CHAPTER 3

Planting Colonies in North America

1588–1701
t was a hot August day in 1680 when the frantic messengers rode into the small mission outpost of El Paso with the news that the Pueblo Indians to the north had risen in revolt. The corpses of more than 400 colonists lay bleeding in the dust. Two thousand Spanish survivors huddled inside the Palace of Governors in Santa Fé, surrounded by 3,000 angry warriors. The Pueblo leaders had sent two crosses into the palace—white for surrender, red for death. Which would the Spaniards choose?

Spanish colonists had been in New Mexico for nearly a century. Franciscan priests came first, followed by a military expedition from Mexico in search of precious metals. In 1609, high in the picturesque foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, the colonial authorities founded La Villa Real de la Santa Fé de San Francisco—“the royal town of the holy faith of St. Francis”—soon known simply as Santa Fé. Colonization efforts included the conversion of the Pueblo Indians to Christianity, making them subjects of the king of Spain, and forcing them to work for the colonial elite who lived in the town.

In the face of Spanish armed force, the Pueblos adopted a flexible attitude. Thousands of them eventually converted to Christianity, but most merely joined the new practices to their own supernatural traditions. The Christian God was added to their numerous deities; church holidays were included in their religious calendar and celebrated with native dances and rituals.

But the missionaries attempted to stamp out Pueblo traditional religion, invading underground kivas (sites for the conduct of sacred rituals) destroying sacred Indian artifacts, publicly humiliating holy men, and compelling whole villages to perform penance by working in irrigation ditches and fields. In 1675, the governor hanged four Pueblo religious leaders and publicly whipped dozens more. These outrages—in combination with a prolonged drought and severe famine, and rampant epidemic disease that the missionaries were powerless to prevent or cure—led directly to the revolt of 1680. One of the humiliated leaders, Popé of San Juan Pueblo, helped organize a conspiracy among more than twenty towns.

There were plenty of local grievances. The Hopi people of northern Arizona told of a missionary who ordered that all the young women of the village be brought to live with him. When the revolt began, the people surrounded his house. “I have come to kill you,” the chief announced. “You can’t kill me,” the priest cried from behind his locked door. “I will come [back] to life and wipe out your whole tribe.” But the chief shouted back, “My gods have more power than you have.” He and his men broke down the door, hung the missionary from the beams, and lit a fire beneath his feet.

When the Indians demanded the surrender of the Spanish inside Santa Fé’s Palace of Governors, the besieged colonists sent back the red cross, signaling defiance. But after five days of siege, the Pueblos allowed them to retreat south to El Paso, “the poor women and children on foot and unshod,” in the words of one account, and “of such a hue that they looked like dead people.” The Indians then ransacked the missions, desecrating the holy furnishings and leaving the mutilated bodies of priests lying on their altars. They transformed the governor’s chapel into a traditional kiva, his palace into a communal dwelling. On the elegant inlaid stone floors where the governor had held court, Pueblo women now grind their corn.

Santa Fé became the capital of a Pueblo confederacy led by the leader Popé. He forced Christian Indians “to plunge into the rivers” to wash away the taint of baptism, and ordered the destruction of everything Spanish. But this was difficult to do. The colonists had introduced horses and sheep, fruit trees and wheat, new tools and new crafts, all of which the Indians found useful. The Pueblos also found that they missed the support of the
Spanish in their struggle against their traditional enemies, the Navajos and Apaches. Equipped with stolen horses and weapons, their raids on the unprotected Pueblo villages became much more destructive. With chaos mounting, Popé was deposed in 1690.

In 1692, the Spanish army under Governor Diego de Vargas invaded the province once again in an attempt to reestablish the colonial regime. The Pueblos rose up in another full-scale rebellion, but Vargas crushed it with overwhelming force. After six years of fighting, the Spanish succeeded in reconquering New Mexico. Learning from previous mistakes, they practiced greater restraint, enabling the Indians to accept their authority. Missionaries tolerated the practice of traditional religion in the Indians’ underground kivas, while Pueblos dutifully observed Catholicism in the missionary chapels. Royal officials guaranteed the inviolability of Indian lands, and Pueblos pledged loyalty to the Spanish monarch. Pueblos turned out for service on colonial lands, and colonists abandoned the system of forced labor. The Spanish and Pueblo communities remained autonomous, but together they managed to hold off the attacks by the mounted nomads.

**KEY TOPICS**

- A comparison of the European colonies established in North America in the seventeenth century
- The English and Algonquian colonial encounter in the Chesapeake
- The role of religious dissent in the planting of the New England colonies
- The restoration of the Stuart monarchy and the creation of new proprietary colonies
- Indian warfare and internal conflict at the end of the seventeenth century

**Spain and Its Competitors in North America**

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Spanish controlled the only colonial outposts on the mainland, a series of forts along the Florida coast to protect the Gulf Stream sea lanes used by convoys carrying wealth from their New World to Spain. During the first two decades of the century, however, the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English were all drawn into planting substantial colonies in North America.

Because neither Spain nor France proved willing or able to transport large numbers of their people to populate these colonies, both relied on a policy of converting Indians into subjects, and as a result there was a great deal of cultural mixing between colonists and natives. New Spain and New France were “frontiers of inclusion,” where native peoples were incorporated into colonial society. The Dutch first followed the French model when they established their colony on the Hudson River on the northeastern Atlantic coast. But soon they changed course, emulating the English, who from the beginning of their colonial experience adopted a different model, in which settlers and Indians lived in separate societies. Virginia and New England were “frontiers of exclusion,” in dramatic contrast to New Spain and New France.

**New Mexico**

After the 1539 expedition of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado failed to turn up vast Indian empires to conquer in the northern Mexican deserts, the Spanish interest in the Southwest faded. The densely settled farming communities of the
Pueblos offered a harvest of converts for Christianity, however, and by the 1580s, Franciscan missionaries were at work in the Southwest. Eventually rumors drifted back to Mexico City of rich gold deposits along the Rio Grande, raising the hopes of Spanish officials that they might find another Aztec empire. In 1598, Juan de Oñate, the son of a wealthy mining family of northern New Spain, financed a colonizing expedition made up of Indian and mestizo soldiers with the purpose of mining both gold and souls.

Moving north into the upper Rio Grande Valley, Oñate encountered varying degrees of resistance. He lay siege at Acoma, the pueblo set high atop a great outcropping of desert rock. Indian warriors mounted a bold defense, but in the end the attackers succeeded in climbing the rock walls and laying waste to the town, killing 800 men, women, and children. Surviving warriors had one foot severed, and more than 500 people were enslaved.

Unable to locate any gold—because there was none—Oñate was soon recalled to Mexico. The Spanish depended on the exploitation of Indian labor to produce valuable commodities, and without mines to exploit, interest in the remote province waned. But the church convinced the Spanish monarchy to subsidize New Mexico as a special missionary colony, and in 1609, a new governor founded the capital of Santa Fé. From this base the Franciscan missionaries penetrated all the surrounding Indian villages.

The colonial economy of New Mexico, based on small-scale agriculture and sheep raising, was never very prosperous. Afflicted with epidemic diseases, over the course of the seventeenth century the native population fell from 80,000 to less than 15,000. Very few new settlers came up the dusty road from Mexico, and what little growth there was in the colonial population resulted from marriages between colonial men and Pueblo women. By the late seventeenth century, this outpost of the Spanish empire contained some 3,000 colonists (mostly mestizos, of mixed Indian and European ancestry) in a few towns along the Rio Grande (see Map 3-1).

**New France**

In the early seventeenth century, the French devised a strategy to monopolize the northern fur trade. In 1605, Samuel de Champlain, acting as the agent of a royal monopoly, helped establish the outpost of Port Royal on the Bay of Fundy in what became known as the province of Acadia. It proved impossible, however, to control the coastal trade from that location. In 1608, Champlain founded the settlement of Quebec on the St. Lawrence River at a site where he could intercept the traffic in furs traveling downriver to the Atlantic. Forging an alliance with the Huron Indians, who controlled access to the rich fur grounds of the Great Lakes, in 1609 and 1610 he joined them in making war on their traditional enemies, the Five Nation Iroquois Confederacy. Champlain sent traders to live in native communities, where they learned local languages and customs, and directed the flow of furs to Quebec.

The St. Lawrence River was like a great roadway leading directly into the heart of the North American continent, and it provided the French with enormous geographic and political advantage. But the river froze during the winter, isolating the
colonists, and the short growing season limited agricultural productivity in the region. Thousands of Frenchmen went to New France as engagés (“hired men”) in the fur trade or the fishery, but nine of ten soon returned to France. The French could have populated their American empire with thousands of willing Huguenot dissenters, but they decided that New France would be exclusively Catholic. As a result, the population grew very slowly, reaching a total of only 15,000 colonists by 1700. Quebec, the administrative capital, was small by Spanish colonial standards, and Montreal, founded as a missionary and trading center in 1642, was only a frontier outpost. Small clusters of farmers known as habitants lived along the St. Lawrence on the lands of landlords or seigneurs. By using Indian farming techniques, the habitants were able to produce subsistence crops, and eventually developed a modest export economy.

Rather than facing the Atlantic, the communities of Canada looked west toward the continental interior. It was typical for young male habitants to take to the woods, working as independent traders or paid agents of the fur companies, known as coureurs de bois. Most of them eventually returned to their farming communities, but others remained behind, marrying Indian women and raising mixed-ancestry families. French traders were living on the shores of the Great Lakes as early as the 1620s, and French traders and missionaries were exploring the reaches of the upper Mississippi River by the 1670s. In 1681–82, fur-trade commandant Robert Sieur de La Salle navigated the mighty river to its mouth on the Gulf of Mexico and claimed its entire watershed for France (see Map 3-2).

Like the Spanish, the French established an American society of inclusion in which settlers intermarried with native peoples. But in most ways the two colonial
systems were quite different. The Spanish conquered native peoples and exploited them as a labor force for mines, plantations, and ranches. The French did not have the manpower to bully, dispossess, or enslave native peoples, but instead attempted to build an empire through alliances with independent Indian nations, which included commercial relations with Indian hunters. There were also important differences between Spanish and French missionary efforts. Unlike the Franciscans in seventeenth-century New Mexico, who insisted that natives accept European cultural norms, the Jesuit missionaries in New France learned native language and attempted to understand native mores, in an effort to introduce Christianity as a part of the existing Indian way of life.

**New Netherland**

The United Provinces of the Netherlands, commonly known as Holland, was only a fraction the size of France, but in the sixteenth century it had been at the center of Europe’s economic transformation. On land reclaimed from the sea by an elaborate system of dikes, Dutch farmers used new methods of crop rotation and deep tilling that dramatically increased their yields, producing large surpluses that supported the growth of the world’s most urban and commercial nation. After a century of rule by the Hapsburgs, the prosperous Dutch rose up against their Spanish masters and in 1581 succeeded in winning their political independence. Amsterdam became the site of the world’s first stock exchange and investment banks. Dutch investors built the largest commercial and fishing fleet in Europe and captured the lucrative Baltic and North Sea trade in fish, lumber, iron, and grain. It was said that the North Sea was Holland’s “America.”

Soon the Dutch were establishing trading outposts in America itself. Early in the seventeenth century, the United Netherlands organized two great monopolies, the Dutch East India Company and the Dutch West India Company, combining naval military might and commercial strength in campaigns to seize the maritime trade of Asia and the Atlantic. Backed by powerfully armed men-of-war ships, during the first half of the seventeenth century Dutch traders built a series of trading posts in China, Indonesia, India, Africa, Brazil, the Caribbean, and North America, and Holland became the greatest commercial power in the world. The Dutch first appeared in North America in 1609 with the explorations of Henry Hudson, and within a few years they had founded settlements at Fort Orange (today’s Albany), upriver at the head of navigation for oceangoing vessels on the Hudson River, and at New Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island, at the river’s mouth. Seeking to match French success, they negotiated a commercial alliance with the Iroquois Confederacy to obtain furs. Greatly strengthened by access to superior Dutch products, including metal tools and firearms, the Iroquois embarked on a series of military expeditions against their neighbors (sometimes known as the **Beaver Wars**) which made them into strategic commercial middlemen for the Dutch. In the late 1640s, the Iroquois attacked and dispersed the Hurons, who controlled the flow of furs from the Great Lakes to their French allies. The Dutch also succeeded in overwhelming a small colony of Swedes on the lower Delaware River, incorporating that region into their sphere of influence in the 1640s.

**England in the Chesapeake**

England first attempted to plant colonies in North America during the 1580s, in Newfoundland and at Roanoke Island in present-day North Carolina (see Chapter 2). Both attempts were failures. A long war with
Spain (1588 to 1604) suspended further efforts, but once it concluded, the English again turned to the Americas.

Jamestown and the Powhatan Confederacy

Early in his reign, King James I (reigned 1603–25) issued royal charters for the colonization of the mid-Atlantic region—which the English called Virginia—to joint-stock companies that raised capital by the sale of shares. In 1607, a group of London investors known as the Virginia Company sent ships and a hundred men to Chesapeake Bay, where the colonists built a fort they named Jamestown in the king’s honor. It would be the first permanent English settlement in North America.

The Chesapeake was home to an estimated 14,000 Algonquian people living in several dozen self-governing communities. By what right did the English think they could seize lands occupied by another people? “These Savages have no particular propertie in any parcel of that country, but only a general residence there, as wild beasts have in the forest,” an English minister preached to departing Jamestown colonists. “They range and wander up and downe the country, without any law or government, being led only by their own lusts and sexualitie.” Indians were savages with no rights that Christians had to respect. In fact, the native communities of the Chesapeake were bound together in a sophisticated political system known as the Powhatan Confederacy, led by a powerful chief named Wahunsonacook, whom the Jamestown colonists called “King Powhatan.” Powhatan’s feelings about Europeans were mixed. He knew they could mean trouble, for in the 1570s, Spanish missionaries had attempted to plant a colony in the Chesapeake, but after they interfered with the practice of native religion they were violently expelled. Still, Powhatan was eager to forge an alliance with these people from across the sea that he might obtain access to supplies of metal tools and weapons, which would assist him in extending his rule over outlying communities. He allowed the colonists leave to build their outpost at Jamestown. As was the case elsewhere in the Americas, Indians attempted to use Europeans to pursue ends of their own.

The Jamestown colonists included adventurers, gentlemen, and “ne’er-do-wells,” in the words of John Smith, the colony’s military leader. They had come to find gold.
and a passage to the Indies, and failing at both they spent their time gaming and drinking. They survived only because of Powhatan’s material assistance. “In our extremity the Indians brought us corn,” Smith wrote, “when we rather expected they would destroy us.” But as more colonists arrived from England, and demands for food escalated, Powhatan had second thoughts. He now realized, he declared to Smith, that the English had come “not for trade, but to invade my people and possess my country.” During the winter of 1609–10, more than four hundred colonists starved and a number resorted to cannibalism. Only sixty remained alive by the spring.

Determined to prevail, the Virginia Company committed itself to a protracted war against the Indians. Armed colonists attacked native villages, slaughtering men, women, and children alike. The grim conflict continued until 1613, when an English commander succeeded in capturing one of Powhatan’s daughters, Matoaka, a girl of about fifteen whom the colonists knew by her nickname, Pocahontas. Eager to see his child again, and worn down by violence and disease, the next year Powhatan accepted a treaty of peace. “I am old and ere long must die,” he mused. “I know it is better to eat good meat, lie well, and sleep with my women and children, laugh and be merry, than to be forced to flee and be hunted.” The peace was sealed by the marriage of Pocahontas to John Rolfe, one of the leading colonists. For a brief moment it seemed the English too might move in the direction of a society of inclusion. Rolfe traveled to England with his wife and son, where they were greeted as American nobility. Included in their party were a number of colonists who had adopted the Powhatan style of shaving their heads on one side, a custom designed to prevent the strings of their bows from getting caught in their hair. But Pocahontas fell ill and died before returning. Crushed by the news, Powhatan abdicated in favor of his brother Opechancanough before dying of despair.

**Tobacco, Expansion, and Warfare**

During these years, the Virginia colonists struggled to find the “merchantable commodity” for which Thomas Harriot, the scientist who accompanied the Roanoke expedition, had searched (see Chapter 2). They finally found it in tobacco. Tobacco had been introduced to England by Francis Drake in the 1580s, and by the 1610s, a craze for smoking created strong demand. Colonist John Rolfe developed a mild hybrid variety, and soon the first commercial shipments of cured Virginia leaf reached England. Tobacco provided the Virginia Company with the first returns on its investment.

But tobacco cultivation required a great deal of hand labor, and it quickly exhausted the soil. Questions of land and labor would henceforth dominate the history of the Virginia colony. The company instituted what were called “headright grants”—awards of large plantations to wealthy colonists on condition they transport workers from England at their own cost. Because thousands of English families were being thrown off the land (see Chapter 2), many were attracted by the prospect of work in Virginia. More than 10,000 colonists were sent to Jamestown before 1622, but high mortality, probably the result of epidemics of typhoid fever and perhaps malaria, kept the total population at just over a thousand.

Massive immigration would prove to be the distinguishing characteristic of English colonization in America. In choosing to populate their colony with families, the English moved in a different direction from the Spanish, who sent mostly male settlers. Moreover, the English concentration on plantation agriculture contrasted significantly with the French emphasis on trade. With little need to incorporate Indians into the population as workers or marriage partners, the English began to push them to the periphery. Virginia became a “frontier of exclusion.”
Pressed for the cession of additional lands on which to grow tobacco, Chief Opechancanough prepared his people for an assault that would expel the English for good. His plans were supported by the native shaman Nemattanew, who instructed his followers to reject the English and their ways. This would be the first of many Indian resistance movements led jointly by strong political and religious figures. Nemattanew was murdered by colonists in March 1622, and the uprising which began two weeks later, on Good Friday, completely surprised the English; 347 people were killed, nearly a third of Virginia's colonial population. Yet the colonists managed to hang on through a ten-year war of attrition. The Powhatans finally sued for peace in 1632, but in the meantime, the war sent the Virginia Company into bankruptcy. In 1624, the king converted Virginia into a royal colony with civil authorities appointed by the crown, although property-owning colonists continued to elect representatives to the colony's House of Burgesses, created in 1619, which had authority over taxes and finances. Although disease, famine, and warfare took a heavy toll, continual emigration from England allowed the colonial population to double every five years from 1625 to 1640, by which time it numbered approximately 10,000 (see Figure 3-1). Meanwhile, decimated by violence and disease, the Algonquians shrank to about the same number.

**House of Burgesses** The legislature of colonial Virginia. First organized in 1619, it was the first institution of representative government in the English colonies.
In 1644, Opechancanough organized a final desperate revolt in which more than 500 colonists were killed. But the next year the Virginians crushed the Algonquians, capturing and executing their leader. A formal treaty granted the Indians a number of small reserved territories. By 1670, the Indian population had fallen to just 2,000, overwhelmed by 40,000 English colonists.

**MARYLAND**

In 1632, King Charles I (reigned 1625–49) granted 10 million acres at the northern end of Chesapeake Bay to the Calvert family, the Lords Baltimore, important Catholic supporters of the English monarchy. The Calverts named their colony Maryland, in honor of the king’s wife, and the first party of colonists founded the settlement of St. Mary’s near the mouth of the Potomac River in 1634. Two features distinguished Maryland from Virginia. First, it was a “proprietary” colony. The Calverts were sole owners of all the land, which they planned to carve into feudal manors that would provide them with annual rents, and they appointed all the civil officers. Second, because the proprietors were Catholics, they encouraged settlement by their coreligionists, a persecuted minority in seventeenth-century England. In fact, Maryland became the only English colony in North America with a substantial Catholic minority. Wealthy Catholic landlords were appointed to the governing council, and they came to dominate Maryland’s House of Delegates, founded in 1635.

Despite these differences, Maryland quickly assumed the character of neighboring Virginia. Its tobacco plantation economy created pressures for labor and expansion that could not be met by the Calverts’ original feudal plans. In 1640, the colony adopted the system of headright grants previously developed in Virginia, and settlements of independent planters quickly spread out on both sides of Chesapeake Bay. By the 1670s, Maryland’s English population numbered more than 15,000.
Indentured Servants

At least three-quarters of the English migrants to the Chesapeake during the seventeenth century came as indentured servants. In exchange for the cost of their transportation to the New World, men and women contracted to labor for a master during a fixed term. Most indentured servants were young, unskilled males, who served for two to seven years; but some were skilled craftsmen, unmarried women, or even parentless children (the latter were expected to serve a master until they reached the age of twenty-one). A minority were convicts or vagabonds bound into service by English courts for as long as fourteen years.

Masters were obliged to feed, clothe, and house these servants adequately. But work in the tobacco fields was backbreaking, and records include complaints of inadequate care. One Virginia ballad chronicled these objections:

> Come all you young fellows wherever you be,  
> Come listen awhile and I will tell thee,  
> Concerning the hardships that we undergo,  
> When we get lagg’d to Virginia.

> Now in Virginia I lay like a hog,  
> Our pillow at night is a brick or a log,  
> We dress and undress like some other sea dog,  
> How hard is my fate in Virginia.

Many servants tried to escape, although capture could mean a doubling of their terms of service.

African slaves were first introduced to the Chesapeake in 1619, but slaves were considerably more expensive than servants, and as late as 1680 they made up less than 7 percent of the Chesapeake population. In the hard-driving economy of the Chesapeake, however, masters treated servants as cruelly as they treated slaves. After arriving, bound laborers were inspected by planters who poked at the muscles of men and pinched women. Because of the high mortality levels resulting from epidemics of typhus and malaria in the Chesapeake colonies, approximately two of every five servants died during the period of their indenture. Those who survived were eligible for “freedom dues”—clothing, tools, a gun, or a spinning wheel, help getting started on their own—and many former servants headed west in the hope of cutting a farm from the wilderness. But most former servants who were able to raise the price of passage returned home to England. Indentured labor may not have been slavery, but the distinction may have seemed academic to servants (see Chapter 4 for a full discussion of slavery).

Community Life in the Chesapeake

Because most emigrants were men, whether free or indentured, free unmarried women often married as soon as they arrived in the Chesapeake. Moreover, in the disease-ridden environment of the early Chesapeake, English men apparently suffered a higher rate of mortality than women, and widows remarried quickly, sometimes within days. Their scarcity provided women with certain advantages. Shrewd widows bargained for remarriage agreements that gave them a larger share of estates than those set by common law. So notable was the concentration of wealth in the hands of these widows, that one historian has suggested that early Virginia was a “matriarchy.” But because of high mortality rates, family size was smaller and kinship bonds—one of the most important components of community—were weaker than they were in England.
English visitors often remarked on the crude conditions of community life. Prosperous planters, investing everything in tobacco production, lived in rough wooden dwellings. On the western edge of the settlements, former servants lived with their families in shacks, huts, even caves. Colonists spread across the countryside in search of new lands to farm, creating dispersed settlements with hardly any towns. Before 1650 there were few community institutions such as schools and churches. Meanwhile, the Spanish in Cuba and Mexico were building great cities with permanent institutions.

In contrast to the colonists of New France, who were developing a distinctive American identity because of their commercial and political connections to native peoples, the population of the Chesapeake maintained close emotional ties to England. Colonial politics were shaped less by local developments than by a continuing relationship with the mother country.

The New England Colonies

Both in climate and in geography, the northern coast of North America was far different from the Chesapeake. “Merchantable commodities” such as tobacco were not easily produced there, and thus it was far less favored for investment and settlement. Instead, the region became a haven for Protestant dissenters from England, who gave the colonies of the north a distinctive character (see Map 3-3).

The Social and Political Values of Puritanism

Most English men and women continued to practice a Christianity that was little different from traditional Catholicism. But the English followers of John Calvin, known as Puritans because they wished to purify and reform the English church, grew increasingly influential during the last years of Queen Elizabeth’s reign at the end of the sixteenth century. The Calvinist emphasis on enterprise meant that Puritanism had special appeal among merchants, entrepreneurs, and commercial farmers, those most responsible for the rapid economic and social transformation of England. But the Puritans were also the most vocal critics of the disruptive effects of that change, condemning the decline of the traditional rural community and the growing number of “idle and masterless men” produced by the enclosure of common lands. They argued for reviving communities by placing reformed Christian congregations at their core to monitor the behavior of individuals. By the early seventeenth century, Puritans controlled many English congregations and had become an influential force at the universities at Oxford and Cambridge, training centers for the future political and religious leaders of England. (For a review of the Protestant Reformation and the enclosure movement in England, see Chapter 2).

King James I (reigned 1603–25), Elizabeth’s nephew, who assumed the throne after her death, abandoned the policy of religious tolerance. His persecution of the Puritans, however, merely stiffened their resolve and turned them toward open political opposition. An increasingly vocal Puritan minority in Parliament criticized King Charles I (reigned 1625–49), James’s son and successor, for marrying a Roman Catholic princess as well as supporting “High Church” policies, emphasizing the authority of the clerical hierarchy and its traditional forms of worship. In 1629, determined to rule without these troublesome Puritan opponents, Charles dismissed Parliament and launched a campaign of repression. This political turmoil provided the context for the migration of thousands of English Protestants to New England.
EARLY CONTACTS IN NEW ENGLAND

The northern Atlantic coast seemed an unlikely spot for English colonies, for the region was dominated by French and Dutch traders. In 1613, desperate to keep their colonial options open, the English at Jamestown had dispatched armed vessels that destroyed the French post on the Bay of Fundy and harassed the Dutch on the Hudson. The following year, Captain John Smith of Jamestown explored the northern coastline and christened the region “New England.” The land was “so planted with Gardens and Corne fields,” he wrote, that “I would rather live here than any where.” But Smith’s plans for a New England colony planted on native fields was aborted when he was captured by the French.

Then a twist of fate transformed English fortunes. From 1616 to 1618, an epidemic ravaged the native peoples of the northern Atlantic coast. Whole villages disappeared, and the trade of the French and the Dutch was seriously disrupted. Indians perished so quickly and in such numbers that few remained to bury the dead. Modern estimates confirm the testimony of a surviving Indian that his people were “melted down by this disease, whereof nine-tenths of them have died.” The native population of New England as a whole dropped from an estimated 120,000 to less than 70,000. So crippled were the surviving coastal societies, that they could not provide effective resistance to the planting of English colonies.

PLYMOUTH COLONY AND THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

The first English colony in New England was founded by a group of religious dissenters known to later generations as the Pilgrims. At the time they were called Separatists, because they believed the English church to be so corrupt that they had to establish their own independent congregations. One group moved to Holland in 1609, but fearful that tolerant Dutch society was seducing their children, they decided on emigration to North America. Backed by the Virginia Company of London and led by tradesman William Bradford, 102 people sailed from Plymouth, England, on the Mayflower, in September 1620.

The little group, mostly families but including a substantial number of single men hired by the investors, arrived in Massachusetts Bay at the site of the former Indian village of Patuxet, which the English renamed Plymouth. Soon the hired men began to grumble about Pilgrim authority, and to reassure them Bradford drafted an agreement by which the male members of the expedition did “covenant and combine [themselves] together into a civil body politic.” The Mayflower Compact was the first document of self-government in North America.

Weakened by scurvy and malnutrition, nearly half the Pilgrims perished over the first winter. Like the earlier settlers of Roanoke and Jamestown, however, they were rescued by Indians. Massasoit, the sachem or leader of the Pokanokets or Wampanoags, as they were also known, offered the newcomers food and advice in return for an alliance against his enemies, the Narragansetts. It was the familiar pattern of Indians attempting to incorporate European colonists into their world.

Deeply in debt to investors, always struggling to raise payments through the Indian trade, fishing, and lumbering, the Plymouth colony was never a financial success. Most families grew their own crops and kept their own livestock, but produced
little for export. Nevertheless, the Pilgrims succeeded during the first two or three decades in establishing the self-sufficient community for which they had hoped. So strong was their communal agreement, that the annual meeting of property-owning men reelected William Bradford to thirty consecutive terms as governor. By midcentury, however, the Plymouth population had dispersed into eleven separate communities, and the growth of diverse local interests had begun to disrupt this Separatist retreat.

### The Massachusetts Bay Colony

In England, the political climate of the late 1620s convinced a number of influential Puritans that the only way to protect their congregations was by emigration. In 1629, a royal charter was granted to a group of wealthy Puritans who called their enterprise the **Massachusetts Bay Company**, and an advance force of some 200 settlers left for the English fishing settlement of Naumkeag on Massachusetts Bay, which they renamed Salem. They hoped to establish what John Winthrop, their leader and first governor, called “a city on a hill,” a New England model of reform for old England. The Puritan emigration became known as the **Great Migration**, a phrase that would be repeated many times in American history. Between 1629 and 1643, some 20,000 people relocated to Massachusetts. In 1630, they built the town of Boston, and within five years ringed it with towns as far as thirty miles inland. By 1640, their settlements had spread seventy-five miles west to the Connecticut River Valley, where they linked with settlers spreading north from the Puritan New Haven Colony, on Long Island Sound.

Most colonists arrived in groups from long-established communities in the east of England and often were led by men with extensive experience in local English government. Taking advantage of a loophole in their charter, the Puritan leaders transferred company operations to America in 1629, and within a few years had transformed the company into a civil government. The original charter established a General Court composed of a governor and his deputy, a board of magistrates (or advisers), and the members of the corporation, known as freemen. In 1632, Governor Winthrop and his advisers declared that all the male heads of households in Massachusetts, who were also church members, were freemen. Two years later, the freemen secured their right to select delegates to represent the towns in drafting the laws of the colony. These delegates and the magistrates later became the colony’s two legislative houses. Thus the procedures of a joint-stock company provided the origins for democratic suffrage and the bicameral division of legislative authority in America.

### Indians and Puritans

The Algonquian Indians of southern New England found the English very different from the French and Dutch traders who had preceded them. The principal concern of the English was not commerce, although the fur trade remained an important part of their economy, but the acquisition of Indian land for their growing settlements. Ravaged by disease, the native people of Massachusetts Bay were ill-prepared for the Puritan landings that took place after 1629.

The English believed they had the right to take what they thought of as “unused” lands—lands not being used, that is, in the “English way”—and depopulated Massachusetts villages became prime targets for expansion. “As for the natives in New England,” argued Puritan leader John Winthrop, “they inclose no land, neither have any settled habitation, nor any tame Cattle to improve the land by, and soe have noe other but a Naturall Right to those Countries, soe as if we leave them sufficient for their use, we may lawfully take the rest.” The residents of one town,
meeting in common assembly, made it perfectly clear: “Voted that the earth is the Lord’s and the fulness thereof; voted that the earth is given to the Saints; voted, we are the Saints.”

The English used a variety of tactics to pressure native leaders into signing “quitclams,” relinquishing all rights to specified properties. The English allowed their livestock to graze native fields, making them useless for cultivation. They fined Indians for violations of English law, such as working on the Sabbath, and then demanded land as payment. In addition, they made deals with dishonest sachems. For giving up the land that became Charlestown, for example, the “Squaw Sachem” of the Pawtuckets, one of a number of women Algonquian leaders, received twenty-one coats, nineteen fathoms of wampum, and three bushels of corn. Disorganized and demoralized, many coastal Algonquians soon placed themselves under the protection of the English.

Indian peoples to the west, however, remained a formidable presence. They blocked Puritan expansion until they were devastated in 1633–34 by an epidemic of smallpox that spread from the St. Lawrence south to Long Island Sound. This epidemic took place just as hundreds of English migrants were crowding into coastal towns. “Without this remarkable and terrible stroke of God upon the natives,” recorded a town scribe, “we would with much more difficulty have found room, and at far greater charge have obtained and purchased land.” In the aftermath of the epidemic, Puritans established many new inland towns.

By the late 1630s, only a few tribes in southern New England retained the power to challenge Puritan expansion. The Pequots, who lived along the shores of Long Island Sound near the mouth of the Connecticut River, were one of the most powerful. Allies of the Dutch, the Pequots controlled the production of wampum, woven belts of seashells used as a medium of exchange in the Indian trade. In 1637, Puritan leaders pressured the Pequots’ traditional enemies, the Narragansetts who lived in present-day Rhode Island, to join them in waging war against the Pequots. Narragansett warriors and English troops attacked the main village, burning the houses and killing most of their slumbering residents. “It was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire,” wrote William Bradford, “and horrible was the stink and scent thereof.” The indiscriminate slaughter shocked the Narragansett, who condemned the English way of war. It was “too furious and slays too many.” The English commander dismissed their complaints. “The Scripture declareth that women and children must perish with their parents,” he declared. “We had sufficient light from the Word of God for our proceedings.”

The New England Merchants
In England, the conflict between King Charles I and the Puritans in Parliament broke into armed conflict in 1642. Several years of violent civil war led to the arrest and execution of the king in 1649 and the proclamation of an English Commonwealth, headed by the Puritan leader Oliver Cromwell. Because Puritans were on the victorious side in the English Civil War, they no longer had the same incentive to migrate to New England. A number of New England colonists even returned to England.

New England’s economy had depended on the sale of supplies and land to arriving immigrants, but as the Great Migration ended, the importance of this “newcomer market” declined. The foundation of a new commercial economy was the
CHAPTER 3  PLANTING COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA, 1588–1701

cod fishery. New England merchants began shipping salted cod, as well as lumber and farm products, to the West Indies, where they exchanged those commodities for sugar, molasses, and rum. By the 1660s, New England had a commercial fleet of more than three hundred vessels that was the envy of other colonies. By 1700, Boston had become the third largest English commercial center (after London and Bristol). New England crews voyaged throughout the Atlantic—to the fishing grounds of the North Atlantic, to the sugar-producing colonies of the West Indies, to the wine-producing islands of the Atlantic, to Africa and England. The development of a diversified economy provided New England with tremendous long-term strength, and offered a striking contrast with the specialized fur-trade economy of New France.

Community and Family in Massachusetts

The Puritans stressed the importance of well-ordered communities. The Massachusetts General Court, the governing body of the colony, granted townships to groups of proprietors, the leaders of congregations wishing to settle new lands. These men then distributed fields, pasture, and woodlands in quantities proportional to the social status of the recipient, with wealthy heads of household receiving more than others. The Puritans believed that social hierarchy was ordained by God and required for well-ordered communities. Settlers typically clustered their dwellings in a central village, near the meetinghouse that served as both church and civic center. Some towns, particularly those along the coast such as Boston, became centers of shipping. Clustered settlements and strong communities distinguished New England from the dispersed and weak communities of the Chesapeake.

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The ideal Puritan family was also well ordered. Parents often participated in the choice of mates for their offspring, and children typically married in the order of their births, younger siblings waiting until arrangements had been made for their elders. But well-disciplined children also needed education. Another source of New England’s strength was the impressive system the Puritans built to educate their young. In 1647, Massachusetts required that towns with 50 families or more support a public school; those with 100 families were to establish a grammar school that taught Latin, knowledge of which was required for admission to Harvard College, founded in 1636. The colony of Connecticut enacted similar requirements. Literacy was higher in New England than elsewhere in North America, and even in most of Europe. But because girls were excluded from grammar schools, far fewer New England women than men could read and write. By 1639, the first printing press in the English colonies was in operation in Boston, and the following year it brought out the first American English publication, *The Bay Psalm Book*.

It is a mistake to regard the Puritans as “puritanical.” Although adultery was a capital crime in New England, Puritans celebrated sexual expression within marriage. Courting couples were allowed to engage in “petting,” and married couples were expected to enjoy sexual relations. There were many loving Puritan households.
Anne Bradstreet, a Massachusetts wife and mother and the first published poet of New England, wrote about her husband and marriage:

If ever two are one, then surely we.  
If ever man were lovd by wife, then thee;  
If ever wife was happy in a man,  
Compare with me ye women if you can.

The family economy operated through the combined efforts of husband and wife. Men were generally responsible for fieldwork, women for the work of the household, garden, henhouse, and dairy. Women managed a rich array of tasks, and some independently traded garden products, milk, and eggs. “I meddle not with the geese nor turkeys,” one husband wrote of his wife’s domestic management, “for they are hers for she hath been and is a good wife to me.”

Still, the cultural ideal was the subordination of women to men. “I am but a wife, and therefore it is sufficient for me to follow my husband,” wrote Lucy Winthrop Downing, and her brother John Winthrop declared that “a true wife accounts her subjection her honor and freedom.” Married women could not make contracts, own property, vote, or hold office. A typical woman, marrying in her early twenties and surviving through her forties, could expect to bear eight children and devote herself to husband and family. Aside from abstinence, there was no form of birth control. Wives who failed to have children, or widows who were economically independent, aroused significant suspicion among their neighbors. One Boston resident wrote that to be an “old maid . . . is thought such a curse as nothing can exceed it, and look’d on as a dismal Spectacle.”

The cultural mistrust of women came to the surface most notably in periodic witchcraft scares. During the course of the seventeenth century, according to one historian, 342 New England women were accused by their neighbors of witchcraft. The majority of them were unmarried, or childless, or widowed, or had reputations among their neighbors for assertiveness and independence. In the vast majority of cases, these accusations were dismissed by authorities. In the most infamous case, however, in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692, the whole community was thrown into a panic of accusations when a group of girls claimed that they had been bewitched by a number of old women. Before the colonial governor finally called a halt to the persecutions in 1693, twenty people had been tried, condemned, and executed.

The Salem accusations of witchcraft may have reflected social tensions that found their outlet through an attack on people perceived as outsiders. Salem was a booming port, but although some residents were prospering, others were not. Most of the victims came from the commercial eastern end of town, the majority of their accusers from the economically stagnant western side. Most of the accused also came from Anglican, Quaker, or Baptist families. Finally, a majority of the victims were old women, suspect because they lived alone, without men. The Salem witchcraft crisis exposed the dark side of Puritan ideas about women.

**Dissent and New Communities**

The Puritans emigrated in order to practice their variety of Christianity, but they had little tolerance for other religious points of view. Religious disagreement among the New England colonists soon provoked the founding of new colonies. Thomas Hooker, minister of the congregation at Cambridge, disagreed with the policy of restricting suffrage to male church members. In 1636, he led his followers west to the Connecticut River, where they founded the town of Hartford near the site of the later city of Hartford, Connecticut.
of the trading post abandoned by the Dutch after epidemic disease had destroyed nearby Indian communities in 1634.

Another dissenter was the minister Roger Williams, who came to New England in 1631 to take up duties for the congregation in Salem. Williams believed in religious tolerance and the separation of church and state (discussed in Chapter 5). He also preached that the colonists had no absolute right to Indian land but must bargain for it in good faith. These were considered dangerous ideas, and in 1636 Williams was banished from the colony. With a group of his followers, he emigrated to the country of the Narragansetts, where he purchased land from the Indians and founded the town of Providence.

The next year, Boston shook with another religious controversy. Anne Hutchinson, wife of a Puritan merchant, was a brilliant and outspoken woman who held religious discussion groups in her home and criticized various Boston ministers for a lack of piety. Their concentration of attention on good works, she argued, led people to believe that they could earn their way to heaven, which in the eyes of Calvinists was a “popish” or Catholic heresy. Hutchinson was called before the General Court, was excommunicated and banished. She and her followers moved to Roger Williams’s settlement, where they established another dissenting community in 1638. In 1644, Williams received a royal charter creating the colony of Rhode Island (named for the principal island in Narragansett Bay), as a protection for these dissenting communities. Another royal charter of 1663 guaranteed the colony self-government and complete religious liberty.

By the 1670s, Massachusetts’s population had grown to more than 40,000, most of it concentrated in and around Boston, although there were communities as far west as the Connecticut River valley and as far north along the Atlantic coast as Maine (which was not separated from Massachusetts until 1820), as well as in New Hampshire, set off as a royal colony in 1680. Next in size after Massachusetts was Connecticut, its population numbering about 17,000. Plymouth’s 6,000 inhabitants were absorbed by Massachusetts in 1691.

The Proprietary Colonies

The Puritan Commonwealth, established in England after the execution of King Charles I, was preoccupied with English domestic affairs and left the colonies largely to their own devices. New England, Oliver Cromwell famously declared, was “poore, cold, and useless.” After Cromwell’s death in 1658, Parliament was desperate for stability, and in 1660, it restored the Stuart monarchy, placing on the throne Charles II, eldest son of the former king. Unlike Cromwell, Charles took an active interest in North America, establishing several new proprietary colonies on the model of Maryland (see Map 3-4).

Early Carolina

In 1663, the king issued the first of his colonial charters, calling for the establishment of a new colony called Carolina, stretching from Virginia south to Spanish Florida. Virginians had already begun moving into the northern parts of this territory, and in 1664, the Carolina proprietors appointed a governor for the settlements in the area of Albemarle Sound and created a popularly elected assembly. By 1675, North Carolina, as it became known, was home to some 5,000 small farmers and large tobacco planters.

Settlement farther south began in 1670 with the founding of coastal Charles Town (Charleston today). Most South Carolina settlers came from Barbados, a Caribbean colony the English had founded in 1627, which grew wealthy from the production of sugar. By the 1670s, the island had become overpopulated with English
landowners and African slaves. The latter, imported to work the plantations, made up a majority of the population. Hundreds of Barbadians, both masters and slaves, relocated to South Carolina, lending that colony a distinctly West Indian character. By the end of the seventeenth century, South Carolina’s population was 6,000, including some 2,500 enslaved Africans. (For a further discussion of slavery in South Carolina, see Chapter 4.)

**From New Netherland to New York**

Charles also coveted the lucrative Dutch colony of New Netherland. In response to the growth of New England’s population and its merchant economy, in the 1640s, the Dutch West India Company began sponsoring the emigration of European settlers to the Hudson River Valley, seeking to develop the colony in the New England model as a diversified supply center for the West Indies. In 1751, Parliament passed a Trade and Navigation Act that barred Dutch vessels from English colonial possessions, which led to an inconclusive naval war with Holland from 1652 to 1654. In 1664, when a second Anglo-Dutch war erupted after the two commercial powers clashed along the West African coast, an English fleet sailed into Manhattan harbor and forced the surrender of New Amsterdam without firing a shot. That war ended with an inconclusive peace in 1667. A third and final conflict from 1672 to 1674 resulted in the bankruptcy of the Dutch West India Company and marked the ascension of the English to dominance in the Atlantic, although Holland remained supreme in the Baltic and the East Indies.

Charles II issued a proprietary charter that granted the former Dutch colony to his brother James, the Duke of York, renaming it New York in his honor. Otherwise the English government did little to disturb the existing order, preferring simply to reap the benefits of acquiring this profitable colony. Ethnically and linguistically diversified, accommodating a wide range of religious sects, New York boasted the most heterogeneous society in North America. In 1665, the communities of the Delaware Valley were split off as the proprietary colony of New Jersey, although it continued to be governed by New York until the 1680s. By the 1670s, the combined population of these settlements numbered over 10,000, with more than 1,500 people clustered in the governmental and commercial center of New York City.

**The Founding of Pennsylvania**

In 1676, the proprietary rights to the western portion of New Jersey were sold to a group of English religious dissenters that included William Penn, who intended to make the area a haven for members of the Society of Friends (known as the Quakers by their critics), a group committed to religious toleration and pacifism. Penn himself had been imprisoned several times for publicly expressing those views. But he was the son of the wealthy and influential English admiral Sir William Penn, a close adviser to the king. In 1681, to settle a large debt he owed to Sir William, King Charles issued to the younger Penn a proprietary grant to a huge territory west of the Delaware River. The next year, Penn voyaged to America and supervised the laying out of his capital of Philadelphia.
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The earliest known view of New Amsterdam, published in 1651. Indian traders are shown arriving with their goods in a dugout canoe of distinctive design known to have been produced by the native people of Long Island Sound. Twenty-five years after its founding, the Dutch settlement still occupies only the lower tip of Manhattan Island.


Frame of Government

William Penn wanted this colony to be a “holy experiment.” In his first Frame of Government, drafted in 1682, he included guarantees of religious freedom, civil liberties, and elected representation. He also attempted to deal fairly with the native peoples of the region, refusing to permit settlement until lands were purchased. In 1682 and 1683, he made an agreement with the sachem Tammany of the Delaware tribe. “I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that hath been too much exercised toward you,” Penn declared to the Delawares. “I desire to enjoy this land with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbors and friends.” Although Pennsylvania’s relations with the Indians later soured, during Penn’s lifetime his reputation for fair dealing led a number of Indian groups to resettle in the Quaker colony.

Penn organized the most efficient colonization effort of the seventeenth century. During the colony’s first decade, over 10,000 colonists arrived from England, and agricultural communities were soon spreading from the Delaware into the fertile interior valleys. In 1704, Penn approved the creation of a separate government for the area formerly controlled by the Scandinavians and Dutch, which became the colony of Delaware. In the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania became known as America’s breadbasket, and Philadelphia became the most important colonial port in North America.
Conflict and War

Pennsylvania’s ability to maintain peaceful relations with the Indians proved the great exception, for the last quarter of the seventeenth century was a time of great violence throughout the colonial regions of the continent. The basic cause was the expansion of European settlement (see Map 3-5). Much of this warfare was between colonists and Indians, but intertribal warfare and intercolonial rivalry greatly contributed to the violence. It extended from Santa Fé—where the revolt of the Pueblos was the single most effective instance of Indian resistance to colonization—to the shores of Hudson Bay, where French and English traders fought for access to the rich fur-producing region of the north.

King Philip’s War

In New England, nearly forty years of peace followed the Pequot War of 1637. Natives and colonists lived in close, if tense, contact. Several Puritan ministers, including John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew, began to preach to the Indians, and some two thousand Algonquian converts eventually relocated to native Christian communities known as “praying towns.” There remained, however, a few independent tribes, including the Pokanokets of Plymouth Colony, the Narragansetts of Rhode Island, and the Abenakis of northern New England. The extraordinary expansion of the Puritan population, and their hunger for land, created inexorable pressures for further expansion into those territories.

The Pokanokets were led by the sachem Metacom, whom the English knew as King Philip. The son of Massasoit, the leader who forged the original alliance with the Pilgrims, Metacom had been raised among English colonists and educated in their schools. He spoke English, wore English clothes, and believed his people had a future in the English colonial world. But gradually he came to understand that the colonists had no room for the Pokanokets. In 1671, after a series of conflicts, colonial authorities at Plymouth pressured Metacom into granting them sovereign authority over his home territory. This humiliation convinced the sachem that his people must break their half-century alliance with Plymouth and take up armed resistance. Meanwhile, the Puritan colonies prepared for a war of conquest.

In the spring of 1675, Plymouth magistrates arrested and executed three Pokanoket men for the murder of a Christian Indian. Fearing the moment of confrontation had arrived, Metacom appealed to the Narragansetts for a defensive alliance. Hoping for territorial gain, the united colonies of New England took this as the excuse for invading the Narragansett country with an armed force, attacking and burning a number of villages. What soon became known as King Philip’s War, quickly engulfed all of New England.

At first things went well for the Indians. They forced the abandonment of English settlements on the Connecticut River and torched several towns less than twenty miles from Boston. By the beginning of 1676, however, their campaign was collapsing. A combined colonial army again invaded Narragansett country, burning villages, killing women and children, and defeating a large Indian force in a battle known as the Great Swamp Fight. In western New England, Metacom appealed to the Iroquois Confederacy for supplies and support, but instead they attacked and defeated his forces. Metacom retreated back...
to his homeland, where the colonists annihilated his army. The victors killed and beheaded Metacom and triumphantly marched through their towns with his head on a pike. His wife and son were sold into West Indian slavery, among hundreds of other captives.

The Iroquois were motivated by interests of their own. They sought to continue the role they had played in the Dutch trading system, as a powerful intermediary between the English and other native tribes. By attacking Metacom and his army, they were sending a message about where they stood. In the aftermath of the war, in a series of negotiations conducted at Albany in 1677, the Iroquois Confederacy and the colony of New York created an alliance known as the Covenant Chain, which declared Iroquois dominance over all other tribes in an attempt to put New York in an economically and politically dominant position among the other colonies. During the 1680s, the Iroquois pressed their claim of supremacy as far west as the Illinois country, fighting western Algonquian tribes allied with the French trading system.

Some 4,000 Algonquians and 2,000 English colonists died in King Philip's War, and dozens of native and colonial communities were left in ruins. Fearing attack from Indians close at hand, colonists also torched most of the Christian Indian praying towns, killing many of the residents. Measured against the size of the population, King Philip's War was one of the most destructive wars in American history.

**Bacon's Rebellion**

While King Philip's War raged in New England, another English-Indian confrontation was taking place in the Chesapeake. In the 1670s, the Susquehannock people of the upper Potomac River came into conflict with the tobacco planters expanding outward from Virginia. Violent raids led by wealthy backcountry settler Nathaniel Bacon in 1675, included the indiscriminate murder of natives. The efforts of Virginia governor William Berkeley to suppress these unauthorized military expeditions so infuriated Bacon and his followers—many of them former indentured servants—that in the spring of 1676, they turned their fury against the colonial capital of Jamestown itself. Berkeley fled across the Chesapeake while Bacon pillaged and burned the capital. Soon thereafter Bacon took ill and died. His rebellion collapsed, and Virginia authorities signed a treaty with the Susquehannocks ending hostilities, but most of the tribe had already migrated to New York, where they affiliated with the Iroquois.

This brief but violent clash marked an important change of direction for Virginia. Bacon had issued a manifesto demanding not only the death or removal of all Indians from the colony, but also an end to the rule of aristocratic "grandees" and "parasites." The rebellion thus signaled a developing conflict between frontier districts such as Bacon’s and the more established coastal region, where the "Indian problem" had long since been settled. In 1677, in a replay of Virginia events known as the Covenant Chain, an alliance between the Iroquois Confederacy and the colony of New York which sought to establish Iroquois dominance over all other tribes and thus put New York in an economically and politically dominant position among the other colonies.

**Covenant Chain**

An alliance between the Iroquois Confederacy and the colony of New York which sought to establish Iroquois dominance over all other tribes and thus put New York in an economically and politically dominant position among the other colonies.

**Bacon’s Rebellion**

Violent conflict in Virginia (1675–1676), beginning with settler attacks on Indians but culminating in a rebellion led by Nathaniel Bacon against Virginia’s government.
as Culpeper’s Rebellion, backcountry men in the Albermarle region of North Carolina succeeded in overthrowing the established government before being suppressed by English authorities. In the aftermath of these rebellions, colonial authorities in Virginia and North Carolina began to favor armed expansion into Indian territory, hoping to gain the support of backcountry men by enlisting the stock of available colonial land. Moreover, planters’ fears of disorder among former indentured servants encouraged them to accelerate the transition to slave labor (see Chapter 4).

WARS IN THE SOUTH

There was also massive violence in South Carolina during the 1670s, as colonists there began the operation of a large-scale Indian slave trade. Charleston merchants encouraged numerous tribes—the Yamasees, Creeks, Cherokee, and Chickasaws—to wage war on groups allied to rival colonial powers, including the mission Indians of Spanish Florida, the Choctaw allies of the French, and the Tuscaroras, trading partners of the Virginians. By 1710, more than 12,000 Florida Indians had been captured and sold, thousands of others had been killed or dispersed, and the Spanish mission system, in operation for more than a century, lay in ruins.

This vicious Indian slave trade extended well into the eighteenth century, and thousands of southern Indians were sold into captivity. Most of the Indian men were shipped from Charleston to Caribbean or northern colonies; the Indian women remained in South Carolina, where many eventually formed relationships and had children with male African slaves, forming a racial-ethnic group known as the “mustees.”

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION IN AMERICA

Dynastic change in England was another factor precipitating violence in North America. Upon the death of Charles II in 1685, his brother and successor, James II, began a concerted effort to strengthen royal control over the colonies. During the preceding forty years, colonial assemblies had grown powerful and independent, and the new king was determined to reign them in. He abolished the New York assembly, which had been particularly troublesome, and placed all power in the hands of the colony’s royal governor. Assemblies continued to operate in the other colonies, but were consistently challenged by the governors. In his most dramatic action, the king abolished the charter governments of the New England, New York, and New Jersey colonies, combining them into what was called the Dominion of New England. Edmund Andros, appointed royal governor of the new super-colony, imposed Anglican forms of worship in Puritan areas and overthrew traditions of local autonomy.

In England, the same imperious style on the part of the king seriously alienated political leaders. As a young man, James had converted to Catholicism, and after the death of his first (Protestant) wife, he remarried a Catholic aristocrat from Italy. His appointment of Catholics to high positions of state added to rising protests, but the last straw came when his wife bore a son in 1688. Fearing the establishment of a Catholic royal dynasty, Parliamentary leaders deposed James and replaced him with his Protestant daughter and Dutch son-in-law, Mary and William of Orange. The army threw its support to William and Mary and James fled to France. As part of what became known as the Glorious Revolution, the new monarchs agreed to a Bill of Rights, promising to respect traditional civil liberties, to summon and consult with Parliament annually, and to enforce and administer Parliamentary legislation. These were significant concessions with profound implications for the future of English politics. England now had a “constitutional monarchy.”

When news of the Glorious Revolution reached North America, colonists rose in a series of rebellions against the authorities set in place by James II. In the spring of 1689, backcountry men in the Albermarle region of North Carolina by backcountry men in 1677.
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of 1689, Governor Andros was attacked by an angry Boston mob, inflamed by rumors that he was a secret Catholic. He was able to escape their wrath, but was arrested and deported by the local militia. When news of the Boston revolt arrived in New York, it inspired another uprising there. A group led by German merchant Jacob Leisler, and including many prominent Dutch residents, seized control of the city and called for the formation of a new legislature. In Maryland, rumors of a Catholic plot led to the overthrow of the proprietary rule of the Calvert family by an insurgent group called the Protestant Association.

The new monarchs carefully measured their response to these uprisings. When Jacob Leisler attempted to prevent the landing of the king’s troops in New York, he was arrested, tried, and executed. But the monarchs consented to the dismantling of the Dominion of New England and the end of proprietary rule in Maryland. The outcome of the Glorious Revolution in America was mixed. All the affected English

OVERVIEW

CONFLICT AND WAR

The Beaver Wars 1640s–80s The Iroquois extend their authority as middlemen in the Dutch and English trade system by attacking neighbors as far west as Illinois

King Philip’s War 1675–76 The Indian peoples of southern New England and the Puritan colonies fight for control of land

Bacon’s Rebellion 1675–76 Backcountry settlers attack Indians, and colonial authorities try to suppress these attacks

Wars in the South 1670s–1720s British colonists in the Carolinas incite Creeks, Cherokees, and other Indian tribes to attack and enslave the mission Indians of Spanish Florida

The Glorious Revolution in America 1689 Colonists in Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland rise up against the colonial governments of King James II

King William’s War 1689–97 The first of a series of colonial struggles between England and France; these conflicts occur principally on the frontiers of northern New England and New York

CHRONOLOGY

1598 Juan de Oñate leads Spanish into New Mexico
1607 English found Jamestown
1608 French found Quebec
1609 Spanish found Santa Fé
1620 Pilgrim emigration
1622 Indian uprising in Virginia
1625 Jesuit missionaries arrive in New France
1629 Puritans begin settlement of Massachusetts Bay
1637 Pequot War
1649 Charles I executed
1660 Stuart monarchy restored, Charles II becomes king
1675 King Philip’s War
1676 Bacon’s Rebellion
1680 Pueblo Revolt
1681–82 Robert Sieur de La Salle explores the Mississippi
1688 The Glorious Revolution
1689 King William’s War
1698 Spanish reconquest of the Pueblos completed
1701 English impose royal governments on all colonies but Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania
colonies quickly revived their assemblies and returned to their tradition of self-government. The government of England did not fully reestablish its authority in these colonies until 1692, when Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland all were declared royal colonies.

**King William’s War**

The year 1689 also marked the beginning of nearly seventy-five years of armed conflict between English and French forces for control of the North American interior. The Iroquois–English Covenant Chain challenged New France’s fur-trade empire, and in response, the French pressed farther west in search of commercial opportunities. In the far north, the English sought to counter French dominance with the establishment of Hudson’s Bay Company, a royal fur-trade monopoly that was to exploit the watershed of the great northern bay.

Hostilities began with English-Iroquois attacks on Montreal and violence between rival French and English traders on Hudson Bay. These skirmishes were part of a larger conflict between England and France that in Europe was called the War of the League of Augsburg, but in the English colonies was known as King William’s War. In 1690, the French and their Algonquian allies counterattacked, burning frontier settlements in New York, New Hampshire, and Maine, and pressing their attacks against the towns of the Iroquois. The same year, a Massachusetts fleet captured the strategic French outpost at Port Royal on the Bay of Fundy, but a combined English and colonial force failed in its attempt to conquer the administrative center of Québec on the St. Lawrence. This inconclusive war was ended by the Treaty of Ryswick of 1697, which established an equally inconclusive peace. War between England and France would resume only five years later.

The persistent violence of the last quarter of the seventeenth century greatly concerned English authorities, who began to fear the loss of their North American possessions either from outside attack or from internal disorder. To shore up central control, in 1701, the English Board of Trade recommended converting all charter and proprietary governments into royal colonies. After a brief period under royal rule, William Penn regained private control of his domain, but Pennsylvania was the last of the proprietary colonies. Among the royal charter colonies, only Rhode Island and Connecticut retained their original governments. The result of this quarter-century of violence was the tightening of the imperial reins over its North American possessions.

**Conclusion**

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the European presence north of Mexico was extremely limited: Spanish bases in Florida, a few Franciscan missions among the Pueblos, and fishermen along the North Atlantic coast. By 1700, the human landscape of the Southwest, the South, and the Northeast had been transformed. More than a quarter million migrants from the Old World had moved into these regions, the vast majority to the English colonies. Indian societies had been disrupted, depopulated, and in some cases destroyed. The Spanish and French colonies were characterized by the inclusion of Indians in the social and economic life of the community. But along the Atlantic coast, the English established communities of exclusion, with ominous implications for the future of relations between colonists and natives.

During the long civil war in England, the English colonies were left to run their own affairs. But with the Restoration in 1660 and the establishment of the
This elaborate illustration, executed by English engraver Robert Vaughan, accompanied John Smith’s 1624 account of his years at the English settlement of Jamestown, from 1606 to 1609. It constitutes an early kind of cartoon history. Smith knew how to spin a tale, and these illustrations depict some of the most important turns in his story. A map of “Ould Virginia” (bottom center) is surrounded by vignettes depicting Smith’s adventures, including his seizure by the Powhatans (top left), his capture of notable leaders (top right and bottom left), and his rescue from execution by Pocahontas (bottom right). The images told a story of conflict and violence. Much more was to come. One interesting detail is the immense size of the chiefs compared to Smith. The costume, hairstyles, and body decorations of the Indians were taken directly from the images produced by English artist and colonial governor John White.

John Smith, *The General History of Virginia* (1624) from Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
constitutional monarchy in 1689, the English state began to supervise more closely its troublesome colonists, beginning what would be a long struggle over the limits of self-government. The violence and warfare of the last decades of the century suggested that conflict would continue to play a significant role in the future of colonial America.

AP* DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

Directions: This exercise requires you to construct a valid essay that directly addresses the central issues of the following question. You will have to use facts from the documents provided and from the chapter to prove the position you take in your thesis statement.

Examine the differences between the kinds of immigrants arriving in the British colonies of New England and those along the Chesapeake and the differing environments each group found in their respective colonies. Explain how the kinds of settlers and the differing environments led to the evolution of two such contrasting colonial societies in British North America.

DOCUMENT A

Wee are a company professing ourselves fellow members of Christ. . . It is by a mutuall consent, through a speciall overvaluing providence and a more than an ordinary approbation of the Churches of Christ, to seeke out a place of cohabitation and Consorteshipp under a due forme of Government both ciuill and ecclesiasticall. . . Thus stands the cause betwenee God and us. We are entered into Covenant with Him for this worke. . . [and we]. . . knowe the price of the breache of such a covenant.

Now the onely way to avoyde this shipwracke, and to provide for our posterity, is to followe the counsell of Micah, to doe justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God. For this end, wee must be knit together, in this worke, as one man. Wee must entertaine each other in brotherly affection. Wee must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of other's necessities. Wee must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekeness, gentlenes, patience and liberality. Wee must delight in eache other; make other's conditions our oune; rejoice together, mourne together, labour and suffer together, allwayes haueving before our eyes our commission and community in the worke, as members of the same body.

—John Winthrop, A Modell of Christian Charity, (1630)

In this famous statement, Winthrop also called the Puritan plantations "a citty upon a hill" to be placed in New England as an image set in New England for the purpose of calling the entire world to their vision of a relationship with God.

• How would tens of thousands of settlers immigrating to New England with this image of their own purpose shape the development of that colony?
Look at the 1677 map on page 74 printed in Boston and the 1670 painting of the Mason children on page 75.

- What kind of settlers arrived in Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth Plantation, and Connecticut?
- Were these colonies settled by individuals or by family units?
- What were the townships established by the Puritans and how were they organized?
- How did the settlers of the New England colonies support themselves?
- How did the environment shape the development of Puritan society?

Turn to page 70 for the discussion of the social and political values of Puritanism.

- How did these points of view affect the development of the New England colonies?

**DOCUMENT B**

Examine the Bromley's tobacco label below.

- Why did tobacco cultivation lead to the headright and the indenture system?
- What kind of immigrants arrived under the headright or as indentured servants?
- How did this shape society among the Chesapeake colonies?
Look at the map on page 67.

- How was the environment of Virginia and the other Chesapeake colonies different from that of New England?
- How did this make the development of colonies along the Chesapeake different from the evolution of those in New England?
- How did the rivers of the Chesapeake impact the development of communities?
- How did those rivers and the plantation system retard community development?
- Why was slavery considered a viable labor system in the colonies of the Chesapeake while it did not gain much of a foothold in New England?
- How would this impact the development of different societies in Virginia in contrast to Massachusetts?

Look at the portrait of the Mason children on page 75 and contrast it against the Payne children shown below.

- They are over a hundred years apart, but what do these two paintings tell you about the society which evolved in the Puritan town of Boston against the society of a plantation in Virginia?
- How would the kinds of people who immigrated to each location and the environment in which they found themselves help explain those differences?

Look at the chart on page 118 of the products of the various colonial regions in British North America between 1768 and 1772. Also examine the table on page 104 of tobacco and rice exports to England between 1700 and 1775. Finally, examine the graph on page 101 of slave imports to the British North American colonies between 1650 and 1770. By this period the differing colonial societies were well established. Look at what kinds of products were produced in New England and compare them against those produced on the Chesapeake and in the Lower South.

- What could the kinds of products that a region might produce and export tell you about their agricultural and social development?
CHAPTER 3  PLANTING COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA, 1588–1701

• Which region relied upon seafaring and fishing, small family farms, and light manufacturing such as lumber mills?
• Which region depended upon rich forests for products to export?
• Which region depended upon large plantation labor gangs and a wet environment?
• Which region had to turn to slavery for the labor to produce its products?
• What does this tell you about the impact of the environment upon the development of a colonial society?

AP* PREP TEST

Select the response that best answers each question or best completes each sentence.

1. One reason the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 failed to drive the Spanish out of New Mexico permanently was:
   a. a traitor revealed the plot to Spanish authorities, and they were able to arrest rebel leaders before the uprising began.
   b. the Pueblo Indians had become so dependent on the Spanish for military protection from the Navaho and Apache tribes.
   c. their superior military allowed the Spanish to hold onto Santa Fé and thus maintain a strong presence in the area.
   d. in exchange for trade agreements, the Arapahoe and Comanche tribes entered into a military alliance with the Spanish.
   e. the Pueblo Indians offered the Spanish a white cross to surrender, which they did and the battle was prevented.

2. French and Spanish American colonies differed from those of England:
   a. because the English refused slavery on religious principles, while France and Spain were thriving on such practices.
   b. because natives proved difficult to convert to Catholicism and therefore the Spanish and French enacted brutal policies.
   c. in that the English were much more tolerant and established policies of inclusion, unlike the exclusion of France and Spain.
   d. since France and Spain placed greater emphasis on developing agricultural colonies and England created mercantile settlements.
   e. because the French and Spanish settlements experienced much more cultural mixing between Europeans and natives.

3. The French agent who helped establish French relations with the Huron tribe was:
   a. Bernard de la Harpe.
   b. Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle.
   c. Samuel de Champlain.
   d. Denise Diderot.
   e. John Cabot.

4. Critical to the early survival of the Jamestown colony was:
   a. the huge number of English settlers who arrived in Virginia between 1607 and 1610.
   b. the discovery of extensive gold deposits along the James and Potomac rivers.
   c. the support the Spanish provided to the settlement during the critical “starving time.”
   d. the policies of the Powhatan Confederacy that allowed the settlement to be established.
   e. the colonists ability to self-govern and convert from explorers into agricultural farmers

5. Which commodity proved to be profoundly important to the history of Virginia?
   a. Fish
   b. Rice
   c. Sugar
   d. Tobacco
   e. Cotton

6. During the seventeenth century, most migrants to the Chesapeake colonies:
   a. were slaves taken out of Africa.
   b. came as indentured servants.
   c. arrived as members of large families.
   d. were wealthy landowners and planters.
   e. arrived with their Protestant congregation.

7. For the most part, the Chesapeake colonists during the seventeenth century:
   a. maintained close emotional and political ties to England.
   b. established a unique identity that was truly American.
   c. increasingly demanded independence from England.

Answer Key
1-B  2-E  3-C  4-D  5-D  6-B  7-A  10-E  11-B  13-D  14-B  15-E
d. advocated closer diplomatic relations with New France.
e. Established numerous towns and institutions to model England.

8. In early New England:
   a. political authority rested entirely in the hands of the directors of the various joint-stock companies.
   b. colonial practices shaped the development of political concepts that are fundamental to the United States.
   c. the Puritans established the first civil entities in history that allowed direct political involvement by women.
   d. religion prevailed over everything else, and the colonists never expressed any interest in political institutions.
   e. the colonists were split by religious ideologies and to elicit support began proselytizing the Indians.

9. According to the letter the Puritan colonist sent to his father, the best livestock to raise for profit in New England was:
   a. cows.
   b. horses.
   c. sheep.
   d. swine.
   e. Goose.

10. In dealing with Indians, the primary concern of New England colonists was:
    a. attaining native agricultural methods for colonial survival.
    b. developing a profitable trade in fur and pelts.
    c. allowing natives to maintain their traditional culture.
    d. converting the natives to the Church of England.
    e. acquiring land for the expanding settlements.

11. The Puritans who settled in North America:
    a. placed little importance on education beyond the fundamentals of reading and writing.
    b. believed education was critical and quickly established a sophisticated education system.
    c. insisted that the only thing anybody needed to know was to be found in the Holy Bible.
    d. did not have families with them and saw no need to establish an education system.
    e. believed in education only within the home for fear of sinful influences in a public school.

12. Following the Stuart Restoration in 1660, King Charles II:
    a. expressed little or no interest in the colonial affairs of North America.
    b. continued the colonial policies enacted during the Puritan Commonwealth.
    c. showed great interest in North America by establishing several proprietary colonies.
    d. tried to have most colonies re-chartered as joint-stock companies in order to tax them.
    e. hoped to rid England of the colonies declaring New England “poore, cold, and useless.”

13. Bacon’s Rebellion in 1676:
    a. marked the first effort by Americans to create a government free and independent of England.
    b. drove Governor Berkeley from office and placed colonials in charge of the Virginia government.
    c. succeeded in getting King Charles II to agree to divide Carolina into two separate colonies.
    d. revealed deep conflicts between the settled areas of Virginia and the frontier region to the west.
    e. indicated the desire of British authorities to begin armed expansion into Indian territory for more land.

14. One result of the Glorious Revolution was:
    a. the creation of the Dominion of New England.
    b. the English Bill of Rights that protected civil liberties.
    c. the end of all royal colonies in North America.
    d. the dissolution of the monarchy in England.
    e. the abolishment of the New York assembly.

15. During the seventeenth century:
    a. the European presence north of Mexico was extremely vast, but the Europeans saw little profit in this region.
    b. English colonies emerged in America, but French and Spanish settlements experienced few changes.
    c. the European population in North America declined as a result of civil uprisings and wars with the Indians.
    d. the growing power of England meant that the Netherlands no longer had an interest in international affairs.
    e. Spanish, French, and English colonies throughout North America experienced profound changes.