

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER OUTLINE

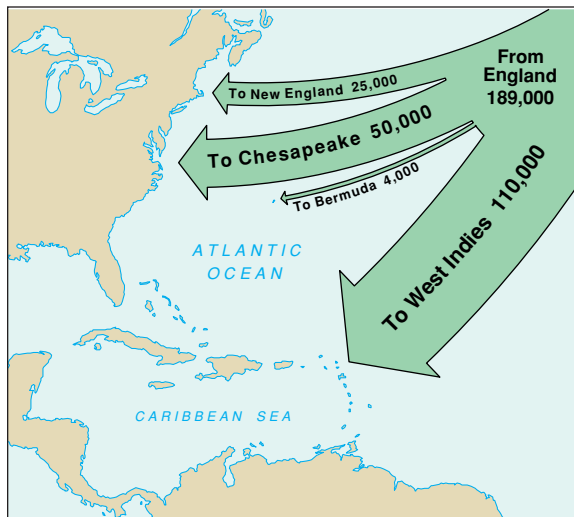
The New England Way

Chesapeake Society

The Spread of Slavery: The Caribbean and Carolina

The Middle Colonies

Rivals for North America: France and Spain



MAP 3.1
English Migration, 1610–1660

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This chapter will focus on four major questions:

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

THE NEW ENGLAND WAY

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

A City upon a Hill, 1625–1642

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Pequot War, 1637

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

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

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

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

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

Dissent and Orthodoxy, 1630–1650

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Power to the Saints, 1630–1660

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



MAP 3.2

Land Divisions in Sudbury, Massachusetts, 1639-1656

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

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

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

New England Families

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Half-Way Covenant, 1662

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

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

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

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

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

Expansion and Native Americans, 1650–1676

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Native American Baskets and Textiles in New England

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Focus Questions

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

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

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

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

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

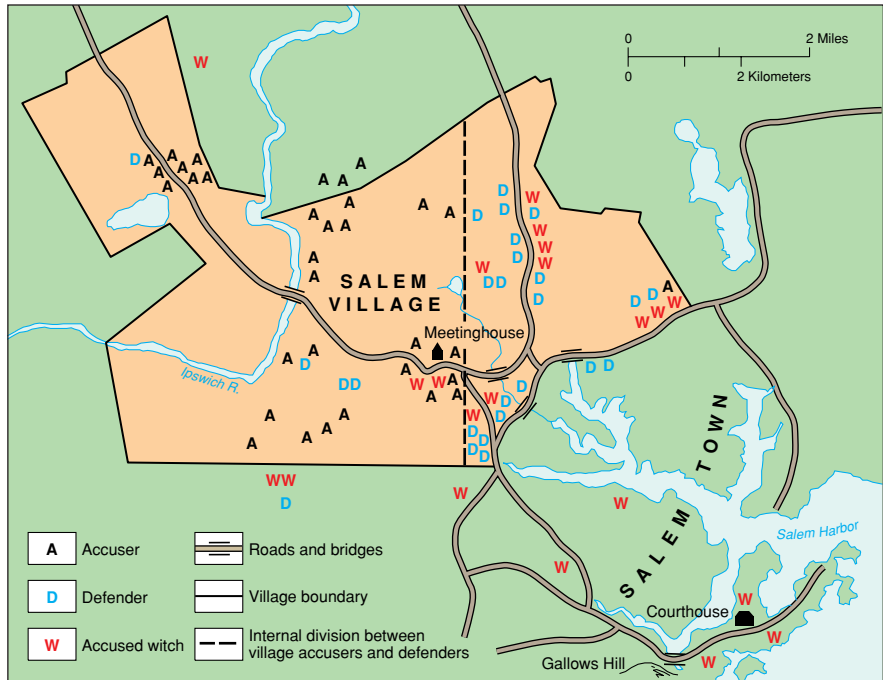
So far the incident was not unusual. Witchcraft beliefs remained strong in seventeenth-century Europe and its colonies. Witches were people (nearly always women) whose pride, envy, discontent, or greed supposedly led them to sign a pact with the devil. Thereafter they allegedly used maleficium (the devil's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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

CHESAPEAKE SOCIETY

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

State and Church in Virginia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Maryland

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Death, Gender, and Kinship

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tobacco Shapes a Region, 1630-1670

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

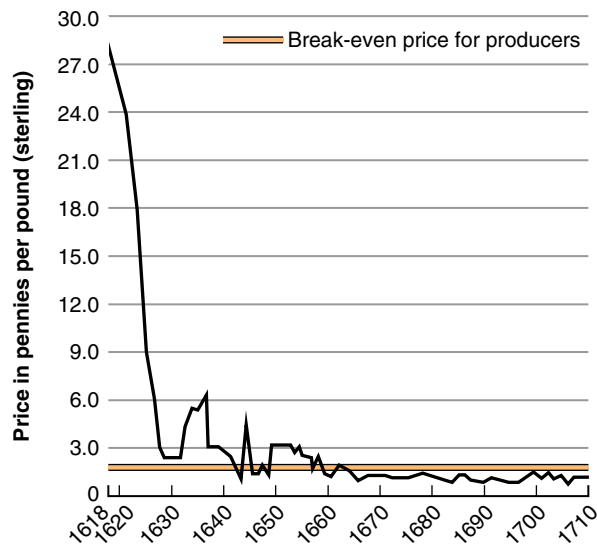
as having died at age seventy-nine "on the same Plantation where he was born in 1680, from which he never went 30 Miles in his Life."

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

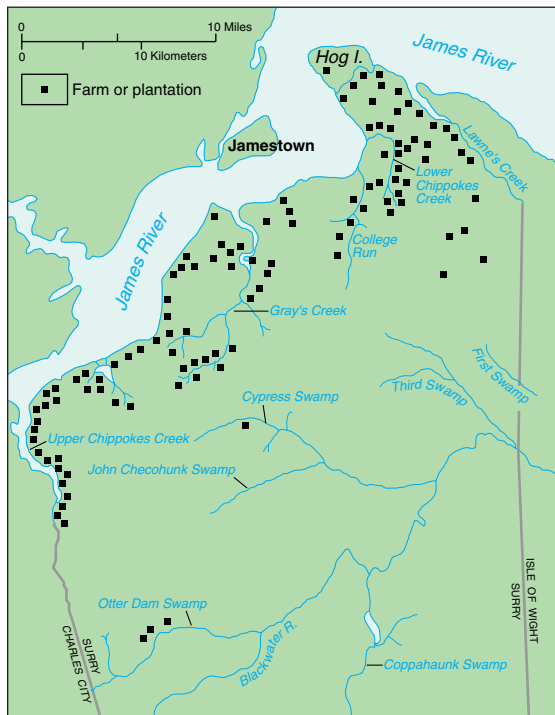
Despite the plunge, tobacco stayed profitable as long as it sold for more than two pence per pound and was cultivated on fertile soil near navigable water. The plant grew best on level ground with good internal drainage, so-called light soil, which was usually found beside rivers. Locating a farm along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

FIGURE 3.1
Tobacco Prices, 1618-1710

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bacon's Rebellion, 1675–1676

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

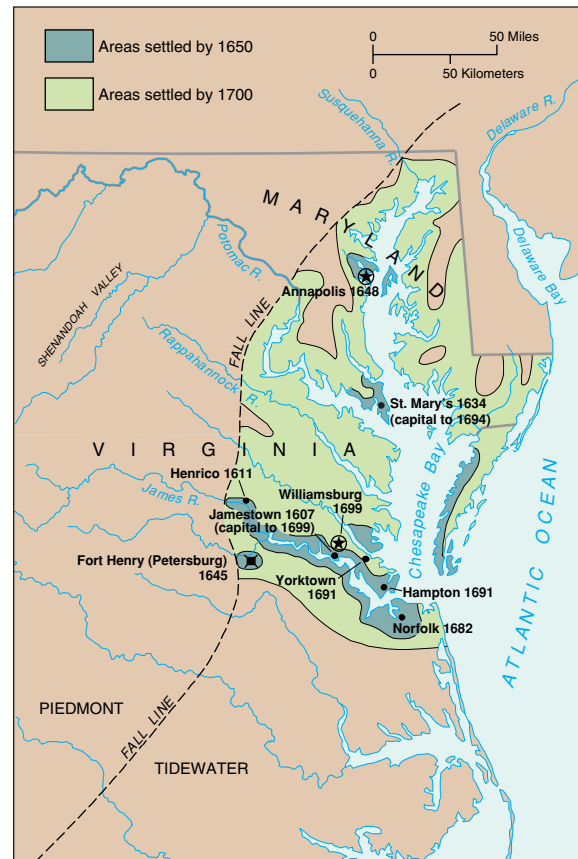
These groups focused their varied resentments against Native Americans.

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

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

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

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



MAP 3.6

Chesapeake Expansion, 1607–1700

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

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

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

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

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

Slavery

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE SPREAD OF SLAVERY: THE CARIBBEAN AND CAROLINA

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

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

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

Sugar and Slaves: The West Indies

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

MAP 3.7

The Caribbean Colonies, 1660

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



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

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

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

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

plunged into slave owning with gusto.

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

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

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

Rice and Slaves: Carolina

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



THE MIDDLE COLONIES

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

Precursors: New Netherland and New Sweden

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

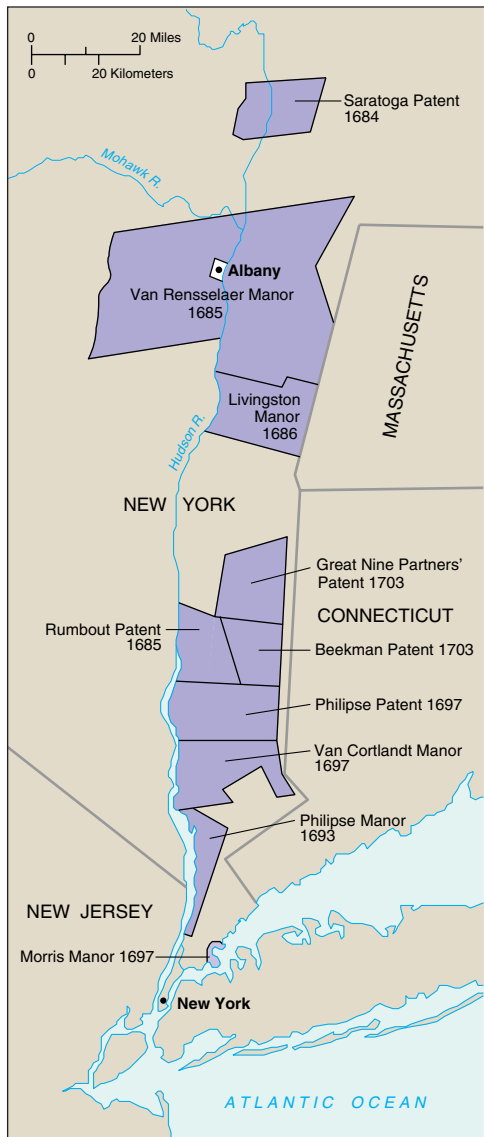
English Conquests: New York and New Jersey

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

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

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

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



MAP 3.9
New York Manors and Land Grants

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

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

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

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

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

Quaker Pennsylvania

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RIVALS FOR NORTH AMERICA: FRANCE AND SPAIN

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

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

France Claims a Continent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

New Mexico: The Pueblo Revolt

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Florida and Texas

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

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

CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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CHRONOLOGY, 1625–1700

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

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A useful introduction to Virginia’s changing labor force and the lives and legal treatment of enslaved Africans in the colony.

Salem Witch Trials Documentary Archive and Transcription Project

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

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

William Penn: Visionary Proprietor

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

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

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