

APUSH Summer Assignment 2020

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Read the four chapters in the PDF documents attached. You are to **HANDWRITE** notes on all four chapters. The notes should display that not only you read the chapters, but have grasped the concepts contained in the reading (most student write about 5 pages of notes per chapter). This assignment is due the first day of class. Students are also expected to be able to intelligently discuss the topics of the reading during the first week of class (part of this assignment's grade will be on your ability to participate during this discussion). Since we will not be covering the first four chapters of your textbook during the school year, it is imperative that you learn the material from this assignment. Failure to complete this assignment will severely hurt your chances of success in Advanced Placement United States History.

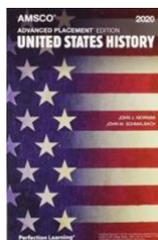
I have also attached the Curriculum Framework from College Board that deals specifically with the material in the reading. You may use this as a focus as to what are the more important aspects of the reading.

On the second day of school you will have a multiple-choice exam on the material from the summer assignment. If you have any questions or concerns during the break, please e-mail me at the given address at the top of this sheet.

*****Important*** Please buy the book in the following link.**

<https://www.amscopub.com/social-studies/advanced-placement/united-states-history-ap-exam/amscopub-advanced-placement-united-states-history-2020-edition-97582.html>

It is best to own the 2018, 2019, or the 2020 Edition. If you are looking for it elsewhere, people call it the AMSCO book. This **WILL BE OUR PRIMARY TEXTBOOK FOR THE YEAR**. It is \$22.95 off of their website. By the time they factor in shipping (5-Day) it will be about \$30. It usually takes 3-5 days to get to you if you choose the 5 day shipping. **DO NOT WAIT UNTIL LAST MINUTE TO ORDER**. They get backed up in July and August. If you can find it cheaper elsewhere, go for it. It would also be helpful to brush up on Chapters 1-3 before the first day. I really believe in this book (ask ex-students, it's great) and it will be yours to mark up throughout the year. It is also fine to have one that is used. However, they are paperback and take a beating. If for some reason, you cannot afford one, please let me know before the first day of school so I can plan on securing one for you.



Native Peoples of America, to 1500

Hiwatha was in the depths of despair. For years his people, a group of five Native American nations known as the Iroquois, had engaged in a seemingly endless cycle of violence and revenge. Iroquois families, villages, and nations fought one another, and neighboring Indians attacked relentlessly. When Hiawatha tried to restore peace within his own Onondaga nation, an evil sorcerer caused the deaths of his seven beloved daughters. Grief-stricken, Hiawatha wandered alone into the forest. After several days, he experienced a series of visions. First he saw a flock of wild ducks fly up from the lake, taking the water with them. Hiawatha walked onto the dry lakebed, gathering the beautiful purple-and-white shells that lay there. He saw the shells, called wampum, as symbolic “words” of condolence that, when properly strung into belts and ceremonially presented, would soothe anyone’s grief, no matter how deep. Then he met a holy man named Deganawidah (the Peacemaker), who presented him with several wampum belts and spoke the appropriate words—one to dry his weeping eyes, another to open his ears to words of peace and reason, and a third to clear his throat so that he himself could once again speak peacefully and reasonably. Deganawidah and Hiawatha took the wampum to the five Iroquois nations. To each they introduced the ritual of condolence as a new message of peace. The Iroquois subsequently submerged their differences and created a council of chiefs

CHAPTER OUTLINE

The First Americans,
c. 13,000–2500 B.C.

Cultural Diversity,
ca. 2500 B.C.–A.D. 1500

North American Peoples on the Eve
of European Contact

and a confederacy based on the condolence ritual. Thus was born the powerful League of the Iroquois.

Although the story of Hiawatha and Deganawidah was retold by speakers through the generations but not written down until the late nineteenth century, it depicts a concrete event in American history. Archaeological findings corroborate the sequence of bloody warfare followed by peace, and date the league's origins at about A.D. 1400. Visionary Indian prophets continued to emerge among the Iroquois and other Native American peoples during the centuries after 1492. As with all of American history before Europeans brought their system of writing, archaeological evidence, oral traditions, and cultural patterns—examined critically—are our principal sources of evidence.

The founding of the League of the Iroquois represents one moment in a long history that began more than ten thousand years before Christopher Columbus reached America in 1492. It is also an example of the remarkable cultural diversity that had come to characterize the Western Hemisphere's indigenous peoples. Adapting to varied and changing environments, some Native Americans lived in small, mobile bands of hunter-gatherers. Others resided in seasonal or permanent villages where they grew crops, fished for salmon, or processed acorns. Still others lived in larger towns or even in cities. While the smallest bands were relatively egalitarian, in most societies leaders came from prominent families. In the largest societies, hereditary chiefs, kings, and emperors ruled far-flung peoples.

Underlying their diversity, Native Americans had much in common. First, they identified themselves primarily as members of multigenerational families rather than as individuals or (except in the very largest societies) subjects of governments. Second, most emphasized reciprocity and mutual obligation rather than coercion as means of maintaining harmony within and between communities. Third, they perceived the entire universe, including nature, as sacred. These core values arrived with the earliest Americans and persisted beyond the invasions of Europeans and their sharply contrasting ideas. Throughout their long history, Native Americans reinforced their commonalities through exchanges of material goods, new technologies, and religious ideas.

This chapter will focus on three major questions:

- How did the varied environments of the Western Hemisphere shape the emergence of a wide diversity of Native American cultures?
- What common values and practices did Native Americans share, despite their vast diversity?

THE FIRST AMERICANS, C. 13,000–2500 B.C.

Precisely how and when the vast Western Hemisphere was first settled remains uncertain. Many Indians believe that their ancestors originated in the Americas, but most scientific theories point to the arrival of peoples from northeastern Asia during the last Ice Age (c. 33,000–10,500 B.C.), when land linked Siberia and Alaska. Thereafter, as the Ice Age waned and Earth's climate warmed, Native Americans (like their contemporaries in the Eastern Hemisphere) adapted to environments ranging from frigid to tropical. Though divided into small, widely scattered groups, they interacted through trade and travel. Over several thousand years, Indians learned from one another and developed ways of life that had much in common despite their diverse linguistic, ethnic, and historical backgrounds.

Peopling New Worlds

Among several theories of the peopling of America, two predominate (see Map 1.1). One theory holds that Siberian hunters, pursuing game animals, crossed the expanse of land linking Asia with North America during the last Ice Age, arriving only around 10,500 B.C. According to this theory, the hunters made their way through a glacial corridor, dispersing themselves over much of the Western Hemisphere. There they discovered a hunter's paradise in which megafauna—giant mammoths, mastodons, horses, camels, bison, caribou, and moose—roamed, innocent of the ways of human predators. A second theory, based on recent archaeological finds, suggests that the first humans arrived much earlier by boat, following the then-continuous coast to Alaska and progressing southward. At various points along the way, groups stopped and either settled nearby or traveled inland to establish new homes. Coastal sites as far south as Monte Verde, in Chile, reveal evidence from about 10,500 B.C. of peoples who fed on marine life, birds, small mammals, and wild plants, as well as on the occasional mastodon. Most archaeologists and other scientists now conclude that the earliest Americans

- What factors prompted the transition from Paleo-Indian to Archaic ways of life among the earliest Americans?

arrived in multiple migrations by both these routes. In light of the most recent discoveries, it is probable that Americans had arrived by 13,000 B.C., if not earlier.

Most Native Americans are descended from the earliest migrants, but the ancestors of some came later, also from northeastern Asia. Peoples speaking a language

known as Athapaskan settled in Alaska and northwestern Canada in about 7000 B.C. Some Athapaskan speakers later migrated to the Southwest to form the Apaches and Navajos. After 3000 B.C., non-Indian Eskimos, or Inuits, and Aleuts began crossing the Bering Sea from Siberia to Alaska.

MAP 1.1
The Peopling of the Americas

Scientists postulate two probable routes by which the earliest peoples reached America. By 9500 B.C., they had settled throughout the Western Hemisphere.



Native American oral traditions offer conflicting support for scientists' theories, depending on how the traditions are interpreted. Pueblos and Navajos in the Southwest tell how their forebears experienced perilous journeys through other worlds before emerging from underground in their present homelands, while the Iroquois trace their ancestry to a pregnant woman who fell from the "sky world." Among the Iroquois and other peoples, the original humans could not settle the water-covered planet until a diving bird or animal brought soil from the ocean bottom, creating an island on which they could walk. The Haida of British Columbia attribute rising seawaters to a "flood tide woman" whose work forced them to move inland to higher ground. Still other traditions recall large mammals, monsters, or "hairy people" with whom the first people shared Earth. Many Native Americans today insist that such accounts confirm that

their ancestors originated in the Western Hemisphere. However, other Indians note that the stories do not specify a place of origin and may well reflect the experiences of their ancestors as they journeyed from Asia, across water, ice, and unknown lands, and encountered large mammals before settling in their new homes. If not taken literally, they maintain, the traditions reinforce rather than contradict scientists' theories.

Paleo-Indians, as archaeologists call the earliest Americans, established the foundations of Native American life. Most Paleo-Indians appear to have traveled within well-defined hunting territories in bands consisting of several families and totaling about fifteen to fifty people. Men hunted, while women prepared food and cared for the children. Bands left their territories when traveling to quarries to obtain favored materials for making tools and spear points. There they encountered other bands, with whose members they exchanged ideas and goods, intermarried, and participated in religious ceremonies. These encounters enabled Paleo-Indians to develop a broad cultural life that transcended their small bands.

Around 9000 B.C. many species of megafauna, including mammoths, mastodons, horses, and giant bison, suddenly became extinct. Although scholars formerly believed that Paleo-Indian hunters killed off the large mammals, most now maintain that the mammals were doomed by the warming climate, which disrupted the food chain on which they depended. In other words, the extinction of big-game mammals was part of environmental changes associated with the end of the Ice Age. Among the major beneficiaries of these changes were human beings.

Archaic Societies

After about 8000 B.C., peoples throughout the Americas began modifying their Paleo-Indian ways of life. The warming of Earth's atmosphere continued until about 4000 B.C., with far-reaching global effects. Sea levels rose, flooding low-lying coastal areas, while glacial runoff filled interior waterways. As the glaciers receded northward, so did the arctic and subarctic environments that had previously extended into what are now the lower forty-eight states of the United States. Treeless plains and evergreen forests gave way to deciduous forests in the East, grassland prairies on the Plains, and desert in much of the West. Grasslands in South America's Amazon River basin were replaced by a tropical rain forest. The immense range of flora and fauna with which we are familiar today emerged during this period.

Archaic peoples, as archeologists term Native Americans who flourished in these new environments, lived off the wider varieties of smaller mammals, fish, and wild plants that were now available. Using the resources of their environments more efficiently, communities required less land area and supported larger populations. Even peoples in the most extreme environments, such as deserts and the Arctic, while still traveling in small bands, now hunted smaller game and gathered wild plants. Indians in more temperate regions made even more drastic changes, with some residing in year-round villages. From about 3900 to 2800 B.C., for example, the 100 to 150 residents of a community near Kampsville, Illinois, obtained ample supplies of fish, mussels, deer and other mammals, birds, nuts, and seeds without leaving home.

Over time, Archaic Americans sharpened some distinctions between women's and men's roles. Men took responsibility for fishing as well as hunting, while women procured wild plant products. Gender roles are apparent in burials at Indian Knoll, in Kentucky, where tools relating to hunting, fishing, woodworking, and leatherworking were usually buried with men and those relating to cracking nuts and grinding seeds with women. Yet gender-specific distinctions did not apply to all activities, for objects used by religious healers were distributed equally between male and female graves.

Archaic Indians—women in most North American societies—honed their skills at harvesting wild plants. Through generations of close observation, they determined how to weed, prune, irrigate, transplant, burn, and otherwise manipulate their environments to favor plants that provided food and medicine. They also developed specialized tools for digging and grinding as well as more effective methods of drying and storing seeds. By 5000 B.C.—well before farming reached Europe—some Native American farmers were planting selected seeds for future harvesting.

The most sophisticated early plant cultivators lived in Mesoamerica (Mexico and Central America), particularly in the highland valleys of Tehuacan and Tamaulipas. Indians there cultivated squash, gourds, beans, chili peppers, and several species of fruits before 3000 B.C. At around this time, Tehuacan farmers began experimenting with a lowlands plant called teosinte. Some teosinte seeds grew in the mountain valleys, while others failed to grow. The successful seeds eventually evolved into a distinct but related species, called maize or corn. The earliest ears of maize were about the size of an adult human finger—much smaller than the corn we know today.

Maize agriculture quickly spread from Tehuacan. By 2500 B.C., Indians were growing it elsewhere in Mexico and Central America, in the Amazon River basin, and as far north as what is now New Mexico. Although maize itself was not yet grown elsewhere in North America, Indians cultivated squash and gourds in Missouri and Kentucky. Similarly, maize did not reach South America for several more centuries, but Andean peoples already cultivated potatoes; Amazonians grew manioc, a starchy root crop; and Pacific coastal dwellers harvested squash, beans, and peppers.

For a thousand years after plants were first domesticated, crops made up only a small part of Native Americans' diets. Meat, fish, and wild plants still predominated. Farming developed over many centuries before becoming any society's primary source of food.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY, C. 2500 B.C.–A.D. 1500

After about 2500 B.C., many Native Americans moved beyond the ways of their Archaic forebears. The most far-reaching transformation occurred among peoples whose cultivated crops were their primary sources of food. Farming in some of these societies was so intensive that it radically changed the environment. Some nonfarming as well as farming societies transformed trade networks into extensive religious and political systems linking several—sometimes dozens of—local communities. Some of these groupings evolved into formal confederacies and even hierarchical states. In environments where food sources were few and widely scattered, mobile bands survived by hunting, fishing, and gathering.

Mesoamerica and South America

As Mesoamerican farmers developed their methods, the quantity and quality of their crops increased. Annual production tripled at Tehuacan and Tamaulipas from 2500 to 2000 B.C., and selective breeding of maize resulted in larger ears. Farmers also planted beans alongside maize. The beans eaten released an amino acid, lysine, in the maize that further heightened its nutritional value. Higher yields and improved nutrition led some societies to center their lives around farming. Over the next eight centuries, maize-based farming societies spread throughout Mesoamerica.

After 2000 B.C., some Mesoamerican farming societies produced crop surpluses that they traded to less-populous, nonfarming neighbors. Expanding their trade contacts, a few of these societies established formal

exchange networks that enabled them to enjoy more wealth and power than their partners. After 1200 B.C., a few communities, such as those of the Olmecs in Mesoamerica (see Map 1.2) and Chavín de Huántar in the Andes (see Map 1.3), developed into large urban centers, subordinating smaller neighbors. Unlike earlier egalitarian societies, Indian cities were highly unequal, with thousands of residents dominated by a few wealthy elites and with hereditary rulers claiming kinship with religious deities. Laborers built elaborate religious temples and palaces, including the earliest pyramids in the Americas, and artisans created statues of the rulers and the gods.

Although the hereditary rulers exercised absolute power, their realms were limited to a few closely clustered communities. Anthropologists term such political societies chiefdoms, as opposed to states in which centralized, hierarchical power and institutions extend across broad spans of territory. Chiefdoms eventually emerged over much of the Americas, from the Miss-

issippi valley to the Amazon valley and the Andes Mountains. A few states arose in Mesoamerica after A.D. 1 and in South America after A.D. 500. Although men ruled most chiefdoms and states, women served as chiefs in some Andean societies until the Spanish arrived.

From capital cities with thousands of inhabitants, states centered at Monte Albán and Teotihuacán in Mesoamerica (see Map 1.2) and at Wari in the Andes (see Map 1.3) drafted soldiers and waged bloody wars of conquest. Bureaucrats administered state territories, collected taxes, and managed huge public works projects. Priests conducted ceremonies in enormous temples and presided over religious hierarchies extending throughout the states. The capital of the largest early state, Teotihuacán, was situated about fifty miles northeast of modern Mexico City and numbered about a hundred thousand people at the height of its power between the second and seventh centuries A.D. At its center was a complex of pyramids, the largest of which, the Sun

MAP 1.2

Major Mesoamerican Cultures, c. 1000 B.C.–A.D.1519

The Aztecs consolidated earlier Mesoamerican cultural traditions. They were still expanding when invaded by Spain in 1519.



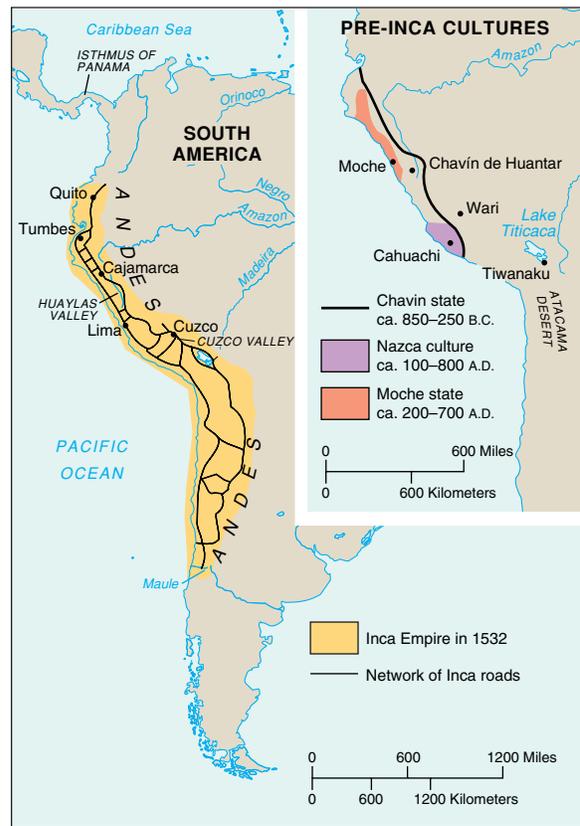
Pyramid, was about 1 million cubic meters in volume. Teotihuacán dominated the peoples of the valley of Mexico, and its trade networks extended over much of modern-day Mexico. Although Teotihuacán declined in the eighth century, it exercised enormous influence on the religion, government, and culture of its neighbors.

Teotihuacán's greatest influence was on the Maya, whose kingdom-states flourished from southern Mexico to Honduras between the seventh and fifteenth centuries. The Maya moved far beyond their predecessors in developing a calendar, a numerical system (which included the concept of zero), and a system of phonetic, hieroglyphic writing. Mayan scribes produced thousands of codices (singular, codex) in the form of pieces of bark paper glued into long, folded strips. The codices and other books recorded religious ceremonies, historical traditions, and astronomical observations.

Other powerful states flourished in Mesoamerica and South America until the fifteenth century, when two mighty empires arose to challenge them. The first was the empire of the Aztecs (known at the time as the Mexica), who had migrated from the north during the thirteenth century and settled on the shore of Lake Texcoco as subjects of the local inhabitants. Overthrowing their rulers in 1428, the Aztecs went on to conquer other cities around the lake and extended their domain to the Gulf Coast (see Map 1.2). The Aztec expansion took a bloody turn in the 1450s during a four-year drought, which the Aztecs interpreted as a sign that the gods, like themselves, were hungry. Aztec priests maintained that the only way to satisfy the gods was to serve them human blood and hearts. From then on, conquering Aztec warriors sought captives for sacrifice in order, as they believed, to nourish the gods.

A massive temple complex at the capital of Tenochtitlan formed the sacred center of the Aztec empire. The Great Temple consisted of two joined pyramids and was surrounded by several smaller pyramids and other buildings. Aztec culture reflected both Mesoamerican tradition and the multicultural character of the state. Most of the more than two hundred deities they honored originated with earlier and contemporary societies, including those they had subjugated. They based their system of writing on the one developed centuries before at Teotihuacán and their calendar on that of the Maya.

To support the nearly two hundred thousand people residing in and around Tenochtitlan, the Aztecs maximized their production of food. They drained swampy areas and added rich soil from the lake bottom to the *chinampas* (artificial islands) that formed. The highly fertile *chinampas* enabled Aztec farmers to supply the



MAP 1.3

Major Andean Cultures, 900 B.C.–A.D. 1432

Despite the challenges posed by the rugged Andes Mountains, native peoples there developed several complex societies and cultures, culminating in the Inca Empire.

urban population with food. Aztec engineers devised an elaborate irrigation system to provide fresh water for both people and crops.

The Aztecs collected taxes from subjects living within about a hundred miles of the capital. Conquered peoples farther away paid tribute, which replaced the free exchanges of goods they had formerly carried on with the Aztecs and other neighbors. Trade beyond the Aztec domain was conducted by *pochteca*, professional merchants who traveled in armed caravans. The *pochteca* sought salt, cacao, jewelry, feathers, jaguar pelts, cotton, and precious stones and metals, including gold and turquoise, the latter obtained from Indians in the American Southwest.

The Aztecs were still expanding in the early sixteenth century, but rebellions constantly flared within

their realm. They had surrounded and weakened, but not subjugated, one neighboring rival, while another blocked their westward expansion. Might the Aztecs have expanded still farther? We will never know because, seemingly from out of nowhere, Spanish *conquistadores* arrived in 1519 to alter forever the course of Mesoamerican history (see Chapter 2).

Meanwhile, another empire had arisen far to the south. From their sumptuous capital at Cuzco, the Inca people conquered and subordinated societies over much of the Andes and adjacent regions after 1438. One key to the Incas' expansion was their ability to produce and distribute a wide range of surplus crops, including maize, beans, potatoes, and meats. They constructed terraced irrigation systems for watering crops on uneven terrain, perfected freeze-drying and other preservation techniques, built vast storehouses, and constructed a vast network of roads and bridges. The Inca were still expanding when they were violently crushed in the sixteenth century by another, even more far-flung empire, the Spanish.

The Southwest

The Southwest (including the modern American Southwest and most of northern Mexico) is a uniformly arid region with a variety of landscapes. Waters from rugged mountains and forested plateaus follow ancient channels through vast expanses of desert on their way to the gulfs of Mexico and California. The amount of water has fluctuated over time, depending on climatic conditions, but securing water has always been a challenge for southwestern peoples. Nevertheless, some of them augmented their supplies of water and became farmers.

Maize reached the Southwest via Mesoamerican trade links by about 2500 B.C. Yet full-time farming began only after 400 B.C., when the introduction of a more drought-resistant strain enabled some farmers to move from the highlands to drier lowlands. In the centuries that followed, southwestern populations rose, and Indian cultures were transformed. The two most influential new cultural traditions were the Hohokam and the Anasazi.

The Hohokam emerged during the third century B.C., when ancestors of the Pima and Tohono O'odham Indians began farming in the Gila and Salt River valleys of southern Arizona. Hohokam peoples built irrigation canals that enabled them to harvest two crops a year, an unprecedented feat in the arid environment. To construct and maintain their canals, the Hohokam organized large, coordinated work forces. They built perma-

ment towns, usually consisting of several hundred people. Although many towns remained independent, others joined confederations in which several towns were linked by canals. The central village in each confederation coordinated labor, trade, religion, and political life for all member communities.

Although a local creation, Hohokam culture drew extensively on Mesoamerican materials and ideas. From about the sixth century A.D., the large villages had ball courts and platform mounds similar to those in Mesoamerica at the time. Mesoamerican influence was also apparent in the creations of Hohokam artists, who worked in clay, stone, turquoise, and shell. Archaeologists have uncovered rubber balls, macaw feathers, cottonseeds, and copper bells from Mesoamerica at Hohokam sites.

The culture of the Anasazi, a Navajo term meaning ancient ones, originated during the first century B.C. in the Four Corners area where Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah meet. By around A.D. 700, the Anasazi people were harvesting crops, living in permanent villages, and making pottery. Thereafter, they expanded over a wide area and became the most powerful people in the Southwest.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of Anasazi culture was its architecture. Anasazi villages consisted of extensive complexes of attached apartments and storage rooms, along with kivas, partly underground struc-

tures in which men conducted religious ceremonies. To this day, Anasazi-style apartments and kivas are central features of Pueblo Indian architecture in the Southwest.

The height of Anasazi culture occurred between about 900 and 1150, during an unusually wet period in the Southwest. In Chaco Canyon, a cluster of twelve large towns forged a powerful confederation numbering about fifteen thousand people. A system of roads radiated from the canyon to satellite towns as far as sixty-five miles away. The roads were perfectly straight; their builders even carved out stairs or footholds on the sides of steep cliffs rather than go around them. By controlling rainwater runoff through small dams and terraces, the towns fed themselves as well as the satellites. The largest of the towns, Pueblo Bonito, had about twelve hundred inhabitants and was the home of two Great Kivas, each about fifty feet in diameter. People traveled over the roads from the satellites to Chaco Canyon's large kivas for religious ceremonies. The canyon was also a major trade center, importing and exporting a wide range of materials from and to Mesoamerica, the Great Plains, the Mississippi valley, and California.

The classic Anasazi culture, as manifested at Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde in southwestern Colorado, and other sites, came to an end in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although other factors contributed, the overriding cause of the Anasazi demise was drought. As has often happened in human history, an era of especially

abundant rainfall, which the Anasazi thought would last forever, abruptly ended. Without enough water, the highly concentrated inhabitants abandoned the great Anasazi centers, dispersing to form new, smaller pueblos. Their descendants would encounter Spanish colonizers three centuries later (see Chapter 2). Other concentrated communities, including the Hohokam, also dispersed when drought came. With farming peoples now clustered in the few areas with enough water, the drier lands of the Southwest attracted the nonfarming Apaches and Navajos, whose arrival at the end of the fourteenth century ended their long migration from the far north (mentioned above).

The Eastern Woodlands

In contrast to the Southwest, the Eastern Woodlands—the vast expanse stretching from the Mississippi valley to the Atlantic Ocean—had abundant water. Water and deciduous forests provided Woodlands Indians with a rich variety of food sources, while the region's extensive river systems facilitated long-distance communication and travel. As a result, many eastern Indians established populous villages and complex confederations well before adopting full-time, maize-based farming.

By 1200 B.C., about five thousand people lived at Poverty Point on the lower Mississippi River. The town featured earthworks consisting of two large mounds and six concentric embankments, the outermost of which spanned more than half a mile in diameter. During the spring and autumn equinoxes, a person standing on the

larger mound could watch the sun rise directly over the village center. As in some Mesoamerican societies at the time, solar observations were the basis for religious beliefs and a calendar.

Poverty Point was the center of a much larger political and economic unit. The settlement imported large quantities of quartz, copper, obsidian, crystal, and other sacred materials from long distances for redistribution to nearby communities. These communities almost certainly supplied some of the labor for the earthworks. Poverty Point's general design and organization indicate Olmec influence from Mesoamerica (see above). Poverty Point flourished for about three centuries and then declined, for reasons unknown. Nevertheless, it foreshadowed later developments in the Eastern Woodlands.

A different kind of mound-building culture, called Adena, emerged in the Ohio valley around 400 B.C. Adena villages were smaller than Poverty Point, rarely exceeding four hundred inhabitants. But Adena people spread over a wide area and built hundreds of mounds, most of them containing graves. The treatment of Adena dead varied according to social or political status. Some corpses were cremated; others were placed in round clay basins; and still others were given elaborate tombs.

After 100 B.C. Adena culture evolved into a more complex and widespread culture known as Hopewell, which spread from the Ohio valley to the Illinois River valley. Some Hopewell centers contained two or three dozen mounds within enclosures of several square miles. The variety and quantity of goods buried with

members of the elite were also greater. Hopewell elites were buried with thousands of freshwater pearls or copper ornaments or with sheets of mica, quartz, or other sacred substances. Hopewell artisans fashioned fine ornaments and jewelry, which their owners wore in life and took to their graves. The raw materials for these objects originated in locales throughout America east of the Rockies. Through far-flung trade networks, Hopewell religious and technological influence spread to communities as far away as Wisconsin, Missouri, Florida, and New York. Although the great Hopewell centers were abandoned by about 600 (for reasons that are unclear), they had an enormous influence on subsequent developments in eastern North America.

The peoples of Poverty Point and the Adena and Hopewell cultures did little farming. Indian women in Kentucky and Missouri had cultivated small amounts of squash as early as 2500 B.C., and maize first appeared east of the Mississippi by 300 B.C.. But agriculture did not become a dietary mainstay for Woodlands people until between the seventh and twelfth centuries A.D., as women moved beyond gathering and minor cultivating activities to become the major producers of food.

The first full-time farmers in the East lived on the floodplains of the Mississippi River and its major tributaries. Beginning around A.D. 700, they developed a new culture, called Mississippian. The volume of Mississippian craft production and long-distance trade

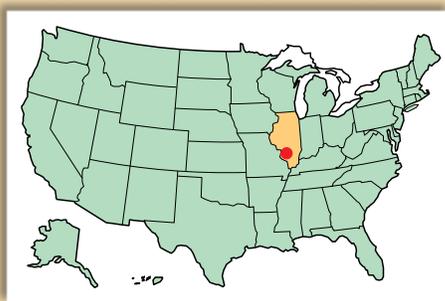
dwarfed that of the Adena and Hopewell peoples. As in Mesoamerica, Mississippian centers, numbering hundreds or even thousands of people, arose around open plazas. Large platform mounds adjoined the plazas, topped by sumptuous religious temples and the residences of chiefs and other elites. Religious ceremonies focused on the worship of the sun as the source of agricultural fertility. The people considered chiefs to be related to the sun. When a chief died, his wives and servants were killed so that they could accompany him in the afterlife. Largely in connection with their religious and funeral rituals, Mississippian artists produced highly sophisticated work in clay, stone, shell, copper, wood, and other materials.

After A.D. 900, Mississippian centers formed extensive networks based on river-borne trade and shared religious beliefs, each dominated by a single metropolis. The most powerful such system centered around Cahokia located near modern St. Louis (see *A Place in Time: Cahokia in 1200*).

For about two and a half centuries, Cahokia reigned supreme in the Mississippi valley. After A.D. 1200, however, Cahokia and other valley centers experienced shortages of food and other resources. As in the Southwest, densely concentrated societies had taxed a fragile environment with a fluctuating climate. One result was competition for suddenly scarce resources, which led to debilitating warfare and the undermining of Cahokia and

A PLACE IN TIME

Cahokia in 1200



Between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, a city of about twenty thousand people flourished near the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Called Cahokia, it filled more than 6 square miles and contained

more than 120 earthworks. At its center, a four-terraced structure called Monk's Mound covered 15 acres (more than the Great Pyramids of Egypt) and rose a hundred feet at its highest point. Surrounding the city, a 125-square-mile metropolitan area encompassed ten large towns and more than fifty farming villages. In addition, Cahokia dominated a vast network of commercial and political alliances extending over much of the American heartland.

Cahokia's beginnings lay in the seventh century A.D., as Native Americans in the East were shifting to farming as their primary means of procuring food. In search of better soil, several small villages moved to the low floodplain extending eastward from the Mississippi around what is now the Illinois side of greater St. Louis. Around A.D. 900, these villages began their transformation into a city with the construction of several mounds. Two centuries later, a stockade enclosed Monk's Mound and numerous other public structures, and most of the city's residents lived outside the walled precincts.

Cahokia was ideally situated for preeminence in mid-America. Its fertile land yielded surplus agricultural crops, which the women harvested, and the river provided rich supplies of fish and mussels. Game and wild plants abounded in nearby uplands. The city had ready access not only to the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers but also to the Ohio and Illinois Rivers, where Adena and Hopewell peoples had previously developed extensive trade networks based on shared religious beliefs. Cahokia and other Mississippian societies drew on Hopewell beliefs and new ideas from Mexico as they erected even more complex political, economic, and

religious institutions. By the twelfth century, some scholars believe, Cahokia was the capital of a potential nation-state.

Archaeology provides evidence of what Cahokians made and left in the ground as well as clues to their social structure, trade networks, and beliefs. Work gangs collected soil for the mounds with shovels made of wood and stone and carried the dirt in baskets to construction sites, often more than half a mile away. Much of the work force for this backbreaking labor undoubtedly was drawn from neighboring towns, which also contributed agricultural surpluses to feed specialized artisans and elites in the city. The artisans produced pottery, shell beads, copper ornaments, clothing, stone tools, and a range of other goods. Indians brought the raw materials for these objects from locations throughout eastern and central North America as tribute—payment by societies subordinated by Cahokia—or in return for the finished



products. The coordination of labor, trade, and other activities also required a sizable class of managers or overseers. Atop all these were the political and religious leaders, whose overpowering roles are confirmed by eighteenth-century French accounts of a similar society among the Natchez Indians near Louisiana.

Archaeologists also find evidence of social ranking at Cahokia in the treatment of the dead. Most people were buried in mass graves outside the city, but more prestigious commoners were placed in ridge-top mounds, and those of highest status in conical mounds. In the most remarkable mound, a man was laid out on a platform of twenty thousand beads made from shells originating in the Gulf of Mexico. He was surrounded by bushels of mica from the Appalachians, a sheet of rolled copper from Lake Superior, and quivers of arrows from communities throughout the Mississippi valley. This extraordinary man did not go to his grave alone. An adjacent pit contained the bodies of fifty young females in their late teens and early twenties; another held the remains of four men whose heads and hands were cut off; and a third included three men and three women. French witnesses describe how, when a Natchez ruler died, his wife, servants, guards, and others personally attached to him were killed so that they could accompany him in the afterlife. The people called this ruler the Great Sun to denote his position as an earthly representative of the sun, the central focus of Mississippian reli-

gion. This burial and others at Cahokia appear to be based on similar beliefs.

By 1200 Cahokia had reached its peak. During the century that followed, it declined in size and power, while other centers in the Southeast and Midwest surpassed it. Although the causes of this decline are not certain, the archaeological evidence provides clues. First, neighboring communities were straining to produce enough crops to feed themselves and the many Cahokians who did not grow their own food. Second, the city's demands for fuel and construction materials were seriously reducing the supply of wood in and around Cahokia. This depletion of the forests also deprived residents of the animals and wild plants on which they depended for food. Third, the strengthening of the stockade surrounding central Cahokia suggests that the elites were facing a military challenge from inside or outside the city, or both. Finally, the trade networks that formerly brought tribute to Cahokia and carried away the city's finished products had collapsed. Taken together, these trends indicate that a combination of environmental factors and resistance to centralized authority probably led to Cahokia's downfall. By the time the French explorer La Salle passed through in 1682 (see Chapter 3), Cahokia was a small village of Illinois Indians who, like other native peoples of the region, had abandoned Mississippian religious and political systems for the autonomous villages of their ancestors.

its allies. The survivors fled to the surrounding prairies and, in some cases, westward to the lower valleys of the Plains. By the fifteenth century, their descendants were living in villages linked by reciprocity rather than coercion. Mississippian chiefdoms and temple mound centers persisted in the Southeast, where Spanish explorers would later encounter them (see Chapter 2).

Despite Cahokia's decline, Mississippian culture profoundly affected Native Americans in the Eastern Woodlands. Mississippians spread new strains of maize and beans, along with techniques and tools for cultivating these crops, enabling women to weave agriculture into the fabric of village life. Only in some northerly areas was the growing season usually too short for maize (which required 120 frost-free days) to be a reliable crop.

Woodland peoples' slash-and-burn method of land management was environmentally sound and economically productive. Indian men systematically burned hardwood forests, eliminating the underbrush and forming open, parklike expanses. Although they occasionally lost control of a fire, so that it burned beyond their hunting territory, the damage was not lasting. Burned-over tracts favored the growth of grass and berry bushes that attracted a profusion of deer and other game. They then cleared fields so that women could plant corn, beans, and pumpkins in soil enriched by ash. After several years of abundant harvests, yields declined, and the Indians moved to another site to repeat the process. Ground cover eventually reclaimed the abandoned clearing, restoring fertility naturally, and the Indians could return.

Nonfarming Societies

Outside the Southwest and the Eastern Woodlands, farming north of Mesoamerica was either impossible because of inhospitable environments or impractical because native peoples could obtain enough food from wild sources with less work. On the Northwest coast, from the Alaskan panhandle to northern California, and in the Columbia Plateau, Indians devoted brief periods of each year to catching salmon and other spawning fish. After drying the fish, they stored it in quantities sufficient to last the year. As a result, their seasonal movements gave way to a settled lifestyle in permanent villages. For example, the Makah Indians of Ozette, on Washington's Olympic Peninsula, pursued fish and sea mammals, including whales, while procuring shellfish, salmon and other river fish, land mammals, and wild plants.

By A.D. 1, most Northwest Coast villages numbered several hundred people who lived in multifamily houses built of cedar planks. Trade and warfare with interior groups strengthened the wealth and power of chiefs and other elites. Leading families displayed their power in elaborate totem poles depicting their descent from spiritual figures, and in potlatches—ceremonies in which they gave away or destroyed their material wealth. From the time of the earliest contacts, Europeans were amazed by the artistic and architectural achievements of the Northwest Coast Indians. "What must astonish most," wrote a French explorer in 1791, "is to see painting everywhere, everywhere sculpture, among a nation of hunters."

At about the same time, Native Americans on the coast and in the valleys of what is now California were clustering in villages of about a hundred people to coordinate the processing of acorns. After gathering millions of acorns from California's extensive oak groves each fall, the Indians ground them into meal, leached them of their bitter tannic acid, and then roasted, boiled, or baked the nuts prior to eating or storing them. Facing intense competition for acorns, California Indians combined their villages into chiefdoms and defended their territories. Chiefs conducted trade, diplomacy, war, and religious ceremonies. Along with other wild species, acorns enabled the Indians of California to prosper. As a Spanish friar arriving in California from Mexico in 1770 wrote, "This land exceeds all the preceding territory in fertility and abundance of things necessary for sustenance."

Between the Eastern Woodlands and the Pacific coast, the Plains and deserts remained too dry to sup-

port large human settlements. Dividing the region are the Rocky Mountains, to the east of which lie the grasslands of the Great Plains, while to the west are several deserts of varying elevations that ecologists call the Great Basin. Except in the Southwest, Native Americans in this region remained in mobile hunting-gathering bands.

Plains Indian hunters pursued a variety of game animals, including antelope, deer, elk, and bear, but their favorite prey was buffalo, or bison, a smaller relative of the giant bison that had flourished before the arrival of humans. Buffalo provided Plains Indians with meat and with hides, from which they made clothing, bedding, portable houses (tipis), kettles, shields, and other items. They made tools from buffalo bones and containers and arrowheads from buffalo horns, and they used most other buffalo parts as well. Limited to travel by foot, Plains hunters stampeded herds of bison into small box canyons, easily killing the trapped animals, or over cliffs. Dozens, or occasionally hundreds, of buffalo would be killed. Since a single buffalo could provide two hundred to four hundred pounds of meat and a band had no means of preserving and storing most of it, the latter practice was especially wasteful. On the other hand, humans were so few in number that they had no significant impact on the bison population before the arrival of Europeans. There are no reliable estimates of the number of buffalo then roaming the Plains, but the earliest European observers were flabbergasted. One Spanish colonist, for example, witnessed a “multitude so great that it might be considered a falsehood by one who had not seen them.”

During and after the Mississippian era, groups of Eastern Woodlands Indians migrated to the lower river valleys of the Plains, where over time the rainfall had increased enough to support cultivated plants. In contrast to Native Americans already living on the Plains, such as the Blackfeet and the Crow, farming newcomers like the Mandans and Pawnees built year-round villages and permanent earth lodges. But they also hunted buffalo and other animals. (Many of the Plains Indians familiar today, such as the Sioux and Comanche, moved to the region only after Europeans had begun colonizing North America [see Chapter 4].)

As Indians elsewhere increased their food production, the Great Basin grew warmer and dryer, further limiting already scarce sources of foods. Ducks and other waterfowl on which Native Americans formerly feasted disappeared as marshlands dried up after 1200 B.C., and the number of buffalo and other game animals also dwindled. Great Basin Indians countered these

trends by relying more heavily on piñon nuts, which they harvested, stored, and ate in winter camps. Hunting improved after about A.D. 500, when Indians in the region adopted the bow and arrow.

In western Alaska, where the first Americans had appeared thousands of years earlier, Eskimos and Aleuts, carrying highly sophisticated tools and weapons from their Siberian homeland, arrived after 3000 B.C. Combining ivory, bone, and other materials, they fashioned harpoons and spears for the pursuit of sea mammals and—in the case of the Eskimos—caribou. Through continued contacts with Siberia, the Eskimos introduced the bow and arrow in North America. As they perfected their ways of living in the cold tundra environment, many Eskimos spread westward across upper Canada and to Greenland.

Long before the arrival of Columbus, some Eskimos and Indians made contact with Europeans and used some of their material goods. From about A.D. 1, Eskimos in western Alaska acquired European-made iron tools by way of Russia and Siberia. However, the tools were too few in number to affect Eskimo culture in any substantial way. Contacts between Native Americans and Europeans were more direct and sustained after about 980, when Norse expansionists from Scandinavia colonized parts of Greenland. The Greenland Norse hunted furs, obtained timber, and traded with Eskimo people on the eastern Canadian mainland. They also made several attempts,

beginning in about 1000, to colonize Vinland, as they called Newfoundland. The Vinland Norse initially exchanged metal goods for ivory with the local Beothuk Indians, but peaceful trade gave way to hostile encounters. Within a century, Beothuk resistance led the Norse to withdraw from Vinland. As a Norse leader, dying after losing a battle with some natives, put it, “There is fat around my belly! We have won a fine and fruitful country, but will hardly be allowed to enjoy it.” Although some Norse remained in Greenland as late as the 1480s, it was other Europeans who would enjoy, at the expense of native peoples, the fruits of a “New World.”

Although the peoples of the Western and Eastern Hemispheres developed entirely apart from one another, their histories are in many ways comparable. Yet environmental and other limitations prevented some features of Eurasian and African cultures from arising in the Americas. Most fundamental was the unavailability of animals that could have been domesticated (other than llamas in the Andes and dogs). Lacking cattle, sheep, and hogs, Native Americans relied on wild meat instead of producing their own. Without horses, they had no incentive to develop the wheel (although the Maya made children’s toys with wheels). There is no telling how American history might have unfolded in the absence of the European invasions that began in 1492.

NORTH AMERICAN PEOPLES ON THE EVE OF EUROPEAN CONTACT

By A.D. 1500, native peoples had transformed the Americas into a dazzling array of cultures and societies (see Map 1.4). The Western Hemisphere numbered about 75 million people, most thickly clustered in urbanized areas of Mesoamerica and South America. But North America was no empty wasteland. Between 7 million and 10 million Indians lived north of Mesoamerica. They were unevenly distributed. As they had for thousands of years, small, mobile hunting bands peopled the Arctic, Subarctic, Great Basin, and much of the Plains. More sedentary societies based on fishing or gathering predominated along the Pacific coast, while village-based agriculture was typical in the Eastern Woodlands and the river valleys of the Southwest and Plains. Mississippian urban centers still prevailed in areas of the Southeast. All these peoples grouped themselves in several hundred

nations and tribes, and spoke hundreds of languages and dialects.

Despite the vast differences among Native Americans, much bound them together. Rooted in common practices, Indian societies were based on kinship, the norms of reciprocity, and communal use and control of resources. Trade facilitated the exchange not only of goods but also of technologies and ideas. Thus, the bow and arrow, ceramic pottery, and certain religious values and practices characterized Indians everywhere.

Kinship and Gender

Like their Archaic forebears, Indian peoples north of the Mesoamerican states were bound together primarily by kinship. Ties among biological relatives created complex patterns of social obligation and interdependence, even in societies that did not expect spouses to be married forever. Customs regulating marriage varied considerably, but strict rules always prevailed. In most cultures, young people married in their teens, after winning social acceptance as adults and, generally, after a period of sexual experimentation. Sometimes male leaders took more than one wife, but nuclear families (a husband, a wife, and their biological children) never stood alone. Instead, they lived with one of the parents’ relatives in what social scientists call extended families.

In some Native American societies, such as the Iroquois, the extended families of women took precedence over those of men. Upon marriage, a new husband moved in with his wife’s extended family. The primary male authority figure in a child’s life was the mother’s oldest brother, not the father. In many respects, a husband and father was simply a guest of his wife’s family. Other Indian societies recognized men’s extended families as primary, and still others did not distinguish sharply between the status of female and male family lines.

Kinship was also the basis for armed conflict. Indian societies typically considered homicide a matter to be resolved by the extended families of the victim and the perpetrator. If the perpetrator’s family offered a gift that the victim’s family considered appropriate, the question was settled; if not, political leaders attempted to resolve the dispute. Otherwise, the victim’s family members and their supporters might seek to avenge the killing by armed retaliation. Such feuds could escalate into wars between communities. The potential for war rose when densely populated societies competed for scarce resources, as on the Northwest and California coasts,

and when centralized Mississippian societies used coercion to dominate trade networks. Yet Native American warfare generally remained minimal, with rivals seeking to humiliate one another and seize captives rather than inflict massive casualties or conquer land. A New

England officer, writing in the seventeenth century, described a battle between two Indian groups as “more for pastime than to conquer and subdue enemies.” He concluded that “they might fight seven years and not kill seven men.”

MAP 1.4
Locations of Selected Native American Peoples, A.D. 1500

Today's Indian nations were well established in homelands across the continent when Europeans first arrived. Many would combine with others or move in later centuries, either voluntarily or because they were forced.



Women did most of the cultivating in farming societies except in the Southwest (where women and men shared the responsibility). With women producing the greater share of the food supply, some societies accorded them more power than did Europeans. Among the Iroquois, for example, women collectively owned the fields, distributed food, and played a decisive role in selecting chiefs. In New England, women often served as sachems, or political leaders.

Spiritual and Social Values

Native American religions revolved around the conviction that all nature was alive, pulsating with spiritual power—*manitou* in the Algonquian languages, *orenda* in the Iroquoian, and *wakan* in the Siouan. A mysterious, awe-inspiring force that could affect human life for both good and evil, such power united all nature in an unbroken web. *Manitou* encompassed “every thing which they cannot comprehend,” reported Rhode Island’s Roger Williams. Native Americans endeavored to conciliate the spiritual forces in their world—living

things, rocks and water, sun and moon, even ghosts and witches. For example, Indian hunters prayed to the spirits of the animals they killed, thanking them for the gift of food.

Indians had several ways of gaining access to spiritual power. One was through dreams. Most Native Americans took very seriously the visions that came to them in sleep. Some also sought power through difficult physical ordeals. Young men in many societies gained recognition as adults through a vision quest—a solitary venture that entailed fasting and awaiting the appearance of a spirit who would endow them with special powers and sometimes, as in Hiawatha’s case, entrust them with a message of import for their people. Girls underwent rituals at the onset of menstruation to initiate them into the spiritual world from which female reproductive power flowed. Entire communities often practiced collective power-seeking rituals such as the Sun Dance, performed by Indians of the Plains and Great Basin.

Native Americans who had gained special religious powers assisted others in communicating with unseen

spirits. These medicine men and women were healers who used both medicinal plants and magical chants to cure illnesses. They also served as spiritual advisers and leaders, interpreting dreams, guiding vision quests, and conducting ceremonies. Chiefs claiming kinship with spiritual forces had to maintain respectful relations with these religious leaders to support their claims.

Native American societies demanded a strong degree of cooperation. From early childhood, Indians in most cultures learned to be accommodating and reserved—slow to reveal their own feelings until they could sense the feelings of others. Using physical punishment sparingly, if at all, Indians punished children psychologically, by public shaming. Communities sought unity through consensus rather than tolerating lasting divisions. Political leaders articulated slowly emerging agreements in dramatic oratory. The English colonizer John Smith noted that the most effective Native American leaders spoke “with vehemency and so great passions that they sweat till they drop and are so out of breath they scarce can speak.”

Native Americans reinforced cooperation with a strong sense of order. Custom, the demands of social conformity, and the rigors of nature strictly regulated life and people’s everyday affairs. Exacting familial or community revenge was a ritualized way of restoring order that had broken down. On the other hand, the failure of measures to restore order could bring the fearful consequences experienced by Hiawatha’s Iroquois—blind hatred, unending violence, and the most dreaded of evils, witchcraft. In fearing witchcraft, Native Americans resembled the Europeans and Africans they would encounter after 1492.

The principle of reciprocity, perfected in Archaic times, remained strong among Native Americans. Reciprocity involved mutual give-and-take, but its aim was not to ensure equality. Instead, societies based on reciprocity tried to maintain equilibrium and interdependence between individuals of unequal power and prestige. Even in the most complex societies, chiefs coordinated families’ uses of land and other resources, but never awarded these outright.

Most Indian leaders’ authority depended on the obligations they bestowed rather than on coercion. By distributing gifts, they obligated members of the community to support them and to accept their authority, however limited. The same principle applied to relations between societies. Powerful communities distributed gifts to weaker neighbors who reciprocated with tribute in the form of material goods and submission. A French

observer in early-seventeenth-century Canada clearly understood: “For the savages have that noble quality, that they give liberally, casting at the feet of him whom they will honor the present that they give him. But it is with hope to receive some reciprocal kindness, which is a kind of contract, which we call . . . ‘I give thee, to the end thou shouldst give me.’ ”

CONCLUSION

When Europeans “discovered” America in 1492, they did not, as they thought, enter a static world of simple savages. For thousands of years, Native Americans had tapped the secrets of the land, sustaining themselves and flourishing in almost every environment. Native Americans transformed the landscape, as evidenced by their hunting camps, communities, and cornfields. But Indians never viewed these accomplishments as evidence of their ability to conquer nature. Rather, they saw themselves as participants in a natural and spiritual order that pervaded the universe, and their attitudes, as expressed in their religious practices, were gratitude and concern lest they violate that order.

These beliefs did not necessarily make all Native Americans careful conservationists. Plains hunters often killed more animals than they could eat; and eastern Indians sometimes burned more land than intended. But the effect of such acts were limited; Indians did not repeat them often enough to eliminate entire species. However, some Indians’ actions were more consequential. The decline of the great Anasazi and Mississippian centers resulted from excessive demands placed on their environments by large concentrations of people.

After 1500, a new attitude toward the land made itself felt in North America. “A people come from under the world, to take their world from them”—thus a Mannahoac Indian characterized the English who invaded his homeland to found Virginia. Certain that God had given Christians dominion over nature, European newcomers claimed vast expanses of territory for their crowned heads. They divided much of the land into plots, each to be owned by an individual or family and to be valued according to the wealth it produced. Over the ensuing centuries, they ignored and even belittled Native American strategies that allowed natural resources to renew themselves. The modern society that has arisen on the Indians’ ancient continent bears little resemblance to the world that Native Americans once knew.

CHRONOLOGY 13,000 B.C.–A.D. 1500

- c. 13,000 B.C.** People present in America.
- c. 10,500–9000 B.C.** Paleo-Indians established throughout Western Hemisphere.
- c. 9000 B.C.** Extinction of big-game mammals.
- c. 8000 B.C.** Earliest Archaic societies.
- c. 7000 B.C.** Athapaskan-speaking peoples enter North America.
- c. 5000 B.C.** First domesticated plants grown.
- c. 3000 B.C.** First maize grown in Mesoamerica.
- c. 3000–2000 B.C.** Eskimo and Aleut peoples enter North America from Siberia.
- c. 2500 B.C.** Archaic societies begin giving way to a more diverse range of cultures. First maize grown in North America.
- c. 1200 B.C.** First chiefdoms emerge.
- c. 1200–900 B.C.** Poverty Point flourishes in Louisiana.
- c. 400–100 B.C.** Adena culture flourishes in Ohio valley.
- c. 250 B.C.** Hohokam culture begins in Southwest.
- c. 100 B.C.** Anasazi culture begins in Southwest.
- c. 100 B.C.–A.D. 600** Hopewell culture thrives in Midwest.
- c. A.D. 1** Rise of chiefdoms on Northwest Coast and in California.
- c. 100–700** Teotihuacán flourishes in Mesoamerica.
- c. 600–1400** Mayan kingdoms flourish.
- c. 700** Mississippian culture begins. Anasazi expansion begins.
- c. 900** Urban center arises at Cahokia.
- c. 980** Norse arrive in Greenland.
- c. 1000–1100** Norse attempt to colonize Vinland (Newfoundland).
- c. 1200** Anasazi and Hohokam peoples disperse in Southwest.
- c. 1200–1400** Cahokia declines and inhabitants disperse.
- c. 1400** League of the Iroquois formed.
- 1428** Rise of Aztec Empire.
- 1438** Rise of Inca Empire.
- 1492** Christopher Columbus reaches Western Hemisphere.

FOR FURTHER REFERENCE**READINGS**

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- William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed., *Handbook of North American Indians* (20 vols. projected, 1978–). A reference work, still in progress, providing basic information on the history and culture of Native American societies, as well as surveys of regional archaeology and essays on topics of special interest.
- Lawrence E. Sullivan, ed., *Native American Religions: North America* (1989). Essays focusing on religious life and expression throughout the continent.

WEBSITES**American Indian History and Related Issues**

<http://www.csulb.edu/projects/ais/index.html#north>
(American Indian Studies Program, California State University, Long Beach) Provides links to hundreds of sites relating to Native Americans before and after 1492.

Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site

<http://medinfo.wustl.edu/~mckinney/cahokia/cahokia.html>
(Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site, Collinsville, IL)
An introduction to archaeology at Cahokia, with visitor information about the site of North America's earliest metropolis.

Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center

<http://www.mashantucket.com/index1.html>
(Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, Mashantucket, CT) Includes discussion of the museum's ongoing archaeological research, an introduction to its collection of more than two thousand objects, and an online information resources catalog. Emphasis on northeastern Native Americans, especially in New England.

Sipapu: The Anasazi Emergence into the Cyber World

<http://sipapu.gsu.edu/>
(John Kantner, Department of Anthropology and Geography, Georgia State University, Atlanta) An excellent site that enables visitors to explore Anasazi structures as well as learn about the history of a major southwestern culture.

The Rise of the Atlantic World, 1400–1625

At ten o'clock on a moonlit night the tense crew spotted a glimmering light. At two the next morning came the shout, "Land! Land!" At daybreak they entered a shallow lagoon. The captain, Christopher Columbus, rowed ashore, the royal flag fluttering in the breeze. "And, all having rendered thanks to the Lord, kneeling on the ground, embracing it with tears of joy for the immeasurable mercy of having reached it, [he] rose and gave this island the name San Salvador." The date was October 12, 1492. The place was a tiny tropical island less than four hundred miles southeast of present-day Florida.

Other than his crew, the only witnesses to Columbus's landing were some Taíno Indians who watched from a distance as he claimed for Spain the island that they called Guanahaní. Soon curiosity overcame their fears. Gesturing and smiling, the Taínos walked down to the beach, where the newcomers quickly noticed the cigars they offered and the gold pendants in their noses.

The voyagers learned to savor the islanders' tobacco and trade for golden ornaments. Columbus was sure that he had reached Asia—the Indies. Two months later, bringing with him some "Indians" and various souvenirs, he sailed home to tell of "a land to be desired and, once seen, never to be left."

CHAPTER OUTLINE

African and European Peoples

Europe and the Atlantic World,
1440–1600

Footholds in North America,
1512–1625

Columbus' achievement marked not only Europe's discovery of America but also a critical step in the formation of an Atlantic world. After 1492 peoples from Europe, Africa, and North and South America became intertwined in colonial societies, obligatory and forced labor relations, trade networks, religious missions, and wars. Traveling freely or as captives, they left familiar settings for new worlds in which their customary ways of thinking and acting were repeatedly challenged. Adding to the challenges were the far-reaching environmental effects of sudden, unprecedented interactions not only of humans but also of animals, plants, and germs. Significantly shaping this Columbian exchange, as these environmental consequences are often termed, were the efforts of several European nations to increase their wealth and power through the control of the land and labor of non-Europeans they considered less than civilized.

In much of what is now Latin America, the coming of Europeans quickly turned into conquest. In the future United States and Canada, European mastery would come more slowly. More than a hundred years would pass before truly self-sustaining colonies were established. Nevertheless, from the moment of Columbus's landing on October 12, 1492, the American continents became the stage for the encounter of Native American, European, and African peoples in the emergent Atlantic world.

This chapter will focus on four major questions:

- How did trade and political centralization transform West Africa before the advent of the Atlantic slave trade?
- How did European monarchs use commerce and religion to advance their nations' fortunes?
- What role did the Columbian exchange play in the formation of an Atlantic world?
- Why did Indians in North America sometimes welcome and other times resist European traders and colonizers?

AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN PEOPLES

Even before the Atlantic world emerged in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and continuing thereafter, each continent bordering the Atlantic Ocean was undergoing change. In the Americas, some societies rose, others fell, and still others adapted to new circumstances (see

Chapter 1). Both West Africa and western Europe were also being transformed. In Africa, the growth of long-distance trade enabled some empires and kingdoms to flourish at their rivals' expense. A market economy was emerging alongside older social and religious customs. Meanwhile, in Europe, ambitious monarchs joined forces with profit-minded merchants to propel the territorial expansion of some nation-states. At the same time, an intellectual Renaissance was underway, and profound divisions among Roman Catholics were leading to a religious Reformation.

Mediterranean Crossroads

One of the most vibrant areas in the Eastern Hemisphere was the Mediterranean Sea. Here African, Asian, and European peoples had interacted in both peace and war since ancient times. By 1400 hundreds of small ships were crossing the sea annually, unloading luxury goods from one part of the world and loading others for the next leg of their journeys. West African gold enriched Turkish sultans; European guns strengthened North African armies; and Indian spices stimulated Italian palates. In Africa and Asia many of these goods moved to and from the Mediterranean by caravans that traveled thousands of miles. Merchant ships linked East and South Asia with the Arabian peninsula and East Africa, and others connected northern and southern Europe. But before the fifteenth century, intercontinental travel and trade were unknown on the Atlantic Ocean.

Mediterranean commerce was closely intertwined with religion and politics. From the seventh to the fourteenth centuries, Islam spread, often by conquest, to Southeast Asia, West Africa, and much of southern Europe. During the same period, Roman Catholic rulers introduced Christianity to new areas of central and northern Europe. Political leaders sought to capture some of the wealth being generated by commerce, while merchants valued the security afforded by close ties with strong rulers. Above all, each of the two religions provided a common faith and identity to peoples spread over vast distances, reinforcing the political and economic links being forged between them.

Religion did not always divide people along political or economic lines. Christian and Muslim rulers on the Mediterranean frequently signed treaties with one another in order to secure commercial ties and protect against piracy. Christians, Jews, and Muslims, especially merchants, often traveled and lived in lands where they were in the minority. In the fourteenth century, for example, Morocco was Muslim-dominated but welcomed and tolerated Jews as well as Christians. In several

parts of the Mediterranean world, Muslim, Jewish, and Christian scholars read and commented on one another's work, a collaboration that led to Europe's Renaissance (see below).

But other Christians and Muslims regarded one another as enemies. Since the eleventh century, European Christians had conducted numerous Crusades against Islamic "infidels" in Europe and the Middle East, and some Muslim leaders waged *jihad* (holy war) against Christians. While the Islamic Ottoman Empire conquered Christian strongholds in the eastern Mediterranean, the Christian monarchies of Portugal, Castile, and Aragón undertook a "reconquest" of the Iberian peninsula by expelling non-Christians. Portugal was entirely Christian by 1250. In 1492 Castile and Aragón drove the last Muslim rulers from Spain and decreed that all remaining Jews convert to Catholicism. Such Jews were called *conversos*.

West Africa and Its Peoples

Before the advent of Atlantic travel, the broad belt of grassland, or savanna, separating the Sahara Desert from the forests to the south was a major arena of long-distance trade and of rivalries among states for control of that trade. The trans-Saharan caravan trade stimulated the rise of grassland kingdoms and empires whose size and wealth rivaled any in Europe at the time. The richest grassland states were in West Africa, with its ample stores of gold. During the fifteenth century, the empire of Mali was the leading power in the West African savanna (see Map 2.1). Its Muslim rulers had access to a network of wealthy Muslim rulers and merchants in North Africa and the Middle East. Mali imported salt from the Sahara as well as brass, copper, cloth, spices, manufactured goods, and Arabian horses. Mali's best-known city, Timbuktu, was widely recognized for its intellectual and academic vitality and for its beautiful mosque, designed and built by a Spanish Muslim architect.

Early in the fifteenth century, divisions within Mali's royal family severely weakened the empire, leading several territories to secede. A successor empire, Songhai, flourished briefly and forcibly united most of the seceded territory. But by the sixteenth century, most of Mali and Songhai had been absorbed by Morocco to the north.

Immediately south of the grassland empires lay a region of small states and chiefdoms. In Senegambia at Africa's westernmost bulge, several Islamic states took root. Infestation by the tsetse fly, the carrier of sleeping sickness, kept livestock-herding peoples out of Guinea's

coastal forests, but many small states arose here, too. Among these was Benin, where artisans had been fashioning magnificent metalwork for centuries.

Still farther south, along the coast and inland on the Congo River, a welter of chiefdoms gave rise to four major kingdoms by the fifteenth century. Their kings were chiefs who, after defeating neighboring chiefdoms, installed their own kin as local rulers of the newly conquered territories. Of these kingdoms, Kongo was the most powerful and highly centralized.

With gold having recently been made the standard for nearly all European currencies, demand for the precious metal rose. During the fifteenth century, this demand brought thousands of newcomers from the savanna and Central Africa to the region later known as Africa's Gold Coast. New states emerged to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by exporting gold, though none was as extensive or powerful as Mali at its height. Similarly eager to capitalize on its neighbor's resources were the Portuguese, who in the mid-fifteenth century used new maritime techniques to sail along



MAP 2.1
Europe, Africa, and Southwestern Asia in 1500

During the fifteenth century, Portugal led the way in integrating Europe with Africa in a new Atlantic world. Several voyages near the end of the century extended Europe's reach to India and the Americas.

West Africa's coast in search of gold and slaves (see below).

West African political leaders differed sharply in the amounts and kinds of political power they wielded. Some kings and emperors enjoyed semigodlike status, which they only thinly disguised if they adopted Islam. Rulers of smaller kingdoms depended largely on their ability to persuade, to conform to prevailing customs, and to satisfy their people when redistributing wealth.

In West Africa, the cohesiveness of kinship groups knitted society together. As did Native Americans, Africans lived within a network of interlocking mutual obligations to kinfolk (see Chapter 1). Not just parents but also aunts, uncles, distant cousins, and persons sharing clan ties formed an African's kin group and claimed his or her first loyalty. Africans held their grandparents in high esteem and accorded village or clan elders great deference. In centuries to come, the tradition of strong extended families would help enslaved Africans in the Americas endure the forced breakup of nuclear families by sale.

West Africans viewed marriage as a way for extended families to forge alliances for mutual benefit. A prospective husband made a payment to his bride's kin before marriage. He was not "buying" a wife; in effect, he was posting bond for good behavior and acknowledging the relative prestige of his own and his bride's kin groups. West African wives generally maintained lifelong links with their own kin groups, and in many societies children traced descent through the mother's, not the father's, bloodline. All this buttressed women's status.

A driving force behind marriage in West Africa was the region's high mortality rate from frequent famines and tropical disease epidemics. The shortage of people placed a high premium on the production of children. Children represented the labor force of the future who, within a few years, would contribute to a family's wealth by increasing its food production and the amount of land it could cultivate. Men of means frequently married more than one wife in order to produce children more frequently, and women generally married soon after reaching puberty.

West Africans depended on farming by both men and women for most of their food. The abundance of land relative to population enabled African farmers—like many Native Americans and unlike Europeans—to shift their fields periodically and thereby maintain high soil quality. Before planting new fields, men felled the trees and burned off the wild vegetation. After several years of intensive cultivation, largely by women, farmers shifted to a new location. After a few years, while the soil

of the recently used fields was being replenished, they returned to repeat the cycle. In the coastal rain forests West Africans grew such crops as yams, sugar cane, bananas, and eggplant, among other foods, as well as cotton for weaving cloth. On the grasslands the staff of life was grain—millet, sorghum, and rice—supplemented by cattle raising and fishing.

By the fifteenth century the market economy, stimulated by long-distance trade, extended to many small families. Farmers traded surplus crops at local marketplaces for other food or cloth. Artisans wove cotton or raffia palm leaves, made clothing and jewelry, and crafted tools and religious objects of iron and wood. While gold was the preferred currency among wealthy rulers and merchants, cowry shells served as the medium of exchange for most people.

Religion permeated African life. Like Native Americans and Europeans, Africans believed that another world lay beyond the one people perceived through their five senses. This other world was only rarely glimpsed by living persons other than priests, but the souls of most people passed there at death. Deities spoke to mortals through priests, dreams, religious "speaking shrines," and magical charms. More than most religious traditions, those of West Africa emphasized the importance of continuous revelations as foundations of spiritual truth. Such an emphasis on revelations originating from multiple sources precluded the development of fixed dogma and institutional hierarchies as found in Islam and in medieval Christianity (see below). Also like Native Americans and Europeans, Africans explained misfortunes in terms of witchcraft. But African religion differed from other traditions in its emphasis on ancestor worship, in which departed forebears were venerated as spiritual guardians.

Africa's magnificent artistic traditions were also steeped in religion. The ivory, cast iron, and wood sculptures of West Africa (whose bold designs would influence twentieth-century western art) were used in ceremonies reenacting creation myths and honoring spirits. A strong moralistic streak ran through African folk tales. Storytellers transmitted these tales in dramatic public presentations with ritual masks, dance, and music of a highly complex rhythmic structure, which is now appreciated as one of the foundations of jazz.

Among Africans, Islam appealed primarily to merchants trading with North Africa and the Middle East and to kings and emperors eager to consolidate their power. Some Muslim rulers, however, modified Islam, retaining elements of traditional religion as a concession to popular opinion. By the fifteenth century, Islam had

only begun to affect the daily lives of some cultivators and artisans in the savanna. Similarly, the impact of Christianity, introduced by the Portuguese, remained limited until the nineteenth century.

European Culture and Society

When Columbus landed on San Salvador in 1492, western Europe was undergoing a mighty cultural revival known as the Renaissance. Intellectuals and poets believed that their age marked a return to the ideals of ancient Greek and Roman civilization. European scholars had recently discovered scores of forgotten ancient texts in philosophy, science, medicine, geography, and other subjects. Western Europeans came across these texts, and a rich tradition of commentary on them, in the writings of Muslim, Eastern Orthodox, and Jewish scholars. Armed with the new learning, Renaissance scholars strove to reconcile ancient philosophy with Christian faith, to explore the mysteries of nature, to map the world, and to explain the motions of the heavens.

The Renaissance was also an era of intense artistic creativity. After a century-long economic recession, money had accumulated by 1500 to pay for magnificent architecture, and wealthy patrons—especially in several Italian city-states—commissioned master painters and sculptors to create works glowing with idealized human beauty. Europeans celebrated these artistic achievements, along with those of writers, philosophers, scientists, and explorers, as the height of civilization to which all other cultures ought to aspire.

But European society was quivering with tension. The era's artistic and intellectual creativity was partly inspired by intense social and spiritual stress as Renaissance Europeans groped for stability by glorifying order, hierarchy, and beauty. A concern for power and rank (“degree”) dominated European life between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. Writing near the end of the Renaissance, William Shakespeare (1564–1616), expressed these values with eloquence:

The heavens themselves, the planets and this
center [earth]
Observe degree, priority, and place. . .
Take but degree away, untune that string,
And hark, what discord follows!

Gender, wealth, inherited position, and political power affected every European's status, and few lived outside the reach of some political authority's taxes and laws. But this order was shaky. Conflicts between states, between religions, and between social classes constantly threatened the balance.

At the heart of these conflicts lay deep-seated forces of change. By the end of the fifteenth century, strong national monarchs in France and England had unified their realms and reduced the ability of both the Catholic Church and the nobility to dictate national policy. On the Iberian Peninsula, King Ferdinand of Aragón had married Queen Isabella of Castile in 1479 to create the Spanish monarchy. The new nation's crowning achievement came in 1492, not with Columbus' “discovery,” the full significance of which was not immediately appreciated, but with the final “reconquest” of the peninsula (discussed above).

Most Europeans, about 75 percent of them, were peasants. Peasants ranged from a few prosperous families with large holdings to landless laborers who barely scraped by on odd jobs. Taxes, rents, and other dues to landlords and Catholic Church officials were burdensome, and poor harvests or war drove even well-to-do peasants to starvation. Not surprisingly, peasant revolts were frequent, but the authorities mercilessly suppressed such uprisings.

Conditions among European peasants were made worse by a sharp rise in population, from about 55 million in 1450 to almost 100 million by 1600, while agricultural yields remained pitifully low. Families in many areas cooperated in plowing, sowing, and harvesting as well as in grazing their livestock on fallow fields and jointly owned “commons.” But with new land at a premium, landlords, especially the English gentry, wanted to “enclose” the commons—that is, convert the land to private property. Peasants who had no written title to their land were especially vulnerable, although some small landowners (called “yeomen” in England) with secure titles kept their land, and a few even profited by enclosure.

The environmental effects of land scarcity and population growth further exacerbated peasants’ circumstances. Beginning at the end of the sixteenth century, lower-than-average temperatures marked a “Little Ice Age” that lasted for two centuries. During this time, many European crops were less abundant or failed to grow. Hunger and malnutrition were widespread, and full-scale famine struck in some areas. Another consequence of population growth was deforestation resulting from increased human demand for wood to use as fuel and building materials. Deforestation also deprived peasants of wild foods and game (whose food sources disappeared with deforestation), accelerating the exodus of rural Europeans to towns and cities.

European towns were numerous but small, typically with several thousand inhabitants each. A great metropolis like London, whose population ballooned from fifty-five thousand in 1550 to two hundred thousand in 1600, was quite exceptional. But all towns were dirty and disease-ridden, and townspeople lived close-packed with their neighbors.

Unappealing as sixteenth-century towns might seem today, many men and women of the time preferred them to the villages and tiny farms they left behind. Immigration from the countryside—rather than an excess of urban births over deaths—accounted for towns’ expansion. Most people who flocked into towns remained at the bottom of the social order as servants or laborers and could not accumulate enough money to marry and live independently.

The consequences of rapid population growth were particularly acute in England, where the number of people doubled from about 2.5 million in 1500 to 5 million in 1620. As throughout western Europe, prices rose while wages fell during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (see Figure 2.1), widening the gap between rich and poor. Although English entrepreneurs expanded textile production by assembling spinners

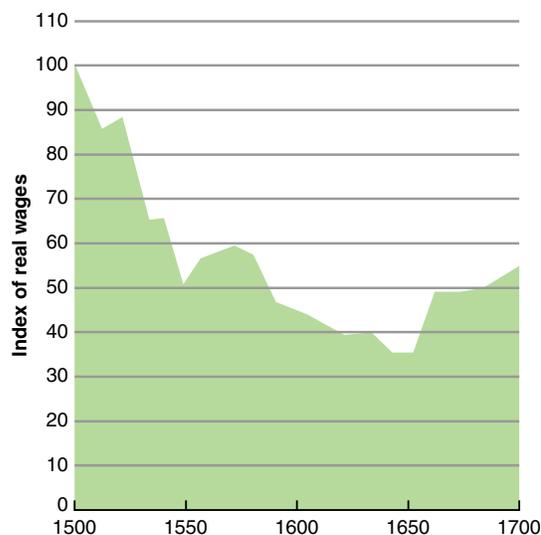
and weavers in household workshops, the workers were competing for fewer jobs in the face of growing competition that was diminishing European markets for English cloth. Enclosures severely aggravated unemployment, forcing large numbers of people to wander the country in search of work. To the upper and middle classes, these poor vagabonds seemed to threaten law and order. To control them, Parliament passed Poor Laws that ordered vagrants whipped and sent home, but most offenders only moved on to other towns.

As in America and Africa, traditional society in Europe rested on maintaining long-term, reciprocal relationships. European reciprocity required the upper classes to act with self-restraint and dignity, and the lower classes to show deference to their “betters.” It also demanded strict economic regulation to ensure that no purchaser paid more than a “just price”—one that permitted a seller a “reasonable” profit but that barred him from taking advantage of buyers’ and borrowers’ misfortunes to make “excessive” profits.

Yet for several centuries Europeans had been compromising the ideals of traditional economic behavior. “In the Name of God and of Profit,” thirteenth-century Italian merchants had written on their ledgers. By the sixteenth century, nothing could stop the charging of

FIGURE 2.1
Decline in Real Wages in England, 1500-1700

This index measures the drop in purchasing power due to inflation and declining wages. It indicates that by around 1630, living standards for English workers had declined by about two-thirds since the base year, 1500.



Source: E.H. Phelps Brown and S. V. Hopkins, “Builders’ Wage-Rates, Prices and Population: Some Further Evidence,” *Economica*, XXVI (1959): 18–38; adapted from D.C. North and R. P. Thomas, *The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 111.

interest on borrowed money or sellers' price increases in response to demand. New forms of business organization slowly spread in the commercial world—especially the impersonal joint-stock company with many investors, the ancestor of the modern corporation. Demand rose for capital investment, and so did the supply of accumulated wealth. A new economic outlook gradually took form that justified the unimpeded acquisition of wealth and insisted that individuals owed one another nothing but the money necessary to settle their transactions. This new outlook, the central value system of capitalism or the “market economy,” opposed traditional demands for the strict regulation of economic activity to ensure social reciprocity and maintain “just prices.”

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europeans therefore held conflicting attitudes toward economic enterprise and social change, and their ambivalence remained unresolved. A restless desire for fresh opportunity kept European life simmering with competitive tension. But those who prospered still sought the security and prestige provided by high social status, whereas the poor longed for the age-old values that would restrain irresponsible greed.

Perhaps the most sensitive barometer of social change was the family. Throughout Europe the typical household consisted of a small nuclear family—two parents and several children—in which the husband and father functioned as a head whose authority was not to be questioned. The role of the wife and mother was to bear and rear children as well as assist her hus-

band in providing for the family's subsistence. Children were regarded as potential laborers who would assist in these tasks until they left home to start their own families. The household, then, was not only a family of intimately related people but also the principal economic unit in European society. Peasants on their tiny farms, artisans and merchants in their shops, and even nobles in their castles all lived and worked in households. People who did not live with their own families resided as dependents in the households of others as servants, apprentices, or relatives. Europeans regarded those who lived outside family-based households with extreme suspicion, often accusing them of crime or even witchcraft.

In a common cliché of the age, the nuclear family was a “little commonwealth.” A father's authority over his family was supposed to mirror God's rule over Creation and the king's over his subjects. Even grown sons and daughters regularly knelt for their father's blessing. The ideal, according to a German writer, was that “wives should obey their husbands and not seek to dominate them; they must manage the home efficiently. Husbands . . . should treat their wives with consideration and occasionally close an eye to their faults.” In practice, the father's sovereignty often had to make room for the wife's responsibility in managing family affairs and helping to run the farm or the workshop. Repeated male complaints, such as that of an English author in 1622 about wives “who think themselves every way as good as their husbands, and no way inferior to them,” suggest that male domination had its limits.

Religious Upheavals

Christianity, to which most sixteenth-century Europeans adhered, taught that Jesus Christ, God's Son, had redeemed sinners by suffering crucifixion and rising from the dead. Equally vivid was Christians' belief in the devil, Satan, whom God had hurled from heaven soon after the Creation and who ceaselessly lured people to damnation by tempting them to do evil. The non-Christian minority encompassed scattered Jewish communities plus Muslims in southern Europe. But all Europe's population—Christians, Jews, and Muslims—worshiped a single supreme being, based on the God of the Hebrew Bible.

Although Christianity had spread throughout Europe by the sixteenth century, older, non-Christian beliefs persisted. Many Europeans feared witches and thought that individuals could manipulate nature by invoking unseen spiritual powers—that is, by magic. Others looked to astrology, insisting that a person's fate depended on the conjunction of various planets and stars. Such beliefs in spiritual forces not originating with a supreme deity resembled those of Native Americans and Africans.

The Catholic Church, based in Rome, taught that Christ's sacrifice was repeated every time a priest said Mass, and that divine grace flowed to sinners through the sacraments that priests alone could administer—above all, baptism, confession, and the Eucharist (communion). The Church was a huge network of clergymen and religious orders, male and female, set apart from laypeople by the fact that its members did not marry. At the top was the pope, the “vicar [representative] of Christ.”

The papacy wielded awesome spiritual power. Fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century popes dispensed extra blessings, or “indulgences,” to repentant sinners in return for such “good works” as donating money to the Church. Indulgences promised time off from future punishment in purgatory, where the dead atoned for sins they had already confessed and been forgiven. (Hell, from which there was no escape, awaited those who died unforgiven.) Given people's anxieties about sinful behavior, indulgences were enormously popular. The jingle of one successful indulgence seller in early sixteenth-century Germany promised that

As soon as the coin in the cash box rings,
The soul from purgatory's fire springs.

The sale of indulgences provoked charges that the materialism and corruption infecting economic life had spread to the Church. In 1517 a German monk, Martin Luther (1483–1546), attacked the practice. When the

papacy tried to silence him, Luther broadened his criticism to encompass the Mass, purgatory, priests, and the pope. After Luther refused to recant, the Roman Church excommunicated him. Luther's revolt initiated what became known as the Protestant Reformation, which changed Christianity forever. (The word *Protestant* comes from the *protest* of Luther's princely supporters against the anti-Lutheran policies of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.)

To Luther, indulgence selling and similar examples of clerical corruption were evil not just because they bilked people. The Church, he charged, gave people false confidence that they could earn salvation simply by doing good works. His own agonizing search for salvation had convinced Luther that God bestowed salvation not on the basis of worldly deeds, but solely to reward a believer's faith. “I did not love a just and angry God, but rather hated and murmured against him,” recalled Luther, “until I saw the connection between the justice of God and the [New Testament] statement that ‘the just shall live [be saved] by faith.’ . . . Thereupon I felt myself to be reborn and to have gone through open doors into paradise.” Luther's spiritual struggle and experience of being “reborn” constituted a classic conversion experience—the heart of Protestant Christianity.

Other Protestant reformers followed Luther in breaking from Catholicism, but they challenged his interpretation of Christianity. Whereas Luther stressed faith in Christ as the key to salvation, French theologian John Calvin (1509–1564) insisted on the stark doctrine of predestination. Calvin asserted that an omnipotent God predestined most sinful humans to hell, saving only a few in order to demonstrate his power and grace. It was only these few, called the “elect” or the “godly,” who would have a true conversion experience. At this moment, said Calvin, a person confronted the horrifying truth of his or her unworthiness and felt God's transcending power. A good Christian, in Calvin's view, would never be absolutely certain that he or she was saved and could do nothing to affect the outcome. But good Christians would be pious and avoid sin because they knew that godly behavior was a sign (not a cause and not a guarantee) of salvation.

Calvinists and Lutherans, as the followers of the two Reformation leaders came to be called, were equally horrified by more radical Protestants such as the Anabaptists, who appealed strongly to women and common people with their criticisms of the rich and powerful and sought to restrict baptism to “converted” adults. Judging the Anabaptists a threat to the social order, governments and mainstream churches persecuted them.

But Protestants also shared much common ground. For one thing, they denied that God had endowed priests with special powers. The church, Luther claimed, was a “priesthood of all believers.” Protestant reformers insisted that laypeople take responsibility for their own spiritual and moral conditions. Accordingly, they placed a high value on reading. Protestants demanded that the Bible be translated from Latin into spoken languages so that believers could read it for themselves instead of relying on priests for knowledge of its contents. The new faith was spread by the newly invented printing press. Wherever Protestantism became established, basic education and religious indoctrination followed. Finally, Protestantism represented a yearning in many people for the simplicity and purity of the ancient Christian church. More forcefully than Catholicism, it condemned the replacement of traditional reciprocity by marketplace values. Protestantism’s greatest appeal was to all those—ordinary individuals, merchants, and aristocrats alike—who brooded over their chances for salvation and valued the steady performance of duty.

In the face of the Protestant challenge, Rome was far from idle. Reformers like Teresa of Avila (1515–1582), a Spanish nun from a *converso* (converted Jewish) family, urged members of Catholic holy orders to repudiate corruption and to lead the Church’s renewal by living

piously and austerely. Another reformer, Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), founded a militant religious order, the Jesuits, whose members would distinguish themselves for centuries as royal advisers and missionaries. The high point of Catholic reform came during the Council of Trent (1545–1563), convened by the pope. The council defended Catholic teachings and denounced those of the Protestants. But it also reformed Church administration in order to combat corruption and encourage wide public participation in religious observances. This Catholic revival, the Counter-Reformation, brought the modern Roman Catholic Church into existence.

The Protestant Reformation changed the religious map of much of Europe (see Map 2.2). Lutheranism became the state religion in the Scandinavian countries, and Calvinism made significant inroads in France, the Netherlands (ruled by Spain), and England, where it competed with Catholicism and with the moderately reformed Church of England. The tiny states comprising the modern nations of Germany and Switzerland were divided among Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists.

The Reformation in England, 1533–1625

England’s Reformation began not with the writings of a theologian or with cries of the people, but with the actions of a king and Parliament. King Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547) wanted a male heir, but his queen, Catherine of Aragón, failed to bear a son. Frustrated and determined, Henry asked the pope to annul his marriage. Equally determined, the pope refused. Henry then persuaded Parliament to pass a series of acts in 1533–1534 dissolving his marriage and proclaiming him supreme head of the Church of England (or Anglican Church). The move justified Henry’s wholesale seizure of Catholic Church properties as means of consolidating royal power.

Religion remained a source of conflict in England for more than a century after Henry’s break with Rome. Under Edward VI (ruled 1547–1553), the church veered sharply toward Protestantism; then Mary I (ruled 1553–1558) tried to restore Catholicism, in part by burning several hundred Protestants at the stake.

The reign of Elizabeth I (ruled 1558–1603) marked a crucial watershed. After the reign of “Bloody Mary,” most English people were ready to become Protestant; *how* Protestant was the divisive question. Militant Calvinists, now called Puritans, demanded a wholesale purification of the Church of England from “popish [Catholic] abuses.” They affirmed salvation by predestination, denied Christ’s presence in the Eucharist, and believed that a

learned sermon was the heart of true worship. They wished to free each congregation and its minister from outside interference by Anglican bishops and encouraged lay members (nonclergy) to participate in church affairs. Above all, Puritans insisted that membership in a true Christian church be reserved exclusively for those who had had a conversion experience. In this respect, they repudiated the Catholic and Anglican churches, both of which extended membership to anyone who had been baptized. Nevertheless, some Puritans, hoping to reform the Church of England from within, declined to break openly with it. Others, called Separatists, insisted that a “pure” church had to avoid all contact with Anglican “pollution.”

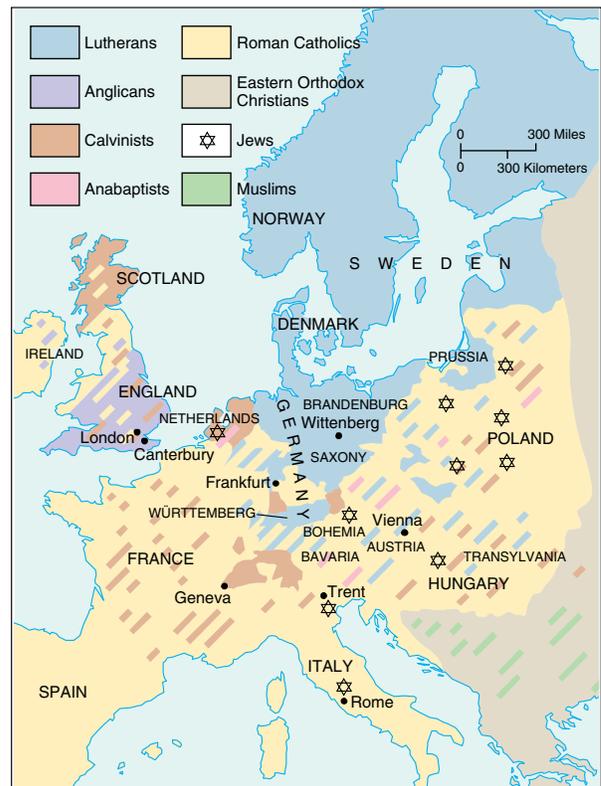
The severe self-discipline and moral uprightness of Puritans appealed to only a few among the titled nobility and the poor. Puritanism’s primary appeal was instead to the small but growing number of people in the “mid-dling” ranks of English society—landowning gentry, yeoman farmers, merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, and university-educated clergymen and intellectuals. Self-discipline had become central to both the secular and spiritual dimensions of these people’s lives. From their ranks, and particularly from among farmers, artisans, and clergymen, would later come the settlers of New England (see Chapter 3).

Elizabeth distrusted Puritan militancy; but, after 1570 when the pope declared her a heretic and urged Catholics to overthrow her, she regarded English Catholics as even more dangerous. Thereafter, she courted influential Puritans and embraced militant anti-Catholicism.

Under Elizabeth, most Puritans came to expect that they would eventually transform the Church of England into independent congregations of “saints.” But her successor, James I (ruled 1603–1625), the founder of England’s Stuart dynasty, bitterly opposed Puritan efforts to eliminate the office of bishop. He made clear that he saw Puritan attacks on bishops as a direct threat to the throne when he snapped, “No bishop, no king.” Although James insisted on outward conformity to Anglican practice, he quietly tolerated Calvinists within the Church of England who did not dissent loudly.

EUROPE AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD, 1440–1600

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, European wealth was concentrated in Mediterranean city-states such as Florence and Venice. Over the next two centuries, much of this wealth shifted from the Mediterranean to



MAP 2.2

Major Religions in Europe, c. 1560

By 1560 some European lands were solidly Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinist, but others remained bitterly divided for another century or more.

the Atlantic, where the monarchs of several nation-states were consolidating their power over vast territories in Europe and the Americas. Although England and France were also active, the first of the emerging new Atlantic powers were Portugal and Spain. Situated on the Iberian Peninsula where the Mediterranean and Atlantic come together, Portugal and Spain led a new European imperialism across the oceans of the world. Two prominent outcomes of this new imperialism were a trans-Atlantic slave trade and the colonization of new lands, especially in the Americas. Out of the new imperialism and the multiple intercontinental encounters that resulted arose a new Atlantic world.

Portugal and the Atlantic, 1440–1600

Portugal led the shift from a Mediterranean to an Atlantic world. While European merchants had long traded with Asia and Africa by way of the Mediterranean (see above), some recognized that they could increase their profits by establishing direct contacts with sources

of prized imports. During the fifteenth century, tiny Portugal led the way in overcoming impediments to long-distance oceanic travel.

Important changes in maritime technology occurred in the early fifteenth century. Shipbuilders and mariners along Europe's stormy Atlantic coast added the triangular Arab sail to the heavy cargo ships they used for voyaging between England and the Mediterranean. They created a more maneuverable vessel, the caravel, which sailed more easily against the wind. Sailors also mastered the compass and astrolabe, by which they got their bearings on the open sea. Without this maritime revolution, European exploration would have been impossible.

Renaissance scholars' search for more accurate readings of ancient texts enabled fifteenth-century Europeans to look at their world with new eyes. The great ancient Greek authority on geography was Ptolemy, but Renaissance cartographers corrected his data when they tried to draw accurate maps based on

recent European and Arabic observations. Thus, Renaissance "new learning" helped sharpen Europeans' geographic sense.

Led by Prince Henry "the Navigator" (1394–1460), Portugal was the first nation to capitalize on these developments. Henry gained the support of merchants seeking to circumvent Moroccan control of the African-European gold trade and of religious zealots eager to confront Muslim power. He hoped to find a sea route to Asia that would enable Portugal to bypass Mediterranean traders in tapping the markets of that continent as well. Henry encouraged Portuguese seamen to pilot the new caravels far down the African coast, searching for weak spots in Muslim defenses and for opportunities to trade profitably. By the time of his death, the Portuguese operated a successful gold-making factory at Arguin and had established trade ties south of the Sahara. In 1488 Bartolomeu Días reached the Cape of Good Hope at Africa's southern tip. A decade later Vasco da Gama led a Portuguese fleet around the Cape of Good Hope and on to India (see Map 2.1).

Ultimately the Portuguese failed to destroy older Euro-Asian commercial links, although they remained an imperial presence in the Indian Ocean and present-day Indonesia. Meanwhile, they had brought Europeans face-to-face with black Africans and an already flourishing slave trade.

The "New Slavery" and Racism

Slavery was well established in fifteenth-century Africa. The institution took two basic forms. Many Africans were enslaved because of indebtedness. Their debts were purchased by kings and emperors who made them servants or by families seeking additional laborers. They or their children were either absorbed into their new families over time or released from bondage when their debts were considered paid off through their work. But a long-distance commercial trade in slaves also flourished. For several centuries, Middle Eastern and North African traders had furnished local rulers with a range of fine, imported products in exchange for black laborers. Some of these slaves had been debtors, while others were captured in raids and wars.

One fifteenth-century Italian who witnessed Portuguese and Muslim slave trading noted that the Arabs "have many Berber horses, which they trade, and take to the Land of the Blacks, exchanging them with the rulers for slaves. Ten or fifteen slaves are given for one of these horses, according to their quality." Portuguese traders quickly realized how lucrative the trade in slaves

could be for them, too. The same Italian observer continued, “Slaves are brought to the market town of Hoden; there they are divided. . . . [Some] are taken . . . and sold to the Portuguese leaseholders [in Arguin]. As a result every year the Portuguese carry away . . . a thousand slaves.”

Although in 1482 the Portuguese built an outpost, Elmina, on West Africa’s Gold Coast, they primarily traded through African-controlled commercial networks. Often Portuguese merchants traded slaves and local products to other Africans for gold. The local African kingdoms were too strong for the Portuguese to attack, and African rulers traded—or chose not to trade—according to their own self-interest.

Despite preventing the Portuguese from directly colonizing them, West African societies were profoundly affected by the new Atlantic slave trade. Portuguese traders enriched favored African rulers not only with gold and other luxury products but also with guns. As a result, they exacerbated conflicts among African communities and helped redraw the political map of West Africa. In Guinea and Senegambia, where most sixteenth-century slaves came from, small kingdoms expanded to “service” the trade. Some of their rulers became comparatively rich. Farther south, the kings of Kongo used the slave trade to expand their regional power and voluntarily adopted Christianity, just as rulers farther north had converted to Islam. Kongo flourished until the late sixteenth century, when rival powers from the interior destroyed it.

Although slavery had long been practiced in many parts of the Eastern Hemisphere, there were ominous differences in the slavery that arose once the Portuguese began voyaging to West Africa. First, the unprecedented magnitude of the trade resulted in a demographic catastrophe for West Africa and its peoples. Before the Atlantic slave trade finally ended in the nineteenth century, nearly 12 million Africans would be shipped in terrible conditions across the sea. Slavery on this scale had been unknown to Europeans since the collapse of the Roman Empire. Second, African slaves were subjected to new extremes of dehumanization. In medieval Europe and in West Africa itself, most slaves had lived in their masters’ households and primarily performed domestic service. Africans shipped to Arab lands endured harsher conditions, but were regarded as humans. But by 1450 the Portuguese and Spanish created large slave-labor plantations on their Atlantic and Mediterranean islands (see Technology and Culture: Sugar Production in the Americas). These plantations produced sugar for European markets, using capital supplied by Italian

investors to buy African slaves who toiled until death. In short, Africans enslaved by Europeans were regarded as property rather than as persons of low status; as such, they were consigned to labor that was unending, exhausting, and mindless. By 1600 the “new slavery” had become a central, brutal component of the Atlantic world.

Finally, race became the ideological basis of the new slavery. Africans’ blackness, along with their alien religion and customs, dehumanized them in European eyes. As their racial prejudice hardened, Europeans justified enslaving blacks as their Christian duty. From the fifteenth century onward, European Christianity made few attempts to soften slavery’s rigors, and race defined a slave. Slavery became a lifelong, hereditary, and despised status.

Europeans Reach America, 1492–1541

Europeans’ varying motivations for expanding their horizons converged in the fascinating, contradictory figure of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506), the son of a weaver from the Italian port of Genoa. Columbus’s

TECHNOLOGY AND CULTURE

Sugar Production in the Americas

Beginning with Christopher Columbus's first expedition, organisms ranging from bacteria to human beings crossed the Atlantic in both directions. This Columbian exchange had wide-ranging ecological, economic, political, and cultural consequences for the lands and peoples of the Americas, Africa, and Europe. One significant set of consequences arose from the transfer of Mediterranean sugar production to the Americas. Out of this transfer came the single-crop plantation system, based on enslaved African labor, and a new consumer product that revolutionized diets and, quite literally, taste in Europe and its colonies.

Domesticated in New Guinea before 8000 B.C., sugar cane was one of the earliest wild plants harvested by human beings. By 350 B.C. sugar was an ingredient in several dishes favored by elites in India, from where it spread to the Mediterranean world. It became a significant commodity in the Mediterranean in the eighth century A.D. when expanding Arabs carried it as far west as Spain and Morocco. The Mediterranean would remain the center of sugar production for Europe over the next seven centuries.

The basic process of making sugar from the sugar cane plant changed little over time. (Sugar made from sugar beets did not become widespread until the nineteenth century.) The earliest producers discovered that

one of the six species of cane, *Saccharum officinarum*, produced the most sugar in the shortest span of time. The optimal time for harvesting was when the cane had grown twelve to fifteen feet in height, with stalks about two inches thick. At this point, it was necessary to extract the juice from the plant and then the sucrose (a carbohydrate) from the juice as quickly as possible or risk spoilage. Sugar makers crushed the cane fibers in order to extract the liquid, which they then heated so that it evaporated, leaving the sucrose—or sugar—in the form of crystals or molasses, depending on its temperature.

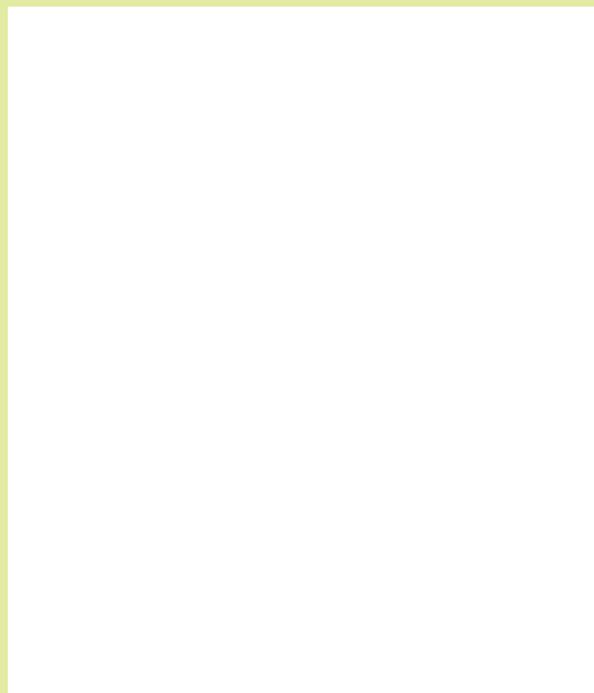
Sugar production was central to the emerging Atlantic world during the fifteenth century, after Spanish and Portuguese planters established large sugar plantations in the Madeira, Canary, and Cape Verde islands off Africa's Atlantic coast. Initially, the islands' labor force included some free Europeans, but enslaved Africans soon predominated. The islands were the birthplace of the European colonial plantation system. Planters focused entirely on the production of a single export crop and sought to maximize profits by minimizing labor costs. Although some planters used servants, the largest-scale, most profitable plantations imported slaves and worked them as hard as possible until they died. Utilizing such methods, the island planters soon outstripped the production of older sugar makers in the

Mediterranean. By 1500 the Spanish and Portuguese had successfully tapped new markets across Europe, especially among the wealthy classes.

On his second voyage in 1493, Columbus took a cargo of sugar from the Canaries to Hispaniola. Early efforts by Spanish colonists to produce sugar failed because they lacked efficient milling technology, because the Taíno Indians were dying so quickly from epidemic diseases, and because most colonists concentrated on mining gold. But as miners quickly exhausted Hispaniola's limited gold, the enslaved Africans brought to work in the mines became available for sugar production. In 1515 a planter named Gonzalo de Velloso hired some experienced sugar masters from the Canaries who urged him to import a more efficient type of mill. The mill featured two vertical rollers that could be powered by either animals or water, through which laborers passed the cane in order to crush it. With generous subsidies from the Spanish crown, the combination of vertical-roll mills and slave labor led to a rapid proliferation of sugar plantations in Spain's island colonies, with some using as many as five hundred slaves. But when Spain discovered gold and silver in Mexico and the Andes, its interest in sugar declined almost as rapidly as it had arisen.

Portugal's colony of Brazil emerged as the major source of sugar in the sixteenth century. Here, too, planters established the system of large plantations and enslaved Africans. By 1526 Brazil was exporting shiploads of sugar annually, and before the end of the century it supplied most of the sugar consumed in Europe. Shortly after 1600 Brazilian planters either invented or imported a three-roller mill that increased production still further and became the Caribbean standard for several more centuries. Portugal's sugar monopoly proved short-lived. Between 1588 and 1591, English "sea dogs" captured and diverted thirty-four sugar-laden vessels during their nation's war with Spain and Portugal. In 1630 the Netherlands seized Brazil's prime sugar-producing region and increased annual production to a century-high 30,000 tons. Ten years later some Dutch sugar and slave traders, seeking to expand their activity, shared the technology of sugar production with English planters in Barbados, who were looking for a new crop following disappointing profits from tobacco and cotton. The combination of sugar and slaves took hold so quickly that, within three years, Barbados' annual output rose to 150 tons.

Sugar went on to become the economic heart of the Atlantic economy (see Chapter 3). Its price dropped so low that even many poor Europeans could afford it. As a result, sugar became central to European diets as they

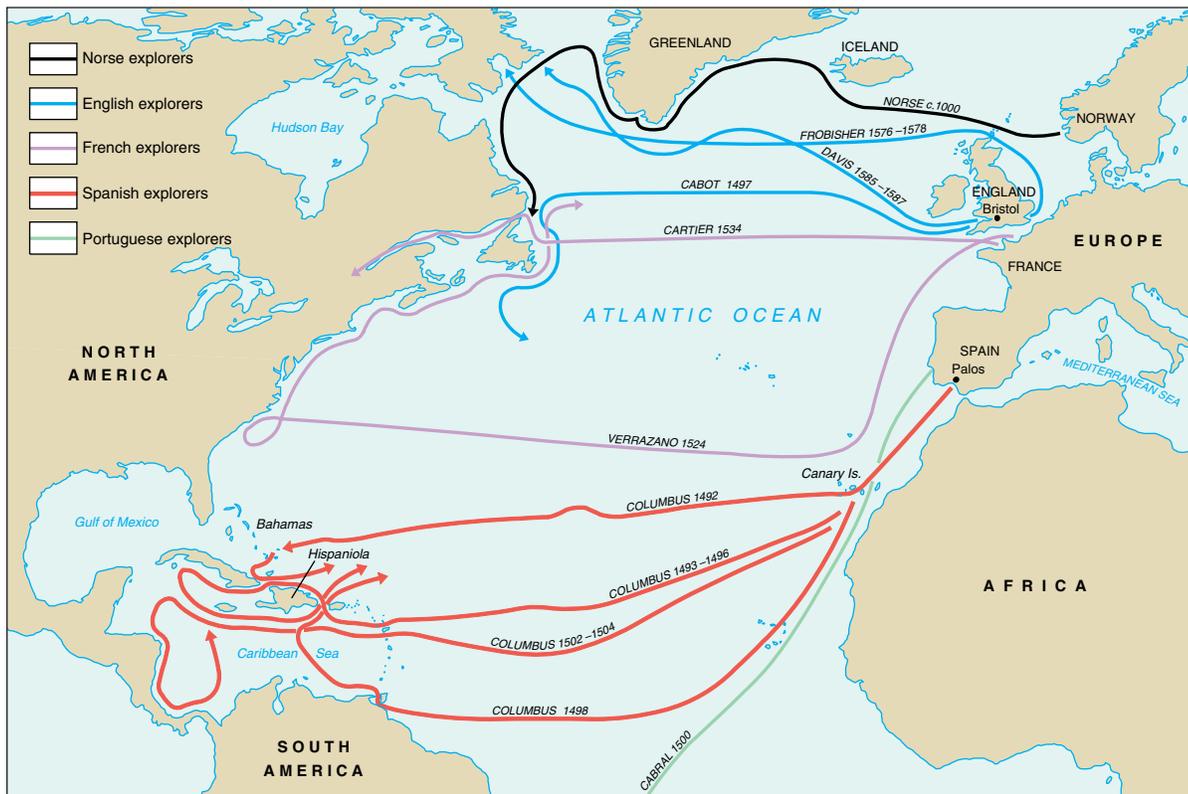


were revolutionized by the Columbian exchange. Like tobacco, coffee, and several other products of the exchange, sugar and such sugar products as rum, produced from molasses, proved habit-forming, making sugar even more attractive to profit-seeking planters and merchants.

More than any other single commodity, sugar sustained the early slave trade in the Americas, facilitating slavery's spread to tobacco, rice, indigo, and other plantation crops as well as to domestic service and other forms of labor. Competition between British and French sugar producers in the West Indies later fueled their nations' imperial rivalry (see Chapter 4) and eventually led New England's merchants to resist British imperial controls—a resistance that helped prepare the way for the American Revolution (see Chapter 5).

Focus Questions

- What was the role played by Spain's and Portugal's island colonies in revolutionizing sugar production?
- How did developments in mill technology interact with other factors to make sugar the most profitable crop produced in colonial America?



MAP 2.3
Major Transatlantic Explorations, 1000–1587

Following Columbus's 1492 voyage, Spain's rivals soon began laying claim to parts of the New World based on the voyages of Cabot for England, Cabral for Portugal, and Verrazano for France. Later English and French exploration focused on finding a passage to Asia around or through Canada.

maritime experience, self-taught geographical learning, and keen imagination led him to conclude that Asia could be reached by sailing westward across the Atlantic. By the early 1480s he was obsessed with this idea. Religious fervor led Columbus to dream of carrying Christianity around the globe and liberating Jerusalem from Muslim rule, but he also burned with ambition to win wealth and glory.

Columbus would not be the first European to venture far out into the Atlantic. Besides the early Norse (see Chapter 1), English fishermen in the North Atlantic may already have landed on the North American coast. But Columbus was unique in the persistence with which he hawked his “enterprise of the Indies” around the royal courts of western Europe. John II of Portugal showed interest until Días's discovery of the Cape of Good Hope promised a surer way to India. Finally, in 1492, hoping to break a threatened Portuguese monopoly on direct trade with Asia, Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand of Spain

accepted Columbus's offer. Picking up the westward-blowing trade winds at the Canary Islands, Columbus's three small ships reached Guanahaní within a month (see Map 2.3).

Word of Columbus's discovery caught Europeans' imaginations. To forestall competition between them as well as potential rivals, Isabella and Portugal's King John II in 1492 signed the Treaty of Tordesillas (see Map 2.4). The treaty drew a line in the mid-Atlantic dividing all future discoveries between Spain and Portugal. After Isabella sent Columbus back to explore further, he established a colony on Hispaniola, the Caribbean island today occupied by Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Columbus proved to be a poor administrator, and he was shunted aside after his last voyages (1498–1502). He died an embittered man, convinced that he had reached the threshold of Asia only to be cheated of his rightful rewards.

England's Henry VII (ruled 1485–1509) ignored the Treaty of Tordesillas and sent an Italian navigator, John

Cabot, to explore the north Atlantic in 1497. Sailing past Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the rich Grand Banks fisheries, Cabot claimed everything he saw and the lands beyond them for England. Like Columbus, Cabot thought that he had reached Asia.

The more Europeans explored, the more apparent it became that a vast landmass blocked the route to Asia. In 1500 the Portuguese claimed Brazil (much of which lay, unexpectedly, east of the line established in the Treaty of Tordesillas), and other voyages soon revealed a continuous coastline from the Caribbean to Brazil. In 1507 this landmass got its name when a publisher brought out a collection of voyagers' tales. One of the chroniclers was an Italian named Amerigo Vespucci. With a shrewd marketing touch, the publisher devised a catchy name for the new continent: America.

Getting past America and reaching Asia remained the early explorers' primary aim. In 1513 the Spaniard Vasco Núñez de Balboa chanced upon the Pacific Ocean when he crossed the narrow isthmus of Panama. Then in 1519 the Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan, sailing for Spain, began a voyage around the world by way of the stormy straits (later named for him) at South America's southern tip. In an incredible feat of endurance, he crossed the Pacific to the Philippines, only to die fighting with local natives. One of his five ships and fifteen emaciated sailors finally returned to Spain in 1522, the first people to have sailed around the world.

France joined the race for Asia's fabled wealth in 1524 when King Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) dispatched



MAP 2.4

The Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1610

By 1610 Spain dominated Latin America, including Portugal's possessions. Having devoted its energies to exploiting Mexico and the Caribbean, Spain had not yet expanded into what is now the United States, aside from establishing outposts in Florida and New Mexico.

an Italian navigator, Giovanni da Verrazano, to find a more direct “northwest passage” to the Pacific. Verrazano explored the North American coast from the Carolinas to Newfoundland. In three subsequent voyages between 1534 and 1542, the French explorer Jacques Cartier carefully probed the coasts of Newfoundland, Quebec, and Nova Scotia and sailed up the St. Lawrence River as far as present-day Montreal. Although encountering large numbers of Native Americans, Verrazano and Cartier found no gold and no northwest passage.

Spain’s Conquistadors, 1492–1536

Columbus was America’s first slave trader and the first Spanish conqueror, or conquistador. At his struggling colony on Hispaniola, he enslaved Native people and created *encomiendas*—grants awarding Indian land,

labor, and tribute to wealthy colonists. The earliest *encomiendas* were gold mines, which produced limited profits for a few mine operators.

From the beginning, *encomiendas* harshly exploited Native Americans, who died in droves from overwork, malnutrition, and disease. Then Portuguese slavers stepped in, supplying shiploads of Africans to replace the perishing Indians. Spanish missionaries who came to Hispaniola to convert the Indians quickly sent back grim reports of Indian exploitation; King Ferdinand (who had made money by selling *encomiendas*) felt sufficiently shocked to attempt to forbid the practice. But while the missionaries deemed Native Americans potential Christians, they joined most other colonizers in condemning Africans as less than fully human and thereby beyond hope of redemption. Blacks could therefore be exploited without limit. In Cuba, Puerto Rico, and other islands, they were forced to perform back-

breaking work on Spanish sugar plantations (see *Technology and Culture: Sugar Production in the Americas*).

Meanwhile, Spanish settlers fanned out across the Caribbean in search of Indian slaves and gold. In 1519 a restless nobleman, Hernán Cortés (1485–1547), led six hundred troops to the Mexican coast. Destroying his boats, he enlisted the support of enemies and discontented subjects of the Aztecs (see Chapter 1) in a quest to conquer that empire. Besides military support, Cortés gained the services of Malintzin (or Malinche), later known as Doña Marina, an Aztec woman brought up among the Maya. Malintzin served as Cortés' interpreter, diplomatic broker, and mistress.

Upon reaching the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan, the Spanish were stunned by its size and wealth. "We were amazed and said that it was like the enchantments they tell of [in stories], and some of our soldiers even asked whether the things that we saw were not a dream," recalled one soldier. Certainly, the golden gifts that the Aztec emperor, Moctezuma II (ruled 1502–1520) initially offered the invaders were no dream. "They picked up the gold and fingered it like monkeys," one Aztec recalled. "Their bodies swelled with greed, and their hunger was ravenous. They hungered like pigs for that gold."

The Spanish ignored Moctezuma's offer, raiding his palace and treasury, and melting down all the gold they could find. Despite their emperor's imprisonment, the Aztecs regrouped and drove the invaders from the city, killing three hundred Spanish and four thousand of their Indian allies before reinforcements from Cuba enabled the Spanish to prevail. The victory was also ensured by the smallpox epidemic the Spanish brought with them, the same one that was killing large numbers of Indians on Hispaniola and the other islands. Lacking any previous contact with the disease, the Aztecs' and other Indians' immune systems were ill equipped to resist it. Just when the Aztecs took back Tenochtitlan, the epidemic struck. When the Spanish finally recaptured the city, wrote one Spanish chronicler, "the streets were so filled with dead and sick people that our men walked over nothing but bodies." By striking down other Indians, friends as well as foes, the epidemic enabled the Spanish to consolidate their control over much of central Mexico. By 1521 Cortés had overthrown the Aztecs and began to build a Spanish capital, Mexico City, on the ruins of Tenochtitlan.

Over the remainder of the sixteenth century, other conquistadors and officials established a great Spanish empire stretching from New Spain (Mexico) southward to Chile (see Map 2.4). The most important of these conquests was that of the Inca empire (see Chapter 1)

between 1532 and 1536 by a second reckless conquistador, Francisco Pizarro (c. 1478–1541). As with the Aztecs, smallpox and native unfamiliarity with European ways and weapons enabled a small army to overpower a mighty emperor and his realm. The human cost of the Spanish conquest was enormous. Mourned a vanquished Aztec,

Broken spears lie in the roads;
We have torn our hair in our grief.
The houses are roofless now. . .
And the walls are splattered with gore. . .
We have pounded our hands in despair
Against the adobe walls.

When Cortés landed in 1519, central Mexico's population had been between 13 and 25 million. By 1600 it had shrunk to about seven hundred thousand. Peru and other regions experienced similar devastation. America had witnessed the greatest demographic disaster in world history.

The Columbian Exchange

The emerging Atlantic world linked not only peoples but also animals, plants, and microbes from Europe, Africa, and the Americas. After 1492 Native Americans died

above all because they lacked antibodies that could ward off European and African infections—especially deadly, highly communicable smallpox. From the first years of contact, frightful epidemics of smallpox and other unknown diseases scourged the defenseless Indian communities. In the larger West Indian islands, 95 percent of the native population perished within thirty years. “The people began to die very fast, and many in a short space,” an Englishman later remarked, adding that the deaths invariably occurred after Europeans had visited an area. Whole villages perished at once, with no one left to bury the dead. Such devastation directly facilitated European colonization everywhere in the Americas, whether accompanied by a military effort or not.

The Columbian exchange—the biological encounter of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres—affected the everyday lives of peoples throughout the Atlantic world. Besides diseases, sixteenth-century Europeans introduced horses, cattle, sheep, swine, chickens, wheat and other grains, coffee, sugar cane, numerous fruits and garden vegetables, and many species of weeds, insects, and rodents to America. In the next century, enslaved Africans carried rice and yams with them across the Atlantic. The list of American gifts to Europe and Africa was equally impressive: corn, many varieties of beans, white and sweet potatoes, the tropical root crop manioc, tomatoes, squash, pumpkins, peanuts, vanilla, cacao, avocados, pineapples, chilis, tobacco, and turkeys. Often, several centuries passed before new plants became widely accepted across the ocean. For example, many Europeans initially suspected that potatoes were aphrodisiacs and that tomatoes were poisonous, and few Indians would ever grow wheat.

European weeds and domestic animals drastically altered many American environments. Especially in temperate zones, livestock devoured indigenous plants, enabling hardier European weeds to take over. As a result, wild animals that had fed on the plants stayed away, depriving Indians of a critical source of food. Free-roaming livestock, especially hogs, also invaded Native Americans’ cornfields. In this way, colonists’ ways of life impinged directly on those of Native peoples. Settlers’ crops, intensively cultivated on lands never replenished by lying fallow, often exhausted American soil. But the worldwide exchange of food products also enriched human diets and later made enormous population growth possible.

Another dimension of the Atlantic world was the mixing of peoples. During the sixteenth century, about three hundred thousand Spaniards immigrated, 90 percent of them male. Particularly in towns, a racially

blended people emerged as these men married Indian women, giving rise to the large mestizo (mixed Spanish-Indian) population of Mexico and other Latin American countries. Lesser numbers of *métis*, as the French termed people of both Indian and European descent, would appear in the French and English colonies of North America. Throughout the Americas, particularly in plantation colonies, European men fathered mulatto children with enslaved African women, and African-Indian unions occurred in most regions. Colonial societies differed significantly in their official attitudes toward the different kinds of interracial unions and in their classifications of the children who resulted.

The Americas supplied seemingly limitless wealth for Spain. Some Spaniards grew rich from West Indian sugar plantations and Mexican sheep and cattle ranches, and immense quantities of silver crossed the Atlantic after rich mines in Mexico and Peru began producing in the 1540s. Spain took in far more American silver than its economy could absorb, setting off inflation that eventually engulfed all Europe. Bent on dominating Europe, the Spanish kings needed ever more American silver to finance their wars. Several times they went bankrupt, and in the 1560s their efforts to squeeze more taxes from their subjects helped provoke the revolt of Spain’s rich Netherlands provinces (see below). In the end, American wealth proved to be a mixed blessing for Spain.

FOOTHOLDS IN NORTH AMERICA, 1512–1625

Most European immigrants in the sixteenth century flocked to Mexico, the Caribbean, and points farther south. But a minority helped extend the Atlantic world to North America through exploratory voyages, fishing expeditions, trade with Native Americans, and piracy and smuggling. Except for a Spanish base at St. Augustine, Florida, the earliest attempts to plant colonies failed, generally because they were predicated on unrealistic expectations of fabulous wealth and pliant natives.

After 1600 the ravaging of Indian populations by disease and the rise of English, French, and Dutch power finally made colonization possible. By 1614 Spain, England, France, and the Netherlands had made often overlapping territorial claims and established North American footholds (see Maps 2.4 and 2.5). Within another decade, each colony developed a distinct economic orientation and its own approach to Native Americans.

Spain’s Northern Frontier, 1512–1625

The Spanish had built their American empire by subduing the Aztec, Inca, and other Indian states. The dream of more such finds drew would-be conquistadors to lands north of Mexico. “As it was his object to find another treasure like that . . . of Peru,” a witness wrote of one such man, Hernando de Soto, he “would not be content with good lands nor pearls.”

The earliest of these invaders was Juan Ponce de León, the conqueror of Puerto Rico, who in 1512–1513 and again in 1521 trudged through Florida in search of gold and slaves. His quest ended in death in a skirmish with Native Americans. The most astonishing early expedition began in Florida in 1527. After provoking several attacks by Apalachee Indians, the three hundred explorers were separated into several parties. All were thought to have perished until eight years later, when four survivors, led by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and including an African slave, Estevanico, arrived in northern Mexico. Cabeza de Vaca’s account of their journey from Florida through Texas and New Mexico is the most compelling European literary work on North America before permanent colonization.

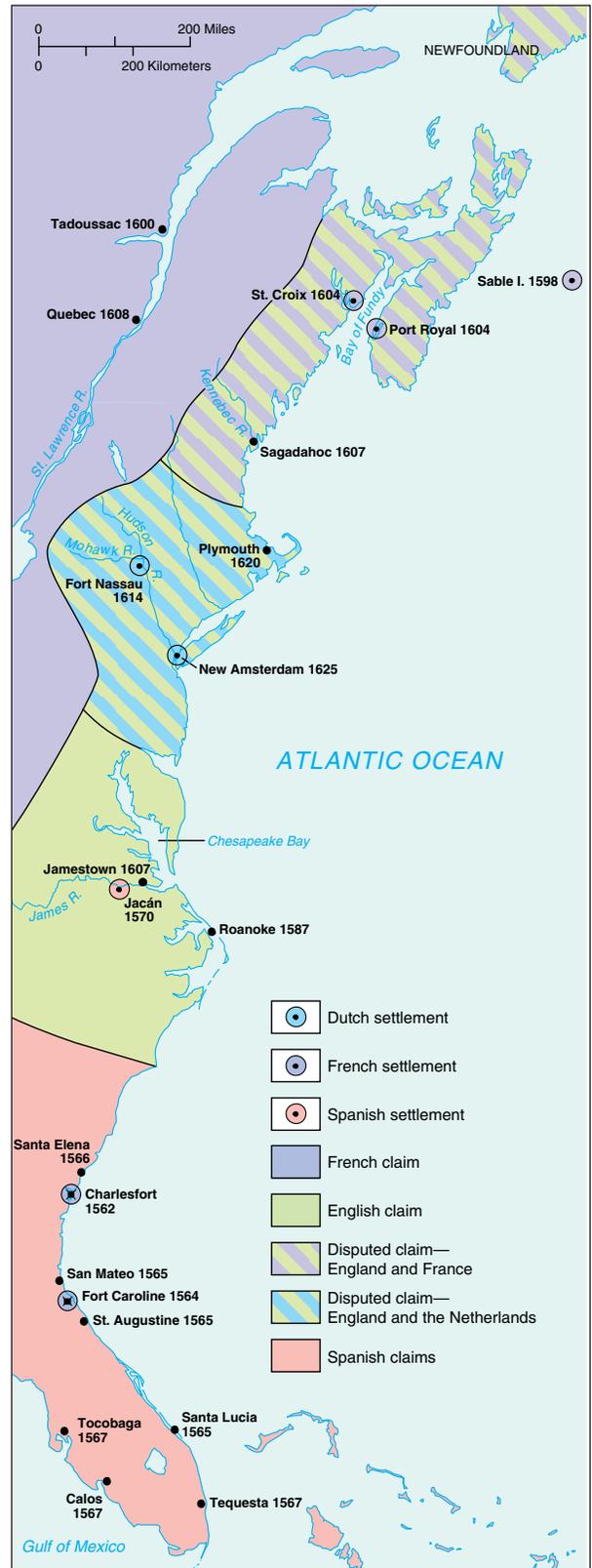
Cabeza de Vaca provided direct inspiration for the two most formidable attempts at Spanish conquest. De Soto and his party in 1539–1543 blundered from Tampa Bay to the Appalachians to the southern Plains, scouring the land for gold and alienating Native people wherever they went. “Think, then,” one Indian chief appealed to him vainly,

what must be the effect on me and mine, of the sight of you]and your people, whom we have at no time seen, astride the fierce brutes, your horses, entering with such speed and fury into my country, that we had no tidings of your coming—things so absolutely new, as to strike awe and terror into our hearts.

In 1540 a coalition of Native Americans gathered at the Mississippian city of Mabila to confront the invaders. Although victorious militarily, the expedition’s own losses doomed the Spanish effort. Most of their

MAP 2.5
European Imperial Claims and Settlements in Eastern North America, 1565–1625

By 1625 four European nations contended for territory on North America’s Atlantic coast. Except for St. Augustine, Florida, all settlements established before 1607 had been abandoned by 1625.



horses died from arrow wounds while their livestock (their principal source of food aside from the corn they seized) scattered. Thereafter, the expedition floundered.

Although de Soto died without finding gold or extending Spanish rule, his and other expeditions spread epidemics that destroyed most of the remaining Mississippian societies (see Chapter 1). By the time Europeans returned to the southeastern interior late in the seventeenth century, only the Natchez on the lower Mississippi River still inhabited their sumptuous temple-mound center and remained under the rule of a Great Sun monarch. Depopulated groups like the Cherokees and Creeks had adopted the less-centralized village life of other eastern Indians.

As de Soto roamed the Southeast, some Spanish officials in Mexico heard rumors of fabulous wealth that lay to the north in the “Seven Golden Cities of Cíbola.” In 1540–1542 Francisco Vázquez de Coronado led a massive expedition bent on finding and conquering these cities. Coronado plundered several pueblos on the Rio Grande and wandered from the Grand Canyon to present-day Kansas before returning to Mexico, finding no gold but embittering many Native Americans toward the Spanish. Other expeditions along the California coast and up the Colorado River likewise proved fruitless.

For several decades after these failed ventures, Spain’s principal interest north of Mexico and the Caribbean lay in establishing strategic bases to keep out

French and English intruders. In 1565 Spain established the first successful European settlement in North America, a fortress at St. Augustine, Florida. Despite attempts to strengthen Florida and to build forts linking it to Mexico, St. Augustine remained a lone military stronghold and a base for a chain of religious missions extending north to Chesapeake Bay. Rejecting missionary efforts to reorder their lives, the Guale, Powhatan, and other Indians rebelled and forced the closing of all the missions before 1600. Franciscan missionaries renewed their efforts in Florida in the early seventeenth century and secured the nominal allegiance of about sixteen thousand Guale and Timucua Indians. But epidemics in the 1610s killed about half the converts.

Meanwhile, in the 1580s, Spanish missionaries had returned to the Southwest, preaching Christianity and scouting the area’s potential wealth. Encouraged by their reports, New Spain’s viceroy in 1598 commissioned Juan de Oñate to lead five hundred Spaniards, mestizos, Mexican Indians, and African slaves into the upper Rio Grande Valley. They seized a pueblo of the Tewa Indians, renamed it San Juan, and proclaimed the royal colony of New Mexico.

The Spanish encountered swift resistance at the mesa-top pueblo of Ácoma in December 1598. When the Ácoma Indians refused Spanish demands for provisions for an exploring expedition, fifteen Spanish soldiers ascended the mesa to obtain the goods by force. But the natives resisted and killed most of the soldiers. Determined to make an example of Ácoma, Oñate ordered massive retaliation. In January Spanish troops captured the pueblo, killing eight hundred inhabitants in the process. Oñate forced surviving men to have one foot cut off and, along with the women and children, to be servants of the soldiers and missionaries. Two prominent leaders also had their right hands amputated.

Despite having crushed Ácoma and forced other Pueblo Indians to serve in Spanish *encomiendas*, the new colony barely survived. The Spanish government replaced Oñate in 1606 because of mismanagement and excessive brutality toward the Indians, and seriously considered withdrawing from New Mexico altogether. Franciscan missionaries, aiming to save Pueblo Indian souls, persuaded the authorities to keep New Mexico alive. By 1630 Franciscans had been dispatched to more than fifty pueblos and nominally converted up to twenty thousand Indians. But resistance was common because, as the leading Franciscan summarized it, “the main and general answer given [by the Pueblos] for not becoming Christians is that when they do, . . . they are at once compelled to pay tribute and render personal service.”

New Mexico began, then, amidst uneasy tensions between colonists and natives.

France: Initial Failures and Canadian Success, 1541–1610

The voyages of Verrazano and Cartier (see above) marked the beginning of French activity in North America. France made its first colonizing attempt in 1541 when Cartier returned with ten ships carrying four hundred soldiers, three hundred sailors, and a few women to the St. Lawrence Valley. Cartier had earned Native Americans' distrust during his previous expeditions, and his construction of a fortified settlement on Stadacona Indian land (near the modern city of Quebec) removed all possibility of friendly relations. Over the next two years, the French suffered heavy casualties from Stadacona attacks and from scurvy (for which the Stadaconas could have shown them a cure) before abandoning the colony.

The failed French expedition seemed to verify the Spanish opinion, voiced by the cardinal of Seville, that "this whole coast as far [south] as Florida is utterly unproductive." The next French effort at colonization came in 1562 when French Huguenots (Calvinists) briefly established a base in what is now South Carolina. In 1564 the Huguenots founded a settlement near present-day Jacksonville, Florida. Sensing a Protestant threat to their control of the Caribbean, Spanish forces destroyed the settlement a year later, executing all 132 male defenders. These failures, along with a civil war between French Catholics and Huguenots, temporarily hindered France's colonizing efforts.

Meanwhile, French and other European fishermen were working the plenteous Grand Banks fisheries off the coast of Newfoundland. Going ashore to dry their fish, some French sailors bartered with Beothuk Indians for skins of beaver, a species almost extinct in Europe. By the late sixteenth century, as European demand for beaver hats skyrocketed, a French-dominated fur trade blossomed. Before the end of the century, French traders were returning annually to sites from Newfoundland to New England and along the lower St. Lawrence.

Unlike explorers such as de Soto and colonizers such as those at Roanoke (see below), most traders recognized the importance of reciprocity in dealing with Native Americans. Consequently, they were generally more successful. In exchange for pelts, they traded metal tools such as axes and knives, cloth, and glass beads. Seen by the Europeans as trinkets, glass beads were considered by northeastern Indians to possess spiritual

power comparable to the power of quartz, mica, and other sacred substances that they had long obtained via trade networks (see Chapter 1). By the next century, specialized factories in Europe would be producing both cloth and glass for the "Indian trade."

Seeing the lucrative Canadian trade as a source of revenue, the French government dispatched the explorer Samuel de Champlain to establish the colony of New France at Quebec in 1608. The French decided that a colony was the surest means of deterring English, Dutch, and independent French competitors. Having previously explored much of the Northeast and headed a short-lived French settlement at Acadia, Champlain was familiar with Indian politics and diplomacy in the region. Building on this understanding, he shrewdly allied with the Montagnais and Algonquins of the St. Lawrence and the Hurons of the lower Great Lakes. He agreed to help these allies defeat their enemies, the Mohawks of the Iroquois Confederacy, who sought direct access to European traders on the St. Lawrence. Champlain's new allies were equally shrewd in recognizing the advantage that French guns would give them against the usually dreaded Mohawks.

In July 1609 Champlain and two other Frenchmen accompanied sixty Montagnais and Huron warriors to Lake Champlain (which the explorer named for himself). Soon they encountered two hundred Mohawks at Point Ticonderoga near the lake's southern tip. After a night of

mutual taunting, the two parties met on shore the following morning. As the main French-Indian column neared its opponents, Champlain stepped ahead and confronted the Mohawks' three spectacularly attired war leaders.

When I saw them make a move to draw their bows upon us, I took aim with my arquebus [a kind of gun] and shot straight at one of the three chiefs, and with this same shot two fell to the ground, and one of their companions was wounded and died a little later. . . . As I was reloading my arquebus, one of my [French] companions fired a shot from within the woods, which astonished them again so much that, seeing their chiefs dead, they lost courage and took to flight.

The French and their allies pursued the fleeing Mohawks, killing about fifty and capturing a dozen prisoners. A few pro-French Indians suffered minor arrow wounds.

The battle of Lake Champlain marked the end of casual Indian-European encounters in the Northeast and the beginning of a deadly era of trade, diplomacy, and warfare. Through their alliance with the powerful Hurons, the French gained access to the thick beaver pelts of the Canadian interior in exchange for European goods and protection from the Iroquois. These economic and diplomatic arrangements defined the course of New France's history for the rest of the seventeenth century.

England and the Atlantic World, 1558–1603

When Elizabeth I became queen in 1558, England was a minor power; Spain and France grappled for supremacy in Europe; and Spain and Portugal garnered wealth from the Americas. Although England and Spain had been at peace, the largely Protestant English worried about Spanish interventions against Calvinists in France and the Netherlands, and about the pope's call for Elizabeth's overthrow. In securing the loyalty of England's rival Protestant movements (see above), Elizabeth shifted toward a militantly anti-Catholic foreign policy. Secretly, she stepped up her aid to the Calvinist rebels and encouraged English "sea dogs" like John Hawkins and Francis Drake—privateers who plundered Spanish ships.

The Anglo-Spanish rivalry in the Atlantic extended to Ireland after 1565, when Spain and the pope began directly aiding Irish Catholics' resistance to English rule. In a war that ground on through the 1580s, the English drove the Irish clans out of their strongholds, especially

in northern Ireland, or Ulster, and established their own settlements ("plantations") of English and Scottish Protestants. The English practiced total war to break the rebellious population's spirit, inflicting starvation and mass slaughter by destroying villages in the winter.

Elizabeth's generals justified these atrocities by claiming that the Irish were "savages" and that Irish customs, religion, and method of fighting absolved the English from guilt in waging exceptionally cruel warfare. Ireland thus furnished precedents for later English tactics and rationales for crushing Native Americans.

England had two objectives in the Western Hemisphere in the 1570s. The first was to find the northwest passage to Asia and discover gold on the way; the second, in Drake's words, was to "singe the king of Spain's beard" by raiding Spanish fleets and ports from Spain to the West Indies. The search for the northwest passage only led to such embarrassments as explorer Martin Frobisher's return from the Canadian Arctic with a shipload of "fool's gold." However, privateering raids proved spectacularly successful and profitable for their financial backers, including merchants, gentry, government leaders, and Elizabeth herself. The most breathtaking enterprise was Drake's voyage around the world (1577–1580) in quest of sites for colonies. During this voyage, he sailed up the California coast and entered Drake's Bay, north of San Francisco, where he traded with Miwok Indians.

Now deadly rivals, Spain and England sought to outmaneuver one another in America. In 1572 the Spanish tried to fortify a Jesuit mission on the Chesapeake Bay. They failed, largely because Powhatan Indians resisted. After an attempt to colonize Newfoundland failed, Sir Walter Raleigh obtained a royal patent (charter) in 1584 to start an English colony farther south, closer to the Spanish—a region the English soon named Virginia in honor of their virgin queen. Raleigh dispatched Arthur Barlowe to explore the region, and Barlowe returned singing the praises of Roanoke Island, its peaceable natives, and its ideal location as a base for anti-Spanish privateers. Raleigh then persuaded Elizabeth to dispatch a colonizing expedition to Roanoke.

At first all went well. The Roanoke Indians eagerly traded and shared their corn. Given such abundance and native hospitality, the colonists wondered why they should work at all. Refusing to grow their own food, they expected the Roanokes to feed them. By the first winter, the English had outlived their welcome. Fearing that the natives were about to attack, English soldiers killed Wingina, the Roanoke leader, in June 1586. When Raleigh's friend Drake visited soon after on his way back to England, many colonists joined him.

Thereafter, the Anglo-Spanish conflict repeatedly prevented English ships from returning to Roanoke to supply those who remained. When a party finally arrived in 1590, it found only rusty armor, moldy books, and the word *CROATOAN* cut into a post. Although the stranded colonists were presumably living among the Croatoan Indians of Cape Hatteras, the exact fate of the “lost colony” remains a mystery to this day.

Roanoke’s brief history underscored several stubborn realities about European expansion to North America. First, even a large-scale, well-financed colonizing effort could fail, given the settlers’ lack of preparedness for the American environment. Second, colonists did not bring enough provisions for the first winter and disdained growing their own food. Although some settlers were curious and open-minded about the Indians’ way of life, most assumed that Native Americans would submit to their authority and feed them while they looked for gold—a sure recipe for trouble. Third, colonizing attempts would have to be self-financing; financially strapped monarchs like Elizabeth I would not throw good money after bad. Fourth, conflict with the Spanish hung menacingly over every European attempt to gain a foothold in North America.

In 1588, while Roanoke struggled, England won a spectacular naval victory over the Armada, a huge invasion fleet sent into the English Channel by Spain’s Philip II. This famous victory preserved England’s independence and confirmed its status as a major power in the Atlantic.

The Beginnings of English Colonization, 1603–1625

Anglo-Spanish relations took a new turn after 1603, when Elizabeth died and her cousin, the king of Scotland, ascended the English throne as James I. The cautious, peace-loving king signed a truce with Spain in 1604. Alarmed by Dutch naval victories (see below), the Spanish now considered England the lesser danger. Consequently, Spain’s new king, Philip III (ruled 1598–1621), conceded what his predecessors had always refused: a free hand to another power in part of the Americas. Spain renounced its claims to Virginia, and England could now colonize unmolested.

The question of how to finance English colonies remained. Neither the crown nor Parliament would agree to spend money on colonies, and Roanoke’s failure had proved that private fortunes were inadequate to finance successful settlements. Political and financial leaders determined that joint-stock companies—business corporations that would amass capital through

sales of stock to the public—could raise enough funds for American settlement. Such stock offerings produced large sums with limited risk for each investor.

On April 10, 1606, James I granted a charter authorizing overlapping grants of land in Virginia to two separate joint-stock companies, one based in London and the other in Plymouth. The Virginia Company of Plymouth received a grant extending south from modern Maine to the Potomac River, and the Virginia Company of London’s lands ran north from Cape Fear to the Hudson River. Both companies dispatched colonists in 1607.

The Virginia Company of Plymouth sent 120 men to Sagadahoc, at the mouth of the Kennebec River. Half left in 1608 after alienating nearby Abenaki Indians and enduring a hard Maine winter, and the rest went back to England a year later. Soon thereafter the company disbanded.

The Virginia Company of London barely avoided a similar failure. Its first expedition included many gentlemen who disdained work and expected riches to fall into their laps. They chose a site on the James River in May 1607 and named it Jamestown. Discipline quickly fell apart and, as at Roanoke, the colonists neglected to plant crops. When relief ships arrived in January 1608 with reinforcements, only 38 survivors remained out of 105 immigrants.

Short of workers who could farm, fish, hunt, and do carpentry, Virginia also lacked effective leadership. The council’s first president hoarded supplies, and its second was lazy and indecisive. By September 1608, three councilors had died and three others had returned to England, leaving only a brash soldier of fortune, Captain John Smith.

Twenty-eight years old and of yeoman origin, Smith had experience fighting Spaniards and Turks that prepared him for assuming control in Virginia. Organizing all but the sick in work gangs, he ensured sufficient food and housing for winter. Applying lessons learned in his soldiering days, he laid down rules for maintaining sanitation and hygiene to limit disease. Above all, he brought order through military discipline. During the next winter (1608–1609), Virginia lost just a dozen men out of two hundred.

Smith also became the colony’s diplomat. After Powhatan Indians captured him in late 1607, Smith displayed such courage that their *weroance* (chief), also named Powhatan, arranged an elaborate reconciliation ceremony in which his daughter Pocahontas “saved” Smith’s life during a mock execution. Smith maintained satisfactory relations with the Powhatans in part through his personality, but he also employed calculated

demonstrations of English military strength to mask the settlers' actual weakness.

John Smith prevented Virginia from disintegrating as Sagadahoc had. But when he returned to England in 1609 after being wounded in a gunpowder explosion, discipline again crumbled. Expecting the Indians to provide them with corn, the colonists had not laid away sufficient food for the winter. A survivor wrote,

So lamentable was our scarcity, that we were constrained to eat dogs, cats, rats, snakes, toadstools, horsehides, and what not; one man out of the misery endured, killing his wife powdered her up [with flour] to eat her, for which he was burned. Many besides fed on the corpses of dead men.

Of the five hundred residents at Jamestown in September 1609, about 400 died by May 1610. But an influx of new recruits, coupled with the reimposition of military rule, enabled Virginia to win the First Anglo-Powhatan War (1610–1614). The English population remained small, however, just 380 in 1616, and it had yet to produce anything of value for Virginia Company stockholders.

Tobacco emerged as Virginia's salvation. John Rolfe, an Englishman who married Pocahontas after the war, spent several years adapting a salable variety of Caribbean tobacco to conditions in Virginia. By 1619 the product commanded high prices, and that year Virginia exported large amounts to a newly emergent European market.

To attract labor and capital to its suddenly profitable venture, the Virginia Company awarded a fifty-acre "headright" for each person ("head") entering the colony, to whomever paid that person's passage. By paying the passage of prospective laborers, some enterprising planters accumulated sizable tracts of land. Thousands of young men and a few hundred women calculated that uncertainty in Virginia was preferable to continued unemployment and poverty in England. In return for their passage, they agreed to work as indentured servants for fixed terms, usually four to seven years. The Virginia Company abandoned military rule in 1619 and provided for an assembly to be elected by the "inhabitants" (apparently meaning only the planters). Although the assembly's actions were subject to the company's veto, it was the first representative legislature in North America.

By 1622 Virginia faced three serious problems. First, local officials systematically defrauded the shareholders by embezzling treasury funds, overcharging for supplies, and using company laborers to work their own tobacco fields. They profited, but the company sank deep into

debt. Second, the colony's population suffered from an appallingly high death rate. The majority of fatalities stemmed from malnutrition owing to the poor diets of the servants, or from salt poisoning, typhus, or dysentery contracted when the settlers drank the salty, polluted water from the lower James River. Most of the 3,500 immigrants entering Virginia from 1618 to 1622 died within three years. Finally, relations with the Powhatans steadily worsened after Pocahontas died in England in 1617 and Powhatan died a year later. Leadership passed to Opechancanough, who at first sought to accommodate the English. But relentless English expansion led to Indian discontent and to the rise of a powerful religious leader, Nemattanew, who urged the Powhatans to resist the English to the death. After some settlers killed Nemattanew, the Indians launched a surprise attack in 1622 that killed 347 of the 1,240 colonists. With much of their livestock destroyed, spring planting prevented, and disease spreading through cramped fortresses, hundreds more colonists died in the ensuing months.

After the Virginia Company sent more men, Governor Francis Wyatt reorganized the settlers and took the offensive during the Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622–1632). Using tactics developed during the Irish war, Wyatt inflicted widespread starvation by destroying food supplies, conducted winter campaigns to drive Indians from their homes when they would suffer most, and fought (according to John Smith) as if he had "just cause to destroy them by all means possible." By 1625 the English had effectively won the war, and the Powhatans had lost their best chance of driving out the intruders.

The clash left the Virginia Company bankrupt and James I concerned over complaints against its officers. After receiving a report critical of the company's management, James revoked its charter in 1624, and Virginia became a royal colony. Only about five hundred colonists now lived in Virginia, including a handful of Africans who had been brought in since 1619. The vast majority of this population, white as well as black, consisted of unfree laborers, and most would die early deaths (see Chapter 3). The roots from which Virginia's Anglo-American and African-American peoples later grew were fragile indeed.

New England Begins, 1614–1625

The next English colony, after Virginia, that proved permanent arose in New England. In 1614 the ever-enterprising John Smith, exploring its coast, gave New England its name. "Who," he asked, "can but approve this most excellent place, both for health and fertility?"

An admirer of Cortés, Smith planned to conquer its “goodly, strong, and well-proportioned [Indian] people” and establish a colony there. But his hopes came to nothing. As for the region’s Native peoples, a terrible epidemic spread by fishermen or traders devastated coastal communities by about 90 percent in 1616–1618. Later visitors found the ground littered with the “bones and skulls” of the unburied dead and acres of overgrown cornfields.

In 1620, against this tragic backdrop, the Virginia Company of London gave a patent to some London merchants headed by Thomas Weston for a settlement. Weston sent over twenty-four families (a total of 102 people) in a small, leaky ship called the *Mayflower*. The colonists promised to send lumber, furs, and fish back to Weston in England for seven years, after which they would own the tract.

The expedition’s leaders, but only half its members, were Separatist Puritans who had withdrawn from the Church of England and fled to the Netherlands to practice their religion freely. Fearing that their children were assimilating into Dutch culture, they decided to immigrate to America.

In November 1620 the *Mayflower* landed at Plymouth Bay, north of Virginia’s boundary in present-day Massachusetts. Knowing that they had no legal right to be there, the expedition’s leaders insisted that all the adult males in the group (including non-Separatists) sign the Mayflower Compact before they landed. By this document they constituted themselves a “civil body politic,” or government, under English rule, and established the colony of New Plymouth, or Plymouth.

Weakened by their journey and unprepared for winter, half the Pilgrims, as the colonists later came to be known, died within four months of landing. Those still alive in the spring of 1621 owed much to the aid of two English-speaking Native Americans. One was Squanto, a Wampanoag Indian who had been taken to Spain as a slave in 1614 and then escaped to England. Returning home with a colonizing expedition, he learned that most of the two thousand people of his village had perished in the recent epidemic. The other friendly Indian, an Abenaki from Maine named Samoset, had experience trading with the English. To prevent the colonists from stealing the natives’ food, Squanto showed them how to grow corn, using fish as fertilizer. Plymouth’s first harvest was marked by a festival, “at which time . . . we exercised our arms, many of the Indians coming amongst us, . . . some 90 men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted.” This festival became the basis for Thanksgiving, a holiday established in the nineteenth century.

Plymouth’s relations with the Native Americans soon worsened. The alliance that Squanto and Samoset had arranged between Plymouth and the Wampanoags, headed by Massasoit, had united two weak parties. But with their firearms the colonists became the dominant partner, forcing the Wampanoags to acknowledge English sovereignty. News of the Powhatan attack in 1622 hastened the colony’s militarization under the leadership of a professional soldier, Miles Standish. Standish threatened Plymouth’s “allies” with the colony’s monopoly of firepower. For although Massasoit remained loyal, many Wampanoags were offended by the colonists’ conduct.

Relations with Native Americans also enabled Plymouth to become economically self-sufficient. After the colony turned from communal farming to individually owned plots, its more-prosperous farmers produced corn surpluses, which they traded to nonfarming Abenakis in Maine for furs. Within a decade, Plymouth had attracted several hundred colonists.

The Plymouth colonists’ lasting importance was threefold. First, they constituted an outpost for Puritans dissenting from the Church of England. Second, they proved that a self-governing society consisting mostly of farm families could flourish in New England. Finally, they foreshadowed the aggressive methods that later generations of European Americans would use to gain mastery over Indians. In all three respects, Plymouth was the vanguard of a massive, voluntary migration of Puritans to New England in the 1630s (see Chapter 3).

The Enterprising Dutch, 1609–1625

Among the most fervently Calvinist regions of Europe were the Dutch-speaking provinces of the Netherlands. The provinces had come under Spanish rule during the sixteenth century, but Spain’s religious intolerance and high taxes drove the Dutch to revolt beginning in 1566. Repeatedly unable to quell the revolt, Spain and the Dutch Republic agreed on a truce in 1609. By then the Netherlands was a wealthy commercial power. The Dutch built an empire stretching from Brazil to South Africa to Taiwan, and played a key role in colonizing North America.

Just as the French were routing the Mohawk Iroquois at Lake Champlain in 1609, Henry Hudson sailed up the river later named for him, traded with Native Americans, and claimed the land for the Netherlands. When Dutch traders returned the following year, some of their most eager customers were—not surprisingly—Mohawk. Having established lucrative ties with Indians on the lower Hudson River, Dutch traders

in 1614 built Fort Nassau near what would become Albany, and established the colony of New Netherland. In 1626 the Dutch bought an island at the mouth of the Hudson from local Indians and began a second settlement there. The Dutch named the island Manhattan and the settlement New Amsterdam.

New Netherlanders lived by the fur trade. Through the Mohawks, they relied on the Five Nations Iroquois, much as the French depended on the Hurons, as commercial clients and military allies. In the 1620s, to stimulate a flow of furs to New Netherland, Dutch traders obtained from coastal Indians large quantities of wampum—sacred shells like those used by Degawidah and Hiawatha to convey solemn “words” of condolence in rituals (see Chapter 1)—for trade with the Iroquois. The Dutch-Iroquois and French-Huron alliances became embroiled in an ever-deepening contest to control the movement of goods between Europeans and Indians.

CONCLUSION

The sixteenth century marked the emergence of an Atlantic world linking Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Kings and emperors in West Africa were already competing ferociously for the wealth brought by long-distance trade, including trade in slaves. Western Europe halting-

CHRONOLOGY, 1400–1625

- c. 1400–1600** European Renaissance.
- c. 1400** Mali challenged in West African grassland. Coastal West African kingdoms rise and expand.
- 1440** Portuguese slave trade in West Africa begins.
- 1488** Dias reaches the Cape of Good Hope.
- 1492** Christian “reconquest” of Spain. Columbus lands at Guanahaní.
- 1517** Protestant Reformation begins in Germany.
- 1519–1521** Cortés leads Spanish conquest of Aztec empire.
- 1519–1522** Magellan’s expedition circumnavigates the globe.
- 1532–1536** Pizarro leads Spanish conquest of Inca empire.
- 1534** Church of England breaks from Roman Catholic Church.
- 1541–1542** Cartier attempts to colonize eastern Canada.
- 1539–1543** De Soto attempts conquests in southeastern United States.
- 1540–1542** Coronado attempts conquests in southwestern United States.
- 1558** Elizabeth I becomes queen of England.
- 1565** St. Augustine founded by Spanish.
- 1585–1590** English colony of Roanoke established, then disappears.
- 1588** England defeats the Spanish Armada.
- 1598** Oñate founds New Mexico.
- 1603** James I becomes king of England.
- 1607** English found colonies at Jamestown and Sagadahoc.
- 1608** Champlain founds New France.
- 1609** Henry Hudson explores the Hudson River.
- 1610–1614** First Anglo-Powhatan War.
- 1614** New Netherland founded.
- 1619** Large exports of tobacco from Virginia begin. First Africans arrive in Virginia.
- 1620** Plymouth colony founded.
- 1622–1632** Second Anglo-Powhatan War.
- 1624** James I revokes Virginia Company’s charter.

ly entered a new era in which nation-states drew on Renaissance knowledge, merchants’ capital, and religious zeal to advance national power and overseas expansion.

The Atlantic world brought few benefits to West Africans and Native Americans. Proclaiming that civilization and Christianity rendered them superior, Europeans denigrated Native Americans and Africans as savages whose land and labor Europeans could seize and exploit. Initial Portuguese incursions promised to expand West Africa’s trade ties with Europe. But Europe’s overwhelming demand for slave labor depleted the

region's population and accelerated the reshaping of trade, politics, warfare, and societies. Africa's notorious underdevelopment, which persists in our own time, had begun.

After 1492 the Atlantic world spread to the Americas. Indigenous peoples in Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere felt the terrible violence of Spanish conquest, suffering untold losses of population as well as the shattering of political, social, and religious institutions. The forced and unforced movements of people, as well as those of animals, plants, and disease-bearing germs, constituted a Columbian exchange that profoundly affected peoples and environments of both exploiters and exploited.

Native peoples north of Mexico and the Caribbean held would-be conquerors and colonizers at bay until after 1600. Depending on Europeans' dealings with them, native North Americans cooperated with Europeans who practiced reciprocity while resisting those who tried to dominate them. By 1625 Spain had advanced only as far north as seemed worthwhile to protect its prized Mexican and Caribbean conquests. Meanwhile, French, English, and Dutch colonists focused on less-spectacular resources. New France and New Netherland existed primarily to obtain furs from Indians, while the English in Virginia and Plymouth cultivated lands once belonging to Native Americans. All these colonies depended for their success on maintaining stable relations with at least some Native Americans. The transplantation of Europeans into North America was hardly a story of inevitable triumph.

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Annenberg/CPB Learner.org.

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Expansion and Diversity: The Rise of Colonial America, 1625–1700

On the West Indian island of Barbados in 1692, a widowed Englishwoman named Sarah Horbin drew up a list of her relatives to see who might deserve bequests of property in case her only son—a sailor being held for ransom in a North African prison—died. Through her kinsman, John Seabury of Barbados, she had kept in contact with a dozen Seabury cousins in New England. She had also remained in touch with several Virginia relatives in the Empereur family and with a kinsman of her husband's, Andrew Rouse, who lived in Carolina.

Sarah Horbin and her far-flung clan were part of a massive migration of European women and men, predominantly English, who built new communities in North America and the Caribbean during the seventeenth century (see Map 3.1). By 1700 there were more than 250,000 people of European birth or parentage, most of them English, within the modern-day United States. They made up North America's first large wave of immigrant settlers.

In 1672 another recently widowed immigrant, Mary Johnson of Somerset County, Maryland, conducted a similar survey of her kin as she drew up a will. Each of her two sons, living nearby, had a wife and two children. Johnson's other relatives were undoubtedly as widely scattered as Horbin's, but unlike Horbin, she had no idea where they were. Mary Johnson had arrived in Virginia fifty years earlier as a slave. Although Mary's origins are

CHAPTER OUTLINE

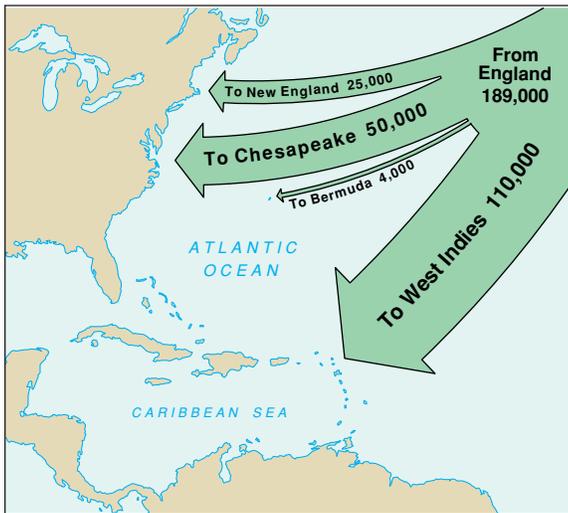
The New England Way

Chesapeake Society

The Spread of Slavery: The Caribbean and Carolina

The Middle Colonies

Rivals for North America: France and Spain



MAP 3.1
English Migration, 1610–1660

During the first phase of English transatlantic migration, the West Indies attracted more than twice as many colonists as went to the Chesapeake, and over four times as many as settled in New England.

unknown, her husband Anthony had previously been called Antonio, indicating that he had already been enslaved by the Portuguese. Soon after their marriage in 1625, the Johnsons managed to gain their freedom, as did a few dozen other enslaved Africans in Virginia's early decades. Thereafter they bought some land and even a few black slaves. Still, they faced the uncertainties confronting all small tobacco planters in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake region, besides daunting legal restrictions based on race.

Most of the Johnsons' fellow Africans were less fortunate. Whereas Europeans might at least hope to realize economic opportunity or religious freedom, most Africans and their children remained the property of others for as long as they lived. The Johnsons' grandchildren disappeared from Maryland records after the turn of the eighteenth century, most likely the victims of legislation forcing most free blacks into slavery.

The vast majority of the three hundred thousand Africans taken to the Caribbean and North America during the seventeenth century went to the sugar plantations of Sarah Horbin's neighbors in Barbados and elsewhere in the West Indies. A small but distinct minority went to the mainland plantation colonies of the Southeast, and a scattered few to other regions.

The vast migrations of Europeans and Africans were possible only because of yet another demographic upheaval, the depopulation and uprooting of Native Americans. Having begun in the sixteenth century (see Chapter 2), the process continued in the seventeenth, primarily as a result of epidemic diseases but also because of warfare and other factors arising from Europeans' occupation of Indian lands. Although many Native populations partly recovered, it is likely that about 1 million North American Indians died as a result of contact with Europeans by 1700. Sarah Horbin, Mary Johnson, and their extended families settled not in wildernesses but in lands long inhabited and worked by Native Americans.

Patterns of Indian depopulation and of European and African immigration transformed North America in the seventeenth century. From a few scattered outposts in 1625, Europeans expanded their territorial domains and built colonial societies from the St. Lawrence River to the Rio Grande. At the same time, the arrival of western Europeans and West Africans further enriched the continent's cultural diversity.

The preponderance of immigrants and capital from England ensured that nation's domination of North America's eastern coast as well as the Caribbean. Before 1700 the English would force the Dutch out of North America altogether and leave France and Spain with lands less attractive to colonists. Within England's mainland colonies, four distinct regions emerged: New England, the Chesapeake, Carolina, and the middle colonies. Several factors distinguished these regions from one another, including their physical environments, the motives of white immigrants, and the concentrations of enslaved Africans.

This chapter will focus on four major questions:

- Why did colonial New Englanders abandon John Winthrop's vision of a "city on a hill"?
- Why did indentured servitude give way to racial slavery in England's plantation colonies? Why were both these institutions more limited in the nonplantation colonies?
- What were the major factors facilitating French and Spanish colonial expansion?
- Why was England's North American empire so much larger and wealthier than those of France and Spain by 1700?

THE NEW ENGLAND WAY

One of the earliest colonial regions to prosper in North America was New England. Separatist Puritans had established Plymouth in 1620 (see Chapter 2), and a few hundred others had drifted into the region over the next decade. In 1630 a Puritan-led Great Migration to New England began (see Map 3.1). Establishing a colony based on religious ideals, this larger, more formidable group of Puritans endeavored to build America's first utopian, or ideal, society. Although internal divisions and social-economic change undermined these ideals, Puritanism gave New England a distinctive regional identity.

A City upon a Hill, 1625–1642

After Charles I (ruled 1625–1649) became England's king, Anglican authorities undertook a systematic campaign to eliminate Puritan influence within the Church of England. With the king's backing, bishops insisted that services be conducted according to the Book of Common Prayer, which prescribed rituals similar to Catholic practices. They dismissed Puritan ministers who refused to perform these “High Church” rites, and church courts fined or excommunicated Puritan laypersons.

In the face of such harassment, several Puritan merchants obtained a charter to colonize at Massachusetts Bay, north of Plymouth, in 1628. Organizing as the Massachusetts Bay Company, they took advantage of a gap in their charter and in 1629 moved the seat of their colony's government, along with four hundred colonists, to Salem, Massachusetts. Like Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay would be a Puritan-dominated, self-governing colony rather than controlled from England by stockholders, proprietors, or the crown. But unlike in Plymouth, in Massachusetts leaders were nonseparatists, advocating the reform of, rather than separation from, the Anglican church.

In 1630, the company sent out eleven ships and seven hundred passengers under Governor John Winthrop. In midvoyage Winthrop delivered an address titled “A Model of Christian Charity,” spelling out the new colony's utopian goals.

Winthrop boldly announced that “we shall be as a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us.” The settlers would build a godly community whose example would shame England into truly reforming the Church of England. The revival of piety would create a nation governed according to God's will.

Winthrop denounced the economic jealousy that bred class hatred. God intended that “in all times some must be rich and some poor,” he asserted. The rich had an obligation to show charity and mercy toward the poor, who should accept rule by their social superiors as God's will. God expected the state to keep the greedy among the rich from exploiting the needy and to prevent the lazy among the poor from burdening their fellow citizens. In outlining a divine plan in which all people, rich and poor, served one another, Winthrop expressed a conservative European's understanding of social hierarchy (see Chapter 2) and voiced Puritans' dismay at the economic forces battering—and changing—English society.

Winthrop and his fellow immigrants reached Boston (the new capital) in June 1630, and by fall six towns had sprung up nearby. During the unusually severe first winter, 30 percent of Winthrop's party died, and another 10 percent went home in the spring. By mid-1631, however, thirteen hundred new settlers had landed, and more were on the way. The worst was over. The colony would never suffer another starving time. Like Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay primarily attracted landowning farm families of modest means, most of them receptive if not actively committed to Calvinism. These immigrants quickly established a healthier, more stable colony than did their contemporaries in Virginia. By 1642 more than fifteen thousand colonists had settled in New England.

The Pequot War, 1637

Also in contrast to Virginia, colonization in New England began with little sustained resistance from Native Americans, whose numbers were drastically reduced by the ravages of disease. After one epidemic killed about 90 percent of New England's coastal Indians (see Chapter 2), a second inflicted comparable casualties on Indians throughout the Northeast in 1633–1634. Having dwindled from twenty thousand in 1600 to a few dozen survivors by the mid-1630s, the Massachusetts and Pawtucket Indians were pressed to sell most of their land to the English. During the 1640s Massachusetts Bay passed laws prohibiting them from practicing their own religion and encouraging missionaries to convert them to Christianity. Thereafter they ceded more land to the colonists and moved into “praying towns” like Natick, a reservation established by the colony. In the praying towns Puritan missionary John Eliot hoped to teach the Native Americans Christianity and English ways.

The rapid expansion of English settlement farther inland, however, aroused Indian resistance. Beginning

in 1633, settlers moved into the Connecticut River Valley and in 1635 organized the new colony of Connecticut. Friction quickly developed with the Pequot Indians, who controlled the trade in furs and wampum with New Netherland. After tensions escalated into violence, Massachusetts and Connecticut took coordinated military action in 1637. Having gained the support of the Mohegan and Narragansett Indians, they waged a ruthless campaign, using tactics similar to those devised by the English to break Irish resistance during the 1570s (see Chapter 2). In a predawn attack English troops surrounded and set fire to a Pequot village at Mystic, Connecticut, and then cut down all who tried to escape. Several hundred Pequots, mostly women and children, were killed. Although their Narragansett allies protested that “it is too furious, and slays too many men,” the English found a cause for celebration in the grisly massacre. Wrote Plymouth’s Governor William Bradford,

It was a fearful sight to see them [the Pequots] thus frying in the fire and the streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the stink and scent thereof; but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they [the English] gave the praise to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands and give them so speedy a victory over so proud and insulting an enemy.

By late 1637 Pequot resistance was crushed, with the survivors taken by pro-English Indians as captives or by the English as slaves. The Pequots’ lands were awarded to the colonists of Connecticut and another new Puritan colony, New Haven. (Connecticut absorbed New Haven in 1662.)

Dissent and Orthodoxy, 1630–1650

As members of a popular religious movement in England, Puritans had focused on their common opposition to Anglican practices. But upon arriving in New England, theological differences began to undermine the harmony Winthrop had envisioned. To ensure harmony, ministers in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven struggled to define a set of orthodox practices—the “New England Way.” Other Puritans resisted their efforts.

One means of establishing orthodoxy was through education. Like most European Protestants, Puritans insisted that conversion required familiarity with the Bible and, therefore, literacy. Education, they believed, should begin in childhood and should be promoted by each colony. In 1647 Massachusetts Bay ordered every town of fifty or more households to appoint a teacher to whom all children could come for instruction, and every town of at least one hundred households to maintain a grammar school. This and similar laws in other Puritan

colonies represented New England's first steps toward public education. But none of these laws required school attendance, and boys were more likely to be taught reading and especially writing than were girls.

Because orthodoxy also required properly trained ministers, Massachusetts founded Harvard College in 1636. From 1642 to 1671 the college produced 201 graduates, including 111 ministers. As a result, New England was the only part of English America with a college-educated elite during the seventeenth century.

Puritans agreed that the church must be free of state control, and they opposed theocracy (government run by clergy). But Winthrop and other Massachusetts Bay leaders insisted that a holy commonwealth required cooperation between church and state. The colony obliged all adults to attend services and pay set rates (or tithes) to support their local churches. Massachusetts thus had a state-sponsored, or "established," church, whose relationship to civil government was symbolized by the fact that a single building—called a meetinghouse rather than a church—was used for both religious services and town business.

Roger Williams, who arrived in 1631, took a different stance. He argued that civil government should remain absolutely uninvolved with religious matters, whether blasphemy (cursing God), failure to pay tithes, refusal to attend worship, or swearing oaths on the Bible in court. Williams also opposed any kind of compulsory church service or government interference with religious practice, not because all religions deserved equal respect but because the state (a creation of sinful human beings) would corrupt the church.

Recognizing the seriousness of Williams' challenge, the colony's officials declared his opinions subversive and banished him in 1635. Williams moved south to a place that he called Providence, which he purchased from the Narragansett Indians. At Williams's invitation a steady stream of dissenters drifted to the group of settlements near Providence, which in 1647 joined to form Rhode Island colony. (Other Puritans scorned the place as "Rogues Island.") True to Williams's ideals, Rhode Island was the only New England colony to practice religious toleration. Growing slowly, the colony's four towns had eight hundred settlers by 1650.

A second major challenge to the New England Way came from Anne Hutchinson, whom Winthrop described as "a woman of haughty and fierce carriage, of a nimble wit and active spirit." The controversy surrounding Hutchinson centered on her assertion that most New England ministers implicitly endorsed the Catholic idea that one's "good works" on earth were the key to salvation thereafter (see Chapter 2). Supposedly, all Puritans

agreed that "good works" were a false road to heaven, instead following John Calvin in maintaining that God had predetermined who would and would not be saved. But Hutchinson argued that ministers who scrutinized a person's outward behavior for "signs" of salvation, especially when that person was relating his or her conversion experience, were discarding God's judgment in favor of their own. Only by looking inward and ignoring such false prophets could individuals hope to find salvation. Hutchinson charged that only two of the colony's ministers had been saved; the rest lacked authority over the elect.

By casting doubt on the clergy's spiritual state, Hutchinson undermined its authority over laypersons. Critics charged that her beliefs would delude individuals into imagining that they were accountable to no one but themselves. Winthrop branded her followers Antinomians, meaning those opposed to the rule of law. Hutchinson bore the additional liability of being a woman who stepped outside her prescribed role. As one of her accusers put it, "You have stepped out of your place; you [would] have rather been a husband than a wife, a preacher than a hearer; and a magistrate than a subject."

By 1636 Massachusetts Bay had split into two camps. Hutchinson's supporters included Boston merchants (like her husband) who disliked the government's economic restrictions on their businesses, young men chafing against the rigid control of church elders, and

women impatient with their second-class status in church affairs. In 1636 the Antinomians were strong enough to have their candidate elected governor, but they suffered defeat with Winthrop's return to office in 1637.

The victorious Winthrop brought Hutchinson to trial for heresy before the Massachusetts Bay legislature (the General Court), whose members peppered her with questions. Hutchinson's knowledge of Scripture was so superior to that of her interrogators, however, that she would have been acquitted had she not claimed to be converted through a direct revelation from God. Like most Christians, Puritans believed that God had ceased to make known matters of faith by personal revelation after New Testament times. Thus Hutchinson's own words condemned her.

The General Court banished the leading Antinomians from the colony, and others voluntarily followed them to Rhode Island or New Hampshire, or back to England. The largest group, led by Hutchinson, settled in Rhode Island.

Antinomianism's defeat was followed by new restrictions on women's independence and religious expression. Increasingly, women were prohibited from assuming the kind of public religious roles claimed by Hutchinson, and were even required to relate their conversion experiences in private to their ministers rather than publicly before their congregations (see below).

The most fundamental threat to Winthrop's city upon a hill was that the people would abandon the ideal of a close-knit community to pursue self-interest. Other colonies—most pointedly, Virginia—displayed the acquisitive impulses transforming England, but in New England, as one minister put it, “religion and profit jump together.” While hoping for prosperity, Puritans believed that there were limits to legitimate commercial behavior. Government leaders tried to regulate prices so that consumers would not suffer from the chronic shortage of manufactured goods that afflicted New England. In 1635, when the Massachusetts General Court forbade pricing any item more than 5 percent above its cost, Robert Keayne of Boston and other merchants objected. These men argued that they had to sell some goods at higher rates in order to offset their losses from other sales, shipwrecked cargoes, and inflation. In 1639, after selling nails at 25 percent to 33 percent above cost, Keayne was fined heavily in court and was forced to make a humiliating apology before his congregation.

Controversies like the one involving Keayne were part of a struggle for New England's soul. At stake was the Puritans' ability and desire to insulate their city upon

a hill from a market economy that, they feared, would strangle the spirit of community within a harsh new world of frantic competition.

Power to the Saints, 1630–1660

Despite sharp limits on dissent, New England's religious and political institutions were based on greater popular participation than elsewhere in Europe and its colonies. Although most Puritan colonists considered themselves nominal members of the Church of England, their self-governing congregations, like those in Separatist Plymouth, ignored Anglican bishops' authority. Control of each congregation lay squarely in the hands of its male “saints,” as Puritans termed those who had been saved. By majority vote these men chose their minister, elected a board of elders to handle finances, and decided who else deserved recognition as saints. Compared to Anglican parishes in England and Virginia, where a few powerful landowners selected priests (subject to a bishop's formal approval) and made other major decisions, control of New England churches was broadly based.

In its church membership requirements, New England diverged even from other Puritans' practices. English Puritans accepted as saints any who correctly professed the Calvinist faith, repented their sins, and lived free of scandal. Massachusetts Puritans, however, insisted that candidates for membership stand before their congregation and provide a convincing, soul-baring “relation,” or account, of their conversion experience (see Chapter 2). Many colonists shared the reluctance of Jonathan Fairbanks, who refused for several years to give a public profession of grace before the church in Dedham, Massachusetts, until the faithful persuaded him with many “loving conferences.” The conversion relation emerged as the New England Way's most vulnerable feature.

Political participation was also more broadly based in New England than elsewhere. Massachusetts did not require voters or officeholders to own property but bestowed suffrage on every adult male “saint.” By 1641 about 55 percent of the colony's twenty-three hundred men could vote. By contrast, English property requirements allowed fewer than 30 percent of adult males to vote.

In 1634, after public protest that the governor and council held too much power, each town gained the option of sending two delegates to the General Court. In 1644 the General Court became a bicameral (two-chamber) lawmaking body when the towns' deputies separated from the appointed Governor's Council.

New England legislatures established a town by awarding a grant of land to several dozen landowner-saints. These men then laid out the settlement, organized its church, distributed land among themselves, and established a town meeting—a distinctly New England institution. In England and Virginia (see below), justices of the peace administered local government through county courts. By contrast, New England's county courts served strictly as courts of law, and local administration was conducted by the town meeting. Town meetings decentralized authority over political and economic decisions to a degree unknown in England and its other colonies. Each town determined its own qualifications for voting and holding office in the town meeting, although most allowed all male taxpayers (including nonsaints) to participate. The meeting could exclude anyone from settling in town, and it could grant the right of sharing in any future land distributions to newcomers, whose children would inherit this privilege.

Few aspects of early New England life are more revealing than the first generation's attempt in many, but not all, towns to keep settlement tightly clustered (see Map 3.2). They did so by granting house lots near the town center and by granting families no more land than they needed to support themselves. Dedham's forty-six founders, for example, received 128,000 acres from Massachusetts Bay in 1636 yet gave themselves just 3,000 acres by 1656, or about 65 acres per family. The rest remained in trust for future generations.

With families clustered within a mile of one another, the physical settings of New England towns were conducive to traditional reciprocity. They also fostered an atmosphere of mutual watchfulness that Puritans hoped would promote godly order. For the enforcement of such order, they relied on the women of each town as well as male magistrates.

Although women's public roles had been sharply curtailed following the Antinomian crisis, women—especially female saints—remained a social force in



MAP 3.2

Land Divisions in Sudbury, Massachusetts, 1639-1656

Early New England towns sought to heighten communalism by clustering homes around a meetinghouse and a town commons (used for grazing). Sudbury, like many towns, followed an English practice of distributing croplands in scattered strips. John Goodnow, for example, grew crops in five fields at varying distances from his house. (Source: *Puritan Village: The Formation of a New England Town*. Copyright © 1963 by Sumner Chilton Powell and reprinted by permission of Wesleyan University Press.)

their communities. With their husbands and older sons attending the family's fields, women remained at home in the tightly clustered neighborhoods at the center of each town. Neighboring women exchanged not only goods—say, a pound of butter for a section of spun wool—but advice and news of other neighbors as well. They also gathered at the bedside when one of them gave birth, an occasion supervised by a midwife and entirely closed to men. In these settings women confided in one another, creating a “community of women” within each town that helped enforce morals and protect the poor and vulnerable. In 1663 Mary Rolfe of Newbury, Massachusetts, was being sexually harassed by a high-ranking gentleman while her fisherman husband was at sea. Rolfe confided in her mother, who in turn consulted with a neighboring woman of influence before filing formal charges. Clearly influenced by the town's women, a male jury convicted the gentleman of attempted adultery. When a gentlewoman, Patience Dennison, charged her maidservant with repeatedly

stealing food and clothing, a fourth woman testified that the maid had given the provisions to a poor young wife, whose family was thereby saved from perishing. The servant was cleared while her mistress gained a lifelong reputation for stinginess.

New England Families

Like other Europeans of the time, Puritans believed that society's foundation rested not on the individual but rather on the "little commonwealth"—the nuclear family at the heart of every household. "Well ordered families," declared minister Cotton Mather in 1699, "naturally produce a Good Order in other Societies." In a proper family, the wife, children, and servants dutifully obeyed the household's male head. According to John Winthrop, a "true wife" thought of herself "in subjection to her husband's authority."

Puritans defined matrimony as a contract rather than a religious sacrament, and New England couples were married by justices of the peace instead of ministers. As a civil institution, a marriage could be dissolved by the courts in cases of desertion, bigamy, adultery, or physical cruelty. By permitting divorce, the colonies diverged radically from practices in England, where Anglican authorities rarely annulled marriages and civil divorces required a special act of Parliament. Still, New Englanders saw divorce as a remedy fit only for extremely wronged spouses, such as the Plymouth woman who discovered that her husband was also married to women in Boston, Barbados, and England. Massachusetts courts allowed just twenty-seven divorces from 1639 to 1692.

Because Puritans believed that healthy families were crucial to the community's welfare, authorities intervened whenever they discovered a breakdown of household order. The courts disciplined unruly youngsters, disobedient servants, disrespectful wives, and violent or irresponsible husbands. Churches also censured, and sometimes expelled, spouses who did not maintain domestic tranquillity. Negligent parents, one minister declared, "not only wrong each other, but they provoke God by breaking his law."

New England wives enjoyed significant legal protections against spousal violence and nonsupport and also had more opportunity than other European women to escape failed marriages. But they also suffered the same legal disabilities as all Englishwomen. An English wife had no property rights independent of her husband unless he consented to a prenuptial agreement leaving her in control of property she already owned. Only if a husband had no other heirs or so stipulated in a will could a widow claim more than the third of the estate reserved by law for her lifetime use.

In contrast to England, New England benefited from a remarkably benign disease environment. Although settlements were compact, minimal travel occurred between towns, especially in the winter when people were most susceptible to infection. Furthermore, easy access to land allowed most families an adequate diet, which improved resistance to disease and lowered death rates associated with childbirth.

Consequently, New Englanders lived longer and raised larger families than almost any society in the world in the seventeenth century. Life expectancy for men reached sixty-five, and women lived nearly that long. More than 80 percent of all infants survived long enough to get married. The 58 men and women who founded Andover, Massachusetts, for example, had 247 children; by the fourth generation, the families of their

descendants numbered 2,000 (including spouses who married in from other families). The fact that most settlers came as members of family groups soon resulted in a population evenly divided between males and females. This balance permitted rapid population growth without heavy immigration.

Most colonists had little or no cash, relying instead on the labor of their large, healthy families to sustain them and secure their futures. Male household heads managed the family's crops and livestock, conducted most of its business transactions, and represented it in town government. Their wives bore, nursed, and reared their children. Women were in charge of work in the house, barn, and garden, including the making of food and clothing. Women also did charitable work and played other roles in their communities (see above).

More than in England and the other colonies, the sons of New England's founding generation depended on their parents to provide them with acreage for farming. With eventual land ownership guaranteed and few other opportunities available, sons delayed marriage and worked in their fathers' fields until finally receiving their own land. Because the average family raised three or four boys to adulthood, parents could depend on thirty to forty years of work if their sons delayed marriage beyond age twenty-five.

While daughters performed equally vital labor, their future lay with another family—the one into which they would marry. Being young, with many childbearing years ahead of them, enhanced their value to that family. Thus first-generation women, on average, were only twenty-one when they married.

Families with more sons and daughters enjoyed a labor surplus that allowed them to send their children to work as apprentices or hired hands for others. However, this system of family labor was inefficient for two reasons. First, the available supply of labor could not expand in times of great demand. Second, parents were reluctant to force their own children to work as hard as strangers. Nevertheless, family labor was the only system that most New Englanders could afford.

Saddled with the burdens of a short growing season, rocky soil salted with gravel, and (in most towns) a system of land distribution in which farmers cultivated widely scattered parcels, the colonists managed to feed large families and keep ahead of their debts, but few became wealthy from farming. Seeking greater fortunes than agriculture offered, some seventeenth-century New Englanders turned lumbering, fishing, fur trading, shipbuilding, and rum distilling into major industries. As its economy became more diversified, New England

prospered. But the colonists grew more worldly, and fewer of their children emerged as saints.

The Half-Way Covenant, 1662

As New England slowly prospered, England fell into chaos. The efforts of Charles I to impose taxes without Parliament's consent sparked a civil war in 1642. Alienated by years of religious harassment, Puritans gained control of the successful revolt and beheaded Charles in 1649. The consolidation of power by Puritan Oliver Cromwell raised New Englanders' hopes that England would finally heed their example and establish a truly reformed church. But Cromwell proved more receptive to Rhode Island's Roger Williams than to advocates of the New England Way. After Cromwell died, chaos returned to England until a provisional government "restored" the Stuart monarchy and crowned King Charles II (ruled 1660–1685). The Restoration left New England Puritans without a mission. Contrary to Winthrop's vision, "the eyes of all people" were no longer, if ever they had been, fixed on New England.

Meanwhile, a crisis over church membership also gripped New England. The first generation believed that they had accepted a holy contract, or covenant, with God, obliging them to implement godly rule and charge their descendants with its preservation. In return, God would make the city upon a hill prosper and shield it from corruption. The crisis arose because many Puritans' children were not joining the elect. By 1650, for example, fewer than half the adults in the Boston congregation were saints. The principal reason was the children's reluctance to subject themselves to public grilling on their conversion experience. Most New England children must have witnessed at least one person suffer an ordeal like Sarah Fiske's. For more than a year, Fiske answered petty charges of speaking uncharitably about her relatives—especially her husband—and then was admitted to the Wenham, Massachusetts, congregation only after publicly denouncing herself as worse "than any toad."

Because Puritan ministers baptized only babies born to saints, the unwillingness of the second generation to provide a conversion relation meant that most third-generation children would remain unbaptized. Unless a solution were found, saints' numbers would dwindle and Puritan rule would end. In 1662 a synod of clergy proposed a compromise known as the Half-Way Covenant, which would permit the children of baptized adults, including nonsaints, to receive baptism. Derisively

termed the “halfway” covenant by its opponents, the proposal would allow the founders’ descendants to transmit potential church membership to their grandchildren, leaving their adult children “halfway” members who could not take communion or vote in church affairs. Congregations divided bitterly over limiting membership to pure saints or compromising purity in order to maintain Puritan power in New England. In the end, they opted for worldly power over spiritual purity.

The crisis in church membership signaled a weakening of the New England Way. Most second-generation adults remained in “halfway” status for life, and the saints became a shrinking minority as the third and fourth generations matured. Sainthood tended to flow in certain families, and by the 1700s there were more women than men among the elect. But because women could not vote in church affairs, religious authority stayed in male hands. Nevertheless, ministers publicly recognized women’s role in upholding piety and the church itself.

Expansion and Native Americans, 1650–1676

As settlements grew and colonists prospered, the numbers and conditions of Native Americans in New England declined. Although Indians began to recover from the initial epidemics by midcentury, the settlers brought new diseases such as diphtheria, measles, and tuberculosis as well as new outbreaks of smallpox, which took heavy tolls. New England’s Indian population fell from 125,000 in 1600 to 10,000 in 1675.

Native Americans felt the English presence in other ways. The fur trade, which initially benefited interior Natives, became a liability after midcentury. Once Indians began hunting for trade instead of just for their own subsistence needs, they quickly depleted the region’s beavers and other fur-bearing animals. Because English traders shrewdly advanced trade goods on credit to Indian hunters before the hunting season, the lack of pelts pushed many Natives into debt. Traders such as John Pyncheon of Springfield, Massachusetts, began taking Indian land as collateral and selling it to settlers.

Elsewhere, English townsmen, eager to expand their agricultural output and provide land for their sons, voted themselves larger amounts of land after 1660 and insisted that their scattered parcels be consolidated. For example, Dedham, Massachusetts, which distributed only three thousand acres from 1636 to 1656, allocated five times as much in the next dozen years. Rather than continue living closely together, many farmers built homes on their outlying tracts, often cutting Native set-

tlements from one another and from hunting, gathering, and fishing areas (see Map 3.3).

English expansion put new pressures on Native peoples and the land. As early as 1642 Miantonomi, a Narragansett sachem (chief), warned neighboring Indians,

These English having gotten our land, they with scythes cut down the grass, and with axes fell the trees; their cows and horses eat the grass, and their hogs spoil our clam banks, and we shall all be starved.

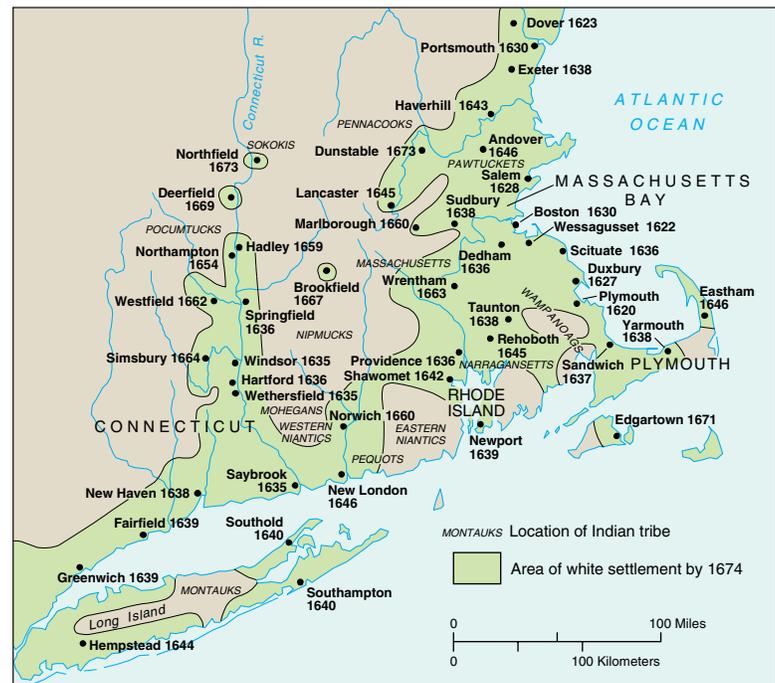
Within a generation, Miantonomi’s fears were being borne out. By clearing away extensive stands of trees for fields and for use as fuel and building material, colonial farmers altered an entire ecosystem. Deer were no longer attracted, and the wild plants upon which Native Americans depended for food and medicine could not grow. The soil became drier and flooding more frequent in the face of this deforestation. The settlers also introduced domestic livestock, which, according to English custom, ranged freely. Pigs damaged Indian cornfields (until the Natives adopted the alien practice of fencing their fields) and shellfish-gathering sites. English cattle and horses quickly devoured native grasses, which the settlers then replaced with English varieties.

With their leaders powerless to halt the alarming decline of their population, land, and food sources, many Indians became demoralized. In their despair some turned to alcohol, increasingly available during the 1660s despite colonial efforts to suppress its sale to Native Americans. Interpreting the crisis as one of belief, other Natives joined those who had already converted to Christianity. By 1675 Puritan missionaries had established about thirty praying towns in eastern Massachusetts, Plymouth, and nearby islands. Supervised by missionaries, each praying town had its own Native American magistrate, usually a sachem, and many congregations had Indian preachers. Although the missionaries struggled to convert the Indians to “civilization” (meaning English culture and lifestyles) as well as Christianity, most praying Indians integrated the new faith with their native cultural identities.

Anglo-Indian conflict became acute during the 1670s because of pressures imposed on unwilling Indians to sell their land and to accept missionaries and the legal authority of colonial courts. Tension ran especially high in Plymouth colony where Metacom, or “King Philip,” the son of the colony’s onetime ally Massasoit, (see Chapter 2) was now the leading Wampanoag sachem. The English had engulfed the Wampanoags, persuaded many of them to renounce their loyalty to

MAP 3.3**Colonizing New England, 1620-1674**

White expansion reached its maximum extent in the seventeenth century just before King Philip's War, which erupted as a result of the pressure on Indian communities. New England's territorial expansion did not resume until after 1715. (Source: Frederick Merk, *History of the Westward Movement*. Copyright © 1979 by Lois Bannister Merk. Used by permission of Alfred A Knopf, a division of Random House, Inc.)



Metacom, and forced a number of humiliating concessions on the sachem.

In 1675 Plymouth hanged three Wampanoags for killing a Christian Indian and threatened to arrest Metacom. A minor incident, in which several Wampanoags were shot while burglarizing a farmhouse, ignited the conflict known as King Philip's War.

Eventually, two-thirds of the colonies' Native Americans, including some Christians, rallied around Metacom. Unlike Indians in the Pequot War, they were familiar with guns and as well armed as the colonists. Indian raiders attacked fifty-two of New England's ninety towns (entirely destroying twelve), burned twelve hundred houses, slaughtered eight thousand head of cattle, and killed twenty-five hundred colonists (5 percent).

The tide turned against Metacom in 1676 after the Mohawk Indians of New York and many Christian Indians joined the English against him. The English and their allies destroyed their enemies' food supplies and sold hundreds of captives into slavery, including Metacom's wife and child. "It must have been as bitter as death to him," wrote Puritan clergyman Cotton Mather, "to lose his wife and only son, for the Indians are marvellously fond and affectionate toward their children." About five thousand Indians starved or fell in battle, including Metacom himself, and others fled to New York and Canada.

King Philip's War reduced southern New England's Indian population by about 40 percent and eliminated

overt resistance to white expansion. It also deepened English hostility toward all Native Americans, even the Christian and other Indians who had supported the colonies. In Massachusetts ten praying towns were disbanded and Native peoples restricted to the remaining four; all Indian courts were dismantled; and English "guardians" were appointed to supervise the reservations. "There is a cloud, a dark cloud upon the work of the Gospel among the poor Indians," mourned John Eliot. In the face of poverty and discrimination, remaining Indians managed to maintain their communities and cultural identities.

Salem Witchcraft and the Demise of the New England Way, 1691-1693

Along with the relaxation of church membership requirements, social and economic changes undermined the New England Way. The dispersal of settlers away from town centers, besides pressuring Native Americans, generated friction between townspeople settled near the meetinghouse and "outliers," whose distance from the town center limited their influence over town affairs. Moreover, the region's commercial economy was growing, especially in its port cities, and the distribution of wealth was becoming less even. These developments heightened Puritan anxieties that a small minority might be profiting at the community's expense. They also

TECHNOLOGY AND CULTURE

Native American Baskets and Textiles in New England

For thousands of years before 1492, peoples of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres exchanged materials and techniques for making things with their neighbors. After Columbus broke the Atlantic barrier in 1492, they were able to broaden those exchanges across the hemispheres. Such exchanges rarely resulted in one group's wholesale adoption of another's technology. Instead, each group selected materials and techniques from the other group, incorporating what it selected into customary practices. Such was the case with Native Americans living near New England colonists in the seventeenth century.

Among the Wampanoags, Narragansetts, Mohegans, Pequots, and other Native peoples of southern New England, men and women each specialized in crafting objects for everyday use. Men made tobacco pipes from stone, ornaments from copper, and bows from wood. Women used the wild and domestic plants they harvested not only for preparing food but also to make baskets and other containers, fish traps, and mats to cover wigwams

and line graves. English observers admired the scale and variety of women's products. One described an underground storage container that held sixty gallons of maize. Another saw baskets of "rushes; . . . others of maize husks; others of a kind of silk grass; others of a wild hemp; and some of barks of trees, . . . very neat and artificial, with the portraiture of birds, beasts, fishes, and flowers upon them in colors."

Indian women employed a variety of techniques in crafting these objects. One author told how Massachusetts Indian women made mats by stitching together long strips of sedge, a marsh grass, with "needles made of the splinter bones of a crane's leg, with threads made of . . . hemp." Another described Abenaki women's "dishes . . . of birch bark sewed with threads drawn from spruce and white cedar roots, and garnished on . . . the brims with glistening quills taken from the porcupine and dyed, some black, others red." Others elaborated on the several varieties of bark and plant fibers that women interwove to make wigwams—materials that combined to ensure that a house kept its occupants warm and dry while remaining light and flexible enough to be carried from place to place.

When English colonists arrived in New England beginning in 1620, they brought the practices and products of their own textile traditions. Many colonial families raised sheep for wool while others harvested flax, a plant used to make linen. Englishwomen used spinning wheels to make woolen yarn and linen thread, and both men and women operated looms to weave yarn and thread into cloth.

Over time Native American women incorporated these English materials into their traditional baskets. A few such baskets survive today in museums. For one, the weaver used long strips of bark as the warp, or long thread, which she stitched together with two different "wefts," or "woofs," one of red and blue wool and the second probably from cornhusks (see photo). The basic technique of "twining" the warp and wefts is found in New England baskets dating to a thousand years earlier; the use of wool, however, was new. The basket came into English hands during King Philip's War (1675–1676). A Native woman whose community was at peace with

the colonists entered the English garrison town at what is now Cranston, Rhode Island, and asked a woman there for some milk. In return, the Indian woman gave her English benefactor the basket.

The story behind a second twined basket made of bark and wool has been lost. But it is clear that someone worked the wool into this basket after it was originally made. Archaeological evidence suggests that the addition of new materials to existing baskets was not exceptional. One Rhode Island site yielded seventy-three pieces of European cloth among the remains of sixty-six Indian baskets.

Besides incorporating European yarn and thread into familiar objects, Native Americans obtained finished European cloth, especially duffel, a woolen fabric that manufacturers dyed red or blue to suit Indian tastes. European traders furnished Native American customers with cloth as well as iron scissors, needles, and pins made to shape and sew it. In return, they obtained the material from which Indians made their own garments—beaver pelts. In these two-way exchanges of textiles, the English realized profits while Native Americans broadened ties of reciprocity (see Chapter 1) with the colonists.

English colonists and Indians shaped their newly acquired materials to their own tastes. The traders sold the pelts to European hatters, who cut and reworked them into beaver hats, a fashion rage in Europe. Native women used cloth in ways that were just as unfamiliar to Europeans. Mary Rowlandson, an Englishwoman captured by enemy Indians during King Philip's War, wrote a vivid description of what Americans would later call "the Indian fashion." As her captors danced during a ceremony, Rowlandson described the garb of her Narragansett "master" and Wampanoag "mistress":

He was dressed in his holland shirt [a common English shirt], with great laces sewed at the tail of it. His garters were hung round with shillings, and he had girdles of wampum upon his head and shoulders. She had a kersey [coarse wool] coat covered with girdles of wampum from the loins upward. Her arms from her elbows to her hands were covered with bracelets. There were handfuls of necklaces about her neck and several sorts of jewels in her ears. She had fine red stockings and white shoes, [and] her hair [was] powdered and face painted red.

In combining indigenous materials in distinctive styles, the dancers—like Native basket makers and textile artisans—acknowledged the colonists' presence while resisting assimilating to English culture. They

affirmed the new, multicultural reality of New England life but defied colonial efforts to suppress their culture and their communities. Once again technological exchange had led people to change without abandoning familiar ways of making things and expressing cultural identity.

Focus Questions

- How did Native American women in New England use English materials and techniques to modify traditional ways of making baskets and textiles during the seventeenth century?
- How did the new products Indians made reflect their attitudes about the colonists and about English culture?

prompted many colonists, both urban and rural, to act more competitively, aggressively, and impersonally toward one another. John Winthrop's vision of a religiously oriented community sustained by a sense of reciprocity was giving way to the materialistic, acquisitive society that the original immigrants had fled in England.

Nowhere in New England did these trends converge more forcefully than in Salem, Massachusetts, the region's second largest port. Trade made Salem prosperous but also destroyed the relatively equal society of first-generation fishermen and farmers. Salem's divisions were especially sharp in the precinct of Salem Village (now Danvers), an economically stagnant district located north of Salem Town. Residents of the village's

eastern section farmed richer soils and benefited from Salem Town's commercial expansion, whereas those in the less fertile western half did not share in this prosperity and had lost the political influence that they once held in Salem.

In late 1691 several Salem Village girls encouraged an African slave woman, Tituba, to tell them their fortunes and talk about sorcery. When the girls later began behaving strangely, villagers assumed that they were victims of witchcraft. Pressed to identify their tormenters, the girls named two local white women and Tituba.

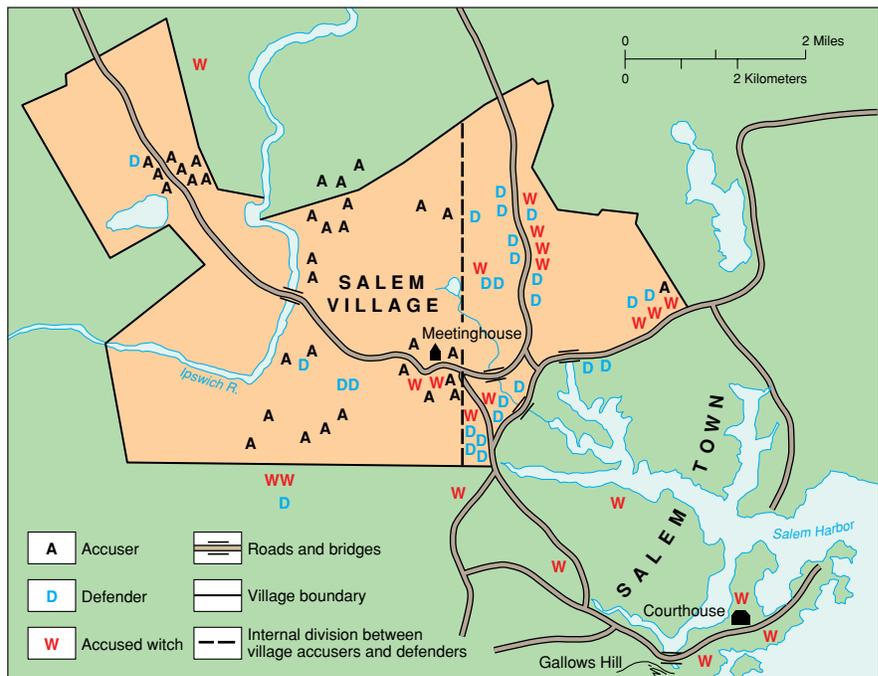
So far the incident was not unusual. Witchcraft beliefs remained strong in seventeenth-century Europe and its colonies. Witches were people (nearly always women) whose pride, envy, discontent, or greed supposedly led them to sign a pact with the devil. Thereafter they allegedly used maleficium (the devil's supernatural power of evil) to torment neighbors and others by causing illness, destroying property, or—as with the girls in Salem Village—inhabiting or “possessing” their victims' bodies and minds. Witnesses usually also claimed that witches displayed aggressive, unfeminine behavior. A disproportionate number of the 342 accused witches in New England were women who had inherited, or stood to inherit, property beyond the one-third of a husband's estate normally bequeathed to widows. In other words, most witches were assertive women who had or soon might have more economic power and independence than many men. For New Englanders, who felt the need to limit both female independence and economic individualism, witches symbolized the dangers awaiting those who disregarded such limits. In most earlier witchcraft accusations, there was only one defendant and the case never went to trial. The few exceptions to this rule were tried with little fanfare. Events in Salem Village, on the other hand, led to a colony-wide panic.

By April 1692 the girls had denounced two locally prominent women and had identified the village's former minister as a wizard (male witch). Fears of witchcraft soon overrode doubts about the girls' credibility and led local judges to sweep aside normal procedural safeguards. Specifically, the judges ignored the law's ban on “spectral evidence”—testimony that a spirit resembling the accused had been seen tormenting a victim. Thereafter, accusations multiplied until the jails overflowed with accused witches.

The pattern of hysteria in Salem Village reflected that community's internal divisions. Most charges came from the village's troubled western division, and most of those accused came from wealthier families in the eastern village or in Salem Town (see Map 3.4).

MAP 3.4**The Geography of Witchcraft:
Salem Village, 1692**

Geographic patterns of witchcraft testimony mirrored tensions within Salem Village. Accused witches and their defenders lived mostly in the village's eastern division or in Salem Town, whereas their accusers overwhelmingly resided in the village's western sector. (Source: Adapted from Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum. *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974).)



Other patterns were also apparent. Two-thirds of all “possessed” accusers were females aged eleven to twenty, and more than half had lost one or both parents in Anglo-Indian conflicts in Maine. They and other survivors had fled to Massachusetts, where most were now servants in other families’ households. They most frequently named as witches middle-aged wives and widows—women who had avoided the poverty and uncertainty they themselves faced. At the same time, the “possessed” accusers gained momentary power and prominence by voicing the anxieties and hostilities of others in their community and by virtually dictating the course of events in and around Salem for several months.

The number of persons facing trial multiplied quickly. Those found guilty desperately tried to stave off death by implicating others. As the pandemonium spread beyond Salem, fear dissolved ties of friendship and family. A minister heard himself condemned by his own granddaughter. A seven-year-old girl helped send her mother to the gallows. Fifty persons saved themselves by confessing. Twenty others who refused to disgrace their own names or betray other innocents went to their graves. Shortly before she was hanged, a victim named Mary Easty begged the court to come to its senses: “I petition your honors not for my own life, for I know I must die . . . [but] if it be possible, that no more innocent blood be shed.”

By late 1692 most Massachusetts ministers came to doubt that justice was being done. They objected that spectral evidence, crucial in most convictions, lacked legal credibility because the devil could manipulate it. New Englanders, concluded Increase Mather, a leading clergyman, had fallen victim to a deadly game of “blind man’s buffet” set up by Satan and were “hotly and madly, mauling one another in the dark.” Backed by the clergy (and alarmed by an accusation against his wife), Governor William Phips forbade further imprisonments for witchcraft in October—by which time over a hundred individuals were in jail and twice that many stood accused. Shortly thereafter he suspended all trials. Phips ended the terror in early 1693 by pardoning all those convicted or suspected of witchcraft.

The witchcraft hysteria was but an extreme expression of more widespread anxieties over social change in New England. The underlying causes of this tension were most evident in the antagonism of Salem Village’s communally oriented farmers toward the competitive, individualistic, and impersonal way of life represented by Salem Town. In this clash of values, the rural villagers sought to purge their city upon a hill of its commercial witches, only to desecrate the landscape with gallows.

Recognizing the folly of hunting witches, New Englanders—especially the younger generation—concluded that Winthrop’s vision belonged to the past. The generation reaching maturity after 1692 would be far

less willing to accept society's right to restrict their personal behavior and economic freedom. True to their Puritan roots, they would retain their forceful convictions and self-discipline, but they would apply them to the pursuit of material gain. Puritanism gave New England a distinctive regional identity that would endure.

CHESAPEAKE SOCIETY

As New England moved away from its roots, Virginia and its Chesapeake neighbor Maryland single-mindedly devoted themselves to the production of tobacco for export. In this pursuit, the Chesapeake was quite unlike New England, where farm families sought primarily to feed themselves. Also unlike New England, Chesapeake society was sharply divided between a few wealthy planters who dominated a majority consisting of (mostly white) indentured servants and small but growing numbers of black slaves and poor white farmers.

State and Church in Virginia

King James I disliked representative government and planned to rule Virginia through a governor of his own choosing, who would appoint and dismiss advisers to a council. But Virginians petitioned repeatedly that their elected assembly be revived. In 1628 the new king, Charles I, grudgingly relented, but only to induce the assembly to tax tobacco exports, transferring the cost of

the colony's government from the crown to Virginia's planters.

After 1630 the need for additional taxes led royal governors to call regular assemblies. The small number of elected representatives, or burgesses, initially met as a single body with the council to pass laws. During the 1650s the legislature split into two chambers—the House of Burgesses and the Governor's Council, whose members held lifetime appointments.

In 1634 Virginia adopted England's county-court system for local government. Justices of the peace served as judges but also set local tax rates, paid county officials, and oversaw the construction and maintenance of roads, bridges, and public buildings. Justices and sheriffs, who administered the counties during the courts' recesses, were chosen by the governor instead of by an electorate. Everywhere south of New England, unelected county courts would become the basic unit of local government by 1710.

In contrast to Puritan New England, Virginia's established church was the Church of England. In each parish, six vestrymen—chosen from among the wealthier planters—handled all church finances, determined who was deserving of poor relief, and investigated complaints against the minister. The taxpayers, who were legally obliged to pay fixed rates to the Anglican Church, elected vestries until 1662, when the assembly made them self-perpetuating and independent of the voters.

Because few counties supported more than one parish, many residents could not conveniently attend

services. A chronic shortage of clergymen left many communities without functioning congregations. In 1662 ten ministers served Virginia's forty-five parishes. Compared to New Englanders, Chesapeake dwellers felt religion's influence lightly.

Maryland

Until 1632 successful English colonization had resulted from the ventures of joint-stock companies. Thereafter, the crown awarded portions of the Virginia Company's forfeited territory to favored English politicians. These proprietors, as they were called, assumed responsibility for peopling, governing, and defending their colonies.

In 1632 the first such grant went to Lord Baltimore (Cecilius Calvert) for a large tract of land north of the Potomac River and east of Chesapeake Bay, which he named Maryland in honor of England's Queen Henrietta Maria. Lord Baltimore also secured freedom from royal taxation, the power to appoint all sheriffs and judges, and the privilege of creating a local nobility. The only checks on the proprietor's power were the crown's control of war and trade and the requirement that an elected assembly approve all laws.

With the consent of Charles I, Lord Baltimore intended to create an overseas refuge for English Catholics, who constituted about 2 percent of England's population. Although English Catholics were rarely molested and many (like the Calverts) were very wealthy, they could not worship in public, had to pay tithes to the Anglican Church, and were barred from holding political office.

In making Maryland a Catholic haven, Baltimore had to avoid antagonizing English Protestants. He sought to accomplish this by transplanting to the Chesapeake the old English institution of the manor—an estate on which a lord could maintain private law courts and employ a Catholic priest as his chaplain. Local Catholics could then come to the manor to hear Mass and receive the sacraments privately. Baltimore adapted Virginia's headright system (see Chapter 2) by offering wealthy English Catholic aristocrats large land grants on condition that they bring settlers at their own cost. Anyone transporting five adults (a requirement raised to twenty by 1640) received a two-thousand-acre manor. Baltimore hoped that this arrangement would allow Catholics to survive and prosper in Maryland while making it unnecessary to pass any special laws alarming to Protestants.

Maryland's colonization did not proceed as Baltimore envisioned. In 1634 the first two hundred immigrants landed. Maryland was the first colony

spared a starving time, thanks to the Calvert family's careful study of Virginia's early history. The new colony's success showed that English overseas expansion had come of age. Baltimore, however, stayed in England, governing as an absentee proprietor, and few Catholics went to Maryland. From the outset, Protestants formed the majority of the population. With land prices low, they purchased their own property, thereby avoiding becoming tenants on the manors. These conditions doomed Calvert's dream of creating a manorial system of mostly Catholic lords collecting rents. By 1675 all of Maryland's sixty nonproprietary manors had evolved into plantations.

Religious tensions soon emerged. In 1642 Catholics and Protestants in the capital at St. Mary's argued over use of the city's chapel, which the two groups had shared until then. As antagonisms intensified, Baltimore drafted the Act for Religious Toleration, which the Protestant-dominated assembly passed in 1649. The toleration act made Maryland the second colony (after Rhode Island) to affirm liberty of worship. However, the act did not protect non-Christians, nor did it separate church and state, since it empowered the government to punish religious offenses such as blasphemy.

The toleration act also failed to secure religious peace. In 1654 the Protestant majority barred Catholics from voting, ousted Governor William Stone (a pro-tolerance Protestant), and repealed the toleration act. In 1655 Stone raised an army of both faiths to regain the government but was defeated at the Battle of the Severn River. The victors imprisoned Stone and hanged three Catholic leaders. Catholics in Maryland actually experienced more trouble than had their counterparts during the English Civil War, in which the victorious Puritans seldom molested them.

Maryland remained in Protestant hands until 1658. Ironically, Lord Baltimore resumed control by order of the Puritan authorities then ruling England. Even so, the Calverts would encounter continued obstacles in governing Maryland because of Protestant resistance to Catholic political influence.

Death, Gender, and Kinship

Tobacco sustained a sharp demand for labor that lured about 110,000 English to the Chesapeake from 1630 to 1700. Ninety percent of these immigrants were indentured servants and, because men were more valued as field hands than women, 80 percent of arriving servants were males. So few women initially immigrated to the Chesapeake that only a third of male colonists found brides before 1650. Male servants married late because

their indentures forbade them to wed before completing their term of labor. Their scarcity gave women a great advantage in negotiating favorable marriages. Female indentured servants often found prosperous planters to be their suitors and to buy their remaining time of service.

Death ravaged seventeenth-century Chesapeake society mercilessly and left domestic life exceptionally fragile. Before 1650 the greatest killers were diseases contracted from contaminated water: typhoid, dysen-

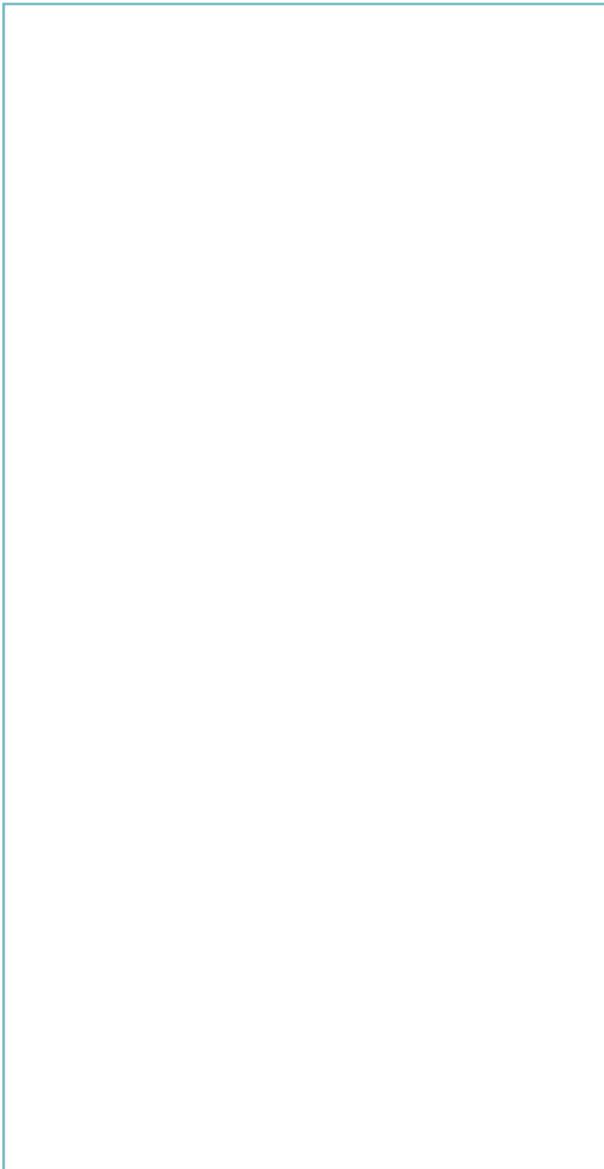
tery, and salt poisoning. After 1650 malaria became endemic as sailors and slaves arriving from Africa carried it into the marshy lowlands, where the disease was spread rapidly by mosquitoes. Life expectancy in the 1600s was about forty-eight for men and forty-four for women—slightly lower than in England and nearly twenty years lower than in New England. Servants died at horrifying rates, with perhaps 40 percent going to their graves within six years of arrival, and 70 percent by age forty-nine. Such high death rates severely crippled family life. Half of all people married in Charles County, Maryland, during the late 1600s became widows or widowers within seven years. The typical Maryland family saw half of its four children die in childhood.

Chesapeake women who lost their husbands tended to enjoy greater property rights than widows elsewhere. To ensure that their own children would inherit the family estate in the event that their widows remarried, Chesapeake men often wrote wills giving their wives perpetual and complete control of their estates. A widow in such circumstances gained economic independence yet still faced enormous pressure to marry a man who could produce income by farming her fields.

The prevalence of early death produced complex households in which stepparents might raise children with two or three different surnames. Mary Keeble of Middlesex County, Virginia, bore seven children before being widowed at age twenty-nine, whereupon she married Robert Beverley, a prominent planter. Mary died in 1678 at age forty-one after having five children by Beverley, who then married Katherine Hone, a widow with one child. Upon Beverley's death in 1687, Katherine quickly wed Christopher Robinson, who had just lost his wife and needed a mother for his four children. Christopher and Katherine's household included children named Keeble, Beverley, Hone, and Robinson. This tangled chain of six marriages among seven people eventually produced twenty-five children who lived at least part of their lives with one or more stepparents.

The combination of predominantly male immigration and devastating death rates notably retarded population growth. Although the Chesapeake had received perhaps one hundred thousand English immigrants by 1700, its white population stood at just eighty-five thousand that year. By contrast, a benign disease environment and a more balanced gender ratio among the twenty-eight thousand immigrants to New England during the 1600s allowed that region's white population to grow to ninety-one thousand by 1700.

The Chesapeake's dismal demographic history began improving in the late seventeenth century. By



then, resistance acquired from childhood immunities allowed native-born residents to survive into their fifties, or ten years longer than immigrants. As a result, more laborers now lived beyond their terms of indenture instead of dying without tasting freedom. But especially in Virginia, newly freed servants faced conditions little more promising than before.

Tobacco Shapes a Region, 1630-1670

Compared to colonists in New England's compact towns (where five hundred people often lived within a mile of the meetinghouse), Chesapeake residents had few neighbors. A typical community contained about two dozen families in an area of twenty-five square miles, or about six persons per square mile. Friendship networks seldom extended beyond a three-mile walk from one's farm and rarely included more than twenty adults. Many, if not most, Chesapeake colonists lived in a constricted world much like that of Robert Boone, a Maryland farmer. An Annapolis paper described Boone

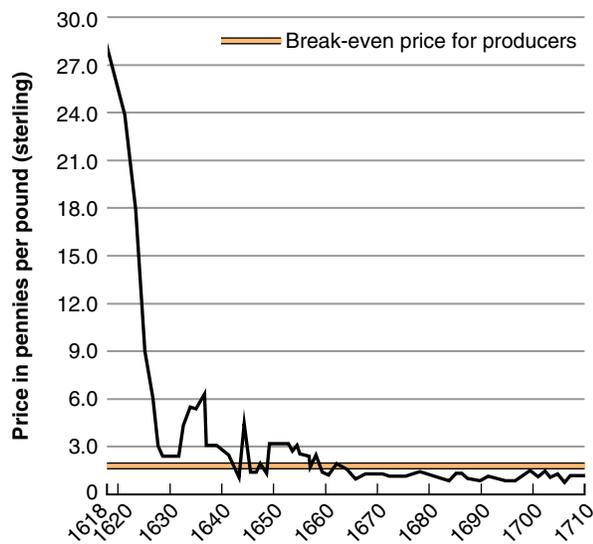
as having died at age seventy-nine "on the same Plantation where he was born in 1680, from which he never went 30 Miles in his Life."

The isolated folk in Virginia and Maryland and in the unorganized settlements of what would become North Carolina shared a way of life shaped by one overriding fact—their future depended on the price of tobacco. Tobacco had dominated Chesapeake agriculture since 1618, when demand for the crop exploded and prices spiraled to dizzying levels. The boom ended in 1629 when prices sank a stunning 97 percent (see Figure 3.1). After stabilizing, tobacco rarely again fetched more than 10 percent of its former price.

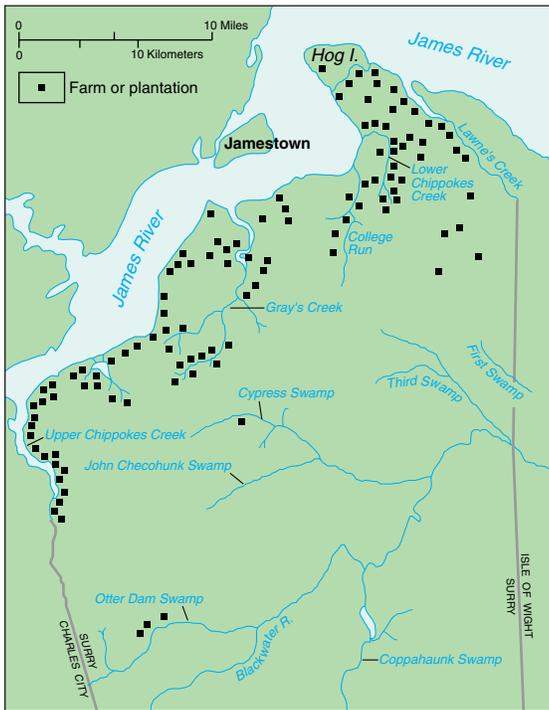
Despite the plunge, tobacco stayed profitable as long as it sold for more than two pence per pound and was cultivated on fertile soil near navigable water. The plant grew best on level ground with good internal drainage, so-called light soil, which was usually found beside rivers. Locating a farm along Chesapeake Bay or one of its tributary rivers also minimized transportation costs by permitting tobacco to be loaded on ships at wharves near one's home. Perhaps 80 percent of early Chesapeake homes lay

FIGURE 3.1
Tobacco Prices, 1618-1710

Even after its great plunge in 1629, tobacco remained profitable until about 1660, when its price fell below the break-even point—the income needed to support a family or pay off a farm mortgage.



Source: Russell R. Menard, "The Chesapeake Economy, 1618-1720: An Interpretation" (unpublished paper presented at the Johns Hopkins University Seminar on the Atlantic Community, November 20, 1973) and "Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco, 1659-1710," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LVIII (Spring 1973): 85.



MAP 3.5
Pattern of Settlement in Surry County, Virginia, 1620–1660

In contrast to New Englanders (see Map 3.2), Chesapeake colonists spread out along the banks of rivers and creeks. (Source: Thad W. Tate and David Ammerman, eds., *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979). Copyright © 1979 by the University of North Carolina Press. Used by permission of the publisher.)

within a half-mile of a riverbank, and most were within just six hundred feet of the shoreline (see Map 3.5).

From such waterfront bases, wealthy planters built wharves that served not only as depots for tobacco exports but also as distribution centers for imported goods. Their control of both export and import commerce stunted the growth of towns and the emergence of a powerful merchant class. Urbanization proceeded slowly in the Chesapeake, even in a capital like Maryland's St. Mary's, which as late as 1678 was still a mere hamlet of thirty scattered houses.

Taking advantage of the headright system, a few planters built up large landholdings and grew wealthy from their servants' labor. The servants' lot was harsh. Most were poorly fed, clothed, and housed. The exploitation of labor in the Chesapeake was unequalled anywhere in the English-speaking world outside the West Indies, and the gap between rich and poor whites far exceeded that of New England.

Servants faced a bleak future when they managed to survive until their indentures ended. Having received no pay, they entered into freedom impoverished. Virginia obliged masters to provide a new suit of clothes and a year's supply of corn to a freed servant. Maryland required these items plus a hoe and an ax and gave the right to claim fifty acres—if an individual paid to have the land surveyed and deeded. Maryland's policy permitted many of its freedmen to become landowners. Two-thirds of all Chesapeake servants lived in Virginia, however, where no such entitlement existed. After 1650 large planters and English speculators monopolized most available land, making it even less affordable for freedmen.

After 1660 the possibility of upward mobility almost vanished from the Chesapeake as the price of tobacco fell far below profitable levels, to a penny a pound (see Figure 3.1). So began a depression lasting over fifty years. Large planters found ways to compensate for their tobacco losses through income from rents, trade, interest on loans, and fees earned as government officials. They also extended servants' terms as penalties for even minor infractions.

Many landowners held on by offsetting tobacco losses with small sales of corn and cattle to the West Indies. A typical family nevertheless inhabited a shack barely twenty feet by sixteen feet and owned no more property than Adam Head of Maryland possessed when he died in 1698: three mattresses without bedsteads, a chest and barrel that served as table and chair, two pots, a kettle, "a parcell of old pewter," a gun, and some books. Most tobacco farmers lacked furniture, lived on mush or stew because they had just one pot, and slept on the ground—often on a pile of rags. Having fled poverty in England or the Caribbean for the promise of a better life, they found utter destitution in the Chesapeake.

The growing number of servants who completed their indentures after 1660 fared even worse, for the depression slashed wages well below the level needed to build savings and in this way placed landownership beyond their means. Lacking capital, many freedmen worked as tenants or wage laborers on large plantations.

Bacon's Rebellion, 1675–1676

By the 1670s these bleak conditions trapped most Virginia landowners in a losing battle against poverty and left the colony's laborers and freedmen verging on despair. In addition, some wealthy planters resented their exclusion from Governor Berkeley's inner circle, whose members profited as collectors of government fees or as merchants in the colony's fur trade monopoly.

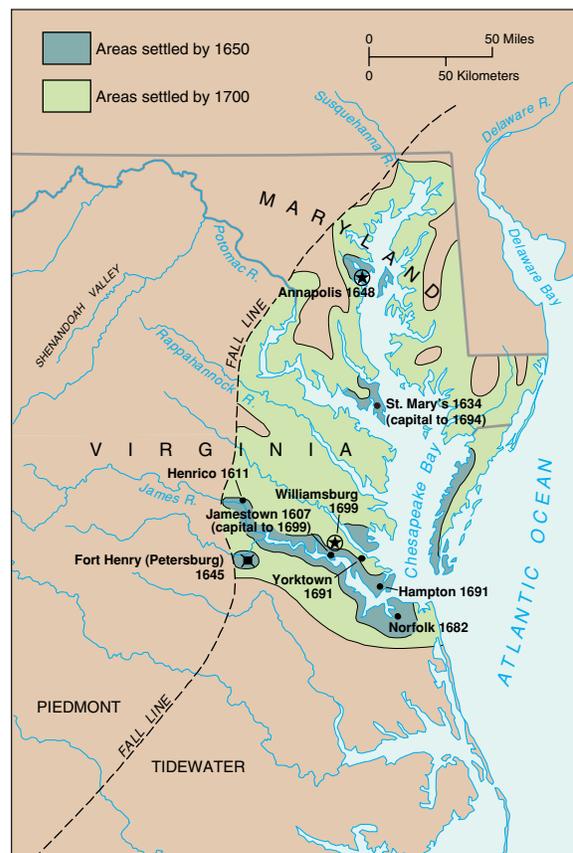
These groups focused their varied resentments against Native Americans.

Virginia had been free of serious conflict with Indians since the Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1644–1646). Resentful of tobacco planters' continued encroachments on their land, a coalition of Indians led by Opechancanough, then nearly a century old but able to direct battles from a litter, killed five hundred of the colony's eight thousand whites before being defeated. By 1653 tribes encircled by English settlement began agreeing to remain within boundaries set by the government—in effect, on reservations. White settlement then expanded north to the Potomac River, and by 1675 Virginia's four thousand Indians were greatly outnumbered by forty thousand whites.

As in New England, tensions flared between Chesapeake Natives struggling to retain land and sovereignty in the face of settlers' expansionism (see Map 3.6). The conflict also divided white society because both Governor Berkeley and Lord Baltimore, along with a few cronies, held fur-trade monopolies that profited from friendly relations with frontier Indians. As a result, settler resentments against the governor and proprietor became fused with those against Indians. In June 1675 a dispute between some Doeg Indians and a Virginia farmer escalated until a force of Virginia and Maryland militia pursuing the Doegs instead murdered fourteen friendly Susquehannocks and then assassinated the Susquehannocks' leaders during a peace conference. The violence was now unstoppable.

Tensions were especially acute in Virginia, reflecting the greater disparities among whites there. Governor Berkeley proposed defending the panic-stricken frontier with a chain of forts linked by patrols. Stung by low tobacco prices and taxes that took almost a quarter of their yearly incomes, small farmers preferred the less costly solution of waging a war of extermination. They were inspired by Nathaniel Bacon, a newly arrived, wealthy planter and Berkeley's distant relative. Defying the governor's orders, three hundred colonists elected Bacon to lead them against nearby Indians in April 1676. Bacon's expedition found only peaceful Indians but massacred them anyway.

When he returned in June 1676, Bacon sought authority to wage war “against all Indians in generall.” Bacon's newfound popularity forced the governor to grant his demand. The legislature voted a program designed to appeal to both hard-pressed taxpayers and former servants desperate for land. The assembly defined as enemies any Indians who left their villages without English permission (even if they did so out of fear of attack by Bacon), and declared their lands forfeit-



MAP 3.6

Chesapeake Expansion, 1607–1700

The Chesapeake colonies expanded slowly before midcentury. By 1700 Anglo-Indian wars, a rising English population, and an influx of enslaved Africans permitted settlers to spread throughout the tidewater.

ed. Bacon's troops were free to plunder all “enemies” of their furs, guns, wampum, and corn harvests and also to keep Indian prisoners as slaves. The assembly's incentives for enlisting were directed at land-bound buccaneers eager to get rich quickly by seizing land and enslaving any Indians who fell into their clutches.

But Berkeley soon had second thoughts about letting Bacon's thirteen hundred men continue their frontier slaughter and called them back. The rebels returned with their guns pointed toward Jamestown. Forcing Berkeley to flee across Chesapeake Bay, the rebels burned the capital, offered freedom to any Berkeley supporters' servants or slaves who joined the uprising, and looted their enemies' plantations. But at the very moment of triumph in late 1676, Bacon died of dysentery and his followers dispersed.

The tortured course of Bacon's Rebellion revealed a society under deep internal stress. It was an outburst of

long pent-up frustrations by marginal taxpayers and former servants driven to desperation by the tobacco depression, as well as by wealthier planters excluded from Berkeley's circle of favorites. Although sheer economic opportunism was one motive for the uprising, the willingness of whites to murder, enslave, and rob all Native Americans, no matter how loyal, made clear that racism also played a major role.

Slavery

Chesapeake whites drew racialized boundaries between themselves and the region's growing population of Africans. Even before Bacon's Rebellion, planters had begun to avert the potential for class conflict by substituting black slaves for white servants.

Racial slavery developed in three stages in the Chesapeake. From 1619 to 1640, Anglo-Virginians carefully distinguished between blacks and whites in official documents, but did not assume that every African sold was a slave for life. The same was true for Native Americans captured in the colony's wars. Some Africans gained their freedom, and a few, such as Anthony and Mary Johnson (see above), owned their own tobacco farms.

During the second phase, between 1640 and 1660, growing numbers of blacks and some Indians were treated as slaves for life, in contrast to white indentured servants who had fixed terms of service. Slaves' children inherited their parents' status. Evidence from this period also shows that white and black laborers often ran away or rebelled against a master together, and occasionally married one another.

Apparently in reaction to such incidents, the colonies officially recognized slavery and regulated it by law after 1660. Maryland first defined slavery as a lifelong, inheritable racial status in 1661. Virginia followed suit in 1670. This hardening of status lines did not prevent some black and white laborers from joining Bacon's Rebellion together. Indeed the last contingent of rebels to lay down their arms consisted entirely of slaves and servants. By 1705 strict legal codes defined the place of slaves in society and set standards of racial etiquette. By then free blacks like Mary Johnson's grandchildren had all but disappeared from the Chesapeake. Although this period saw racial slavery become fully legalized, many of the specific practices enacted into law had evolved into custom before 1660.

Emerging gradually in the Chesapeake, slavery was formally codified by planter elites attempting to stabilize Chesapeake society and defuse the resentment of whites. In deeming nonwhite "pagans" unfit for freedom, the elites created a common, exclusive identity for whites as free or potentially free persons.

Chesapeake planters began formulating this racial caste system before slavery itself became economically significant. As late as 1660, fewer than a thousand slaves lived in Virginia and Maryland. The number in bondage first became truly significant in the 1680s when the Chesapeake's slave population (by now almost entirely black, owing to Indian decline) almost tripled, rising from forty-five hundred to about twelve thousand. By 1700 slaves made up 22 percent of the inhabitants and over 80 percent of all unfree laborers.

Having been made possible by racism, slavery replaced indentured servitude for economic reasons. First, it became more difficult for planters to import white laborers as the seventeenth century advanced. Between 1650 and 1700, a gradual decline both in England's population growth and in its rate of unemployment led to a 50 percent rise in wages at home. Under these new circumstances, servile labor and its prospects in the Chesapeake attracted fewer immigrants. Second, before 1690 the Royal African Company, which held a monopoly on selling slaves to the English colonies, shipped nearly all its cargoes to the West Indies. During the 1690s this monopoly was broken, and rival companies began shipping large numbers of Africans directly to the Chesapeake.

The rise of a direct trade in slaves between the Chesapeake and West Africa exacerbated the growing gap between whites and blacks in another way. Until 1690 most blacks in the Chesapeake, like Mary and Anthony Johnson, had either been born, or spent many years, in West African ports or in other American colonies. As a consequence, they were familiar with Europeans and European ways and, in most cases, had learned to speak some English while laboring in the West Indies. Such familiarity had enabled some blacks to carve out space for themselves as free landowners, and had facilitated marriages and acts of resistance across racial lines among laborers. But after 1690, far larger numbers of slaves poured into Virginia and Maryland, arriving directly from the West African interior. Language and culture now became barriers rather than bridges to mutual understanding among blacks as well as between blacks and whites, reinforcing the overt racism arising among whites.

The changing composition of the white population also contributed to the emergence of racism in the Chesapeake colonies. As increasing numbers of immigrants lived long enough to marry and form their own families, the number of such families slowly rose, and the ratio of men to women became more equal, since half of all children were girls. By 1690 an almost even division existed between males and females. Thereafter,

the white population grew primarily through an excess of births over deaths rather than through immigration, so that by 1720 most Chesapeake colonists were native-born. Whites' shared attachments to the colony still further heightened their sense of a common racial identity vis-à-vis an increasingly fragmented and seemingly alien black population.

From its beginnings as a region where profits were high but life expectancy was low, the Chesapeake had transformed by 1700. As nonwhites' conditions deteriorated, Virginia and Maryland expanded their territories, and their white colonists flourished.

THE SPREAD OF SLAVERY: THE CARIBBEAN AND CAROLINA

Simultaneously with the expansion of European colonization in mainland North America, an even larger wave of settlement swept the West Indies (see Map 3.7). Between 1630 and 1642 almost 60 percent of the seventy

thousand English who emigrated to the Americas went to the Caribbean. By 1660 France's West Indian colonies had a white population of seven thousand compared to just twenty-five hundred colonists in Canada. Beginning in the 1640s the English and French followed Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch practice by using slave labor to produce sugar on large plantations. The fastest-growing and most profitable sugar plantations were those of the English.

After 1670 many English islanders moved to the Chesapeake and to Carolina, thereby introducing large-scale plantation slavery to the mainland colonies. By 1710 the population of Carolina, like that of the Caribbean colonies, was predominantly black and enslaved.

Sugar and Slaves: The West Indies

The tobacco boom that powered Virginia's economy until 1630 also led English settlers to cultivate that plant in the Caribbean. But with most colonists arriving after 1630, few realized spectacular profits. Through the 1630s

MAP 3.7

The Caribbean Colonies, 1660

By 1660 nearly every West Indian island had been colonized by Europeans and was producing sugar with slave labor.



the English West Indies remained a society with a large percentage of independent landowners, an overwhelmingly white population, and a relative equality of wealth.

During the early 1640s an alternative to tobacco rapidly revolutionized the islands' economy and society. Dutch merchants familiar with Portuguese methods of sugar production in Brazil began encouraging English (and French) planters to raise and process sugar cane, which the Dutch would then market (see *Technology and Culture*, Chapter 2).

Because planters needed three times as many workers per acre to raise cane as tobacco, rising sugar production greatly multiplied the demand for labor. As in the Chesapeake, planters initially imported white indentured servants. After 1640, however, sugar planters increasingly purchased enslaved Africans from Dutch traders to do common fieldwork and used their indentured servants as overseers or skilled artisans.

Although slavery had died out in England after the eleventh century, English planters in the Caribbean quickly copied the example set by Spanish slaveowners. On Barbados, for example, English newcomers imposed slavery on both blacks and Indians immediately after settling the island in 1627. The Barbados government in 1636 condemned every black brought there to lifelong bondage. Planters on other English islands likewise

plunged into slave owning with gusto.

Sugar planters like Sarah Horbin's husband (see above) preferred black slaves to white servants because slaves could be driven harder and cost less to maintain. Moreover, most servants ended their indentures after four years, but slaves toiled until death. Although slaves initially cost two to four times more than servants, they proved a more economical long-term investment. In this way the profit motive and the racism that emerged with the "new slavery" (see Chapter 2) reinforced one another.

By 1670 the sugar revolution had transformed the British West Indies into a predominantly slave society. Thereafter the number of blacks shot up from approximately 40,000 to 130,000 in 1713. Meanwhile, the white population remained stable at about 33,000 because the planters' preference for slave labor greatly reduced the importation of indentured servants after 1670.

Declining demand for white labor in the West Indies diverted the flow of English immigration from the islands to mainland North America and so contributed to population growth there. Furthermore, because the expansion of West Indian sugar plantations priced land beyond the reach of most whites, perhaps thirty thousand people left the islands from 1655 to 1700. Most whites who quit the West Indies migrated to the mainland colonies, especially Carolina.

Rice and Slaves: Carolina

During the 1650s settlers from New England and the English West Indies established several unauthorized outposts along the swampy coast between Virginia and Spanish Florida. After the Restoration revived England's monarchy, King Charles II bestowed this unpromising coast on several English supporters in 1663, making it the first of several Restoration colonies. The grateful proprietors named their colony Carolina in honor of Charles (*Carolus* in Latin).

Carolina grew haltingly until 1669, when one of the proprietors, Anthony Ashley Cooper, speeded up settlement by offering immigrants fifty-acre land grants for every family member, indentured servant, or slave they brought in. Cooper's action marked a turning point. In 1670 settlement of southern Carolina began when two hundred colonists landed near modern-day Charleston, "in the very chops of the Spanish." Here, the settlement they called Charles Town formed the colony's nucleus, with a bicameral legislature distinct from that of the northern district.

Cooper and his young secretary, John Locke—later acclaimed as one of the great philosophers of the age (see Chapter 4)—devised an intricate plan for Carolina's settlement and government. Their Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina attempted to ensure the colony's stability by decreeing that political power and social rank accurately reflect settlers' landed wealth. Thus they invented a three-tiered nobility that would hold two-fifths of all land, make laws through a Council of Nobles, and dispense justice through manorial law courts. Ordinary Carolinians with smaller landholdings were expected to defer to this nobility, although they would enjoy religious toleration and the benefits of English common law.

Until the 1680s most settlers were small landowners from Barbados or the mainland colonies, along with some French Huguenots. Obtaining all the land they needed, they saw little reason to obey pseudofeudal lords and all but ignored most of the plans drawn up for them across the Atlantic. Southern Carolinians raised livestock and exported deerskins and Indian slaves (see below), and colonists in northern Carolina exported tobacco, lumber, and pitch, giving local people the name "tarheels." At first these activities did not produce enough profit to warrant maintaining many slaves, so self-sufficient white families predominated in the area.

But many southern Carolinians were not content merely to eke out a marginal existence. Like colonists in the Chesapeake and Caribbean, they sought a staple

crop that could make them rich. By the early eighteenth century, they found it in rice. Because rice, like sugar, enormously enriched a few men with capital to invest in costly dams, dikes, and slaves, it remade southern Carolina into a society resembling that of the West Indies. By earning annual profits of 25 percent, rice planters within a generation became the only colonial elite whose wealth rivaled that of the Caribbean sugar planters.

No matter how inhumanly they might be driven, indentured English servants simply did not survive in humid rice paddies swarming with malaria-bearing mosquitoes. The planters' solution was to import an ever-growing force of enslaved Africans who, from their masters' standpoint, possessed two major advantages. First, perhaps 15 percent of the Africans taken to Carolina had cultivated rice in their homelands in Senegambia, and their expertise was vital in teaching whites how to raise the unfamiliar crop. Second, many Africans had developed immunities to malaria and yellow fever, infectious and deadly diseases transmitted by mosquito bites, which were endemic to coastal regions of West Africa. Enslaved Africans, along with infected slave ships' crews, carried both diseases to North America. (Tragically, the antibody that helps ward off malaria also tends to produce the sickle-cell trait, a genetic condition often fatal to the children who inherit it.) These two advantages made commercial rice production possible in Carolina. Because a typical rice planter farming 130 acres needed sixty-five slaves, a great demand for black slave labor resulted. The proportion of slaves in southern Carolina's population rose from just 17 percent in 1680 to about half by 1700. Carolina was becoming the first North American colony with a black majority.

Rice thrived only within a forty-mile-wide coastal strip extending from Cape Fear to present-day Georgia. The hot, humid, marshy lowlands quickly became infested with malaria. Carolinians grimly joked that the rice belt was a paradise in spring, an inferno in summer, and a hospital in the wet, chilly fall. In the worst months, planters' families usually escaped to the relatively cool and more healthful climate of Charles Town and let overseers supervise their slaves during harvests. By 1700 southern Carolina's harsh combination of racism, exploitation, and an environment suitable for rice had already rendered it one of Britain's wealthier colonial regions.

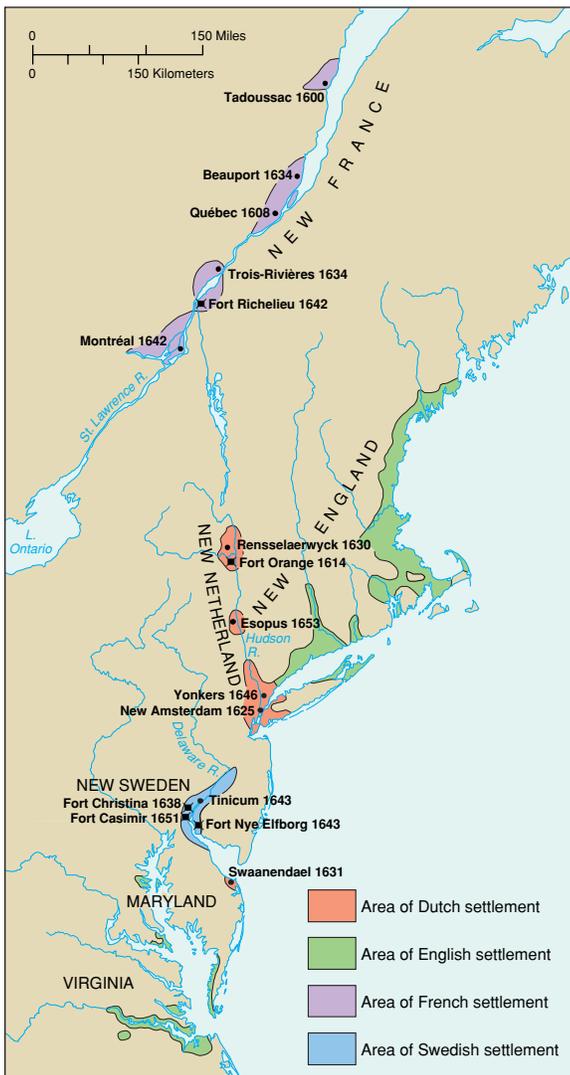
White Carolinians' attitudes toward Native Americans likewise hardened into exploitation and violence. In the 1670s traders in southern Carolina armed nearby

Indians and encouraged them to raid Spanish missions in Florida. These allies captured unarmed Guale, Apalachee, and Timucua Indians at the missions and traded them, along with deerskins, to the Carolinians for guns and other European goods. The English then sold the enslaved Indians, mostly to planters in the West Indies but also in the mainland colonies as far north as New England. By the mid-1680s the Carolinians had extended the trade inland through alliances with the Yamasees (Guale Indians who had fled the inadequate

protection of the Spanish in Florida) and the Creeks, a powerful confederacy centered in what is now western Georgia and northern Alabama. For three decades these Indian allies of the English terrorized Catholic mission Indians in Spanish Florida with their slave raids. No statistical records of Carolina's Indian slave trade survive, but one study estimates that the number of Native Americans enslaved was in the tens of thousands. Once shipped to the West Indies, most died quickly because they lacked immunities to both European and tropical diseases.

MAP 3.8
European Colonization in the Middle and North Atlantic, c. 1650

North of Spanish Florida, four European powers competed for territory and trade with Native Americans in the early seventeenth century. Swedish and Dutch colonization was the foundation upon which England's middle colonies were built.



THE MIDDLE COLONIES

Between the Chesapeake and New England, two non-English nations established colonies (see Map 3.8). New Netherland and New Sweden were small commercial outposts, although the Dutch colony eventually flourished and took over New Sweden. But England seized New Netherland from the Dutch in 1664, and by 1681 established New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania on the former Dutch territory. These actions together created a fourth English colonial region, the middle colonies.

Precursors: New Netherland and New Sweden

New Netherland was North America's first multiethnic colony. Barely half its colonists were Dutch; most of the rest were Germans, French, Scandinavians, and Africans, free as well as enslaved. In 1643 the population included Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and Muslims; and eighteen European and African languages were spoken. But religion counted for little (in 1642 the colony had seventeen taverns but not one place of worship), and the colonists' get-rich-quick attitude had fostered New Amsterdam's growth as a thriving port. The same attitude sapped company profits as private individuals persisted in illegally trading furs. In 1639 the company bowed to mounting pressure and legalized private fur trading.

Privatization led to a rapid influx of guns into the hands of New Netherland's Iroquois allies, giving them a distinct advantage over other Natives. As overhunting depleted local supplies of beaver skins and as smallpox epidemics took their toll, the Iroquois encroached on rival pro-French Indians in a quest for pelts and for captives who could be adopted into Iroquois families to replace the dead. Between 1648 and 1657 the Iroquois, in a series of bloody "beaver wars," dispersed the Hurons and other French allies, incorporating many members of these nations into their own ranks. Then they attacked

the French settlements along the St. Lawrence. “They come like foxes, they attack like lions, they disappear like birds,” wrote a French Jesuit of the Iroquois.

Although the Dutch allied successfully with the inland Iroquois, their relations with nearby coastal Native Americans paralleled white-Indian relations in England’s seaboard colonies. With its greedy settlers and military weakness, New Netherland had largely itself to blame. In 1643 all-out war erupted when the colony’s governor ordered the massacre of previously friendly Indians who were protesting settler encroachments on Long Island. By 1645 the Dutch prevailed over these Indians and their allies only with English help and by inflicting additional atrocities. But the fighting, known as Kieft’s War for the governor who ordered the massacre, helped reduce New Netherland’s Indian population from sixteen hundred to seven hundred.

Another European challenger distracted the Dutch as they sought to suppress neighboring Native Americans. In 1638 Sweden had planted a small fur-trading colony in the lower Delaware Valley. Trading with the Delaware (or Lenni Lenape) and Susquehannock Indians, New Sweden diverted many furs from New Netherland. Annoyed, the Dutch colony’s governor, Peter Stuyvesant, marched his militia against New Sweden in 1655. The four hundred residents of the rival colony peacefully accepted Dutch annexation.

Tiny though they were, the Dutch and Swedish colonies were historically significant. New Netherland had attained a population of nine thousand and featured a wealthy, thriving port city by the time it came under English rule in 1664. Even short-lived New Sweden left a mark—the log cabin, that durable symbol of the American frontier, which Finnish settlers in the Swedish colony first introduced to the continent. Above all, the two colonies bequeathed a social environment

characterized by ethnic and religious diversity that would continue in England’s middle colonies.

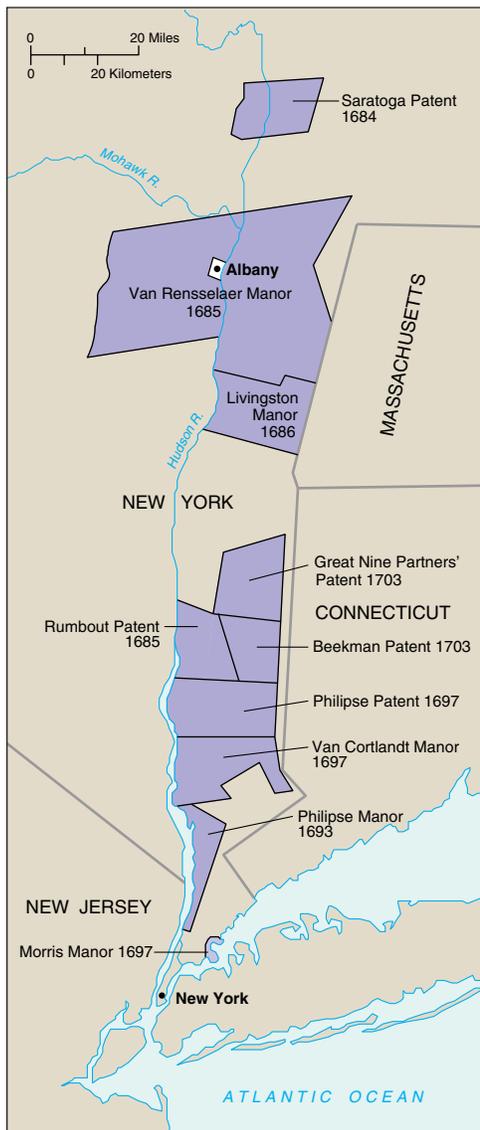
English Conquests: New York and New Jersey

Like Carolina, the English colonies of New York and New Jersey originated in the speculative enterprise of Restoration courtiers close to King Charles II. Here, too, upper-class proprietors hoped to create a hierarchical society in which they could profit from settlers’ rents. These plans failed for the most part in New Jersey, as in Carolina. Only in New York did they achieve some success.

In 1664, waging war against the Dutch Republic, Charles II dispatched a naval force to conquer New Netherland. Weakened by additional wars with Indians as New Netherland sought to expand northward on the Hudson River, Dutch governor Peter Stuyvesant and four hundred poorly armed civilians surrendered peacefully. Nearly all the Dutch (including Stuyvesant himself) remained in the colony on generous terms.

Charles II made his brother James, Duke of York, proprietor of the new province and renamed it New York. When the duke became King James II in 1685, he proclaimed New York a royal colony. Immigration from New England, Britain, and France boosted the population from nine thousand in 1664 to twenty thousand in 1700. Just 44 percent were descended from the original New Netherlanders.

Following Dutch precedent, New York’s governors rewarded their wealthiest political supporters, both Dutch and English, with large land grants. By 1703 five families held approximately 1.75 million acres (about half the area east of the Hudson River and south of Albany; see Map 3.9), which they withheld from sale in hope of creating manors with numerous rent-paying



MAP 3.9
New York Manors and Land Grants

Between 1684 and 1703, English governors awarded most of the best land east of the Hudson River as manors to prominent politicians—the majority of them Dutch—whose heirs became the wealthiest elite in the rural northern colonies.

tenants. Earning an enormous income from their rents over the next half-century, the New York *patroons* (the Dutch name for manor lords) formed a landed elite second in wealth only to the Carolina rice planters.

Ambitious plans collided with American realities in New Jersey, which also was carved out of New Netherland. Immediately after the Dutch province's conquest in 1664, the Duke of York awarded New Jersey to a

group of proprietors headed by William Penn, John Lord Berkeley, and Sir Philip Carteret. The area at the time was inhabited by about four thousand Delaware Indians and a few hundred Dutch and Swedes. From the beginning New Jersey's proprietors had difficulty controlling their province. By 1672 several thousand New Englanders had settled along the Atlantic shore. After the quarrelsome Puritans renounced allegiance to them, Berkeley and Carteret sold the region to a group of even more contentious religious dissenters called Quakers, who split the territory into the two colonies of West Jersey (1676) and East Jersey (1682).

The Jerseys' Quakers, Anglicans, Puritans, Scottish Presbyterians, Dutch Calvinists, and Swedish Lutherans got along poorly with one another and even worse with the proprietors. Both governments collapsed between 1698 and 1701 as mobs disrupted the courts. In 1702 the disillusioned proprietors finally surrendered their political powers to the crown, which proclaimed New Jersey a royal province.

Quaker Pennsylvania

The noblest attempt to carry out European concepts of justice and stability in founding a colony began in 1681. That year Charles II paid off a huge debt by making a supporter's son, William Penn, the proprietor of the last unallocated tract of American territory at the king's disposal. Penn (1644–1718) had two aims in developing his colony. First, he was a Quaker and wanted to launch a “holy experiment” based on the teachings of the radical English preacher George Fox. Second, “though I desire to extend religious freedom,” he explained, “yet I want some recompense for my trouble.”

Quakers in late-seventeenth-century England stood well beyond the fringe of respectability. Quakerism appealed strongly to men and women at the bottom of the economic ladder, and its adherents challenged the conventional foundation of the social order. George Fox, the movement's originator, had received his inspiration while wandering civil war-torn England's byways and searching for spiritual meaning among distressed common people. Tried on one occasion for blasphemy, he warned the judge to “tremble at the word of the Lord” and was ridiculed as a “quaker.” Fox's followers called themselves the Society of Friends, but the name Quaker stuck. They were the most successful of the many radical religious sects born in England during the 1640s and 1650s.

The core of Fox's theology was his belief that the Holy Spirit or “Inner Light” could inspire every soul.

Mainstream Christians, by contrast, found any such claim of special communication with God highly suspicious, as Anne Hutchinson's banishment from Massachusetts Bay colony in 1637 revealed. Although trusting direct inspiration and disavowing the need for a clergy, Quakers also took great pains to ensure that individual opinions would not be mistaken for God's will. They felt confident that they understood the Inner Light only after having reached near-unanimous agreement through intensive and searching discussion led by "Public Friends"—ordinary laypeople. In their simple religious services ("meetings"), Quakers sat silently until the Inner Light prompted one of them to speak.

Some of the Quakers' beliefs led them to behave in ways that aroused fierce hostility for being disrespectful to authorities and their social superiors. For example, insisting that individuals deserved recognition for their spiritual state rather than their wealth or status, Quakers refused to tip their hats to their social betters. They likewise flouted convention by not using the formal pronoun "you" when speaking to members of the gentry, instead addressing everyone with the informal "thee" and "thou" as a token of equality. By wearing their hats in court, moreover, Quakers appeared to mock the state's authority; and by taking literally Scripture's ban on swearing oaths, they seemed to place themselves above the law. The Friends' refusal to bear arms appeared unpatriotic and cowardly to many. Finally, Quakers accorded women unprecedented equality. The Inner Light, Fox insisted, could "speak in the female as well as the male." Acting on these beliefs, Quakers suffered persecution and occasionally death in England, Massachusetts, and Virginia.

Not all Quakers came from the bottom of society. The movement's emphasis on quiet introspection and its refusal to adopt a formal creed also attracted some well-educated and prosperous individuals disillusioned by the quarreling of rival faiths. The possessor of a great fortune, William Penn was hardly a typical Friend, but there were significant numbers of merchants among the estimated sixty thousand Quakers in the British Isles in the early 1680s. Moreover, the industriousness that the Society of Friends encouraged in its members ensured that many humble Quakers accumulated money and property.

Much care lay behind the Quaker migration to Pennsylvania that began in 1681, and it resulted in the most successful beginning of any European colony in North America. Penn sent an advance party to the Delaware Valley, where about five thousand Delaware Indians and one thousand Swedes and Dutch already lived. After an agonizing voyage in which one-third of the passengers died, Penn arrived in 1682. Choosing a site for the capital, he named it Philadelphia—the "City of Brotherly Love." By 1687 some eight thousand settlers had joined Penn across the Atlantic. Most were Quakers from the British Isles, but they also included Presbyterians, Baptists, Anglicans, and Catholics, as well as Lutherans and radical sectarians from Germany—all attracted by Pennsylvania's religious toleration. Because most Quakers immigrated in family groups rather than as single males, a high birthrate resulted, and the population grew rapidly. In 1698 one Quaker reported that in Pennsylvania one seldom met "any young Married Woman but hath a Child in her belly, or one upon her lap."

After wavering between authoritarian and more democratic plans, Penn finally gave Pennsylvania a government with a strong executive branch (a governor and governor's council) and granted the lower legislative chamber (the assembly) only limited powers. Friends, forming the majority of the colony's population, dominated this elected assembly. Penn named Quakers and their supporters as governor, judges, and sheriffs. Hardly a democrat, he feared "the ambitions of the populace which shakes the Constitution," and he intended to check "the rabble" as much as possible. Because he also insisted on the orderly disposition of property and hoped to avoid unseemly wrangling, he carefully oversaw land sales in the colony. To prevent haphazard growth and social turmoil in Philadelphia, Penn designed the city with a grid plan, laying out the streets at right angles and reserving small areas for parks.

Unlike most seaboard colonies, Pennsylvania avoided early hostilities with Native Americans. This was partly a result of the reduced Native population in the Delaware Valley. But it was also a testament to Penn's Quaker tolerance. To the Indians Penn expressed a wish "to live together as Neighbours and Friends," and he made it the colony's policy to buy land it wanted for settlement from them.

Land was a key to Pennsylvania's early prosperity. Rich, level lands and a lengthy growing season enabled immigrants to produce bumper crops. West Indian demand for the colony's grain rose sharply and by 1700 made Philadelphia a major port.

Like other attempts to base new American societies on preconceived plans or lofty ideals, Penn's "peaceable kingdom" soon bogged down in human bickering. In 1684 the founder returned to England, and the settlers quarreled incessantly (until he returned in 1699). An opposition party attacked Penn's efforts to monopolize foreign trade and to make each landowner pay him a small annual fee. Bitter struggles between Penn's supporters in the governor's council and opponents in the assembly deadlocked the government. From 1686 to 1688, the legislature passed no laws, and the council once ordered the lower house's speaker arrested. Penn's brief return to Pennsylvania from 1699 to 1701 helped little. Just before he sailed home, he made the legislature a unicameral (one-chamber) assembly and allowed it to initiate measures.

Religious conflict shook Pennsylvania during the 1690s, when George Keith, a college-educated Public Friend, urged Quakers to adopt a formal creed and train ministers. This would have changed the democratically

functioning Quaker movement—in which the humblest member had equal authority in interpreting the Inner Light—into a hierarchical church dominated by the clergy. The majority of Quakers rejected Keith's views in 1692, whereupon he joined the Church of England, taking some Quakers with him. Keith's departure began a major decline in the Quaker share of Pennsylvania's population. The proportion fell further once Quakers ceased immigrating in large numbers after 1710.

William Penn met his strongest opposition in the counties on the lower Delaware River, where the best lands had been taken up by Swedes and Dutch. In 1704 these counties became the separate colony of Delaware, but Penn continued to name their governors.

The middle colonies soon demonstrated that British America could benefit by encouraging pluralism. New York and New Jersey successfully integrated New Netherland's Swedish and Dutch population; and Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware refused to require residents to pay support for any official church. Meanwhile, England's European rivals, France and Spain, were also extending their claims in North America.

RIVALS FOR NORTH AMERICA: FRANCE AND SPAIN

In marked contrast to England's compact, densely populated settlements on the Atlantic, France and Spain established far-flung inland networks of fortified trading posts and missions. Unable to attract large numbers of colonists, they enlisted Native Americans as trading partners and military allies, and the two Catholic nations had far more success than English Protestants in converting Indians to Christianity. By 1700 French and Spanish missionaries, traders, and soldiers—and relatively few farmers and ranchers—were spreading European influence well beyond the range of England's colonies, to much of Canada and to what is now the American Midwest, Southeast, and Southwest.

England's rivals exercised varying degrees of control in developing their American colonies. France, the supreme power in late-seventeenth-century Europe, poured in state resources, whereas Spain, then in economic decline, made little attempt to influence North American affairs from Europe. In both cases, local officials and missionaries assumed the primary burden for extending imperial interests.

France Claims a Continent

After briefly losing Canada to England (1629–1632), France resumed and extended its colonization there. Paralleling the early English and Dutch colonies, a privately held company initially assumed responsibility for settling New France. The Company of New France granted extensive tracts, or *seigneuries*, to large landlords (*seigneurs*), who could either import indentured servants or rent out small tracts within their holdings to prospective farmers. Although some farmers and other colonists spread along the St. Lawrence River as far inland as Montreal (see Map 3.8), Canada's harsh winters and short growing season sharply limited their numbers.

More successful in New France were commercial traders and missionaries who spread beyond the settlements and relied on stable relations with Indians to succeed. Despite costly wars with the Iroquois, which entailed the defeat of some of France's Native American allies (see above), French-Indian trade prospered. Indeed the more lucrative opportunities offered by trade diverted many French men who had initially arrived to take up farming.

The colony also benefited from the substantial efforts of Catholic religious workers, especially Jesuit missionaries and Ursuline nuns. Given a virtual monopoly on missions to Native Americans in 1633, the Jesuits followed the fur trade into the Canadian interior. Although the missionaries often feuded with the traders, whose morality they condemned, the two groups together spread French influence westward to the Great Lakes, securing the loyalty of the region's Indians in their struggles with the Iroquois. The Ursulines ministered particularly to Native American women and girls nearer Quebec, ensuring that Catholic piety and morality directly reached all members of Indian families.

Even more forcefully than his English counterparts, France's King Louis XIV (reigned 1661–1715) sought to subordinate his American colony to the nation's interests. His principal adviser, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, was a forceful proponent of the doctrine of mercantilism (see Chapter 4), which held that colonies should provide their home country with the raw materials it lacked and with markets for its manufactured goods. In this way, the nation would not have to depend on rival countries for trade. Accordingly, Colbert and Louis hoped that New France could increase its output of furs, ship agricultural surpluses to France's new sugar-producing colonies in the West Indies, and export timber to those colonies and

for the French navy. To begin realizing these goals, they revoked the charter of the Company of New France in 1663 and placed the colony under royal direction. They then sought to stifle the Iroquois threat to New France's economy and to encourage French immigration to Canada.

For more than half a century, and especially since the "beaver wars," the Iroquois had limited New France's productivity by intercepting convoys of beaver pelts from the interior. After assuming control of the colony, the royal government sent fifteen hundred soldiers to stop Iroquois interference with the fur trade. In 1666 these troops sacked and burned four Mohawk villages that were well stocked with winter food. After the alarmed Iroquois made a peace that lasted until 1680, New France enormously expanded its North American fur exports.

Meanwhile, the French crown energetically built up the colony's population. Within a decade of the royal takeover, the number of whites rose from twenty-five hundred to eighty-five hundred. The vast majority con-

sisted of indentured servants who were paid wages and given land after three years' work. Others were former soldiers and their officers who were given land grants and other incentives to remain in New France and farm while strengthening the colony's defenses. The officers were encouraged to marry among the "king's girls," female orphans shipped over with dowries.

The upsurge in French immigration petered out after 1673. Tales of disease and other hazards of the transatlantic voyage, of Canada's hard winters, and of wars with the "savage" Iroquois were spread by the two-thirds of French immigrants who returned to their native land over the next century. New France would grow slowly, relying on the natural increase of its small population rather than on newcomers from Europe.

Colbert had encouraged immigration in order to enhance New France's agricultural productivity. But as in earlier years, many French men who remained spurned farming in the St. Lawrence Valley, instead swarming westward in search of furs. By 1670 one-fifth of them were *voyageurs*, or *coureurs de bois*—independent traders unconstrained by government authority. Living in Indian villages and often marrying Native women, the *coureurs* built an empire for France. From Canadian and Great Lakes Indians they obtained furs in exchange for European goods, including guns to use against the Iroquois and other rivals. In their commercial interactions, the French and Indians observed Native American norms of reciprocity (see Chapter 1). Their exchanges of goods sealed bonds of friendship and alliance, which served their mutual interests in trade and in war against common enemies.

Alarmed by the rapid expansion of England's colonies and by Spanish plans to link Florida with New Mexico (see below), France boldly sought to dominate the North American heartland. As early as 1672, fur trader Louis Jolliet and Jesuit missionary Jacques Marquette became the first Europeans known to have reached the upper Mississippi River (near modern Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin); they later paddled twelve hundred miles downstream to the Mississippi's junction with the Arkansas River. Ten years later, the Sieur de La Salle, an ambitious upper-class adventurer, descended the entire Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. When he reached the delta, La Salle formally claimed the entire Mississippi basin—half the territory of the present-day continental United States—for Louis XIV, in whose honor he named the territory Louisiana.

Having asserted title to this vast empire, the French began settling the southern gateway into it. In 1698 the first colonizers arrived on the Gulf of Mexico coast. A

year later the French erected a fort near present-day Biloxi, Mississippi. In 1702 they occupied the former Mississippian city of Mabila, where De Soto's expedition had faltered a century and a half earlier (see Chapter 2), founding a trading post, and calling it Mobile. But Louisiana's growth would be delayed for another decade.

New Mexico: The Pueblo Revolt

Spanish colonization in North America after 1625 expanded upon the two bases established earlier in New Mexico and Florida (see Chapter 2). With few settlers, the two colonies needed ties with friendly Native Americans in order to obtain land, labor, and security. But friendly relations proved hard to come by in both locales.

From the beginning, the Spanish sought to rule New Mexico by subordinating the Pueblo Indians to their authority in several ways. First, Franciscan missionaries supervised the Indians' spiritual lives by establishing churches in most of the Indian communities (pueblos) and attempting to force the natives to attend mass and observe Catholic rituals and morality. Second, Spanish landowners were awarded *encomiendas* (see Chapter 2), which allowed them to exploit Indian labor and productivity for personal profits. Finally, the Spanish drove a wedge between the Pueblo Indians and their nonfarming trade partners, the Apaches and Navajos. By collecting corn as tribute, the Pueblo Indians could no longer trade their surplus crops with the Apaches and Navajos. Having incorporated corn into their diets, the Apaches in particular raided the pueblos as well as the Spanish for the grain. A few outlying pueblos made common cause with the Apaches, but most responded to the raids by strengthening their ties to the Spanish.

Although rebellions erupted sporadically over the first six decades of Spanish rule, most pueblos accommodated themselves to Spanish rule and Catholicism. Beginning in the 1660s, however, many Natives grew disillusioned. For several consecutive years their crops withered under the effects of sustained drought. Drought-induced starvation plus deadly epidemic diseases sent the Pueblo population plummeting from about eighty thousand in 1598 to just seventeen thousand in the 1670s. Riding horses stolen from the Spanish, Apaches inflicted more damage than ever in their raids. Reeling under the effects of these catastrophes, Christian Indians returned to traditional Pueblo beliefs and ceremonies in hopes of restoring the spiritual balance that had brought ample rainfall, good health, and peace before the Spanish arrived. Seeking to sup-

press this religious revival as “witchcraft” and “idolatry,” the Franciscan missionaries entered sacred kivas (underground ceremonial centers), destroyed religious objects, and publicly whipped Native religious leaders and their followers.

Matters came to a head in 1675 when Governor Juan Francisco Treviño ordered soldiers to sack the kivas and arrest Pueblo religious leaders. Three leaders were sent to the gallows; a fourth hanged himself; and forty-three others were jailed, whipped, and sentenced to be sold as slaves. In response, armed warriors from several pueblos converged on Santa Fe and demanded the prisoners’ release. With most of his soldiers off fighting the Apaches, Governor Treviño complied.

Despite this concession, there was now no cooling of Pueblo resentment against the Spanish. Pueblo leaders began gathering secretly to plan the overthrow of Spanish rule. At the head of this effort was Popé, one of those who had been arrested in 1675. Besides Popé and one El Saca, the leaders included men such as Luis Tupatú, Antonio Malacate, and others whose Christian names signified that they had once been baptized. Some were of mixed Pueblo-Spanish ancestry, and one leader, Domingo Naranjo, combined Pueblo, Mexican Indian, and African ancestors. They and many of their followers had attempted to reconcile conversion to Christianity and subjection to Spanish rule with their identities as Indians. But deteriorating conditions and the cruel intolerance of the Spanish had turned them against Catholicism.

In August 1680 Popé and his cohorts were ready to act. On the morning of August 10, some Indians from the pueblo of Taos and their Apache allies attacked the homes of the seventy Spanish colonists residing near Taos and killed all but two. Then, with Indians from neighboring pueblos, they proceeded south and joined a massive siege of New Mexico’s capital, Santa Fe. Thus began the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the most significant event in the history of the colonial Southwest.

At each pueblo, rebels destroyed the churches and religious paraphernalia and killed those missionaries who did not escape. All told, about four hundred colonists were slain. Then they “plunge[d] into the rivers and wash[ed] themselves with amole,” a native root, in order to undo their baptisms. As a follower later testified, Popé also called on the Indians “to break and enlarge their cultivated fields, saying now they were as they had been in ancient times, free from the labor they had performed for the religious and the Spaniards.”

The siege of Santa Fe led to the expulsion of the Spanish from New Mexico for twelve years. Only in 1692

did a new governor, Diego de Vargas, arrive to “reconquer” New Mexico. Exploiting divisions that had emerged among the Pueblos in the colonists’ absence, Vargas used violence and threats of violence to reestablish Spanish rule. Even then Spain did not effectively quash Pueblo resistance until 1700, and thereafter its control of the province was more limited than before. To appease the Pueblos, on whom they depended for the colony to endure, Spanish authorities abolished the hated *encomienda*. They also ordered the Franciscans not to disturb the Pueblos in their traditional religious practices and to cease inflicting corporal punishment on the Indians.

Pueblos’ suspicions of the Spanish lingered after 1700, but they did not again attempt to overthrow them. With the missions and *encomienda* less intrusive, they

sustained their cultural identities within, rather than outside, the bounds of colonial rule.

Florida and Texas

The Spanish fared no better in Florida, an even older colony than New Mexico. Before 1680 the colony faced periodic rebellions from Guale, Timucua, and Apalachee Indians protesting forced labor and the religious discipline imposed by Franciscan missionaries. Beginning in the 1680s Creek and other Indian slave raiders allied to the English in Carolina added to the effects of recurrent diseases. While the Spanish, with their small numbers of soldiers and arms looked on helplessly, the invading Indians killed and captured thousands of Florida's Natives and sold them to English slave traders (see above). Even before a new round of warfare erupted in Europe at the turn of the century, Spain was ill prepared to defend its beleaguered North American colonies.

English expansion threatened Florida, while the French establishment of Louisiana defied Spain's hope of one day linking that colony with New Mexico. To counter the French, Spanish authorities in Mexico proclaimed the province of Texas (Tejas) in 1691. But no permanent Spanish settlements appeared there until 1716 (see Chapter 4).

CONCLUSION

In less than a century, from 1625 to 1700, the movements of peoples and goods, across the Atlantic and within the continent transformed the map of North America. The kin of Sarah Horbin, Mary Johnson, and others spread far and wide among colonial regions in the Americas, while emergent trade routes linked some regions to others and all of them to Europe. While strong, favorably located Indian groups like the Creek and the Iroquois used trade with colonists to enhance their economic and political standing, other Native Americans confronted colonists who sought their land, labor, or loyalty. From New England to New Mexico, such Indians either reconciled themselves to coexistence with Europeans or fled their homelands in order to avoid contact with the intruders.

Within the English colonies, four distinct regions emerged. New England's Puritanism grew less utopian and more worldly as the inhabitants gradually reconciled their religious views with the realities of a commercial economy. After beginning with a labor force consisting primarily of white indentured servants, the tobacco planters of the Chesapeake region began replacing them

with enslaved Africans. Slavery had been instituted earlier by English sugar planters in the West Indies, some of whom introduced it at the very beginning of colonization in the third North American region, Carolina. Between the Chesapeake and New England, a fourth region, the middle colonies, combined the ethnic and religious pluralism of Swedish and Dutch predecessors with the religious tolerance of the Quakers. Middle colonists embraced the market economy with far less hesitation than their Puritan neighbors in New England. While planters or merchants rose to prominence in each English region, most whites continued to live on family farms.

The English colonies were by far the most populous. By 1700 the combined number of whites and blacks in England's mainland North American colonies was about 250,000, compared with 15,000 for those of France and 4,500 for those of Spain.

With far fewer colonists, French and Spanish colonists depended more on friendly relations with Native Americans for their livelihoods and security than did the English. Most French North Americans lived in the St. Lawrence Valley, where a lively commercial-agrarian economy was emerging, though on a smaller scale than in New England and the middle colonies. Most Spanish colonists not connected to the government, military, or a missionary order were concentrated in the Rio Grande valley in New Mexico. But smaller numbers and geographic isolation precluded the Southwest's development as a major center of colonization.

By 1700 there were clear differences between the societies and economies of the three colonial powers in North America. These differences would prove decisive in shaping American history during the century that followed.

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CHRONOLOGY, 1625–1700

- 1627** English establish Barbados.
- 1629** Massachusetts Bay colony founded.
- 1630–1642** “Great Migration” to New England.
- 1633** First English settlements in Connecticut.
- 1634** Lord Baltimore establishes Maryland.
- 1636** Roger Williams founds Providence, Rhode Island. Harvard College established.
- 1637** Antinomian crisis in Massachusetts Bay. Pequot War in Connecticut.
- 1638** New Sweden established.
- 1642–1648** English Civil War.
- 1643–1645** Kieft’s War in New Netherland.
- 1644–1646** Third Anglo-Powhatan War in Virginia.
- 1648–1657** Iroquois “beaver wars.”
- 1649** Maryland’s Act for Religious Toleration. King Charles I beheaded. Five Nations Iroquois disperse Hurons.
- 1655** New Netherland annexes New Sweden.
- 1660** Restoration in England; Charles II crowned king.
- 1661** Maryland defines slavery as a lifelong, inheritable racial status.
- 1662** Half-Way Covenant debated.
- 1664** English conquer New Netherland; establish New York and New Jersey.
- 1670** Charles Town, Carolina, founded. Virginia defines slavery as a lifelong, inheritable racial status.
- 1675–1676** King Philip’s War in New England.
- 1676** Bacon’s Rebellion in Virginia.
- 1680** Pueblo revolt begins in New Mexico.
- 1681** William Penn founds Pennsylvania.
- 1682** La Salle claims Louisiana for France.
- 1690s** End of Royal African Company’s monopoly on English slave trade.
- 1691** Spain establishes Texas.
- 1692–1700** Spain “reconquers” New Mexico.
- 1692–1693** Salem witchcraft trials.
- 1698** First French settlements in Louisiana.

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Salem Witch Trials Documentary Archive and Transcription Project

<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/salem/witchcraft>

An excellent site featuring extensive courtroom transcripts and other documents, maps, and biographies of accusers, accused, magistrates, and other figures.

William Penn: Visionary Proprietor

<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~CAP/PENN/pnhome.html>

A good introduction to Penn and his Quaker idealism, emphasizing his approach to Native Americans and his design for Philadelphia.

For additional works please consult the Bibliography at the end of the book.

The Bonds of Empire, 1660–1750

Alexander Garden, the Church of England's commissary (representative) in the southern colonies, was furious. George Whitefield, a young Anglican minister just over from England, was preaching that Garden's ministers were unsaved and were endangering their parishioners' souls. Asserting his authority, Garden summoned Whitefield to Charles Town and demanded a retraction. But Whitefield brushed off the demand, claiming that Garden "was as ignorant as the rest" of the local clergy for failing to teach the central Calvinist doctrine of salvation by predestination (see Chapter 2). Whitefield threatened to widen his attacks if Garden refused to condemn dancing and other "sinful" entertainments. Garden shot back that Whitefield would be suspended if he preached in any church in the province, to which Whitefield retorted that he would treat such an action as he would an order from the pope. The meeting ended with Garden shouting, "Get out of my house!"

Garden got Whitefield out of his house but not out of his hair. The two men continued their dispute in public. Garden accused Whitefield of jeopardizing the stability of colonial society, while Whitefield charged the Anglican clergy with abandoning piety in favor of the cold heresy of reason. An extraordinary orator, Whitefield was the first intercolonial celebrity, traveling thousands of miles to spread his critique of the established religious

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Rebellion and War, 1660–1713

Colonial Economies and Societies ,
1660–1750

Competing for a Continent, 1713–1750

Public Life in British America,
1689–1750

order. Everywhere he went, people from all walks of life poured out by the thousands to individually experience the overwhelming power of a direct connection with God.

Whitefield represented one of two European cultural currents that crossed the Atlantic, primarily from or through Britain, during the middle decades of the eighteenth century. He was the greatest English-speaking prophet of a powerful revival of religious piety sweeping the Protestant world. The second current was the Enlightenment—a faith in reason rooted in natural science—which found its earliest and foremost American exponent in Benjamin Franklin. Franklin’s emphasis on reason might seem at odds with Whitefield’s conscious efforts to tap his audience’s deepest emotions. But both men repudiated the self-contained hierarchical communities of the past in favor of a more dynamic society that was intercolonial and transatlantic in its orientation.

Whitefield, an Englishman in America, and Franklin, a colonist who traveled frequently to England, also signaled the close ties that increasingly bound Britain and America. Beginning with a series of Navigation Acts in the late seventeenth century, England tightened the economic bonds linking the colonies’ economic fortunes with its own. Coupled with the astonishing growth of its population, slave as well as free, these policies enabled British North America to achieve a level of growth and collective prosperity unknown elsewhere in the Americas. The accelerating movement of goods and people was accompanied by the movement of news and ideas that, by 1750, made the British Empire a leading world power and distinguished its colonies sharply from their French and Spanish neighbors.

This chapter will focus on four major questions:

- How did the Glorious Revolution and its outcome shape relations between England and its North American colonies?
- What were the most important consequences of British mercantilism for the mainland colonies?
- What factors best explain the relative strengths of the British, French, and Spanish colonial empires in North America?
- What were the most significant consequences of the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening for life in the British colonies?

REBELLION AND WAR, 1660–1713

Before the Restoration (1660), England made little serious effort to weld its colonies into a coherent empire. Thereafter, English authorities undertook a concerted effort to expand overseas trade at the expense of the nation’s rivals and to subordinate its colonies to English commercial interests and political authority. These efforts were modified but continued after the fall of the Stuarts in 1689 and by a succession of international wars that followed.

Royal Centralization, 1660–1688

As the sons of a king (Charles I) executed by Parliament, the Restoration monarchs disliked representative government. Charles II rarely called Parliament into session after 1674, and not at all after 1681. James II (ruled 1685–1688) hoped to reign as an “absolute” monarch like France’s Louis XIV, who never faced an elected legislature. Not surprisingly, the two English kings had little sympathy for American colonial assemblies.

Royal intentions of extending direct political control to North America first became evident in New York. The proprietor, Charles II’s brother James, the Duke of York, considered elected assemblies “of dangerous consequence” and forbade them to meet, except briefly between 1682 and 1686. Meanwhile, Charles appointed former army officers to about 90 percent of all gubernatorial positions, thereby compromising the time-honored English tradition of holding the military strictly accountable to civilian authority. By 1680 such “governors general” ruled 60 percent of all American colonists. James II continued this policy.

Ever resentful of outside meddling, New Englanders proved most stubborn in defending self-government and resisting crown policies. As early as 1661, the Massachusetts assembly declared its citizens exempt from all laws and royal decrees from England except for a declaration of war. The colony ignored the Navigation Acts and continued to welcome Dutch traders. Charles II responded by targeting Massachusetts for special punishment. In 1679 he carved a new royal colony, New Hampshire, out of its territory. Then in 1684 he declared Massachusetts itself a royal colony and revoked its charter, the very foundation of the Puritan city upon a hill. Puritan minister Increase Mather repudiated the King’s actions, calling on colonists to resist even to the point of martyrdom.

Despite such resistance, royal centralization accelerated after James II ascended to the throne. In 1686 the new king consolidated Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Plymouth into a single administrative unit, the Dominion of New England, with a capital at Boston. He added New York and the Jerseys to the Dominion in 1688. With this bold stroke, all legislatures in these colonies ceased to exist, and still another former army officer, Sir Edmund Andros, became governor of the new supercolony.

Massachusetts burned with hatred for the dominion and its governor. By “Exercise of an arbitrary Government,” preached Salem’s minister, “ye wicked walked on Every Side & ye Vilest of men ware [sic] exalted.” Andros was indeed arbitrary. He suppressed the legislature, limited towns to a single annual meeting, and strictly enforced toleration of Anglicans and the Navigation Acts. “You have no more privileges left you,” Andros reportedly told a group of outraged colonists, “than not to be sold for slaves.” Andros’ success in gaining some local support, including his appointing some Massachusetts elites to high office, further enraged most other colonists.

Tensions also ran high in New York, where Catholics held prominent political and military posts under the Duke of York’s rule. By 1688 colonists feared that these Catholic officials would betray New York to France, now England’s chief imperial rival. When Andros’s local deputy, Captain Francis Nicholson, allowed the harbor’s forts to deteriorate and reacted skeptically to rumors that Native Americans would attack, New Yorkers suspected the worst.

The Glorious Revolution in England and America, 1688–1689

Not only colonists but also English people were alarmed by the religious, political, and diplomatic directions in which the monarchy was taking their nation. The Duke of York became a Catholic in 1676, and Charles II converted on his deathbed. Both rulers ignored Parliament and violated its laws, issuing decrees allowing Catholics to hold high office and worship openly. English Protestants’ fears that they would have to accept Catholicism intensified after both kings expressed their preference for allying with France just as Louis XIV was launching new persecutions of that country’s Protestant Huguenots in 1685.

The English tolerated James II’s Catholicism only because the potential heirs to the throne, his daughters Mary and Anne, remained Anglican. But in 1688 James’s

wife bore a son who would be raised—and would eventually reign—as a Catholic. Aghast at the thought of a Catholic succeeding to the throne, some of England’s political and religious leaders asked Mary and her husband, William of Orange (head of the Dutch Republic), to intervene. When William and Mary led a small Dutch Protestant army to England in November 1688, most royal troops defected to them, and James II fled to France.

This bloodless revolution of 1688, called the Glorious Revolution, created a “limited monarchy” as defined by England’s Bill of Rights of 1689. The crown promised to summon Parliament annually, sign all its bills, and respect traditional civil liberties. This vindication of limited representative government burned deeply into the English political consciousness, and Anglo-Americans never forgot it. Colonists struck their own blows for liberty when Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland rose up against local representatives of the Stuart regime.

News that England’s Protestant leaders had rebelled against James II electrified New Englanders. On April 18, 1689, well before confirmation of the English revolt’s success, Boston’s militia arrested Andros and his councilors. (The governor tried to flee in women’s clothing but was caught after an alert guard spotted a “lady” in army boots.) The Massachusetts political leaders acted in the name of William and Mary, risking their necks should James return to power in England.

Although William and Mary dismantled the Dominion of New England and restored the power to elect their own governors to Connecticut and Rhode Island, they acted to retain royal authority in Massachusetts. While allowing the province to absorb Plymouth and Maine, they refused to let it regain New Hampshire. More seriously, Massachusetts’ new charter of 1691 stipulated that the crown, rather than the electorate, would choose the governor. In addition, property ownership, not church membership, became the criterion for voting. Finally, the colony had to tolerate other Protestants, especially proliferating numbers of Anglicans, Baptists, and Quakers (although non-Puritans’ taxes would continue to support the established Congregational church). For Puritans already demoralized by the demise of the “New England Way” (see Chapter 3), this was indeed bitter medicine.

New York’s counterpart of the anti-Stuart uprising was Leisler’s Rebellion. Emboldened by news of Boston’s coup, the city’s militia—consisting mainly of Dutch and other non-English artisans and shopkeepers—seized

the harbor's main fort on May 31, 1689. Captain Jacob Leisler of the militia took command of the colony, repaired its rundown defenses, and called elections for an assembly. When English troops arrived at New York in 1691, Leisler, fearing that their commander was loyal to James II, denied them entry to key forts. A skirmish resulted, and Leisler was arrested.

“Hott brain'd” Leisler unwittingly had set his own downfall in motion. He had jailed many elite New Yorkers for questioning his authority, only to find that his former enemies had gained the new governor's ear and persuaded him to charge Leisler with treason for firing on royal troops. In the face of popular outrage, a packed jury found Leisler and his son-in-law, Jacob Milborne, guilty. Both men went to the gallows insisting that they were dying “for the king and queen and the Protestant religion.”

News of England's Glorious Revolution heartened Maryland's Protestant majority, which had long chafed under Catholic rule. Hoping to prevent a repetition of religion-tinged uprisings that had flared in 1676 and

1681, Lord Baltimore sent a messenger from England in early 1689 to command Maryland's obedience to William and Mary. But the courier died en route, leaving the colony's unknowing Protestants in fear that their Catholic proprietor was a traitor who supported James II.

John Coode and three others organized the Protestant Association to secure Maryland for William and Mary. These conspirators may have been motivated more by their exclusion from high public office than by religious zeal, for three of the four had Catholic wives. Coode's group seized the capital in July 1689, removed all Catholics from office, and requested a royal governor. They got their wish in 1691 and made the Church of England the established religion in 1692. Catholics, who composed less than one-fourth of the population, lost the right to vote and thereafter could worship only in private. Maryland stayed in royal hands until 1715, when the fourth Lord Baltimore joined the Church of England and regained his proprietorship.

The revolutionary events of 1688–1689 decisively changed the colonies' political climate by reestablishing

legislative government and ensuring religious freedom for Protestants. Dismantling the Dominion of New England and directing governors to call annual assemblies, William and Mary allowed colonial elites to reassert control over local affairs. By encouraging the assemblies to work with royal and proprietary governors, the monarchs expected colonial elites to identify their interests with those of England. A foundation was thus laid for an empire based on voluntary allegiance rather than submission to raw power imposed from far-away London. The crowning of William and Mary opened a new era in which Americans drew rising confidence from their relationship to the English throne. “As long as they reign,” wrote a Bostonian who helped topple Andros, “New England is secure.”

A Generation of War, 1689–1713

Ironically, the bloodless revolution of 1688 ushered in a quarter-century of warfare, convulsing both Europe and North America. In 1689 England joined a general European coalition against France’s Louis XIV, who supported James II’s claim to the English crown. The resulting War of the League of Augsburg (which Anglo-Americans called King William’s War) was the first struggle to embroil colonists and Native Americans in European rivalries.

With the outbreak of King William’s War, New Yorkers and New Englanders launched a two-pronged invasion of New France in 1690, with one prong aimed at Montreal and the other at Quebec. After both invasions failed, the war took the form of cruel but inconclusive border raids against civilians carried out by both English and French troops and their respective Indian allies.

Already weary from a new wave of wars with pro-French Indians, the Five Nations Iroquois Confederacy bore the bloodiest fighting in King William’s War. Standing almost alone against their foes, the Iroquois faced overwhelming odds. Not only did their English allies fail to intercept most enemy war parties, but the French were allied with virtually all other Indians from Maine to the Great Lakes. In 1691 every Mohawk and Oneida war chief died in battle; by 1696 French armies had destroyed the villages of every Iroquois nation but the Cayugas and Oneidas.

Although King William’s War ended in 1697, the Five Nations staggered until 1700 under invasions by pro-French Indians (including Iroquois who had become Catholic and moved to Canada). By then one-quarter of the Confederacy’s two thousand warriors had been killed or taken prisoner or had fled to Canada. The total

Iroquois population declined 20 percent over twelve years, from eighty-six hundred to seven thousand. (By comparison, the war cost about thirteen hundred English, Dutch, and French lives.)

By 1700 the Confederacy was divided into pro-English, pro-French, and neutralist factions. Under the impact of war, the neutralists set a new direction for Iroquois diplomacy. In two separate treaties, together called the Grand Settlement of 1701, the Five Nations made peace with France and its Indian allies in exchange for access to western furs, while redefining their British alliance to exclude military cooperation. Skillful negotiations brought the exhausted Iroquois far more success than had war by allowing them to keep control of their lands, rebuild their decimated population, and gain recognition as a key to the balance of power in the Northeast.

In 1702 European war again erupted when England fought France and Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession, called Queen Anne’s War by England’s American colonists. This conflict reinforced Anglo-Americans’ awareness of their military weakness. French and Indian raiders from Canada destroyed several towns in Massachusetts and Maine that colonists had recently established on the Indians’ homelands. In the Southeast, the outbreak of Anglo-Spanish war broadened an older conflict involving the English in Carolina, the Spanish in Florida, and Native peoples in the region (see Chapter 3). The Spanish invaded Carolina and nearly took Charles Town in 1706. Enemy warships captured many English colonial vessels and landed looting parties along the Atlantic coast. Meanwhile, colonial sieges of Quebec and St. Augustine ended as expensive failures.

England’s own forces had more success than those of the colonies, seizing the Hudson Bay region as well as Newfoundland and Acadia (henceforth called Nova Scotia). Although Great Britain kept these gains in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), the French and Indian hold on the continent’s interior remained unbroken.

The most important consequence of the imperial wars for Anglo-Americans was political, not military. The clashes with France reinforced their identity with post-1689 England as a bastion of Protestantism and political liberty. Recognizing their own military weakness and the extent to which the Royal Navy had protected their shipping, colonists acknowledged their dependence on the newly formed United Kingdom of Great Britain (created by the formal union of England and Scotland in 1707). As a new generation of English colonists matured, war buttressed their loyalty to the crown and reinforced their identity as Britons.

COLONIAL ECONOMIES AND SOCIETIES, 1660–1750

The achievement of peace in 1713 enabled Britain, France, and Spain to concentrate on competing economically rather than militarily. Each nation was already acting to subordinate its North American colonies to serve its larger imperial goals. Thereafter, the two principal powers, Britain and France, sought to integrate their American colonies into single imperial economies. Spain pursued a similar course but was limited in its ability to control developments north of Mexico and the Caribbean.

Mercantilist Empires in America

The imperial practices of Britain, France, and Spain were rooted in a set of political-economic assumptions known as mercantilism. The term refers to policies aimed at guaranteeing prosperity by making a nation as economically self-sufficient as possible by eliminating dependence on foreign suppliers, damaging foreign competitors' commercial interests, and increasing its net stock of gold and silver by selling more abroad than buying.

Britain's mercantilist policies were articulated above all in a series of Navigation Acts governing commerce between England and its colonies. Parliament enacted the first Navigation Act in 1651, requiring that colonial trade be carried on in English- or colonial-owned vessels in order to wrest control of that trade from Dutch mer-

chants. After the Restoration, Parliament enacted the Navigation Acts of 1660 and 1663, barring colonial merchants from exporting such commodities as sugar and tobacco anywhere except to England, and from importing goods in non-English ships. An act in 1672 provided administrative machinery to enforce these rules. Finally, the Molasses Act of 1733 taxed all foreign molasses (produced from sugar plants and imported primarily for distilling rum) entering the mainland colonies at sixpence per gallon. This act was intended less to raise revenue than to serve as a tariff that would protect British West Indian sugar producers at the expense of their French rivals.

The Navigation Acts affected the British colonial economy in four major ways. First, they limited all imperial trade to British-owned ships whose crews were at least three-quarters British. The acts classified all colonists, including slaves (many of whom served as seamen), as British. This restriction not only contributed to Britain's rise as Europe's foremost shipping nation but also laid the foundations of an American shipbuilding industry and merchant marine. By the 1750s one-third of all "British" vessels were American-owned, mostly by merchants in New England and the middle colonies. The swift growth of this merchant marine diversified the northern colonial economy and made it more commercial. The expansion of colonial shipping also hastened urbanization by creating a need for centralized docks, warehouses, and repair shops in the colonies. By mid-century Philadelphia, New York City, Boston, and Charles Town had emerged as major transatlantic ports.

The second major way in which the Navigation Acts affected the colonies lay in their barring the export of certain “enumerated goods” to foreign nations unless these items first passed through England or Scotland. The mainland colonies’ major “enumerated” exports were tobacco, rice, furs, indigo (a Carolina plant that produced a blue dye), and naval stores (masts, hemp, tar, and turpentine). Parliament never restricted grain, livestock, fish, lumber, or rum, which together made up 60 percent of colonial exports. Parliament further reduced the burdens on exporters of tobacco and rice—the chief commodities affected by enumeration—with two significant concessions. First, it gave tobacco growers a monopoly over the British market by excluding foreign tobacco, even though this hurt British consumers. (Rice planters enjoyed a natural monopoly because they had no competitors.) Second, it minimized the added cost of landing tobacco and rice in Britain by refunding customs duties when those products were later shipped to other countries. With about 85 percent of all American tobacco and rice eventually being sold outside the British Empire, planters’ profits were reduced by less than 3 percent.

The navigation system’s third effect on the colonies was to encourage economic diversification. Parliament used British tax revenues to pay modest bounties to Americans producing such items as silk, iron, dyes, hemp, and lumber, which Britain would otherwise have had to import from other countries, and it raised the price of commercial rivals’ imports by imposing protective tariffs on them. The trade laws did prohibit Anglo-Americans from competing with large-scale British manufacturing of certain products, most notably clothing. However, colonial tailors, hatters, and housewives could continue to make any item of dress in their households or small shops. Manufactured by low-paid labor, British clothing imports generally undersold whatever the colonists could have produced given their higher labor costs. The colonists were also free to produce iron, and by 1770 they had built 250 ironworks employing thirty thousand men, a work force larger than the entire population of Georgia or of any provincial city.

Finally, the Navigation Acts made the colonies a protected market for low-priced consumer goods and other exports from Britain. Steady overseas demand for colonial products spawned a prosperity that enabled white colonists to consume ever larger amounts not only of clothing but also of dishware, home furnishings, tea, and a range of other items both produced in Britain and imported by British and colonial merchants from elsewhere. Shops sprang up in cities and rural crossroads throughout the colonies, and itinerant peddlers

took imported wares into more remote areas of the countryside. One such peddler arrived in Berwick, Maine, in 1721 and sold several kinds of cloth, a “pair of garters,” and various “small trifles” before local authorities confiscated his goods because he had failed to purchase a license. Other traders traveled to Native American communities where they exchanged cloth and other commodities for furs. As a result of colonial consumption, the share of British exports bound for North America spurted from just 5 percent in 1700 to almost 40 percent by 1760. Mercantilism had given rise to a “consumer revolution” in British America.

Cheap imported goods enabled middle-class colonists to emulate the lifestyles of their British counterparts. One of the most popular imports was tea. Colonists desired tea not simply for its caffeine or its taste. As in Britain, “taking tea” was a social occasion that called for the fashionable (as well as heat-resistant) cups, saucers, pots, and sugar bowls produced in

Staffordshire, England. “Without too much exaggeration,” writes one historian, “Staffordshire pottery might be seen as the Coca-Cola of the eighteenth century.”

The economic development of the French and Spanish colonies paled beside that of British North America. Although France’s most forceful proponent of mercantilism, Colbert (see Chapter 3) and his successors had great difficulty implementing mercantilist policies. New France gradually developed agricultural self-sufficiency and, in good years, exported some of its wheat to France’s West Indian colonies. It also exported small amounts of fish and timber to the Caribbean and to France. The colony’s chief imports were wine and brandy, its chief export, furs. Although furs were no longer very profitable by the eighteenth century, the French government maintained and even expanded the fur trade because it would need Native American military support in another war with Britain. The government actually lost money by sending large amounts of cloth, firearms, and other manufactured commodities to Indian allies in exchange for furs. Moreover, France maintained a sizable army in its Canadian colony that, like the trade with Native Americans, was a drain on the royal treasury. Meanwhile, Canada attracted little private investment from France or from within the colony. French Canadians enjoyed a comfortable if modest standard of living but lacked the private investment, extensive commercial infrastructure, vast consumer market, and manufacturing capacity of their British neighbors.

France’s greatest American success was in the West Indies where French planters emulated the English by importing large numbers of enslaved Africans to produce sugar under appalling conditions. Ironically, this success was partly a result of French planters’ defying mercantilist policies. In St. Domingue, Martinique, and Guadeloupe, many planters built their own sugar refineries and made molasses instead of shipping their raw sugar to refineries in France, as mercantilism prescribed. They then sold much of their molasses to merchants in Britain’s mainland colonies, especially Massachusetts. France attempted to duplicate its Caribbean success in Louisiana but, like New France, Louisiana remained unprofitable.

Although Spain had squandered the wealth from gold and silver extracted by the conquistadors and early colonists (see Chapter 2), its economy and that of Latin America revived during the eighteenth century. That revival did not extend to North America, where colonists conducted little overseas commerce. Spanish traders in Texas offered horses to Louisianans in exchange for French goods. Spaniards in Florida traded with English, French, and the Indian allies of both—even for com-

modities as basic as food. Without the flourishing of contraband trade, Spain’s colonies in North America might not have survived.

At bottom, Britain’s colonies differed from those of France and Spain in their respective economies and societies. While all three nations were governed according to mercantilist principles, in France and Spain most wealth was controlled by the monarchy, the nobility, and the Catholic Church. Most private wealth was inherited and took the form of land rather than liquid assets. England, on the other hand, had become a mercantile-commercial economy, and a significant portion of the nation’s wealth was in the form of capital held by merchants who reinvested it in commercial and shipping enterprises. For its part, the British government used much of its considerable income from duties, tariffs, and other taxes to enhance commerce. For example, the government strengthened Britain’s powerful navy to protect the empire’s trade and created the Bank of England in 1694 to ensure a stable money supply and lay the foundation for a network of lending institutions. These benefits extended not only to Britain but also to colonial entrepreneurs and consumers. Although Parliament intended the laws to benefit only Britain, the colonies’ per capita income rose 0.6 percent annually from 1650 to 1770, a pace twice that of Britain.

Immigration, Population Growth, and Diversity

Britain’s economic advantage over its North American rivals was reinforced by its sharp demographic edge. In 1700 approximately 250,000 non-Indians resided in English America, compared to only 15,000 French colonists and 4,500 Spanish. During the first half of the eighteenth century, all three colonial populations at least quadrupled in size—the British to 1,170,000, the French to 60,000, and the Spanish to 19,000—but this only magnified Britain’s advantage.

Spanish emigrants could choose from among that nation’s many Latin American colonies, most of which offered more opportunities than remote, poorly developed Florida, Texas, and New Mexico. Reports of Canada’s harsh winters and Louisiana’s poor economy deterred most potential French colonists. France and Spain made few attempts to attract immigrants to North America from outside their own empires. And both limited nonslave immigration to Roman Catholics, a restriction that diverted French Huguenots to the English colonies instead. The English colonies, for their part, boasted good farmlands, healthy economies, and a willingness to absorb members of most European

nationalities and Protestant denominations. While anti-Catholicism remained strong, small Jewish communities also formed in several colonial cities.

Spain regarded its northernmost colonies less as centers of population than as buffers against French and English penetration of their more valued colonies to the south. While hoping to lure civilian settlers, the Spanish relied heavily on soldiers stationed in *presidios* (forts) for defense plus missionaries who would, they hoped, settle loyal Native Americans at strategically placed missions. Most immigrants came not from Spain itself but from Mexico and other Spanish colonies.

Although boasting more people than the Spanish colonies, New France and Louisiana were comparably limited. There too the military played a strong role, while missionaries and traders worked to enhance the colony's relations with Native Americans. New France's population growth in the eighteenth century resulted largely from natural increase rather than immigration. Some rural Canadians established new settlements along the Mississippi River in Upper Louisiana, in what are now the states of Illinois and Missouri. But on the lower Mississippi, Louisiana acquired a foul reputation, and few French went there willingly. To boost its population, the government sent paupers and criminals,

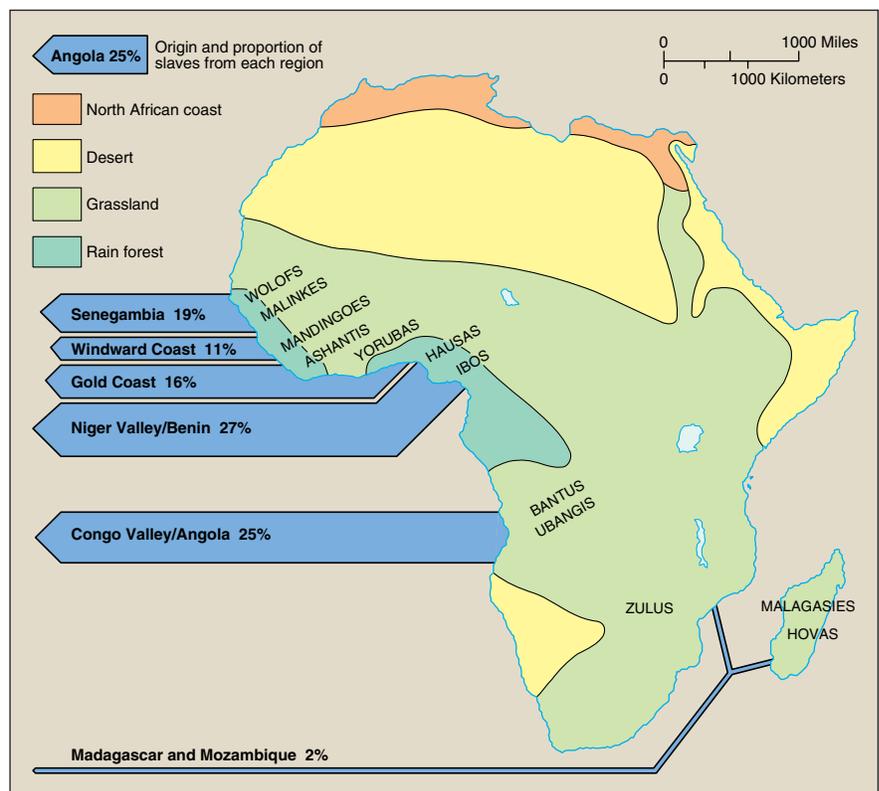
recruited some German refugees, and encouraged large-scale slave imports. By 1732 two-thirds of lower Louisiana's 5,800 people were black and enslaved.

The British colonies outpaced the population growth of not only their French and Spanish rivals but of Britain itself. White women in the colonies had an average of eight children and forty-two grandchildren, compared to five children and fifteen grandchildren for women in Britain. The ratio of England's population to that of the mainland colonies plummeted from 20 to 1 in 1700 to 3 to 1 in 1775.

Although immigration contributed less to eighteenth-century population growth than did natural increase, it remained important. In the forty years after Queen Anne's War, the colonies absorbed 350,000 newcomers, 40 percent of them (140,000) African-born slaves who had survived a sea crossing of sickening brutality. All but a few enslaved immigrants departed from West African ports from Senegambia to Angola (see Map 4.1). Most planters deliberately mixed slaves who came from various regions and spoke different languages, in order to minimize the potential for collective rebellion. But some in South Carolina and Georgia expressly sought slaves from Gambia and nearby regions for their rice-growing experience.

MAP 4.1
African Origins of North American Slaves, 1690-1807

Virtually all slaves brought to English North America came from West Africa, between Senegambia and Angola. Most were captured or bought inland and marched to the coast, where they were sold to African merchants who in turn sold them to European slave traders.



Conditions aboard slave ships were appalling by any standard. Africans were crammed into tight quarters with inadequate sanitary facilities, and many died from disease. Those who refused to eat or otherwise defied the slavers' authority were flogged. If they found the chance, a significant number of slaves hurled themselves overboard in a last, desperate act of defiance against those who would profit from their misery. A Guinea-born slave, later named Venture Smith, was one of 260 who were shipped from the Gold Coast port of Anomabu in 1735. But "smallpox . . . broke out on board," Smith recalled, and "when we reached [Barbados], there were found . . . not more than two hundred alive."

From 1713 to 1754, five times as many slaves poured onto mainland North America as in all the preceding years. The proportion of blacks in the colonies doubled, rising from 11 percent at the beginning of the century to 20 percent by midcentury. Slavery was primarily a southern institution, but 15 percent of its victims lived

north of Maryland, mostly in New York and New Jersey. By 1750 every seventh New Yorker was a slave.

Because West Indian and Brazilian slave buyers outbid the mainland colonists, a mere 5 percent of enslaved Africans were transported to the present-day United States. Unable to buy as many male field hands as they wanted, masters purchased enslaved women and protected their investments by maintaining the slaves' health. These factors promoted family formation and increased life expectancy far beyond the Caribbean's low levels (see Chapter 3). By 1750 the rate of natural increase for mainland blacks almost equaled that for whites.

As the numbers of creole (American-born) slaves grew, sharp differences emerged between them and African-born blacks in the southern colonies. Unlike African-born slaves, creoles spoke a single language, English, and were familiar from birth with their environment and with the ways of their masters. These advantages translated into more autonomy for some creoles.

Until the 1770s, planters continued to import African-born slaves to labor in their fields, especially on more remote lands recently gained from Native Americans. But as wealthier, more long-established planters diversified economically and developed more elaborate lifestyles (see below), they diverted favored creoles toward such services as shoeing horses, repairing and driving carriages, preparing and serving meals, sewing and mending clothing, and caring for planters' children.

The approximately 210,000 whites who immigrated to the British colonies during these years included a sharply reduced share from England compared to the seventeenth century (see Figure 4.1). Whereas between 1630 and 1700 about 2,000 English settlers landed annually (constituting 90 percent of all European immigrants), after 1713 the English contribution dropped to about 500 a year. Rising employment and higher wages in eighteenth-century England made voluntary immigration to America less attractive than before. But economic hardship elsewhere in the British Isles and northern Europe supplied a steady stream of immigrants, who contributed to greater ethnic diversity among white North Americans.

One of the largest contingents was made up of 100,000 newcomers from Ireland, two-thirds of them "Scots-Irish" descendants of sixteenth-century Scottish Presbyterians who had settled in northern Ireland. After 1718 Scots-Irish fled to America to escape rack renting (frequent sharp increases in farm rents), usually moving as complete families. In contrast, 90 percent of all Catholic Irish immigrants were unmarried males who arrived as indentured servants. Rarely able to find Catholic wives, they often abandoned their faith to marry Protestant women.

Meanwhile, from German-speaking regions in central Europe came 125,000 settlers, most of them fleeing terrible economic conditions in the Rhine Valley. Wartime devastation had compounded the misery of Rhenish peasants, many of whom were squeezed onto plots of land too small to feed a family. One-third of German immigrants financed their voyage by indenturing themselves or their children as servants. Most Germans were either Lutherans or Calvinists. But a significant minority belonged to small, pacifist religious sects that desired above all to be left alone.

Overwhelmingly, the eighteenth-century immigrants were poor. Those who became indentured servants worked from one to four years for an urban or rural master. Servants could be sold or rented out, beaten, granted minimal legal protection, kept from marrying, and sexually harassed. Attempted escape usually

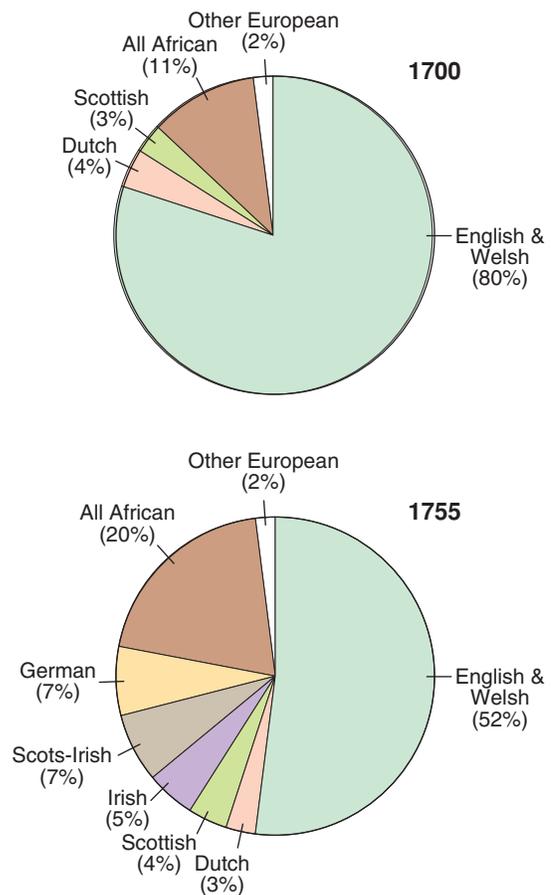


Figure 4.1 Distribution of Non-Indian Nationalities Within the British Mainland Colonies, 1700–1755

The impact of heavy immigration from 1720 to 1755 can be seen in the reduction of the English and Welsh from four-fifths of the colonial population to a slight majority; in the doubling of the African population; and in the sudden influx of Germans and Irish, who together comprised a fifth of white colonists by 1755. For a more detailed breakdown of African origins see Map 4.1.

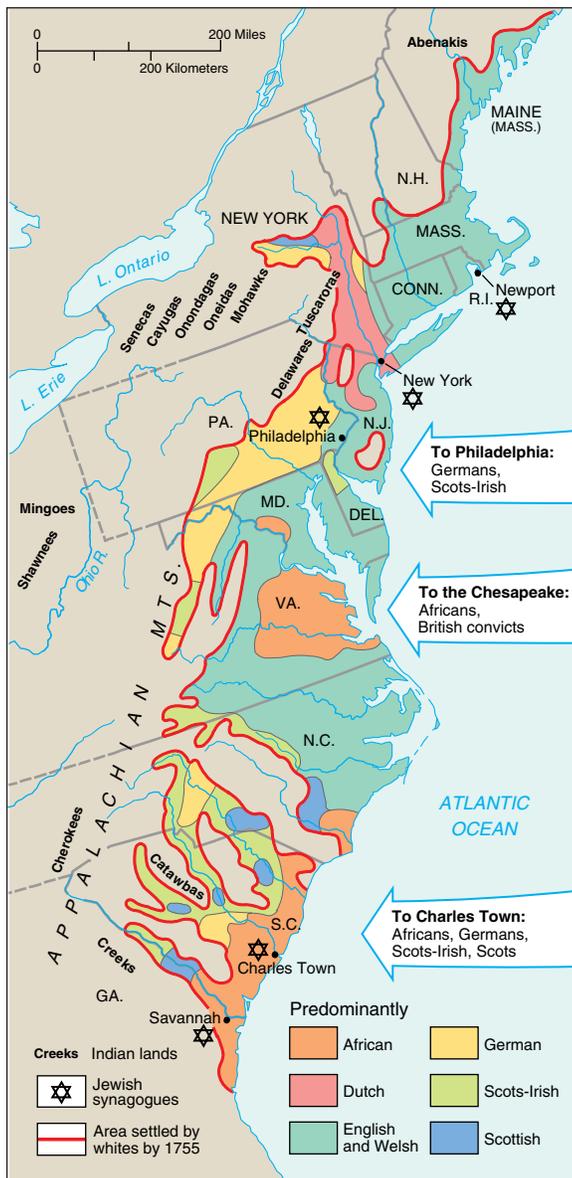
Source: Thomas L. Purvis, "The European Ancestry of the United States Population," *William & Mary Quarterly*, LXI (1984): 85–101.

meant an extension of their service. But at the end of their terms, most managed to collect "freedom dues," which could help them marry and acquire land.

Few immigrants settled in New England, New Jersey, lower New York, and the southern tidewater, where land was most scarce and expensive. Philadelphia became immigrants' primary port of entry. So many foreigners went to Pennsylvania that by 1755 the English accounted for only one-third of that colony's population; the rest came mostly from elsewhere in the British Isles and from Germany.

Rising numbers of immigrants also traveled to the Piedmont region, stretching along the eastern slope of the Appalachians. A significant German community developed in upper New York, and thousands of other Germans as well as Scots-Irish fanned southward from Pennsylvania into western Maryland. Many more from Germany and Ireland arrived in the second-most popu-

MAP 4.2
Immigration and British Colonial Expansion, to 1755
 Black majorities emerged in much of the Chesapeake tidewater and the Carolina-Georgia low country. Immigrants from Germany, Ireland, and Scotland predominated among the settlers in the piedmont. A significant Jewish population emerged in the seaports.



lar American gateway, Charles Town. Most moved on to the Carolina Piedmont, where they raised grain, livestock, and tobacco, generally without slaves. After 1750 both streams of immigration merged with an outpouring of Anglo-Americans from the Chesapeake in the rolling, fertile hills of western North Carolina. In 1713 few Anglo-Americans had lived more than fifty miles from the sea, but by 1750 one-third of all colonists resided in the Piedmont (see Map 4.2).

The least free of white immigrants were convict laborers. England had deported some lawbreakers to America in the seventeenth century, but between 1718 and 1783 about thirty thousand convicts arrived. A few were murderers; most were thieves; some were guilty of the most trivial offenses, like a young Londoner who “got intoxicated with liquor, and in that condition attempted to snatch a handkerchief from the body of a person in the street to him unknown.” Convicts were sold as servants on arrival. Relatively few committed crimes in America, and some eventually managed to establish themselves as backcountry farmers.

Affluent English-descended colonists did not relish the influx of so many people different from themselves. “These confounded Irish will eat us all up,” snorted one Bostonian. Benjamin Franklin spoke for many when he asked in a 1751 essay on population,

Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a colony of aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of us Anglicizing them, and will never adopt our language or customs any more than they can acquire our complexion?

In the same ungenerous spirit, Franklin objected to the slave trade because it would increase America’s black population at the expense of industrious whites, and suggested that the colonists send rattlesnakes to Britain in return for its convict laborers.

Rural White Men and Women

Although the benefits of rising living standards in the British colonies were widespread, even the white population enjoyed these advantages unevenly. Except for Benjamin Franklin (who was born neither rich nor poor) and a few others, true affluence was reserved for those who inherited their wealth. For other whites, personal success was limited and came through hard work, if at all.

Because most farm families owned just enough acreage for a working farm, they could not provide all

their children with land of their own when they married. Moreover, since couples typically started having children in their mid-twenties, had their last babies sometime after forty, and lived past sixty, all but their youngest children would be approaching middle age before receiving any inheritance. Young adults rarely got more than a sixth or seventh of their parents' estate, because most families wrote wills that divided property more or less evenly among all daughters and sons. A young male had to build savings to buy farm equipment by working (from about age sixteen to twenty-three) as a field hand for his father or neighbors. Because mortgages usually required down payments of 33 percent, a young husband normally supported his growing family by renting a farm from a more prosperous landowner until his early or mid-thirties. In some areas, most notably the oldest colonized areas of New England, the continued high birthrates of rural families combined with a shortage of productive land to limit farming opportunities altogether. As a result, many young men turned elsewhere to make their livings—the frontier, the port cities, or the high seas.

Even after acquiring their own land, farmers often supplemented their incomes through seasonal or part-time work. Some learned crafts like carpentry that earned money year-round. Others trapped furs, gathered honey and beeswax, or made cider, shingles, or turpentine. Whenever possible, farmers found wintertime jobs draining meadows, clearing fields, or fencing land for wealthier neighbors.

Families worked off mortgages slowly because the long-term cash income from a farm (6 percent) about equaled the interest on borrowed money (5 to 8 percent). After making a down payment of one-third, a husband and wife generally satisfied the next third upon inheriting shares of their deceased parents' estates. They paid off the final third when their children reached their teens and the family could expand farm output with two or three full-time workers. Only by their late fifties, just as their youngest offspring got ready to leave home, did most colonial parents free themselves of debt.

In general, the more isolated a community or the less productive its farmland, the more self-sufficiency and bartering its people practiced, although only the remotest settlements were completely self-sufficient. Rural families depended heavily on wives' and daughters' making items that the family would otherwise have had to purchase. Besides cooking, cleaning, and washing, wives preserved food, boiled soap, made clothing, and tended the garden, dairy, orchard, poultry house, and pigsty. They also sold dairy products to neighbors or

merchants, spun yarn into cloth for tailors, knitted garments for sale, and even sold their own hair for wigs. A farm family's ability to feed itself and its animals was worth about half of its cash income (a luxury that few European peasants enjoyed), and women worked as much as men did in meeting this end.

Legally, however, white women in the British colonies were constrained (see Chapter 3). A woman's single most autonomous decision was her choice of a husband. Once married, she lost control of her dowry, unless she was a New Yorker subject to Dutch custom, which allowed her somewhat more authority. Women in the French and Spanish colonies retained ownership of, and often augmented, the property they brought to a marriage. Widows did control between 8 and 10 percent of all property in eighteenth-century Anglo-America, and a few—among them Eliza Pinckney of South Carolina, a prominent political figure—owned and managed large estates.

Colonial Farmers and the Environment

The rapid expansion of Britain's colonies hastened environmental change east of the Appalachians. Whereas the earliest colonists farmed land already cleared and cultivated by Native Americans, eighteenth-century settlers usually had to remove trees before beginning their plots. Despite the labor involved, farmers and planters, especially those using slave labor, preferred heavily forested areas where the soil was most fertile. New England farmers had to clear innumerable heavy rocks—debris from the last Ice Age—with which they built walls around their fields. Colonists everywhere used timber to construct their houses, barns, and fences and to provide fuel for heating and cooking. Farmers and planters also sold firewood to the inhabitants of cities and towns. Only six years after Georgia's founding, a colonist noted, there was “no more firewood in Savannah; . . . it must be bought from the plantations for which reason firewood is already right expensive.”

In removing the trees (deforestation), farmers drove away bears, panthers, wild turkeys, and other forest animals while attracting grass- and seed-eating rabbits, mice, and possums. By removing protection from winds and, in summer, from the sun, deforestation also brought warmer summers and colder winters, further increasing colonists' demand for firewood. By hastening the runoff of spring waters, it led both to heavier flooding and drier streambeds in most areas and, where water could not escape, to more extensive swamps. In turn, less stable temperatures and water levels, along with impediments created by mills and by the floating of timbers downstream, rapidly reduced the number of fish in colonial waters. Writing in 1766, naturalist John Bartram noted that fish “abounded formerly when the Indians lived much on them & was very numerous,” but that “now there is not the 100[th] or perhaps the 1000th [portion of] fish to be found.”

Deforestation dried and hardened the soil, but colonists' crops had even more drastic effects. Native Americans, recognizing the soil-depleting effects of intensive cultivation, rotated their crops regularly so that fields could lie fallow (unplanted) and thereby be replenished with vital nutrients (see Chapter 1). But many colonial farmers either did not have enough land to leave some unplanted or were unwilling to sacrifice short-term profits for potential long-term benefits.

As early as 1637, one New England farmer discovered that his soil “after five or six years [of planting corn] grows barren beyond belief and puts on the face of winter in

the time of summer.” Chesapeake planters' tobacco yields declined after only three or four years in the same plot. Like farmers elsewhere, they used animal manure to fertilize their food crops but not their tobacco, fearing that manure would spoil the taste for consumers. As Chesapeake tobacco growers moved inland to hillier areas, away from rivers and streams, they also contributed to increased soil erosion.

Confronting a more serious shortage of land and resources, Europe's well-to-do farmers were already turning their attention to conservation and “scientific” farming. But most colonists ignored such techniques, either because they could not afford to implement them or because they believed that American land, including that still held by Indians, would sustain them and future generations indefinitely.

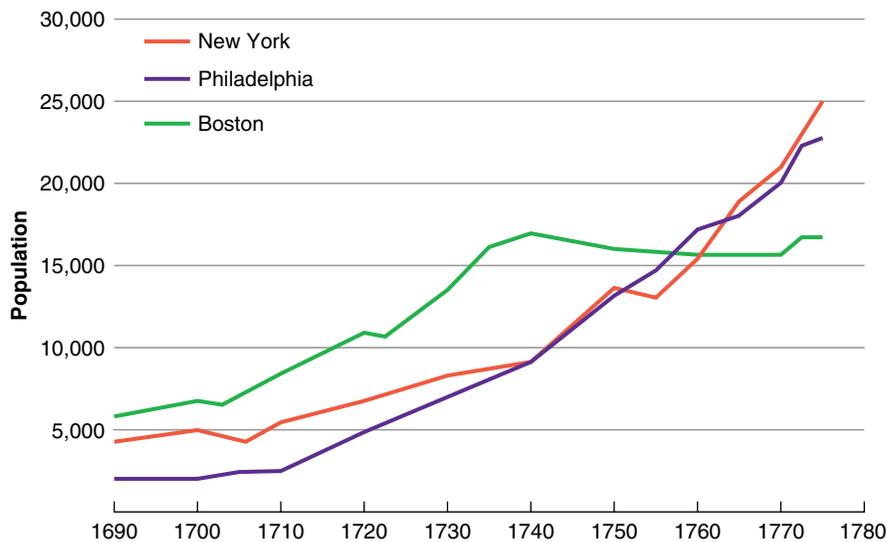
The Urban Paradox

The cities were British North America's economic paradox. As major ports of entry and exit, they were keys to the colonies' rising prosperity; yet they held only 4 percent of the colonies' population, and a growing percentage of city-dwellers were caught in a downward spiral of declining opportunity.

As colonial prosperity reached new heights after 1740, economic success proved ever more elusive for residents of the three major seaports—Philadelphia, New York, and, especially, Boston. The cities' poor rolls bulged as poor white men, women (often widowed), and children arrived from both Europe and the colonial countryside. High population density and poor sanitation in urban locales allowed contagious diseases to run rampant, so that half of all city children died before age twenty-one and urban adults lived ten years less on average than country folk.

Even the able-bodied found cities increasingly treacherous. Early eighteenth-century urban artisans typically trained apprentices and employed them as journeymen for many years until they opened their own shops. By midcentury, however, more and more employers kept laborers only as long as business was brisk, releasing them when sales slowed. In 1751 a shrewd Benjamin Franklin recommended this practice to employers as a way to reduce labor costs. Recessions hit more frequently after 1720 and created longer spells of unemployment, making it increasingly difficult for many to afford rents, food, and firewood.

Insignificant before 1700, urban poverty became a major problem. By 1730 Boston could no longer shelter its destitute in the almshouse built in 1685. The proportion of residents considered too poor to pay taxes

**FIGURE 4.2****Populations of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, 1690–1776**

Transatlantic commerce contributed to the rapid growth of the three northern seaports. But Boston's growth leveled off in 1740 while New York and Philadelphia continued to flourish.

Source: Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979) p. 409.

climbed even as the total population leveled (see Figure 4.2). Not until 1736 did New York need a poorhouse (for just forty people), but by 1772, 4 percent of its residents (over eight hundred people) required public assistance to survive. The number of Philadelphia families listed as poor on tax rolls jumped from 3 percent in 1720 to 11 percent by 1760.

Wealth, on the other hand, remained highly concentrated. For example, New York's wealthiest 10 percent (mostly merchants) owned about 45 percent of the property throughout the eighteenth century. Similar patterns existed in Boston and Philadelphia. Set alongside the growth of a poor underclass in these cities, such statistics underscored the polarization of status and wealth in urban America.

Most southern cities were little more than large towns. Charles Town, however, became North America's fourth-largest city. South Carolina's capital offered gracious living to the wealthy planters who flocked from their plantations to townhouses during the months of the worst heat and insect infestation. Shanties on the city's outskirts sheltered a growing crowd of destitute whites. The colony encouraged whites to immigrate in hopes of reducing blacks' numerical preponderance, but most European newcomers could not establish farms or find any work except as ill-paid temporary laborers. Like their counterparts in northern ports, Charles Town's poor whites competed for work with urban slaves whose masters rented out their labor.

Although middle-class women in cities and large towns performed somewhat less manual drudgery than their country cousins, they nonetheless managed complex households that often included servants, slaves,

and apprentices. While raising poultry and vegetables as well as sewing and knitting, urban wives purchased their cloth and most of their food in daily trips to public markets. Many had one or more household servants, usually young single women or widows, to help with cooking, cleaning, and laundering—tasks that required more attention than in the country because of higher urban standards of cleanliness and appearance. Wives also worked in family businesses or their own shops, which were located in owners' homes.

Less affluent wives and widows had the fewest opportunities of all. They housed boarders rather than servants, and many spun and wove cloth in their homes for local merchants. Poor widows with children looked to the community for relief. Whereas John Winthrop and other Puritan forebears had deemed it a Christian's duty to care for poor dependents (see Chapter 3), affluent Bostonians in the eighteenth century looked more warily upon the needy. Preaching in 1752, the city's leading minister, Charles Chauncy, lamented "the swarms of children, of both sexes, that are continually strolling and playing about the streets of our metropolis, clothed in rags, and brought up in idleness and ignorance." Another clergyman warned that charity for widows and their children was money "worse than lost."

Slavery's Wages

For slaves, the economic progress achieved in colonial America meant only that most masters could afford to keep them healthy. Rarely, however, did masters choose to make their human property comfortable. A visitor to a Virginia plantation from Poland (where peasants lived in dire poverty) recorded this impression of slaves' quality of life:

We entered some Negroes huts—for their habitations cannot be called houses. They are far more miserable than the poorest of the cottages of our peasants. The husband and wife sleep on a miserable bed, the children on the floor . . . a little kitchen furniture amid this misery . . . a teakettle and cups . . . five or six hens, each with ten or fifteen chickens, walked there. That is the only pleasure allowed to the negroes.

To maintain slaves, masters normally spent just 40 percent of the amount paid for the upkeep of indentured servants. Whereas white servants ate two hundred pounds of meat yearly, black slaves consumed fifty pounds. The value of the beer and hard cider given to a typical servant alone equaled the expense of feeding and

clothing the average slave. Masters usually provided adult slaves with eight quarts of corn and a pound of pork each week but expected them to grow their own vegetables, forage for wild fruits, and perhaps raise poultry.

Blacks worked for a far longer portion of their lives than whites. Slave children entered the fields as part-time helpers soon after reaching seven and began working full-time between eleven and fourteen. Whereas most white women worked in their homes, barns, and gardens, black females routinely tended tobacco or rice crops, even when pregnant, and often worked outdoors in the winter. Most slaves toiled until they died, although those who survived to their sixties rarely performed hard labor.

Africans and creoles proved resourceful at maximizing opportunities within this harsh, confining system. House slaves aggressively demanded that guests tip them for shining shoes and stabling horses. They also sought presents on holidays, as a startled New Jersey visitor to a Virginia plantation discovered early one Christmas morning when slaves demanding gifts of cash roused him from bed.

In the South Carolina and Georgia rice country, slaves working under the task system gained control of about half their waking hours. Under tasking, each slave spent some hours caring for a quarter-acre, after which his or her duties ended for the day. This system permitted a few slaves to keep hogs and sell surplus vegetables on their own. In 1728 an exceptional slave, Sampson, earned enough money in his off-hours to buy another slave, whom he then sold to his master in exchange for his own freedom.

The gang system used on tobacco plantations afforded Chesapeake slaves less free time than those in Carolina. As one white observer noted, Chesapeake blacks labored "from daylight until the dusk of evening and some part of the night, by moon or candlelight, during the winter."

Despite Carolina slaves' greater autonomy, racial tensions ran high in the colony. As long as Europeans outnumbered Africans, race relations in Carolina remained relaxed. But as a black majority emerged, whites increasingly used force and fear to control "their" blacks. For example, a 1735 law, noting that many Africans wore "clothes much above the condition of slaves," imposed a dress code limiting slaves' apparel to fabrics worth less than ten shillings per yard and even prohibited their wearing their owners' cast-off clothes. Of even greater concern were large gatherings of blacks uncontrolled by whites. In 1721 Charles Town enacted a nine P.M. curfew for blacks, while Carolina's assembly

placed all local slave patrols under the colonial militia. Slaves responded to the colony's vigilance and harsher punishments with increased instances of arson, theft, flight, and violence.

Despite these measures, South Carolina (separated from North Carolina since 1729) was rocked in 1739 by a powerful slave uprising, the Stono Rebellion. It began when twenty blacks seized guns and ammunition from a store at the Stono River Bridge, outside Charles Town. Marching under a makeshift flag and crying "Liberty!" they collected eighty men and headed south toward Spanish Florida, a well-known refuge for escapees (see *A Place in Time: Mose, Florida, 1740*). Along the way they burned seven plantations and killed twenty whites, but they spared a Scottish innkeeper known for being "a good Man and kind to his slaves." Within a day, mounted militia surrounded the slaves near a riverbank, cut them down mercilessly, and spiked a rebel head on every milepost between that spot and Charles Town. Uprisings elsewhere in the colony required more than a month to suppress, with insurgents generally "put to the most cruel Death." Thereafter, whites enacted a new slave code, essentially in force until the Civil War, which kept South Carolina slaves under constant surveillance. Furthermore, it threatened masters with fines for not disciplining slaves and required legislative approval for manumission (freeing of individual slaves). The Stono Rebellion and its cruel aftermath thus reinforced South Carolina's emergence as a rigid, racist, and fear-ridden society.

Slavery and racial tensions were by no means confined to plantations. By midcentury slaves made up 20 percent of New York City's population and formed a majority in Charles Town and Savannah. Southern urban slave owners augmented their incomes by renting out the labor of their slaves, who were cheaper to employ than white workers. Slave artisans—usually creoles—worked as coopers, shipwrights, rope makers, and, in a few cases, goldsmiths and cabinetmakers. Some artisans supplemented their work as slaves by earning income of their own. Slaves in northern cities were more often unskilled. Urban slaves in both North and South typically lived apart from their masters in rented quarters alongside free blacks.

Although city life afforded slaves greater freedom of association than did plantations, urban blacks remained the property of others and chafed at racist restrictions. In 1712 rebellious slaves in New York City killed nine whites in a calculated attack. As a result, eighteen slaves were hanged or tortured to death, and six others committed suicide to avoid similar treatment. In 1741 a wave

of thefts and fires attributed to New York slaves led to similar executions of twenty-six slaves and four white accomplices, and the sale of seventy more blacks to the West Indies.

The Rise of Colonial Elites

A few colonists benefited disproportionately from the growing wealth of Britain and its colonies. Most of these elite colonists inherited their advantages at birth and augmented them by producing plantation crops, buying and selling commodities across the Atlantic or carrying them in ships, or serving as attorneys for other elite colonists. They constituted British America's upper class, or gentry. (In Britain, the gentry constituted the lesser, untitled nobility.)

A gentleman was expected by his contemporaries to behave with an appropriate degree of responsibility, to display dignity and generosity, and to be a community leader. His wife, a "lady," was to be a skillful household manager and, in the presence of men, a refined yet deferring hostess.

Before 1700 the colonies' class structure was not readily apparent because elites spent their limited

A PLACE IN TIME

Mose, Florida, 1740



The Spanish presence in Florida was always tenuous and, after English colonists established Charles Town, Carolina, in 1670, vulnerable to outside attack. During the eighteenth century Spain

retained its hold in Florida by enlisting the support of Native Americans and Africans alienated by the English. In particular, by promising freedom to slaves who fled from Carolina to Florida and converted to Catholicism, the Spanish bolstered Florida's population and defenses. The black community of Mose, established near St. Augustine in 1738, vividly demonstrated the importance of these immigrants.

Blacks had lived in Florida since the founding of St. Augustine in 1565. In 1683, after Indians armed by

Carolina began attacking and capturing Florida mission Indians for sale into slavery, the Spanish colony formed a black militia unit. In 1686 fifty-three blacks and Indians conducted a counterraid into Carolina and returned with, among other prizes, thirteen of the governor's slaves. In subsequent negotiations between the two colonies, Florida's governor, Diego de Quiroga, refused English demands that he return the blacks, instead giving them paying jobs. Soon other Carolina slaves began making their way to Florida. Spain's King Charles II ruled in 1693 that all arriving slaves should be given their freedom, "so that by their example and my liberality others will do the same."

With Spain deliberately encouraging Carolina slaves to escape to Florida, the numbers continued to rise, especially during the Yamasee War (1715–1716), when the English were nearly crushed by a massive uprising of Indians. In 1726 a former South Carolina slave, Francisco Menéndez, was appointed to command a black militia unit to defend against an expected English invasion. The Spanish built a fortified village for Menéndez's men and their families in 1738 and called it Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, usually shortened to Mose, an Indian name for the location.

Mose was strategically placed just two miles north of St. Augustine, and its residents served as both sentries and a buffer for the capital. Spanish and English documents, along with recent archaeological excavations, reveal that it had sturdy earthen walls "lined round with prickly royal" (a thorny plant) and was surrounded by a moat. A stone fort was the most prominent structure inside the walls. Outside the fort the one hundred residents planted fields and gathered shellfish from the banks of a nearby saltwater stream. In a letter to the

Spanish king, Florida's governor, Manuel de Montiano, praised Menéndez for having "distinguished himself in the establishment and cultivation of Mose, . . . [and] doing all he could so that the rest of his subjects, following his example, would apply themselves and learn good customs."

To its residents Mose symbolized their new status as freed men and women. Most had been born in West Africa and enslaved and carried to Carolina. After escaping, they had lived among friendly Indians who helped them make their way to the Spanish colony. Mose was their own community, their first since being taken from Africa. In agreeing to live there, they understood the price they might have to pay. Writing to the king in 1738, they declared themselves "the most cruel enemies of the English" who were ready to shed their "last drop of blood in defense of the Great Crown of Spain and the Holy Faith."

The importance of Florida's free blacks and their town was demonstrated in 1740 when, with England and Spain at war, Georgia's governor, James Oglethorpe, led colonial troops, Indian allies, and seven warships in an invasion of Florida. The English captured Mose in May after its residents had been evacuated, but Menéndez's militia and other troops recaptured the town a month later in a fierce battle that helped Oglethorpe decide to withdraw. (The British called the battle Bloody Mose.) As a result of the English destruction of the town and the Spanish crown's refusal to fund its rebuilding, Mose's residents moved into St. Augustine. For twelve years they lived among the Spanish as laborers, seamen, and hunters and in other capacities. In 1752 a new governor had Mose rebuilt and ordered the blacks to return to their former town despite their express "desire to live in

complete liberty." To return to the town, which they once had cherished as a symbol of their freedom, after twelve years of assimilation in the capital city now seemed like relegation to second-class citizenship.

In 1763 Spain ceded Florida to Britain in the Treaty of Paris (see Chapter 5). Spanish authorities evacuated the people of Mose and allotted them homesteads in Matanzas, Cuba. But the meager provisions given the blacks proved inadequate, and many, including Francisco Menéndez, soon moved to Havana. In 1783 another Treaty of Paris returned Florida to Spain (see Chapter 6), and the following year, a new Florida governor resumed the policy of granting freedom to escaped slaves. Hearing the news and recalling Florida's earlier reputation, hundreds of slaves responded. But now Spain proceeded more cautiously with the slaveholders' government to Florida's north; and in 1790 U.S. Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson persuaded the Spanish to rescind the policy of granting freedom to escaped slaves. In 1819 the United States annexed Florida, and in 1845 Florida joined the Union as a slave state.

resources buying land, servants, and slaves instead of on luxuries. As late as 1715 a traveler noticed that one of Virginia's richest planters, Robert Beverley, owned "nothing in or about his house but just what is necessary, . . . [such as] good beds but no curtains and instead of cane chairs he hath stools made of wood."

As British mercantilist trade flourished, higher incomes enabled elite colonists to display their wealth more openly, particularly in their housing. The greater

gentry—the richest 2 percent, owning about 15 percent of all property—constructed residences such as the Cornelius Low House, New Jersey's most splendid home in 1741, and the Shirley mansion in Virginia. The lesser gentry, or second wealthiest 2 to 10 percent holding about 25 percent of all property, lived in more modest dwellings such as Pennsylvania's Lincoln homestead or the wood-frame house, Whitehall in Rhode Island. In contrast, middle-class farmers commonly inhabited one-story wooden buildings with four small rooms and a loft.

Colonial gentlemen and ladies also exhibited their status by imitating the "refinement" of upper-class Europeans. They wore costly English fashions, drove carriages instead of wagons, and bought expensive chinaware, books, furniture, and musical instruments. They pursued a gracious life by studying foreign languages, learning formal dances, and cultivating polite manners. In sports men's preference shifted to horse racing (on which they bet avidly) and away from cockfighting, a less elegant diversion. A few young gentlemen even traveled abroad to get an English education. Thus, elites led colonists' growing taste for British fashions and consumer goods (see above).

COMPETING FOR A CONTINENT, 1713–1750

After a generation of war, Europe's return to peace in 1713 only heightened British, French, and Spanish imperial ambitions in North America. Europeans competed in expanding their territorial claims, intensifying both trade and warfare with Native Americans, and carving out new settlements. Native Americans welcomed some of these developments and resisted others, depending on how they expected their sovereignty and livelihoods to be affected.

France and Native Americans

A principal focus of France's imperial efforts was its new colony of Louisiana (see Chapter 3). In 1718 Louisiana officials established New Orleans, which became the colony's capital and port. Louisiana's staunchest Indian allies were the Choctaws, through whom the French hoped to counter both the rapidly expanding influence of Carolina's traders and the weakening Spanish presence in Florida. But by the 1730s inroads by the persistent Carolinians led the Choctaws to become bitterly divided into pro-English and pro-French factions.

Life was dismal in Louisiana for whites as well as blacks. A thoroughly corrupt government ran the colony. With Louisiana's sluggish export economy failing to sustain them, settlers and slaves found other means of survival. Like the Indians, they hunted, fished, gathered wild plants, and cultivated gardens. In 1727 a priest described how some whites eventually prospered: "A man with his wife or partner clears a little ground, builds himself a house on four piles, covers it with sheets of bark, and plants corn and rice for his provisions; the next year he raises a little more for food, and has also a field of tobacco; if at last he succeeds in having three or four Negroes, then he is out of difficulties."

But many red, white, and black Louisianans depended on exchanges with one another in order to stay "out of difficulties." Indians provided corn, bear oil, tallow (for candles), and above all deerskins to French merchants in return for blankets, kettles, axes, chickens, hogs, guns, and alcohol. Indians from west of the Mississippi brought horses and cattle, usually stolen from Spanish ranches in Texas. Familiar with cattle from their homelands, enslaved Africans managed many of Louisiana's herds, and some became rustlers and illicit traders of beef.

French settlements in Upper Louisiana, usually referred to as "Illinois," were somewhat better off.

Although more than a third of the colony's twenty-six hundred inhabitants were nonwhite slaves in 1752, their principal export was wheat, a more reliably profitable crop than the plantation commodities grown farther south. In exporting wheat, Illinois resembled Pennsylvania to the east; but the colony's remote location limited such exports and attracted few whites, obliging it to depend on France's Native American allies to defend it from Indian enemies.

With Canada and the Mississippi Valley secure from European rivals, France sought to counter growing British influence in the Ohio Valley. The valley was at peace after the Iroquois declared their neutrality in 1701, encouraging Indian refugees to settle there. Nations such as the Kickapoos and Mascoutens returned from the upper Great Lakes, while Shawnees arrived from the east to reoccupy older homelands. Other arrivals were newcomers, such as Delawares escaping English encroachments and Seneca Iroquois seeking new hunting territories. Hoping to secure commercial and diplomatic ties with these Natives, the French expanded their trade activities. Detroit and several other French posts ballooned into sizable villages housing Indians, French, and mixed-ancestry *métis*. But English traders were arriving with better goods at lower prices, and most Indians steered a more independent course.

Although generally more effective in Indian diplomacy than the English, the French did not enjoy universal success. The Carolina-supported Chickasaws frequently attacked the French and their native allies on the Mississippi River. Although ultimately unsuccessful, the Mesquakie, or Fox, Indians led a prolonged effort to prevent French traders from making direct contact with Sioux Indians to the west. And the French in 1729–1730 brutally suppressed the Natchez Indians, the last practitioners of Mississippian culture, in order to gain additional plantation land. The French enslaved many Native Americans seized in these wars for labor in Louisiana, Illinois, Canada, and (in a few cases) the West Indies.

By 1744 French traders were traveling as far west as North Dakota and Colorado and were buying beaver pelts and Indian slaves on the Great Plains. At the instigation of these traders and their British competitors, trade goods, including guns, spread to Native Americans throughout central Canada and then to the Plains. Meanwhile, Indians in the Great Basin and southern Plains were acquiring horses, thousands of which had been left behind by the Spanish when they fled New Mexico during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Adopting the horse and gun, Indians such as the Lakota Sioux and Comanches moved to the Plains and built a new, highly mobile way of life based on the pursuit of buffalo. With this way of life, they met whites traveling westward to adopt their own new ways of life a century later (see Chapter 17). By 1750 France had an immense domain, but one that depended on often-precarious relations with Native Americans.

Native Americans and British Expansion

As in the seventeenth century, British colonial expansion was made possible by the depopulation and dislocation of Native Americans. Epidemic diseases, environmental changes, war, and political pressures on Indians to cede land and to emigrate all combined to make new lands available to white immigrants.

Conflict came early to Carolina, where a trade in Indian slaves (see Chapter 3) and imperial war had already produced violence. In 1711 Iroquoian-speaking Tuscarora Indians, provoked by whites encroaching on their land and kidnapping and enslaving some of their people, destroyed New Bern, a nearby settlement of seven hundred Swiss immigrants. To retaliate, northern Carolina enlisted the aid of southern Carolina and its well-armed Indian allies. By 1713, after about a thousand Tuscaroras (about one-fifth of the total population)

had been killed or enslaved, the nation surrendered. Most Tuscarora survivors migrated northward to what is now upstate New York and in 1722 became the sixth nation of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Having helped defeat the Tuscaroras, Carolina's Indian allies resented a growing number of abuses, including cheating, violence, and enslavement, by English traders and encroachments on their land by settlers. In 1715 the Yamasees, who were most seriously affected, led a coordinated series of attacks by Catawbas, Creeks, and other allies on English trading houses and settlements. Only by enlisting the aid of the Cherokee Indians, and allowing four hundred slaves to bear arms, did the colony crush the uprising. Yamasees not killed or captured fled to Florida or to Creek towns in the interior.

The defeat of the Yamasees left their Catawba supporters vulnerable to pressures from English on one side and Iroquois on the other. As Carolina settlers moved uncomfortably close to some Catawba villages, the inhabitants abandoned these villages and joined more remote Catawbas. Having escaped the settlers, however, the Catawbas faced rising conflict with the Iroquois. After making peace with the Indian allies of New France in 1701 (see above), the Iroquois looked south when launching raids for captives to adopt into their ranks. To counter the well-armed Iroquois, the Catawbas turned back to South Carolina. By ceding land and helping defend that colony against outside Indians, the Catawbas received guns, food, and clothing. Their relationship with the English allowed the Catawbas the security they needed to strengthen their traditional institutions. However, the growing gap in numbers between Natives and colonists, and their competition with the English for resources, limited the Catawbas' autonomy.

To the north, the Iroquois Confederacy accommodated English expansion while consolidating its own power among Native Americans. Late in the seventeenth century, the Iroquois and several colonies forged a series of treaties known as the Covenant Chain. Under these treaties the Confederacy helped the colonies subjugate Indians whose lands the English wanted. Under one such agreement, the Iroquois assisted Massachusetts in subjugating that colony's Natives following King Philip's War in New England. Under another, the Susquehannock Indians, after being crushed in Bacon's Rebellion, moved northward from Maryland to a new homeland adjacent to the Iroquois' own. By relocating non-Iroquois on their periphery as well as by inviting the Tuscaroras into their Confederacy, the Iroquois controlled a center of Native American power that was distinct from, but cooperative with, the British. At the same

time, the Confederacy established buffers against, and deflected, potential English expansion to their own lands.

The Covenant Chain grew more powerful with Pennsylvania's entry in 1737. With immigration and commercial success, William Penn's early idealism waned in Pennsylvania. Between 1729 and 1734 the colony coerced the Delaware Indians into selling more than fifty thousand acres. Then the colony's leaders (Penn's sons and his former secretary) produced a patently fraudulent treaty in which the Delawares allegedly had agreed in 1686 to sell their land as far westward as a man could walk in a day and a half. In 1737, Pennsylvania blazed a trail and hired three men to walk west as fast as they could. The men covered nearly sixty miles, meaning that the Delawares, in what became known as the Walking Purchase, had to hand over an additional twelve hundred square miles of land. Despite the protests of Delaware elders who had been alive in 1686 and remembered no such treaty, the Delawares were forced to move under Iroquois supervision. The proprietors then sold these lands to settlers and speculators at a large profit. Within a generation, the Delawares' former lands were among the most productive in the British Empire.

British Expansion in the South: Georgia

Britain's undertook a new expansionist thrust in 1732 when Parliament authorized a new colony, Georgia. Ignoring Spain's claims, Oglethorpe purchased the land for Georgia from Creek Indians. Although expecting Georgia to export expensive commodities like wine and

silk, the colony's sponsors intended that Georgia be a refuge for bankrupt but honest debtors. Parliament even allotted funds to ensure Georgia's success, making it the only North American province besides Nova Scotia to be directly subsidized by the British government.

A tough-minded idealist, James Oglethorpe, dominated the provincial board of trustees during Georgia's first decade. Oglethorpe founded the port of entry, Savannah, in 1733, and by 1740 a small contingent of twenty-eight hundred colonists had arrived. Almost half the immigrants came from Germany, Switzerland, and Scotland, and most had their overseas passage paid by the government. A small number of Jews were among the early colonists. Along with Pennsylvania, early Georgia was the most inclusive of all the British colonies.

Oglethorpe hated slavery. "They live like cattle," he wrote to the trustees after viewing Charles Town's slave market. "If we allow slaves, we act against the very principles by which we associated together, which was to relieve the distressed." Slavery, he thought, degraded blacks, made whites lazy, and presented a terrible risk. Oglethorpe worried that wherever whites relied on a slave labor force, they courted slave revolts, which the Spanish could then exploit. But most of all, he recognized that slavery undermined the economic position of poor whites like those he sought to settle in Georgia.

At Oglethorpe's insistence, Parliament made Georgia the only colony where slavery was outlawed. Oglethorpe also pushed through a requirement that landholdings be no larger than five hundred acres. These measures were aimed at keeping rural Georgia populated by white, independent farmer-soldiers who would defend the colony and would not speculate in real estate or build up slave-labor plantations.

But Oglethorpe's well-intentioned plans failed completely. Few debtors arrived because Parliament set impossibly stringent conditions for their release from prison. Limitations on settlers' rights to sell or enlarge their holdings, as well as the ban on slavery, also discouraged immigration. Raising exotic export crops proved impractical. As in South Carolina, only rice, which required substantial capital and many cheap laborers, proved profitable. Oglethorpe struggled against economic reality for a decade and then gave up. After the trustees legalized slavery and lifted restrictions on landholdings in 1750, Georgia, like Britain's other plantation colonies, boomed.

Spain's Tenacity

While endeavoring to maintain its empire in the face of Native American, French, and British adversaries, Spain spread its language and culture over much of North America, especially in the Southwest. Seeking to repopulate New Mexico after the Pueblo Revolt, Spain awarded grants of approximately twenty-six square miles wherever ten or more families founded a town. Soldiers erected strong fortifications to protect against Indian attacks, now coming primarily from the Apaches. As in early New England towns, the settlers built homes on small lots around the church plaza, farmed separate fields nearby, grazed livestock at a distance, and shared a community wood lot and pasture.

The livestock-raising ranchos, radiating out for many miles from little clusters of houses, monopolized vast tracts along the Rio Grande and blocked further town settlement. On the ranchos, mounted cattle herders created the way of life later associated with the American cowboy, featuring lariat and roping skills, cattle drives, roundups (rodeos), and livestock branding.

By 1750 New Mexico numbered about 14,000, more than half of them Pueblo Indians. Most Pueblos now cooperated with the Spanish, and although many had converted to Catholicism, they also practiced their traditional religion. The two peoples continued to experience Apache raids, now augmented by those of armed and mounted Utes from the north and Comanches from the east. The raiders sought livestock and European goods as well as captives, often to replace those of their own people who had been enslaved by Spanish raiders and sent to mine silver in Mexico.

Spain had established Texas in order to counter growing French influence among the Comanches and other Native Americans on the southern Plains (see Chapter 3). Colonization began after 1716, when Spaniards established several outposts on the San Antonio and Guadalupe Rivers. The most prominent center was at San Antonio de Béxar, where two towns, a presidio, and a mission (later known as the Alamo) were clustered. But most Indians in Texas preferred trading with the French to farming, Christianity, and the ineffective protection of the Spanish. Lack of security also deterred Hispanic settlement, so that by 1760 only twelve hundred Spaniards faced the periodic raids by Comanches and other Indians.

Spain's position in Florida was equally precarious. After 1715 the neutrality of the Creeks enabled the Spanish to compete with the English and French in the southeastern deerskin trade, though with limited effectiveness, and to sponsor Indian counterraids into Carolina. In addition, the Spanish offered freedom to any English-owned slaves who escaped and made their way to Florida (see *A Place in Time: Mose, Florida, 1740*). As in Texas, Florida's relatively few colonists hampered Spain's ability to counter its chief imperial rival in the region. As early as 1700, there were already thirty-eight hundred English in recently founded Carolina, compared to just fifteen hundred Spanish in Florida. This disparity widened during the decades that followed. The Spanish saw Georgia's founding in 1733 as a bold new threat to Florida, but fought the English colony to a bloody draw when Spain and England went to war (see below).

By 1750 Spain controlled much of the Southeast and Southwest, while France exercised influence in the

of inconclusive warfare, Britain signed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), exchanging Louisbourg for a British outpost in India that the French had seized. The memory of how their sacrifices at Cartagena and Louisbourg went for naught would rankle colonists thereafter.

PUBLIC LIFE IN BRITISH AMERICA, 1689–1750

During the early and middle eighteenth century, the ties linking Britain and its colonies consisted of much more than the movements of goods and peoples. England's new Bill of Rights was the foundation of government and politics in the colonies. The ideas of English thinkers initially inspired the intellectual movement known as the Enlightenment, while the English preacher George Whitefield sparked a generation of colonists to transform the practice of Protestantism in British America. While reinforcing the colonies' links with Britain, these developments were also significant because they involved many more colonists than before as active participants in politics, in intellectual discussions, and in new religious movements. Taken as a whole, this wider participation signaled the emergence of a new phenomenon in colonial life, the "public."

Colonial Politics

The most significant political result of the Glorious Revolution was the rise of colonial legislatures, or assem-

blies, as a major political force. Except in Connecticut and Rhode Island, the crown or a proprietor in England chose each colony's governor. Except in Massachusetts, the governor named a council, or upper house of the legislature. The assembly was the only political body subject to control by colonists rather than by English officials. Before 1689 governors and councils took the initiative in drafting laws, and the assemblies followed their lead; but thereafter the assemblies assumed a more central role in politics.

Colonial leaders argued that their legislatures should exercise the same rights as those won by Parliament in its seventeenth-century struggle with royal authority. Indeed, Anglo-Americans saw their assemblies as miniature Houses of Commons, which represented the people and defended their liberty against centralized authority, in particular by its exclusive power to originate revenue-raising measures. After Parliament won supremacy over the monarchy through the Bill of Rights in 1689, assemblymen insisted that their governors' powers were similarly limited.

The lower houses steadily asserted their prestige and authority by refusing to permit outside meddling in their proceedings, by taking firm control over taxes and budgets, and especially by keeping a tight rein on executive salaries. Although governors had considerable powers (including the right to veto acts, call and dismiss assembly sessions, and schedule elections), they were vulnerable to legislatures' financial pressure because they received no salary from British sources and relied

on the assemblies for income. This “power of the purse” sometimes enabled assemblies to force governors to sign laws opposed by the crown.

The assemblies’ growing importance was reinforced by British policy. The Board of Trade, established in 1696 to monitor American developments, could have weakened the assemblies by persuading the crown to disallow objectionable colonial laws signed by the governors. But it rarely exercised this power before midcentury. The resulting political vacuum allowed the colonies to become self-governing in most respects except for trade regulation, restrictions on printing money, and declaring war. Representative government in the colonies originated and was nurtured within the protective environment of the British Empire.

The elite planters, merchants, and attorneys who monopolized colonial wealth also dominated politics. Most assemblymen ranked among the wealthiest 2 percent of colonists. To placate them, governors invariably appointed other members of the greater gentry to sit on their councils and as judges on the highest courts. Although members of the lesser gentry sat less often in the legislature, they commonly served as justices of the peace.

Outside New England (where any voter was eligible for office), legal requirements barred 80 percent of white men from running for the assembly, most often by specifying that a candidate must own a minimum of a thousand acres. (Farms then averaged 180 acres in the South and 120 acres in the middle colonies.) Even without such property qualifications (as New England showed), few ordinary colonists could have afforded to hold elective office. Assemblymen received only living expenses, which might not fully cover the cost of staying at their province’s capital, much less compensate a farmer or an artisan for his absence from farm or shop for six to ten weeks a year. As a result, a few wealthy families in each colony dominated the highest political offices. Nine families, for example, provided one-third of Virginia’s royal councilors after 1680. John Adams, a rising young Massachusetts politician, estimated that most towns in his colony chose their legislators from among just three or four families.

By eighteenth-century standards, the colonies set liberal qualifications for male voters, but all provinces barred women and nonwhites from voting. In seven colonies voters had to own land (usually forty to fifty acres), and the rest demanded that an elector have enough property to furnish a house and work a farm with his own tools. About 40 percent of free white men—mostly indentured servants and young men still living with parents or just beginning family life—could not

meet these requirements. Still, most white males in British North America could vote by age forty, whereas two-thirds of all men in England and nine-tenths in Ireland were never eligible.

In rural areas voter participation was low unless a vital issue was at stake. The difficulties of voting limited the average rural turnout to about 45 percent (a rate of participation higher, however, than in typical U.S. elections today, apart from those for president). Most governors called elections when they saw fit, so that elections might lapse for years and suddenly be held on very short notice. Thus voters in isolated areas often had no knowledge of upcoming contests. The fact that polling took place at the county seat discouraged many electors from traveling long distances over poor roads to vote. In several colonies voters stated their choices orally and publicly, often with the candidates present. This procedure inhibited the participation of those whose views differed from those of elites. Finally, most rural elections before 1750 were uncontested. Local elites decided in advance which of them would “stand” for office. Regarding office-holding as a gentleman’s public duty, they considered it demeaning to appear interested in being chosen, much less to compete or “run” for a position.

Given all these factors, many rural voters were indifferent about politics at the colony level. For example, to avoid paying legislators’ expenses at the capital, many smaller Massachusetts towns refused to elect assemblymen. Thirty percent of men elected to South Carolina’s assembly neglected to take their seats from 1731 to 1760, including a majority of those chosen in 1747 and 1749.

Despite these limitations, rural elections slowly emerged as community events in which many nonelite white men participated. In time, rural voters would follow urban colonists and express themselves more forcefully.

Meanwhile, a truly competitive political life developed in the northern seaports. Depending on their economic interests, wealthy colonists aligned themselves with or against royal and proprietary governors. To gain advantage over rivals, some factions courted artisans and small shopkeepers whose fortunes had stagnated or declined as the distribution of urban wealth tilted increasingly toward the rich. In actively courting nonelite voters, they scandalized rival elites who feared that an unleashing of popular passions could disturb the social order.

New York was the site of the bitterest factional conflicts. In one episode in 1733, Governor William Cosby suspended his principal rival, Lewis Morris, from Morris' position as chief justice after Morris ruled against the governor. To mobilize popular support for Morris, his faction established the *New-York Weekly Journal*, which repeatedly accused Cosby and his associates of rampant corruption. In 1734 the governor's supporters engineered the arrest of the *Weekly Journal's* printer, John Peter Zenger, on charges that he had seditiously libeled Cosby. Following a celebrated trial in August 1735, Zenger was acquitted.

Although it did not lead to a change in New York's libel law nor significantly enhance freedom of the press at the time, the Zenger verdict was significant for several reasons. In New York and elsewhere, it encouraged the broadening of political discussion and participation beyond a small circle of elites. Equally significant were its legal implications. Zenger's brilliant attorney, Andrew Hamilton, effectively seized on the growing colonial practice of allowing attorneys to speak directly to juries on behalf of defendants. He persuaded the jury that it alone, without the judge's advice, could reject a charge of libel "if you should be of the opinion that there is no falsehood in [Zenger's] papers." Until then, truth alone had not served as a sufficient defense against a charge of libel in British and colonial courts of law. By empowering nonelites as voters, readers, and jurors, the Morris-Cosby rivalry and the Zenger trial encouraged their participation in New York's public life.

The Enlightenment

If property and wealth were the keys to political participation and officeholding, literacy and education permitted Anglo-Americans to participate in the trans-Atlantic world of ideas and beliefs. Perhaps 90 percent of New

England's adult white men and 40 percent of white women could write well enough to sign documents, thanks to the region's traditional support for primary education. Among white males elsewhere in the colonies, the literacy rate varied from about 35 percent to more than 50 percent. (In England, by contrast, no more than one-third of all males could read and write.) How readily most of these people read a book or wrote a letter was another matter.

The best-educated colonists—members of the gentry, well-to-do merchants, educated ministers, and growing numbers of self-improving artisans and farmers—embraced a wider world of ideas and information. Though costly, books, newspapers, and writing paper could open up eighteenth-century European civilization to reading men and women. A rich, exciting world it was. Scientific advances seemed to explain the laws of nature; human intelligence appeared poised to triumph over ignorance and prejudice. For those who had the time to read and think, an age of optimism and progress was dawning, an age known as the Enlightenment.

Enlightenment ideals combined confidence in human reason with skepticism toward beliefs not founded on science or strict logic. A major source of Enlightenment thought was English physicist Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727), who in 1687 explained how gravitation ruled the universe. Newton's work captured Europe's imagination by demonstrating the harmony of natural laws and stimulated others to search for rational principles in medicine, law, psychology, and government.

Before 1750 no American more fully embodied the Enlightenment spirit than Benjamin Franklin. Born in Boston in 1706, Franklin migrated to Philadelphia at age seventeen. He brought along skill as a printer, considerable ambition, and insatiable intellectual curiosity. In moving to Philadelphia, Franklin put himself in the right place at the right time, for the city was growing much more rapidly than Boston and was attracting merchants and artisans who shared Franklin's zest for learning and new ideas. Franklin organized some of these men into a reading-discussion group called the *Junto*, and they helped him secure printing contracts. In 1732 he first published *Poor Richard's Almanack*, a collection of maxims and proverbs that made him famous. By age forty-two Franklin had earned enough money to retire and devote himself to science and community service.

These dual goals—science and community benefit—were intimately related in Franklin's mind, for he believed that all true science would be useful, in the sense of making everyone's life more comfortable. For example, experimenting with a kite, Franklin demon-

strated in 1752 that lightning was electricity, a discovery that led to the lightning rod.

Although some southern planters, such as Thomas Jefferson, eventually championed progress through science, the Enlightenment's earliest and primary American centers were cities, where the latest European books and ideas circulated and where gentlemen and self-improving artisans met to investigate nature and conduct experiments. Franklin organized one such group, the American Philosophical Society, in 1743 to encourage "all philosophical experiments that let light into the nature of things, tend to increase the power of man over matter, and multiply the conveniences and pleasures of life." By 1769 this society had blossomed into an intercolonial network of amateur scientists. The societies emulated the Royal Society in London, the foremost learned society in the English-speaking world. In this respect, the Enlightenment initially strengthened the ties between colonial and British elites.

Although confident that science would benefit everyone, the Enlightenment's followers envisioned progress as gradual and proceeding from the top down. They trusted reason far more than they trusted the common people, whose judgment, especially on religious matters, seemed too easily deranged.

Just as Newton inspired the scientific bent of Enlightenment intellectuals, English philosopher John Locke, in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), led many to embrace "reasonable" or "rational" religion. Locke contended that ideas, including religion, are not inborn but are acquired by toilsome investigation of and reflection upon experience. To most Enlightenment intellectuals, the best argument for the existence of God was the harmony and order of nature, which pointed to a rational Creator. Some individuals, including Franklin and, later, Jefferson and Thomas Paine, carried this argument a step farther by insisting that where the Bible conflicted with reason, one should follow the dictates of reason rather than the Bible. Called Deists, they concluded that God, having created a perfect universe, did not miraculously intervene in its workings but rather left it alone to operate according to natural laws.

Most colonists influenced by the Enlightenment described themselves as Christians and attended church. But they feared Christianity's excesses, particularly as indulged in by those who persecuted others in religion's name and by "enthusiasts" who emphasized emotion rather than reason in the practice of piety. Mindful of Locke's caution that no human can be absolutely certain of anything but his or her own existence, they distrusted zealots and sectarians. Typically,

Franklin contributed money to most of the churches in Philadelphia but thought that religion's value lay in its encouragement of virtue and morality rather than in theological hair splitting.

In 1750 the Enlightenment's greatest contributions to American life still lay in the future. A quarter-century later, Anglo-Americans drew on the Enlightenment's revolutionary ideas as they declared their independence from Britain and created the foundations of a new nation (see Chapters 5 and 6). Meanwhile, a series of religious revivals known as the Great Awakening challenged the Enlightenment's most basic assumptions.

The Great Awakening

Viewing the world as orderly and predictable, rationalists were inclined to a sense of smug self-satisfaction. Writing his will in 1750, Franklin thanked God for giving

him “such a mind, with moderate passions” and “such a competency of this world’s goods as might make a reasonable mind easy.” But many Americans lacked such a comfortable competency of goods and lived neither orderly nor predictable lives. For example, in 1737 and 1738 an epidemic of diphtheria, a contagious throat disease, killed every tenth child under sixteen from New Hampshire to Pennsylvania. Such an event starkly reminded colonists of the fragility of earthly life and turned their thoughts to religion.

Throughout the colonial period, religious fervor periodically quickened within a denomination or region and then receded. But in 1739 an outpouring of European Protestant revivalism spread to British North America. This “Great Awakening,” as its promoters termed it, cut across lines of class, gender, and even race. Above all, the revivals represented an unleashing of anxiety and longing among ordinary people—anxiety about sin, and longing for assurances of salvation. The answers

they received were conveyed through the powerful preaching of charismatic ministers who appealed directly and brazenly to their audiences’ emotions rather than to their intellects. Some revivalists were themselves intellectuals, comfortable amid the books and ideas of the Enlightenment. But for all, religion was primarily a matter of emotional commitment.

In contrast to rationalists, who stressed the potential for human betterment, revivalist ministers roused their audiences into outbursts of religious fervor by depicting the emptiness of material comfort, the utter corruption of human nature, the fury of divine wrath, and the need for immediate repentance. Although he was a brilliant thinker, well aware of contemporary philosophy and science, the Congregationalist Jonathan Edwards, who led a revival at Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1735, drove home this message with breathtaking clarity. “The God that holds you over the pit of Hell, much as one holds a spider or other loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you,” Edwards intoned in one of his famous sermons, “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God.” “His wrath toward you burns like fire; He looks upon you as worthy of nothing else but to be cast into the fire.”

Even before Edwards’s Northampton revival, two New Jersey ministers, Presbyterian William Tennent and Theodore Frelinghuysen of the Dutch Reformed Church, had stimulated conversions in prayer meetings called Refreshings. But the event that brought these various threads of revival together was the arrival in 1739 of George Whitefield (see above). So overpowering was Whitefield that some joked that he could make crowds swoon simply by uttering “Mesopotamia.” In age without microphones, crowds exceeding twenty thousand could hear his booming voice clearly, and many wept at his eloquence.

Whitefield’s American tour inspired thousands to seek salvation. Most converts were young adults in their late twenties. In Connecticut alone, the number joining churches jumped from 630 in 1740 to 3,217 after Whitefield toured in 1741. Within two more years, every fifth Connecticut resident under forty-five had reportedly been saved by God’s grace. Whitefield’s allure was so mighty that he even awed potential critics. Hearing him preach in Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin first vowed to contribute nothing to the collection. But so admirably did Whitefield conclude his sermon, Franklin recalled, “that I empty’d my Pocket wholly into the Collector’s Dish, Gold and all.”

Divisions over the revivals quickly developed in Whitefield’s wake and were often exacerbated by social and economic tensions. For example, after leaving

Boston in October 1740, Whitefield invited Gilbert Tennent (William's son) to follow "in order to blow up the divine flame lately kindled there." Denouncing Boston's established clergymen as "dead Drones" and lashing out at aristocratic fashion, Tennent built a following among the city's poor and downtrodden. So did another preacher, James Davenport, who was expelled for having said that Boston's clergy were leading the people blindfolded to hell.

Exposing colonial society's divisions, Tennent and Davenport corroded support for the revivals among established ministers and officials. As Whitefield's exchange with Alexander Garden showed, the lines hardened between the revivalists, known as New Lights, and the rationalist clergy, or Old Lights, who dominated the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches. In 1740 Gilbert Tennent published *The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry*, which hinted that most Presbyterian ministers lacked saving grace and hence were bound for hell, and urged parishioners to abandon them for the New Lights. By thus sowing the seeds of doubt about individual ministers, Tennent undermined one of the foundations of social order. For if the people could not trust their own ministers, whom would they trust?

Old Light rationalists fired back. In 1742 Charles Chauncy, Boston's leading Congregationalist, condemned the revival as an epidemic of the "enthusiasm" that enlightened intellectuals so loathed. Chauncy particularly blasted those who mistook the ravings of their overheated imaginations for the experience of divine grace. He even provided a kind of checklist for spotting enthusiasts: look for "a certain wildness" in their eyes, the "quakings and tremblings" of their limbs, and foaming at the mouth, Chauncy suggested. Put simply, the revival had unleashed "a sort of madness."

The Great Awakening opened unprecedented splits in American Protestantism. In 1741 New and Old Light Presbyterians formed rival branches that did not reunite until 1758, when the revivalists emerged victorious. The Anglicans lost many members to New Light congregations, especially Presbyterian and Baptist. Congregationalists splintered so badly that by 1760, New Lights had seceded from one-third of New England's churches and formed separate congregations.

The secession of New Lights was especially bitter in Massachusetts and Connecticut, where the Congregational church was established by law. To force New Lights into paying tithes to their former church, Old Lights repeatedly denied new churches legal status. Connecticut passed repressive laws forbidding revivalists to preach or perform marriages, and the colony expelled many New Lights from the legislature. In

Connecticut's Windham County, an extra story had to be added to the jail to hold all the New Lights arrested for not paying tithes. Elisha Paine, a revivalist imprisoned there for illegal preaching, gave sermons from his cell and drew such crowds that his followers built bleachers nearby to hear him. Paine and his fellow victims generated widespread sympathy for the New Lights, who finally won control of Connecticut's assembly in 1759.

Although New Lights made steady gains until the 1770s, the Great Awakening peaked in 1742. The revival then crested everywhere but in Virginia, where its high point came after 1755 with an upsurge of conversions by Baptists, who also suffered legal harassment.

For all the commotion it raised at the time, the Great Awakening's long-term effects exceeded its immediate impact. First, the revival marked a decline in the influence of Quakers (who were not significantly affected by revivalism), Anglicans, and Congregationalists. In undermining Anglicans and Congregationalists, the Great Awakening contributed to the weakening of officially established denominations. As these churches' importance waned after 1740, the number of Presbyterians and Baptists increased.

The Great Awakening also stimulated the founding of new colleges as both Old and New Lights sought institutions free of one another's influence. In 1746 New Light Presbyterians established the College of New Jersey (Princeton). Then followed King's College (Columbia) for Anglicans in 1754, the College of Rhode Island (Brown) for Baptists in 1764, Queen's College (Rutgers) for Dutch Reformed in 1766, and Dartmouth College for Congregationalists in 1769.

The revivals were also significant because they spread beyond the ranks of white society. The emphasis on piety over intellectual learning as the key to God's grace led some Africans and Native Americans to combine aspects of their traditional cultures with Christianity. The Great Awakening marked the beginnings of black Protestantism after New Lights reached out to slaves, some of whom joined white churches and even preached at revival meetings. Meanwhile, a few New Light preachers became missionaries to Native Americans residing within the colonies. A few Christian Indians, such as Samson Occom, a Mohegan born in Connecticut, became widely known as preachers themselves. Despite these breakthroughs, blacks and Indians still faced considerable religious discrimination, even among New Lights.

The Great Awakening also added to white women's religious prominence. For several decades ministers had singled out women—who constituted the majority of church members—as embodying the Christian ideal of

piety. Now some New Light churches, mostly Baptist and Congregationalist, granted women the right to speak and vote in church meetings. Like Anne Hutchinson a century earlier, some women moved from leading women's prayer and discussion groups to presiding over meetings that included men. One such woman, Sarah Osborn of Newport, Rhode Island, conducted "private praying Societies Male and female" that included black slaves in her home. In 1770 Osborn and her followers won a bitter fight over their congregation's choice of a new minister. While most assertive women were prevented from exercising as much power as Osborn, none was persecuted as Hutchinson had been in Puritan New England.

Finally the revivals had the unintended effect of blurring denominational differences among Protestants. Although George Whitefield was an Anglican who defied his superior, Garden, and later helped found Methodism, he preached with Presbyterians such as Gilbert Tennent and Congregationalists like Jonathan Edwards. By emphasizing the need for salvation over doctrinal and institutional fine points, revivalism emphasized Protestants' common experiences and promoted the coexistence of denominations.

Historians have disagreed over whether the Great Awakening had political as well as religious effects. Although Tennent and Davenport called the poor "God's people" and flayed the wealthy, they never advocated a social revolution, and the Awakening did not produce a distinct political ideology. Yet by empowering ordinary people to assert and act openly on beliefs that countered those in authority, the revivals laid some of the groundwork for political revolutionaries a generation later.

CONCLUSION

By 1750 Britain's mainland colonies barely resembled those of a century earlier. Mercantilist policies bound the colonies to the rising prosperity of the British Empire. A healthy environment for whites, along with a steady supply of Native Americans' land, enabled the population to grow and expand at an astonishing rate. The political settlement that followed England's Glorious Revolution provided the foundation for representative government in the colonies. Educated Anglo-Americans joined the intellectual ferment known as the Enlightenment. The Great Awakening, with its European origins and its intercolonial appeal, further signaled the colonies' emergence from provincial isolation.

The achievements of France and Spain on the North American mainland contrasted starkly with those of Britain. More lightly populated by Europeans, their colonies were largely remote from the more dynamic centers of Atlantic commerce. Despite their mercantilist orientations, neither France nor Spain developed colonies that substantially enriched the home country. And neither could avoid depending militarily on Native Americans for their colonies' survival.

For all of its evident wealth and progress, British America was rife with tensions. In some areas, vast discrepancies in the distribution of wealth and opportunities fostered a rebellious spirit among whites who were less well off. The Enlightenment and the Great Awakening revealed deep-seated religious and ideological divisions. Slave resistance and Anglo-Indian warfare demonstrated the depths of racial antagonisms. The revived imperial warfare of 1739–1748 added to the uncertainties of colonial life.

FOR FURTHER REFERENCE

READINGS

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CHRONOLOGY, 1660-1750

- 1651-1733** England enacts Navigation Acts.
- 1660** Restoration of the English monarchy.
- 1686-1689** Dominion of New England.
- 1688-1689** Glorious Revolution in England.
- 1689-1691** Uprisings in Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland; royal authority established.
- 1689-1697** King William's War (in Europe, War of the League of Augsburg).
- 1690** John Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*.
- 1693** Spain begins offering freedom to English slaves escaping to Florida.
- 1701** Iroquois Confederacy's Grand Settlement with England and France.
- 1702-1713** Queen Anne's War (in Europe, War of the Spanish Succession).
- 1711** Tuscarora War in Carolina.
- 1715-1716** Yamasee War in Carolina.
- 1716** San Antonio de B6xar founded.
- 1718** New Orleans founded.
- 1729-1730** French war on Natchez Indians in Louisiana.
- 1733** Georgia founded.
- 1735** John Peter Zenger acquitted of seditious libel in New York. Jonathan Edwards leads revival in Northampton, Massachusetts.
- 1737** Walking Purchase of Delaware Indian lands in Pennsylvania.
- 1739** Great Awakening begins with George Whitefield's arrival in British colonies. Stono Rebellion in South Carolina.
- 1739-1744** Anglo-Spanish War.
- 1743** Benjamin Franklin founds American Philosophical Society.
- 1744-1748** King George's War (in Europe, the War of the Austrian Succession).
- 1750** Slavery legalized in Georgia.

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- Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (1998). The definitive study of African-American life in Britain's southern colonies.
- Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (2001). A highly original examination of colonial American history from the perspective of Native Americans.
- Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* (2001). A pathbreaking study that uses New England women's work with textiles as a window into economic, gender, and cultural history.
- David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (1992). A masterful synthesis of Spanish colonial history north of the Caribbean and Mexico.

WEBSITES

From Indentured Servitude to Racial Slavery

<http://innercity.org/holt/slavechron.html>

Part 1, 1619-1789, includes an excellent discussion of slavery and the slave trade in North America, including African contexts. Features useful maps and links to primary and secondary sources.

Historic Deerfield Collections and Research

<http://www.historic-deerfield.org/collections/collections.html>

View furniture, china, and other examples of elite consumption in eighteenth-century New England. Photos are accompanied by information on artisans and techniques.

Religion and the Founding of the American Republic

<http://lcweb.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/rel02.html>

Part 2, Religion in Eighteenth-Century America, shows the role of religion in the British colonies, examining both the revivals and the deism of Enlightenment thinkers. Includes illustrations from the period.

For additional works please consult the bibliography at the end of the book.

PERIOD 1:

1491–1607

Related Thematic Learning Objectives (Focus of Exam Questions)

MIG-2.0: Analyze causes of internal migration and patterns of settlement in what would become the United States, and explain how migration has affected American life.

GEO-1.0: Explain how geographic and environmental factors shaped the development of various communities, and analyze how competition for and debates over natural resources have affected both interactions among different groups and the development of government policies.

Key Concept 1.1: As native populations migrated and settled across the vast expanse of North America over time, they developed distinct and increasingly complex societies by adapting to and transforming their diverse environments.

I. Different native societies adapted to and transformed their environments through innovations in agriculture, resource use, and social structure.

A) The spread of maize cultivation from present-day Mexico northward into the present-day American Southwest and beyond supported economic development, settlement, advanced irrigation, and social diversification among societies.

B) Societies responded to the aridity of the Great Basin and the grasslands of the western Great Plains by developing largely mobile lifestyles.

C) In the Northeast, the Mississippi River Valley, and along the Atlantic seaboard some societies developed mixed agricultural and hunter-gatherer economies that favored the development of permanent villages.

D) Societies in the Northwest and present-day California supported themselves by hunting and gathering, and in some areas developed settled communities supported by the vast resources of the ocean.

Period 1: 1491–1607
Key Concept 1.1

TEACHER-SELECTED EXAMPLES OF HISTORICAL INDIVIDUALS, EVENTS, TOPICS, OR SOURCES FOR STUDENTS TO EXAMINE THE KEY CONCEPT IN DEPTH

Related Thematic Learning Objectives (Focus of Exam Questions)

WXT-2.0: Explain how patterns of exchange, markets, and private enterprise have developed, and analyze ways that governments have responded to economic issues.

WXT-3.0: Analyze how technological innovation has affected economic development and society.

WOR-1.0: Explain how cultural interaction, cooperation, competition, and conflict between empires, nations, and peoples have influenced political, economic, and social developments in North America.

Key Concept 1.2: Contact among Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans resulted in the Columbian Exchange and significant social, cultural, and political changes on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

I. European expansion into the Western Hemisphere generated intense social, religious, political, and economic competition and changes within European societies.

A) European nations' efforts to explore and conquer the New World stemmed from a search for new sources of wealth, economic and military competition, and a desire to spread Christianity.

B) The Columbian Exchange brought new crops to Europe from the Americas, stimulating European population growth, and new sources of mineral wealth, which facilitated the European shift from feudalism to capitalism.

C) Improvements in maritime technology and more organized methods for conducting international trade, such as joint-stock companies, helped drive changes to economies in Europe and the Americas.

Period 1: 1491–1607
Key Concept 1.2

TEACHER-SELECTED EXAMPLES OF HISTORICAL INDIVIDUALS, EVENTS, TOPICS, OR SOURCES FOR STUDENTS TO EXAMINE THE KEY CONCEPT IN DEPTH

Related Thematic Learning Objectives (Focus of Exam Questions)

MIG-1.0: Explain the causes of migration to colonial North America and, later, the United States, and analyze immigration’s effects on U.S. society.

WXT-1.0: Explain how different labor systems developed in North America and the United States, and explain their effects on workers’ lives and U.S. society.

GEO-1.0: Explain how geographic and environmental factors shaped the development of various communities, and analyze how competition for and debates over natural resources have affected both interactions among different groups and the development of government policies.

Key Concept 1.2: Contact among Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans resulted in the Columbian Exchange and significant social, cultural, and political changes on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

II. The Columbian Exchange and development of the Spanish Empire in the Western Hemisphere resulted in extensive demographic, economic, and social changes.

- A) Spanish exploration and conquest of the Americas were accompanied and furthered by widespread deadly epidemics that devastated native populations and by the introduction of crops and animals not found in the Americas.
- B) In the *encomienda* system, Spanish colonial economies marshaled Native American labor to support plantation-based agriculture and extract precious metals and other resources.
- C) European traders partnered with some West African groups who practiced slavery to forcibly extract slave labor for the Americas. The Spanish imported enslaved Africans to labor in plantation agriculture and mining.
- D) The Spanish developed a caste system that incorporated, and carefully defined the status of, the diverse population of Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans in their empire.



Period 1: 1491–1607
Key Concept 1.2

TEACHER-SELECTED EXAMPLES OF HISTORICAL INDIVIDUALS, EVENTS, TOPICS, OR SOURCES FOR STUDENTS TO EXAMINE THE KEY CONCEPT IN DEPTH

Related Thematic Learning Objectives (Focus of Exam Questions)

CUL-1.0: Explain how religious groups and ideas have affected American society and political life.

CUL-3.0: Explain how ideas about women’s rights and gender roles have affected society and politics.

CUL-4.0: Explain how different group identities, including racial, ethnic, class, and regional identities, have emerged and changed over time.

WOR-1.0: Explain how cultural interaction, cooperation, competition, and conflict between empires, nations, and peoples have influenced political, economic, and social developments in North America.

Key Concept 1.2: Contact among Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans resulted in the Columbian Exchange and significant social, cultural, and political changes on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

III. In their interactions, Europeans and Native Americans asserted divergent worldviews regarding issues such as religion, gender roles, family, land use, and power.

- A) Mutual misunderstandings between Europeans and Native Americans often defined the early years of interaction and trade as each group sought to make sense of the other. Over time, Europeans and Native Americans adopted some useful aspects of each other’s culture.
- B) As European encroachments on Native Americans’ lands and demands on their labor increased, native peoples sought to defend and maintain their political sovereignty, economic prosperity, religious beliefs, and concepts of gender relations through diplomatic negotiations and military resistance.
- C) Extended contact with Native Americans and Africans fostered a debate among European religious and political leaders about how non-Europeans should be treated, as well as evolving religious, cultural, and racial justifications for the subjugation of Africans and Native Americans.

Period 1: 1491–1607
Key Concept 1.2

TEACHER-SELECTED EXAMPLES OF HISTORICAL INDIVIDUALS, EVENTS, TOPICS, OR SOURCES FOR STUDENTS TO EXAMINE THE KEY CONCEPT IN DEPTH

PERIOD 2:

1607–1754

Related Thematic Learning Objectives (Focus of Exam Questions)

MIG-1.0: Explain the causes of migration to colonial North America and, later, the United States, and analyze immigration’s effects on U.S. society.

WOR-1.0: Explain how cultural interaction, cooperation, competition, and conflict between empires, nations, and peoples have influenced political, economic, and social developments in North America.

Key Concept 2.1: Europeans developed a variety of colonization and migration patterns, influenced by different imperial goals, cultures, and the varied North American environments where they settled, and they competed with each other and American Indians for resources.

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

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

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

C) English colonization efforts attracted a comparatively large number of male and female British migrants, as well as other European migrants, all of whom sought social mobility, economic prosperity, religious freedom, and improved living conditions. These colonists focused on agriculture and settled on land taken from Native Americans, from whom they lived separately.

Period 2: 1607–1754
Key Concept 2.1

TEACHER-SELECTED EXAMPLES OF HISTORICAL INDIVIDUALS, EVENTS, TOPICS, OR SOURCES FOR STUDENTS TO EXAMINE THE KEY CONCEPT IN DEPTH

Related Thematic Learning Objectives (Focus of Exam Questions)

NAT-1.0: Explain how ideas about democracy, freedom, and individualism found expression in the development of cultural values, political institutions, and American identity.

WXT-2.0: Explain how patterns of exchange, markets, and private enterprise have developed, and analyze ways that governments have responded to economic issues.

MIG-1.0: Explain the causes of migration to colonial North America and, later, the United States, and analyze immigration's effects on U.S. society.

MIG-2.0: Analyze causes of internal migration and patterns of settlement in what would become the United States, and explain how migration has affected American life.

GEO-1.0: Explain how geographic and environmental factors shaped the development of various communities, and analyze how competition for and debates over natural resources have affected both interactions among different groups and the development of government policies.

Key Concept 2.1: Europeans developed a variety of colonization and migration patterns, influenced by different imperial goals, cultures, and the varied North American environments where they settled, and they competed with each other and American Indians for resources.

II. In the 17th century, early British colonies developed along the Atlantic coast, with regional differences that reflected various environmental, economic, cultural, and demographic factors.

A) The Chesapeake and North Carolina colonies grew prosperous exporting tobacco — a labor-intensive product initially cultivated by white, mostly male indentured servants and later by enslaved Africans.

B) The New England colonies, initially settled by Puritans, developed around small towns with family farms and achieved a thriving mixed economy of agriculture and commerce.

C) The middle colonies supported a flourishing export economy based on cereal crops and attracted a broad range of European migrants, leading to societies with greater cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity and tolerance.

D) The colonies of the southernmost Atlantic coast and the British West Indies used long growing seasons to develop plantation economies based on exporting staple crops. They depended on the labor of enslaved Africans, who often constituted the majority of the population in these areas and developed their own forms of cultural and religious autonomy.

E) Distance and Britain's initially lax attention led to the colonies creating self-governing institutions that were unusually democratic for the era. The New England colonies based power in participatory town meetings, which in turn elected members to their colonial legislatures; in the Southern colonies, elite planters exercised local authority and also dominated the elected assemblies.

Period 2: 1607–1754

Key Concept 2.1

TEACHER-SELECTED EXAMPLES OF HISTORICAL INDIVIDUALS, EVENTS, TOPICS, OR SOURCES FOR STUDENTS TO EXAMINE THE KEY CONCEPT IN DEPTH

Related Thematic Learning Objectives (Focus of Exam Questions)

WXT-2.0: Explain how patterns of exchange, markets, and private enterprise have developed, and analyze ways that governments have responded to economic issues.

CUL-4.0: Explain how different group identities, including racial, ethnic, class, and regional identities, have emerged and changed over time.

WOR-1.0: Explain how cultural interaction, cooperation, competition, and conflict between empires, nations, and peoples have influenced political, economic, and social developments in North America.

Key Concept 2.1: Europeans developed a variety of colonization and migration patterns, influenced by different imperial goals, cultures, and the varied North American environments where they settled, and they competed with each other and American Indians for resources.

III. Competition over resources between European rivals and American Indians encouraged industry and trade and led to conflict in the Americas.

A) An Atlantic economy developed in which goods, as well as enslaved Africans and American Indians, were exchanged between Europe, Africa, and the Americas through extensive trade networks. European colonial economies focused on acquiring, producing, and exporting commodities that were valued in Europe and gaining new sources of labor.

B) Continuing trade with Europeans increased the flow of goods in and out of American Indian communities, stimulating cultural and economic changes and spreading epidemic diseases that caused radical demographic shifts.

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

D) The goals and interests of European leaders and colonists at times diverged, leading to a growing mistrust on both sides of the Atlantic. Colonists, especially in British North America, expressed dissatisfaction over issues including territorial settlements, frontier defense, self-rule, and trade.

E) British conflicts with American Indians over land, resources, and political boundaries led to military confrontations, such as Metacom’s War (King Philip’s War) in New England.

F) American Indian resistance to Spanish colonizing efforts in North America, particularly after the Pueblo Revolt, led to Spanish accommodation of some aspects of American Indian culture in the Southwest.

Period 2: 1607–1754
Key Concept 2.1

TEACHER-SELECTED EXAMPLES OF HISTORICAL INDIVIDUALS, EVENTS, TOPICS, OR SOURCES FOR STUDENTS TO EXAMINE THE KEY CONCEPT IN DEPTH

Related Thematic Learning Objectives (Focus of Exam Questions)

NAT-1.0: Explain how ideas about democracy, freedom, and individualism found expression in the development of cultural values, political institutions, and American identity.

POL-1.0: Explain how and why political ideas, beliefs, institutions, party systems, and alignments have developed and changed.

WXT-2.0: Explain how patterns of exchange, markets, and private enterprise have developed, and analyze ways that governments have responded to economic issues.

CUL-1.0: Explain how religious groups and ideas have affected American society and political life.

CUL-2.0: Explain how artistic, philosophical, and scientific ideas have developed and shaped society and institutions.

Key Concept 2.2: The British colonies participated in political, social, cultural, and economic exchanges with Great Britain that encouraged both stronger bonds with Britain and resistance to Britain’s control.

I. Transatlantic commercial, religious, philosophical, and political exchanges led residents of the British colonies to evolve in their political and cultural attitudes as they became increasingly tied to Britain and one another.

A) The presence of different European religious and ethnic groups contributed to a significant degree of pluralism and intellectual exchange, which were later enhanced by the first Great Awakening and the spread of European Enlightenment ideas.

B) The British colonies experienced a gradual Anglicization over time, developing autonomous political communities based on English models with influence from intercolonial commercial ties, the emergence of a trans-Atlantic print culture, and the spread of Protestant evangelicalism.

C) The British government increasingly attempted to incorporate its North American colonies into a coherent, hierarchical, and imperial structure in order to pursue mercantilist economic aims, but conflicts with colonists and American Indians led to erratic enforcement of imperial policies.

D) Colonists’ resistance to imperial control drew on local experiences of self-government, evolving ideas of liberty, the political thought of the Enlightenment, greater religious independence and diversity, and an ideology critical of perceived corruption in the imperial system.

Period 2: 1607–1754
Key Concept 2.2

TEACHER-SELECTED EXAMPLES OF HISTORICAL INDIVIDUALS, EVENTS, TOPICS, OR SOURCES FOR STUDENTS TO EXAMINE THE KEY CONCEPT IN DEPTH

Related Thematic Learning Objectives (Focus of Exam Questions)

WXT-1.0: Explain how different labor systems developed in North America and the United States, and explain their effects on workers’ lives and U.S. society.

CUL-3.0: Explain how ideas about women’s rights and gender roles have affected society and politics.

CUL-4.0: Explain how different group identities, including racial, ethnic, class, and regional identities, have emerged and changed over time.

WOR-1.0: Explain how cultural interaction, cooperation, competition, and conflict between empires, nations, and peoples have influenced political, economic, and social developments in North America.

Key Concept 2.2: The British colonies participated in political, social, cultural, and economic exchanges with Great Britain that encouraged both stronger bonds with Britain and resistance to Britain’s control.

II. Like other European empires in the Americas that participated in the Atlantic slave trade, the English colonies developed a system of slavery that reflected the specific economic, demographic, and geographic characteristics of those colonies.

A) All the British colonies participated to varying degrees in the Atlantic slave trade due to the abundance of land and a growing European demand for colonial goods, as well as a shortage of indentured servants. Small New England farms used relatively few enslaved laborers, all port cities held significant minorities of enslaved people, and the emerging plantation systems of the Chesapeake and the southernmost Atlantic coast had large numbers of enslaved workers, while the great majority of enslaved Africans were sent to the West Indies.

B) As chattel slavery became the dominant labor system in many southern colonies, new laws created a strict racial system that prohibited interracial relationships and defined the descendants of African American mothers as black and enslaved in perpetuity.

C) Africans developed both overt and covert means to resist the dehumanizing aspects of slavery and maintain their family and gender systems, culture, and religion.

Period 2: 1607–1754
Key Concept 2.2

TEACHER-SELECTED EXAMPLES OF HISTORICAL INDIVIDUALS, EVENTS, TOPICS, OR SOURCES FOR STUDENTS TO EXAMINE THE KEY CONCEPT IN DEPTH