Florida, burning houses and barns, killing whites they encountered, and shouting "Liberty." The **Stono Rebellion** took the lives of more than two dozen whites and as many as 200 slaves. Some rebels managed to reach Florida, where in 1740 they were armed by the Spanish to help repel an attack by a force from Georgia.

In 1741, a panic (which some observers compared to the fear of witches in Salem in the 1690s) swept New York City. Rumors spread that slaves, with some white allies, planned to burn part of the city, seize weapons, and either turn New York over to Spain or murder the white population. More than 150 Blacks and 20 whites were arrested, and 34 alleged conspirators were executed. Historians still disagree as to how extensive the plot was or whether it existed at all. In eighteenth-century America, dreams of freedom knew no racial boundary.

Stono Rebellion An uprising by enslaved men in 1739 in South Carolina that led to a severe tightening of the slave code and the temporary imposition of a prohibitive tax on imported slaves.

AN EMPIRE OF FREEDOM

British Patriotism

Despite the centrality of slavery to its empire, eighteenth-century Britons believed that Great Britain was the world's most advanced and freest nation. It was not only the era's greatest naval and commercial power but also the home of a complex governmental system, with a powerful Parliament representing the interests of a self-confident landed aristocracy and merchant class. For much of the eighteenth century, Britain found itself at war with France, which had replaced Spain as its major continental rival. This situation led to a large military, high taxes, and the creation of the Bank of England to help finance the conflicts. For Britons in Britain and in the colonies, war helped to sharpen a sense of national identity against foreign foes.

British patriotic sentiment became more assertive as the eighteenth century progressed. Symbols of British identity proliferated: the songs "God Save the King" and "Rule, Britannia!," and even the modern rules of cricket, the national sport. Especially in contrast to France, Britain saw itself as a realm of widespread prosperity, individual liberty, the rule of law, and the Protestant faith. Wealth, religion, and freedom went together.

The British Constitution

Central to this sense of British identity was the concept of liberty. Eighteenth-century British men believed power and liberty to be natural antagonists. To

mediate between them, advocates of British freedom celebrated the rule of law, the right to live under legislation to which one's representatives had consented, restraints on the arbitrary exercise of political authority, and rights such as trial by jury enshrined in the common law. Until the 1770s, most colonists believed themselves to be part of the freest political system humankind had ever known.

These ideas sank deep roots not only within the "political nation"—those who voted, held office, and engaged in structured political debate—but also far more broadly in British and colonial society. Ordinary persons challenged efforts by merchants to raise the cost of bread above the traditional "just price" and the Royal Navy's practice of "impressment"—kidnapping poor men on the streets for maritime service.

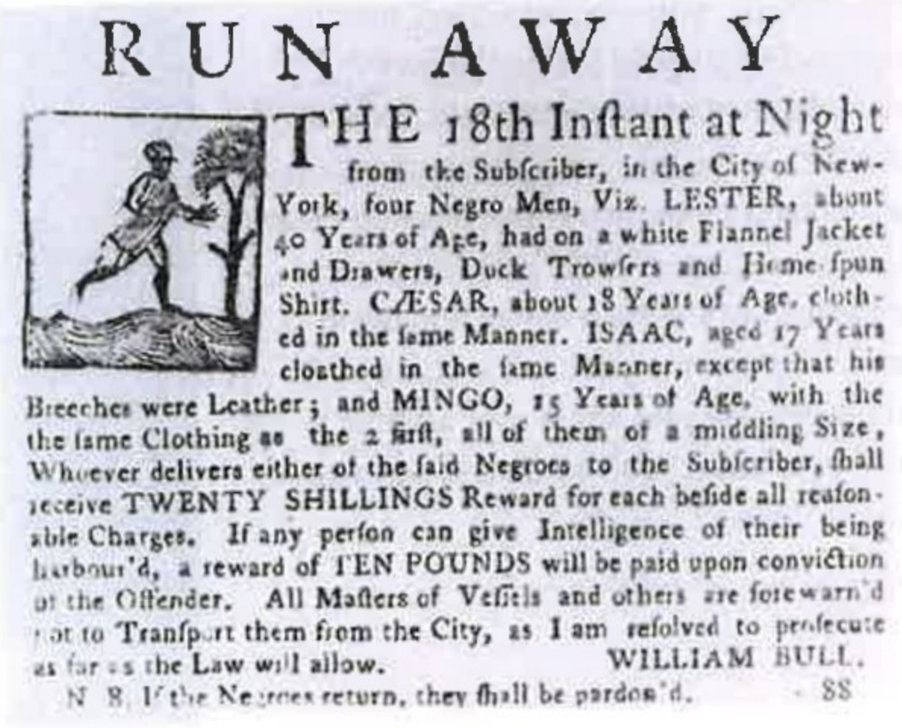
Republican Liberty and Liberal Freedom

Liberty was central to two sets of political ideas that flourished in the Anglo-American world. One is termed by scholars **republicanism**, which celebrated active participation in public life by economically independent citizens as the essence of liberty. Republicans assumed that only property-owning citizens possessed "virtue"—defined in the eighteenth century not simply as a personal moral quality but as the willingness and ability to subordinate self-interest to the pursuit of the public good.

The second set of eighteenth-century political ideas celebrating freedom came to be known as **liberalism** (although its meaning was quite different from what the word suggests today). Whereas republican liberty had a public and social quality, liberalism was essentially individual and private. The leading philosopher of liberalism was John Locke. In his *Two Treatises of Government*, written around 1680, he wrote that government was formed by a mutual agreement among equals (the parties being male heads of households, not all persons). In this "social contract," men surrendered a part of their right to govern themselves in order to enjoy the benefits of the rule of law. They retained, however, their natural rights, whose existence predated the establishment of political authority. Protecting the security of life, liberty, and property required shielding a realm of private life and personal concerns—including family relations, religious preferences, and economic activity—from interference by the state. During the eighteenth century, Lockean ideas—individual rights, the consent of the governed, the right of rebellion against unjust or oppressive government—would become familiar on both sides of the Atlantic.

Like other Britons, Locke spoke of liberty as a universal right yet seemed to exclude many persons from its full benefits. The free individual in liberal thought was essentially the propertied white man. Nonetheless, by proclaiming that all individuals possess natural rights that no government may violate, Lockean liberalism opened the door to the poor, women, and even slaves to challenge limitations on their own freedom.

In the eighteenth century, republicanism and liberalism often reinforced each other. Both political outlooks could inspire a



RUN AWAY

THE 18th Inſtant at Night from the Subſcriber, in the City of New-York, four Negro Men, Viz. LESTER, about 40 Years of Age, had on a white Flannel Jacket and Drawers, Duck Trowſers and Home-ſpun Shirt. CÆSAR, about 18 Years of Age, clothed in the ſame Manner. ISAAC, aged 17 Years clothed in the ſame Manner, except that his Breeches were Leather; and MINGO, 15 Years of Age, with the the ſame Clothing as the 2 firſt, all of them of a middling Size. Whoever delivers either of the ſaid Negroes to the Subſcriber, ſhall receive TWENTY SHILLINGS Reward for each beſide all reaſonable Charges. If any perſon can give Intelligence of their being harbour'd, a reward of TEN POUNDS will be paid upon conviction of the Offender. All Maſters of Veſſels and others are forewarn'd not to Tranſport them from the City, as I am reſolved to proſecute as far as the Law will allow. WILLIAM BULL.

N. B. If the Negroes return, they ſhall be pardon'd. 8S

An advertisement seeking the return of four men who escaped slavery in New York City.

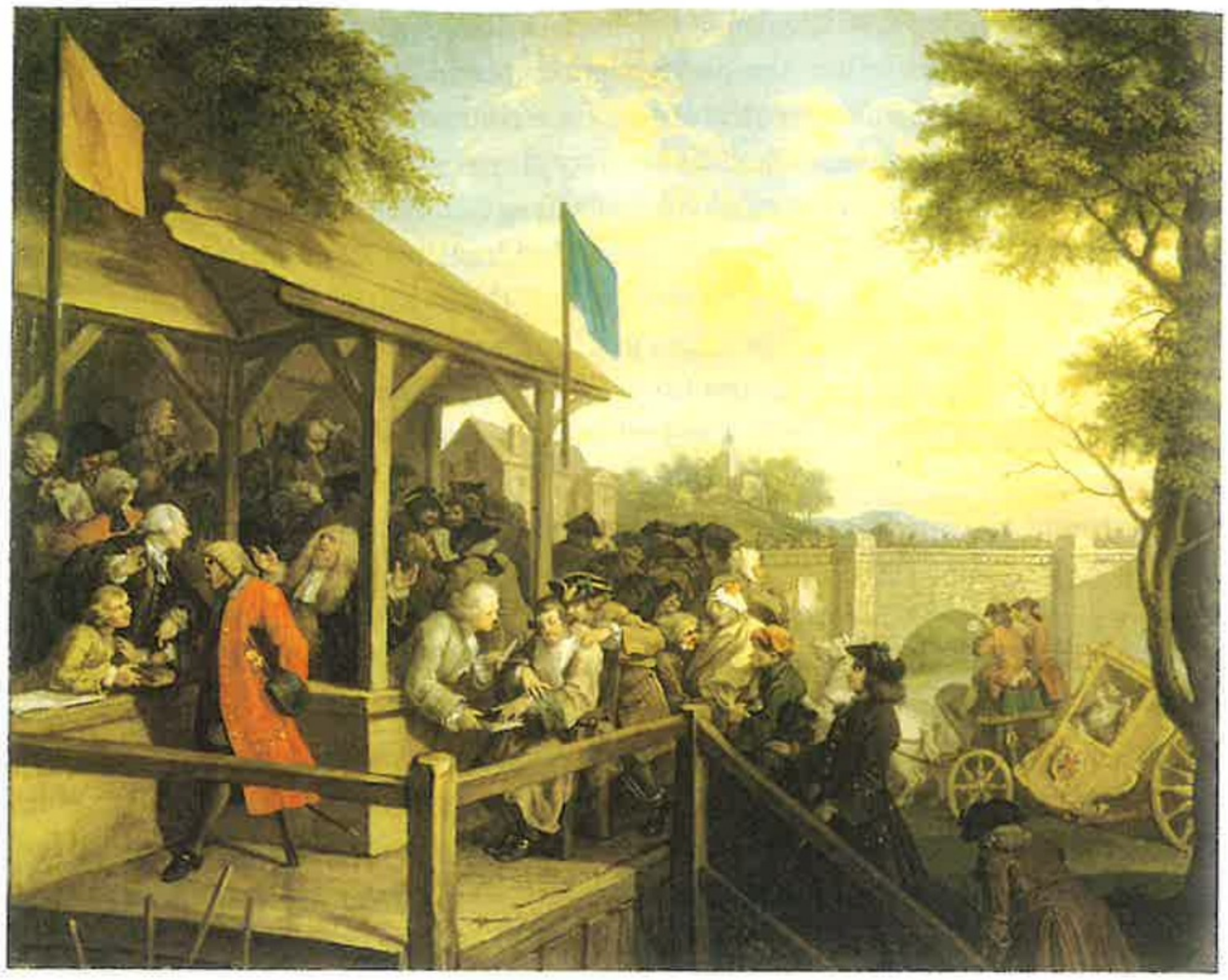
republicanism Political theory in eighteenth-century England and America that celebrated active participation in public life by economically independent citizens as central to freedom.

liberalism Political philosophy that emphasized the protection of liberty by limiting the power of government to interfere with the natural rights of citizens.

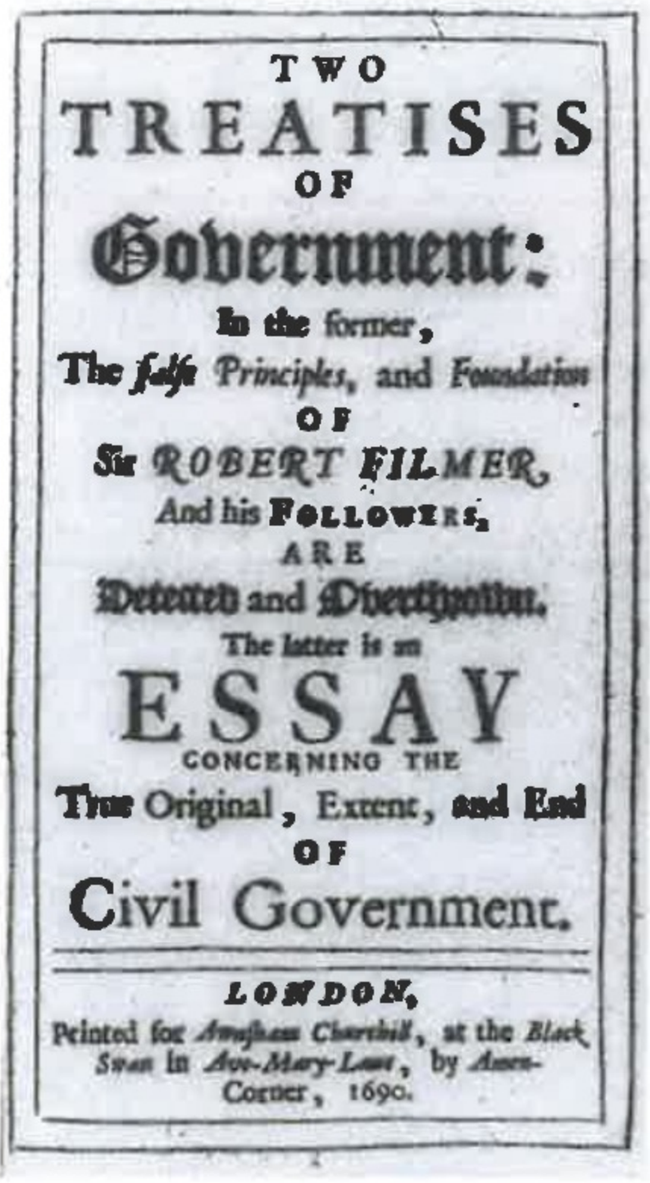


A 1770 engraving from the *Boston Gazette* by Paul Revere illustrates the association of British patriotism and liberty. Britannia sits with a liberty cap and her national shield, and releases a bird from a cage.

The Polling, by the renowned eighteenth-century British artist William Hogarth, satirizes the idea that British elections are decided by the reasoned deliberations of upstanding property owners. Inspired by a corrupt election of 1754, Hogarth depicts a scene in which the maimed and dying are brought to the polls to cast ballots. At the center, lawyers argue over whether a man who has a hook for a hand can swear on the Bible.



The title page of John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*, which traces the origins of government to an original state of nature and insists that political authorities must not abridge people's natural rights.


TWO
TREATISES
OF
Government:
In the former,
The falſe Principles, and Foundation
OF
Sir ROBERT FILMER,
And his FOLLOWERS,
ARE
Detected and Overthrown.
The latter is an
ESSAY
CONCERNING THE
True Original, Extent, and End
OF
Civil Government.
LONDON,
Printed for Awnsham Churchill, at the Black Swan in Ave-Mary-Lane, by Amen-Corner, 1690.

commitment to constitutional government and restraints on despotic power. Both emphasized the security of property as a foundation of freedom. Both traditions were transported to eighteenth-century America and would eventually help to divide the empire.

THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Colonial politics for most of the eighteenth century was considerably less tempestuous than in the seventeenth, with its bitter struggles for power and frequent armed conflicts. Political stability in Britain coupled with the maturation of local elites in America made for more tranquil government.

The Right to Vote

In many respects, politics in eighteenth-century America had a more republican quality than in Great Britain. Suffrage requirements varied from colony to colony, but as in Britain the linchpin of voting laws was the property qualification. Its purpose was to ensure that men who possessed an economic stake in society and the independence of judgment that supposedly went with it determined the policies of the government. Slaves, servants, tenants, adult sons living in the homes of their parents, the poor, and all women lacked a "will of their own" and were therefore ineligible to vote. The wide distribution of property in the colonies, however, meant that a far higher percentage of the population enjoyed voting rights than in Britain.

What concepts and institutions dominated colonial politics in the eighteenth century?

It is estimated that between 50 and 80 percent of adult white men could vote in eighteenth-century colonial America, as opposed to fewer than 5 percent in Britain.

Colonial politics, however, was hardly democratic in a modern sense. Voting was almost everywhere considered a male prerogative. In some colonies, Jews, Catholics, and Protestant Dissenters like Baptists and Quakers could not vote. Propertied free blacks, who enjoyed the franchise in the early days of settlement, lost that right in many places. Native Americans generally participated in politics within their own towns and nations and did not vote in colonial elections.

Political Cultures

Despite the relatively broad electorate among white men, "the people" existed only on election day. Between elections, members of colonial assemblies remained out of touch with their constituents. Strongly competitive elections were the norm only in the Middle Colonies. Considerable power in colonial politics rested with those who held appointive, not elective, office. Governors and councils were appointed by the crown in the nine royal colonies and by the proprietors of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Moreover, laws passed by colonial assemblies could be vetoed by governors or in London. In New England, most town officers were elected, but local officials in other colonies were appointed by the governor or by powerful officials in London.

Property qualifications for officeholding were far higher than for voting. In South Carolina, for example, nearly every free adult white male could meet the voting qualification of fifty acres of land or payment of twenty shillings in taxes, but to sit in the assembly one had to own 500 acres of land and ten slaves or town property worth £1,000. As a result, throughout the eighteenth century nearly all of South Carolina's legislators were planters or wealthy merchants.

In some colonies, an ingrained tradition of "deference"—the assumption among ordinary people that wealth, education, and social prominence carried a right to public office—sharply limited effective choice in elections. Virginia politics, for example, combined political democracy for white men with the tradition that voters should choose among candidates from the gentry. Aspirants for public office actively sought to ingratiate themselves with ordinary voters, distributing food and liquor freely at



This 1765 engraving depicting an election in Pennsylvania suggests the intensity of political debate in the Middle Colonies, as well as the social composition of the electorate. Those shown arguing outside the Old Court House in Philadelphia include physicians (with wigs and gold-topped canes), ministers, and lawyers. A line of men waits on the steps to vote.

the courthouse where balloting took place. In Thomas Jefferson's first campaign for the House of Burgesses in 1768, his expenses included hiring two men "for bringing up rum" to the polling place. Even in New England, with its larger number of elective positions, town leaders were generally the largest property holders.

The Rise of the Assemblies

In the seventeenth century, the governor was the focal point of political authority, and colonial assemblies were weak bodies that met infrequently. But preoccupied with events in Europe and imperial rivalries, successive British governments during the first half of the eighteenth century adopted a policy of **salutary neglect**, leaving the colonies largely to govern themselves. As economic development enhanced the power of American elites, the assemblies they dominated became more and more assertive. Their leaders insisted that assemblies possessed the same rights and powers in local affairs as the House of Commons enjoyed in Britain.

salutary neglect Informal British policy during the first half of the eighteenth century that allowed the American colonies considerable freedom to pursue their economic and political interests in exchange for colonial obedience.

Many of the conflicts between governors and elected assemblies stemmed from the colonies' economic growth. To deal with the scarcity of gold and silver coins, the only legal form of currency, some colonies printed paper money, although this was strongly opposed by the governors, authorities in London, and British merchants who did not wish to be paid in what they considered worthless paper. Numerous battles also took place over land policy (sometimes involving divergent attitudes toward relations with Native Americans) and the level of rents charged to farmers on land owned by the crown or proprietors.

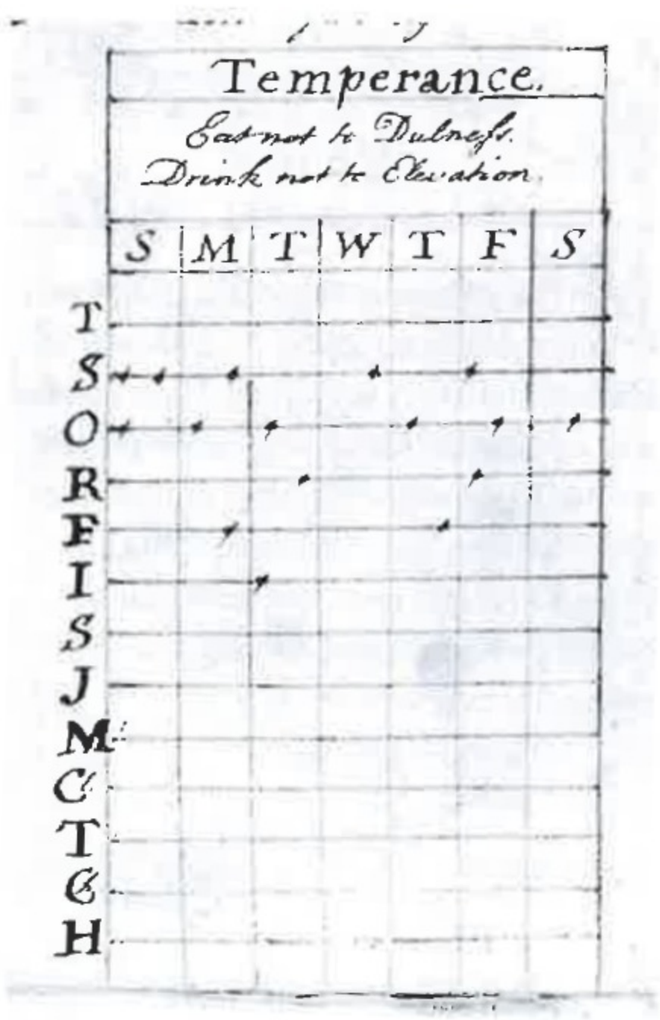
In their negotiations and conflicts with royal governors, leaders of the assemblies drew on British political philosophers who emphasized the constant tension between liberty and political power and the dangers of executive influence over the legislature.

Politics in Public

The language of liberty reverberated outside the relatively narrow world of elective and legislative politics. The "political nation" was dominated by the American gentry, whose members addressed each other in letters, speeches, newspaper articles, and pamphlets filled with references to classical learning. But especially in colonial cities, the eighteenth century witnessed a considerable expansion of the "public sphere"—the world of political organization independent of the government, where an informed citizenry openly discussed questions that had previously been the preserve of officials.

In Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, clubs proliferated where literary, philosophical, scientific, and political issues were debated. Such groups were generally composed of men of property, but some drew ordinary citizens into discussions of public affairs. Colonial taverns and coffeehouses also became important sites for political debates. In Philadelphia, one clergyman commented, "the poorest laborer thinks himself entitled to deliver his sentiments in matters of religion or politics with as much freedom as the gentleman or scholar."

Benjamin Franklin's quest for self-improvement, or, as he put it in his autobiography, "moral perfection," is illustrated in this "Temperance diagram," which charts his behavior each day of the week with regard to thirteen virtues. They are listed on the left by their first letters: temperance, silence, order, resolution, frugality, industry, sincerity, justice, moderation, cleanliness, tranquility, chastity, and humility. Franklin did not always adhere to these virtues.



The Colonial Press

Neither the Spanish possessions of Florida and New Mexico nor New France and French Louisiana possessed a printing press, although missionaries had

tablished one in Mexico City in the 1530s. In British North America, however, the ress expanded rapidly during the eighteenth century. So did the number of politi- l broadsides and pamphlets published, especially at election time. By the eve of ie American Revolution, some three-quarters of the free adult male population the colonies and more than one-third of free adult women could read and write, nd a majority of American families owned at least one book. Circulating libraries ppeared in many colonial cities and towns, making possible a wider dissemina- on of knowledge at a time when books were still expensive. The first, the Library ompany of Philadelphia, was established by Benjamin Franklin in 1731.

The first continuously published colonial newspaper, the *Boston News-Letter*, ppeared in 1704. There were twenty-five colonial newspapers by 1765, mostly veeklies with small circulations—an average of 600 sales per issue. Probably he best-edited was the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, established in 1728 in Philadelphia nd purchased the following year by Benjamin Franklin. At its peak, the *Gazette* ttracted 2,000 subscribers. By the 1730s, political commentary was widespread n the American press.

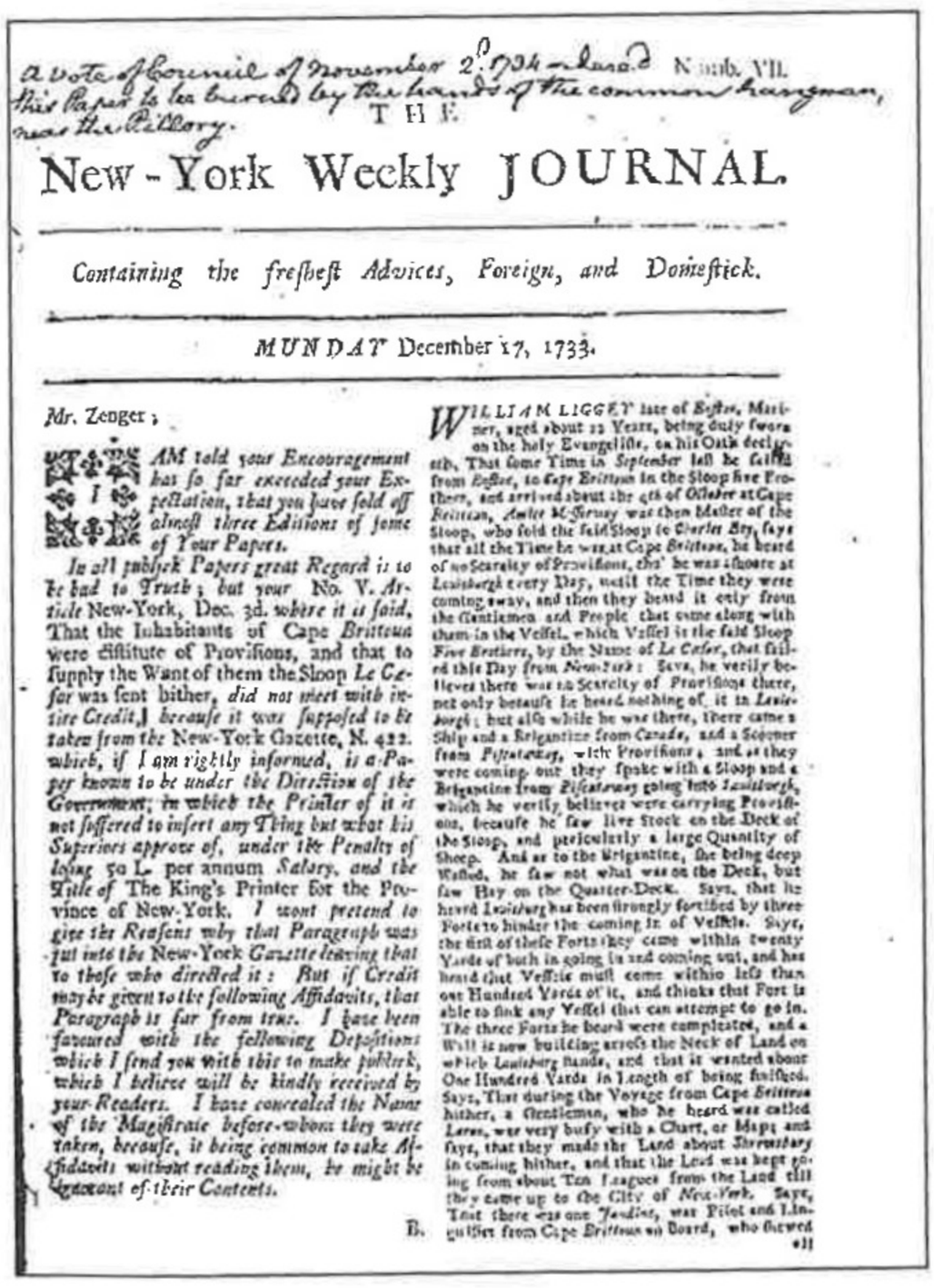
Freedom of Expression and Its Limits

The public sphere thrived on the free exchange of ideas. But freedom of expres- sion was not generally considered one of the ancient rights of Englishmen. The phrase "freedom of speech" originated in Britain during the sixteenth century. A right of legislators, not ordinary citizens, t referred to the ability of members of Parliament to express their views without fear of reprisal, on the grounds that only in this way could they effectively represent the people. Outside of Parliament, free speech had no legal protection. A subject could be beheaded for accusing the king of failing to hold "true" religious beliefs, and language from swearing to criticism of the government exposed a person to criminal penalties.

As for freedom of the press, governments on both sides of the Atlantic viewed this as extremely dangerous. Until 1695, when a British law requiring the licensing of printed works before publication lapsed, no newspaper, book, or pamphlet could legally be printed without a government license. After 1695, the government could not censor newspapers, books, and pamphlets before they appeared in print, but it continued to try to manage the press by direct payments to publishers and journalists. Authors and publishers could still be prosecuted for "seditious libel"—a crime that included defaming government officials—or punished for contempt.

Elected assemblies, not governors, most frequently discouraged freedom of the press in colonial America. Dozens of publishers were hauled before assemblies and forced to apologize for comments regarding one or another member. Colonial newspapers vigorously defended freedom of the press as a central component of liberty, insisting that the citizenry

The first page of the *New-York Weekly Journal*, edited by John Peter Zenger, one of four issues ordered to be burned by local authorities.



a vote of Council of November 2. 1734 ordered N. 47th. VII.
this Paper to be burned by the hands of the common hangman,
near the Pillory.

THE

New-York Weekly JOURNAL.

Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign, and Domestick.

MUNDAY December 17, 1733.

Mr. Zenger;

I AM told your Encouragement has so far exceeded your Expectation, that you have sold off almost three Editions of some of Your Papers.

In all publick Papers great Regard is to be had to Truth; but your No. V. Article New-York, Dec. 3d. *where it is said, That the Inhabitants of Cape Britton were distitute of Provisions, and that to supply the Want of them the Sloop Le Cesar was sent hither, did not meet with intire Credit, because it was supposed to be taken from the* New-York Gazette, N. 422. *which, if I am rightly informed, is a Paper known to be under the Direction of the Government; in which the Printer of it is not suffered to insert any Thing but what his Superiors approve of, under the Penalty of losing 50 L. per annum Salary, and the Title of* The King's Printer for the Province of New-York. *I wont pretend to give the Reasons why that Paragraph was put into the* New-York Gazette *leaving that to those who directed it: But if Credit may be given to the following Affidavits, that Paragraph is far from true. I have been favoured with the following Depositions which I send you with this to make publick, which I believe will be kindly received by your Readers. I have concealed the Name of the Magistrate before whom they were taken, because, it being common to take Affidavits without reading them, he might be ignorant of their Contents.*

WILLIAM LIGGET late of *Boston*, Mariner, aged about 22 Years, being duly sworn on the holy Evangelists, on his Oath declareth, That some Time in *September* last he sailed from *Boston*, to *Cape Britton* in the Sloop *Five Brothers*, and arrived about the 4th of *October* at *Cape Britton*, *Amos M'Gorney* was then Master of the Sloop, who sold the said Sloop to *Charles Bey*, says that all the Time he was at *Cape Britton*, he heard of no Scarcity of Provisions, tho' he was almost at *Louisburgh* every Day, until the Time they were coming away, and then they heard it only from the Gentlemen and People that came along with them in the Vessel, which Vessel is the said Sloop *Five Brothers*, by the Name of *Le Cæsar*, that sailed this Day from *New-York*: Says, he verily believes there was no Scarcity of Provisions there, not only because he heard nothing of it in *Louisburgh*; but also while he was there, there came a Ship and a Brigantine from *Canada*, and a Schooner from *Piscataway*, with Provisions, and as they were coming out they spoke with a Sloop and a Brigantine from *Piscataway* going into *Louisburgh*, which he verily believes were carrying Provisions, because he saw live Stock on the Deck of the Sloop, and particularly a large Quantity of Sheep. And as to the Brigantine, she being deep Waisted, he saw not what was on the Deck, but saw Hay on the Quarter-Deck. Says, that he heard *Louisburgh* has been strongly fortified by three Forts to hinder the coming in of Vessels. Says, the first of these Forts they came within twenty Yards of both in going in and coming out, and has heard that Vessels must come within less than one Hundred Yards of it, and thinks that Fort is able to sink any Vessel that can attempt to go in. The three Forts he heard were compleated, and a Wall is now building across the Neck of Land on which *Louisburg* stands, and that it wanted about One Hundred Yards in Length of being finished. Says, That during the Voyage from Cape *Britton* hither, a Gentleman, who he heard was called *Lavas*, was very busy with a Chart, or Maps and says, that they made the Land about *Shrewsbury* in coming hither, and that the Land was kept going from about Ten Leagues from the Land till they came up to the City of *New-York*. Says, That there was one *Vaudine*, was Pilot and Linguister from Cape *Britton* on Board, who shewed

B. all

had a right to monitor the workings of government and subject public officials to criticism. But since government printing contracts were crucial for economic success, few newspapers attacked colonial governments unless financially supported by an opposition faction.

The Trial of Zenger

The most famous colonial court case involving freedom of the press demonstrated that popular sentiment opposed prosecutions for criticism of public officials. This was the 1735 trial of John Peter Zenger, a German-born printer who had immigrated to New York as a youth. Financed by wealthy opponents of Governor William Cosby, Zenger's newspaper, the *Weekly Journal*, lambasted the governor for corruption, influence peddling, and "tyranny." New York's council ordered four issues burned and had Zenger himself arrested and tried for seditious libel. Zenger's attorney, Andrew Hamilton, urged the jury to judge not the publisher but the governor. If they decided that Zenger's charges were correct, they must acquit him, and, Hamilton proclaimed, "every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless you."

Zenger was found not guilty. The case sent a warning to prosecutors that libel cases might be very difficult to win, especially in the superheated atmosphere of New York politics. The outcome demonstrated that the idea of free expression was becoming ingrained in the popular imagination.

Enlightenment Revolution in thought in the eighteenth century that emphasized reason and science over the authority of traditional religion.

Deism Enlightenment thought applied to religion; emphasized reason, morality, and natural law.

The American Enlightenment

During the eighteenth century, many educated Americans began to be influenced by the outlook of the European **Enlightenment**. This philosophical movement, which originated among French thinkers and soon spread to Britain, sought to apply the scientific method of careful investigation based on research and experiment to political and social life. Enlightenment ideas crisscrossed the Atlantic along with goods and people. Enlightenment thinkers insisted that every human institution, authority, and tradition be judged before the bar of reason. The self-educated Benjamin Franklin's wide range of activities—establishing a newspaper, debating club, and library; publishing the widely circulated *Poor Richard's Almanack*; and conducting experiments to demonstrate that lightning is a form of electricity—exemplified the Enlightenment spirit and made him probably the best-known American in the eighteenth-century world.

Enlightenment thinkers hoped that "reason," not religious enthusiasm, could govern human life. During the eighteenth century, many prominent Americans moved toward the position called Arminianism, which taught that reason alone was capable of establishing the essentials of religion. Others adopted **Deism**, a belief that God essentially withdrew after creating the world, leaving it to function according to scientific laws without divine intervention. Belief in miracles, in the revealed truth of the Bible, and in the innate sinfulness of mankind were viewed by Arminians, Deists, and others as outdated superstitions that should be abandoned in the modern age.

In the seventeenth century, the English scientist Isaac Newton had revealed the natural laws that governed the physical universe. Here, Deists believed, was the purest evidence of God's handiwork. Deists concluded that the best form of

George Whitefield, the English evangelist who helped to spark the Great Awakening in the colonies. Painted around 1742 by John Wollaston, who had immigrated from England to the colonies, the work depicts Whitefield's powerful effect on his listeners.



religious devotion was to study the workings of nature, rather than to worship in organized churches or appeal to divine grace for salvation. By the late colonial era, a small but influential group of leading Americans, including Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, could be classified as Deists.

THE GREAT AWAKENING

Like freedom of the press, religion was another realm where the actual experience of liberty outstripped its legal recognition. Religion remained central to eighteenth-century American life. Sermons, theological treatises, and copies of the Bible were by far the largest category of material produced by colonial printers.

Religious Revivals

Many ministers were concerned that westward expansion, commercial development, the growth of Enlightenment rationalism, and lack of individual engagement in church services were undermining religious devotion. These fears helped to inspire the revivals that swept through the colonies beginning in the 1730s. Known as the **Great Awakening**, the revivals were less a coordinated movement than a series of local events united by a commitment to a "religion of the heart," a more emotional and personal Christianity than that offered by existing churches.

The eighteenth century witnessed a resurgence of religious fundamentalism in many parts of the world, in part a response to the rationalism of the Enlightenment and a desire for greater religious purity. In the Middle East and central Asia, where Islam was widespread, followers of a form of the religion known as Wahhabism called for a return to the practices of the religion's early days. Methodism and other forms of enthusiastic religion were flourishing in Europe. Like other intellectual currents of the time, the Great Awakening was a transatlantic movement.

During the 1720s and 1730s, the New Jersey Dutch Reformed clergyman Theodore Frelinghuysen, his Presbyterian neighbors William and Gilbert Tennent, and the Massachusetts Congregationalist minister Jonathan Edwards pioneered an intensely emotional style of preaching. Edwards's famous sermon "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" portrayed sinful man as a "loathsome insect" suspended over a bottomless pit of eternal fire by a slender thread that might break at any moment. Only a "new birth"—immediately acknowledging one's sins and pleading for divine grace—could save men and women from eternal damnation.

The Preaching of Whitefield

More than any other individual, the English minister George Whitefield, who declared "the whole world his parish," sparked the Great Awakening. For two years after his arrival in America in 1739, Whitefield brought his highly emotional brand of preaching to colonies from Georgia to New England. God, Whitefield proclaimed, was merciful. Rather than being predestined for damnation, men and women could save themselves by repenting of their sins. Whitefield appealed to the passions of his listeners, powerfully sketching the boundless joy of salvation and the horrors of damnation.

Great Awakening Fervent religious revival movement in the 1720s through the 1740s that was spread in the colonies by ministers like New England Congregationalist Jonathan Edwards and English revivalist George Whitefield.



A lithograph produced in Baltimore in 1791 by John Hagerty, a Methodist minister and publisher of religious works, illustrates a passage in the Bible ("on either side of the river was there the tree of life which bore twelve manner of fruits") and, more generally, the evangelical spirit of the Great Awakening. Beneath heavenly rays, the Tree of Life bears fruits of salvation for those seeking entry into the New Jerusalem. Sinners are noted with labels including "pride," "chambering & wantonness," "quack," "usury," and "extortion."



Missions played a crucial role in establishing a Spanish presence across their vast American empire. This drawing depicts a Native woman and man at the mission San Carlos Borroméo de Monterey in California. It was drawn in 1791 by José Cardero, a Spanish explorer with the Malaspina expedition.

Tens of thousands of colonists flocked to Whitefield's sermons, which were widely reported in the American press, making him a celebrity and helping to establish the revivals as the first major intercolonial event in North American history. In Whitefield's footsteps, a host of traveling preachers or "evangelists" (meaning, literally, bearers of good news) held revivalist meetings, often to the alarm of established ministers.

The Awakening's Impact

By the time they subsided in the 1760s, the revivals had changed the religious configuration of the colonies and enlarged the boundaries of liberty. Whitefield inspired the emergence of numerous Dissenting churches. Congregations split into factions headed by Old Lights (traditionalists) and New Lights (revivalists), and new churches proliferated—Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and others. Many of these new churches began to criticize the colonial practice of levying taxes to support an established church; they defended religious freedom as one of the natural rights government must not restrict.

The Great Awakening threw into question many forms of authority and inspired criticism of aspects of colonial society. Revivalist preachers frequently criticized commercial society, insisting that believers should make salvation, not profit, "the one business of their lives." Preaching to the small farmers of the southern backcountry, Baptist and Methodist revivalists criticized the worldliness of wealthy planters and attacked as sinful activities such as gambling, horse racing, and lavish entertainments on the Sabbath. A few preachers explicitly condemned slavery. Especially in the Chesapeake, the revivals brought numerous slaves into the Christian fold, an important step in creating an African American culture.

The revivals encouraged many colonists to trust their own views rather than those of established elites. In listening to the sermons of self-educated preachers, forming Bible study groups, and engaging in intense religious discussions, ordinary colonists asserted the right to independent judgment. Although the revivalists' aim was spiritual salvation, the independent frame of mind they encouraged would have significant political consequences.

IMPERIAL RIVALRIES

The rapid growth of Britain's North American colonies took place at a time of increased jockeying for power among European empires. But the colonies of England's rivals remained thinly populated and economically and militarily weak. The northern claims of the Spanish empire encompassed an area that stretched from the Pacific coast and New Mexico into the Great Plains and eastward through Texas plus Florida. On paper a vast territorial empire, Spanish North America (north of central Mexico) actually consisted of a few isolated urban clusters, most prominently St. Augustine in Florida, San Antonio in Texas, and Santa Fe and Albuquerque in New Mexico.

How did the Spanish and French empires in America develop in the eighteenth century?

The Spanish in the Southwest

In the second half of the century, the Spanish government made a concerted effort to reinvigorate its empire north of the Rio Grande. It sought to stabilize relations with Indians, especially the nomadic Comanches and Apaches, who controlled much of the land claimed by Spain and whose raids on mines, ranches, and settled Native communities wreaked havoc. Spain was also alarmed by the growing number of French merchants who made their way into the region from Louisiana.

Spanish reformers, like other Enlightenment figures, hoped that applying scientific methods to society would bring about progress, but at the same time they worked to preserve the absolutist monarchy and Spain's American empire. Reformers condemned Spain's past treatment of Indians and called for more humane policies. In the northern reaches of their empire, Spanish officials used a combination of coercion, gifts, and trade to woo Native allies. These tactics to some extent strengthened Spain's hold on the northern part of its American empire against its European rivals while bolstering its Native allies.



This illustration of friars preaching, from an eighteenth-century work by the missionary Pablo de Beaumont, depicts demons dispatched by the devil as an ever-present threat to the missionaries' efforts to convert Native Americans.

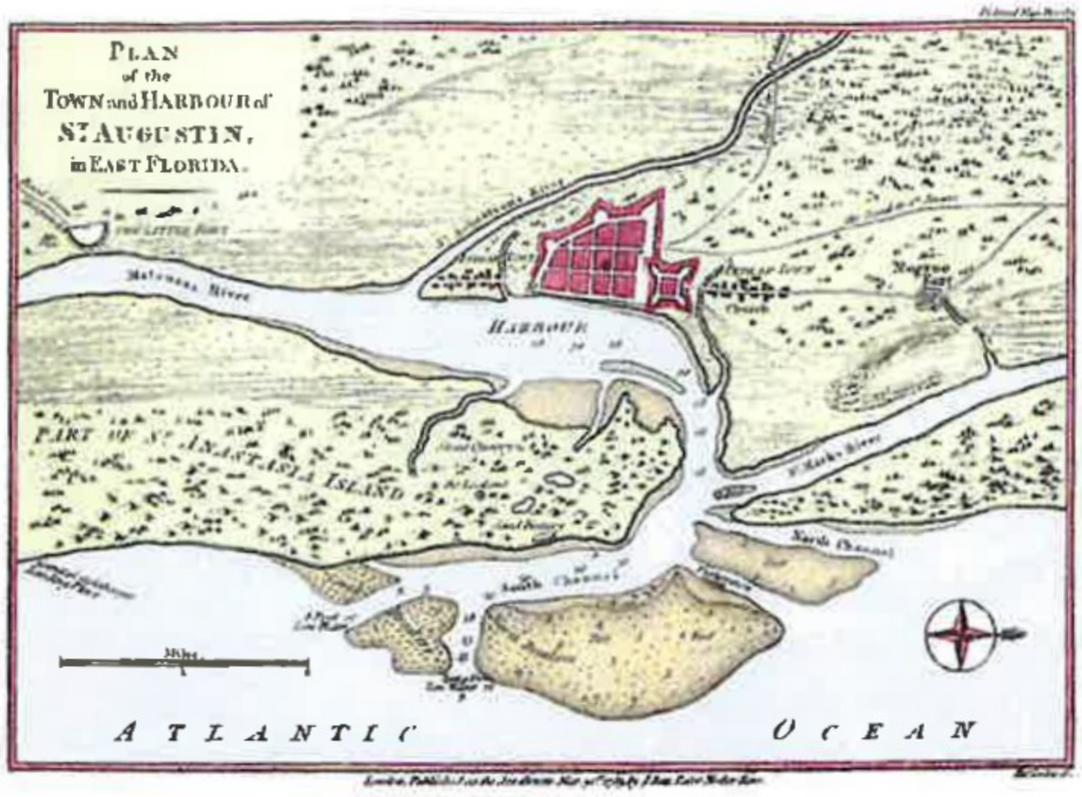
Spain's weakness in the northern part of its American empire in large part stemmed from the small size of its settler population there. New Mexico in 1750 had fewer than 10,000 colonists, living in communities with larger numbers of Native Puebloans. Some of the Spanish were "crypto-Jews"—Jews who continued to practice their religion after their legally required conversion to Catholicism. Many had moved from Mexico City to escape the Inquisition. Although ranching had expanded, the economy of New Mexico essentially rested on trading with Native allies. The manpower demands of wars in Europe made it impossible for the Spanish government to meet local military commanders' requests for more troops. The powerful Comanches and Apaches continued to dominate large parts of northern New Spain.

Similar problems existed in Texas. After founding San Antonio and Los Adaes earlier in the eighteenth century, the Spanish established more missions and *presidios*. But the region attracted few settlers. Texas had only 1,200 Spanish colonists in 1760.

Spanish Florida

Like New Mexico and Texas, Florida remained a mostly Native place with few European colonists. As we have seen, it also became a refuge for people of African descent who fled slavery in British South Carolina. In 1693, Spanish king Carlos II decreed that slaves who fled Carolina would be free in Florida if they became Catholic. The king knew that attracting former slaves to Florida would increase its population while weakening the English colonies. Many enslaved people took up the offer.

After some Spanish Floridians re-enslaved people seeking freedom in Florida, Francisco Menéndez, a captain of Florida's free Black militia, petitioned for their



A 1783 map showing Florida's Fort Mose, labeled as "Negroe Fort." To its west are two allied Indian towns and Spanish St. Augustine.

Father Junípero Serra Missionary who began and directed the California mission system in the 1770s and 1780s. Serra presided over the conversion of many Indians to Christianity sometimes by force.

Although painted in the twentieth century, this portrait of Father Junípero Serra is based on one that dates from the eighteenth century, when Serra conducted missionary work in present-day California.



freedom. If freedom was not granted, he warned, his fellow Afro-Floridians might join the English against the Spanish. The petitions succeeded. These former slaves built their own settlement in 1738 outside St. Augustine and named it Gracia Real (Royal Grace) de Santa Teresa de Mose. Menéndez led this community, which lasted until 1763.

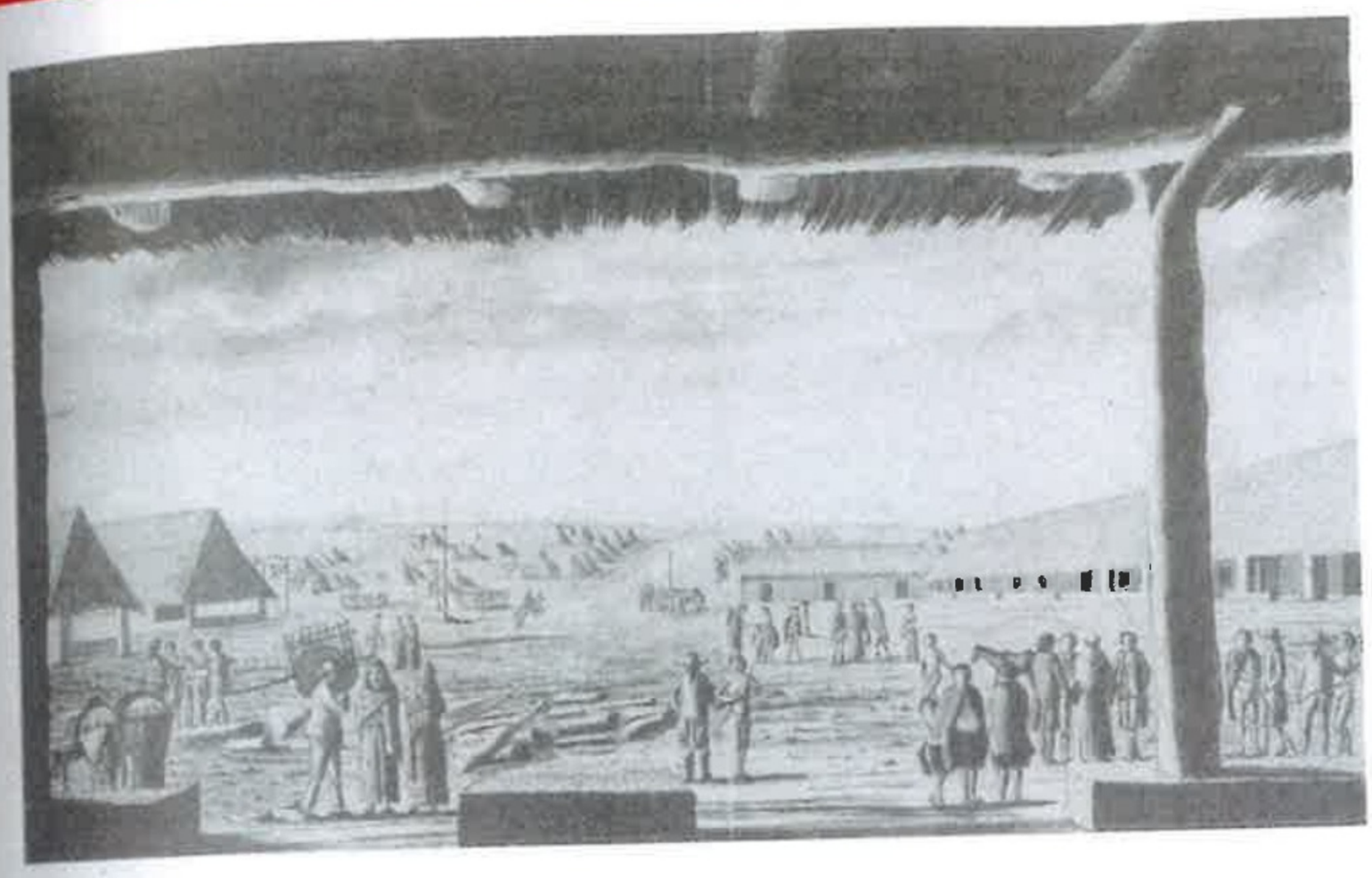
The Spanish in California

The clash of empires also took place on the Pacific Coast. In the mid-eighteenth century, empire builders in Moscow dreamed of challenging the Spanish for control of the region's fur trade, minerals, and ports. Russian traders established a series of forts in Alaska and then moved southward toward modern-day California. As late as 1812, Russians founded Fort Ross, only 100 miles north of San Francisco.

Even though only a small number of Russians actually appeared in California, the alarmed Spanish in 1769 launched the "Sacred Experiment" to take control of the coast north of San Diego to prevent its occupation by foreigners. In 1774, Juan Bautista de Anza, an explorer and military officer, led an expedition that discovered a usable overland route to California from northern Mexico. In 1781, Quechan (Yuma) Indians wrested control of the overland route from the Spanish. Given the distance and difficulties of communication, authorities in Mexico City decided to establish missions in California, run by the Franciscan religious order, rather than sending colonists. The friars intended to set up ranching and farming activities and convert Indians into loyal Spaniards.

A string of Spanish missions and *presidios* soon dotted the California coastline, from San Diego to Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Monterey, San Francisco, and Sonoma. Born on the Spanish Mediterranean island of Mallorca, **Father Junípero Serra** became one of the most controversial figures in California's early history. He founded the first California mission, in San Diego, in 1769 and administered the mission network until his death in 1784. Serra was widely praised in Spain for converting thousands of Native Californians to Christianity. In 2015, he was elevated to sainthood by the Catholic Church. But forced labor and disease took a heavy toll among Indians who lived at the missions Serra directed. Many ran away, and the friars responded with whippings and imprisonment. "Naturally we want our liberty," one person who escaped from the missions remarked.

Present-day California was a densely populated area, with a Native population of perhaps 250,000 when Spanish settlement began. But the coming of soldiers and missionaries proved a disaster for the Indians. More than any other Spanish colony, California was a mission frontier. These outposts served simultaneously as religious institutions and centers of government and labor. Father Serra and other missionaries hoped to convert the natives to Christianity and settled farming, although Serra accommodated native traditions such as dancing and traditional healing. The missions also relied on forced Indian labor to grow grain, work in orchards and vineyards, and tend cattle. California did not attract Spanish settlers. When Spanish rule came to an end in 1821, twenty missions were operating, with



This 1791 Spanish drawing by José Cardero depicts the mission San Carlos Borroméo de Monterey, founded by Father Junípero Serra in 1770, and the Native town behind it. The people of the town had accepted baptism, but until the nineteenth century, they lived in their own nearby community in houses built in their preferred style of thatched roofed houses that were home to extended families. They continued their seasonal migrations and, Spanish missionaries and soldiers noted, did not allow Spaniards to enter their homes.

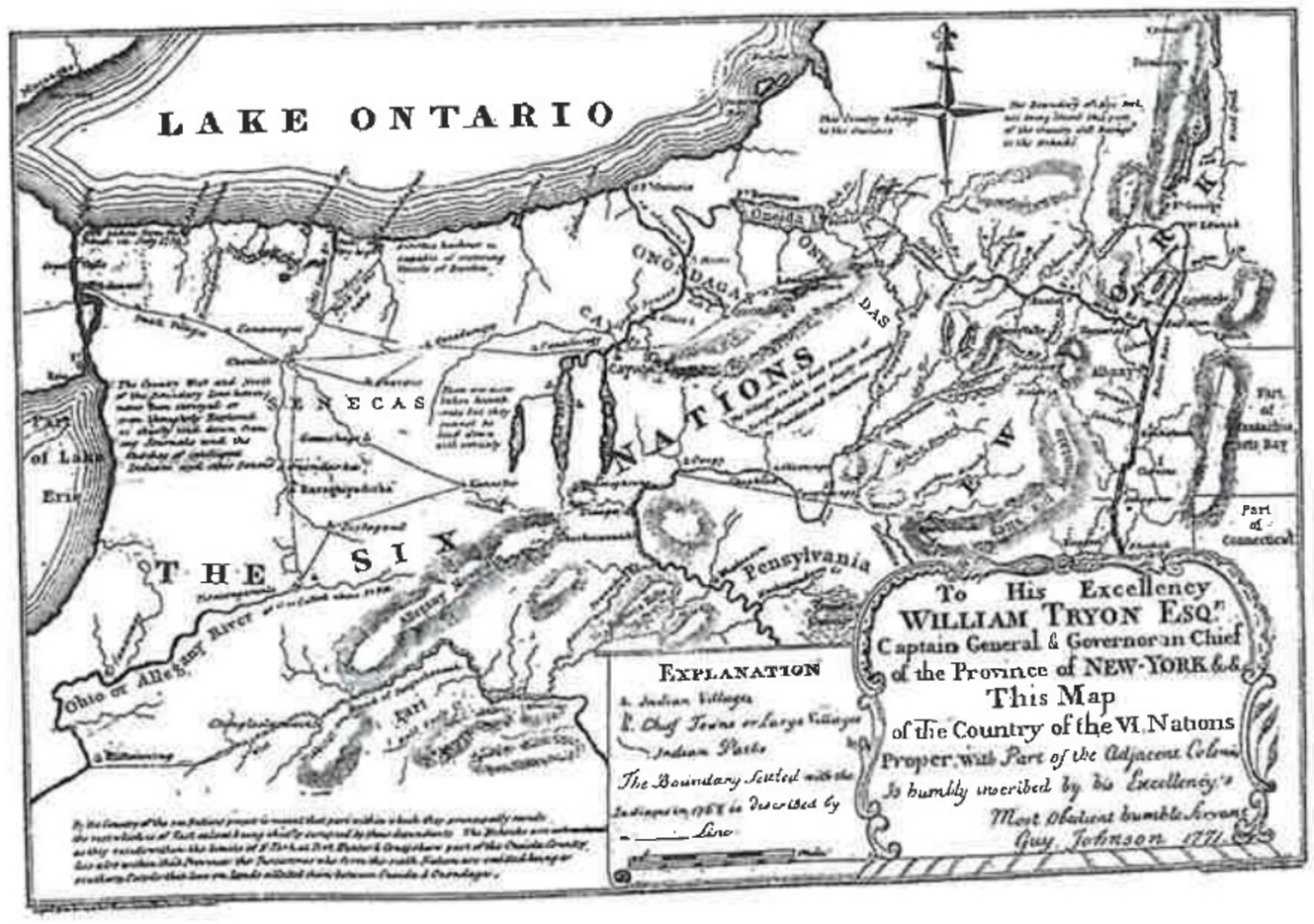
an average population of over 1,000 Indians, but *Californios* (California residents of Spanish descent) numbered only 3,200.

The French Empire

Native peoples retained far more power in the parts of North America claimed by Spain than in areas of English settlement. The same was true when it came to a greater rival to British power in North America—as well as in Europe and the Caribbean—France. During the eighteenth century, the population and economy of Canada expanded. In the St. Lawrence River valley of French Canada, prosperous farming communities developed. By 1750, the area had a population of about 55,000 colonists. Another 10,000 (about half Europeans, half African American slaves) resided in Louisiana.

Nonetheless, the population of French North America continued to be dwarfed by the British colonies. Prejudice against emigration to North America remained widespread in France because many there viewed the French colony as a place of cruel exile for criminals and social outcasts. Nonetheless, by claiming control of a large arc of territory and by establishing close trading and military relations with many Native nations, the French empire posed a real challenge to the British. French forts and trading posts ringed the British colonies. The French were a presence on the New England and New York frontiers and in western Pennsylvania.

A map of upstate New York presented to Governor William Tryon of colonial New York acknowledges that the area was the realm of the Six Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Nations. The Haudenosaunee also claimed much of the Ohio Valley as part of their domain, although Shawnees and Delawares contested that claim.





Three great empires—the British, French, and Spanish—competed for influence in North America for much of the eighteenth century. This map shows European land claims on the eve of the Seven Years' War, plus missions that Spain founded in the 1760s and 1770s.

BATTLE FOR THE CONTINENT

Native nations in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes regions hoped that allying together would protect their independence. They shared hunting lands with one another and with Cherokees and Chickasaws, and they traded deerskins and food with French and British traders.

This area would soon become hotly contested, but in 1750, few white settlers inhabited the Ohio Valley. The area was known to European settlers more by rumor than by observation, and contemporary maps bore little resemblance to the

actual geography. Nonetheless, many prominent colonists dreamed of establishing a new empire west of the British colonies. Many others saw the West as a place where they could easily acquire land and the freedom that went with it. In 1749, the government of Virginia awarded an immense land grant—half a million acres—to the Ohio Company. The company's members included the colony's royal governor, Robert Dinwiddie, and the elite of Virginia society—Lees, Carters, and Washingtons. The land grant sparked the French to bolster their presence in the region. It was the Ohio Company's demand for French recognition of its land claims that inaugurated the **Seven Years' War** (known in the British colonies as the **French and Indian War**), the first of the century's imperial wars to begin in the colonies and the first to result in a decisive victory for one combatant. It permanently altered the global balance of power.



Around 1740, Quapaw artists made this bison robe to commemorate their alliance with the French and victory over Native enemies, probably Chickasaws. Right above the tail is the French settlement of Arkansas Post, identifiable by the crosses on top of the buildings.

The Seven Years' War

Only in the eighteenth century, after numerous wars against its rivals, did Britain emerge as the world's leading empire and its center of trade and banking. By the 1750s, British possessions and trade reached around the globe. The existence of global empires implied that warfare among them would also be global.

What became a worldwide struggle for imperial domination began in 1754 with British efforts to dislodge the French from forts in western Pennsylvania. In the previous year, George Washington, then only twenty-one years old, had been dispatched by the colony's governor on an unsuccessful mission to persuade

Seven Years' War (French and Indian War) The last—and most important—of four colonial wars fought between England and France for control of North America east of the Mississippi River.



This hand-colored engraving from around 1720 depicts the mouth of the Mississippi River and the city of New Orleans, then quite small. On the left and right are Native American towns surrounded by stockades.



In 1750, most of North America still was populated and controlled by Native nations, although Britain, France, and Spain claimed the continent.

French soldiers to abandon a fort they were building on lands claimed by the Ohio Company (as well as the Shawnees, Delawares, and Haudenosaunee). In 1754, Washington returned to the area with two companies of soldiers. After an ill-considered attack on a larger French and Indian force, resulting in the loss of one-third of his men, Washington was forced to surrender.

Soon afterward, an expedition led by General Edward Braddock marched against Fort Duquesne (today's Pittsburgh). Braddock's superiors hoped that the Ohio Valley's Native nations would join their side against the French, but Braddock alienated these peoples. In a meeting with representatives of several Native nations, Delaware chief Shingas asked Braddock "what he intended to do with the land if he could drive the French and their Indians away." Braddock unwisely replied, "The English should inhabit and inherit the land." Unsurprisingly, the assembled Native leaders answered that "if they might not have liberty to live on the land they would not fight for it." Some of them went to join forces with the French. A Native and French force ambushed Braddock, killing him and leaving two-thirds of his 3,000 soldiers dead or wounded.

For two years, the war went against the British. The southern borders of Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia were ablaze with brutal fighting among British forces, colonists, and Indians. Native American fighters killed hundreds of colonists in western Pennsylvania and pushed the line of settlement all the way back to Carlisle, only 100 miles west of Philadelphia. In Nova Scotia, the British rounded up 5,000 local French residents, called Acadians, confiscated their land, and expelled them from the region, selling their farms to settlers from New England. Some of those expelled ended up as far away as Louisiana, where their descendants came to be known as Cajuns.

As the British government under Secretary of State William Pitt, who took office in 1757, raised huge sums of money and poured men and naval forces into the war, the tide of battle turned. By 1759, Britain—with colonial and Haudenosaunee fighters playing a major role—had captured the pivotal French outposts Forts Duquesne, Ticonderoga (north of Albany), and Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, which guarded the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. In September of that year, a French army was defeated on the Plains of Abraham near Quebec. British forces also seized nearly all of France's islands in the Caribbean and posts in India.

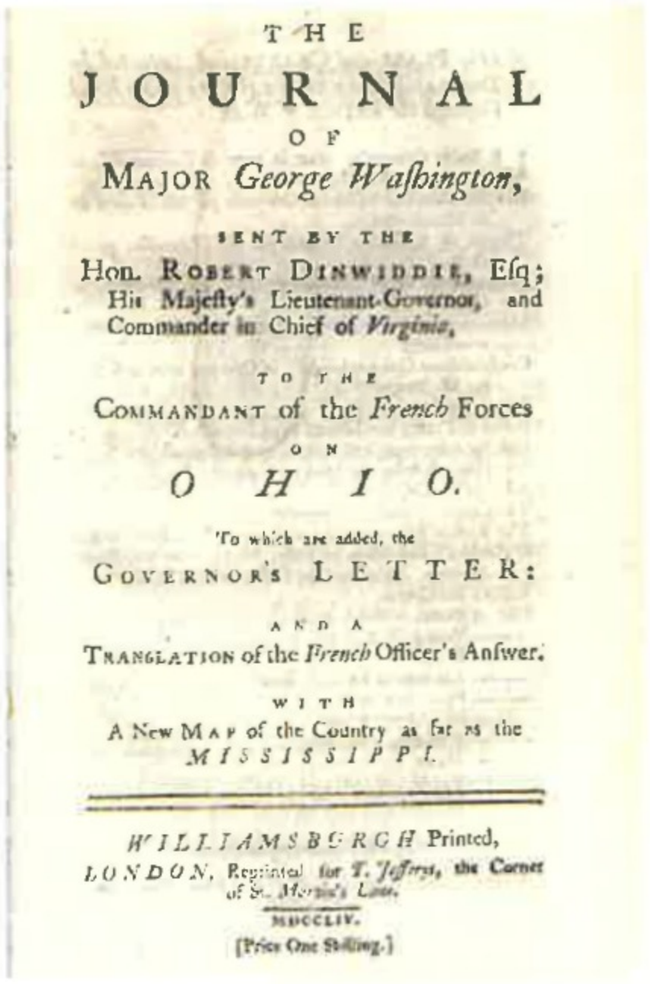
A World Transformed

Britain's victory fundamentally reshaped the world balance of power. In the Peace of Paris in 1763, France ceded Canada to Britain, receiving back in return the far more lucrative sugar islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique. Spain ceded Florida to Britain in exchange for the return of the Philippines and Cuba (seized by the British during the war). Spain also acquired from France the part of the vast Louisiana colony that lay west of the Mississippi River, plus the port of New Orleans. The British received the part of Louisiana that lay east of the Mississippi and renamed it along with Florida's panhandle West Florida, with its capital at Pensacola. France's 200-year-old North American empire had come to an end. The entire mainland east of the Mississippi River was now claimed by Britain, while Spain's claims stretched from the southern tip of South America to St. Louis.

Eighteenth-century warfare, conducted on land and sea across the globe, was enormously expensive. The cost produced a financial crisis in France that later would help to spark the French Revolution. The British would try to recoup part of the cost of war by increasing taxes on their American colonies. "We no sooner leave fighting our neighbors, the French," commented the British writer Dr. Samuel Johnson, "but we must fall to quarreling among ourselves." In fact, the Peace of Paris was soon followed by open warfare in North America between the British and Native Americans in lands recently ceded by France.

Pontiac's War and Native Freedom

Among other consequences, the Seven Years' War helped lay the foundation for the emergence of a distinct Native American identity. American Indians had traditionally identified most strongly along lines of kinship, shared language, and common geographical residence, including towns, nations, and confederacies, rather than as one people or race. Violence by soldiers and settlers during the war led many



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OF
MAJOR *George Washington*,
SENT BY THE
Hon. ROBERT DINWIDDIE, Esq;
His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and
Commander in Chief of *Virginia*,
TO THE
COMMANDANT of the *French* Forces
ON
O H I O.
To which are added, the
GOVERNOR'S LETTER:
AND A
TRANSLATION of the *French* Officer's Answer.
WITH
A New MAP of the Country as far as the
MISSISSIPPI.
WILLIAMSBURGH Printed,
LONDON, Reprinted for *T. Jefferys*, the Corner of St. Martin's Lane.
MDCCLIV.
[Price One Shilling.]

George Washington wrote this report of his expeditions against the French in 1753 and 1754. The governor of Virginia published it in a successful effort to raise support for a war against France.



This image from the cover of a magazine published in Pennsylvania in 1758 depicts an Englishman and a Frenchman attempting to trade with an Indian. The Frenchman offers a tomahawk and musket, the Englishman a Bible and cloth. Of course, the depictions reflect pro-British stereotypes.



VOICES OF FREEDOM

FROM SCAROUYADY, SPEECH TO PENNSYLVANIA PROVINCIAL COUNCIL (1756)

The Seven Years' War inflamed relations between Native Americans and white settlers in the Ohio Valley. Scarouyady, an Oneida diplomat, told Pennsylvania's leaders that he hoped that a fort could be built at the Native town of Shamokin in the Susquehanna River valley, to protect friendly Indians and keep armed whites in check.

You told us that you must now build a Fort at Shamokin; we are glad to hear it; it is a good thing. . . . The Fort at Shamokin is not a thing of little consequence; it is of the greatest importance to us as well as you. Your people are foolish; for want of this Fort, the Indians, who are your friends, can be of no service to you, having no place to go to where they can promise themselves protection. They cannot be called together; they can do nothing for you; they are not secure any where. At present your people cannot distinguish foes from friends; they think every Indian is against them; they blame us all without distinction, because they see nobody appear for them; the common people to a man entertain this notion, and insult us wherever we go. We bear their ill usage, though very irksome; but all this will be set right when you have built the Fort, and you will see that we in particular are sincere, and many others will come to your assistance. We desire when the fort is built, you will put into the command of so important a place some of your people; grave, solid, and sensible men, who are in repute amongst you, and in whom we can place a Confidence. . . . Your people are foolish; they are extremely heavy, move slow, and are liable to surprizes, if you go by yourselves. We are a light Body; we can trip nimbly thro' the Woods, look over a large Extent of Country and see that all is clear, and no Enemy lying concealed to cut you off when you think nothing of it. We must likewise tell you not to make a trifling Peace. You have no doubt heard we are a People who never lay down our Arms; it is true our young People now tell you that they will fight whilst they can find one of the Enemy to fight with, so do not make a trifling Peace. Do yourselves and us Justice, and bring your Enemies to a due Sense of themselves, and to offer just Terms, and then, and not till then, think of a Peace. This is our Advice.

FROM PONTIAC, SPEECHES (1762 AND 1763)

Pontiac was a leader of the pan-Indian resistance to English rule in Pontiac's War, which followed the end of the Seven Years' War. Neolin was a Delaware religious prophet who helped to inspire the War.

Englishmen, although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us! We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods, and mountains were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance; and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread and pork and beef! But you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us in these spacious lakes, and on these woody mountains.

[The Master of Life has said to Neolin:]

I am the Maker of heaven and earth, the trees, lakes, rivers, and all else. I am the Maker of all mankind; and because I love you, you must do

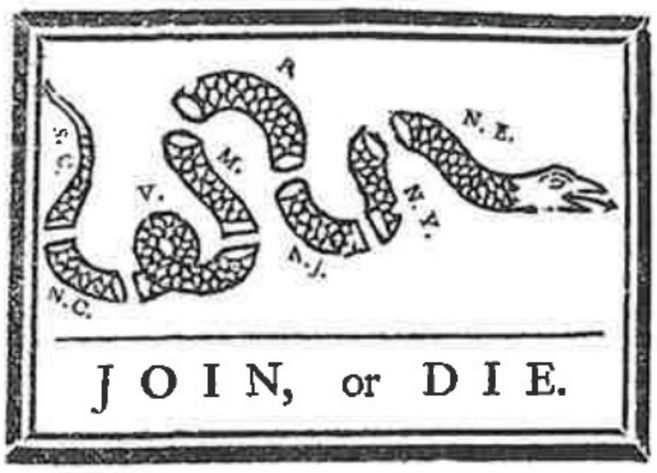
my will. The land on which you live I have made for you and not for others. Why do you suffer the white man to dwell among you? My children, you have forgotten the customs and traditions of your forefathers. Why do you not clothe yourselves in skins, as they did, use bows and arrows and the stone-pointed lances, which they used? You have bought guns, knives, kettles and blankets from the white man until you can no longer do without them; and what is worse, you have drunk the poison firewater, which turns you into fools. Fling all these things away; live as your wise forefathers did before you. And as for these English—these dogs dressed in red, who have come to rob you of your hunting-grounds, and drive away the game—you must lift the hatchet against them. Wipe them from the face of the earth, and then you will win my favor back again, and once more be happy and prosperous.

MINI-DBQ PRACTICE

1. Complete SOAPSTone for each document included here. See pages lxviii–lxxi in the AP® U.S. History Skills Handbook for the steps of the SOAPSTone procedure.
2. Evaluate the ways in which Indian and white settler relations changed as a result of the Seven Years' War.

In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
- Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
- Support an argument using both documents.
- Use ONE additional piece of specific historical evidence (outside the documents) relevant to an argument about the prompt.
- For ONE document, explain how or why the document's point of view, purpose, historical situation, and/or audience is relevant to your argument.
- Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify your argument.



Benjamin Franklin produced this cartoon in 1754, calling on Britain's North American colonies to unite against the French.

Native leaders to envision more centralized Native nations and stronger alliances with one another. Others, including the Delaware prophet **Neolin** and his Ottawa follower Pontiac, advocated something more radical: a pan-Indian identity. They urged Native people to think of themselves as one race rather than separate nations. They said that the Creator had made Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans as separate creations and meant for the three races to stay in the continents where he had originally put them. As Pontiac put it, according to the Creator, Native Americans should send Europeans "back to the lands I made for them, and let them stay there."

The idea of a single Native American identity was controversial even among the Delawares, Ottawas, Shawnees, and others in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes who had seen the worst of the fighting against British colonial expansion. They had serious debates about the best way to secure their individual and collective independence. It was one thing for Native nations to build strong alliances. It was quite another to ask them to give up their separate languages and identities. Indeed, although a Native American identity eventually developed, separate national identities such as Shawnee, Delaware, and Ottawa remained strong and still continue today.

Neolin A Delaware Indian (Lenape) religious prophet who, by preaching Native American unity and rejection of European technology and commerce, helped inspire Pontiac's War.

Native nations such as the Muscogees and Chickasaws that bordered on the now Spanish colony of Louisiana established trade and diplomacy with Spain, but for those in the Northeast, the abrupt departure of the French eliminated the balance-of-power diplomacy that the Haudenosaunee and others had practiced for a century. Indians had fought on both sides in the war. But their primary aim was to maintain their independence from both empires. As one British observer put it in 1764, the Six Nations and other Indians, "having never been conquered, either by the English or French, nor subject to the laws, consider themselves as a free people." Without consulting them, the French had ceded Indians' land to the British. To Indians on the British colonies' borders, it was clear that continued colonial expansion posed a dire threat.

In 1763, in the wake of the French defeat, Indians of the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes launched a major military assault on the British. Known among the colonists as **Pontiac's War,** it was led by several war leaders inspired by Neolin's teachings. During a religious vision, the Creator instructed Neolin that his people must reject European technology, free themselves from commercial ties with whites and dependence on alcohol, clothe themselves in the garb of their ancestors, and drive the British from their territory. Neolin combined this message with the relatively new idea of pan-Indian identity. All Indians, he preached, were a single people, and only through cooperation could they regain their lost independence. In the spring and summer of 1763, Ottawa, Wendat (Huron), Delaware, Shawnee, and other Native fighters besieged British forts and settlements on the Great Lakes and Ohio River, seizing or destroying most of them. They killed hundreds of white settlers who had intruded onto their lands.

Pontiac's War A war inspired by the Delaware prophet Neolin in which allied Native American fighters from the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes successfully attacked British forts and settlements after France ceded to the British its territory east of the Mississippi River as part of the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

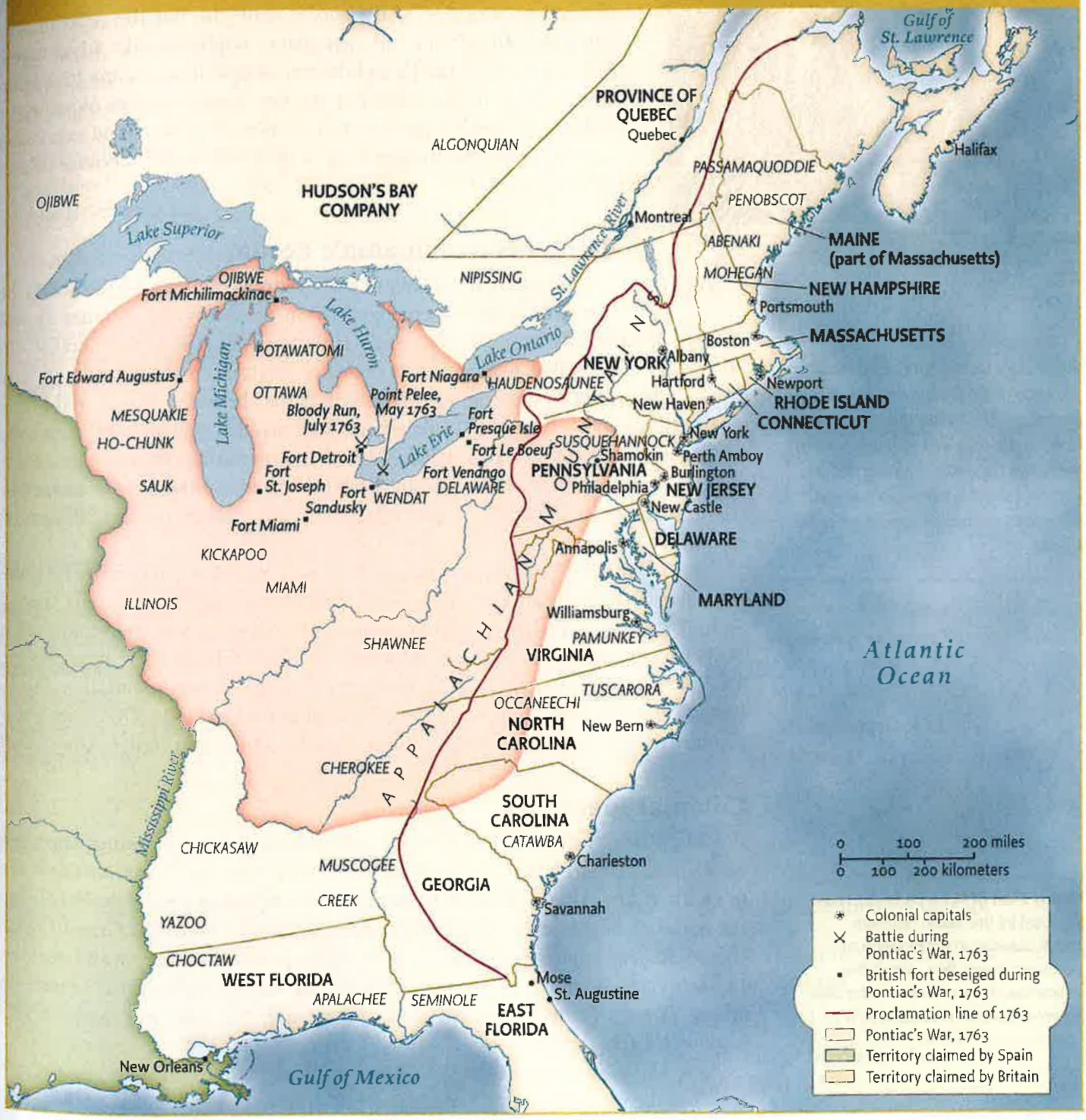
The Proclamation Line

Pontiac's War inspired the government in London to issue the **Proclamation of 1763**, prohibiting further colonial settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains. These lands were acknowledged as belonging to Indians. Moreover, the proclamation banned the sale of Native American lands to private individuals.

Proclamation of 1763 Royal directive issued after the Seven Years' War and Pontiac's War prohibiting settlement, surveys, and land grants west of the Appalachian Mountains.

What was the impact of the Seven Years' War on imperial and Indian–European relations?

EASTERN NORTH AMERICA AFTER THE PEACE OF PARIS, 1763



In the Peace of Paris, which ended the Seven Years' War, France ceded all of North America east of the Mississippi to Britain, ending the French presence on the continent. Pontiac's War challenged the British assumption that the treaty with France gave them control over Native land west of the Appalachians.



This 1764 satirical cartoon criticizes Pennsylvania's Quakers for not supporting the violence of the Paxton farmers. It shows prominent Quaker merchant Israel Pemberton dancing with a Native woman as she steals his watch. The man literally behind the curtain is Benjamin Franklin, here accused of controlling politics for his own ends.

The British aim was less to protect the Indians than to stabilize the situation on the colonial frontier and to avoid being dragged into an endless series of costly border conflicts. But the proclamation enraged both settlers and speculators hoping to take advantage of the expulsion of the French to consolidate their claims to western lands. Many of them ignored the new policy. George Washington himself ordered his agents to buy up as much Indian land as possible, while keeping the transactions "a profound secret" because of their illegality.

War on Pennsylvania's Border

The Seven Years' War not only redrew the map of the world but produced dramatic changes within the American colonies as well. In Pennsylvania, the conflict shattered the decades-old rule of the Quaker elite and dealt the final blow to the colony's policy of accommodation with the Indians. During the war, with the frontier ablaze with battles between settlers and French and Indian fighters, western Pennsylvanians demanded that colonial authorities adopt a more aggressive stance. When the governor declared war on the Delawares, raised a militia, and offered a bounty for Indian scalps, many of the assembly's pacifist Quakers resigned their seats, effectively ending their control of Pennsylvania politics.

In December 1763, while Pontiac's War still raged, a party of fifty armed men, mostly Scots-Irish farmers from the vicinity of the Pennsylvania town of Paxton, destroyed the Susquehannock town of Conestoga and then marched on Philadelphia, intending to attack Moravian Indians who resided near the city. The governor ordered the expulsion of much of the Indian population. By the 1760s, Pennsylvania's "holy experiment" was at an end and with it William Penn's promise of "true friendship and amity" between colonists and Native Americans.

Colonial Identities

Albany Plan of Union A failed 1754 proposal by the seven northern British colonies in anticipation of the Seven Years' War, urging the unification of the colonies under one crown-appointed president.

Before the war, the colonies had been largely isolated from one another. Outside of New England, more Americans probably traveled to England than from one colony to another. The **Albany Plan of Union** of 1754, drafted by Benjamin Franklin at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, envisioned the creation of a Grand Council composed of delegates from each colony, with the power to levy taxes and deal with Indian relations and the common defense. Rejected by the colonial assemblies, whose powers Franklin's proposal would curtail, the plan was never sent to London for approval.

Participation in the Seven Years' War created greater bonds among the colonies. But the war also strengthened colonists' pride in being members of the British empire. It has been said that Americans were never more British than in 1763. The defeat of the Catholic French and their Native allies reinforced the equation of British nationality, Protestantism, and freedom.

But soon, the American colonists would come to believe that membership in the empire jeopardized their liberty. When they did, they set out on a road that led to independence.

CHAPTER REVIEW AND AP® PRACTICE

REVIEW THE FOLLOWING:

1. Analyze the ways in which Great Britain's position in North America changed relative to the other European powers during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century.
2. Assess the ideas of republicanism and liberalism and how they differed in eighteenth-century British North America.
3. Explain the main characteristics of the three distinct slave systems found in Britain's mainland colonies.
4. Evaluate the extent to which the colonists' sense of a collective British identity changed during the years before 1764.
5. Assess the validity of the following statement: "Ideas generated by the American Enlightenment and the Great Awakening prompted challenges to authorities in the British colonies." In your response address TWO of the following: religious, social, OR political authorities.
6. Explain the role of British America colonial merchants in the larger Atlantic economy and the Atlantic slave trade specifically.
7. Assess the impact of the slave trade beyond the United States. In your response address TWO of the following: West African nations, other regions of the New World, OR the nations of Europe.
8. Evaluate the emergence of a distinctly African American collective identity in the years prior to 1763 and the role that slave rebellions played in that process.
9. Describe how a distinct Native American identity started to emerge after the Seven Years' War.

KEY TERMS

Atlantic slave trade (p. 111)
Middle Passage (p. 112)
yeoman farmers (p. 117)
Stono Rebellion (p. 118)
republicanism (p. 119)
liberalism (p. 119)
salutary neglect (p. 122)
Enlightenment (p. 124)
Deism (p. 124)
Great Awakening (p. 125)
Father Junípero Serra (p. 128)
Seven Years' War (p. 131)
French and Indian War (p. 131)
Neolin (p. 136)
Pontiac's War (p. 136)
Proclamation of 1763 (p. 136)
Albany Plan of Union (p. 138)

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS



Questions 1–3 refer to the accompanying map.

1. Which of the following was the cause of the trade pattern outlined in the map?
   (A) The demand for food in Europe
   (B) The demand for cotton due to the industrial revolution in England
   (C) The demand for sugar, silver, and gold in Europe
   (D) The demand for finished products in the Americas

2. The trade routes detailed in the map were part of which larger trade pattern?

   (A) The trans-Saharan trade

   (B) The Columbian Exchange

   (C) The Silk Road

   (D) Indian Ocean trade

3. In the North American British colonies, which of the following resulted from the trade shown in the map?

   (A) Consistent violent slave rebellions occurred

   (B) Cash crops became less profitable for plantation owners who could not afford slave labor

   (C) Native Americans formed alliances with African slave populations

   (D) New laws created a strict racial system

Questions 4–5 refer to the following image from 1770.



Benjamin West, 1770 painting depicting the 1759 death of British general James Wolfe

4. Which of the following provides the immediate context for the image?

   (A) Taxation without representation

   (B) The Seven Years' War

   (C) The Proclamation of 1763

   (D) Pontiac's War

5. The historical situation relevant to this image created in 1770 could be

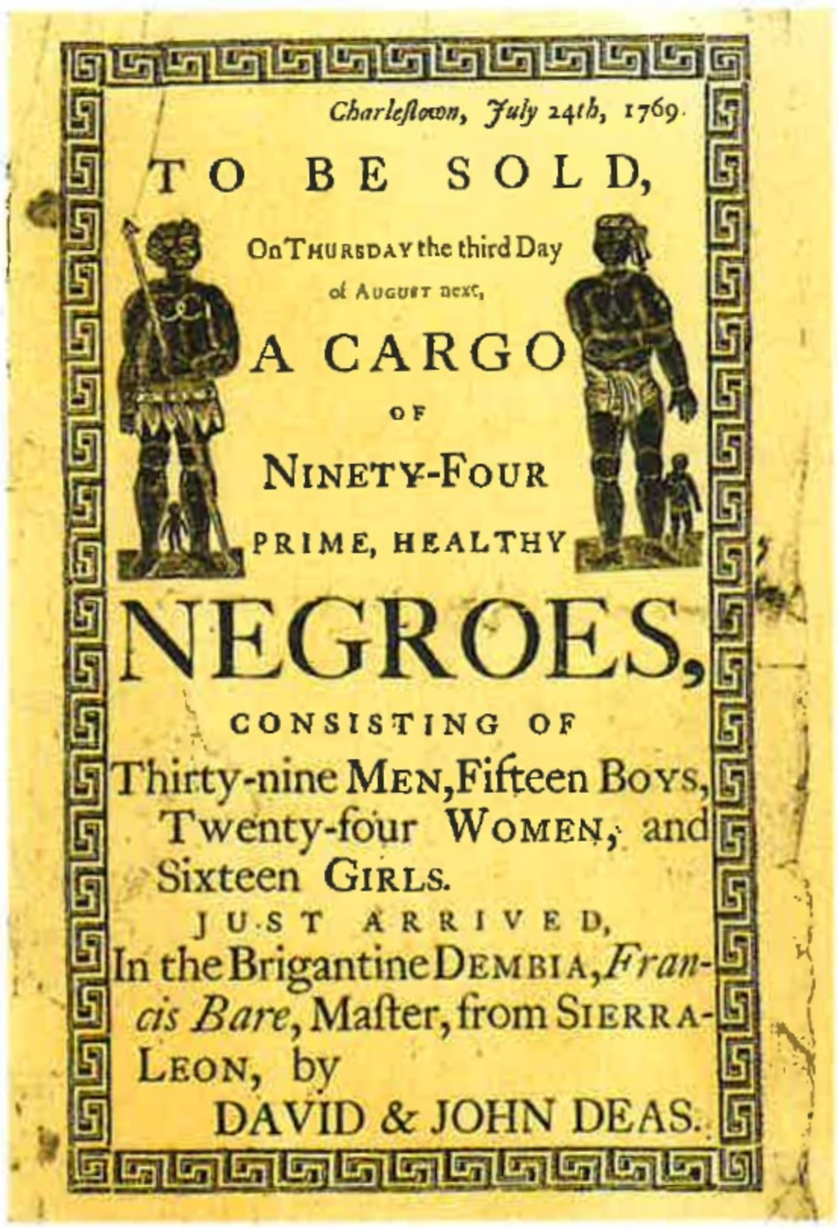
   (A) colonial support for expansion deeper into North America (French territory).

   (B) colonial boycotts of British-made goods.

   (C) colonial conscription to defeat Native American tribes.

   (D) colonial mobilization against British colonial governors.

Questions 6–7 refer to the following image from 1769.



Slave sale broadside, 1769

6. How did slaves attempt to resist the dehumanizing nature of the activities depicted in the image?

   (A) Slaves worked alongside indentured servants

   (B) Slaves took advantage of some freedom of movement

   (C) Slaves often developed close relationships with their owners

   (D) Slaves maintained their family structures and their culture

7. Which of the following ideological developments most closely reflects the historical situation relevant to what is depicted in the image?

(A) Capitalism

(B) Mercantilism

(C) Republicanism

(D) Expansionism

Questions 8–9 refer to the following excerpt.

What is the Publick, but the collective Body of private Men, as every private Man is a Member of the Publick? And as the Whole ought to be concerned for the Preservation of every private Individual, it is the Duty of every Individual to be concerned for the Whole, in which himself is included.

One Man, or a few Men, have often pretended the Publick, and meant themselves, and consulted their own personal Interest, in Instances essential to its Well-being; but the whole People, by consulting their own Interest, consult the Publick, and act for the Publick by acting for themselves: This is particularly the Spirit of our Constitution, in which the whole Nation is represented; and our Records afford Instances, where the House of Commons have declined entering upon a Question of Importance, till they had gone into the Country, and consulted their Principals, the People: So far were they from thinking that private Men had no Right to meddle with Government. In Truth, our whole worldly Happiness and Misery (abating for Accidents and Diseases) are owing to the Order or Mismanagement of Government; and he who says that private Men have no Concern with Government, does wisely and modestly tell us, that Men have no Concern in that which concerns them most; it is saying that People ought not to concern themselves whether they be naked or clothed, fed or starved, deceived or instructed, and whether they be protected or destroyed: What Nonsense and Servitude in a free and wise Nation!

Cato's Letters, No. 38, 1721

8. The authors of the excerpt would most support which of the following?

(A) The opening of the public sphere to women

(B) The slave trade

(C) Spanish colonization

(D) Enlightenment ideals

9. Which of the following colonial developments would most support the ideas articulated in the excerpt?

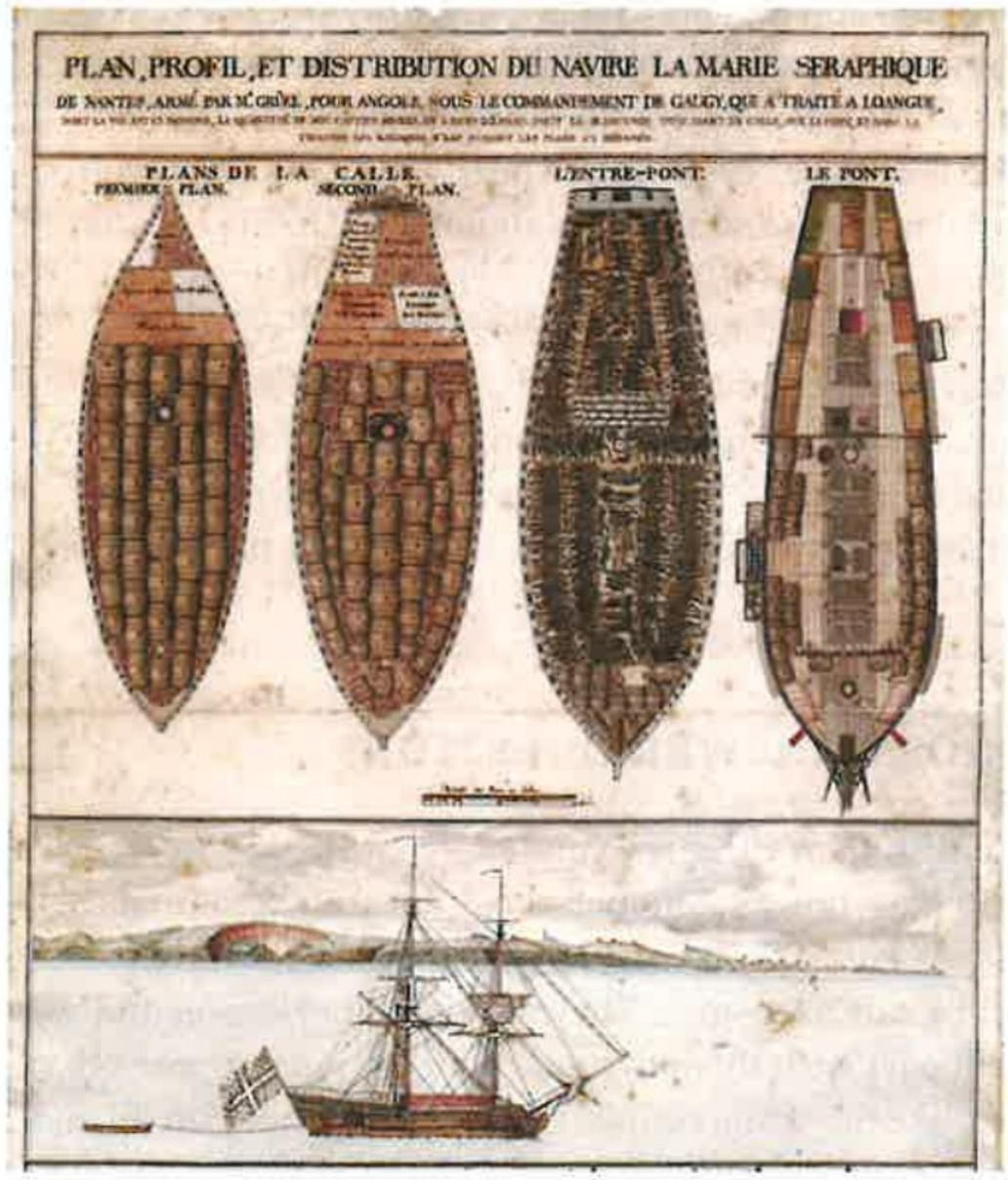
(A) Participatory town meetings governed New England colonies

(B) Spanish viceroys controlled their colonies

(C) Southern plantation owners dominated elected assemblies

(D) French merchants intermarried with Native Americans

Questions 10–11 refer to the following image from 1769.



A 1769 image depicting a slave-trading vessel. The cargo carried in barrels, generally guns, cloth, and metal goods, was to be traded for slaves.

10. Which of the following is evident in the image?

(A) The Columbian Exchange began to subside by the late eighteenth century

(B) The Atlantic economy did not include Africa

(C) The Atlantic economy included extensive trade networks controlled by Europeans

(D) Triangular trading routes did not form until the eighteenth century

11. Which of the following was the most significant cause for the transportation of the enslaved people depicted in the third ship?

(A) The plantation system in the Americas

(B) The *encomienda* system

(C) Conflict with Indians

(D) The Enlightenment

Questions 12–13 refer to the following excerpt.

The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked. His wrath towards you burns like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else but to be cast into the fire. He is of purer eyes than to bear you in his sight; you are ten thousand times as abominable in his eyes as the most hateful, venomous serpent is in ours. . . .

O sinner! consider the fearful danger you are in! It is a great furnace of wrath, a wide and bottomless pit, full of the fire of wrath that you are held over in the hand of that God whose wrath is provoked and incensed as much against you as against many of the damned in hell. You hang by a slender thread, with the flames of Divine wrath flashing about it, and ready every moment to singe it and burn it asunder.

Jonathan Edwards, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," 1741

12. Which of the following was the historical situation of this excerpt?

(A) The Great Migration

(B) Bacon's Rebellion

(C) The growth of the Puritan church

(D) The Great Awakening

13. The ideas expressed in the excerpt led to which to the following?

(A) The spread of Protestant evangelicalism

(B) The spread of slavery

(C) The growth of the plantation system

(D) The growth of the Catholic Church in North America

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Englishmen, although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us! We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods, and mountains were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance; and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread and pork and beef! But you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us in these spacious lakes, and on these woody mountains.

Pontiac, 1762

1. Using the excerpt above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

(A) Briefly describe the point of view of the excerpt.

(B) Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development during 1607–1763 led to developments such as that depicted in the excerpt.

(C) Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development during 1607–1763 resulted from developments such as that depicted in the excerpt.

2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).

(A) Briefly explain the origins of the Great Awakening.

(B) Briefly describe ONE way that the Great Awakening changed the colonies.

(C) Briefly explain how the Great Awakening was a long-term cause of the desire for colonial independence.

LONG ESSAY QUESTION

Evaluate the relative importance of the causes of the growth of slavery in the British North American colonies.

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HISTORIANS' VOICES

FROM EDMUND S. MORGAN, *AMERICAN SLAVERY, AMERICAN FREEDOM: THE ORDEAL OF COLONIAL VIRGINIA* (1975)

The seeming inconsistency, not to say hypocrisy, of slaveholders devoting themselves to freedom was not peculiar to . . . Jefferson or Washington. . . . The men who came together to found the independent United States, dedicated to freedom and equality, either held slaves or were willing to join hands with those who did. . . . Most of them had inherited both their slaves and their attachment to freedom to an earlier generation, and they knew that the two were not unconnected. The rise of liberty and equality in America had been accompanied by the rise of slavery.

FROM IRA BERLIN, *MANY THOUSANDS GONE: THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES OF SLAVERY IN NORTH AMERICA* (1998)

Some slave holding Patriots recognized the hypocrisy of their war for liberty. James Madison freed his slave Billy, who had been captured while fleeing to the British, observing that the young man desired only "that liberty for which we have paid the price of so much blood. . . . " But even Madison's magnanimity came grudgingly with the opinion that flight had "thoroughly tainted" Billy, and that he was no longer "a fit companion for fellow slaves. . . ."

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION PRACTICE

Using these secondary-source excerpts, answer all parts of the questions below.

A. *Briefly describe ONE major difference between Morgan's and Berlin's historical interpretations of what influenced an individual's understanding of freedom.*

B. *Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1607 to 1754 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Morgan's argument.*

C. *Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1607 to 1754 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Berlin's argument.*