

Pre-Columbian and Exploration Period

AP US History--Weiland

Reading: *United States History: An Essential Coursebook (Wood), Chapters 1-3*

Chapter 1

1. What were the characteristics of the early Mesoamerican societies?

2. What were the characteristics of the Andean Civilizations?

3. How did the tribes of North America compare to one another?

4. How did the Iroquois Confederacy differ from other tribal groups in North America?

5. What similar characteristics can be found in the Pre-Columbian groups? What differences can be found in the Pre-Columbian groups?

Chapter 2

6. What groups are believed to have contact in the Americas prior to the Age of Exploration and why do you think they did not settle?

7. What events led to the Spanish and Portuguese becoming the first country-wide exploration models?

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8. What do you think is the most significant contribution to exploration by the Portuguese and Spanish populations?

9. Who benefitted most from the Treaty of Tordesillas?

10. What was the cause and effect of the Spanish conquest of Mesoamerica, South America, and parts of North America?

11. Why do you think many early settlements in the current USA failed?

12. What were the characteristics of the first permanent North American settlement?

13. What were the characteristics of Dutch exploration and settlements?

14. What were the characteristics of French exploration and settlement?

15. How do the colonies of the Spanish, Dutch, and French compare and contrast to one another?

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16. Why were the English so late getting into the exploration game?

17. What were the two major causes of English migration to the Americas?

18. Why were the English settlements granted more independence than Spanish settlements?

19. How did the social hierarchy of the English colonies compare to that of the Spanish?

20. How could the relationship between the English and the Native Americans be characterized?

21. What were the characteristics of the Virginia Colony?

22. What were the characteristics of the Maryland Colony?

23. How did Virginia and Maryland compare and contrast in characteristics?

24. What were the characteristics of the Plymouth Colony?

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25. What were the characteristics of the Massachusetts Bay Colony?

26. How did the Puritans' relations with the American Indians compare to that of the Spanish, French, and other English colonies?

27. What was life like in New England?

28. What was the New England Confederation?

29. What was the cause and effect of exiles from Puritan Colonies?

30. How did the Restoration Colonies compare and contrast to one another?

31. How did the Restoration colonies compare and contrast to the other English colonies?

32. What is the Glorious Revolution?

33. What is the significance of Bacon's Rebellion in regard to the English colonial development?

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34. What were the consequences of the Columbian Exchange on the New World and the Old?

35. How did the Age of Exploration create a global economic network?

Chapter 3

36. What caused the population increase in the English colonies?

37. How did the Scots-Irish and German populations compare and contrast in the characteristics and immigrant groups to the English colonies?

38. What was the cause and effect of expansion of colonies in the period 1690-1754?

39. What caused an increase of slave labor in the English colonies?

40. How was the slave trade characterized during this period?

41. What was the effect of African Diaspora on the Americas?

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42. What was the impact of rapid population growth on the economies of the British colonies?

43. What was the significance of the Navigation Acts?

44. How did the economies of the each English colonial region compare and contrast to one another?

45. What were the characteristics of English colonial cities?

46. What were the characteristics of the following groups?

Colonial elite:

Middle class:

The Poor:

Slaves:

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47. How did the social groups compare and contrast to one another?

48. Compare and contrast the roles of men and women; white families to black families.

49. What impact did education have on the colonies?

50. What was the cause and effect of the Salem Witch Trials?

51. What were the major ideas of the Enlightenment?

52. What impact did the Enlightenment have on religion?

53. Who was most likely attracted to the ideas of the Great Awakening?

54. How did the Old Light compare and contrast to the New Light?

55. What were the initial causes of conflict between the colonies and the crown?

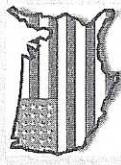
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56. What was "salutary neglect" and what impact did it have on the colonies?

57. What was the cause and effect of the Stono Rebellion?

CHAPTER 1: PRE-COLUMBIAN SOCIETIES



Until the late 15th century C.E., developing civilizations in the Americas were almost completely cut off from those in the Eastern Hemisphere, so agriculture was independently invented and cultural contacts took place within the geographical boundaries of North and South America. In prehistoric days humans reached the Western Hemisphere from Asia, although scholars disagree about when and how those migrations took place. The crossing of the land bridge (now the Aleutian Islands) from northern Asia to Alaska is widely accepted, although estimates of when the first migrations took place range from 35,000 years ago to about 15,000 years ago. Some contact with Polynesians may well have taken place, but the interactions did not continue on a regular basis.

The first Americans were nomadic hunters of game and gatherers of wild plants, and they spread gradually throughout North and South America, probably moving as small groups composed of extended families. By 3000 B.C.E. some people who lived in what is now central Mexico had settled down to cultivate food crops, especially maize (corn), squash, and beans. In the Andes Mountains of South America, people started to grow potatoes. These two areas – Mesoamerica and the Andes Mountains region – eventually evolved into large, complex societies in the days before the first voyage of Christopher Columbus in 1492. In contrast, nomadic groups and subsistence farmers continued to populate North America, although some adopted the farming techniques developed in Mesoamerica.

EARLY MESOAMERICANS

In Mesoamerica agricultural villages appeared by about 3000 B.C.E., and spread throughout the region over the next thousand years. Farmers cultivated beans, peppers, avocados, squash, maize, and tomatoes – all completely different crops than those domesticated in the Eastern Hemisphere. In contrast to civilizations in the Eastern Hemisphere, they domesticated only a limited number of animals. They raised turkeys and dogs for food, but had access to no large animals (such as

horses, cattle, goats, and sheep) that were domesticable. Human labor, then, supplied all the work of agriculture, and without the animals to pull them, wheeled vehicles were not used to facilitate the process. Civilization appeared with the development of religious centers along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, which grew into cities with specialized labor and sharp class distinctions. By 1200 B.C.E. (or perhaps earlier) a complex society had emerged that archaeologists called the Olmec, or “rubber people.” The Olmec civilization was based on agriculture, but they had no need for extensive irrigation because the area received abundant rainfall for cultivating crops. They did build elaborate drainage systems to control water, as well as raised fields that allowed crops to grow in wetlands. The cities grew as religious and trade centers, exchanging products like salt, cacao (chocolate beans), clay for ceramics, and limestone.

The Maya

The Olmec civilization had disappeared completely by about 100 B.C.E., but many of their practices and beliefs appear to have been carried on in later civilizations. The earliest heirs of the Olmecs were the Maya, who centered their society to the east and south of the Olmec settlements in what is now southern Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, and El Salvador. The first permanent Maya villages appeared during the 3rd century B.C.E. in the highlands of Guatemala, with its fertile soil for agriculture. There the people built a ceremonial center, Kaminaljuyu, that dominated other communities around it. By the fourth century C.E., Kaminaljuyu fell under the control of Teotihuacan, and the Maya moved the center of their civilization to the poorly drained Mesoamerican lowlands. From about 300 to 900 C.E., the Maya built more than eighty large ceremonial centers in the lowlands, all with pyramids, palaces, and temples. These large centers were real cities with tens of thousands of people, but most were peasant villagers who lived in settlements on the periphery of cities.

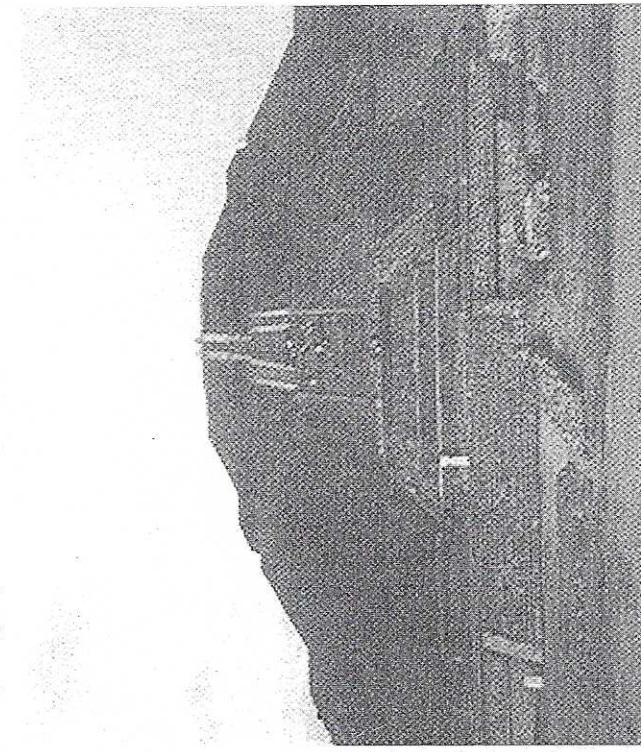
The People of Teotihuacan and the Aztecs

About the time the Maya reached their peak, another civilization began to develop in the highlands to the north. The area was the site of several large lakes fed by water from the surrounding mountains, and the earliest settlers channeled the water into their fields to produce an abundance of crops. Their central city was Teotihuacan, which began to grow rapidly after about 200 B.C.E. Like the cities of the Olmecs and the Maya, Teotihuacan was a center of religious rituals and government administration. Their monuments were in the pyramidal form found all over Central America, but the Pyramids of the Sun and the Moon are among the largest masonry structures ever built. Some scholars believe that Teotihuacan might have been the first real city of the Western Hemisphere, with a population estimated between 125,000 and 200,000. The city collapsed around 750 C.E. for unknown reasons, but city walls had been built only about 150 years earlier, suggesting that

the early days were more peaceful than the later days were. Some of the murals uncovered by archaeologists suggest that the city’s final decades were violent, with most of the important temples in the city center, as well as the houses of the elite, burned down and religious images defaced.

After the decline of Teotihuacan and the Maya cities, several regional states rose in Mesoamerica, which fought constantly with one another. One such group was the Toltecs, who migrated from northwestern Mexico and were the first to unify central Mexico again after the people of Teotihuacan. Their most famous ruler was Topiltzin, a priest who by legend was associated with the god Quetzalcoatl, who was forced into exile in the east, “the land of the rising sun.” After his exile, the Toltec state began to decline, to be replaced by the Mexica, more commonly known as the Aztecs.

According to Aztec beliefs, they built their main city, Tenochtitlan, in a place identified by the war god Huitzilopochtli by an eagle perched on a cactus with a snake in its mouth. The city grew to be one of the largest cities on earth, with as many as 300,000 people at its height, positioned on a number of small islands in



The Pyramid of the Sun. This colossal pyramid in Teotihuacan is not as tall as the Great Pyramid of Egypt (constructed much earlier), but it occupies nearly as much space. The main street of the city ran between the Pyramid of the Sun and the Pyramid of the Moon, with shops and residences lining the street. The stairs to the top of the pyramid probably led to a sacrificial altar.

Lake Texcoco. Several causeways connected them to the mainland, and the city's central marketplace was described by the Spanish as far grander than anything they had ever seen. The area was part of a chain of lakes connected by marshes, and the Aztecs adopted their lifestyles to an aquatic environment. Like the people of Teotihuacan before them, they drained swamps, constructed irrigation works and terraces, and used chinampas, or floating gardens. This unique adaptation consisted of narrow artificial islands constructed by heaping muck from the lakes on beds of reeds anchored to the shores. Chinampas made it possible to sustain urban life by boosting agricultural production. The Aztecs imposed a tribute system on conquered peoples, who had to contribute maize, beans, and other foods to support Tenochtitlan. Like the Toltecs before them, the Aztecs rose to power through military might, with tough fighting skills and a tendency toward aggressive expansion. By the early 15th century, they emerged as an independent power that dominated their allies.

ANDEAN CIVILIZATIONS

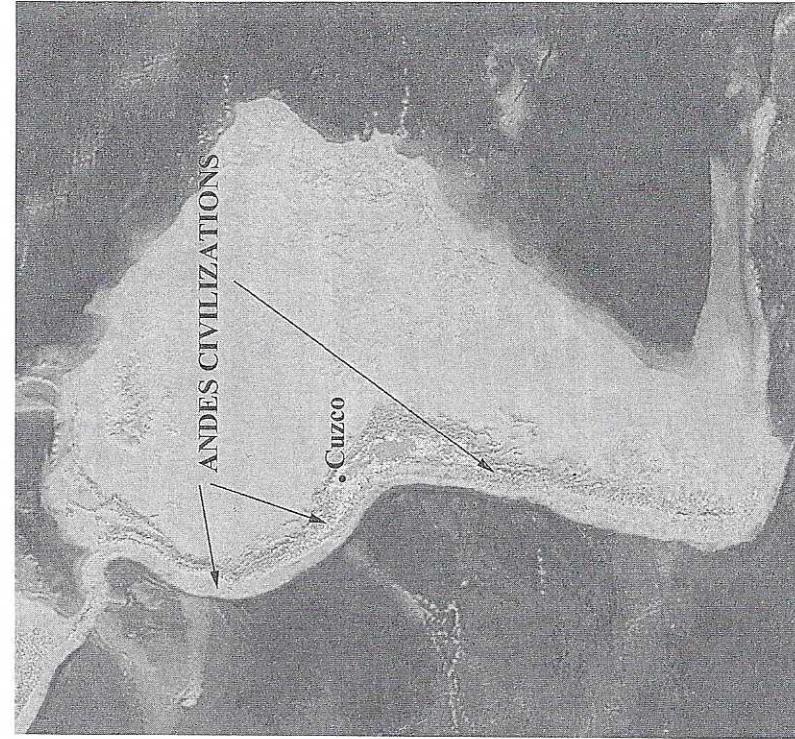
At roughly the same time that the Olmec civilization was flourishing in Mesoamerica, the Chavin dominated a heavily populated region that included both the Peruvian coastal plain and foothills of the Andes. Both civilizations differed from those of the Eastern Hemisphere in that they did not develop in river valleys, but the geographic challenge for the Chavin was particularly strong. The coast of Peru has little rainfall, and in some places is quite narrow, but the abundance of fish and other sea life provided a dependable supply of food. The Andes Mountains rise dramatically from this coastal plain, with many peaks soaring above 20,000 feet before they drop on their eastern slopes, and the terrain changes to thick jungle that surrounds the massive Amazon River Basin. The Chavin civilization rose in this unlikely environment that combined dry coast and high mountain valley.

The Chavin declined sometime after about 100 B.C.E., but on its foundations a new group of people, the Moche, built a society that thrived from about 100 to 700 C.E. The Moche built an extensive irrigation system from rivers coming out of the mountains, and cultivated maize, beans, manioc, and sweet potatoes in the lower coastal areas, and coca in the higher elevations. Because the Moche had no written records, all that we know about them comes from archaeological evidence, especially from a recently excavated tomb that revealed masterfully crafted ceramics, gold ornaments, jewels, and textiles. Like so many other ancient people of the Americas, the Moche's decline is not well understood, although it appears to have coincided with a succession of natural disasters, including an earthquake and flooding followed by thirty years of drought.

Other people, including the Tiwanaku and Wari, occupied the Andes region after the Moche, but the most powerful and well organized civilization was the Inca, who formed a vast imperial state during the 15th century. The Inca began in about

1100 in Cuzco, a town set on a plateau 11,000 feet above sea level. Strong and ambitious leaders consolidated political power during the 1430s and began an aggressive expansion that eventually led them to control a long stretch of land that extended about 2500 miles north to south along the Andes range.

The expansion of the Inca state was accomplished by a large and well-organized military, and the empire was held together by a remarkable system of roads running north and south both along the coast and in the mountains. A corps of official runners carried messages along the roads so that the ruler and his bureaucrats could keep in touch with their subjects. The roads also facilitated the spread of the Quechua language and the religious cult of Cuzco. Generally local administrators were left in place when a group was conquered, and it was overseen by Inca administrators drawn from the nobility in Cuzco. Reciprocity based on the mit'a system (donation of labor for public projects) extended to new subjects, who often benefited from incorporation into the Inca Empire with its roads and sophisticated irrigation and drainage systems.



The Physical Environment of the Andes Civilizations. The early civilizations in South America adapted to a unique environment of dry coastal areas and fertile mountain valleys at very high altitudes. The Inca capital at Cuzco was established at an altitude more than 11,000 feet above sea level.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE: HOW OLD IS ANDEAN CULTURE?

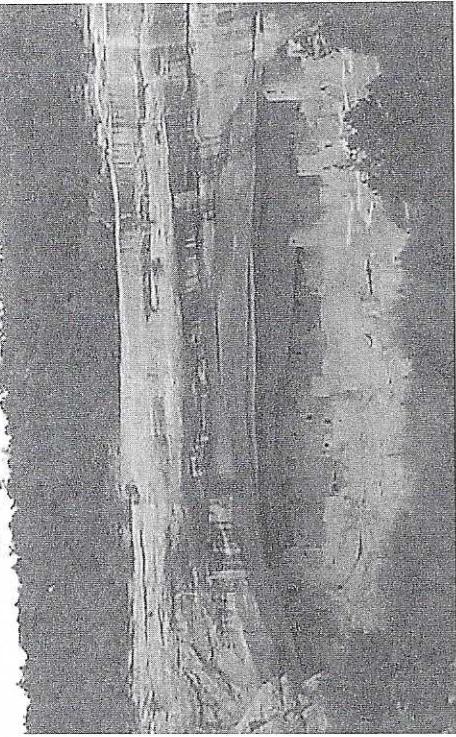


Historians have generally agreed that agriculture started later in the Americas than it did in southwest Asia, with many estimating its occurrence about 3500 B.C.E. However, some recent excavations have challenged this assumption with the discovery of squash seeds that archaeologists believe to be about 10,000 years old. The seeds were discovered in the Nanchoc Valley on the western slopes of the Andes Mountains in northern Peru, and were dated through some new techniques of radiocarbon dating and analysis of the actual plant remains. The excavations also yielded peanut hulls that were about 8500 years old and cotton fibers that were about 6000 years old.

These results were published in 2007, and if they are accepted by the scientific community, it is possible that agricultural communities and the later civilizations actually started much earlier than presumed, perhaps not long after those in the Eastern Hemisphere developed.

THE PEOPLE OF NORTH AMERICA

In contrast to Mesoamerica and the Andes region in South America, no major civilization controlled large amounts of land in North America. Instead a variety of people lived there with many different languages and lifestyles. Some were nomadic, hunting bison or deer, or in the Arctic area whale, seals, and walruses. Others gathered nuts, berries, roots, and grasses to supplement fish or meat. In several regions of North America, agriculture allowed settlements to grow. For example, in what is now the southwestern United States, the Anasazi people used river water to irrigate crops of maize, beans, squashes, and sunflowers. The hot, dry climate brought periodic drought and famine, but by 700 C.E., they were constructing permanent stone and adobe buildings called pueblos. These multistory stone-and-timber villages were connected by roads to one another, with most pueblos containing ritual enclosures called kivas. The nature of the ceremonies is still not known, but ritual items, including feathers and skeletal remains of macaws from Mexico have been found in the kivas. The Anasazi deserted their dwellings during long droughts and moved to greener pastures, and eventually abandoned the area by about 1300.



Cliff Palace. The largest remaining cliff dwelling in North America is Cliff Palace in Mesa Verde National Park in southwestern Colorado. The people that built this city were ancestors of the modern Pueblo, and they used sandstone, mortar and wooden beams as their three primary construction materials. They moved to the Mesa Verde area about 1400 years ago, and lived there for more than 700 years, eventually building elaborate stone communities in the sheltered alcoves of the canyon walls. Why they left in the late 1200s is still not fully understood. (Source: National Park Service)

Large-scale agricultural societies also emerged in the woodlands east of the Mississippi River. Like the Anasazi, the people cultivated maize and beans, but their natural environment was quite different, with abundant trees and rain. A number of different groups lived in this area, and the most distinctive feature of their culture was the construction of enormous earthen mounds they built as stages for ceremonies, platforms for dwellings, and burial sites. The largest and most important mound-builder settlement of this period was at Cahokia, located near modern-day East St. Louis, Illinois. It appears as if the people who built Cahokia built other settlements around the Mississippi River Valley, but Cahokia is the most impressive, with about eighty mounds of different sizes there. The site was abandoned about 1300 for reasons still not understood. Since people north of Mexico had no writing, information about their societies comes almost exclusively from archaeological discoveries, and we know little about their political and social organization and religious beliefs.

By 1450, most people in the Western Hemisphere lived in small kinship-based groups that spoke a variety of languages and practiced different customs. From Alaska to South America, nomadism was common, as was subsistence agriculture. Estimates vary widely as to how many people actually occupied North America at the time that the Europeans first came, from Gillon and Matson's estimate of 4 to 10 million (*The American Experiment*) to Howard Zinn's figure of 25 million in his *People's History of the United States*. No matter how many people actually

The 16th century North American group that came the closest to the sophisticated organizations of the Aztecs and Inca was the Iroquois in the northeastern woodlands. The Iroquois Confederacy was a loose alliance composed of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, who were all bound together by a common Iroquois language. The Confederacy developed the political and organizational skills to sustain a strong military alliance that often dominated its neighbors. Nevertheless, by the time that Europeans first came to the Americas, most native groups were living in small, scattered, settlements, even though many had lived on the same lands for generations. In the entire hemisphere, only two large empires existed, and even they were a considerable distance apart: the Aztecs in Mesoamerica, and the Inca in the Andes region of South America. These two empires were all that stood in the way of Spanish conquerors when they arrived in the early 16th century.

EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE: THE LEGEND OF HIAWATHA



Like many other native groups around the world, the Iroquois had a strong tradition of oral history that was passed down by word of mouth from one generation to another. The stories often focused on Hiawatha, the legendary leader who organized the powerful Iroquois Confederacy. No one knows exactly when Hiawatha lived (perhaps as early as the 1100s), or even which group he originally led, but his reputation as a prophet and a political leader was known to most of his descendants. His legend became a part of 19th century American tradition when Henry Wadsworth Longfellow wrote *The Song of Hiawatha*, published in 1855 and loosely based on native legends. The most famous part of the poem describes the physical environment of Hiawatha's childhood:

By the shores of Gitche Gumee,
By the shining Big-Sea-Water,
Stood the wigwam of Nokomis,
Daughter of the Moon, Nokomis.
Dark behind it rose the forest,
Rose the black and gloomy pine-trees,
Rose the firs with cones upon them;
Bright before it beat the water,
Beat the clear and sunny water,
Beat the shining Big-Sea-Water.



Agricultural People of North America. Most people of North America during the period from 600 to 1450 C.E. were nomadic, but in two areas, agricultural people built permanent settlements. The Anasazi Culture developed in the southwest in the areas around the Colorado River and the Rio Grande River. The Cahokia Culture used the waters of the Mississippi River and Ohio River to grow their crops.

lived on the continent, almost all scholars agree that remarkably diverse cultural groups had developed, with hundreds of different languages spoken. The cultures often fell into different language groups – such as Algonquian or Iroquoian – with neighboring Indian nations often speaking related languages.

People who lived in environments not well suited to agriculture followed a nomadic life style. For example, the Paiutes and Shoshones inhabited the Great Basin (present-day Nevada and Utah), where small bands hunted animals and gathered seeds and berries. As with most hunters and gatherers around the world, division of labor was based on gender, with men doing most of the hunting and women gathering edible plants. In more favorable climates, larger groups combined agriculture and fishing with hunting and gathering, such as the Chinooks of present-day Washington and Oregon, who lived near the seacoasts. People who lived far away from the oceans – like the Arikaras of the Missouri River valley – cultivated maize, squash, and beans to complement their hunting and gathering activities.

In the settled societies, extended families lived together in villages, and often defined relationships through **matrilineal descent**. Mothers, their married daughters, and their daughters' husbands and children all lived close by. Extended families were then linked into clans. In contrast, the nomadic people of the Great Plains generally traced their lineage through **patrilineal descent**. In both types of societies, however, power and authority still rested with the men, although more gender equality appears to have existed in the hunting and gathering societies.

CONCEPTS AND IDENTIFICATIONS

- Anasazi
- Aztecs
- Cahokia
- Chavin
- Hiawatha
- Inca
- Iroquois Confederacy
- kivas
- matrilineal descent
- Maya
- Moche
- Olmec
- patrilineal descent
- Tenochtitlan
- Teotihuacan
- Toltecs



CHAPTER 2: TRANS-ATLANTIC CONTACTS AND EARLY COLONIES (1450-1690)

- Anasazi
- Aztecs
- Cahokia
- Chavin
- Hiawatha
- Inca
- Iroquois Confederacy
- kivas
- matrilineal descent
- Maya
- Moche
- Olmec
- patrilineal descent
- Tenochtitlan
- Teotihuacan
- Toltecs

By 1450 people had been traveling across the world's seas and oceans since ancient times. The earliest water travel was generally by river, particularly in the areas of the river valley civilizations. Phoenician, Greek, and Roman ships crossed the Mediterranean Sea on a regular basis by the classical era, and dhows and Chinese junks traversed the wide expanses of the Indian Ocean. By the era 600-1450, these trade patterns had intensified, canals connected rivers in China, and Polynesians had explored and settled on islands from the East Indies to Easter Island to Hawaii. Scandinavians had also made their way across the northern Atlantic to North America, but no sustained contact resulted from their travels. In the Americas, the Arawak were travelling around the Caribbean by 1000 C.E., and the Carib settled in many of the same areas by 1500, and had traveled to the North American mainland. All of these ventures throughout the world laid the basis for the extensive sea travel and trade that developed during the 16th and 17th centuries and made it possible for sea-based European countries to gain preeminent power in the world. As these global changes unfolded, the colonies in North America developed first with only limited contact with the outside world, but their ties to Europe meant that they could not remain isolated but instead would play an important role in global politics and economic development.

PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH VOYAGES AND COLONIES

The first Europeans to take long voyages away from home during this era were the Portuguese and Spanish. Both had consolidated their governments and built strong militaries, and they were well situated on the Atlantic Ocean, close to the Strait of Gibraltar that led to the Mediterranean Sea. However, the two kingdoms had little hope of competing for trade on the Mediterranean because it was dominated by Venice and Genoa. These two city-states had forged trade alliances with Muslim states to continue the lucrative trade with the East that had begun during the era of the Crusades, and they had little interest in exploring possible trade routes across the Atlantic. Spain and Portugal were inspired by new cultural and economic forces that were transforming Europe, and they also were interested in finding

new converts to Christianity. Spain was newly united under Ferdinand and Isabella, who, as devout Catholics, in 1492 finally defeated Granada, the last Muslim kingdom on the Iberian Peninsula, and ordered all Jews to be expelled only three months later. Their religious devotion, coupled with newly centralized political power, provided incentive to spread Christianity to new regions.

The Portuguese began their explorations in the early 15th century after they attacked the rich Muslim Moroccan city of Ceuta, which was across the Strait of Gibraltar from the newly conquered state of Granada. There the Portuguese observed the caravans that brought gold and slaves across the Sahara from the African states to the south, which encouraged them to sail down the African coast in hopes of establishing some trade contacts. These first ventures were led by the third son of the Portuguese king, Prince Henry, who devoted his life to navigation, and is known in history as “Henry the Navigator.” His most important contribution was the creation of a navigation school, which became a magnet for the Genoese, Jewish cartographers who were familiar with Arab maps, and a number of young Portuguese men, some of whom became far more famous than he. Henry and his staff studied and improved navigation technology, including the magnetic compass and the astrolabe, which helped mariners determine their locations on the oceans. The Portuguese also made some important advancements in the design for ships, since the square-sailed vessels propelled by oarsmen in the Mediterranean would not work in the more turbulent Atlantic Ocean. The new ship developed by the Portuguese was called the caravel, which was much smaller than a Chinese junk, but its size allowed the exploration of shallow coastal areas and rivers. However, it was strong enough to withstand storms on the ocean. The caravel had two sets of sails: one set were square to catch ocean breezes for speed, and the other set were the triangular lateen sails that had been used for maneuverability for many years on the Indian Ocean. The newly perfected European cannon made the caravel a fighting ship as well.

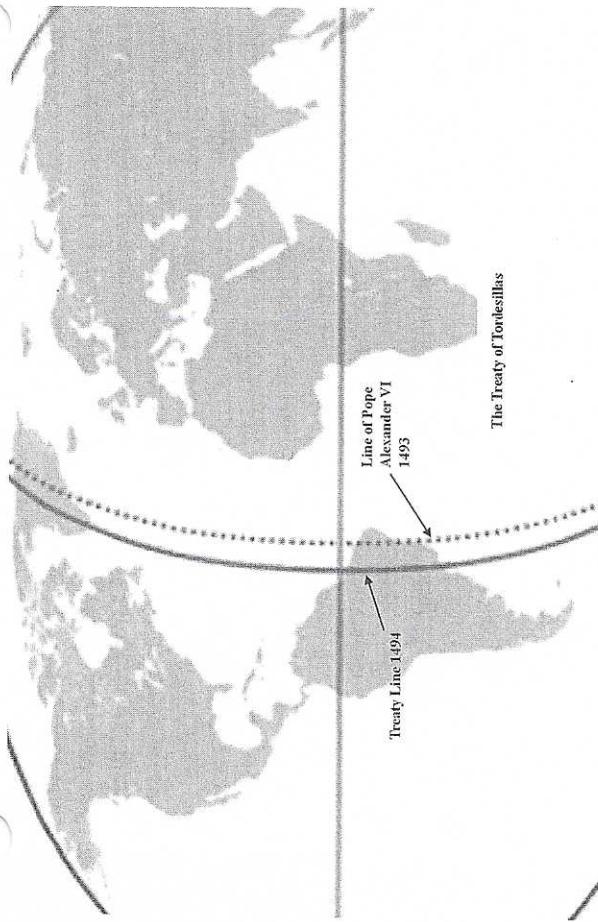
Henry had to convince others to strike out along the coast of Africa because of common concepts that southern waters were boiling hot and full of monsters, and so it took the Portuguese many years to venture beyond southern Morocco. They were further discouraged by the long stretch of desert that extended for hundreds of miles south of Morocco. Although it was not originally Henry’s goal, some of the students from his school, most notably Bartholomew Dias and Vasco Da Gama, set out to find the tip of Africa and connect beyond it to the Indian Ocean. These feats were accomplished by the end of the 15th century, after years of experimenting with wind and ocean currents and discovering the fastest and safest ways to return home to Portugal. These experiments also encouraged both the Portuguese and the Spanish to venture away from the coast and take to the high seas. In 1500, Pedro Cabral sailed too far west and reached the South American coast by mistake, but it allowed him to claim Brazil for Portugal, its one possession in the New World.

Spanish exploration developed much less gradually, with the rulers only becoming interested in overseas explorations during the last decade of the 15th century. A Genoese mariner named Christopher Columbus convinced Ferdinand and Isabella to sponsor a voyage across the Atlantic after he was turned down by the Genoese and Portuguese governments. Columbus believed that he could reach East Asia by sailing west, and he used the calculations of the Ancient Greek geographer Ptolemy when he estimated the distance. Ptolemy had believed that the circumference of the earth was about 16,000 miles, 9,000 miles short of reality. As a result, it is not surprising that Columbus thought he had reached the East Indies when he arrived in the Americas in 1492. He made three voyages between 1492 and 1498, and continued to insist that he had reached Asia even after he sighted the coast of South America on the third voyage. Of course, he had encountered the New World instead, which would be named “America” after Amerigo Vespucci, a later explorer sponsored by Spain and Portugal.

The Treaty of Tordesillas

Despite the fact that the two kingdoms of Portugal and Spain sent explorations in different directions, they began to argue shortly after Columbus’s first voyage about who controlled the newly discovered lands. Both looked to the Catholic Church for guidance. First, in 1493, the Spanish-born Pope Alexander VI endorsed an imaginary line drawn through the Atlantic from the North to South Pole as the boundary for Spanish land claims, allowing Spain all land west of the line. Portuguese King John II protested the line that ran 100 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands and the Azores, so both countries agreed in the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 on a line moved to 370 leagues west of the islands. As Portugal pushed its explorations to India and beyond, and the Spanish began to explore the Pacific Ocean, they eventually began to argue about lands on the opposite side of the earth, resulting in a treaty in 1529 that set the line in the Pacific. A Spanish adventurer named Vasco Nunez de Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama from the east and “discovered” the Pacific Ocean on the other side in 1513, and Ferdinand Magellan was commissioned by Spain in 1519 to sail westward from Spain, cross the Atlantic, find a way through the Americas, cross the Pacific, and come back home to Spain. Though Magellan himself died in the Philippines, one of his ships made it all the way back to Spain, a significant accomplishment because it was the first to circumnavigate the globe.

The Treaty of Tordesillas was a fateful agreement for both Spain and Portugal, since it oriented Spain toward the Americas (except for Brazil) and Portugal toward Africa and the Indian Ocean. As the Portuguese entered the Indian Ocean Basin, they encountered well-established trade routes and ports frequented, shared, and controlled by many different people. With their sea-worthy caravels equipped



The Treaty of Tordesillas. The first line drawn by Pope Alexander VI gave Spain all the land west of the dotted line. Portugal protested, resulting in the treaty line of 1494, the Treaty of Tordesillas, that moved the line west, allowing Portugal to claim lands east. Notice that the move allowed Portugal to claim Brazil, an area given mostly to the Spanish by the first line.

with very effectively cannon, the Portuguese were able to dominate trade from Africa to China during the 15th century. As their ships rounded the Cape of Good Hope at the tip of Africa, they first turned their attention to the Swahili city states, many of which they burned to the ground. However, because different ports along the basin were pieces of the loosely connected Indian Ocean community, the “enemy” could not be defeated clearly through a blow to a non-existent head of state. The Portuguese, then, had to be content with quick profits from trade, and they seldom settled in ports they controlled. Muslims, Buddhists, and Hindus had very little interest in converting to the Christianity that they tried to impose, and despite the violence that the Portuguese dealt, in many ways life along the Indian Ocean trade circuit went on as it always had. On the other hand, the Spanish turned toward the New World, a place where they discovered that after the conquest of two clear enemies – the Aztecs and the Inca – all would be theirs. Thus began the transformation of the Americas.

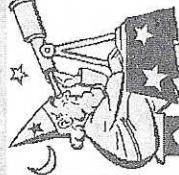
The Spanish Empire in the Americas

The Spanish set about their conquest of the Americas in the same manner that they drove the Muslims out of the Iberian Peninsula. Through a combination of religious fervor to spread their faith and a desire for riches, individual **conquistadors** (conquerors) ventured out from Hispaniola (the place where Columbus landed in

the Caribbean), to search for gold and convert the natives to Christianity. Hernan Cortes left Cuba in 1519 with 600 soldiers to march toward the interior of Mexico, where they sought to find the Aztec capital. They were aided in their search by Amerindian people along the way who were controlled by but not loyal to their Aztec conquerors. Particularly important was Malintzin (Malinche), a native woman who became a translator and guide for Cortes after she had been given to him as a mistress. Meanwhile, the Aztec emperor, Moctezuma, decided to welcome the Spaniards to Tenochtitlan, an action that, at least according to legend, may have been inspired by the belief that Cortes was Quetzalcoatl (p.21) returning home at last. The natives had never seen men with beards before, and descriptions of Spanish faces that were relayed to Moctezuma may have sounded like a description of the “feathered serpent.” Whatever his real reason, it was clearly a mistake, and the Spanish took over the city and imprisoned Moctezuma, who was soon killed in a counterattack. How did 600 men take over the great city, protected by thousands of Aztec warriors? One secret was the disloyalty of other Amerindian groups that sided with the Spanish against the Aztecs. Another was the outbreak of smallpox that hit Tenochtitlan after the Spanish arrived. The natives had never been exposed to the disease, even though the Spanish themselves were immune to it. It has been said that more Aztecs died from smallpox than from battle wounds. However, the battle wounds were also important because the Spanish had a weapon that the Aztecs did not have: guns. Spanish swords were also the fine results of years of technological diffusion and perfection all across the Eastern Hemisphere. As Jared Diamond said in a best-selling book, “guns, germs, and steel” made all the difference.

A few years after Cortes conquered the Aztecs, another conquistador, Francisco Pizarro, led a group of soldiers to the Andes to find the Inca, a great empire that he had heard about while living in Panama. The Inca had just been through a bitter civil war between two rival brothers for the throne, and though one – Atahualpa – had won, the empire was much weakened. Pizarro met Atahualpa near the city of Cajamarca in 1532, where his small group of soldiers seized Atahualpa from a litter carried by Inca nobles. The Spaniards were surrounded by 40,000 Inca soldiers, but their guns and swords carried the day. Atahualpa was imprisoned, and agreed to fill rooms with gold in exchange for his release. Atahualpa kept his promise, but the Spaniards did not. Atahualpa was first baptized as a Christian and then strangled. A massive native rebellion followed that made the Inca conquest take longer than the Aztec conquest, but by 1540 the Spanish had the former Inca Empire under control.

With these two conquests, the Spanish conquistadors marched into other parts of Mesoamerica, South America, and the southern part of North America, claiming land as they went, converting natives to Christianity, and searching for gold. By the end of the 16th century, they had built a massive colonial empire in the New World.



PERSPECTIVES: BARTHOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS ON THE SPANISH IN THE NEW WORLD

The view that most people have of the Spanish conquest of the New World has been shaped by the writings of Bartholomé de Las Casas, a conquistador turned priest who dedicated himself to protecting Amerindian rights.

Sometimes called the “Black Legend,” the vicious reputation of the Spanish was forged in *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, a book that Las Casas dedicated to the Spanish king Philip II to inform him of the abuses in the New World, as described in these passages:

“They [the Spanish] forced their way into native settlements, slaughtering everyone they found there, including small children, old men, pregnant women, and even women who had just given birth. They hacked them to pieces, slicing open their bellies with their swords as though they were so many sheep herded into a pen. They even laid wagers on whether they could manage to slice a man in two at a stroke, or cut an individual’s head from his body, or disembowel him with a single blow of their axes... They spared no one, erecting especially wide gibbets [gallows] on which they could string their victims up with their feet just off the ground and then burn them alive thirteen at a time, in honor of our Savior and the twelve Apostles...”

Reference: A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies by Bartolomé de Las Casas, translated by Nigel Griffin (Penguin Classics, 1992), pp. 14,15.

THE EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF NORTH AMERICA

During the 16th century, the French explored and claimed territory in North America, and they tried to establish colonies on the south Atlantic coast. The English, too, attempted to establish a settlement at Roanoke Island off the North Carolina coast in 1587. However, both French and English colonies failed, and by 1590, the only permanent European settlement in what is now the United States was St. Augustine, a Spanish town in Florida. Even that settlement struggled for survival, particularly since the English privateer Francis Drake looted and burned it in 1586. Successful colonization of North America did not take place until the 17th century, when the Netherlands, Britain, and France all backed property claims with permanent settlements.

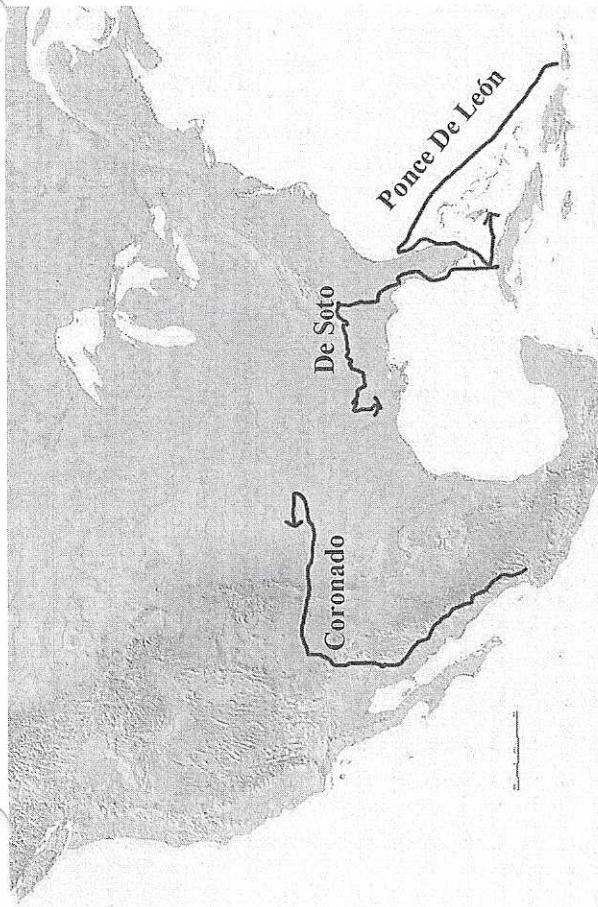
In all colonies in the Americas, European governments tried to control the economies through **mercantilism**, a system in which they intervened in the market

constantly, with the understanding that economic gain was to benefit the mother country. For most, the official policy was that goods and services that originated in the home country could be exported to colonies only and all colonial exports had to go to the home country. Whether the government controlled the economy directly, as it did in France, Spain, and Portugal, or through government-endorsed joint-stock companies, as happened in England and the Netherlands, mercantilism expanded the mother country’s economy far beyond its borders, helping to tilt the balance of power in the world toward Europe.

Spanish Explorations and Settlements in North America

Even before the Spanish conquest of Mesoamerica and the Inca Empire in South America, conquistadors ventured into North America in their unending search for gold. One of the first was Juan Ponce De León, who came to Florida in 1513 in search of slaves, wealth, and a legendary fountain of youth. The Indians repelled him, but other conquistadors followed. One of the most famous, Francisco Vásquez De Coronado, set off in 1540 to find the seven golden cities of Cíbola that earlier had been described by Spanish missionary Marcos de Niza as full of treasures. Coronado found no gold, but he did see the Grand Canyon in Arizona and the grasslands of central Kansas. Another explorer, Hernán De Soto, led an army of 600 gold-seeking soldiers across the Southeast between 1539 and 1542. Like Coronado, he found no gold, but discovered and described the Mississippi River, although his corpse was dumped in the mighty river after he died of disease and wounds.

The first permanent settlement in North America – St. Augustine – was established in 1565 near modern-day Jacksonville, Florida, to ensure Spanish dominance of the sea-lanes used by their treasure ships on the way back to Europe. Franciscan missionaries arrived in St. Augustine, and by the end of the 16th century, they established a chain of missions across northern Florida. They also set up missions much further west among the settled agricultural Pueblo peoples visited much earlier by Coronado and named the area “Nuevo México.” There Spanish landowners collected tribute from the natives and forced them to labor on their land. Then in 1598, a group of settlers led by Juan de Onate made their way to the area from Mexico and seized corn and clothing from the natives and murdered or raped those that resisted. When the residents of Acoma Pueblo killed 11 soldiers, the Spanish troops destroyed the pueblo, killing more than 800 people in the process. The resulting hostility between natives and newcomers meant that most Spanish settlers left New Mexico. Even so, in 1610 the Spanish returned to found the town of Santa Fe, and reestablished the system of missions and forced labor. The pattern of domination and resistance continued throughout most of the 17th century, despite the decimation of the native population by European diseases. Uprisings broke out, including a rebellion led by the Indian shaman Popé in 1680, in which Catholic churches were destroyed and hundreds of Spanish settlers were killed.



Spanish Explorations in North America. During the 16th century, several conquistadors led exploratory voyages in North America. Illustrated on the map above are the routes of Francisco Vásquez De Coronado, Hernan De Soto, and Juan Ponce de León.

Finally in 1696, the Pueblo people agreed to a compromise that allowed them to practice their own religion. They avoided forced labor by agreeing to help protect Spanish lands, but the agreement was not enough to encourage any further Spanish settlement of the area.

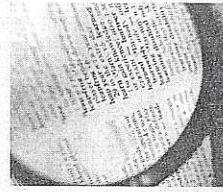
Dutch Explorations and Settlements

The Netherlands developed as a center of trade during the High Middle Ages, and unlike the Iberian Catholics, the Dutch Protestants were not particularly interested in spreading their religion to new lands. Instead, their religious zeal was channeled by the **Protestant Work Ethic** that encouraged individual endeavors toward gaining wealth. Newly empowered by independence of the Netherlands from Spain in the late 16th century, shrewd Dutch businessmen noticed that Portugal was losing control of the Indian Ocean trade by the early 17th century. Dutch ships headed toward eastern destinations, where they bought luxury goods from East and Southeast Asia and sold them for a profit in Europe. They prospered partly because many Muslims preferred to trade with them since the Dutch Protestants did not try to convert them to Christianity as the Portuguese Catholics attempted to do. However, the Dutch, like the Portuguese, were not averse to using their cannons to back up their business deals. The Dutch, like the British, organized **joint-stock companies** to share the risk of their business ventures, with the largest and most famous one being the Dutch East India Company that specialized in the spice and luxury trade of the East Indies. The company quickly gained control of Dutch

trading in the Pacific during the early 17th century, and by the late 17th century they shifted their attention to the trans-Atlantic African slave trade. Meanwhile the Dutch also crossed the Atlantic, and in 1624 the Dutch West India Company established the colony of New Netherland with its capital located on Manhattan Island in North America.

In 1609 the Dutch East India Company sent Englishman Henry Hudson to the New World to search for a Northwest Passage to Asia. He sailed into New York Harbor, claimed the area for the Netherlands, and sailed up the river that would later bear his name. By 1614 Dutch traders had established a post near present-day Albany, and ten years later the Dutch West India Company, which had been awarded exclusive Dutch trade with America, settled New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island, which – according to legend – they bought from the natives for \$24 worth of trinkets. The Dutch came to North America to extend their trading network, and they had little interest in conquest. Since the Netherlands had fought a long independence war against Spain during the 16th century, they had little love for the Spanish, and so they probably identified with the American Indians, who

EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE: THE PROTESTANT ETHIC AND THE SETTLEMENT OF NORTH AMERICA



The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism is a book written by Max Weber, a German sociologist, economist, and politician, in 1904 and 1905. In the book, Weber was searching for reasons why capitalism had emerged in Europe, especially in countries with large Protestant populations. His research led him to Calvinism, a type of Protestantism that grew up during the 16th and 17th centuries in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Scotland. He reasoned that the Calvinist belief in predestination – the idea that a person's fate after death is determined from the very first moment of life – contained a built-in incentive to hard work and self-denial. The ideal Calvinist, anxious to prove his faith in his own salvation, pursued success as an all-important sign of being chosen by God.

Capitalism flourished in the Netherlands, especially after gaining independence from Spain in the late 16th century. The Dutch were known for their individual ambitions to gain wealth, and even though many factors certainly contributed to their success, Weber based at least part of their motivation on the Protestant Work Ethic.

New Netherland was no democracy, since its main population center in New Amsterdam was controlled by appointees of the West India Company. The company established a plan to distribute land to **patroons**, shareholders who agreed to import tenants for agricultural labor. Patroons ruled their estates like medieval lords, claiming 10% of each tenant's annual income and exercising complete authority over law enforcement. No elected assembly was established, but the Dutch did enjoy more religious freedoms than most other colonists in North America. As a result, many were attracted to Dutch settlements, and the population became quite diverse (Africans, Belgians, English, French, Germans, Irish, and Scandinavians), and by the 1630s at least eighteen languages were spoken in New Amsterdam.

Religious tolerance was extended not only to Protestants but also to Catholics and, less willingly, to Jews. Ever mindful of economic profit, the company encouraged almost anyone that promoted the colony's prosperity, and it even opened the fur trade to all comers. Some slaves were given land to support their families, and they were employed on family farms or for household or craft labor, not on large plantations, as in the West Indies. Women also had relative independence, and were allowed to go to court, borrow money, and own property.

Despite these attempts to make the North American colonies appealing destinations, most Dutch who traveled overseas went elsewhere in the far-flung Dutch Empire. By the mid-1660s, the European population of New Netherland was only about 9,000, making the Dutch colonies susceptible to conquest by the English.

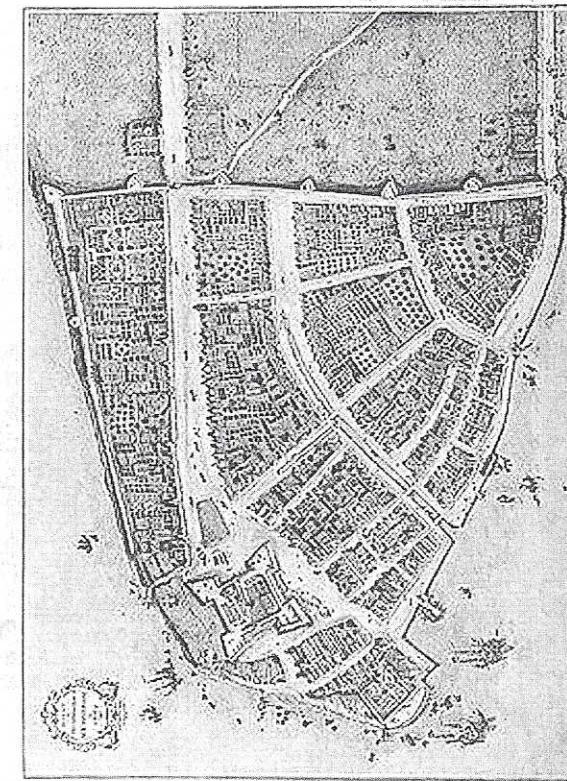
French Explorations and Settlements

Like England, France entered the race for colonies in the Americas rather late. They explored the waterways of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the St. Lawrence River to establish colonies at Port Royal (Nova Scotia) in 1604 and Quebec in 1608. In 1642 the French established a post at Montreal, where waterfalls made it impossible for ocean ships to go any further. French explorers eventually set up forts along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and French colonies were founded in the Caribbean as well. As in all other European colonies in the New World, control of the French colonies ultimately rested with the king. The French, like the Spanish and Portuguese, were also interested in converting natives to Catholicism, so some of the early inhabitants were Jesuit priests. The French were particularly focused on the strong European fur market. French fur traders set up traps along the waterways and involved natives in the trade as well. They exchanged guns, textiles, and alcohol for furs, a practice that not only led to overhunting, but also put firearms into the hands of Amerindians that they later used in confrontations with European settlers, making warfare more deadly. Even though the fur trade flourished, population in French colonies grew more slowly than in English colonies. The cold Canadian weather held little appeal for French settlers, and France did not allow Protestant Huguenots to settle in their North American colonies. Also, the lifestyle of fur traders, constantly on the move to follow traps and trade deals with natives, was not conducive to family life. In contrast, the English colonies were often settled by families, who came to farm and to provide work for the joint-stock companies.

An important group that came to New France was the **Society of Jesus**, or the Jesuit priests who were dedicated to finding new converts to Christianity. The Jesuits first arrived in Quebec in 1625, where they tried to persuade natives to live near French settlements and to adopt European agricultural methods. When the "Black Robes," as they were called by the Indians, failed in these original goals, they traveled to remote areas, where they lived in twos or threes among the natives. Gradually they won converts, partly because of their eloquence and education, and they spread not only Christianity but literacy as well.

British Beginnings

The British got a rather late start in their colonization efforts, partly as a result of an internal power struggle – The War of the Roses – that took their attention and drained their resources during the 15th century. Struggles between Catholics and



Anglicans resulted from Henry VIII's establishment of the Anglican Church in the early 16th century, but by the reign of his daughter, Elizabeth I, England demonstrated its superior naval power when its fleet defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588. Their first venture to North America was a disappointment – Sir Walter Raleigh's “Lost Colony” on the Carolina coast failed – but by the early 1600s, they had founded several joint-stock companies to begin English settlement of the eastern coast of North America.

Two major developments encouraged English men and women to move to North America in the 17th century: a population explosion and the English Reformation.

- **Population Boom** – In the 150 years after 1530, the introduction of nutritious American crops into Europe was largely responsible for a doubling of the English population. Population pressures led to competition for food and other necessities, which in turn triggered inflation. With so many people available for work, wages fell even as prices rose. In response to the growing demand for food, a great wave of enclosures began in Britain, with major landowners putting up fences around common tilling and grazing land, traditionally open to all. Since this movement reserved lands for crops and animals of major landowners only, many peasants found themselves without land. Unemployment resulted as competition for jobs increased and peasants became landless. In an attempt to keep law and order at home, the British government supported efforts to locate their surplus population in North America. Joint-stock companies were able to attract the necessary labor for their ventures as many English people decided that they could improve their circumstances by migrating to a land that seemed to offer new opportunities.

- **The English Reformation** – The Protestant Reformation that began in Germany in the early 16th century soon spread across northern Europe and the British Isles. One disciple of John Calvin, John Knox, brought the new faith to Scotland where his followers were called Presbyterians, after the governing bodies that Calvin had set up for his theocracy (a combination of political and religious authority) in Switzerland. In 1560, Scotland's parliament adopted Presbyterianism as the country's official religion. In England, Calvinists came to be called “Puritans,” who later reached British America, giving birth to the Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches there. England itself adopted another version of Protestantism when King Henry VIII left the Roman Catholic Church when the pope refused to approve the annulment of his first marriage. He founded the Church of England with himself as its head authority. Trouble began to brew between Puritans and Anglicans as Puritans resisted acceptance of the English monarch as the ultimate religious authority; instead, Puritans pushed for religious autonomy. James I (1603-1625) and Charles

I (1625-1649) had little tolerance for Puritans who challenged the most important precepts of the English church, and so they authorized the removal of Puritan clergymen from their pulpits. In the 1620s and 1630s many English Puritans left the country, and some decided to brave the Atlantic voyage to North America.

Governments in North America

Because English colonies were often privately financed by joint-stock companies, their governments were more likely to have more independence from the mother country than Latin American colonies, which were financed directly by the kings. In North America a company charter spelled out the responsibilities and rights of the colonists, so the governments weren't all organized exactly the same. Alternatively, Maryland was a proprietary colony, granted to Lord Baltimore himself and not to a stock company. When the Virginia Company (a joint-stock company) failed, the king assumed control of its lands, making Virginia a royal colony directly under his control. In English colonies, the governments had assemblies, often with two houses that mimicked the House of Lords and the House of Commons in the mother country, and just as the lords and commoners in England had asserted in earlier centuries, the colonists came to think that they should share with the king the right to determine their own rules and regulations. No powerful, authoritarian viceroy was set up, and no large urban areas comparable to Mexico City or Lima developed till much later.

Social Patterns

Less rigid social classes developed in the English colonies based on ethnicity, such as the mestizos of Latin America, partly because the European and Amerindian groups led separate lives in the early days. With Amerindians pushed out of the way, the colonies were composed of all English people, and so there were fewer differences among them to form the basis for social class distinctions. Intermingling of blood did take place, but was more common as settlers pressed westward. The southern English colonies developed strict social classes between blacks and whites, and anyone of mixed race was considered to be black, even though the term “mulatto” was used as it was in Latin America. The English believed that blacks and native people were inferior people, but because they maintained strict geographical boundaries between natives and Europeans, the social classes that developed within the middle and northern colonies were mainly among Europeans (except in the south), and were more fluid than in Latin America, where the races were in closer everyday proximity. French trappers, on the other hand, often took native wives, and the French relationship with natives was generally more cooperative, especially since they shared fur-trapping responsibilities and rights.

Because most of the English colonists came to settle in North America, whether as a result of religious persecution or the desire to make economic gains, most

of them farmed or went into trade, so forced labor systems developed differently than those in Latin America, where encomienda and mita systems predominated. Slaves were brought to North America, just as they were to the Caribbean and to Brazil, but were not practical in areas with small farms, such as New England. In the English middle colonies, another type of compulsory labor appeared: **indentured servitude**. An indentured servant was usually ethnically the same as free settlers, but he or she was bound by an “indenture” (contract) to work for a person for four to seven years in exchange for payment of the voyage to the New World. At the end of the contract, the indentured servant would often get a small piece of land, tools, and clothes.

Relations with Amerindians

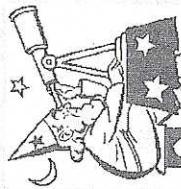
In contrast to the densely populated Aztec and Inca Empires, the Indian populations in North America were generally small in the areas that the Dutch, British, and French explored and settled. Most practiced slash-and-burn agriculture or other semi-nomadic life styles, so European colonists could displace them rather easily, usually forcing them further inland. North American Indians were just as susceptible to the diseases brought by Europeans, so their populations were reduced as more settlers arrived. As natives were pushed westward, some adapted to their new environments by hunting rather than agriculture, a lifestyle made possible by the earlier introduction of horses by the Spanish in Mexico during the 16th century. As some Amerindian groups migrated away from the Europeans, they intruded into lands claimed by other natives, setting off numerous territorial wars. Although Europeans interacted with North American natives, sometimes cooperating with them and sometimes mistreating them, they did not have to conquer any powerful empires as the Spanish had to do in order to control Latin America.

THE THIRTEEN BRITISH COLONIES – 1607-1690

Beginning with Jamestown (Virginia) in 1607, the British established diverse colonies up and down the coast. Puritans, who had broken with Anglican England, settled in Massachusetts; Quakers under the guidance of William Penn sought refuge in New Jersey and Pennsylvania; and Catholics found respite in Maryland. The joint-stock companies intended to make profits, and many who came to North America under their sponsorship had economic rather than religious goals. In 1664 the English solidified their control of the Atlantic coast from Massachusetts south when they seized New Netherland from the Dutch to rename it “New York.” This victory came on the heels of two successful wars against the Dutch that secured England’s status as the world’s leading naval power by the late 17th century.

Settlement in Virginia

The English made first use of the joint stock company in North America when King James I granted a charter in 1606 to the Virginia Company of London, named in



PERSPECTIVES: HOW NATIVES AND NEWCOMERS SAW ONE ANOTHER

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As Europeans came to the Americas during the period 1450-1750, conflicts arose between natives and the newcomers, with Amerindian rebellions continuing through the 19th century. From the beginning, each side saw the other through the lens of their respective cultures, as reflected in the quotes below.

“We consider ourselves...much happier than thou, in this that we are very content with the little that we have...[We] find all our riches and all our conveniences among ourselves, without trouble, without exposing our lives to the dangers in which you find yourselves constantly through your long voyages.”

An anonymous Quebec Indian leader to French settlers

“In respect to us, they are a people poor, and for want of skill and judgement in the knowledge and use of our things, do esteem our trifles before things of great value...[It] may be hoped, if means of good government be used, that they may in short time be brought to civility, and the embracing of true religion.”

Captain Arthur Barlowe, describing natives in Virginia

References: *New Relation of Gaspesia*, Father C. Leclercq, trans. and ed. by William F. Ganong, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1910.) *Voyages and Travels by John Pilkerton*, Arthur Barlowe (London: Longman, 1812, Vol. 12) p. 604.

honor of the Virgin Queen, Elizabeth I, who had died in 1603. Members of the Virginia Company planned a settlement in America, where they hoped to find gold and new trade routes. To encourage settlers from England, the company promised colonists the same rights as English people had at home. The British landed in Virginia in 1607 and named their new colony Jamestown, where, despite the fact that they found no gold, the settlement survived. Jamestown almost failed during the winter of 1607-1608, when drought followed by severe winter weather and disease killed most of the inhabitants, with only a fraction of the original colonists alive by January 1608. Rigorous military discipline was required under **John Smith**, who imposed forced labor on colonists. Smith’s declaration that “He that will not work, shall not eat” made him unpopular, and in 1609 he was forced to return to England.

COMPARISONS: TYPES OF ENGLISH COLONIES



All of the 13 English colonies from the first – Jamestown in 1607 – to the last – Georgia in 1733 – had one thing in common: they were all created by charters that granted special privileges to the founders. Each charter described the relationship that was supposed to exist between the colony and the king. However, all charters were not alike, and over time three types developed:

- Corporate colonies – These colonies were operated by joint-stock companies, such as the Virginia Company that settled Jamestown in 1607.
- Royal colonies – The king granted a direct charter to royal colonies, and they remained under his direct control. Virginia became a royal colony in 1624.
- Proprietary colonies – These colonies were governed by individuals who received charters from the king. Examples were New York and Pennsylvania.

However, his successors continued the harsh discipline, and the colony gradually grew, although it still had to endure a severe “starving time” during the winter of 1609-1610. Only by abandoning the search for gold and concentrating on growing food and tobacco did the colony survive.

Relations between natives and settlers grew increasingly hostile as the English sought more lands for their crops. **Powhatan**, the leader of a native alliance called the **Powhatan Confederacy**, accused the English of coming “to invade my people and possess my country.” In 1614 in an attempt to maintain peace, Powhatan’s daughter, **Pocahontas**, married John Rolfe, one of the settlers. However, the discovery that Virginia was a good place to grow tobacco – a product much in demand in England – encouraged more English settlers to the colony, a development that further threatened Powhatan’s lands. As the English demanded more native lands to grow their tobacco, war was sparked in 1622 when Powhatan’s brother and successor, Opechancanough, led a devastating attack that killed almost a third of the English population. The settlers retaliating by seizing the Indians’ cornfields and harvests, and they gradually regained control.



EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE: WHO WAS POCOHONTAS?

One of the most famous people from this earliest era of American history is Pocahontas. She was the daughter of the powerful Chief Powhatan, who headed a group of six Algonquian tribes known as the Powhatan Confederacy. Powhatan at first viewed the settlers at Jamestown as potential allies who might help him to consolidate his authority over other tribes, and he traded with them for steel knives and guns. In return, his people traded corn and other food to the hungry settlers. However, later relations between natives and settlers deteriorated.

According to a story told by John Smith in a 1616 letter to England’s Queen Anne, Pocahontas intervened to save his life after he was captured by a group of Powhatan hunters. Historians debate the truth of this story, but early histories did establish that Pocahontas befriended the colonists. According to Smith’s account, “Every once in four or five days, Pocahontas with her attendants brought him [Smith] so much provision that saved many of their lives and else for all this had starved with hunger.”

Pocahontas eventually married a settler, John Rolfe, who took her to England where she was received as a princess. On their return to Virginia, she became ill and died, but an infant son did make the journey successfully, and many families in Virginia could later trace their roots to this famous woman.

*Reference: John Smith, *The generall historie of Virginia, New England & the Summer Isles*, p. 101.*

Another factor that attracted new colonists was the Virginia Company’s change in governing policies in 1618. One policy allowed colonists who paid their own passage to claim fifty acres of company land, and another replaced the militaristic regime with a **House of Burgesses**, the first elected assembly in colonial America. The assembly was not a model of democracy, since only landowners could vote and the company appointed the governor. By 1624, most of the immigrants to Jamestown had died, but about 1,300 survivors continued to make a living through farming and trade. Just as importantly, a precedent had been set that would shape the future development of the country – an elected assembly with governing rights. Even though in 1624 King James I stripped the bankrupt Virginia Company of its authority and made Virginia a royal colony directly under his control, he allowed the House of Burgesses to continue. He also legally established the Church of England in Virginia. This organization – a governor who represented the king,

an elected assembly, and an established Anglican Church – became the model for other royal colonies that followed.

Maryland: A Proprietary Colony

A second colony, Maryland, was founded in the Chesapeake Bay area in 1632, and it too based its economy on tobacco and depended for labor in its early years mainly on white indentured servants. Maryland also established a representative assembly as part of its governing structure. However, unlike the royal colony of Virginia, Maryland was a **proprietary colony**, with land and governmental authority granted to a single individual (proprietor). King Charles I granted Cecilius Calvert – better known in history by his title **Lord Baltimore** – territory that surrounded the Chesapeake Bay and spread north of the Potomac River. The king granted Lord Baltimore almost complete control, including the right to sell, lease, or give this land away as he pleased, and to acknowledge this great gift, he named the colony Maryland after Charles's wife, Queen Henrietta Maria. He also had the authority to appoint public officials and to found churches and appoint ministers. Lord Baltimore certainly hoped to reap financial profits, but he also had religious motivations derived from his prominent English Catholic family. Since Catholics were still persecuted in England, he hoped to create a Catholic haven in Maryland.

The first settlement in Maryland, called St. Mary, was founded by twenty Catholic gentlemen (mostly Lord Baltimore's relatives) and two hundred artisans and laborers, who were predominantly Protestant. Baltimore hoped that religious tolerance would characterize his colony, but tensions soon developed as Maryland's population grew and Catholics were outnumbered by Protestants. Class resentments fueled the disputes, with bitterness erupting between land-owning Catholic elites

and Protestant laborers and small farmers. Despite the fact that Baltimore permitted freedom of worship, uprisings by Protestant settlers who resented the prosperous Catholic families threatened the colony's stability. In 1649 the local representative assembly passed the **Act of Toleration**, which guaranteed toleration of all Christians in Maryland, although it did not extend that right to Jews and atheists who denied the divinity of Jesus. However, one result of the Act of Toleration was that more Roman Catholics lived in Maryland than in any other English-speaking colony in the New World.

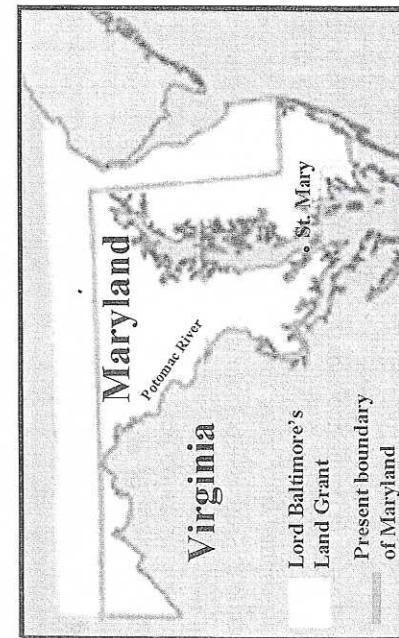
Puritan Settlements

Like Maryland, Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies were founded with strong religious motivations. Puritans who reached these destinations sought a place where they could practice their religion free from persecution and at the same time earn a living. Both groups agreed that the Anglican Church needed to be "purified" and that each congregation should govern itself. However, they differed in terms of the extent of the necessary reform. One group, who called themselves Separatists or Pilgrims, broke away entirely from the Church of England based on their belief that church membership should be limited to only the saints, or those recognized by God for salvation. In contrast, those that settled the Massachusetts Bay colony were less radical and more numerous, and as **non-Separatists**, they sought to reform the Anglican Church from within, not to separate from it.

The Plymouth Colony

The Pilgrims left England for the Netherlands in 1607, after some were jailed as nonconformists. Although the Dutch were known for religious toleration, their worldly ways offended the Pilgrims, so they eventually headed for the New World in 1620. The Pilgrims negotiated the right to settle under the jurisdiction of the Virginia Company, and their ship – the **Mayflower** – was crowded with 102 Puritans, both Separatists and non-Separatists. Instead of reaching Virginia, the ship landed on Cape Cod, and the colony was built at Plymouth, even though the settlers were outside lands controlled by the Virginia Company. Since company rules did not apply to them, they sought to maintain order by drafting and signing the "Mayflower Compact," an agreement to form a government and obey its laws. Eventually the group convinced London merchants to obtain title to the land, but like Jamestown, the colony struggled in its early years.

Over the first winter about half of the colonists died of illness and exposure to the cold, but in the spring they planted corn with the help of natives led by **Squanto**, a Patuxet Indian who had learned English after being kidnapped by a sea captain and making his way to England a few years earlier. Squanto taught the Pilgrims how to tap maple trees for sap, extract medicine from plants, and plant and fertilize the



Early Maryland

com. The harvest time in 1621 was very successful, and the natives and colonists celebrated together for three days after Governor William Bradford proclaimed a day of “thanksgiving.” The festivities included not only a feast, but games, races, weapon demonstrations, and drum-playing. The next year’s harvest was not as plentiful and food supplies ran short, and 1623 brought a severe drought. After praying and fasting through the harvest time, the rains came in late November, and the governor again proclaimed a day of thanksgiving, an event that probably marked the origins of the modern holiday.

In 1626 the London merchants sold the rights to the land to the colonists, and although Plymouth’s economic fortunes improved, by 1645 the colony was still small, and it eventually merged in 1691 with the much larger Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Massachusetts Bay Colony

The Massachusetts Bay Colony was established 10 years later than Plymouth, with the first settlers arriving in 1630. The Puritan migration to Massachusetts Bay was much larger and more highly organized, starting with 700 people and growing to about 12,000 by 1640. One reason for the growth was that the enterprise was



MARKER EVENT: THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

The famous Mayflower Compact, signed in 1620 aboard the ship that it was named for, was a brief, simple agreement to form a government and submit to laws set by the majority. The compact was signed by 41 men, but not by the women and servants. Based on the rules set by the Compact, the settlers elected a governor and at first made all decisions for the colony at town meetings. Later, as new settlements were founded, Plymouth, like Virginia and Maryland, created an assembly of representatives elected by land-owning males.

Despite the simplicity of the Compact, it is a marker event in early American history because it was an early step toward self-government that set the precedent for democratic governments to emerge. At first only land-owning males could elect representatives, but over time the voter base broadened so that more and more people gained a say in their representative governments.

sponsored by a group of Puritan merchants, who planned the expedition in response to King Charles I’s sanctioning of anti-Puritan persecutions in 1629. Fear-ing the growing animosity in England toward their religion, the non-Separatist Puritans obtained a royal charter that they brought with them. Since the group was not beholden to London merchants who pressured for a quick profit, the settlers were able to operate quite independently and were able to attract like-minded people who wished to practice their religion without interference from England. During the 1630s and 1640s, the population was fed by tension that led to the English Civil War, which brought turmoil to England and encouraged many to leave. Not all who came were Puritans, and many went to the much warmer and more fertile Caribbean islands, but about 20,000 came to New England between 1630 and 1642.

Many who settled in the Massachusetts Bay Colony were well educated and prosperous, with skills and resources that helped build success. The colony’s first governor was John Winthrop, an attorney and manor lord in England, who inspired the settlers to support one another with his famous words, “We shall build a city upon a hill.” His subjects enthusiastically accepted his vision that Massachusetts Bay would be an influential model community with shared common religious beliefs that gave it strength. He viewed Puritan America as a true commonwealth in which each person put the good of the community ahead of individual concerns. At the heart of the Bay Colony’s beliefs was the doctrine of the covenant, which stated that God had made an agreement with them when they were chosen for the special mission to America. Their status as God’s elect was guaranteed as long as they were responsible for the behavior of unsaved members of their community. The Puritan leaders believed that if they maintained a moral society, God would help it to prosper.

The leaders of Massachusetts Bay transformed their original joint-stock company charter into a government with a representative two-house legislature, a governor, and a judicial system based on the English model. Land was distributed with the communal ideal in mind. Groups of men applied to the legislature for grants of land to establish carefully-planned towns with space set aside for churches and lots for houses. Then they assigned each family a parcel of land, with the best land going to the community’s leaders, including the minister. Some of the towns – like Boston and Salem – became busy seaports, and others grew up in the Connecticut River Valley, where farmers could easily ship their goods to market.

Relations between Puritans and Indians

In contrast to the Jesuits’ successful missionaries in New France, the Puritans did not have a great deal of interest in converting Indians to Christianity. The belief that they were God’s elect encouraged them to keep their distance from those that they considered to be their inferiors, and as a result few Indians converted to their

religion or settled in their towns. Like most other English settlers, Puritans believed that the Indians worshipped the devil and had primitive, barbarous customs. Puritans also saw no role for natives in building their model society, and believed that not only did they pose a threat to land expansion but also to the purity of their society.

As new towns were established, the settlers infringed on Indian lands, especially those of the powerful Pequots in the Connecticut Valley. After two English traders were killed (not by Pequots), the English raided a Pequot village, an action that triggered the Pequot War in 1637. The conflict ended when a Massachusetts Bay expedition attacked and burned the central Pequot town on the Mystic River. About 400 Pequots were killed, and the tribe was virtually annihilated. For the next thirty years, an uneasy peace set in, but generally natives and settlers kept to their own spheres. The final serious Indian challenge came in 1675-1676, when a native alliance led by Metacomet – called King Philip by the English – waged a series of attacks on English villages throughout New England. **King Philip's War** resulted in hundreds of colonist deaths, but many more Indians were killed by the time the conflict ended. Metacomet was captured and killed, and his head was displayed on a pike in Plymouth for all to see.

Life in New England

Family life was important in New England, with many immigrants making the voyage in family groups. Many more women went to New England than to Virginia and Maryland, so that children were born in the new colonies from the beginning. New England's climate also proved to be much healthier than the Chesapeake, with fewer diseases striking the settlers. As a result, more children survived to adulthood, and families were larger, often with five to seven children raised in each family. Longer life expectancy also meant that people lived long enough to become grandparents, and so ties among extended family members were strong.

Religion dominated New Englanders' lives, and none but church members could vote in colony elections. Puritan leaders exercised great moral authority, and strict codes of conduct were imposed. Fines were paid by those found guilty of drunkenness or illness, and premarital sex resulted in public humiliation of the couple. Homosexuality was punishable by hanging.

The New England Confederation

An important marker event occurred in 1643 when four colonies banded together to form the **New England Confederation**. Since England was preoccupied with growing dissent at home, colonists felt the need to cooperate in defense of their lands from the Indians, the French, and the Dutch. They agreed to share the cost



ORIGINAL DOCUMENT: PURITAN MORAL CODES

Since Puritans believed that their communities should reflect their special covenant with God, political leaders set rules that governed personal behavior and punished those that were not godly. The following excerpt from early political records shows that the General Court (the legislature of colonial Massachusetts) extended its authority to hairstyles and youthful rudeness.

"Whereas there is manifest pride openly appearing amongst us in that long hair, like women's hair, is worn by some men...and by some women wearing borders of hair, and their cutting, curling, and immodest laying out their hair, which practise doth prevail and increase, especially among the younger sort: This Court doth declare against this ill custom as offensive to them, and divers sober Christians among us, and therefore do hereby...empower all grand juries to present to the County Court such persons, whether male or female...and the County Courts are hereby authorized to proceed against such delinquents either by admonition, fine, or correction, according to their good discretion...."

Whereas there is much disorder and rudeness in youth in many congregations in time of the worship of God....It is ordered by this Court, that [the selectmen] appoint some grave or sober person or persons...to present a list of names...to the next magistrate or Court, who are empowered for the first offense to admonish them, for the second offense to impose a fine...and if incorrigible, to be whipped with ten stripes or sent to the house of correction for three days."

Reference: Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, 1628-1686* (Boston, 1853-1854), 5: 60-61.

of war, provide soldiers in proportion to population, and make no treaties without each colony's consent. The four colonies were all Puritan (the Bay Colony, Plymouth, New Haven, and scattered Connecticut Valley settlements), and Rhode Island and Maine settlements were not allowed to participate. Although the confederation was weak, it was a milestone in American history because it represented an initial drive toward colonial unity and was the only successful league of colonies before the Revolutionary War.

Exiles from Puritan Colonies

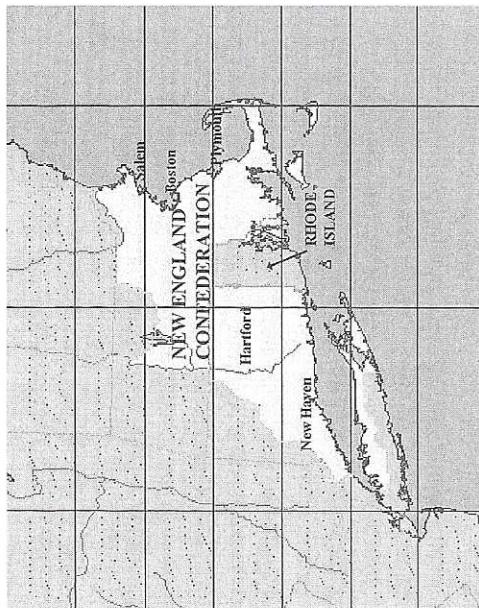
Puritans spread from the original colonies to many parts of New England, with many of them seeking new economic and religious opportunities. However, another type of migration that was not voluntary occurred when people were exiled

for proper behavior for women. Although she finally repented in writing, she was banished from the colony, and when she left for Rhode Island in 1638, thirty-five families came with her. She eventually moved to New York, where she and most of her family were killed by Indians, a fate that John Winthrop declared to be the result of "God's hand."

Restoration Colonies

The English Civil War between the king and Parliament ended in 1649 with the execution of King Charles I, and he was replaced by Puritan leader Oliver Cromwell, whose nine-year military rule ended unsuccessfully in 1658. The monarchy was restored in 1660 when Charles II (Charles I's son) began his rule, and so the English colonies founded after that date became known as the "Restoration Colonies." They resulted from land grants given by the king, often in grateful recognition of gentlemen who had loyally supported the monarchy. All were proprietorships, with one man or a few men holding title to the land and controlling the government.

The New England Confederation. This first step toward colonial unity was an exclusive Puritan club: the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Plymouth, New Haven, and scattered Connecticut Valley settlements. Notice the exclusion of Rhode Island, which Puritans disdained as a haven for outcasts and other undesirables.



from established colonies. One well-known exile was **Roger Williams**, an independent-minded minister who challenged the leaders' policies, including those toward the Indians in Massachusetts Bay Colony. He not only challenged the legality of the colony's charter, which allowed expropriation of land from the Indians without fair compensation, but he also denied the government's authority to regulate religious behavior. He declared that "forced worship stinks in God's nostrils. There is no other prudent, Christian way of preserving peace in the world, but by permission of differing consciences." Such bold criticism led to Williams's banishment from the colony in 1635. The authorities planned to send him back to England, but he fled to Rhode Island in 1636 to begin a rival colony there. At Providence he and his sympathizers founded a colony based on religious tolerance, separation of church and state, and participation in government by all property-owning males.

Rhode Island also attracted other outcasts, including the Bay Colony's Anne Hutchinson, a religious woman who was highly knowledgeable about healing with herbs. She questioned basic Puritan beliefs by insisting that ordinary people could interpret the Bible for themselves and should not be forced to follow the dictates of the community. She held meetings in her home in which she criticized local ministers and became well known for her wit and intelligence. Anne Hutchinson was put on trial twice: by the church for heresy, and by the government for compromising their authority. Although she was sick during both trials (and pregnant during one of them), she challenged her questioners boldly and eloquently. Such behavior not only threatened Puritan beliefs, but also defied conventions

- **Carolina** – The English Civil War and Cromwell's rule interrupted colonization in North America, but it resumed in 1663 when the king granted a royal charter to eight of his court favorites. These nobles – known as Lords Proprietors – founded their new colony in 1670 and named it Carolina in honor of King Charles II. Carolina prospered by developing close economic ties to sugar plantations in the English West Indies, including the establishment of a brisk slave trade. Even though the Lords Proprietors sought and captured natives for export to the West Indian sugarcane fields and sugar mills and even sent them to New England. Although they were unable to grow tropical plants in Carolina, they raised corn and herded cattle, and they traded with Indians for deerskins, which found a ready market in Europe. Carolina quickly developed two distinct population centers – one in the north and the other in the south – but it did not split into two colonies until 1729.

- **New York** – Charles also granted land to his younger brother James, the duke of York, in 1664. The duke received the region between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers, including the Hudson Valley and Long Island. Since the Dutch held land claims there, James organized an invasion of Manhattan Island, where New Netherland's leader, Peter Stuyvesant, surrendered the colony without resistance. James renamed the area New York, but the English settlements on Long Island grew slowly, partly because so many other people were already there. The population included sizeable numbers of Indians, Africans, Germans, and Dutch, and many maintained land titles and legal practices. English authority was estab-

landowners against colonial leaders who held both political and economic control. All cases reflected the changing relationships between governors and those they governed, which in turn changed social and economic patterns in both the New World and the Old.

- **New Jersey** – When James received the land grant from his brother in 1664, he regranted the land between the Hudson and Delaware Rivers to Sir George Carteret and John Lord Berkeley, who called the area New Jersey. New Jersey grew more quickly than New York did, since the Jersey proprietors promised generous land grants to attract settlers. They also granted limited freedom and religion, and agreed to a representative assembly, although they did so without authorization from the king.

• **Pennsylvania** – In contrast to Carolina, the proprietary colony of Pennsylvania (which included present-day Delaware) emphasized peaceful relations with the natives. The colony was founded by **William Penn**, who received his charter in payment of a large debt that the king owed to Penn's father. Because Penn belonged to the Society of Friends (Quakers), a pacifist Protestant sect that suffered persecution in England, he designed Pennsylvania as a religious refuge. Quakers emphasized the personal inner religious experience as opposed to ceremony and formality, and they were well known for their opposition to slavery and their resolve refusal to participate in war. Church services were spontaneous with no designated leaders, and women participated as equals. In contrast to Puritans, Quakers rejected the doctrine that salvation was restricted to a small elite, and instead argued that all men and women had the capacity to relate personally to God. In setting up his government, Penn applied Quaker principles to politics. He rejected a legally established church, and the Pennsylvania constitution allowed all Christians to worship freely and all property-owning men to vote and hold office. Partly because Penn distributed pamphlets across German and Dutch-speaking areas of Europe, the colony attracted many settlers and prospered, with many settling near Philadelphia, a city laid out by Penn himself. Ethnic diversity, freedom, and peaceful relations with the natives made Pennsylvania the most democratic of the Restoration colonies.

The Glorious Revolution

James II, who became the king of England in 1685, pursued absolutist policies more aggressively than his brother Charles II had, and he touched off a series of events that resulted in the **Glorious Revolution** in 1688. Fearing that the king would reinstate Catholicism and restrict parliamentary power, leading members of Parliament abandoned the king, and they offered the throne to his grown daughter Mary, born and brought up a Protestant. Mary and her husband, William of Orange, became co-rulers of England, but before they were crowned, they signed an agreement that guaranteed Parliament's full partnership in a constitutional government. In the Bill of Right, William and Mary agreed not to raise a standing army or levy taxes without Parliament's consent. They also agreed to call Parliament to meet at least every three years, guarantee free elections to Parliament, and not suspend laws. This agreement provided a written, legal basis to the government, and formally restricted the powers of the king. Although the English government remained under the control of aristocrats, the effects of the Glorious Revolution were clearly felt in the English colonies, which eventually took these principles to heart when they challenged England's authority over them almost a century later.

Bacon's Rebellion

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was only one of many crises in North America during the last quarter of the 17th century. One of the most threatening broke out in 1676 in Virginia, and was known as **Bacon's Rebellion**. Virginia had been governed for years by William Berkeley, who ran a corrupt government that catered to an inner circle of the colony's wealthiest tobacco planters. In contrast, Virginia was also home to a growing number of impoverished freemen whose hopes of acquiring land were blocked by the governor's land grants to his wealthy supporters. In 1670 the Virginia assembly felt sufficiently threatened by the discontent of the freemen to disenfranchise the landless men, whom the established planters accused of causing "tumults at the election to the disturbance of his majesty's peace." At the same time, heavy taxes on tobacco and falling prices because of overproduction made the lives of small farmers even more miserable.

The growing tensions erupted in 1676 when Nathaniel Bacon, a wealthy and ambitious planter, organized the freemen in rebellion. To some extent the rebellion was actually a conflict within the Virginia elite, since many who followed Bacon were men of wealth who were not among Berkeley's favored friends. However, Bacon appealed to ordinary frontiersmen when he called for removal of all Indians

LATE 17TH CENTURY RESISTANCE TO COLONIAL AUTHORITY

By the closing decades of the 17th century, disgruntlement with both old and newly imposed sources of authority was clearly influencing the development of colonial America. In New Mexico, the Pueblo Indians were in full revolt against Spanish colonists (p. 35), and far away in England, the Glorious Revolution had restricted the power of the British monarch. In Virginia, Bacon's Rebellion pitted small

NEW EXCHANGES IN THE COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE

The Americas

beans, squash,	wheat, rice, olives, grapes, bananas,
tomatoes, sweet potatoes,	rice, citrus fruits, melons, figs, sugar,
peanuts, chilis,	coconuts
chocolate, maize (corn),	horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, goats,
potatoes, avocados,	chickens, rabbits, rats
pineapple, manioc	

The Eastern Hemisphere

wheat, rice, citrus fruits, melons, figs, sugar,	horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, goats,
coconuts	chickens, rabbits, rats

from the colony. Indians had repeatedly attacked frontier settlements, but Berkeley refused to retaliate since he monopolized the thriving fur trade that the natives facilitated. Bacon and his followers attacked the Indians indiscriminately, killing both friends and foes, and they chased Berkeley from Jamestown and burned the capital. Bacon's supporters justified their actions by invoking the tradition of "English Liberties" and by exclamations of being robbed and cheated by their social superiors. For a short while, Bacon ruled Virginia, and was only stopped when a squadron of warships from England arrived to restore order. Twenty three of Bacon's supporters were hanged, although Bacon himself died of illness before the British stopped the rebellion.

This class warfare in Virginia resulted in some important changes that favored less prosperous whites. The ruling elite still maintained power, but they took steps to gain the support of poor farmers and frontiersmen, such as reducing taxes, adopting a more aggressive Indian policy, and allowing more open ownership of western lands. However, the planters also increased their dependence on slaves, since they wished to rely less on troublesome white laborers. As a result, the rebellion indirectly supported the already growing slave trade that would burgeon during the years that followed.

GLOBAL EXCHANGES

Once European ships were regularly crossing the Atlantic and venturing into the Pacific Ocean as well, the sustained contact between hemispheres had profound implications for almost all areas of the world, not just for Europe and the Americas. Some of the new exchanges were biological – plants, food, animals, human beings, and disease – and others were commercial, involving manufactured goods, non-biological raw materials, and money. Both types of exchanges combined to establish global networks of trade and communications such as had not been seen before in world history.

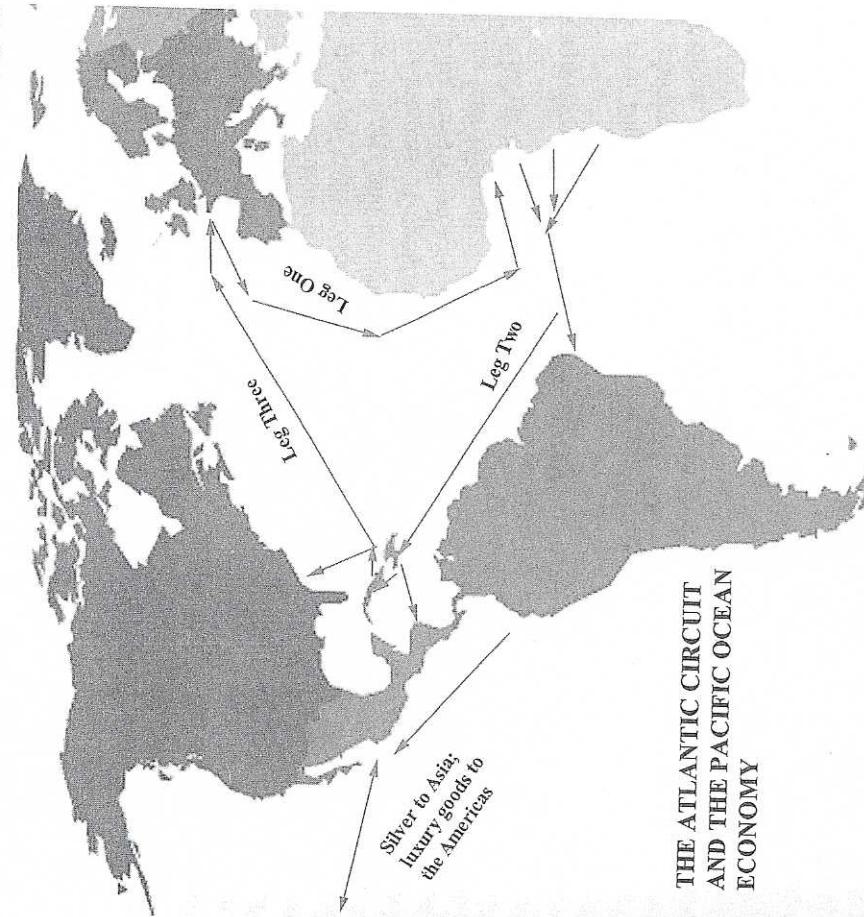
The Columbian Exchange

The **Columbian Exchange** was the global diffusion of crops, other plants, human beings, animals, and disease that took place after the exploratory voyages to the New World during the late 15th and 16th centuries. More than previous diffusions, the Columbian Exchange put people of the world in touch with biological species that were radically different from what they had known before. In previous times, species had developed separately, resulting in an almost completely different set of flora and fauna in the Western and Eastern Hemispheres, as well as in Oceania. When these worlds were brought together, people had access to all three, bringing about vast changes in natural environment, health, and demographic patterns.

A dramatic demographic change occurred in the New World with astoundingly high death rates among Amerindians as a result of contact with Europeans. Because of their long isolation, they had no immunities to smallpox, influenza, typhus, measles, and diphtheria, and once a disease was communicated, it spread rapidly, killing the majority of the people. Smallpox was the deadliest of the early epidemics, but often it combined with other diseases to increase mortality rates even more. Death rates were highest in densely populated areas, such as the Aztec and Inca empires, but they spread to other places as well. Persistent accusations were made that Europeans spread their diseases on purpose, but little historical proof has been found to support them. However, the exchange worked both ways, and by the mid-17th century, European immigrants to the Caribbean were dying of malaria, a disease found in the tropical country along the Gulf of Mexico. As Europeans made their way into Oceania, contagious diseases spread to many previously unexposed people, resulting in high death tolls, although on a smaller scale than in the Americas.

As devastating as the disease pathogens were, the Columbian Exchange also had some very positive consequences, and over time, it probably increased rather than decreased world population overall. Supplies of food increased so that people were less likely to go hungry in times of drought or local food shortages. The variety of available food increased with the exchange, giving people wider access to an assortment of nutrients necessary for good health. Even though it took some time to adjust to new types of food, caloric intake increased in many areas, a trend especially important for growing children.

The introduction of European livestock greatly altered the environment and life styles of people in many parts of the Americas. Because they had no natural predators (except people) in their new environment, cattle, pigs, horses, and sheep multiplied rapidly so that herds of wild animals roamed the plains of Argentina and northern New Spain. They destroyed natural vegetation, but they also supplied



meat, milk, hides, and wool. Probably the single most important new animal was the horse, which allowed natives to travel much further than before, pursue buffalo herds, hunt more efficiently, and wage a different type of warfare.

The Great Circuit and the Atlantic Economy

The voyages of discovery not only revolutionized biological exchanges, but they allowed the economic innovations developing in Europe to magnify, as capitalism, especially in the form of mercantilism, was applied to exchanges across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Joint-stock companies began the process in North America, as did the government-sponsored expeditions in Latin America. Investors sought profits in the production and export of colonial products, some native and some introduced from the Old World. For example, Europeans learned about the uses of tobacco from natives and found that Virginia and North Carolina were good places for tobacco to grow for consumption in Europe. Sugar, on the other hand, originated in the Eastern Hemisphere, but Brazil and the Caribbean Islands became the world's principal sources of sugar by 1700. Sugar, by the nature of its production, had to be raised on large plantations because raw sugar cane could not survive the voyage from the New World to the Old. The cane had to be processed before it was shipped, so the producer had to not only maintain the growing fields but a processing plant as well. This investment was quite large, and only a few could afford it, so small farmers could not survive, and only large plantations with many workers could be successful. After some early attempts to use indentured servants in the Caribbean, most plantation owners settled on slave labor, since indentured servants had few opportunities to establish their own farms on islands where land was already claimed by plantations.

New products, experimentation with labor systems, new methods of transportation, new lands, and capitalistic enterprise all combined to create a clockwise network of sea routes known as the **Atlantic Circuit**. Ships first went from Europe to Africa, where they carried guns, cotton textiles, and other manufactured goods to sell at ports along the western coast of Africa. Some ships returned to Europe with gold, ivory, and other traditional African products, but many loaded slaves to be taken on the next leg of the circuit – known as the **Middle Passage** – across the Atlantic to the New World. Most were destined for the Caribbean and Brazil, but some came to the southern English colonies and other parts of Latin America. On the third part of the circuit, ships laden with goods produced in the New World were taken to Europe, where they began the circuit all over again. New world products included sugar, tobacco, gold, silver, and food crops. Ships also crossed the Pacific, most notably the **Manila galleons**, which crossed between Manila in the Philippines, where they picked up Asian luxury goods, and Acapulco on the west coast of Mexico, where they loaded their large cargo areas with silver.

THE ATLANTIC CIRCUIT AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN ECONOMY

New Trade Routes – 1450-1690. European ships loaded with manufactured goods (Leg One) stopped first in Africa, sold goods and reloaded with slaves on the Middle Passage headed for the New World (Leg Two), and finally headed home again (Leg Three) loaded with colonial products. Spanish galleons (ships designed with large hulls to hold the silver) also headed from the New World to Manila in the Philippines, where they traded silver for Asian luxury goods.

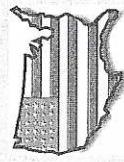
By the late 16th century European mariners had traveled to many ports on different continents. By 1690 they had stimulated world trade networks that linked almost all parts of the world, with the notable exception of Australia. The trade patterns established during this time period continued in later times, so that those that profited most – generally Europeans – gained not only economic power, but political and social control as well.

The period 1450-1690 brought tremendous change to the Americas. In previous eras the Western Hemisphere had developed in relative isolation from the rest of the world, but by 1690 its people were brought into sustained contact with others, and the Americas became an integral part of the world trade network. As a result,

the first truly global economy developed in which changes in one part of the world could potentially impact many other areas. The old Aztec and Inca empires were toppled and replaced by Spanish and Portuguese viceroyalties in Latin America, and natives of more sparsely populated North America were pushed inland and westward by English settlers. Natives along interior waterways came in contact with French trappers, who cooperated with them in a thriving fur trade that served international markets. Environmental and demographic changes occurred as well. Newly introduced plants and animals changed diets and lifestyles, and in turn altered the natural environment. Population increases in Europe spurred interest in the New World, since opportunities in Europe became more competitive, and new business and transportation innovations allowed migrations from Europe to the Americas. Dramatic population decreases in the native population occurred during the 16th century as a result of exposure to European diseases, but populations later rebounded as the nutritional and economic benefits of the Columbian Exchange began to take effect.

CONCEPTS AND IDENTIFICATIONS

- Act of Toleration
- Atahualpa
- Atlantic Circuit
- Bacon's Rebellion, Nathaniel Bacon
- Bradford, William
- Charles I
- caravel
- Columbian Exchange
- Columbus, Christopher
- conquistadors
- Coronado, Francisco Vásquez De
- Cortes, Hernán
- Da Gama, Vasco
- De Soto, Hernán
- Dias, Bartholomew
- Duke's Laws
- English Reformation
- Glorious Revolution
- Henry the Navigator
- House of Burgesses
- Hudson, Henry
- Hutchinson, Anne
- indentured servitude
- James I
- Jamestown
- joint-stock companies
- King Philip's War
- Lord Baltimore
- Magellan, Ferdinand
- Manila galleons
- Mayflower, Mayflower Compact
- mercantilism
- Middle Passage
- Moctezuma
- New England Confederation
- patrons
- Penn, William
- Pequot War
- Pizarro, Francisco
- Pocahontas
- Ponce De León, Juan
- Powhatan, Powhatan Confederacy
- proprietary colonies
- Protestant Work Ethic
- Puritans
- Raleigh, Sir Walter
- restoration colonies
- Separatists, non-Separatists
- Smith, John
- Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
- Squanto
- St. Augustine
- Stuyvesant, Peter
- Treaty of Tordesillas
- Virginia Company
- Winthrop, John
- Williams Roger



CHAPTER 3: COLONIAL NORTH AMERICA (1690-1794)

childbearing age, they too married young and had large families. On the eve of the French and Indian War in 1754, the most populous colonies were Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, and by 1775 the largest city was Philadelphia with about 34,000 residents, including its suburbs. This rapid growth rate meant that America's population was youthful, and by 1775 about half of the inhabitants were under sixteen years old.

New Immigrants

In 1690, the colonies were populated almost entirely by people of English origin. Relatively few Africans had yet been brought to the mainland, and before 1690, England had been intent on sending its excess population to the New World. During the 18th century, the composition of the population changed dramatically as immigration increased from the non-English parts of the British Isles and from



**ORIGINAL DOCUMENT:
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ON
POPULATION INCREASE**

Benjamin Franklin expressed his opinion about many topics, including the unprecedented population growth in the British colonies during the early 18th century. In 1751, he offered the following explanation:

“Land being thus plenty in America, and so cheap as that a laboring man that understands husbandry [farming] can, in a short time, save money enough to purchase a piece of new land sufficient for a plantation, whereon he may subsist a family, such are not afraid to marry. For, if they even look far enough forward to consider how their children, when grown up, are to be provided for, they see that more land is to be had at rates equally easy, all circumstances considered.

Hence marriages in America are more general, and more generally early, than in Europe. And if it is reckoned there that there is but one marriage per annum among one hundred persons, perhaps we may here reckon two; and if in Europe they have but four births to a marriage (many of their marriages being late), we may here reckon eight, of which, if one half grow up, and our marriages are made, reckoning one with another, at twenty years of age, our people must at least be doubled every twenty years.”

POPULATION GROWTH AND DIVERSITY

Between 1700 and 1760 the population of British North America grew from about 250,000 to 1,600,000. Much of this growth came from natural increase, as children were born and families grew. However, new arrivals also contributed, as thousands of Germans and Scots-Irish immigrated, and slave traders imported more Africans.

Natural Increase

Once the difficult early years of settlement passed, the American population grew very rapidly, doubling every twenty-five years or so. One reason for this unprecedented growth was that American women married earlier than their European counterparts, and as a result generally had more children during their lifetimes. Another contributing factor was that the colonies were relatively healthy places to live, with disease – especially north of Virginia – taking lower childhood death tolls. A large proportion of children survived to adulthood, and when they reached

man...and Europe. A rapid expansion of the slave trade from Africa added to the racial and ethnic diversity of the population. As economic conditions in England improved during the first half of the 18th century, the government became concerned that the emigration to the Americas was taking necessary labor away from the mother country. Yet England wanted its colonies to prosper, so the government began to consider encouraging non-English Europeans to make the journey across the Atlantic. During the early 18th century the government in London actively promoted emigration from Scotland and northern Ireland, and they also allowed many Germans to settle in their North American colonies. The new immigrants formed their own relatively homogeneous communities, and because the English had already settled along the coasts, many migrated to frontier areas where land was still abundant and cheap. Very few settled in New England, where the population remained much more homogeneous than other colonies.

Scots-Irish

One of the largest groups of immigrants came from Ireland and Scotland. Most were the descendants of the Presbyterian Scots who had been sent to Ireland by the English government during the 17th century to help maintain control over Ireland. These Scots were called "Scots-Irish" because they migrated to the Americas from Ireland, where they were disliked by both the Irish Catholics and the English elite. Their discontent swelled when the English government imposed high taxes on them and restricted their production of linens and woolen. Most who came were small farmers, farm laborers, and mechanics. When they arrived in the Americas, Scots-Irish were particularly attracted to prosperous Pennsylvania, where William Penn promoted religious tolerance. They moved west and south to areas where land was still available, but since many could not afford to buy land, they sometimes settled illegally on land belonging to Indians, land speculators, or colonial governments. They spread along the Appalachian foothills, and settled southward into the backcountry of Maryland, down Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, and into the western Carolinas. Despite their limited economic advantages, the Scots-Irish were known for a defiant pride in their Presbyterian, rustic identity, and they demanded respect, especially from those who considered themselves to be socially superior. These attitudes shaped a frontier spirit that extolled the virtue and wisdom of ordinary folk that in turn would contribute to the gradual emergence in later years of a distinctive American identity.

Because the Scots-Irish migrated to frontier areas, they often came into conflict with the Indians, and in Pennsylvania, they upset the relatively peaceful Indian-white relations that William Penn had nurtured. The flood of Scots-Irish and German settlers into the backcountry reignited conflicts over land, and tensions mounted so that by 1754, much of the earlier mutual respect between settlers and Indians had disappeared.

Germans

The largest group of newcomers from Europe during the first half of the 18th century came from Germany, with most from the Rhine River Valley, where religious divisions between Protestants and Catholics forced many to leave. The German people were not yet united under one government, but instead lived in small states where the ruling princes determined the official religion. Catholics in Protestant principalities and Protestants in Catholic principalities often found themselves unable to practice their religion, and they seldom received favors from the government. These religious pressures combined with persistent agricultural crises encouraged many Germans to come to the British colonies. One wave landed in Pennsylvania during the 1720s, and another surge occurred between 1749 and 1756. Some came as indentured servants, but many more were propertied farmers and artisans who brought their families with them.

Germans soon dominated many areas of eastern Pennsylvania, and like the Scots-Irish, they also moved down the Shenandoah Valley into the western parts of Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. Both Scots-Irish and Germans married within their own ethnic groups, and as a result, they kept their cultural identities alive. Well beyond 1800 many Germans still spoke their native language, read German newspapers, and preserved German customs, including the practice of allowing married women to own property and write wills.

Expansion of Colonies

During the period from 1690 to 1754, land was added and boundaries redrawn so that thirteen distinct English colonies emerged. Some of the changes that took place include:

- **Delaware** – In 1703, three counties of Pennsylvania that were heavily settled by Swedes were granted their own assembly, creating the new colony of Delaware. Despite this separation from Penn's original land grant, ties between the two colonies remained strong, and Pennsylvania's governor continued to supervise Delaware until the American Revolution.
- **North and South Carolina** – Carolina received its charter from James I in 1663 and had been settled by both prosperous plantation owners from the Caribbean and small land owners who had no need for slaves. The small land holders migrated to the northern part of the colony where they earned a reputation for independent thinking and resistance to authority. Like the Scots-Irish who immigrated in later years, these settlers resented their aristocratic neighbors, and they frequently challenged Carolina's governors. In 1712 North Carolina was officially separated from South Carolina, creating two distinct colonies: North Carolina heavily populated by small farmers and South Carolina by plantation owners and increasing numbers of slaves.

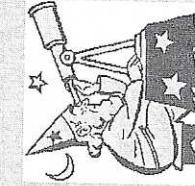
E (1450-1791)

- **Georgia** – 126 years after the Jamestown settlement began, Georgia became the 13th and last colony to be founded (1733). The English crown granted a charter to the colony at the behest of **James Oglethorpe** and John Viscount Percival, members of a philanthropic society that sought to provide settlement areas for the poor. They argued that the colony would serve as a destination for imprisoned debtors and would relieve the over-crowded English jails and prison ships. King George II was less interested in helping the poor and indebted than were Oglethorpe and Percival, but he was convinced to charter the land as a buffer colony between Spanish Florida and South Carolina. Though the proprietors controlled the colony, the charter forbade them from receiving financial benefits or owning land in Georgia. The first settlement was Savannah, which attracted diverse newcomers, including German Lutherans and Scots-Irish Presbyterians. However, the colony grew slowly, since the proprietors prohibited importation of hard liquor, banned slaveholding, and limited land ownership to 500 acres or less. Settlers also were discouraged because Georgia had no elected assembly. In response, the regulations were lifted, the importation of rum was allowed in 1742, and land sale and slavery restrictions were reversed in 1750. The first elected assembly was called in 1751, and by the eve of the French and Indian War in 1754, Georgia's population was growing steadily.

Africans and the Atlantic Slave Trade

Africans had been brought to Jamestown as early as 1619, but as late as 1670 their numbers in Virginia were still very small. The situation changed by 1690, when rising wages in England discouraged immigration of white laborers to the Americas. By the mid-1680s, for the first time, black slaves outnumbered white servants in Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. The numbers grew substantially by 1750 as the Atlantic slave trade fueled plantation economies throughout the Americas.

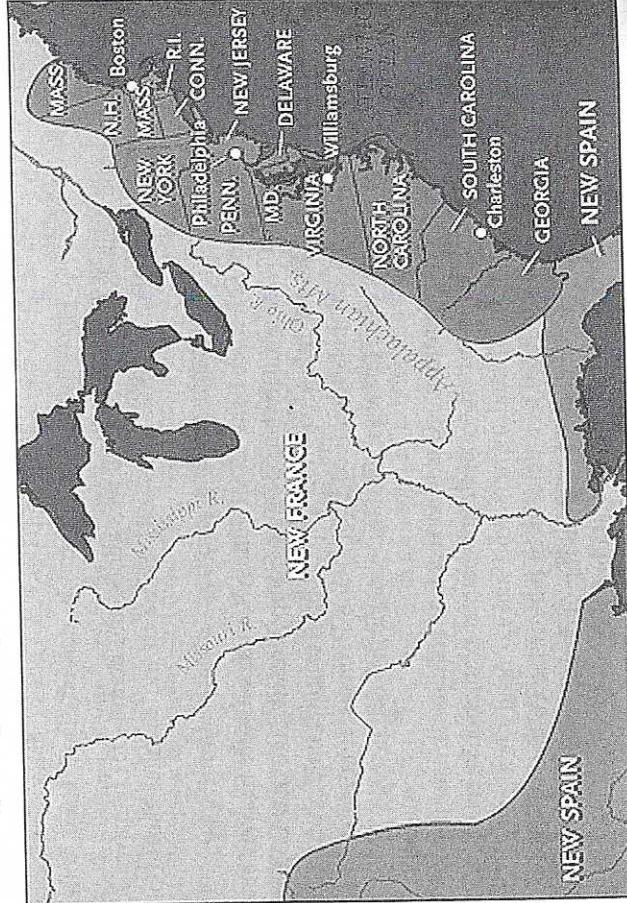
According to Philip Curtin in *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*, about 10 million Africa slaves arrived in the Americas before it was outlawed, making the voyages probably the largest forced major migration in world history. The first contacts with the Portuguese occurred in the early 15th century with the exploratory voyages along Africa's western coast sponsored by Prince Henry the Navigator. At



PERSPECTIVES: SLAVE TRADE STATISTICS AND THE IMPORTANCE OF SUGAR

Historian Philip Curtin revised common conceptions about the Atlantic slave trade in his 1969 study, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*. He carefully studied how many slaves came, as well as where they arrived in the Americas. Below are some of the estimates he compiled by studying records of the slave trade between 1521 and 1773. Notice that the vast majority of slaves were destined for areas where sugar plantations dominated the economy.

DESTINATION	NUMBERS OF SLAVES
Brazil	3,646,800
British West Indies	1,665,000
French West Indies	1,600,200
Spanish America	1,552,000 (702,000 to Cuba alone)
Dutch West Indies	500,000
United States and pre-1776 North America	399,000
Danish West Indies (now the Virgin Islands)	28,000



The Thirteen English Colonies about 1750. By 1750 the English colonies spread from Massachusetts and New Hampshire in the north to Georgia in the south. Vast tracts of lands that eventually became the United States were controlled by France and Spain.

first war progress was slow, but by 1487 they had reached the Cape of Good Hope. Along the way they established forts and trading posts called factories, where local African merchants brought goods to be traded. The Portuguese were not militarily strong enough to venture inland, and traded with African merchants on their terms. At first they were more interested in gold and ivory than slaves, but some slaves were brought to Portugal as early as 1441.

Christian missionaries accompanied sailors on the voyages, and one of their earliest successes was in Kongo, a kingdom just south of Congo River. There they converted members of the royal family, and the whole kingdom was brought to Christianity in the early 16th century. At first, interactions between the Portuguese and Kongo kings were relatively equal, but soon the attempt to “Europeanize” the natives reflected the general Portuguese view that Africans were inferior. Unfortunately for the people of Kongo, the growing slave trade to the Americas that began about the same time encouraged the Portuguese to look to the Kongo to supply slaves for the Atlantic Circuit trade. They sometimes went on slave raids themselves, but more often made deals with native traders and local leaders who captured and delivered slaves in exchange for manufactured goods, especially guns. By 1665 the kings of Kongo were so distressed by slave raiding that they went to war with the Portuguese, but superior arms (including guns) helped the Portuguese to win. Further south, the Europeans colonized Angola, which became another source of slaves for the Atlantic trade. Eventually other European nations set up competing trading posts, especially along the “Slave Coast” north of the Congo. Once the Portuguese founded Cape Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa, they captured and took over Swahili trading cities, where they intensified the slave trade already taking place across the Indian Ocean.

From these early beginnings, a massive slave trade took place from the 15th to the 19th century, masterminded by Europeans whose ships carried Africans to plantations that they had established in the Western Hemisphere. Generally, the endeavor involved the cooperation of African elites, who traded war captives, criminals, and individuals expelled from their groups to European elites. The trade grew steadily during the 17th century, but the high point came during the 18th century, with probably about 55,000 slaves arriving every year. The majority were young men, who were valued for the physical strength necessary for hard work in plantation fields. For 150 years, the Portuguese controlled the trade and took most of the slaves to Brazil and the Spanish colonies. As the demand for slaves grew in the Caribbean, other Europeans joined, including the Dutch, English, and French, although France did not become a major carrier until the 18th century. Each country established trade forts along the African coastline, where its agents contacted local rulers, paying a tax or offering gifts. Slaves were brought to the coast as military captives or as victims of kidnappers who searched for them to trade for profit. Many of the African states were small and fragmented, and their quarreling produced war captives who provided labor for the victors. European merchants were able to benefit from

existing trade routes and markets, but the new demand for slaves in the New World stimulated and transformed the nature of slavery as a forced labor system in which slaves were bought and sold as property.

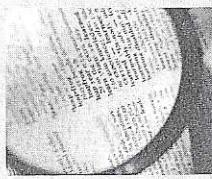
The Middle Passage

Slaves usually were carried from Africa to the Americas in ships with specially built holds where they were packed together, although girls, boys, and women were in separate compartments from the men. The voyage lasted from four to ten weeks, depending on the weather, and some cargoes arrived more safely than others. The traders wanted to keep as many slaves alive as possible, but they usually packed the ships to maximize profits. Voyages before 1700 usually lost larger percentages of slaves than later ships did, so the traders appear to have improved their ability to figure the most practical number of bodies they could keep in cargo. Male slaves were chained together to keep them from jumping overboard while still close to land, but the ships had special nets around their outsides to catch any that decided to jump together. Once the voyage was underway, African men were kept below the deck and were only brought up in small groups under close guard. Deaths aboard ship were caused by contagious disease, bad food, dysentery, and refusal to eat. Others died from whippings or on occasion execution. Crew members also died from disease, and were particularly vulnerable to malaria, a disease that Africans were immune to but Europeans were not.

The African Diaspora

One of the most important demographic changes that resulted from the Atlantic slave trade was the **African Diaspora**, or the spreading of Africans to many other parts of the world, especially to the Americas. Once their journey on the Middle Passage ended, most were destined for sugar plantations in Brazil and the Caribbean, but later they worked producing rice, cotton, and tobacco. Some worked in Spanish mines or became urban household servants, and some eventually got their freedom, but most did forced agricultural work. Always slaves were at the bottom of the social hierarchy, whites were at the top, and in between were mulattoes (of mixed blood) who often worked as house servants or skilled laborers rather than in the fields.

In most areas of the Caribbean where large sugar plantations dominated the economy, slaves formed the vast majority of the population. Some whites owned small farms, and others served as colonial officials and retail merchants, but their numbers were relatively small. Brazil’s population was more diverse, and **manumission** (freeing a slave) was much more common than elsewhere, so slaves made up only about 35% of the population. An equal number of free “people of color,” who were descendants of slaves, also lived in Portuguese Brazil, so people of African origins or descent formed 2/3 of the population. In both the Caribbean and Brazil, death rates were much higher than those in the healthier climate of the southern



EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE: THE ACCOUNTS OF OLAUDAH EQUIANO

Much of our knowledge about the experience of Africans captured by slave traders comes from Olaudah Equiano, who was born east of the Niger Delta, kidnapped as a slave in Africa, and crossed the Atlantic on the Middle Passage to be sold in the New World. Because New World slaves were not taught to read and write, very few first-person written accounts exist, and so we rely on Equiano, who learned English and later became active in the abolitionist movement. His feelings when he first boarded the slave ship are described below.

"I was immediately handled and tossed up to see if I were sound by some of the crew, and I was persuaded that I had gotten into a world of bad spirits and that they were going to kill me. Their complexions too differing so much from ours, their long hair and the language they spoke (which was very different from any I had ever heard) united to confirm me in this belief... When I looked round the ship too and saw a large furnace or copper boiling and a multitude of black people of every description chained together, every one of their countenances expressing dejection and sorrow, I no longer doubted of my fate; and quite overpowered with horror and anguish, I fell motionless on the deck and fainted. When I recovered a little I found some black people about me...they talked to me in order to cheer me, but all in vain..."

Reference: Equiano's Travels. Paul Edwards, ed. and trans. (Oxford Heinemann Educational Books, 1967) pp. 25-42.

British colonies, so slaves newly arrived from Africa were numerous. In the southern British colonies more slave children survived, so natural increase filled most of the demand for labor there. As a result, North American slaves gradually became more removed from African culture than their counterparts in the Caribbean and Brazil.

The diaspora had a tremendous impact on family life, with women outnumbered by men almost everywhere. Family members often went to different plantations, so family structures were challenged. Despite the separations from one another as well as their native lands, aspects of African culture came with them and influenced the developing American cultures. For example, most Africans converted to Christianity, but many of their native religious practices continued, with some religions surviving almost intact, such as Vodun in Haiti.

The rapid rise in population was an important component that fueled economic growth in the British colonies during the 18th century. Demands for goods and services increased, which led to the development of small-scale manufacturing and internal trade routes. New colonial industries – most notably iron-making – helped to make the colonies less dependent on Europe for manufactured goods. As new areas were settled, roads, bridges, mills, and stores were built to serve them, and a brisk coastal trade collected goods for export and distributed imports from abroad. Economic growth still depended heavily on overseas demand for American products like rice, fish, and tobacco, and colonists continued to purchase English and European imports.

Economic growth produced better standards of living for many Americans, with families acquiring household goods that they could not afford before. Diet also improved as active trade routes brought food from many other parts of the world. However, all did not prosper, with most economic benefits going to property owners, especially elite families who dominated 18th century political, economic, and social life. These urban merchants, large landowners, slave traders, and business owners made their fortunes grow by taking advantage of capital generated by the expanding population. As a result, the gap between the rich and poor steadily grew during the 18th century. In contrast to the elite, newly arrived immigrants had fewer opportunities for advancement, with the urban poor usually suffering more than free settlers in rural areas. Wages for urban laborers were low and living conditions were crowded and unsanitary, and public urban poor-relief programs were inadequate for meeting the needs of poor urban families.

Mercantilism and the British Navigation Acts

The only British colony that was deliberately planted by the British government was Georgia, with all the others founded by joint-stock companies, religious groups, or proprietors. However, the king and Parliament still saw the colonies as functioning primarily to support the mother country. The powerful **mercantile doctrine** guided the London government's philosophy that wealth was power and a country's economic wealth could be measured by the amount of gold or silver in its treasury. An important part of the equation was the relationship between imports and exports; in order to gain wealth, England had to export more than it imported. Colonies were important because they provided raw materials that reduced the need for foreign imports and also guaranteed markets for exports.

Mercantilism governed colonial trade during the period from 1690 to 1754 through a series of **Navigation Acts** that had been passed during the 17th century. These acts – passed between 1651 and 1696 – stated that only English or colonial merchants and ships could engage in trade in the colonies, and they also designated certain goods that could only be sold in the mother country or in other English

colonies. - Imolated goods included wool, sugar, tobacco, indigo, rice, and furs. The Navigation Acts also stipulated that all foreign goods destined for sale in the colonies had to ship by way of England and pay English import taxes.

Despite the restrictions put in place by the Navigation Acts, they actually imposed few burdens on colonial trade, mainly because they were only loosely enforced. Most colonial merchants simply disregarded or evaded the restrictions, and some made fortunes through wholesale smuggling. Colonists also benefitted from the mercantile system, since tobacco planters held a monopoly in the British market, and Britain provided them with military protection on land and sea. The colonial dependency on the mother country that mercantilism created was not to become an onerous burden until after 1763.

Regional Economies

Even though most colonists were farmers, by the 18th century economic activities had become distinctly regional, so that New England's economic development was quite different from that of the Middle Colonies, which in turn differed from those in the Chesapeake and Lower South. Both cultural and geographic influences were at work to create each region's unique characteristics.

- **New England** – New England's cold climate and poor soil limited the region's farming possibilities, since it was very difficult to produce any surplus food. As a result, farms were small, with each family only being able to produce enough to take care of its own needs. Forests were abundant, so wood products were bought and sold, but the most lucrative jobs were in coastal cities, where prosperity was based on trade. Boston had a good natural harbor, and by the 1730s, it had grown into a major shipbuilding center. Ships built in New England made up one-third of the British Empire's trading fleet by the middle of the 18th century. A brisk trade with the West Indies brought wealth to merchants and professionals alike, and others made profits from fishing and rum-distilling.

- **The Middle Colonies** – Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey were blessed with fertile soil, and so commercial farming thrived as surplus food was easily produced. Philadelphia and New York, like Boston, benefited from trade, which in the Middle Colonies was fed by the rich agricultural regions nearby. In those cities, artisans also thrived, as the growing population demanded furniture, jewelry, tableware, and gold and silver objects. As trade expanded, the North American and West Indian colonies became the major overseas market for British manufactured goods, and North Americans shipped farm products to Britain and the West Indies.

- **The Chesapeake** – In Virginia and North Carolina, tobacco continued to be an important crop for export during the 18th century, and the agricultural

colonies ranged from small subsistence farms to large plantations. Virtually the entire Chesapeake tobacco crop was marketed in Britain, with most of it then re-exported to Europe by British merchants. After 1745, some Chesapeake planters began to grow wheat and corn, and as a result, they became less dependent on one product for their income. The new products stimulated the growth of port towns, such as Baltimore, where merchants marketed the new products.

- **The Lower South** – A major crop in South Carolina and Georgia was rice, and rising prices during the 1730s contributed to the prosperity of large rice plantations, which were heavily dependent on slave labor. Georgia did not benefit until mid-century, when the original ban on slavery was lifted, allowing the plantation economy to grow there. Most plantations were self-sufficient, but they also produced enough rice (also indigo) to ship directly to Europe. As plantations grew, the demand for more slaves followed, so that the black population of South Carolina grew rapidly. Charleston, with its fine natural harbor, was the fourth largest city in the British colonies by the first half of the 18th century. The city exported rice, indigo, and deerskins, and imported slaves and English manufactured goods.

The Growth of Cities

The overwhelming majority of colonists – about 90% – lived in rural areas and either farmed or worked in farm-related occupations. The largest cities in the 18th century were Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, but they were quite small compared to European cities. However, the expansion of trade supported the growth of port cities, and by the time of the Revolution, Philadelphia was the largest city with nearly 30,000 inhabitants, and New York had around 22,000. Life in cities and towns was quite different from life on the farm, with people of many cultural backgrounds coming in contact with one another. Merchants and artisans (craftsmen) populated the towns, and shops and homes grew up near ship docks, where sailors, immigrants, and port officials mingled, reflecting the fact that these port cities connected the colonies to the outside world.

COLONIAL SOCIAL STRUCTURES

During the 18th century, social class distinctions became more pronounced than they had been in earlier colonial times. By 1754, economic growth had created a greater diversity of occupations, and well-established families were passing their estates to the next generation. A middle class had begun to grow in the port cities and among freeholders of land, but many in both rural and urban areas remained poor.

As compared to English aristocrats, the colonial elite were much less powerful and wealthy. America had no titled aristocracy, and no system of legally established social ranks that in England could be traced back to medieval times. However, as the colonial economy grew, so did the gap between the rich and the poor in British America. Most of the wealthy in New England and the Middle Colonies lived in cities, where they prospered from trade and commerce. In Philadelphia well over half the trade of the city was controlled by about a hundred families, the very richest of whom were Quakers. In Boston and New York City, the elite owned ships that sailed in the Atlantic Circuit trade, and many had ties to great trading firms in London. In the colonies of the Chesapeake and Lower South, great planters gained enormous wealth from tobacco and rice plantations, so they were more likely to live in rural areas than northern elite were. Colonial elite also included the rulers of proprietary colonies like Pennsylvania and Maryland, and throughout British America, men of prominence controlled colonial governments.

Wealthy colonists often emulated British aristocrats, and they imported fashionable clothing and luxury goods for their homes from Britain. The richest of the mainland colonists were South Carolina planters, who sometimes vacationed in cooler northern climates and otherwise spent a great deal of time in Charleston, the largest port city in the South. There they built lavish homes and lived extravagant lifestyles, and by 1770, the richest 10% in South Carolina owned about half the wealth. Connections between elites in the colonies and British aristocracy were strengthened by the fact that more direct trade was taking place between the colonies and Britain than among the colonies. As a result, this “Anglicization” meant that many leading colonists continued to think of themselves as English, and so it served as an obstacle to the development of a distinctly American identity.

Middle Classes

Altogether, the number of wealthy families in the colonies was very small, and the majority of free Americans lived between the extremes of wealth and poverty. Most were freeholders who farmed and lived on their own land. Compared to European farmers, American farmers were much more likely to own their land, since the colonies were still expanding and land was much more available. Many white colonists could live almost self-sufficiently, a fact that shaped their developing concepts of liberty based on economic independence. In most communities, the most honored of the professions was the clergy, although ministers generally had less influence than in the early days of Massachusetts.

In the cities, many middling families made a living as artisans, shopkeepers, and merchants. Artisans produced glassware, stoneware, paper, furniture, and guns, and they opened shops in towns and cities to sell their wares. Other shopkeepers

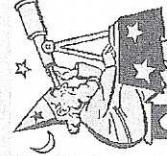
were bakers, butchers, and tailors, and skilled workers included barrel makers, blacksmiths, and carpenters. Middle-class families often had possessions beyond the bare necessities, and they created a market for furniture, eating utensils, and other luxuries such as glass windowpanes and bedspreads. Many artisans and merchants passed their shops and skills to their children, who were often able to continue to live fairly comfortable lives.

The Poor

Among free Americans, poverty was not as widespread as it was in England, partly because land was cheaper and more available, and so there were at least some limited opportunities for making a living. However, as the colonial population grew, land became scarcer and more expensive, especially in the long-settled areas. Tenant farmers (non-property owners leasing land from property-owners) became more common, as did wage laborers who offered their services to freeholders. The poor in urban areas were domestic servants, day laborers, recent immigrants, unskilled laborers, and sailors. Unskilled laborers often had no regular work, and so their wives and children supplemented the family income as domestic servants, wood haulers, or washerwomen. Freed slaves and indentured servants usually did the less desirable work in towns and cities. In the 1730s, demand began to grow for institutions to contain the “many Beggarly people daily suffered to wander about the Streets,” as one New York City church warden put it.

Slaves

At the bottom of colonial society were those that were not free. Most slaves that were brought to North America went to work on plantations in the colonies of the Chesapeake and the Lower South, but slavery was also present in New England and the Middle Colonies. In comparison, however, northern slaves were far more dispersed than in the South. They worked as farm hands, assistants to artisans, and as loaders on the docks. Slaves also worked on estates in New York’s Hudson Valley, and in New York City slaves made up about 30% of all laborers in 1746. Most were domestic servants, but they worked in all sectors of the economy. Slaves were much more numerous in the Chesapeake, where the growing world demand for tobacco made slave labor essential on the plantations. Slaves on tobacco plantations did other work than field labor; many developed skills as seamstresses, coopers (builders of barrels and other containers), blacksmiths, and tanners. All were necessary to keep plantations running. Slavery was common on small farms as well, with nearly half of Virginia’s white families owning at least one slave by the time of the American Revolution. In South Carolina, most slaves worked on rice plantations, where production required considerable capital investment to drain swamps and create irrigation systems. It was economically advantageous for the plantations to be as large as possible, so slavery was essential, and by the 1730s, two-thirds of South Carolina’s population was black.



PERSPECTIVES: COLONIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE POOR

The better-off colonists generally viewed the poor as lazy, shiftless, and responsible for their own plight. The excerpt below reflects the attitudes of an aristocratic Virginian, William Byrd II, toward his backcountry neighbors in North Carolina.

"Surely there is no place in the World where the Inhabitants live with less Labour than in North Carolina.... [T]his is possible because of the great felicity of the Climate, the easiness of raising Provisions, and the Slothfulness of the People. Indian Corn is of so great increase, that a little pains will Subsist a very large Family with Bread, and then they may have meat without any pains at all.... The Men for their Parts, just like the Indians, impose all Work upon the poor Women. They make their Wives rise out of their Beds early in the Morning, at the same time that they lye and Snore, till the Sun has run one third of his course.... Then, after Stretching and Yawning for half an Hour, they light their Pipes, and under the Protection of a cloud of Smoak, venture out into the open Air; tho', if it happens to be never so little cold, they quickly return Shivering into the Chimney corner. When the weather is mild, they stand leaning with both their arms upon the corn-field fence, and gravely consider whether they had better go and take a Small Heat at the Hough [hoe]; but generally find reasons to put it off till another time."

In 18th century Britain and its American colonies, families had carefully prescribed roles for fathers, mothers, and children that colonists inherited. The male head of the household had almost complete authority over his wife, children, servants, slaves, and hired laborers. If a colonist owned property, he voted in local elections, and he represented the family in public affairs. On farms, he was responsible for building the homestead and barn, planting and cultivating the fields, and for doing outside repairs. Men on different farms would often share skills and work – carpentry, blacksmithing, milling, and butchering – with neighbors.

Almost all colonists of European origin agreed that women were naturally subordinate to men. According to English law, widows and unmarried women could own property, run businesses, and be heard in court, but under the law of *coverture*

they forfeited those rights when they married. Her property became her husband's when she married, and her husband was entitled to all her wages. She was expected to be modest and deferential, and to take care of household chores, including cooking, sewing, gardening, and maintaining the interior of the house. Most spent their lives under the supervision of fathers and then husbands, and in many colonies, laws permitted husbands to discipline unruly wives not only verbally but with physical punishment as well. Indentured servant women often were more likely to be mistreated than middle-class women, and young female servants often worked very long hours. Children helped with chores according to gender-specific roles, and their work was indispensable to the successful operation of farms. Without them, essential work could not be completed, so large families were the norm, especially in rural areas.

Most African American families lived under the supervision of white families. Although many slaves lived on farms with only one or two other slaves, some lived on large plantations with many other blacks. Family life was often difficult, especially since slaves could not legally wed, and couples who were committed to one another frequently lived in different quarters or even on different plantations. Children usually stayed with their mothers, but were allowed to see their fathers on Sundays. However, on large rice plantations in South Carolina and Georgia, slave couples usually lived together with their children. If parents and children were separated by sale, other relatives were called on to help with child rearing and other chores.

Schools and Colleges

According to 18th century European norms, formal education was reserved for elite males, and so most colonists had little or no schooling. Men from leading families often prided themselves on their level of education and intellectual connections to Europe, but many ordinary colonists could neither read nor write. Elementary schools were established in some areas, but in the South particularly, the widely dispersed population made it difficult to establish effective school systems, and wealthy families hired private tutors to educate children. New England, however, was something of an exception, where the Congregational Church stressed the need for general literacy so that individual worshipers could read the Bible. A disproportionately large number of New Englanders had attended English universities, and they wished to establish schools in their new colonies. Schools varied widely in the quality of instruction and the length of the school year, but most New England communities had organized school systems by the early 18th century. Predictably, children's studies emphasized religion, and discipline in the classroom was quite severe.

The first college was Harvard, established by the Congregational Church in 1636. Its main purpose was to educate ministers, and six other colleges (William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Brown, and Rutgers) were established during



ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS; EDUCATION LAWS IN NEW ENGLAND

Colonists in New England were generally enthusiastic about educating their children, as reflected in the following extracts from *An Abridgment of the Laws and Ordinances of New England, to the Year 1700*.

"All Parents to teach their Children to read, and all Masters to acquaint their Families with the capital Laws, on Penalty of 20 shillings.... The Select Men [church officials] may examine Children and Apprentices, and admonish Parents and Masters, if they find them ignorant, and with the consent of two Magistrates, or the next County-Court, put them into better hands....

Every Town having 50 House-holders, shall provide a School-master to teach to write and read; if it have 100, it shall have a Grammar-School, the Select Men to see them paid; whatever Town neglects it, pays 10 pounds. Every Master must be approv'd by the Minister, or two neighbouring Ministers."

Reference: An Abridgement of the Laws and Ordinances of New-England, to the Year 1700. Carrollton Press, 1991.

the colonial era for the same reason. Another college – Dartmouth – was begun as an Indian missionary school. Student enrollment in all colleges was small and all male, numbering about 200 boys at the most. Theology, of course, was the main subject, and Latin and Greek were the main languages taught. A ninth school – the University of Pennsylvania, established in 1751 – was the first nonsectarian American college, and so its curriculum was less oriented toward theology and classical languages.

COLONIAL CULTURE

By the early 1700s colonists were caught up in a clash of new ideas and old beliefs that had spilled over from Europe. Cultural change had been brewing for some time, as new ideas traceable to the Italian Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation of the 16th century reverberated throughout Europe and the New World. Still, old beliefs were powerful, with ideas of magic and spirits mixing with Christian teachings about saints, miracles, and devils. Like people in other parts of the world, most early colonists believed that natural events could have supernatural causes. When crops failed or farm animals died unexpectedly, many people blamed spirits.

Nowhere was the belief in unseen forces more evident than in the extraordinary series of witch-hunts that swept across northern Europe in the late 16th and 17th centuries and inflamed Salem, Massachusetts, by the 1690s.

The Salem Witch Trials

Puritans in New England, with their strong belief in predestination (God's knowledge of who will be saved), were very much in tune with the belief that spirits had powers that human beings had to interpret. They saw signs of God's will in any events out of the ordinary, such as birth defects or unusually cold winters. If a minister's house was struck by lightning, most people in the community would wonder what message God might be sending to him. Puritans also believed in evil spirits, and they relied on ancient pre-Christian practices – such as driving a metal pin into the floor – to ward them away from their homes. Despite the fact that many decried these beliefs and practices as superstition, others believed that some individuals – almost always women – had special powers that put them in touch with the supernatural. These women were accused of being witches who used evil magic and the power of the devil to bring misfortune to their communities. Between 1647 and 1662 civil authorities in New England hanged 14 people for witchcraft, but the most famous instance of witch-hunting took place in Salem Village, Massachusetts, in 1692.

The crisis was sparked by the hysterical behavior of several girls in the village. The girls screamed, uttered strange sounds, crawled under furniture, and contorted themselves into peculiar positions. The girls complained of being pinched and pricked with pins, but a doctor could find no physical evidence of any ailment. Other young women in the village began to exhibit similar behaviors. When the girls accused some older female neighbors of having bewitched them, many in the community took it to be an explanation for the strange behavior. Soon others joined in to accuse more women, and eventually 175 people were arrested for witchcraft, and 20 of them were executed. Scholars have puzzled for years as to the causes of this famous witch-hunt, and some have argued that food poisoning lay behind the hysteria, whereas others have seen the girls as delinquents who preyed on superstitious beliefs to stir up trouble in their town. Still others have focused on the fears raised by recent Indian attacks in nearby Maine, in which the parents of some of the young girls had been killed.

Whatever the reasons, an important result of the witch trials was that many colonists reacted with horror to the extensive damage done in Salem by superstitious beliefs. Their interpretation of these events was shaped by another set of ideas that emphasized rational behavior and scientific reasoning. These ideas had begun in Europe and were making their way to the American colonial elite. To those influenced by the European Enlightenment, the witch trials represented the need to leave old beliefs behind and embrace the benefits of a new, more "enlightened" society.



EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE: WITCHES AND RELIGION

Witch-hunts became common in Europe during the late 16th and 17th centuries, and in the colonies the most famous took place in Salem Village, Massachusetts, in 1692. Almost all of the people executed as a result of these trials were women, including 14 of the 20 executed in Salem. Why? One possible root was the Catholic Church's belief that the female body was a source of sin, and therefore had to be controlled. "Evil" came to be associated with women. Some scholars see it as part of a broader attempt to keep women in their traditional subordinate roles.

Theologians and judges sought to demonstrate that witches were evil creatures from the kingdom of the devil who should be removed from society. Although they appeared to be ordinary women, they could be recognized in many ways. For example, they might speak Latin prayers backward, or they might be responsible for misfortunes, such as fires or unexplained deaths and illnesses. Most of those accused of being witches were rural, poor, and single women who somehow angered town officials or wealthy peasants. By punishing these women as defiant deviants, authorities affirmed their power and reminded ordinary people of the importance of conformity to accepted beliefs and practices.

The Enlightenment

The European movement called the Enlightenment placed a new emphasis on human abilities and accomplishments and independent, rational thought. The Enlightenment thinkers were inspired by scientists to understand the natural laws of the universe, but their interest lay in how these laws affect human society and government. Because the colonial elite in America identified so closely with anything English, they followed trends in Europe closely, and so they read books and papers that reflected Enlightenment ideas. One of the most influential Enlightenment thinkers was John Locke, a 17th century Englishman who sought to understand the impact of the "laws of nature" on human liberties and equality and the implications for government. He questioned the gloomy prediction of the earlier English philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, that human beings by nature inevitably must be controlled by absolute rulers. In his *Second Treatise of Government*, Locke suggested instead a "social contract" between ruler and subject that required the governor to

get the "consent of the governed" to establish a legitimate government. Another Englishman, Adam Smith, analyzed the natural law of supply and demand that governed economics in his classic book, *The Wealth of Nations*.

By the 18th century, the center of Enlightenment thought was France, where *philosophes*, or intellectual philosophers, debated questions such as, "What is true human nature?" and "Can liberty exist in a society without compromising equality?" and "What is the best form of government to preserve human freedoms?" They wrote histories, novels, and philosophical treatises on political and social issues, and they often gathered in salons hosted by socially prominent women in their homes, for the purpose of discussing the leading ideas of the day. One influential French thinker was Charles Louis de Secondat, known as the Baron de Montesquieu, who much admired the British Parliament that had successfully gained power at the expense of the king. He applauded Parliament's power in the British government, and he advocated something more radical – a government with three independent branches that share political power. Another French *philosophe*, Francois-Mari Arouet, who used the pen name Voltaire, wrote witty criticisms of the French monarchy and the Roman Catholic Church. He believed both institutions to be despotic and intolerant, characteristics that limited the freedoms that individuals deserved by the laws of nature. The most radical of the philosophers was Jean Jacques Rousseau, who famously proclaimed in his *Social Contract* that "Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains." Since society had corrupted human nature, Rousseau advocated a return to nature where people live in small, cooperative communities with no ownership of property.

As was also true for the natural scientists, most Enlightenment thinkers wrote for one another and a relatively small number of well-educated Europeans and colonists. However, their works were to have broad consequences that impacted people at all levels of society. The first great revolution based on Enlightenment thought was fought in the American colonies, and that revolution in turn would inspire others. Enlightenment voices were to reverberate throughout the ages.

The Enlightenment and Religion

Although they were critical of organized religion, many *philosophes* were not opposed to all religion. Some did declare themselves to be atheists, or nonbelievers in the existence of any kind of God, but most followed **deism**, a movement based on the belief that religion and reason could be combined. What they sought was a religion that accepted the power of human reason and was tolerant of various religious views. Voltaire loudly criticized the practice of monasticism and the behavior of priests in the Catholic Church, and he argued that the church promoted superstitions that led to fanaticism that bred the religious wars of the 16th and early 17th centuries. As a deist, Voltaire hoped that educated Europeans would recognize God as the benevolent, all-knowing Creator of the world, who once the universe

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was set in motion, allowed it to operate according to natural laws without divine intervention. Voltaire also argued that Christianity's threat of eternal damnation or salvation after death was a dangerous superstition that contradicted Isaac Newton's vision of the universe as an eternally existing, self-perpetuating machine. Deists believed that human beings lived on their own in an ordered universe, and that religion properly functioned on a personal level as a matter of private contemplation, not as public worship dictated by strict creeds.

An early proponent of deism in the colonies was **Benjamin Franklin**, a self-taught man who worked as a printer and journalist in Philadelphia, where he formed a “club of mutual improvement” that met weekly to discuss Enlightenment ideas. Franklin used his reason to question the morality of slavery, a practice that he eventually repudiated. He popularized practical Enlightenment ideas in *Poor Richard's Almanack*, a publication that he printed annually for 25 years. The widely-read periodical offered advice, reflected on the weather, reported new inventions, and guided readers in their pursuit of happiness and success. By the late colonial era, a small but influential group of American leaders, including Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, were deists.

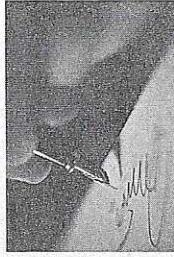
The Great Awakening

Another important cultural movement that reached America during the first half of the 18th century was **pietism**, an emotional, evangelical religious ideology that emphasized the individual Christian's pious devotion to God. Whereas deism generally appealed to well-educated colonists, pietism attracted a larger group of adherents, especially among farmers and urban laborers. Pietism expressed itself through a series of religious revivals – known as **The Great Awakening** – that swept through the colonies beginning in the 1720s and heightening in the 1730s. The movement was promoted by ministers who were concerned that the rapidly expanding country was becoming too obsessed with economic prosperity and that Enlightenment rationalism was cooling religious zeal.

One minister who developed a rousing, emotional style of preaching was Theodore Jacob Frelinghuysen, who moved from church to church, inspiring people in Pennsylvania and New Jersey to recommit their lives to religion. In New England, Jonathan Edwards restored religious devotion among Congregationalists who had lost some of the intensity of their Puritan forefathers. Edwards was well educated and his sermons reflected Enlightenment-influenced reason, but his preaching style inspired many ordinary people to repent their sins and become better Christians. His most famous sermon, “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God,” vividly described the eternal torments of those condemned to hell. The evangelist that most directly transformed local religious revivals into a Great Awakening across British North America was **George Whitefield**, an Englishman who delivered his sermons in colonies from Georgia to Massachusetts. Whitefield was a follower of John Wesley, the founder of English Methodism, and starting in 1739 he

carried Wesley's emotional preaching style to the colonies. For two years Whitefield attracted huge crowds, and his oratory inspired even skeptical colonists such as Benjamin Franklin to empty his pockets into the collection plate.

The Great Awakening deeply concerned “Old Light” Christians who disliked the emotionalism of the “New Light” services in which people often got so carried away that they fainted, moaned, and even went into convulsions. The Awakening undermined the authority of the older clergy, who had always been respected for their education and erudition, and who thought that the new ministers relied too heavily on showmanship to gain their followers. Both the Congregationalist and the Dutch Reformed Church split in two, with one side supporting “Old Light” ministers and the other side espousing the new pietism. New church denominations proliferated, and “New Light” centers of higher education – such as Princeton, Brown, Rutgers, and Dartmouth – were established to educate ministers in the new style. An important consequence of the Great Awakening was that as it swept



ORIGINAL DOCUMENT:
“SINNERS IN THE HANDS OF
AN ANGRY GOD”

The evangelists of The Great Awakening often excited their audiences with vivid descriptions of hell as the inevitable fate of the wayward Christian. Below is an excerpt from one of the most famous sermons by Jonathan Edwards: “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God,” delivered in 1741.

“The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked. His wrath towards you burns like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else but to be cast into the fire. He is of purer eyes than to bear you in his sight; you are ten thousand times as abominable in his eyes as the most hateful, venomous serpent is in ours...”

O sinner! consider the fearful danger you are in! It is a great furnace of wrath, a wide and bottomless pit, full of the fire of wrath that you are held over in the hand of that God whose wrath is provoked and incensed as much against you as against many of the damned in hell. You hang by a slender thread, with the flames of Divine wrath flashing about it, and ready every moment to singe it and burn it asunder.”

through the colonies, it broke down sectional boundaries and gave Americans a common cause – one that promoted the development of a new American identity.

COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS

By the late 17th century, the thirteen colonies had a variety of government structures and political practices. Not only did types of charters vary (royal, proprietary, and corporate), but political bodies and processes for selecting government officials differed as well. However, an important commonality was that all were accustomed to a great deal of autonomy, and in most colonies, free adult men who owned substantial property had an influential voice in their governments, particularly in matters of taxation. Some political structures – a legislature and a governor who lived in the colony – were common to most, although governors in some colonies were elected and others were appointed by the king or the proprietor.



EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE: SOME PENNSYLVANIA LAWS

The following Pennsylvania Laws, as recorded by a Swedish naturalist who visited this country from 1748 to 1751, reflect some concerns of public officials and citizens during colonial times.

“Law concerning liberty of conscience. Whosoever believeth in God the Father, His Son and Holy Ghost, and acknowledges the Holy Scriptures and wishes to live in peace, shall have religious freedom.

The governor alone has the right to purchase land from the Indians... Fences must be five feet high.

A ship carrying sick people may not approach within a mile of Philadelphia or any other city. The breaking of this ordinance is punished by a fine of 100 £. Fire in a chimney entails a fine of 40 shillings. Every house must have a water barrel and a leather bucket...

There is a bounty of three pence per dozen on blackbirds, and three pence apiece on crows. The heads should be shown to a town official... No pigs may run loose in Philadelphia, Chester or Bristol. Offenders against this ordinance lose the pigs thus running wild.

A bounty of fifteen shillings was first paid for wolves, but this was later raised to 20 shillings... An old red fox brought 2 shillings’ reward, a young red fox cub, 1 shilling.”

Reference: “Some Pennsylvania Laws,” in *Witnessing America*, Noel Rae, ed., New York: Stonesong Press, 1996, pp. 419-421.

Tensions between Crown and Colonies

In the 1680s Charles II and James II moved to reduce colonial autonomy in order to consolidate the king’s power in America. First Charles revoked the Massachusetts charter citing violations of the Navigation Acts, and then James II began to reclaim proprietorships for the Crown. Massachusetts, New Jersey, and the Carolinas all became royal colonies. The charters of Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were suspended but ultimately were restored to their original status.

One of the most controversial actions was James II’s establishment of the Dominion of New England in 1686, a single super-colony formed by combining Connecticut, Plymouth, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, and East and West Jersey. James was reacting both to illegal smuggling of goods as well as the Puritans’ refusal to allow freedom of religion to non-Congregationalists. Former New York governor Edmund Andros became the Dominion’s governor, and he did not have to answer to an elected assembly. He ruled with autocratic authority for two years, and colonists deeply resented his almost complete power to impose taxes, declare earlier land grants void, and make laws.

The situation was resolved in 1688, when James was deposed as king by the Glorious Revolution (p.55), and the colonists took the opportunity to rebel. The Boston militia seized and jailed Andros and other officials, and one by one the New England colonies reestablished the governments that James had abolished. In New York the situation descended into chaos, and King William had to send in a new governor, backed by troops, to restore order. Most of the colonies were eventually successful in getting their charters restored, but not Massachusetts. In 1691 the crown issued a new charter that absorbed Plymouth into Massachusetts and transformed the political structure of the colony. Town governments remained intact, but church membership was no longer required to vote in elections for the General Court (the legislature). Massachusetts became a royal colony, with a governor appointed in London, and it was required to allow all Protestants to worship freely, as provided by the English Toleration Act of 1690.

“Salutary Neglect” and the Rise of the Assemblies

During the first half of the 18th century, the British government was preoccupied with war and imperial rivalries in Europe, so the American colonies were left largely to govern themselves. Royal bureaucrats focused on defense and trade, but left internal colonial affairs to the colonial governments. The effects of this policy – later dubbed “salutary [healthy] neglect” by British philosopher and politician Edmund Burke – were deepened by the policy of appointing royal governors and members of governing trade boards according to patronage, or favors done for the king’s ministers. As a result, those charged with supervising the colonies were not always competent. At the same time, elected colonial assemblies increasingly



claimed to right to control local politics. These assemblies were usually composed of colonial elites, who came to believe that assemblies possessed the same rights in colonial affairs as the House of Commons in Britain.

Most legislatures were composed of two houses, with the governor's council (sometimes elected, sometimes appointed) often serving as the upper house. The lower house, in contrast, was more likely to be directly elected. The exception was Pennsylvania, where a new charter eliminated the governor's council in 1701, leaving the assembly to form the only unicameral (one-house) legislature in the colonies. The Quaker merchants in the assembly challenged the Penn family for control of finance, appointments, and the militia. Other powerful assemblies were those in New York, Virginia, South Carolina, and Massachusetts, which all vied with governors for political control. Although the rise of assemblies was an important step in developing a democratic society, these bodies generally were controlled by dominant families whose members were reelected year after year. Fast-growing frontier areas were generally underrepresented, leading to tensions between the well-established elite and people on the frontier, who often resented the assembly members for ignoring the concerns of their poorer constituents.

The Stono Rebellion

One of the most important crises for colonial governments occurred in South Carolina in 1739 when a group of about 20 slaves seized guns and ammunition from a store and killed the storekeepers and some nearby planter families. These actions began the **Stono Rebellion**, so named because of the town where it began. Beating drums to attract followers, the band marched southward toward Florida (where they had heard they could seek refuge), burning houses and barns and killing whites along the way. The slaves, mostly recent arrivals from Africa, managed to attract followers so that their numbers swelled to about 100 armed men. Eventually, South Carolina's militia managed to disperse the rebels after a battle in which some forty were killed. However, some slaves reached Florida, where the Spanish equipped them to help defend St. Augustine from attack by a force from Georgia.

The Stono Rebellion shocked white slave owners in all the plantation colonies and resulted in new laws that tightly controlled the behavior of slaves. The event contributed to a panic in New York City in the summer of 1741 after terrified whites suspected a biracial gang of conspiring to begin a slave uprising. Thirty-one blacks and four whites were executed for participating in the plot, and both the Stono Rebellion and the New York City conspiracy elevated tensions between whites and blacks. In neither colony – South Carolina and New York – was the assembly able to prevent serious internal disorder, causing many to question the ability of colonial governments to keep law and order.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT: GEORGE OGLETHORPE ON THE STONO REBELLION

One of the most serious slave revolts during the colonial era, the Stono Rebellion, occurred in South Carolina in 1739. One of the founders of the Georgia colony, George Oglethorpe, described the rebellion in the colony's official records, as excerpted below.

"Sometime since there was a Proclamation published at Augustine, in which the King of Spain...promised Protection and Freedom to all Negroes Slaves that would resort thither..."

On the 9th day of September...some Angola Negroes assembled, to the number of Twenty...they surprized a Warehouse...at a place called Stonehow: they there killed Mr. Robert Bathurst, and Mr. Gibbs, plundered the House and took a pretty many small Arms and Powder, which were there for Sale. Next they plundered and burnt Mr. Godfrey's house, and killed him, his Daughter and Son...they passed Mr. Wallace's Tavern toward day break, and said they would not hurt him, for he was a good Man and kind to his Slaves, but they broke open and plundered Mr. Lemy's House, and killed him, his wife, and Child...several Negroes joyned them, they called out Liberty, marched on with Colours displayed, and two Drums beating, pursuing all the white people they met with.... They increased every minute by new Negroes coming to them, so that they were about Sixty, some say a hundred...Singing and beating Drums, to draw more Negroes to them..."

Reference: Allen D. Candler, ed., *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia. 26 vols.* (Atlanta: Chas. D. Byrd, 1913), 22:232-236.

The period from 1690 to 1754 was a time of growth for the American colonies, with both dramatic population increase and economic diversification. Social classes became more distinct, and cultural movements shaped the colonists' connections to England and with one another. The colonies also came to expect a certain amount of freedom in conducting their own affairs, but as 1754 approached, international tensions – especially those among European powers – were soon to challenge their relationship with the mother country.

CONCEPTS AND IDENTIFICATIONS

African Diaspora
Andros, Edmund
Anglicization

coverture
deism
Dominion of New England
Edwards, Jonathan
Equiano, Olaudah
Enlightenment
Franklin, Benjamin
The Great Awakening
Hobbes, Thomas
Locke, John
manumission
mercantilism
Middle Passage
Montesquieu, Baron de
Navigation Acts
Oglethorpe, James
pietism
Rousseau, Jean Jacques
Salem witch trials
salutary neglect
Scots-Irish
Smith, Adam
Stono Rebellion
Voltaire
Whitefield, George
witch-hunts