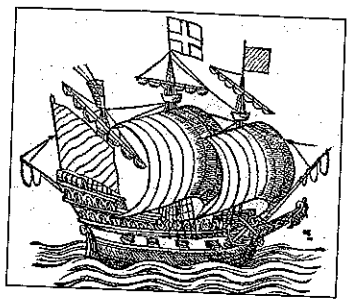
CHAPTER 2

Models of Settlement

English Colonial Societies, 1590–1710



The Chesapeake Colonies p. 36

New England p. 42

> **"Our First work is expulsion of the savages to gain the free range of the country ... for it is infinitely better to have no heathen among us, who at best are but thorns in our side, than to be at peace and league with them."**
>
> Virginia Governor FRANCIS WYATT, 1623–1624

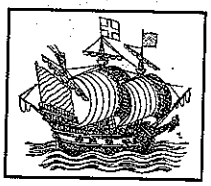
Theodore de Bry's 1619 engraving, *The Chickahominy Become 'New Englishmen,'* from the book *America*, portrays treaty negotiations between Virginia Indians and the English. Captain Samuel Argall, the Englishman negotiating the treaty, sits on a mat with a tribal elder. Another tribal leader addresses his people, informing them about the terms of the treaty, which was meant to promote trade and peace between the English and the Virginia Indians. As the engraving title, which refers to the Chickahominy as "New Englishmen," suggests, the English insisted that Indian tribes submit to English rule and accept the English king as their lord. By contrast the Indians believed that negotiating a treaty with the English meant that they had entered into a diplomatic relationship as equals. These differing visions frequently led to conflict between Native Americans and English settlers throughout the seventeenth century.

At the dawn of the 1600s, England trailed far behind Spain and France in the race to exploit the wealth of the Americas. By the end of the century, however, England had become a formidable colonial power in both North America and the Caribbean. In contrast to Spain and France, whose colonization efforts relied on active support from the monarchy and church, England's first efforts to colonize America relied on joint stock companies, which were privately financed commercial ventures. The two great early English experiments in colonization, in Virginia and New England, faced many challenges in their early years, including how to deal with local Indian populations. The solution for the English was not simply rendering the Indians politically subservient to the king but also segregating themselves from the Indians whenever possible.

Relations between settlers and Indians complicated colonial politics for most of the seventeenth century. Bacon's Rebellion (1676), a popular uprising in Virginia triggered by colonists' conflict over Indian policy, shook the foundations of the colony. In New England persistent conflict between Indians and settlers exacerbated existing social and economic tensions, leading to the worst outbreak of witchcraft accusations in colonial America, the Salem witchcraft hysteria (1692). The reassertion of political control by England, whose Glorious Revolution (1688) contributed to the emergence of a new, more stable colonial world, helped facilitate the resolution of the witchcraft crisis. On many occasions in the years to come, colonists would invoke the political and constitutional ideas of the Glorious Revolution to defend their liberties.

What was the English attitude toward Indians?

The Chesapeake Colonies



The failure of the Roanoke colony in Virginia (see Chapter 1) at the end of the sixteenth century (1585–1590) was only a temporary setback for English colonial projects in America. Less than two decades later, a new group of English settlers established a colony, Jamestown, in the Chesapeake Bay area of what is now Virginia. Although the early history of Jamestown was fraught with problems, the colony eventually began to prosper. Tobacco agriculture provided a strong financial incentive to expand into the wider Chesapeake region. By the 1630s Lord Baltimore had developed an ambitious plan to found another colony in the region, Maryland.

The Founding of Jamestown

Joint stock companies charted by King James I funded the English colonial enterprises. Investors bought shares in the company, and at the end of a specified period received their investment back plus a percentage of the profits of the company. In April of 1606 the king issued a charter to the Virginia Company of London to create a colony in America. In late December 1606 three ships set sail for the Chesapeake, arriving off the coast of Virginia in May of 1607. The first settlers were a motley assortment of men; no women traveled on this first voyage. The settlers named the new settlement Jamestown, in honor of England's King James I.

> "Our men were destroyed with cruel diseases, as swellings, Fluxes, Burning fevers and by wars, and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of mere famine."
>
> GEORGE PERCY, Colonist, 1607

The colonists scouted a location secure from possible Spanish attack, but still accessible to the sea. They built a fortified palisade to protect them from possible attacks by hostile Indians and by Spanish ships. Unfortunately the site they chose turned out to be a public health disaster. On the edge of a swamp, Jamestown was a fertile breeding ground for mosquitoes and the pathogens they carried, including malaria. Salt water from the nearby river contaminated the wells the colonists dug to supply fresh drinking water. In addition poor drainage meant the colonists' own waste occasionally contaminated the water supply. Many settlers died within a year of disembarking from their ship.

The Virginia Company's promotional pamphlets (**2.1**) deceptively cast Virginia as an "earthly paradise" that would offer opportunities for the settlers to become rich. Almost one-third of the early settlers were gentlemen who were unprepared for the arduous life in Virginia and who viewed manual labor as undignified. Believing that vast troves of mineral wealth existed in the region, settlers wasted time searching for gold and silver instead of planting crops or repairing fortifications. Dissension and a lack of firm political leadership also nearly undermined the colony.

Relations between the settlers and the powerful Powhatan Indian confederacy had begun amicably at Jamestown. Chief Powhatan, the ruler of the confederacy, was eager to trade with the English and acquire manufactured goods, especially firearms and metal tomahawks (a type of hatchet). Powhatan had also hoped to use the English as allies against rival Indian tribes. However once the Indians realized that the English were not temporary visitors merely interested in trade, but were intending to settle permanently in the region, relations between the two peoples deteriorated.

In dealing with the Indians, Virginians applied the same principles that the English had developed in the conquest of Ireland: expelling the local population and limiting contact with them as much as possible. The English failed to grasp basic rituals of hospitality and gift giving, essential to establishing cordial relations with Indian peoples. While the French and Spanish had encouraged marriage between settlers and Indians, the English discouraged such unions. This marriage taboo not only deprived the colony of a means of establishing friendly relations between

Why did Jamestown turn out to be such a poor choice for a permanent settlement?

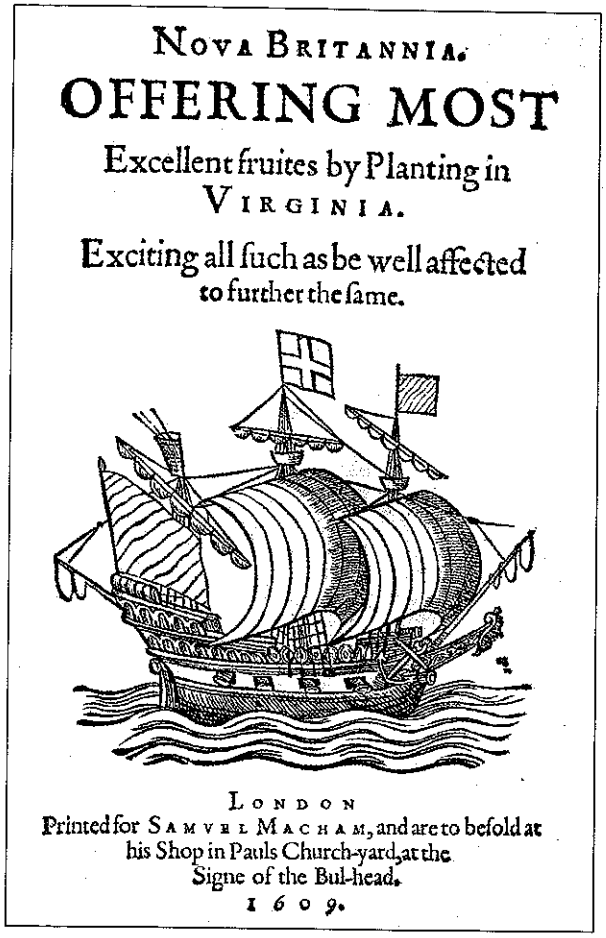
the two peoples but also deprived the colonists of cultural go-betweens who could have smoothed out conflicts and misunderstandings.

Among the most enduring myths associated with Jamestown and the English settlers' relations with the Indians is the tale of Pocahontas. Settler-soldier John Smith's tale of how a beautiful Indian girl saved his life is a foundational myth in American history, one that later writers often cast in romantic terms: an American Romeo-and-Juliet story of love at first sight between a beautiful Indian "princess" (a term straight from English aristocratic culture) and a dashing English officer. Smith's published account of his time in Virginia helped create this mythology. Smith took considerable liberties with the truth, highlighting his role as a romantic hero who saved Jamestown from disaster.

The events Smith described in his account almost certainly did not take place as he described them. However Smith was likely captured and eventually adopted into the tribe, and Pocahontas, then a young girl, may indeed have taken part in the adoption ritual. Among some Eastern Woodland Indian tribes, capture and ritual torture, followed by adoption into the tribe, was an essential means of conducting diplomacy. Once adopted into the tribe, prisoners became political intermediaries.

Although prone to inflate his achievements, Smith, an experienced soldier who had fought with the Dutch against Spain in the 1590s, played a decisive role in helping the colony avert disaster. In 1608 Smith negotiated an exchange of goods for food with Indians that helped stave off starvation. Smith's reforms may have staved off immediate catastrophe, but they did not prevent enormous suffering and high mortality during the difficult winter of 1609–1610, known as the "starving time." The colonists were so pressed for food that some even resorted to cannibalism to survive the winter. In his history of Virginia, Smith wrote about the starving time. Smith reported, with a somewhat macabre sense of humor, that one man "did kill his wife, powdered her, and had eaten part of her before it was knowne, for which hee was executed, as hee well deserved; now whether shee was better roasted, boyled or carbonado'd [stewed in beer], I know not, but of such a dish as powdered wife I never heard of."

Smith's role as intermediary with the Indians, a position that his alleged encounter with Pocahontas had helped solidify, did not prevent a further deterioration in relations with neighboring Indians. In 1609 Smith left Jamestown and returned to England. After his departure the growing hostility between the English and the Indians intensified. In 1613 Captain Samuel Argall led a party of Virginians on a mission to capture Pocahontas, whom Indians and Englishmen now knew by her adult name of Matoaka. The English hoped that by holding her hostage they could force her people to sign a peace treaty. For more on this episode, see *Choices and Consequences: The Ordeal of Pocahontas,* page 38.


NOVA BRITANNIA.
OFFERING MOST
Excellent fruites by Planting in VIRGINIA.
Exciting all such as be well affected to further the same.

LONDON
Printed for SAMVEL MACHAM, and are to be sold at his Shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the Signe of the Bul-head.
1609.

2.1 Virginia Promotional Literature The Virginia Company produced pamphlets that promoted the riches to be had by planting in Virginia.

Tobacco Agriculture and Political Reorganization

Jamestown had barely survived the "starving time" of 1609 to 1610, when the population dropped from between five and six hundred to sixty. Although the colony held on, it had not yet found a profitable commodity that could make it economically viable. John Rolfe solved this problem by introducing tobacco into the Virginia colony. Experimenting with various strains of tobacco, Rolfe finally settled on a variety that had been successfully cultivated in the

What was the "starving time"?

Choices and Consequences

THE ORDEAL OF POCAHONTAS

Desperate to force the local Powhatan Indians to negotiate a peace treaty, English settlers embarked on an audacious plan. They abducted a local Powhatan Indian woman named Pocahontas, now known by her adult Indian name Matoaka, hoping to force her people to accept a peace treaty. Her kidnappers took her to Henrico, a heavily fortified settlement upriver from Jamestown. The plan was to isolate her from her people. The English placed Matoaka in the household of a minister, who instructed her in the English language and customs and began indoctrinating her in Christianity. At the weekly prayer meetings hosted by the minister, she met John Rolfe, an influential Englishman recently widowed. Within a year of her abduction, Matoaka was baptized a Christian and had adopted a new English name, Rebecca. John Rolfe proposed marriage to the newly Christianized woman. Matoaka now faced a few possible options.

Choices

1. Reject the offer of marriage and remain a captive among the English until her people rescued her.
2. Attempt to escape.
3. Marry Rolfe, and through that marriage help her people forge an alliance with the Virginians.

Decision

Matoaka, now known by her English name Rebecca, chose the third option; after converting to Christianity, she married John Rolfe. Two years after their marriage, the couple journeyed to England, where she became something of a celebrity and was even introduced at court.

Consequences

Marrying Rolfe gained Matoaka (Rebecca) her freedom. In her new role as the wife of a high-status Englishman, she became a mediator between her people and the English. Indeed had she not become ill and died within a year after arriving in England, she might have been able to expand this important role.

Continuing Controversies

How do Indian conceptions of gender role help explain Pocahontas' decision to marry?

Scholars and analysts have suggested different explanations for her decision. Some have seen her decision as an expression of romantic love; others, as sheer expedience. The most recent and perhaps most persuasive explanation of her conversion and marriage to John Rolfe acknowledges the key role of women as cultural intermediaries in Indian diplomacy. By creating ties of kin to bind potentially warring nations in a blood bond, marriage served an important diplomatic function. This explanation, rather than viewing her decision as a slight to her Indian heritage, sees her decision as likely having increased her status with her tribe by allowing her to assume an important diplomatic role.

What role did women play in Indian diplomacy?

Caribbean. Tobacco was all the rage in Europe, a fact reflected in this humorous painting showing a group of monkeys in a tavern eagerly consuming tobacco (**2.2**). Playing on the popular notion that monkeys have a great capacity for imitation, the artist thereby ridicules the consumption of tobacco as a bad habit all to easily emulated. Smoking tobacco for pleasure became popular among all classes in European society. Tobacco was also believed to have many medicinal uses; it was recommended as a cure for colds and an aid to digestion.

Rolfe sent his first consignment of tobacco, 2,600 pounds, to England in 1614. Tobacco proved to be the colony's economic salvation: Profits from its sale created a boom in the colony, which then led inhabitants to devote nearly every acre of land to the "sot weed." Exports increased dramatically in the decades following the introduction of the crop. Yet while tobacco agriculture made some Virginians wealthy, the pursuit of profits diverted time and other resources from basic tasks, such as planting crops and repairing buildings. As a result of this neglect, settlers in boom-time Virginia continued to die at an alarming rate.

Establishing political order in Virginia proved far more difficult than the founders of the colony had expected. In 1618 Sir Edwin Sandys became the Virginia Company of London's treasurer and instituted a series of reforms to make the government of the colony more effective. A key reform was the creation of a representative body to make laws. The privilege of voting for representatives was extended to free men of property, who were to elect representatives who would then enact laws for the colony. Virginia's new legislative body, the House of Burgesses (representatives), first convened in July of 1619. Rather than take orders from company officials, the colonists gained some control over their own political affairs, a milestone in the evolution of representative government in America.

Because laborers continued to be scarce in Virginia, Sandys also introduced a new system to provide incentives to attract settlers. The **headright** system encouraged additional immigrants by giving 50 acres to anyone who would pay his own fare to

2.2 Apes Smoking
Artist Abraham Teniers mocked the popularity of smoking, substituting monkeys for humans.

What were some of the most important reforms implemented in 1618 by Edwin Sandys?

Virginia and 50 additional acres for each person he brought with him. The year 1619 also marked the arrival of the first Africans in Virginia. An English pirate vessel flying under a Dutch flag sold the Africans, captured from a Portuguese slaving ship in the Caribbean, to the Virginia colonists.

Immigrants continued to arrive in Virginia despite the continuing high mortality rates. Approximately two-thirds of the settlers died in the next three years. Deteriorating relations with local Indian communities reached a crisis point in 1622, when Powhatan's successor launched an assault on the colony that killed 347 colonists. The sensational attack inspired this engraving (**2.3**), which appeared in England six years later. To create a contrast between the imagined civility of the colonists and the alleged barbarism of the Indians, the engraver included inaccurate details, including tablecloths and a European-style walled city in the distance.

Two years after the attack, King James revoked the colony's charter. Now the king, not the Virginia Company of London, would appoint the governor. Eventually the king recognized the House of Burgesses, giving his royal sanction to the colonists' efforts at self-rule. Virginia had become England's first royal colony.

2.3 Theodore de Bry Engraving of the "Massacre" of 1622
This engraving of the 1622 Indian attack on Virginia residents contains a number of inaccuracies. To exaggerate the difference between Indian savagery and English "civilization," the artist included a European-style city in the background.

Lord Baltimore's Refuge: Maryland

James I died in 1625, and his heir, Charles I, came to the throne. Having married the French Catholic princess Henrietta Marie, Charles I resolved to make good on his marriage promise to ease the plight of England's Catholics. The vast majority of England's aristocracy was Protestant, but a small number were Catholic. One Catholic nobleman, George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, realized that he might be able to help his fellow Catholics and increase his own wealth by obtaining a royal charter for land in Virginia, making it a haven for English Catholics. After Calvert's death his son Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore, obtained a charter for a colony from King Charles in 1632. In this elegant portrait (**2.4**) painted by Gerard Soest, a court painter to King Charles, Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, stands holding a copy of the map of Maryland. He hands the map to his grandson, the son of the then current governor of Maryland, Charles Calvert. Grandfather and grandson are dressed in the finest fabrics, as is the slave who stands off to the side.

Maryland began as a proprietary colony under the legal authority of Lord Baltimore. The legal title of **proprietor** gave its possessor almost king-like authority over his domains. Lord Baltimore learned an important lesson from Jamestown: The lure of profits from tobacco agriculture could drive colonists to starve themselves to death in order to get rich quick. To avoid this danger Calvert had ordered that settlers first obtain a "sufficient quantity of corn and other provisions of victual" before producing tobacco or any other commodities for export. Although he envisioned his colony as a haven for Catholics, Calvert knew that the economic success of the colony depended on attracting laborers, so the colony would need to be equally hospitable to Protestants. Maryland therefore afforded religious freedom to all Christians.

From the start the proprietor and the freemen battled over control of the

What was a proprietor?

colony. Colonists challenged Lord Baltimore. The Maryland assembly routinely voted down bills he introduced; Baltimore responded by blocking acts passed by the assembly. Exacerbating the discord was the continuing religious tension between the Catholic proprietor and the overwhelmingly Protestant assembly. Eventually the two sides accommodated each other, and within a decade Maryland had a functional legislature.

Life in the Chesapeake: Tobacco and Society

The demands of an expanding tobacco economy in the Chesapeake, an area that included parts of Virginia and Maryland bordering Chesapeake Bay, produced a society that was driven by the profit motive. Tobacco production rose dramatically in the middle of the seventeenth century, with exports from Virginia to England growing from over 200,000 pounds in the early 1620s to over 3,000,000 pounds by the end of the 1630s. By the 1670s tobacco exports to England had increased to about 20,000,000 pounds. Attracting laborers to work in the tobacco fields proved difficult. Indentured servants, individuals who contracted to be servants for a specified number of years, usually four to seven years, provided an important source of labor. Employers paid for the passage of their indentured servants to the colonies and clothed and fed them while they remained bound to their employer. At the end of the term of service, employers usually gave their indentured servants some clothes and tools and allowed them to set out on their own. African slaves provided another source of labor, but slavery was not yet the dominant labor system in the region, and slavery had not yet hardened into a fixed status. A small number of slaves did eventually obtain their freedom.

Most planters preferred men for the arduous work of growing tobacco, so immigrants to the Chesapeake society were overwhelmingly male. Scholars estimate that before 1640, men outnumbered women by as much as 6 to 1. The lopsided sex ratio meant that the small number of women who migrated to the region and managed to survive the high mortality rates enjoyed considerable control over their decision to marry. Since women often outlived their husbands, a fortunate woman could make several favorable matches over the course of her life and create a sizeable estate. By the end of the century, as food supplies, sanitation, and shelter all improved, and more children were born in the region and more women migrated there, sex ratios became somewhat less lopsided.

2.4 Lord Baltimore
The sumptuous clothes worn by Lord Baltimore, his grandson, and the black slave testify to the wealth and power of a proprietor. [Courtesy of Enoch Pratt Free Library, Central Library/State Library Resource Center, Baltimore, MD]

Tobacco agriculture shaped the distinctive pattern of settlement in the Chesapeake. Rather than organize themselves into towns, colonists spread out in search of arable land to plant. They prized locations close to navigable rivers that fed into one of the major waterways in the area, as a location close to the river made shipping tobacco easier and cheaper. A small number of wealthy planters monopolized these choice locations. The demands of tobacco agriculture led to an almost insatiable need for additional land, which exacerbated the tensions with local Indians eager to prevent further encroachments on their territories.

How did the unbalanced sex ratio of the Chesapeake impact gender roles in this colonial region?

New England

The same year that the Virginia Company of London obtained a charter to settle what is now Virginia, another group of investors organized a rival company, the Virginia Company of Plymouth, intending to settle north of Virginia. The charter they obtained included lands as far north as modern Bangor, Maine. In 1607 the company established a small plantation at the Sagadahoc (known now as the Kennebec) River. The ferocity of the Maine winter, however, proved too much for the colonists, who abandoned the settlement and returned to England.

Although the region's severe winters seemed to have doomed the prospects of settling this region, a group of Protestant religious dissenters known as Puritans expressed interest in migrating to New England. The ascension of Queen Elizabeth I (1558–1603), who had embraced the Protestant faith and supported the ideals of the Reformation, helped further the progress of the English Reformation.

The queen's support for Protestantism stopped well short of what the most zealous reformers had sought. Elizabeth opted to chart a middle path between traditional Catholicism and the most radical wing of the Protestant Reformation. Those who urged further reform earned themselves the name Puritans because of their desire to purify the Church of England of all vestiges of Catholic belief and practice.

> **"The name Puritan is very aptly given to these men ... because they think themselves ... more pure than others ... and separate themselves from all other churches and congregations as spotted and defiled."**
>
> JOHN WHITGIFT,
> Elizabethan clergyman, 1573

Elizabeth never married and produced no heir, so the royal line passed to James I of Scotland. Although eager to assert his own power, James was not particularly interested in pursuing the ideals of the Protestant Reformation. When his son Charles I ascended the throne in 1625 and took a French Catholic woman for his wife, proponents of reform feared the worst—a revival of Catholicism. In response to religious developments in England two factions emerged within the reformation movement. Puritans continued to believe that reform was possible within the Church of England. Another strain of English Protestantism bent on further reformation, **Separatism**, argued for complete separation from the established church.

Plymouth Plantation

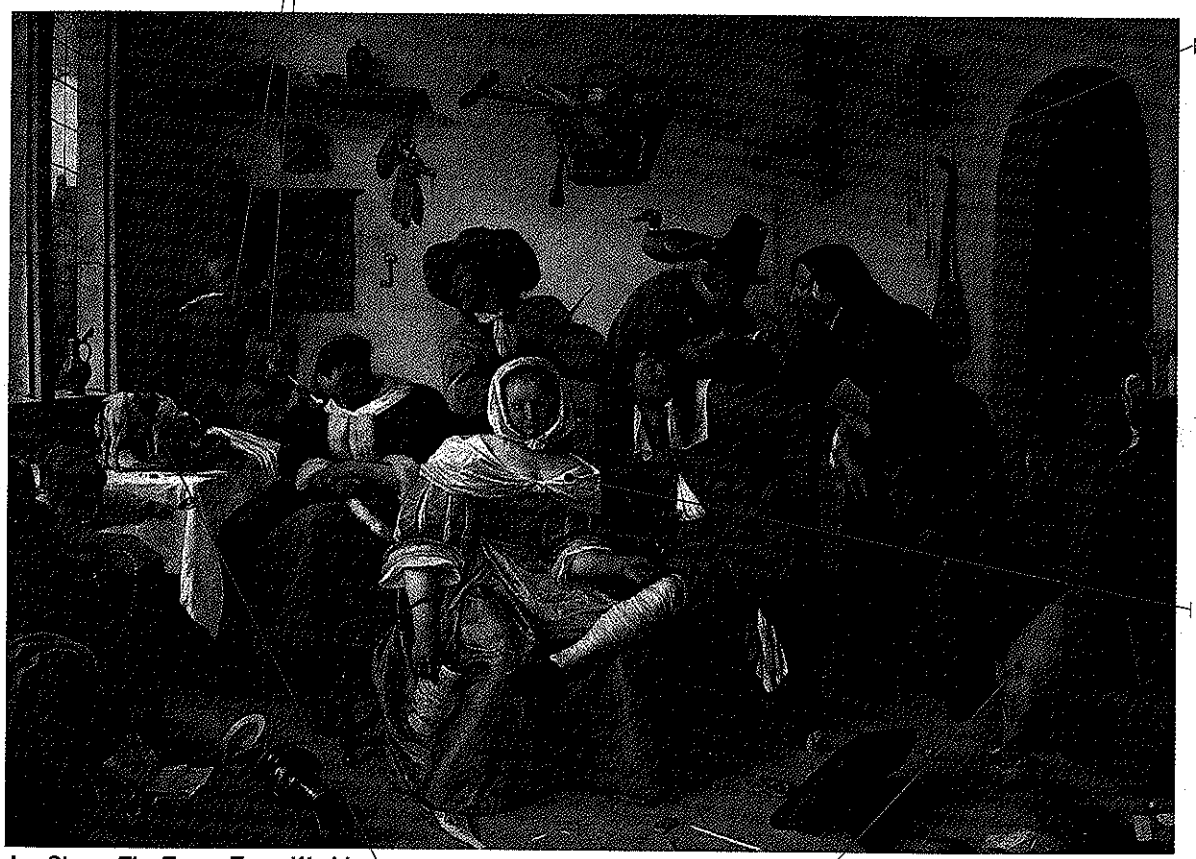
In 1608 a large group of Separatists fled to Holland, renowned for its support of religious toleration and a haven for Protestant dissenters, including other Calvinists from France and England. Life there proved difficult for the English Separatists. The problem was not persecution, but rather the corrupting influences of the affluent urban culture of the Dutch Republic. Describing the Separatists' experience in the Dutch university town of Leiden, William Bradford recalled "the manifold temptations of the place" and expressed particular concern that the Separatists' children would be "drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses." The artist Jan Steen, a Dutch painter who explored the theme of corruption in many of his paintings, captured these fears in portrayals of Dutch urban life in his work. *Images as History: Corruption versus Piety* examines one of Steen's moralizing paintings about the temptations of Dutch life.

Why were English reformers called Puritans?

Images as History

CORRUPTION VERSUS PIETY

In his painting *The Topsy-Turvy World,* Jan Steen conjures up a chaotic household that seems to be the exact opposite of the ideals of domestic tranquility, godliness, and order. The painting depicts a multitude of sins. The seated couple in the middle represents unbridled sensuality. The duck on the shoulder of the piously dressed man mocks the couple's commitment to religion. The man and woman seem completely unaware of the lewd behavior around them. What moral lessons does this painting teach and how does the artist visually represent the vices of city life in Holland?



A small child, unattended, smokes a pipe, while another unsupervised youth steals a coin from a purse in the cupboard against the wall.

The duck on the shoulder of the man mocks his false piety. The man hides his face in his book rather than restore order to the chaotic scene around him.

The immodestly dressed woman in the center of the painting leers at viewers. She rests a wine glass suggestively in the lap of the drunken man seated next to her.

The animals represent vice and disorder. Instead of sitting obediently in the background, the dog scavenges for food on the table, while a pig roots around on the floor for a meal.

Jan Steen, *The Topsy-Turvy World*

What does Jan Steen's painting tell us about the world English Separatists encountered in Holland?

English Separatists living in Leiden decided that life in the tolerant, worldly environment of Holland posed too many temptations for the faithful. A group of the Leiden Separatists, resolving to leave the sinful world of Holland, returned to England briefly before setting out for what they believed to be the unspoiled New World. Later called Pilgrims, a term traditionally used to describe Christians on a spiritual quest for salvation, they set sail for Virginia. After a harrowing two-month journey aboard their ship the *Mayflower*, the Pilgrims found themselves not off the Virginia coast, but rather off the coast of Cape Cod, in what is now Massachusetts, in late fall of 1620. William Bradford, their leader, described the experience of arriving safely in America in emotional terms. "Being thus arrived at safe harbor, and brought safe to land" the Pilgrims then "fell upon their knees and blessed the God of Heaven who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean."

Realizing that their company charter was not legally binding on a settlement outside of Virginia, they drew up a new political document, the *Mayflower Compact* (1620), that stated the principles that would govern their community. The document asserted that its signers did "solemnly and mutually, in the Presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick, for our better Ordering and Preservation, and Furtherance of the Ends aforesaid." The agreement also bound those non-Pilgrims traveling to America, including many servants, who promised to abide by the decisions of the community. The Pilgrims named their colony Plymouth after the port city they departed from in England. Their goal was not religious toleration, but rather Protestant purity. The Pilgrims fled England to create a community purged of all taints of unreformed Catholic practice. Tolerance for what they considered religions' error was inconsistent with the goal of creating a pure form of Christian worship.

"For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us. So that if wee shall deal falsely with our God in this work wee have undertaken, and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, wee shall be made a story and a by-word through the world."

JOHN WINTHROP, Puritan leader, 1630

The world the Pilgrims encountered in Massachusetts had been inhabited by Indians for millennia. Earlier European contact had already irrevocably altered this world. The Indian population of the area had been largely wiped out by the end of the sixteenth century. Sporadic contact with European traders and fishing fleets had exposed the Indians of this region to smallpox and other devastating pathogens.

Life in America was brutal for the Pilgrims. Half of their complement of just over one hundred men and women died within the first year. The Pilgrims would have all perished had not Squanto, a local Indian from the Patuxet, a tribe decimated by European diseases, befriended them. English traders had kidnapped Squanto some years before and taken him to England, where he lived as a slave. Through a harrowing series of events involving two further kidnappings, Squanto eventually returned to his home in New England. His skills as an interpreter and knowledge of Indian agricultural practices proved to be indispensible to the Pilgrims.

A Godly Commonwealth

In 1629 Charles I dissolved Parliament and continued his plans to restore some elements of Catholic ritual to the English church, a move that alarmed the Puritans. His assault on Parliament, which included many Puritan leaders, and his elevation of anti-Puritan bishops to powerful positions in the Church of England struck many reformers as ominous developments. The same year that Charles I dismissed Parliament, John Winthrop, a member of the Puritan gentry, wrote to his wife that "I am verily persuaded God will bring some heavy affliction upon this land." A year later Winthrop led a group of Puritans to New England where they hoped to create a church and community freed from the corruption Winthrop saw everywhere in England. By the early 1630s another twenty thousand Puritans would leave England for America. By the end of the next decade, the growing population of the Massachusetts Bay Colony had spread out into the Connecticut Valley.

John Winthrop, who became the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, captured the Puritan vision of the world when he reminded immigrants to America that they must become "a city upon a hill," an example of true reformation that would guide others toward this holy ideal. Winthrop contrasted the holy purpose of New England's Puritans with earlier colonial efforts in Virginia,

Why did John Winthrop describe New England as "a city upon a hill?"

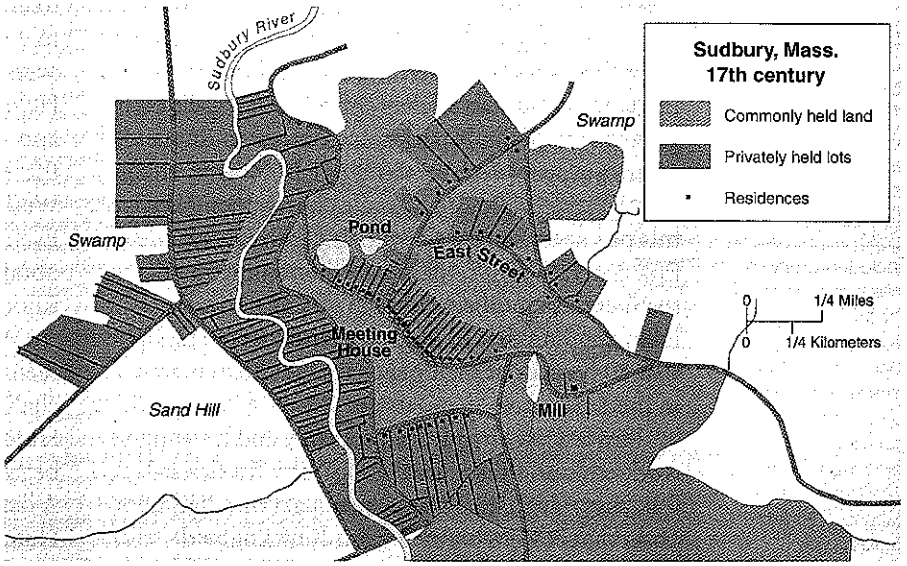
which had been driven more by a lust for gold than by love of God. The hardships and failures of Virginia were, according to Winthrop, a direct result of their goals, which were "Carnal and not Religious." Rather than transport "a multitude of rude and misgoverned persons," the Puritans in New England would ensure their success by establishing "a right form of government" that would promote their religious mission.

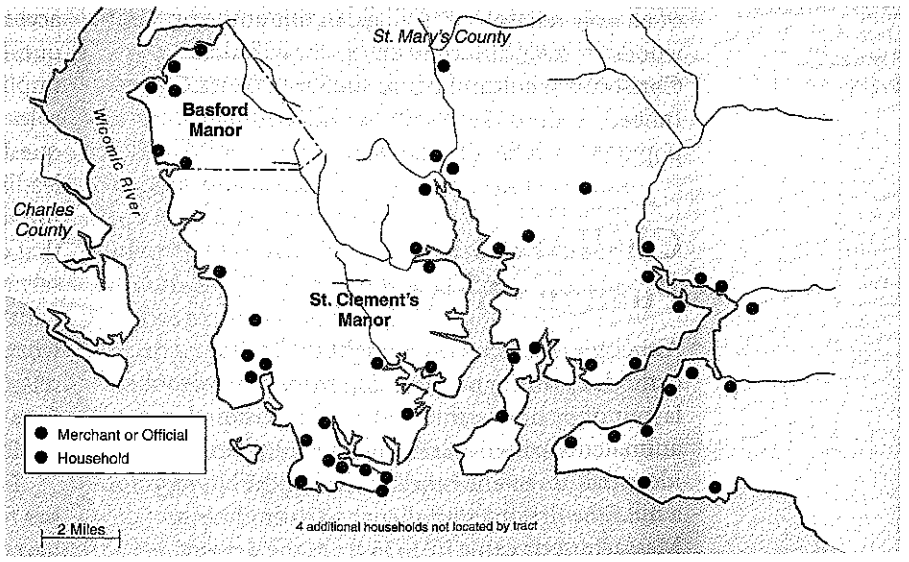
The settlement of Puritan New England differed in significant ways from that of the Chesapeake. For one, in contrast to the settlers of Virginia, a large percentage of immigrants to Puritan New England were married. For another, unlike the first Virginians, who were largely drawn from the ranks of gentlemen, the Puritans came largely from the middling ranks of society, including many farmers. In some cases whole Puritan congregations followed their ministers to America during the Great Migration (1630–1642). When these settlers arrived they did not scatter in search of better lands or access to navigable waters, as did the colonists in the Chesapeake, but remained clustered in towns.

Putting a premium on building stable communities, Puritans settled in towns and villages so that communities would remain cohesive. Typically a Puritan village included a central meetinghouse and a town green. The map (**2.5**) illustrates the difference between Puritan patterns of settlement and those of the Chesapeake. In New England homes clustered close to the center of town, and fields were arranged at the outskirts of these town centers. The meetinghouse, literally the nucleus of the community, served both a religious and a civic function. A 1635 law required that new houses be built within half a mile of the meetinghouse.

Rather than expand the size of towns and allow settlers to spread out and weaken the bond of community, Puritans created new towns and villages. New England's town structure served two critical functions: It enhanced the colonists' ability to defend themselves against Indian attack, and it facilitated the enforcement of communal norms and beliefs. Deviance and misbehavior were easier to control in the small tight-knit towns of New England than was such behavior in the Chesapeake. In 1630 New England boasted eleven towns. By 1647 the number had tripled to thirty-three and would rise to more than one hundred by the start of the next century.

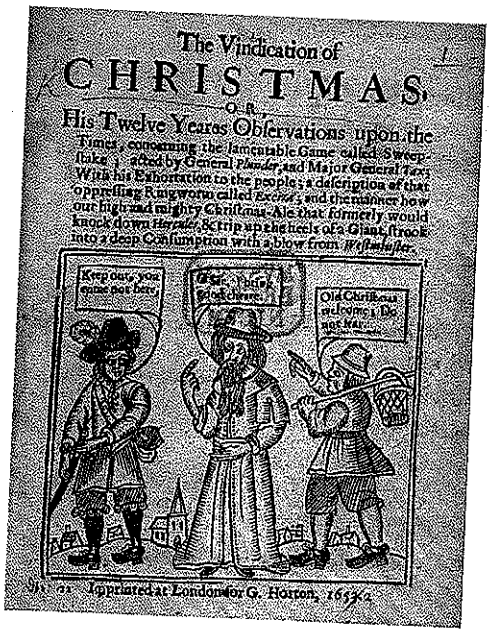
The family was another building block of Puritan society. Puritans migrated to New England as families, and their conception of the family was designed to further their religious ideals. John Winthrop expressed this view when he noted that "A family is a little common wealth, and a common wealth is a greate family." The foundation for this set of beliefs was the Fifth Commandment, which enjoined believers to honor one's father and mother. Puritans saw this commandment extending well beyond the requirement of honoring one's parents. Minister John Cotton reminded his parishioners that the Fifth Commandment injunction to honor parents applied to "all our Superiors, whether in Family, School, Church, and Commonwealth." In





2.5 Two Models of Settlement: A Puritan Town and a Chesapeake Community Puritan villages were clustered around a central town common and meetinghouse. Settlement in the Chesapeake followed a different model, with individuals scattering across the landscape in search of the best land and access to navigable rivers.

How did settlement patterns in New England compare with the Chesapeake?



2.6 Puritans Chase Away Father Christmas This anti-Puritan woodcut pokes fun at the Puritans' opposition to traditional Christmas celebrations, which included drunkenness and too much "mad mirth." [*Source:* The Vindication of Christmas or, His Twelve Yeares Observations upon the Times, concerning the lamentable game called Sweepstake, 1653 (woodcut), English School, (17th century)/British Library, London, UK/© British Library Board. All Rights Reserved/The Bridgeman Art Library]

Cotton's view honor meant more than reverence; it also mandated obedience. Taking these words to heart, in 1648 the Massachusetts colonists made disobedience to parents a crime punishable by death. Although this penalty was never applied, it signaled the seriousness with which the Puritans took the idea of patriarchal authority.

The government of the Massachusetts colony evolved out of the joint-stock company used to raise money to fund the Puritans' voyage to the New World. The charter for the company did not require the governing body to remain in England, so Puritan leaders simply set up their own governing body in America. In contrast to England, where property determined the right to vote, Massachusetts allowed all male church members this privilege. Since a fairly high percentage of the first generation of settlers were church members, the franchise in Massachusetts was much more inclusive than that in England. Historians estimate that 40 percent of men may have qualified to vote in the 1630s.

Puritan law encouraged sobriety and a strong work ethic and discouraged frivolity. Traditional folk customs that had long been part of religious observances were banned from New England worship. Christmas too was targeted for purging of all non-religious trappings. In this anti-Puritan woodcut (**2.6**), a Puritan chases away Father Christmas, a cultural figure similar to Santa Claus. Indeed, in the 1650s Puritans outlawed many popular Christmas customs.

Challenges to Puritan Orthodoxy

Although Massachusetts sought to enforce orthodoxy through everything from its laws to the layout of its towns, the Reformation vision that animated Puritanism contained a number of radical ideas that threatened the survival of the city upon a hill. The first great challenge to orthodoxy in Massachusetts came in 1635 from the devout Separatist minister Roger Williams. He attacked the government of Massachusetts Bay for using the power of the state to enforce religious orthodoxy. For Williams the goal of creating a purified church led to the conclusion that government ought not to meddle in religious affairs. Williams advocated the complete separation of church and state. While many modern supporters of the separation of church and state seek to prevent government from being influenced by religion, Williams sought the opposite—to protect religion from possible corruption by government. Williams also attacked the colonists for unjustly seizing Indian lands, a position that proved almost as unpopular as his novel religious views.

Although Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts greatly respected Williams for his intellect and piety, Massachusetts Bay could not tolerate his direct challenge to the state's authority to enforce religious orthodoxy. Before he could be arrested, Williams fled the colony and headed south. He purchased land from the Narragansett Indians and settled in what is now Rhode Island. Thankful that God had rescued him from his enemies, Williams named his new settlement "Providence." Eventually he returned to England and in 1644 obtained a parliamentary charter for a new colony, Rhode Island.

While the Massachusetts Bay Colony was still reeling from the Williams controversy, a new challenge to orthodoxy emerged. In 1634 Anne Hutchinson, the wife of a prominent merchant, began holding religious meetings in her home. A dynamic speaker and forceful personality, Hutchinson was also a gifted thinker who did not accept the inferior status that Puritan theology accorded women. Although she did not directly question the role prescribed for women, her actions implicitly challenged accepted ideas about gender roles in Puritan society. Hutchinson also openly questioned the theological purity of the colony's leading ministers. In her view, only one minister, John Cotton, was preaching the true Calvinist idea that only God's grace alone could bring about salvation. Hutchinson charged the other ministers with sliding backward toward the notion that good works could contribute to salvation. Attacking the religious views of the ministry was bad enough, but for a woman to do so, especially one who attracted a following among both sexes, was too much.

The colony's leaders feared that Hutchinson and her followers had succumbed to the Antinomian heresy. Antinomians took the logic of Calvinism to

What do New England's laws reveal about its culture?

its extreme: The elect, if possessed of true saving grace, need not follow any earthly laws. If good works really had no connection to salvation then why follow earthly laws? Most Puritans feared that the Antinomian heresy would lead to moral anarchy. The Puritans also charged Hutchinson with violating the Fifth Commandment by refusing to honor and obey the ministers who were the colony's patriarchs.

Hutchinson was hauled before a special court and subjected to a grueling examination. During this ordeal she brilliantly parried virtually all of the questions posed. At the end of her examination, however, she made a serious mistake. When asked how she could be so sure of her actions, she claimed that God spoke directly to her by an immediate revelation. Puritans believed that God spoke to his chosen people only by his revealed word—the Bible—not by direct revelations. For Winthrop and others the claim that God spoke directly to Hutchinson exposed the dangerous Antinomian strain in her thinking. If this was true anyone, including those who acted immorally, could simply claim to be acting according to a prophetic voice from God. Hutchinson was convicted and banished from Massachusetts Bay Colony. She headed south to Rhode Island, where she and several of her followers sought refuge before eventually settling on what is now Long Island, near the Dutch town of New Amsterdam in the colony of New Netherlands.

While Puritans in New England continued striving to build their city upon a hill and protect it from the danger of heresy, Puritans on the other side of the Atlantic had been locked in a protracted struggle with King Charles I. The political struggle between Parliament and the king eventually led to civil war. Emerging victorious, Parliament tried the king for crimes against his people and executed him. The commander of parliamentary forces, Oliver Cromwell, became England's new leader, assuming the title of Lord Protector of England. Cromwell ruled with nearly monarchical powers.

In the process of raising an army to fight against the king, Parliament had decided to lift censorship and allow freedom of the press for the first time in English history. To gain popular support and recruit soldiers for their army, Parliament also inaugurated a new policy of religious toleration for all Protestants. With censorship lifted a host of sectarian religious groups emerged in the Civil War years. One of these sects, the Society of Friends, or **Quakers**, believed each individual possessed a divine spark of grace, an inner light that could lead them to salvation. The origin of the word *Quaker* is complex. The leader of the Quakers, George Fox, had earned this name when he reminded a magistrate that the righteous ought to "tremble at the word of the Lord." The name stuck because of the nature of Quaker worship. As one contemporary noted men, women, and children would "fall into quaking fits" in response to the workings of grace within themselves. Quakers rejected the need for any ministry at all. At their meetings anyone who felt the spirit move within them was entitled to preach.

Expansion and Conflict

In contrast to the disease-ridden environment of the Chesapeake, New England's environment was reasonably healthy, and the population expanded owing to natural increase. Infant mortality in New England was somewhat lower than that in England. Although exact figures are difficult to obtain, historians estimate that just over 10 percent of the children born in colonial New England died before their first birthday. The comparable figure in England was about 15 percent. While few people in England lived past middle age, about 50 percent of New Englanders who survived to age twenty would have lived until their late sixties.

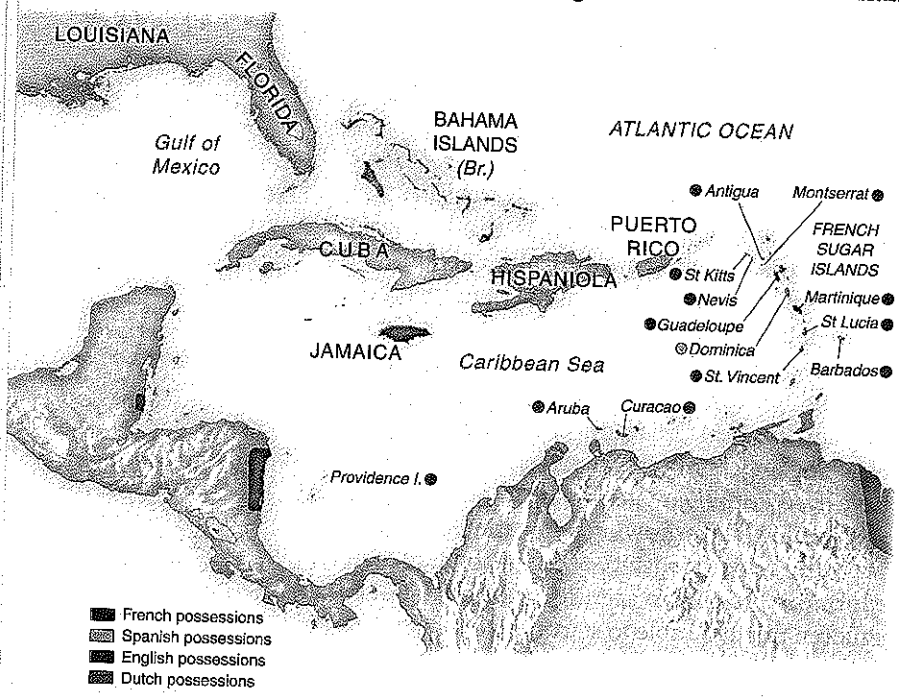
New England's growing population combined with the relative longevity of its inhabitants created enormous pressure to acquire additional land so that children might be able to start their own families. Religious leaders played a prominent role in New England's early expansion. The Puritan minister Thomas Hooker led a group of Massachusetts settlers in 1636 and founded the town of Hartford, Connecticut; the Reverend John Davenport left Massachusetts and established the town of New Haven, Connecticut, a year later. In 1638 representatives from several of these towns drafted a frame of government, the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut.

Expansion into the Connecticut Valley brought New Englanders into direct conflict with the local Pequot Indians, who refused to submit to English authority. In the resulting fierce war against the Pequots, New Englanders exploited intertribal rivalries to gain an advantage over the Pequot. New Englanders aligned with the Pequot's enemies, tribes that sought to take advantage of the colonists' firearms to destroy a rival tribe. The ferocity of English warfare horrified the Narragansett and Mohegan Indians, traditional enemies of the Pequot, who joined forces with the English in the war against the Pequots.

Why was Ann Hutchinson such a threat to the Puritan elite?

The Caribbean Colonies

From England's point of view, the real economic jewel in the Atlantic world was not the American mainland, but the Caribbean "sugar islands." Not long after Columbus landed in the Bahamas in the late fifteenth century, the Spanish established a firm colonial presence in the region. By the early sixteenth century, not just Spain but also France, England, and Holland had each established colonies in the area. The enormous wealth of the "sugar islands" encouraged intermittent warfare among these rival colonial powers that resulted in a continuous redrawing of the map of this region, as islands traded hands between different colonial powers (**2.7**).



2.7 Caribbean Colonies
The sugar islands of the Caribbean became the most profitable region of the Atlantic economy. Barbados became a major producer of sugar and an example for how slavery could be accommodated to English law.

During Cromwell's rule Admiral Sir William Penn seized Jamaica from Spain in 1655, and France took part of Hispaniola (Haiti) in 1664. France and England traded islands such as St. Kitts back and forth for much of the century. Spain conquered the English colony of Providence Island in 1641. The most profitable English sugar colonies were St. Christopher (1624), Barbados (1627), Nevis (1628), Montserrat (1632), Providence Island (1630), Antigua (1632) and eventually Jamaica.

Power Is Sweet

Although the amount of acreage that the English cultivated in the Caribbean was small, the region became the richest in the English Atlantic empire. Sugar generated enormous profits for Caribbean planters, exceeding the value of all exports from the mainland colonies. Because of the enormous wealth of the West Indies, roughly two-thirds of all English migrants headed for the Caribbean. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the population of this region had reached approximately 44,000, while the population of the Chesapeake was about 12,000 and New England around 23,000.

The wealth produced by sugar could be substantial. Seventeenth-century Europe developed an appetite for sugar that seemed nearly limitless. Besides its use in desserts, sugar was sprinkled on cooked food as a condiment and used medicinally in an effort to treat a variety of afflictions. The use of sugar could also broadcast wealth, social status, or power. Wealthy Europeans displayed lavish sugar sculptures with intricately carved figurines and scenes on banquet tables for guests to admire.

Producing sugar and preparing it for export required a labor force capable of surviving the brutal heat of the Caribbean islands. Sugar production also entailed backbreaking agricultural labor. The multistage process that followed the cutting of the cane required additional labor at every phase. This French engraving (**2.8**) shows the multiple stages of sugar production, including milling and boiling.

Barbados: The Emergence of a Slave Society

The key island economically in the English Caribbean was Barbados. Far from the sea routes plied by Spanish fleets, Barbados avoided the

What was the main source of wealth in the Caribbean islands?

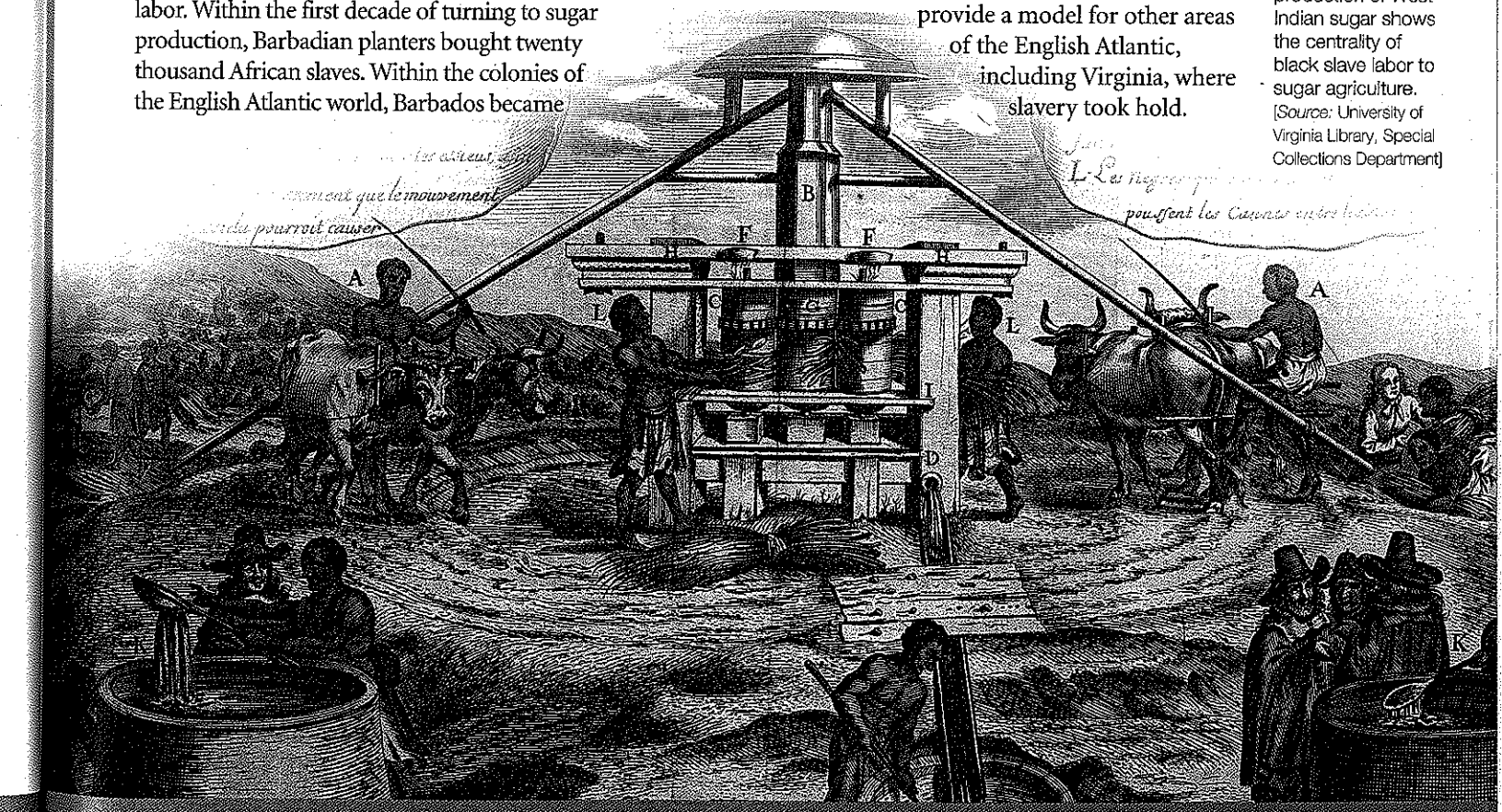
"I consider the laws concerning Negroes to be reasonable, for by reason of their numbers they become dangerous, being a brutish sort of people and reckoned as goods and chattels [property] in the Island."

Colonial English official, 1680

European rivalry and warfare that embroiled other parts of the Caribbean. Visitors to the island often found it "more healthful than any of her neighbors." By 1660, 26,000 English immigrants had settled there, drawn by the promise of wealth through the sugar trade.

Because of the harsh conditions for laborers on Barbados and the high mortality rates of workers in the sugar fields, maintaining an adequate labor force was a serious problem. During the first decade of colonization, planters in Barbados emulated their countrymen in Virginia, relying heavily on indentured servants as a labor source. Some unfortunate individuals were actually "barbadosed," to use the seventeenth-century turn of phrase that became a synonym for "kidnapped" but originally meant being abducted to work in the sugar fields. Desperate for workers planters even tried convict labor for a brief period. The need for agricultural labor eventually led English planters to emulate the Portuguese and Spanish and turn to slave labor. Within the first decade of turning to sugar production, Barbadian planters bought twenty thousand African slaves. Within the colonies of the English Atlantic world, Barbados became the primary destination for African slaves, who outnumbered whites by 1660.

Spanish and Portuguese law had easily accommodated the institution of slavery. But English law had no precedent upon which to draw in framing a law for slavery. The first efforts to deal with slavery occurred in a piecemeal fashion. Early laws dealt with slave theft and with other practical problems, such as slaves wandering off their plantations. By 1661 Barbados had enacted a comprehensive set of laws to govern relations between masters and slaves. Framed in 1661 the Barbadian slave code created a system of legalized segregation in which race defined servitude. Barbadians instituted harsh penalties to prevent slaves from challenging the authority of their masters. At the same time the legal code minimized penalties for masters' mistreatment of slaves. Murdering a slave incurred a modest fine, while accidentally killing a slave during punishment carried no legal penalty at all. The Barbadian slave code would provide a model for other areas of the English Atlantic, including Virginia, where slavery took hold.

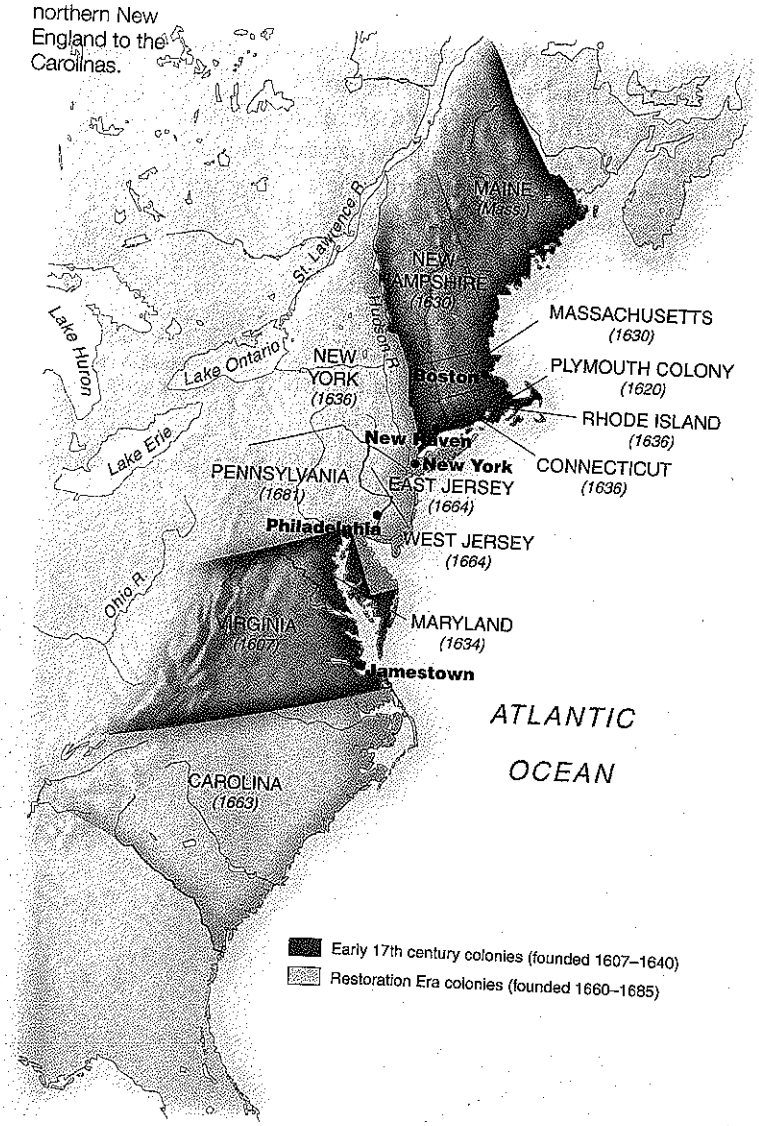


2.8 Sugar Production
This engraving of the various steps in the production of West Indian sugar shows the centrality of black slave labor to sugar agriculture. [*Source:* University of Virginia Library, Special Collections Department]

Why did Barbados turn to slavery as its primary source of labor?

The Restoration Era and the Proprietary Colonies

In 1660 Charles II became king of England, reestablishing the English monarchy. The **Restoration**, as this period was known, inaugurated a new phase in the evolution of English colonial America. The driving force behind colonization now came from a small group of courtiers, aristocrats close to the king who used their influence to secure colonial charters. In America, building on the model pioneered by Lord Baltimore, these new Restoration-era proprietors sought to increase their wealth while advancing their own particular political and religious ideals. The new colonies also experienced the same type of conflicts that had plagued Maryland. Proprietors struggled to impose their vision of government on settlers who demanded representation. Nevertheless by the end of the seventeenth century, England had cemented its control of the eastern seaboard of America from the Carolinas to northern New England (**2.9**).



2.9 Seventeenth-Century English Mainland Colonies This map shows the Restoration colonies of Carolina, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. By the end of the seventeenth century, England had established its dominance on the eastern seaboard of North America. English control extended from northern New England to the Carolinas.

The English Conquest of the Dutch Colony of New Netherland

Along with England the other great Protestant nation in Europe was Holland (the Netherlands), which also actively engaged in trans-Atlantic trade, including sugar, slaves, and other commodities. Although Dutch merchants traveled the entire Atlantic world, the Dutch had established only a modest presence in North America. The Dutch exploration of the Hudson River laid the foundation for the colony of New Netherland (1609). The Dutch East India Company had established fur-trading outposts in present-day Philadelphia and Albany (New York) in 1612. About a decade later the Dutch established a settlement at the tip of Manhattan Island that they called New Amsterdam in honor of Holland's most important city. The Dutch welcomed traders from various parts of Europe and embraced the ideals of religious toleration. The small but thriving city of New Amsterdam included Dutch, English, Scandinavians, Germans, and Portuguese. By the middle of the century, a small number of Sephardic Jews (Portuguese Jews), who had fled the persecution of the Inquisition in Brazil, had also joined the community.

The centrality of the fur trade to the economy of New Amsterdam emerges in this early image of the city. Although the image (**2.10**) does not accurately depict the two Indians, it does show that the wealth

What was the Restoration?

of the city depended on the cooperation of Indian trappers. The Hudson River made it easy to ship beaver pelts downriver from the area around Albany to New Amsterdam. Merchants shipped these pelts to England and Europe, where their fur was prized for hats. This image also features the city's active port, a key to its economic vitality.

Unhappy that Dutch merchants in New Netherland were getting rich in the fur trade, English merchants urged the crown to attack the Dutch stronghold in America. The thriving, long-lived communities of New England had faced the prospect of running out of land, and splinter communities had sprung up in parts of Connecticut and as far south as Long Island, just southeast of New Amsterdam. The expansion of English settlers into the region claimed by the Dutch increased friction between England and Holland.

The prospect of eliminating the Dutch corridor between English settlement in the Chesapeake and New England also appealed to Charles II, and particularly to the king's brother, James, Duke of York. Charles II gave his brother a charter for the area and dispatched a fleet to seize New Netherland in 1664. Although Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, tried to rally opposition to the English invasion, Dutch merchants in the city decided that it was better to secure favorable terms from the superior English forces than fight. After their conquest of the Dutch, the English divided the region into two new colonies, New York and New Jersey.

James II, the Duke of York, intended to take firm control of his new holdings in New York. He believed that his role as proprietor gave him almost absolute power over his dominions. Protesting their lack of adequate representation, New Yorkers refused to pay taxes. Eventually James II relented, and the first New York assembly convened in 1683.

A Peaceable Kingdom: Quakers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania

James II granted land that would become New Jersey to two courtiers who attracted settlers by promising representation and religious toleration for all Protestants. One of these men, the Quaker William Penn, saw an unprecedented opportunity for creating a religious refuge for members of his faith and others persecuted for their religious beliefs. Penn's father, Admiral Sir William Penn, had helped wrest Jamaica from the Spanish. The king also owed him a large debt. The king paid this debt with a grant for a large tract of land near New Jersey that became known as Pennsylvania (Penn's woods). As a result of this enormous gift of land, Penn's ambitious plans for Pennsylvania, a colony inspired by his Quaker vision of religious toleration, soon overshadowed his involvement in New Jersey.

One of the few radical sects to survive the tumultuous era of the English Civil War, Quakers had been persecuted for their beliefs in the Restoration era. Quakers rejected the notion of priesthood, believing that individual congregations could conduct their own worship without priests. The group also refused to abide by social customs that demanded individuals show deference to those who stood above them in society. Thus Quakers refused to doff their hat and refrained from using any form of honorific address, such as sir, lord, or lady. Quakers simply addressed each other as thee and thou, terms that sound odd to the modern ear but that signified their belief that everyone was equal before God.

Penn intended Pennsylvania to be a "holy experiment" in which Quakers would live in harmony with those of other faiths. Penn expanded his vision of religious toleration well beyond that of Lord Baltimore. To understand the differences between their views, see *Competing Visions: Lord Baltimore and William Penn: Two Visions of Religious Toleration*, page 52.

2.10 New Amsterdam In the image, a highly Europeanized-looking Indian man hands a small furry animal to similarly unrealistic Indian woman. The fur trade was vital to the economy of this region.

How did Pennsylvania embody Quaker ideals?

Competing Visions

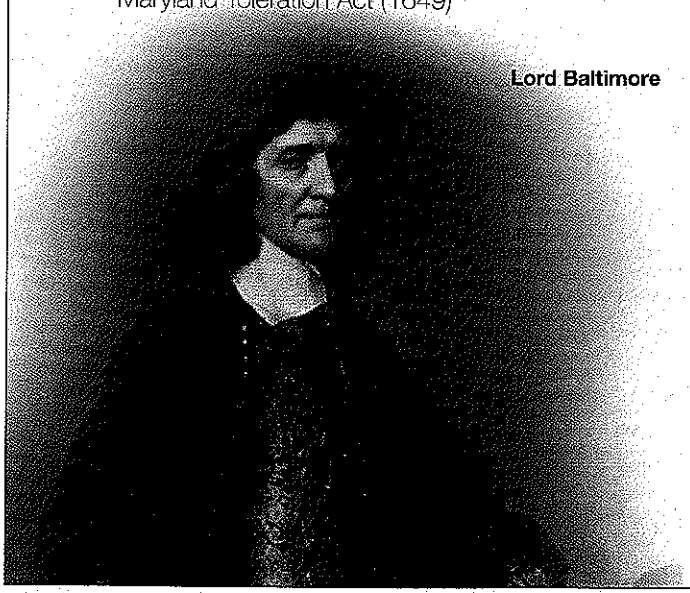
LORD BALTIMORE AND WILLIAM PENN: TWO VISIONS OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

Lord Baltimore envisioned Maryland as a means of both enriching himself and providing a refuge for English Catholics, who were persecuted by the Protestant majority in England. William Penn's plan for religious toleration went well beyond Baltimore's narrower vision. In Pennsylvania Penn sought to welcome anyone who believed in God. What aspects of Quaker belief contributed to Penn's more expansive vision of religious freedom?

Maryland passed its Toleration Act 1649 in the midst of the English Civil War, when Puritans, who were intensely anti-Catholic, were in charge of Parliament. A number of Puritans had migrated to the Chesapeake region. Catholics in the region feared that the English Parliament, dominated by Puritans, might persecute Catholics. Lord Baltimore's vision of toleration reflected his position as a Catholic in a largely Protestant society.

No person or persons whatsoever within this Province, or the islands, ports, harbors, creeks, or havens thereunto belonging professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be any ways troubled, molested or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion nor in the free exercise thereof within this Province or the islands thereunto belonging nor any way compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against his or her consent, so as they be not unfaithful to the Lord Proprietary, or molest or conspire against the civil government established or to be established in this Province under him or his heirs.

Maryland Toleration Act (1649)

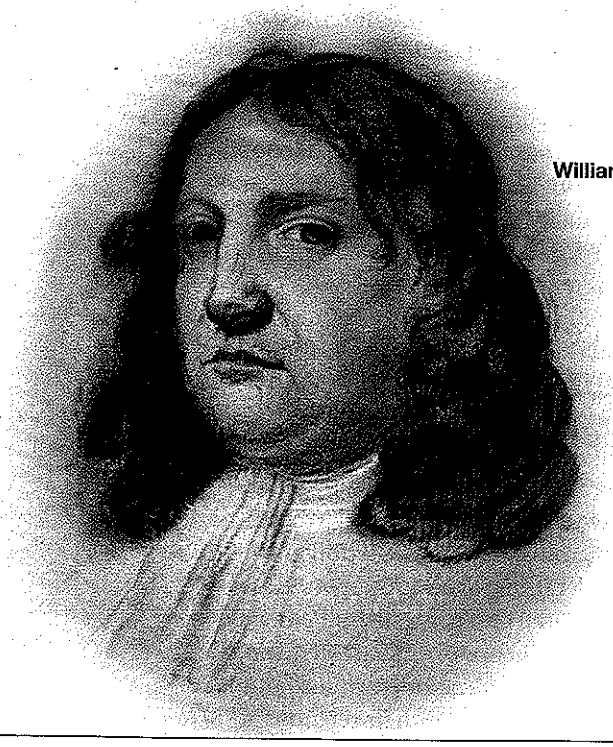


Lord Baltimore

Penn's Charter of Liberties extended the ideas of religious toleration beyond Christians, to include Jews, Muslims, and other monotheists—believers in one God—a definition that Penn believed included Indians as well. Penn's policy of toleration made Pennsylvania a haven for a variety of different religious groups.

That all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and eternal God, to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world; and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall, in no ways, be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion, or practice, in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled, at any time, to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever.

Pennsylvania Charter of Liberty (1682)



William Penn

What were the most important differences between Maryland's and Pennsylvania's policy of toleration?

In formulating a government for his colony, Penn drew on a number of new ideas in English politics, including the writings of the English political philosopher James Harrington, who believed that a stable society depended on a relatively broad distribution of property. In Harrington's view owning property gave individuals a permanent stake in society and also allowed men to be independent, voting for representatives without being manipulated or intimidated.

Penn also hoped to make his colony a "peaceable kingdom" in which different religions lived in harmony. This vision was not restricted to Europeans, but embraced Indians as well. True to his Quaker principles, Penn resolved to negotiate for Indian lands and submit disputes to arbitration by a committee composed of Indians and Quakers.

Penn desired to live beside the Indians as "Neighbors and Friends." He paid generously for Indian lands and ensured that Indians could continue to live on land purchased by whites. Penn praised the local Leni-Lenape people for their eloquence and honor and tried to learn something of their language and customs. During the first generation of settlement, when land was plentiful and the immigrant population still small, Pennsylvania upheld Penn's promise to treat the Indians with respect.

The Carolinas

A group of influential English courtiers, the Lords Proprietors, founded Carolina as a joint effort, hoping to make money and create a buffer zone between Spanish Florida and other English settlements on the eastern seaboard. Although the Lords Proprietors sought to shape their dominion according to their own vision, the settlers who migrated there had other ideas. From the outset Carolina's fortunes were closely tied to those of the West Indies, Barbados in particular. Many of the colony's first settlers emigrated from the West Indies. Rather than produce goods for export to England, Carolina began as a colony of a colony, providing naval stores such as pine tar resins to waterproof ships and food such as cattle for the West Indian islands.

The Lords Proprietors had studied the settlement of New England and Virginia and had come to the conclusion that New England–style towns were superior to the "inconvenience and Barbarisme of scattered Dwellings" that characterized settlement in the Chesapeake. The visions of Lords Proprietors and the interests and aspirations of the colonists clashed. Rather than settle in the New England–style nucleated villages as the proprietors had hoped, settlers followed the Chesapeake model, scattering to find the most productive land available and, when available, access to navigable waterways. In 1712 the proprietors divided their holdings into two colonies, North Carolina and South Carolina. The crown took over South Carolina in 1719 and North Carolina a decade later.

> "Our worthy Proprietor treated the Indians with extraordinary humanity; they became very civil and loving to us, and brought in an abundance of venison."
>
> RICHARD TOWNSEND,
> Quaker, 1682

The close economic ties between Carolina and Barbados meant that its early settlers were well acquainted with slavery. But the settlers who tried to impose the West Indies' slave system on the frontier environment of Carolina discovered problems they had not anticipated. The rude conditions of early Carolina history, its small population and simple economy, made it harder to maintain social distance between slaves and their masters. The Carolinas were at the edge of English America. Their proximity to Spanish-controlled Florida and hostile Indian tribes meant that slaves and masters had to work closely together, including defending settlements against attack. The location of the Carolinas also encouraged a less exploitive form of slavery, as slaves in the Carolinas had more opportunities to run away and might find refuge with local Indian tribes. By contrast apart from a few mountainous regions in areas such as Jamaica, the islands of the West Indies afforded few sanctuaries for runaway slaves.

Relations with local Indian tribes were complex. Conflicts among Indian tribes provided early Carolina colonists with an unexpected economic boon: the sale of Indian slaves became a lucrative enterprise. Indians sold prisoners they had taken during intertribal warfare to the English, who then exported them to other regions of the British colonies. Indeed Indian slaves provided the most important export from the colony until about 1715, when rice surpassed it. Carolinians also engaged in an active trade with local Indian tribes for deer hides, which were then exported to England. Carolina began as a colony of a colony but soon became an integral part of the Atlantic economy, exporting slaves, deer hides, and eventually rice.

In what ways was Carolina a colony of a colony?

The Crises of the Late Seventeenth Century

The last quarter of the seventeenth century was a period of profound unrest in colonial North America. Religious and ethnic tensions sometimes produced political volatility. In Spanish New Mexico, New England, and Virginia, Europeans were pitted against indigenous populations. In Maryland religious animosities between the Catholic proprietor and a largely Protestant population caused friction. In New York the longstanding divisions between the Dutch and the English kept old wounds open. In New York and Maryland, the tensions triggered a crisis that led to government reorganization. Other forces were at work as well. Relations between the English and the Indians had settled into a pattern of mutual suspicion and antagonism. Colonial governors became entangled in mediating disputes between land-hungry settlers and tribes eager to fend them off. Seeing the brutality of Anglo-Indian warfare, many victims of witchcraft during the Salem witchcraft trials envisioned the devil as a tawny-skinned tormentor whose tortures resembled those used by Indians on their enemies. Finally at the end of the seventeenth century, the political realignment associated with the Glorious Revolution in England helped usher in a new era of political stability in the colonies.

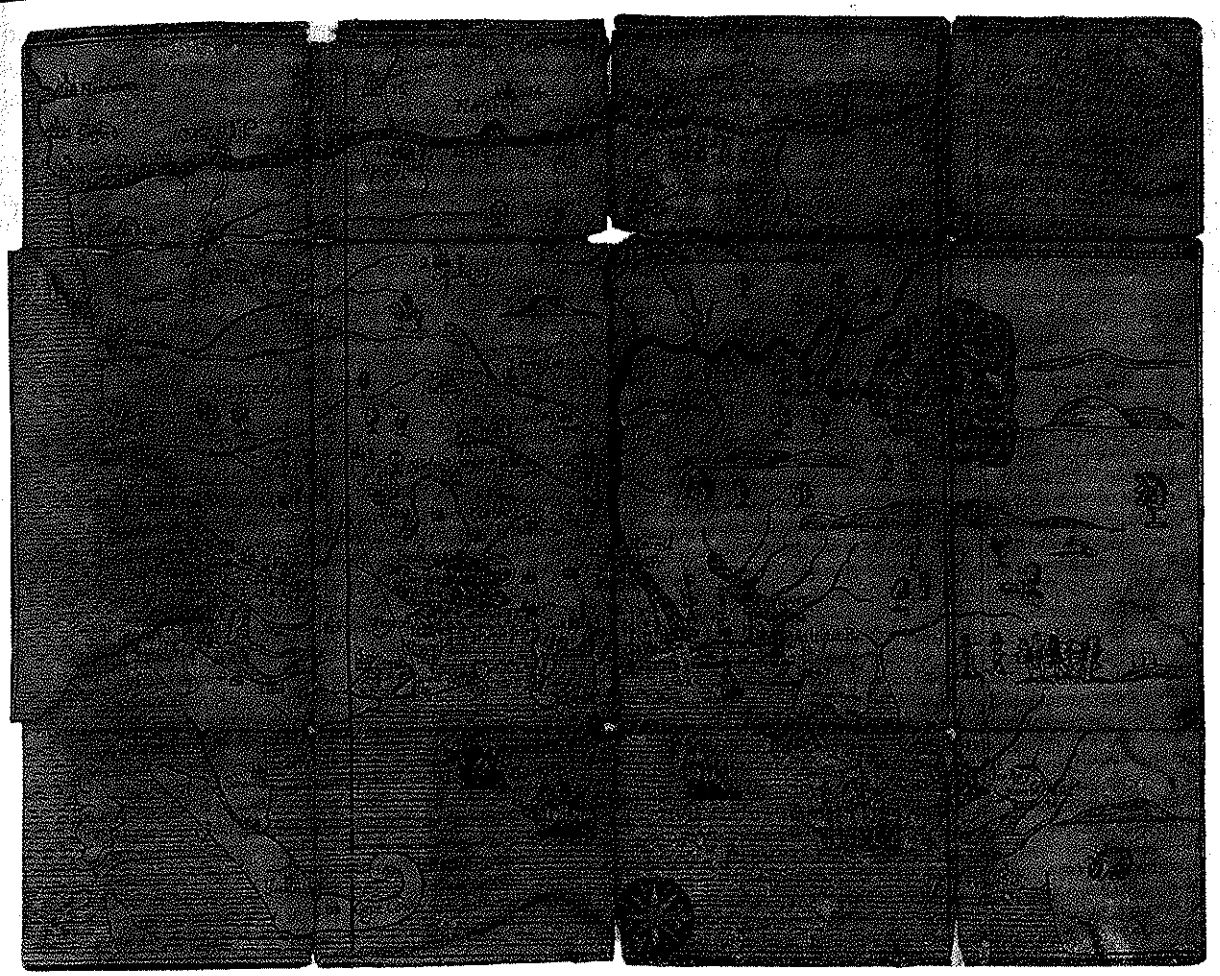
War and Rebellion

In New England relations with the Wampanoag Indians, who had helped the Pilgrims, had deteriorated in the decades since both groups sat down for their harvest feast in 1621. The Wampanoag leader, Metacom, whom the colonists sometimes called King Philip, grew frustrated with English expansion and eventually led the Wampanoags in King Philip's War against New Englanders. The fierce fighting between New Englanders and Indians spread across New England, with hardly a town escaping the conflict. In a contemporary map of New England (**2.11**), the mapmaker provided a numbered key listing the sites of battles, including the more than a dozen settler towns that were utterly destroyed. Nearly three thousand Indians died in the conflict and almost a thousand colonists.

Puritans interpreted the ferocity of the war as a sign of God's displeasure with them. Increase Mather, a leading Puritan minister, reported that after the war ended, the government of Massachusetts appointed a committee to promote "a Reformation of those Evils which hath provoked the Lord to bring the sword upon us." Among the causes of God's displeasure, Mather listed drunkenness; the presence of what Puritans saw as "heretical" sects, such as the Quakers; an obsession with material profit; and a loss of modesty demonstrated by attention to fashion, especially "excesses in Apparel and hair."

In the Chesapeake tensions between colonists and Indians also led to violence. In Virginia, **Bacon's Rebellion**, a popular uprising named after its leader, Nathaniel Bacon, erupted in 1676. The royal governor, William Berkeley, had long played favorites, dealing out lucrative patronage positions and generous land grants to his cronies. The governor had also made a handsome profit off the fur trade with the region's Indians. Frustrated by Berkeley's policies Bacon, a relative newcomer to the colony and a distant relative of the governor, decided to challenge Berkeley's corruption and favoritism. Finding a common enemy, the area's Indians, Bacon attracted a broad range of Virginians to his cause. He drew support from planters frustrated with Berkeley's favoritism and landowners frustrated by the governor's refusal to adopt a more aggressive expansion policy and acquire additional Indian land for settlement. He drew the bulk of his supporters, however, from the bottom ranks of Virginia society, including indentured servants and slaves. Promising to exterminate Indians and distribute land to all, Bacon effectively exploited the deep class resentments that had smoldered for a long time in the Chesapeake region. The governor of the colony had to flee temporally to the eastern shore of the Chesapeake. Buoyed up by popular support for his

What were the main causes of Bacon's Rebellion?



2.11 King Philip's War
This contemporary map suggests the scale of the conflict between Indians and Puritans during King Philip's War.

cause, Bacon torched the colony's capital, Jamestown. Bacon's rising star faded almost as quickly as it rose when he contracted a fever and died, leaving the rebellion leaderless. The royal governor, returning with reinforcements, easily defeated the remnants of Bacon's followers.

A commission formed to investigate the causes of the uprising concluded that the "giddy headed multitude" attracted to Bacon's Rebellion was largely composed of men "lately crept out of the condition of servants." An especially troubling aspect of the rebellion was the interracial solidarity among servants, including whites serving temporary indentures and African slaves who were permanently enslaved. Indeed one of the groups of rebels to surrender was composed of eighty blacks and twenty whites.

Slavery in Virginia began as a legally amorphous category. Earlier in the century some slaves had managed to acquire their freedom, either through grants from their master or through their own resourcefulness. One slave who had taken advantage of the earlier laxity in the law was Anthony Johnson, who became a planter himself. By the eve of Bacon's Rebellion, Virginia's laws regarding slavery had hardened into an almost impenetrable barrier preventing slaves from achieving what Anthony Johnson had achieved—freedom. Bacon's Rebellion accelerated these changes, driving Virginia to invest more heavily in slaves. The danger posed by a "giddy multitude" of landless laborers, whose frustration so-called rabble-rousers such as Nathaniel Bacon could exploit, hastened the shift away from use of indentured servants to use of African slaves, a group that would remain a permanent underclass.

A variety of economic and demographic forces also converged to push Virginia toward a slave-based economy. Among these the number of immigrants into the Chesapeake declined during the late seventeenth century, reducing the available workforce. As the price of slaves decreased and the high levels of mortality in the region, including slaves, dropped, purchasing slaves became more economical. Previously there had been little incentive to purchase a slave for twice the price of an indentured servant if the slave was unlikely to live long enough to make the difference in price economically

What economic and demographic forces contributed to the emergence of slavery in the Chesapeake region?

advantageous. At mid-seventeenth century a mere three hundred slaves resided in the Chesapeake. By the end of the century, the number had climbed to thirteen thousand.

England's colonies were not the only ones rocked by unrest at the end of the seventeenth century. Other parts of the Atlantic colonial world experience similar unrest. In Spanish New Mexico disputes culminated in the Pueblo Revolt (1680). In New Spain Indians were pitted against the Roman Catholic Church. Dispirited by severe droughts and periodic attacks by neighboring Apache and Navajo war parties, the Pueblo people sought solace in their traditional religious practices and turned away from the Catholic religion of their Spanish conquerors. Fearing a challenge to their authority, the Spanish Catholic missionaries in New Mexico brought the full force of church and state power against these "heretics." Rather than accept the new wave of repression, Indians rose up against Spanish authority, killing most of the colony's missionaries and more than four hundred settlers. The rebellion drove the Spanish from New Mexico for more than a decade. However divisions within the Pueblo community and continuing drought hampered the ability of the Pueblo people to resist Spanish power indefinitely. When the Spanish returned thirteen years later, they easily reconquered New Mexico.

The Pueblo revolt did force the Spanish to be more tolerant, at least to Indians who accepted Christianity. They could retain elements of their traditional religious practice and culture, including the use of Shamans, or religious healers. The Spanish also reformed the system of using forced labor, which improved the Indians' economic situation somewhat.

The Dominion of New England and the Glorious Revolution

Although the Pueblo Revolt demonstrated that even Spain's hierarchical colonial empire was not immune from strife, many close to England's king, including his brother James II, envied the Spanish model of empire. In 1685 James II became England's first Catholic monarch in almost 130 years. James had been closely involved in colonial affairs in New York. Believing that Spain's empire was a better administrative model, James hoped to consolidate the English colonies into larger administrative units with powerful governors similar to those in New Spain. Setting his plan in motion, King James II revoked the colonial charters of New York and New Jersey, folding them into New England as a single new administrative and political entity, the Dominion of New England. A powerful English governor and a council appointed by the king would rule the new Spanish-style dominion. Representative assemblies were abolished, and a reorganized legal system made it more difficult for colonists to have access to the courts. To extract additional wealth from the colonists, the colonial government raised taxes dramatically and revoked land deeds. To regain title to their own land, colonists would have to obtain new deeds and pay new taxes on land.

James II had a bold agenda at home as well. A Catholic, James sought to ally England with Catholic France and against Protestant Holland. He also asserted his right to tax his subjects without Parliament's consent. When Parliament refused to accept his agenda, James dissolved Parliament. In the autumn of 1688, English opponents of the king allied with the Protestant Dutch prince William of Orange and launched a successful invasion of England to oust James II from the throne. The Prince of Orange, whose English wife, Mary, was the daughter of James II, succeeded in reestablishing a Protestant monarchy. The relatively bloodless revolution that led to the ascension of William and Mary was proclaimed a **Glorious Revolution** and a vindication for English liberty. Indeed the association between the Glorious Revolution and English liberty was literally cast in metal. The commemorative medallion (**2.12**) produced for the occasion depicts William of Orange with Britannia, symbol of England. She sits under an orange tree, which was the symbol of the prince of Orange. Britannia grasps a liberty pole and has

2.12 Glorious Revolution Commemorative Medal
In this medal commissioned to commemorate the ascension of William and Mary to England's throne and the Glorious Revolution, Britannia, symbol of England, sits under an orange tree, which was the symbol of William of Orange.

What was the Glorious Revolution?

her hand on the Bible. The Latin inscription announces that "the Prince of Orange restores the law to us."

An important consequence of the Glorious Revolution was the decision of William and Mary to accept Parliament's "Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown English," an act more generally known as the English Bill of Rights. This act excluded Catholics from the monarchy, affirmed the supremacy of Parliament, and protected certain basic procedural rights of individuals, such as the right to petition, and criminal procedural rights, such as trial by jury, bans on excessive bail, and bans on cruel and unusual punishments. In some cases the Bill of Rights both affirmed individual rights and simultaneously asserted parliamentary authority. Thus the English Bill of Rights asserted that "the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defense suitable to their condition and as allowed by law." Restricted to Protestants this particular right was further limited by social class and ultimately subject to Parliament's right to regulate arms.

While official word of the Glorious Revolution took time to reach the colonies, rumors about the ascension of William and Mary started to arrive in the spring of 1689. In April of 1689 two thousand militiamen, mostly from country towns, marched on Boston, arrested the governor, and restored their old colonial charter. In late May New York's militia took control of that colony. In Maryland John Coode marched with seven hundred militiamen to "vindicate and assert the Sovereign Dominion and right of King William and Mary." In the case of Maryland, Protestant resentment against the power of the Catholic proprietary government also fueled Coode's rebellion. The Glorious Revolution in America was a victory for the ideal of representative government and the notion that a well-regulated militia under local control was the best protection for liberty.

The Salem Witchcraft Hysteria

Within a decade of the close of King Philip's War (1675), New Englanders were once again at war with their Indian neighbors, this time in Maine along the northern border of Massachusetts. Fighting was fierce, and Maine's proximity to French Quebec led some English colonists to see their latest troubles as part of a French Catholic plot to rally the Indians against Protestant New England. Some colonists in Massachusetts even accused the Indians of using witchcraft against them. Complicating matters, the recent upheavals of the Glorious Revolution had not yet produced a new stable government, and a new royal governor had yet to be appointed in Massachusetts.

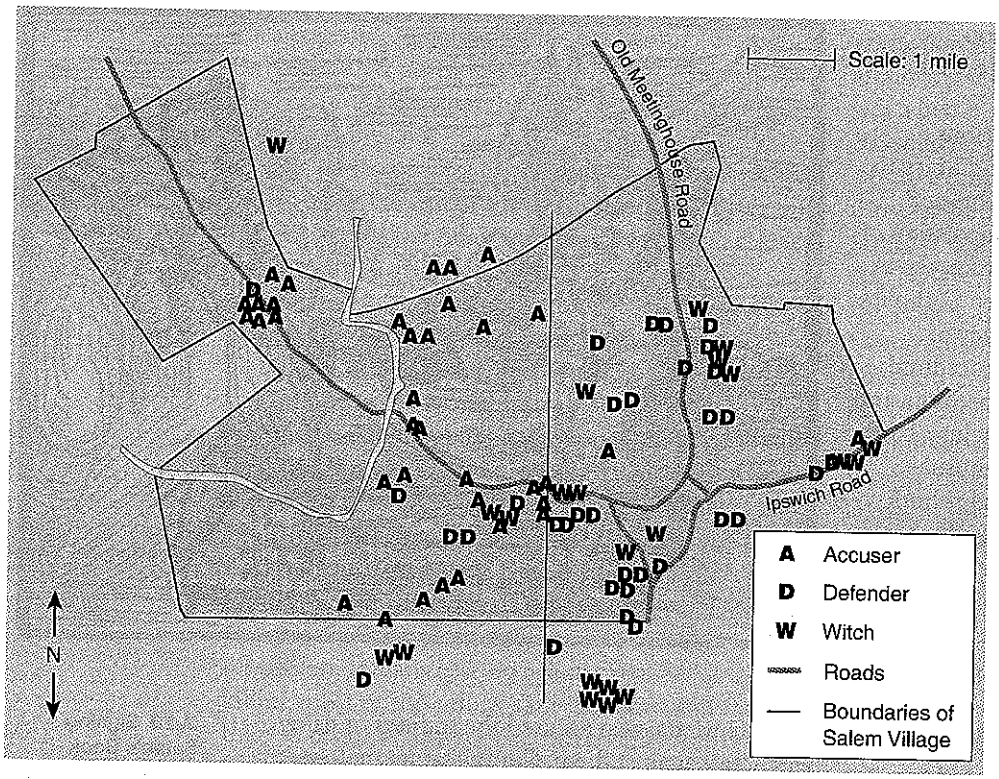
2.13 Signing Satan's Book In this rough woodcut image, Satan presents his book to a witch. Puritans believed that the devil required individuals to renounce their covenant with God and sign a new contract with Satan.

In the midst of this heightened anxiety came the most serious outbreak of witchcraft accusations in colonial America. The center of the witchcraft hysteria was Salem, Massachusetts, but the accusations soon spread throughout Essex County, the coastal county closest to Maine. Before the witchcraft prosecutions ended, nineteen innocent men and women would be executed and one man who refused to plead either innocent or guilty had stones piled on his chest as a means of forcing him to plead. Rather than enter a plea he was crushed to death.

The Puritans who inhabited this region thought themselves an especially attractive target for Satan, who would, they believed, have been eager to upset their effort to build a city upon a hill. New England's covenant with God was mirrored in Satan's own demonic contracts with witches. To seal these contracts, New Englanders believed, Satan made his disciples sign his book, a belief reflected in this seventeenth-century woodcut, which shows the devil and his book (**2.13**).

The witchcraft hysteria began in Salem Village, the outlying part of the coastal port of Salem town. The first purported occurrence of witchcraft occurred in the home of Minister Samuel Parris, whose daughter and her cousin, Abigail Williams, began acting

Why did New Englanders believe that the Devil made his minions sign a book or contract?



2.14 Pattern of Salem Witchcraft Accusations This modern map shows the pattern of accusation in Salem. The town was physically divided: Accusers lived in Salem Village, the less commercial part of the town. Accused witches were more likely to have lived in the more commercial area of Salem town.

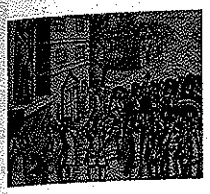
strangely. After consulting with a physician, who could find no explanation for his daughter's illness, Parris concluded that the girls were victims of witchcraft. When questioned the girls accused two Salem women and Tituba, a Caribbean Indian slave whom Parris owned, of practicing witchcraft. Parris forced a confession from Tituba. Soon the pattern of accusation grew wider and eventually engulfed the whole community. The scope of the witch hunt changed dramatically when the accusations spread to another local minister, the Reverend George Burroughs, who had left Salem to settle in Maine and had recently returned. Much of the testimony from that point forward talked about the Devil taking the shape of an American Indian, creating yet another theme in the witchcraft hysteria. The Puritans even compared the suffering they believed that Satan inflicted on them with tortures Indians used against settlers in the brutal frontier war in Maine.

Historians have identified several patterns in the web of accusations. Witches in New England were more likely to be women, particularly older women who did not live in male-headed households. Women who failed to fit the model of the pious, submissive female, ruled by a benevolent patriarch, an ideal that Puritans especially esteemed, were particularly at risk. The line between accusers and accused almost perfectly divided the Salem community in half (**2.14**). Many of the accusers lived in the more rural Salem Village while those accused were generally from the richer, more commercially oriented part of the community, Salem town. The two parts of Salem had been involved in conflicts for some time. Arguments over the choice of minister and over the efforts of Salem Village to break away from Salem town also played themselves out in charges of witchcraft.

Pressure to stop the trials mounted, particularly as accusations began to be leveled at more prominent individuals from outside Salem. At the start of the trials, ministers had approved of the use of spectral evidence—testimony that witches were using magic to torture victims. But as one of the accused, Rebecca Nurse, argued during her trial, verifying such evidence was impossible. How, she asked the court, could one know if spectral evidence were genuine? Could not Satan appear at a trial to confound the court and trick them into accusing the wrong person? Doubts began to trouble leading ministers in the colony, including Increase Mather, who had been an early supporter of the witchcraft prosecutions. Mather delivered a sermon stating a principle that became a bedrock principle of Anglo-American law: "It were better that ten suspected witches should escape, than that one innocent person should be condemned." Meanwhile the accusations had started to reach the highest levels of Massachusetts society, including the wife of the newly appointed royal governor, William Phips. Rather than allow the trials to continue, Phips dissolved the court that had handled the witchcraft trials and replaced it with a new court whose guidelines followed English law and disallowed convictions based on spectral evidence.

What does the map of the Salem witchcraft accusations tell us about this event?

The Whig Ideal and the Emergence of Political Stability



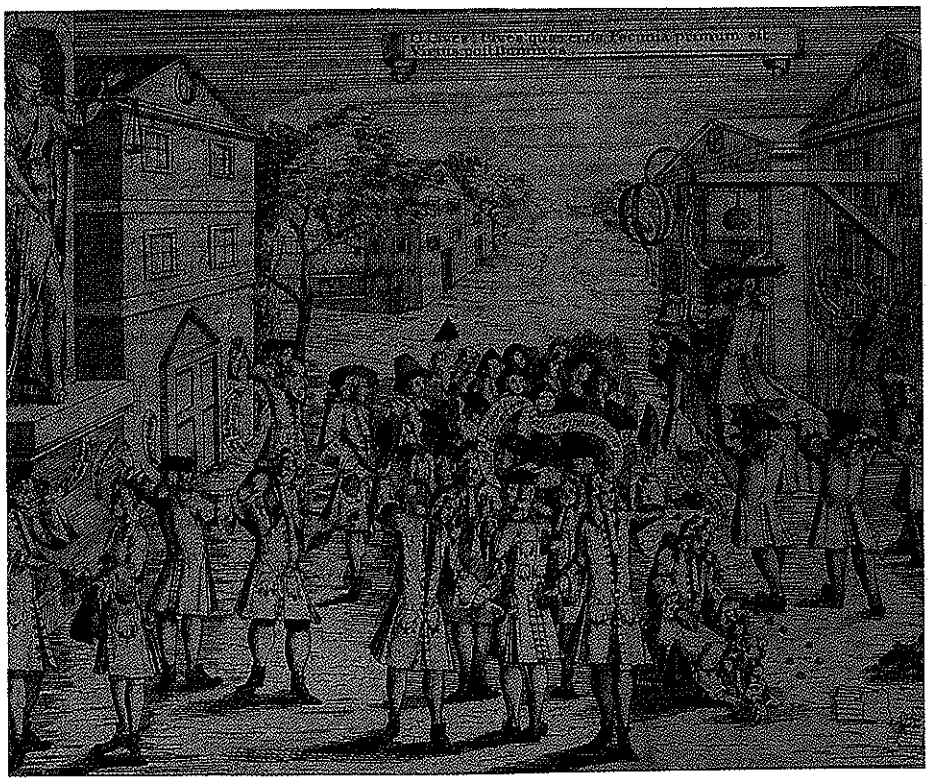
The Massachusetts legal system that produced the Salem witchcraft trials was out of step with legal developments in England, and even more so in light of the events of the Glorious Revolution (1688). The English Bill of Rights adopted by Parliament (1689) not only weakened royal power but also provided stronger protections for individual liberty, including explicit prohibitions on cruel and unusual punishments and robust affirmation of the right to a jury trial.

In the long struggle between Parliament and the monarchy, Parliament had finally emerged as preeminent in the English political and constitutional system. The group who supported Parliamentary power after the Glorious Revolution became known as **Whigs**. Their opponents, the Tories, were proponents of monarchical authority. The period after the Glorious Revolution ushered in relative political stability in Anglo-American politics. This new era of stability did not end all political debate, but it did mark clear boundaries for future discussions.

The Whig Vision of Politics

Whig theory, put into place after the Glorious Revolution, put a premium on the ideal of civic virtue, placing the public good above personal interest. To promote such virtue one needed the right type of society, a society in which property ownership was widespread. An agricultural nation, where farming was thought to encourage honesty, frugality, and independence, was less likely to become corrupt than a society dependent on commerce and manufacturing. In an agrarian society politics would be less fractious because everyone's interest would be similar. In such a society representatives would be equally affected by whatever laws they passed. This would prevent representatives from tyrannizing over the people by passing oppressive laws.

The Whig view of politics was not democratic. It assumed that only men who owned property had a sufficient permanent stake in society to be trusted with the vote. (The small number of women who owned property, mostly widows, were not allowed to vote.) According to Whig thought, only the best—most virtuous—men would serve as representatives and only those with land were entitled to vote. The notion of frequent elections became a cornerstone of Whig politics. The great danger, however, lay in the potential for electoral corruption, a fact reflected in this early political cartoon (**2.15**), which shows voters being bribed in a local tavern. The fear of corruption became an important feature of Whig political culture, underscoring the need for a virtuous elite and an electorate who could not be manipulated by unscrupulous politicians.



2.15 English Whig Cartoon on Electoral Corruption In this early political satire of an English election, the electorate mill about waiting to be bribed by a political candidate. The text below the scene warned of the dangers of "flattery and gold" which causes men to be corrupted and "liberty sold."

What were the most important features of the Whig ideal?

The Glorious Revolution also impacted English law. England had no written constitution, but the common law, the unwritten rules of law worked out over a millennium by English courts, embodied many of the essential liberties esteemed by Englishmen. To these protections Parliament had added the Bill of Rights of 1689, which codified several constitutional principles that would strongly influence the worldview of colonists in America. By asserting the ideal of the rule of law, the Glorious Revolution established the principle that no man, even the king, was above the law. The revolution also lodged the right to tax firmly in the representative branch of government, Parliament, and it rejected the practice of raising a standing army without the consent of the legislature, a practice considered a serious threat to liberty. Among the other provisions protected by the Bill of Rights were the right to petition government for redress of grievances, the right to trial by jury, bail, and a prohibition on cruel and unusual punishments. More than a century later, the U.S. Constitution's Bill of Rights codified and expanded these ideals.

Mercantilism, Federalism, and the Structure of Empire

In 1651 the English Parliament passed the first navigation act designed to limit Dutch trade with the America colonies. The act required that all goods entering or leaving colonial ports be carried on English or colonial ships. It also required that non-English goods be carried on English ships or ships of the country from which the goods originated. One motivation for the act was to eliminate Dutch traders, who had made a handsome profit, particularly as middlemen between the colonies and other parts of Europe. Later the Restoration Parliament passed another series of more restrictive navigation acts in 1660, 1663, 1673, and 1696. These acts required that all goods be transported on American or English carriers, which meant goods from other parts of Europe had to transit through English ports before arriving in the colonies. In 1696 Parliament created the Board of Trade to help coordinate policy toward the colonies. Three years later Parliament passed the Woolens Act, designed to protect the English woolen industry from competition from Ireland and the colonies. The act did not prohibit Americans from making and selling woolens within the colonies, but it did prohibit them from exporting them to England.

The great eighteenth-century Scottish economist Adam Smith called this economic system **mercantilism**. According to this theory the wealth of the "mother" country England would be increased by heavy governmental regulation of imports and exports to the colonies. Colonies existed to generate wealth for their mother country by supplying it with raw materials and purchasing consumer goods from it. To enforce its mercantile policies, Parliament used legislation such as the navigation acts to control colonial behavior. It also created admiralty courts, which were special courts to try violations of the laws governing commerce.

In 1707 the Act of Union brought together the kingdoms of Scotland and England, creating the United Kingdom of Great Britain. The act divided power in the new British Empire between local and national authority. Colonial assemblies continued to legislate on local matters, and Parliament exercised powers over the whole empire. In essence British government had created a federal system that divided power between a distant central authority and local governments. This system of divided authority paved the way for the modern U.S. division between national authority (seated in Washington, D.C.) and the individual state governments.

> "The encouragement of exportation and the discouragement of importation [of manufactured goods] are the two great engines by which the mercantile system proposes to enrich every country."
>
> ADAM SMITH, *The Wealth of Nations,* 1776

What was the theory of mercantilism?

Conclusion

Although initially beset by problems, Virginia's Jamestown, founded in 1607, became the first successful English colony in America. A few colonists earned great wealth through tobacco production, but many suffered misery and death in the new colony. England's experiences in Jamestown provided them with many useful lessons about how to structure colonial enterprises politically and make them profitable. Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Virginia's Chesapeake neighbor, Maryland, took these lessons to heart, which helped his colony avoid many of the problems that befell early Virginia.

Settlers of the Chesapeake were driven primarily by profits, but New Englanders added a new religious set of motivations that shaped their colonial experience. Convinced that the Church of England was failing in its pursuit of true reformation, the Pilgrims and Puritans voyaged to America with the hope that they might create purified churches and communities organized around religious values. The Puritan goal of becoming "a city upon a hill" faced many challenges from without and within.

The mainland English colonies enjoyed less material prosperity than did the English sugar islands. Caribbean islands such as Barbados produced enormous wealth, and their transition to slave-based economies paved the way for the development of slavery on the mainland. The Barbadian slave code of 1661 became the foundation for an American law of slavery. Provisioning the Caribbean islands with food and the necessary naval stores provided an economic rationale for Carolina, a proprietary colony established after the Restoration of the English monarchy. Taking their cues from Lord Baltimore's colonial venture in Maryland, proprietors created colonies in Carolina, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania, founded by the Quaker William Penn, sought to apply Quaker principles and establish friendly relations with the Leni-Lenape Indians. Apart from Penn and Roger Williams, few other colonists were interested in developing peaceful relations with their Indian neighbors. For most of the seventeenth century, colonist-Indian relations remained tense and often turned violent.

American society in the latter decades of the seventeenth century experienced a number of conflicts. Intermittent warfare with Native Americans, the political crisis triggered by the Glorious Revolution, and the Salem witchcraft outbreak bore witness to the underlying strains in American colonial life. By the end of the century, however, the colonies were entering a new phase of stability and growth. In the next half-century, the population of the English colonies would increase dramatically, and the simple provincial world would be replaced by a more refined society.