

# Settlements, Alliances, and Resistance



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Chapter 3



Trade in goods for furs from Native Americans and in colonial products, especially barrels of tobacco to Europe, was key to the success of European colonies in the 1600s, as illustrated by this encounter between an American Indian trapper and a French trader.

## CHAPTER OBJECTIVE

Demonstrate an understanding of the motivations for and results of the European settlements in North America.

## LEARNING OBJECTIVES

### THE ENGLISH SETTLE IN NORTH AMERICA

3.1

Explain why the English began to settle in North America and how slavery was introduced in the English colonies.

### ENGLAND'S WARS, ENGLAND'S COLONIES

3.2

Analyze the relationship between politics in England, internal colonial tensions, and life in the English colonies in North America during the 1600s.

### FRANCE TAKES CONTROL OF THE HEART OF A CONTINENT

3.3

Explain France's growing role and power in North America and its impact on English and Spanish colonies.

### DEVELOPMENTS IN SPANISH COLONIES NORTH OF MEXICO

3.4

Analyze the impact of Indian uprisings and the expansion of other European powers on Spain's colonies in New Mexico, Texas, and California.

For well over 100 years after Columbus, Europeans spent more time trying to get around or through North America to reach Asia than they spent paying attention to the lands that would become the United States or Canada. Spain's vast American empire was based in Mexico and Peru. The Spanish found Mexico, Central and South America, and the Caribbean more rewarding than they did North America, which lacked gold or silver and which they considered barren and icy.

For decades, most European contact with North America was limited to filling the enormous European demand for codfish. Fishermen from France, England, and the Basque regions of Spain spent summers off the coast of Canada and Maine. They set up temporary stations in Newfoundland, repaired their boats, and dried their fish. Few stayed the winter, and no permanent colonies were founded. The Native Americans found the fishermen intrusive. The fishermen resented that the Indians' plundered stores left behind over the winter. But most of the time, both sides simply avoided each other. Nevertheless, occasional contact was all it took to begin the spread of European diseases among the tribes of North America, well in advance of more sustained settlement.

By the late 1500s, however, some in England and France as well as Spain were developing new interests in North America. In 1585, Richard Hakluyt the elder wrote *Pamphlet for the Virginia Enterprise* in an effort to convince



his countrymen that a settlement, or planting as he called it, was in their interests. He recognized that the native peoples might not welcome the English, but he said:

We may, if we will proceed with extremity, conquer, fortify, and plant in soils most sweet, most pleasant, most strong, and most fertile, and in the end bring them all in subjection and to civility.

For Hakluyt, subjection and conversion of the Native Americans to Protestant Christianity meant a rich profit and a military base for England against Catholic Spain. Others agreed, including King James I, who succeeded Elizabeth I in 1603. With the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, the English came to America to stay. Only 1 year later, France established a permanent settlement at Quebec on the Saint Lawrence River. In 1610, Spanish authorities also moved to a new permanent capital for their vast New Mexico territory that they named Santa Fe. Spain may have been first, but England and France were not far behind in establishing North American colonies.

From the settlements of Jamestown and Quebec, England and France claimed huge tracts of lands that they would eventually come to dominate. The English expanded from tiny Jamestown to control most of the Atlantic coast north of Florida and west toward the Allegheny Mountains. From Quebec, the French built trade and military centers all along the Saint Lawrence River and down the Mississippi to New Orleans on the Gulf of Mexico, a vast region they called New France. After 1610, the Spanish expanded their settlements in New Mexico, though Florida was generally ignored.

In the 1500s, explorers had come and quickly departed from North America. In the 1600s, the Europeans began to stay. Initially some Indian tribes saw Europeans as welcome trading partners or military allies against other tribes. Especially in the later 1600s when settlements grew too quickly, disease spread too rapidly, or the Europeans became too demanding, Indian resistance stiffened. The story of the growth of European communities in North America and the responses by American Indian tribes—sometimes friendly trade and sometimes open warfare—is the heart of this chapter.

## THE ENGLISH SETTLE IN NORTH AMERICA

**3.1** Explain why the English began to settle in North America and how slavery was introduced in the English colonies.

When James I became king of England in 1603, he was anxious to make peace with Spain. He quickly ended the royal support for legalized piracy that Queen Elizabeth I had provided—though piracy itself flourished throughout the 1600s. But many in England wanted a larger role in the Americas. If they were not going to steal America's wealth from the Spanish on the seas, then they would need to find other ways to gain it. Investors seeking financial gain created the Virginia Company. They told those they sent to America "to try if they can find any mineral," and to seek "passage to the Other Sea," the longed-for shortcut to China. The investors also advised them to build settlements at some distance from the coast to avoid a Spanish attack and to gain as much knowledge and food from the Indians as possible "before that they perceive you mean to plant among them." Within about 30 years, England had settled or claimed large territories, and their claims continued to expand into the 1700s (see Map 3-1).

### Colonizing Virginia: Jamestown

In 1607, 105 men from the Virginia Company arrived in North America. They named their new community Jamestown in honor of King James. The company appointed a council of six to govern the colony and left it to the council to elect its own president. But things in Jamestown did not go well.

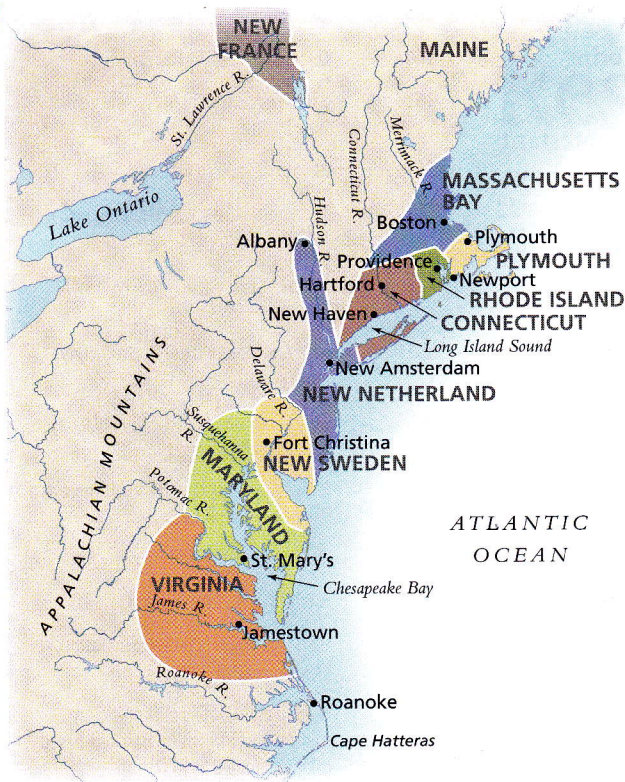
## Significant Dates

<b>1607</b>	Jamestown, Virginia, founded by English
<b>1608</b>	Quebec founded by French
<b>1610</b>	Santa Fe founded as Spanish capital of New Mexico
<b>1619</b>	African slaves sold in Jamestown
<b>1620</b>	Plymouth, Massachusetts, founded by English Pilgrims
<b>1624</b>	Fort Orange (later Albany), New York, founded by the Dutch
<b>1626</b>	New Amsterdam (later New York City) founded by Dutch
<b>1630</b>	Boston, Massachusetts, founded by English Puritans
<b>1634</b>	Maryland founded by Lord Baltimore as a haven for English Catholics
<b>1636</b>	Rhode Island founded
<b>1637</b>	Pequot War in New England
<b>1638</b>	First African slaves brought to Boston, Massachusetts
<b>1639</b>	Fundamental Orders of Connecticut confirm government for Hartford-based colony (founded in 1637)
<b>1642–1649</b>	English Civil War
<b>1649–1658</b>	England governed as a Puritan Commonwealth
<b>1660</b>	Charles II begins to rule in England
<b>1661</b>	Maryland law defines slavery as lifelong and inheritable
<b>1663</b>	Carolina colony founded by England
<b>1664</b>	English capture New Netherlands colony, rename it New York
<b>1675</b>	King Philip's War in Massachusetts
<b>1676</b>	Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia
<b>1680</b>	Pueblo Indian Revolt in New Mexico
<b>1681</b>	Pennsylvania founded by William Penn as a haven for English Quakers
<b>1682</b>	LaSalle claims the Mississippi River Valley for France
<b>1718</b>	French establish New Orleans; Spanish found San Antonio, Texas



Watch on MyHistoryLab  
Video Jamestown





**MAP 3-1 Spread of Settlement: Atlantic Coast European Colonies, 1607–1639.** The earliest European colonies on the Atlantic coast north of Florida began as very small settlements close to the coast and then spread into the interior. New Sweden became the core of Delaware, while New Netherland, stretching along the Hudson River later became the core of both New York and New Jersey. Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth were separate colonies until merged with Massachusetts in 1686.

The unhealthy conditions at the site the colonists selected along the James River probably killed more of them than any other cause. Although they thought they had selected “a very fit place,” they had in fact chosen land with a terrible water supply. The water from the James River was tidal. At high tide, it was salt water. At low tide, it was “full of slime and filth.” The years 1607 and 1608 were drought years leading to a severe shortage of food. The winter of 1607–08 was extremely cold. The Indians were suffering from the same drought and cold and were reluctant to trade food with the colonists. Waterborne disease and starvation weakened bodies, and few of the English escaped terrible bouts of sickness.

The members of the council constantly disagreed—they ended up executing one of the councilors as a Spanish spy—and the rest of the colonists fought each other bitterly. Although the colony’s primary purpose was to enrich investors in London, those who were actually in Virginia found little reason to care whether the investors were enriched or not. England seemed far away. John Smith, the only member of the council not from the British nobility, complained, “Much they blamed us for not converting the Savages, when those [colonists] they sent us were little better if not worse.” By 1608, only 38 of the 105 colonists were still alive.

The founders of Jamestown faced a different situation from what Columbus had encountered in 1492 when the Indians of Hispaniola gasped in awe at the ships, swords, and men with beards. By 1607, generations of Atlantic Coast Indians had substantial experience with Europeans. They had seen their ships, traded with them, and fought them. Some had even traveled to Europe and brought back reports of how these white adventurers lived. Europeans who were shipwrecked or from failed colonies—perhaps even from Roanoke—had melded into the Indian tribes and shared their knowledge with them. The Spanish at St. Augustine had tried to establish a northern outpost in the region. The Indians’ opinion of Europeans was not

favorable. For the Paspahegh tribe, on whose land Jamestown was built, the English were trespassing. And relationships between Jamestown and all of the local Indians, a confederation of Algonquian-speaking tribes of 13,000 to 15,000 people, were tense.

During its first weeks, the colony was attacked, and only after that did the settlers build a stockade. The English came to understand that the Paspahegh and some 30 other nearby tribes were under the rule of an overlord they called Powhatan whom the English described as functioning something like an emperor over the tribal chiefs. If the colonists wanted to make a lasting accommodation, it needed to be with him.

By his own account—his autobiography, *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith*, published in 1630—John Smith saved the colony. Smith was an experienced soldier who had fought in Austria against the Muslim Turks, had been captured and sold into slavery in Istanbul, escaped, and had made his way through Russia, Germany, and North Africa before coming home to England. He brought all of this experience to Virginia.

Early in his Virginia career, Smith had one of the most famous Indian encounters in American history. During the early months of the settlement, while Powhatan was trying to understand what these Englishmen wanted, Smith was exploring the countryside. He was taken prisoner by the Algonquians and brought before Powhatan. In Smith’s telling, he was about to be executed—he was laid on the ground with his head on a rock, and men with clubs stood around him. Then Powhatan’s daughter, Pocahontas, already known to Smith for her work as a negotiator with Jamestown, suddenly “got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death.” Powhatan granted Smith a reprieve. Most historians now believe that Powhatan scripted the whole event. After his rescue, Powhatan



told Smith that “now they were friends” and gave him an Algonquian name. Far from being executed, Smith had been adopted. Perhaps Powhatan aimed to make Smith one of the many chiefs who reported to him.

Smith did not accept Powhatan’s offer of a place within the Algonquian confederation though he did not formally reject it either. The English offered Powhatan an English crown that would symbolize his place in a world ruled by King James. Each side was jockeying for signs of submission from the other. In the early years, Powhatan could easily have destroyed Jamestown either by a direct attack or simply by withholding food. Instead, the Powhatan confederation fed the English and saw benefit in trading with them. The English brought valuable new goods. Powhatan meant to use the English to strengthen his position against other tribes. The English avoided war and starvation and survived only by making an alliance with Powhatan.

Smith’s success in dealing with Powhatan was only part of his contribution to the colony. After he became governor in 1608, he instituted a policy that “he who does not work, does not eat.” In a tiny colony, far from home, there could be no leisure class and no slackers. To survive, the colony needed the back-breaking labor of farming and stockade building. Smith set everyone to it. Jamestown would have gone the way of Roanoke or other failed ventures without his leadership.

But Smith returned to England in 1609. As a result, he was not in Jamestown for the “starving time” of the winter of 1609–10 when the colony was almost wiped out by starvation and disease. Realizing that the peaceful trade he hoped for was not materializing, Powhatan withdrew from contact with the Europeans. Consequently, the English could not rely on the Indians for food. The English attacked the Indians, burned their houses, plundered their sacred sites, and stole their valuables. But the English could not eat the valuables, and another party seeking food was found dead with their mouths stuffed with bread by the Indians.

In the spring of 1610, the surviving colonists decided to abandon Jamestown. They burned the town and sailed down the James River. However, before they reached the sea, they were met by an English fleet with 400 men led by the newly appointed governor, Lord de la Warr, and enough supplies to last a year. The colony was rebuilt where it had been.

While the colonists in Virginia had been starving, the Virginia Company in London had reorganized itself and sold stock to raise funds. It also enlisted clergy across England to preach on the importance of colonizing Virginia. The venture was no longer described as a way to acquire quick riches but as a kind of national mission. It was England’s duty, the ministers said, to send missionaries and build a permanent Protestant base in the Americas that would convert Indians and serve England in future confrontations with Spain.

Jamestown survived. But for another decade, life remained precarious. Thousands of colonists arrived in Virginia, having fled England after being thrown off their land, but disease and limited food decimated their numbers. A new economic foundation for the colony’s survival had to be found if Jamestown was to be of use. After a decade of investing in Jamestown, its backers in London were frustrated. No route to China had been found, and there were no precious metals in the colony. Farming kept the colonists alive but returned little to the investors, and there was conflict, not lucrative trade, with the Indians.

That something new turned out to be a product that Columbus had discovered—tobacco. Before 1492, no Europeans knew anything about tobacco, though the peoples of North and South America had used it for medicinal and religious purposes for hundreds of years. But Columbus took some tobacco leaves with him on his first return voyage. Within a few decades, smoking tobacco became popular in Europe. Spaniards smoked tobacco from Cuba. King James, who found smoking tobacco “loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs,” also saw in it a



Pocahontas gained fame first as the young woman who rescued Virginia’s leader, John Smith, and later as the wife of tobacco planter, John Rolfe. She is shown here as she was seen in London, as Rebecca Rolfe, the first Native American to be seen by many in England.



Read on **MyHistoryLab**  
**Document** Chief  
Powhatan, Remarks to  
Captain John Smith, c. 1609

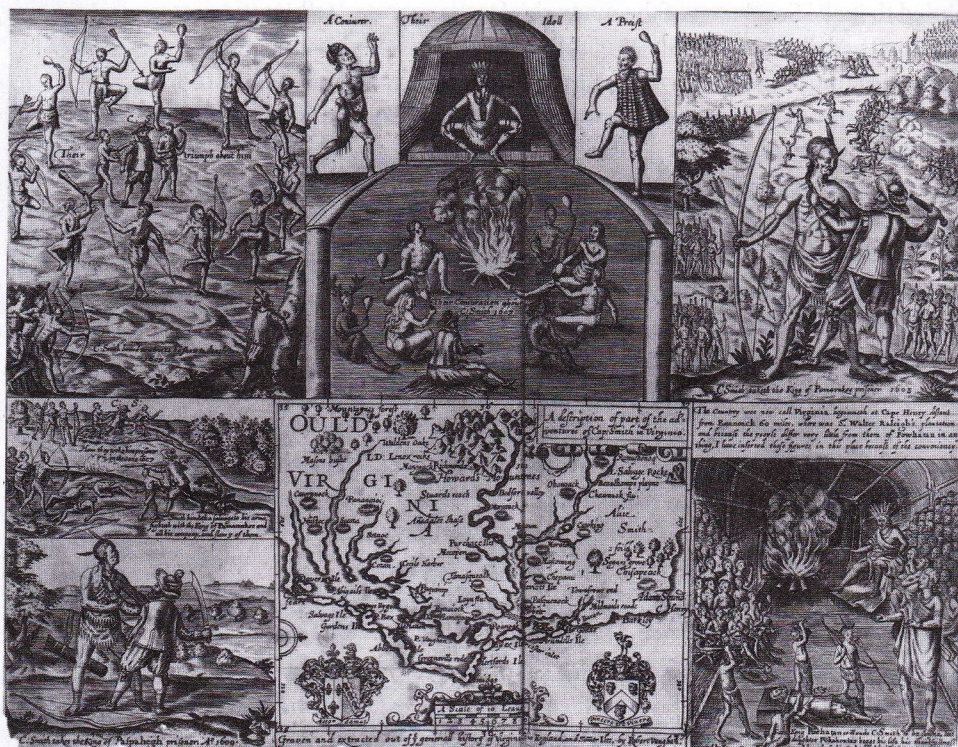
3.1

3.2

3.3

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This illustration was published in 1624 as part of John Smith's book about his time in Virginia showing, among other things, his battles with the American Indians, his rescue by Pocahontas, and his map of the colony.

way to make significant profits and created a royal monopoly. And Virginia, its settlers discovered, had the ideal climate and conditions for producing tobacco. The settlers might have preferred to find silver or gold, but tobacco quickly became valuable.

In 1622, led by Openchancanough, Powhatan's brother and the tribe's new leader, the Algonquians attacked and killed some 300 of the 1,200 English settlers. The Indians had lost patience with the continual encroachment of the English and the lack of trade or other benefits. Attacks continued for more than a decade. The conflict eventually bankrupted the Virginia Company, but in 1624, Virginia had been converted to a royal colony by the king, so efforts to settle the area continued.

The shift from trade with Indians to tobacco-based agriculture in the 1620s sealed the fate of the Indians who had been essential to the colony's early survival. Indian land became more valuable to the English than the Indians themselves, and disease was decimating Indian populations. The new emphasis on agriculture also meant that many from England would settle and farm the land. The shift also changed the lives of thousands of Africans who were brought to the Americas as slaves to produce the new crops. Tobacco was a key factor in reshaping who would be a part of this new English-speaking nation and the role they would play in the society that emerged.

### The Massachusetts Colonies: Plymouth, Boston, and Beyond

During the first two decades of the 1600s, many in England were coming to see the country as overpopulated. Changes in agriculture were forcing people out of subsistence farming and into cities. England's economy was stagnating. What better outlet for excess population than the new colonies across the ocean? It was a great service, some argued, to ship the poor to do the agricultural work that was so badly needed across the sea.

King James especially wanted to see one group on its way across the ocean—the Protestant extremists who were forever agitating for more change within the Church of England (also known as the Anglican or Episcopal Church).



Protestants who wanted a more complete Reformation than the Church of England represented came to be known as Puritans. When Henry VIII and his successors had broken with the pope, they maintained a religious liturgy much like the Catholic Mass and a church governed by bishops. Queen Elizabeth I had sought religious peace by tolerating differences in viewpoints as long as people accepted her religious authority and agreed to use the form of worship prescribed in the *Book of Common Prayer*. But the Puritans wanted change—much more change. They believed that the office of bishop had no base in the Bible and that each individual congregation should be self-governing. They believed each individual was responsible for reading and understanding the Bible.

Those who opposed the Church of England's demands for religious uniformity also had major differences among themselves. Some believed it was their duty to stay within the Anglican Church and work for change. Others thought that change could come only from leaving the established church. The former tried to "purify" the Church of England and were known as Puritans. The latter group, called Separatists, thought that the church was hopelessly corrupt and that they needed to form their own separate religious communities. The Separatists were constantly in trouble with the authorities since everyone in England was expected to belong to the Anglican Church and attend its worship every Sunday. To separate oneself from the church, to worship in a place or form not authorized by the church, was treason. No wonder King James wanted to "harry them out of the land," and that so many of the Separatists wanted to leave.

Separatists, also known as **Pilgrims**, founded the second permanent English colony in North America at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620. The origins of Plymouth colony lay in a small community of Separatists who left England for Holland in 1607 where they were welcomed along with other English religious dissenters.

But the Separatists still considered themselves English, and they worried about raising children in Holland who would become more Dutch than English. Eventually, they decided that English North America would be a happier place for them. In 1619, these Separatist Pilgrims secured a grant of land from the Virginia Company, got financial backing from investors, and hired a ship. After many delays, the *Mayflower* sailed from Plymouth, England, on September 6, 1620, with 102 passengers. Half the passengers were members of the congregation. The others were "strangers" along for adventure or profit. As William Bradford, who became Plymouth's historian, wrote of this congregation, "they knew they were pilgrims."

After a stormy 2-month voyage, they reached land far north of where they meant to go. Realizing that they were outside of the Virginia territory and that their new community was split between its religious members and others, they promised to "combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation." Future generations would see the **Mayflower Compact** as the beginning of government by the consent of the people. But historians have seen it as something more modest: an agreement among a diverse group of people to try to get along with each other through what they knew would be a hard winter in a strange land.

The Pilgrims' first landing in November 1620 was on the outer end of Cape Cod at what is now Provincetown, Massachusetts. By December, however, they had moved across Cape Cod Bay to a place they named Plymouth where a high hill offered protection, and a large level area leading down to the harbor was a good place to build a town. Plymouth was empty when the Pilgrims landed. As recently as 1616, 1,000 or more Indians had lived around Plymouth, but an epidemic had wiped them out. As had happened elsewhere in the Americas, disease traveled faster than people. Enough European fishermen and traders had been traveling along the coast to ensure a plentiful supply of microbes. The new community quickly built on the now empty land.

The Pilgrims had arrived too late to build the kind of shelter they needed for a New England winter. During the winter of 1620–21, about half the community died from disease, cold, and malnutrition. Some families were wiped out altogether. They had no contact with Native Americans, but they knew they were being watched constantly.



Smoking tobacco quickly became a popular symbol of sophistication in Europe, making the production of tobacco in Virginia very profitable.

### Pilgrims

A name given to the Separatists within the Church of England who settled Plymouth, Massachusetts.

### Mayflower Compact

The 1620 agreement made among the Pilgrims and others (whom the Pilgrims called "Strangers") on board the ship that brought them to Plymouth.





This modern recreation of the Pilgrim Village at Plimoth Plantation (note old style spelling) has been built using extensive original records from 1627—seven years after the colony's founding when life had reached a bit of stability—on the site of the first Pilgrim colony in Plymouth, Massachusetts.

Then, in spring 1621, their luck changed. An Indian walked “very boldly” into the heart of the small Plymouth community. And when he arrived, to their utter amazement, he said, “Welcome, Englishmen!” The visitor was Samoset, a native of what is now Maine, where English fishermen had been landing for a century, hence his knowledge of the language. More important, he had been asked to visit them by Massasoit, the ruler of the Wampanoag Indians of the area. Massasoit was also familiar with English ships that had sailed along the coast and had sent exploring parties ashore. He was now ready to make contact.

Soon after Samoset's visit, Massasoit himself arrived with many warriors and a translator named Squanto who had been captured by previous English explorers and who had lived in London. He became a go-between for Massasoit with the Pilgrim community, even though neither side ever fully trusted him.

Squanto surprised the Pilgrims when he described parts of London and, more important, when he taught them how to find hibernating eels in nearby creeks. They had their best meal in months that evening. He also taught them to catch herring in the town brook and use them as fertilizer for planting corn. It proved to be the salvation of the colony. The Pilgrims concluded an agreement with Massasoit that led to 54 years of peace, an amazing development in the Americas.

In the fall of 1621, with peace concluded and the first successful harvest accomplished, Governor Bradford announced that it was time to “rejoice together” with the people who had helped, indeed allowed, them to survive. The first Thanksgiving (the Pilgrims never actually used that word) was a weeklong time of feasting on the fruits of the harvest and on turkeys, ducks, geese, deer, and stews. The Pilgrims were recreating something they knew well, a traditional English harvest festival. Most of those present at “the first Thanksgiving,” however, were Wampanoags, including Massasoit himself who brought gifts of freshly killed deer to the festivities.



# American Voices

## Of Plymouth Plantation, by William Bradford, 1630–1651

**W**illiam Bradford was one of the original Pilgrims. He wrote his classic book over a period of many years to inform an English audience—and English investors—of the state of the new colony or plantation.

Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth...

Being thus passed the vast ocean and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by that which went before), they had now no friends to welcome them, nor inns to entertain or refresh their weatherbeaten bodies, nor houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succor...

And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent and subject to cruel and fierce storms.... Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men, and what multitudes there might be of them they knew not...

But that which was most sad and lamentable was that in two or three months' time half of their company died... being infected with the scurvy and other diseases, which this long voyage... had brought

upon them; so there died sometimes two or three of a day in the aforesaid time, that of 100 and odd persons scarce fifty remained....

The spring now approaching, it pleased God the mortality began to cease amongst them, and the sick and lame recovered.... Afterwards they... began to plan their corn, in which service Squanto stood them in great stead, showing them both... how to set it, and after how to dress and tend it... and where to get other provisions necessary for them, all which they found true by trial and experience....

They began now to gather in the small harvest they had, and to fit up their houses and dwellings against winter, being well recovered in health and strength, and had all things good plenty.

**Source:** William Bradford, *A History of Plymouth Plantation* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1856)

### Thinking Critically

#### 1. Documentary Analysis

What challenges did the first Plymouth settlers face?

#### 2. Historical Interpretation

What does Bradford's account tell us about the importance of Native American peoples to the initial survival of the settlement?

Another group of religious dissidents from England were not far behind Plymouth's Pilgrims. Puritan reformers who wanted to stay within the Church of England and change it were also having a hard time in the 1620s. King Charles I (r. 1625–1649) was extremely hostile to the **Puritans**. Advocating reform within the established church became more difficult and dangerous. The Puritans, however, were not without resources. A group of them controlled a corporation, the Massachusetts Bay Company, to explore and settle North America. It was similar to the Virginia Company except that Puritans led it. They planted their first colony in Salem, just north of present-day Boston in 1629, and soon wanted to expand. In late 1629, someone realized that wording in the charter would allow them to move the whole company—its charter and the control that went with it—out of England and into the colony that the Massachusetts Bay Company controlled. If successful, this move would create not only a self-governing Puritan company but also a company thousands of miles from the king and his bishops who were making things so difficult for Puritans in England.

John Winthrop, an ardent Puritan, was invited to be the governor of the new colony. In spring 1630, 14 ships left England for Massachusetts Bay with their new governor and their charter on board. By the end of the summer, more than 1,000 people and 200 cattle had landed in the Massachusetts colony. In the next decade, known as the Great Migration, some 20,000 people followed. The Puritan Massachusetts Bay Colony soon had more people than Plymouth and Jamestown combined.

The Massachusetts Puritans also had a clear sense of purpose. As Winthrop said: "Our immediate object is to seek out a new home under a due form of Government both civil and ecclesiasticall... we shall be as a City upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon Us." The Puritan Commonwealth in New England could also be a new model for old England.

### Puritans

A name given to those more extreme Protestants within the Church of England who wanted to stay in the church but "purify" it of what they saw as Roman Catholic ways.



3.1

### The Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company

3.2

The legal charter given to the London-based corporation that launched Massachusetts Bay colony.

3.3

3.4

### Fundamental Orders of Connecticut

The 1639 charter that Massachusetts authorities allowed a new separate colony based in Hartford to adopt, which confirmed its independence from Massachusetts.



This 1922 statue of Anne Hutchinson at the Massachusetts State House commemorates a woman who caused considerable difficulties for the authorities who ruled in Boston during her own time.

The Pilgrims had written their Mayflower Compact as a simple basis for the colony's government. The Puritan migrants of 1630 meant to use the more detailed **Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company** to organize a permanent self-governing colony in Massachusetts.

The first meeting of the Great and General Court—the colony's governing body—on New England soil took place in August 1630. What had started as a business venture in England was transformed into a government in Massachusetts. Annual elections chose the governor, deputy-governor, and members of the General Court (as the state legislature in Massachusetts is still called). Only church members in good standing could vote. This settlement was designed to be a model religious colony. When King Charles I realized what the Puritans had done, he sent a ship to recover the charter. Governor Winthrop called out the Puritan militia and mounted cannons at the entrance to Boston harbor. Those under royal command who had come for the charter decided that it would be wiser to sail back to England without it.

The Puritans valued literacy. If salvation depended on a personal encounter with the Christian faith, then Puritans needed to be able to read the Bible and have ministers and magistrates who were highly literate. In 1636, only 6 years after Boston was founded, the colony's legislature ordered the creation of a college that would soon be named Harvard for an early benefactor. They created Boston Latin School to prepare young men for college, and in 1647, the legislature required every township in the colony to provide for a school. Towns found ways to evade the law, but literacy was still high in Massachusetts.

The Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, however, had their differences with one another. Several splits occurred during the first decade of the colony. In 1637, Puritans on the Connecticut River found the government in Boston too restrictive and created their own independent colony of Connecticut based at Hartford. Two years later, with permission from the authorities in Boston, the Hartford colonists established a formal government for their colony known as the **Fundamental Orders of Connecticut**. The document offered more men the right to vote than did the rules then in force in Massachusetts Bay. Some have considered it as the first written constitution in the Americas, though others, looking at the Massachusetts charter and other such documents, dispute that claim. Other Puritans found the Boston government not strict enough and created a more theocratic colony at New Haven the following year.

More troublesome to the Puritans was Roger Williams, whose advocacy of freedom of conscience for every individual was almost unique in the 1600s. Williams was a supporter of the Puritan cause in England and arrived in Boston in 1631 only a year after the city's founding. But he quickly got into trouble with Boston's magistrates because he asserted that civil authority could not enforce religious laws, including a law against blasphemy. In 1635, he was convicted of "erroneous" opinions. In the winter of 1636, he walked from his old home in Salem, Massachusetts, to the top of Narragansett Bay (more than 65 miles) and soon established a new colony called Providence where he invited all those "distressed of conscience" to the first colony that would separate church and state and grant full liberty to people of any religious opinion, a direct slap at Puritan efforts at religious uniformity. Williams established close working relationships with both the Wampanoag and Narragansett tribes—and insisted on paying them for the land on which he established his colony, unlike the settlers of Boston or Plymouth. Under Williams' leadership Rhode Island became a haven for religious dissenters.

In addition, Anne Hutchinson caused a stir with her charismatic preaching and her belief that God's inspiration could be more immediate than most Puritans believed. While Puritans insisted that every man and woman should read and interpret the Bible, they expected the interpretation to follow certain paths. In addition, only men were supposed to preach. When Hutchinson said that she herself received direct revelations from God, she had moved beyond



what the Puritans would tolerate and was banished from the colony. She and her followers made their way, first to Roger Williams's colony in Rhode Island, and then to Dutch New Amsterdam where she was killed in an Indian attack in 1643.

While the first generation of New England's founders argued about whose version of Protestant theology was correct, their American-born children and grandchildren sometimes wandered quite far from the theological interests of the founders. The first Massachusetts Puritans saw themselves as being on an "errand into the wilderness," as a 1670 sermon put it. Religious fervor and conversions were less common in the next generations.

In Massachusetts in the 1600s, only those who could convincingly demonstrate that they had a true religious conversion could be church members, and only church members could vote. Since one had to convince a congregation that he or she had truly been converted to become a church member, many, including the children of devout church members, could not qualify for either church membership or the right to vote. People who were excluded from these privileges did not make for happy colonial residents.

In 1662, Massachusetts clergy adopted the **Halfway Covenant**, which allowed adults who had been baptized as children, because their parents were church members, to have their own children baptized, even if they were not among the members of a congregation. The compromise was a significant one for a community in which church membership was central to all else. In time, that compromise also led to many Massachusetts churches allowing any who could demonstrate familiarity with Christian doctrine and led a good life to be church members—and therefore also voters.

## Maryland

After Virginia and the New England colonies, the next English colony to be established on the mainland of North America was Maryland. Earlier colonies had been founded by corporations or were royal colonies ruled by governors appointed by the king. Maryland represented something new, a proprietary colony. A **proprietary colony**—of which Maryland was the model—was essentially owned by one person and heirs who were, as the Maryland charter said, "true and absolute lords and proprietaries." The proprietor might allow others to own land and might take advice from local officials, but the whole colony was private property and, as such, could be passed from generation to generation within the proprietor's family. King Charles I established this model when he offered to give Maryland to George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore.

Maryland was also different in another way. Lord Baltimore was a devout Catholic, and Catholics were persecuted in England. But King Charles was sympathetic despite popular opposition. Lord Baltimore, with the King's support, was determined to establish Maryland as a haven for English Catholics. After George Calvert died, his son, Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, developed the colony. He realized that he had to recruit more people than a Catholic-only colony would attract. So, in 1649, Maryland granted freedom of worship to all Christians, including Protestants of any persuasion.

While the proprietors retained final authority in Maryland, they agreed in 1635, to call a representative assembly. After initially establishing a colony of large estates, they also decided, following Virginia's lead, to give every European settler 100 acres, another 100 for each additional adult member of the family, and 50 acres for each child. This **headright system**—as it came to be called—made moving to Maryland very popular. From the beginning, Marylanders also knew that, as in Virginia, tobacco would be the key to their economic success. With tobacco came the need for more workers. Thus, African slavery came early to Maryland. In 1661, Maryland was the first colony to formalize laws governing slavery. The laws included the stipulations that slaves inherited their status from their mother and that slavery for those born into it was for life.

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### Halfway Covenant

Plan adopted in 1662 by New England clergy that allowed adults who had been baptized because their parents were church members, but who had not yet experienced conversion, to have their own children baptized.



Watch on MyHistoryLab  
Video The Chesapeake

### proprietary colony

A colony created when the English monarch granted a huge tract of land to an individual as his private property.

### headright system

A system of land distribution during the early colonial era that granted settlers a set amount of land for each "head" (or person) who settled in the colony.



## Additional Colonies: Continued Settlement and Development

The first English colonies of Jamestown and Plymouth on the North American mainland, were models for what came later. Plymouth and Boston learned from mistakes made at Jamestown. All of those who established later English colonies studied Jamestown, Plymouth, and Boston, borrowing what they liked and ignoring the rest. In addition, those colonies also studied the prosperous English colonies that were developing on the island of Bermuda and in the Caribbean. Those island colonies attracted their own settlers from England and brought far more slaves from Africa than did the mainland colonies. On the islands, slaves worked on the expanding sugar plantations. Table 3-1 shows all of the English colonies that were eventually established in North America and in the islands.

**CONNECTICUT AND NEW HAMPSHIRE** After the creation of the colonies at Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven, the New England colonies continued

**TABLE 3-1** England's American and Island Colonies

Colony	Founded	Official Religion	Crop	Government
Virginia	1607	Anglican	Tobacco	Corporation Royal after 1625
Bermuda (island colony)	1612	Anglican	Mixed	Corporation
Plymouth	1620 Merged with Mass., 1685	Puritan	Farming	Corporation
St. Christopher (island colony)	1624	Anglican	Sugar	Royal
Barbados (island colony)	1627	Anglican	Sugar	Royal
Nevis (island colony)	1628	Anglican	Sugar	Royal
Massachusetts (included Maine, did not include Plymouth)	1630	Puritan	Farming, fishing	Corporation (based in Boston)
New Hampshire	Separate colony, 1630–1643; part of Mass., 1643–79; separate after 1679	Puritan	Farming	Corporation 1630–1679; Royal after 1679
Antigua (island colony)	1632	Anglican	Sugar	Royal
Montserrat (island colony)	1632	Anglican	Sugar	Royal
Maryland	1634	Founded as a haven for Roman Catholics with no established church; Anglican after 1692	Tobacco	Proprietary 1634–1690; Royal 1691–1715; Proprietary again after 1715
Rhode Island	1636	No established church, haven for dissenters, especially Baptists	Farming	Corporation
Connecticut (Hartford)	1636	Puritan	Farming	Corporation (from Massachusetts)
New Haven	1638; became part of Connecticut in 1665	Puritan	Farming	Corporation (from Massachusetts)
Jamaica (island colony)	1655 (captured from Spanish)	Anglican	Sugar	Royal
Carolina	1663; split into North and South Carolina, 1729	Anglican	Rice (south); tobacco (north)	Proprietary
New York	Settled by Dutch as New Netherlands colony, 1624–1626; became English and renamed New York, 1664	None	Farming, furs, trade	Proprietary, 1684; Royal after 1685
New Jersey	1664 (split from New York)	None	Farming	Proprietary
Pennsylvania	1681	None, established as a haven for Quakers	Farming	Proprietary
Delaware	1701 (split from Pennsylvania, but shared single governor until 1776)	None	Farming	Proprietary
Georgia	1732	None, haven for the poor rather than religious dissent	Farming	Proprietary; Royal after 1751

Source: Adapted from David Goldfield, et al., *The American Journey: A History of the United States*, 6th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2011), p. 56.



to be reshaped. Connecticut was united with New Haven in 1662. Massachusetts Bay Colony merged with Plymouth in 1685. New Hampshire became a separate colony under a royal governor in 1691. (Vermont did not separate from New York until after the American Revolution, and Maine was part of Massachusetts until 1820.)

**NEW YORK** New York was settled before Maryland, but not by the English. It became English only after the English Civil War (1642–1649). What is now New York was settled by the Netherlands, or Holland, a new Protestant country carved out of what had been Spanish possessions in the late 1500s. Sailing for the Dutch, Henry Hudson had explored much of the Atlantic coast in 1609. His voyage gave the Netherlands the basis for its claim to land in North America. The Dutch West India Company was set up in 1621, and it built a Dutch trading post at Fort Orange (now Albany, New York) in 1624. The economic base of the Dutch colony was the fur trade. The Iroquois were happy to trade with the Dutch. They benefited from fostering competition between Dutch and French traders to see who would offer the best price for furs and be the best military allies.

In 1626, the Dutch built a settlement and commercial center called New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island, which, according to legend, was purchased from local Indians for 60 Dutch guilders (calculated at approximately \$24 by an historian in the 1840s, over \$1,000 today but still exceedingly cheap). There is some debate about which tribe actually received any payment, though one was recorded in Holland. The payment, however, reflected a European understanding of land ownership. Most Native American tribes did not think in terms of someone actually owning land; to them, the land, air, and water were open to all.

Despite efforts by its long-time governor Peter Stuyvesant to enforce religious uniformity and ban Jews, New Amsterdam soon became a haven for religious dissenters including Jews, Catholics, Quakers, and Muslims. It was also home to Dutch, German, French, Swedish, Portuguese, and English settlers. The Dutch were active in the slave trade. New Amsterdam had the largest number of African slaves in North America in the 1600s. As a trading center, New Amsterdam also saw many Native Americans who came to the city to sell furs and buy European goods. Successive Dutch governors banned sexual contact between the Dutch residents and Indians, but the ban was not always honored.

While the heart of the Dutch colony remained on Manhattan Island, the Dutch authorities offered large tracts of land to wealthy Dutch citizens, known as **patroons**, to develop the lands along the Hudson River between New Amsterdam and Albany. Wealthy Dutch investors who promised to settle at least 50 people on their land were given huge tracts of land, which they controlled as private fiefdoms. Nevertheless New Netherlands never had more than 10,000 European and African residents.

#### **patroons**

Dutch settlers who were given vast tracts of land along the Hudson River between New Amsterdam and Albany in return for bringing at least 50 immigrants to work the land.

In 1664, King Charles II gave New Amsterdam to his younger brother, the Duke of York (who later became King James II). That the Dutch already had a settlement on the land did not bother either brother. Having been “given” the colony, the duke sent a fleet to New Amsterdam to take it. There was little resistance to the English take over; Governor Peter Stuyvesant was unpopular, and the English promised to respect Dutch property. The Dutch briefly recaptured the colony in 1673, but it returned to English rule permanently the following year. The heart of the Dutch oceanic empire was elsewhere. They were not going to fight the English over this remote outpost.

The Duke of York divided the colony, keeping New York for himself and giving New Jersey to two political allies. For the rest of the 1600s, New Jersey remained a colony of small farms of limited profit to its proprietors, although it attracted a diverse group of European settlers because its proprietors offered land at low prices and gave settlers significant religious and political freedom. But New York, with its great harbor and access to the interior via the Hudson River, quickly became one of the most valuable English colonies.

**PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE** The next English colony was Pennsylvania. Like Maryland, Pennsylvania was established as a proprietary colony and a haven for a persecuted religious group while being open to all. Pennsylvania's proprietor was William Penn, the son of Sir William Penn, an admiral in the Royal Navy with close connections to King Charles II. The younger William Penn inherited the right to collect a





This map of New Amsterdam just at the time the English first took control (note the English flag flying on the fort) shows the site of the fort at the tip of Manhattan and the British ships off shore.

substantial debt that the king owed to the Penn family. King Charles II repaid the debt in the form of land in North America. But while William Penn inherited both fortune and royal connections, unlike his admiral father, he was a member of a dissident religious community known as Quakers because they supposedly trembled—quaked—at the name of God. Quakers broke with much of the traditional theology and religious practice of the day. When they gathered for worship, Quakers sat in silence until someone was moved by the Spirit to speak. They did not have formal clergy and gave women equal standing with men in their community, known as the Society of Friends. In addition, they were absolute pacifists who would not serve in the military. Because of their refusal to serve in the military and attend the services of the Church of England, they were constantly in legal trouble. Penn himself was briefly jailed for following Quaker practices.

Penn received his land grant from King Charles II in 1681, and the next year he sailed to Pennsylvania and founded Philadelphia (the City of Brotherly Love). Penn recruited settlers widely, in Britain and on the European continent, especially in Germany. By 1700, 18,000 Europeans had arrived. In keeping with his Quaker beliefs, Penn insisted on peaceful trade with the Indians. Although he had been granted land from the king, Penn also paid the Indians for their land. During his lifetime, Pennsylvania was generally a peaceful place. Tribes from other colonies found a new home there.

Despite all of his commitment to peace with the Indians, Penn did not outlaw slavery in his colony. As early as 1684, 2 years after its founding, 150 African slaves arrived in Philadelphia. Slaves quickly came to have a key role as household servants, and by the early 1700s, slaves made up one-sixth of the city's population. In rural communities, slaves worked in iron furnaces, mines, tanneries, salt works, and on farms.

Penn tried to create a prosperous colony based on high ideals. But he was also an aristocrat who held absolute power. By the 1690s, many in the colony, including Quakers who appreciated their religious freedom, demanded more political freedom. In 1701, Penn reluctantly agreed to a Charter of Liberties that established an elected legislature, though the legislature and the Penn family would continue to argue until the beginnings of the American Revolution.

The 1701 charter also allowed the three most southern counties of Pennsylvania to create their own assembly, which became the core of the separate colony of Delaware. The first Europeans to settle in Delaware were from Sweden and Finland, creating the small New Sweden colony at Fort Christina—today's Wilmington, Delaware—in 1638.



The Dutch of New Amsterdam conquered the colony in 1655 before themselves being defeated by the English in 1664. The area was included in the land grant given to William Penn, but its separate history and geographical distance limited its relationship to the rest of Pennsylvania.

**CAROLINA** South of Virginia, the land was contested between England and Spain, to say nothing of the Indian tribes who lived there. But England meant to claim the area. Soon after coming to the throne, Charles II rewarded eight of his supporters, and sought to secure England's land claims by creating a colony named Carolina (based on the Latin for *Charles*). The proprietors developed an elaborate system of government that prescribed a hierarchical society with themselves at the top followed by the local gentry, then poor white servants, with African slaves at the bottom. The city of Charles Town, later Charleston, became the colony's capital.

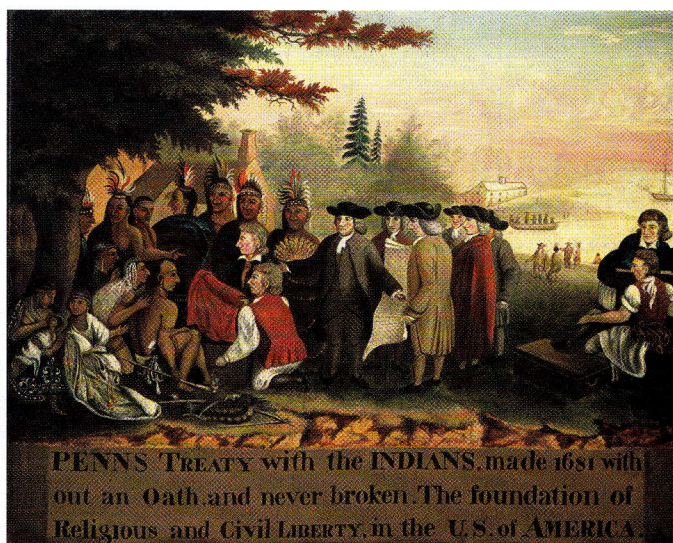
Carolina was a divided colony. In the north, most of the settlers were relatively poor white farmers from Virginia. Farther south, large-scale rice growing created a rich colony. Much of the colony's commercial success focused on the city—and harbor—at Charleston and on trade with the British Caribbean colonies, especially Barbados. Many of the early immigrants were from Barbados, both wealthy Europeans who became the elite of the mainland colony and African slaves who did the actual work of the rice farming. Following the model of Barbados in the Caribbean, which depended on plantations to grow sugarcane, the southern part of Carolina became one of the earliest plantation economies on the mainland of North America. The split between the north and south was formalized when King George II officially divided the colony into North and South Carolina in 1729.

**GEORGIA** The last English colony that would later be part of the United States was Georgia, founded in 1733 for idealistic reasons. James Oglethorpe, a war hero in England, wanted to create a place where the poorest of England's poor, those in debtor's prisons because they could not repay what they owed, could find new lives. Oglethorpe also believed that England needed a strong frontier colony on the border with Spanish Florida. These settlers, people whose alternative might well be prison, would be inspired to be not only farmers but also soldiers within this frontier border. Given this focus, Oglethorpe excluded Catholics—who might be secretly loyal to Catholic Spain—and Africans, free or slave—since they might be tempted to run away. With Georgia, the 13 colonies that went on to unite in 1776 were in place.

## Africans and Indentured Servants in England's Colonies

In 1619, a Dutch ship arrived at Jamestown. John Rolfe, anxious to expand the workforce for his tobacco farm, traded food supplies to the Dutch in return for 20 African slaves. Rolfe's 1619 purchase of other humans is usually given as the date for the beginning of slavery in what is now the United States. In fact, the Spanish had African slaves in Florida during the 1500s (see Chapter 2). A census of Virginia in 1620 that did not count Indians listed 32 Africans—17 women and 15 men—out of a total population of 982. Nevertheless, the exchange of American-grown foodstuffs for African people that took place in 1619 was significant. Although it would have been impossible to predict it then, slave labor would become the economic foundation of the colonies and of the new nation that emerged from them.

The slavery that existed in British North America in the early 1600s was profoundly different from what slavery had been in the early 1500s or from what it became in the colonies in the early 1700s. Many think of slavery as a static institution, but the nature of slavery changed often. For many Americans, the image of slavery is that of the large



Although this painting was done long after the 1682 treaty shown here was concluded, it portrays Penn's commitment to negotiate with the tribes in Pennsylvania, including these negotiations to purchase the land on which Philadelphia was built.



Read on **MyHistoryLab**  
**Document** James  
Oglethorpe, Establishing the  
Colony of Georgia, 1773

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This early picture of a Virginia tobacco plantation shows the role of African slave labor in doing the work of the plantation, the English elite in managing the work, and the overriding presence of Indians in the image of the colony.

plantations that existed in the South between 1800 and the 1860s. But understanding the development of slavery in the United States requires more careful observation. Slavery, though always terrible, meant different things at different times.

In the earliest years, slavery, though very difficult, was less harsh and hopeless than it became after about 1680. When John Rolfe purchased those 20 African slaves in 1619, it was not clear what their status would be. Slavery had not been codified either as a permanent life-long status or as something associated always with race.

The first generation of African slaves in Virginia often worked side by side not only with English and Irish servants—many of whom also had little choice about coming to America—but also with captured Indians. Race was always a factor, but racial lines were blurred. Servants and slaves lived together, created new families together, and resisted together when they felt ill-treated.

In the small farms of the Chesapeake, in the Middle Colonies, and in New England, slaves also worked side by side with those who owned the land and with **indentured servants** who were working for a specified number of years to pay off the cost of their travel to America. Some of these indentured servants came seeking a better life; others came as an alternative to prison in England. During a term of indenture, a servant was treated much like a slave. Indentured servants could be bought and sold and were often whipped. The difference between indentured servanthood and slavery, and it was significant, was that at the end of their term, ranging from 4 to 7 years, the servants were set free. Until the late 1640s the majority died before completing their term, and even after earning their freedom, most of the newly freed were not able to earn much, although a few prospered and joined the elite. Since an English indentured servant cost about half as much as an African slave, and since neither tended to live long, many Virginians initially preferred indentured servants. Servants and slaves often intermarried and saw themselves as a united group.

The Africans, like the European servants, dreamed of a day when they might be free to own their own land. That dream was not an impossible one in the early 1600s. For example, Anthony Johnson was sold as a slave in Jamestown in 1621. He worked on the farm of the Bennett family and became known for his “hard labor and...service.” After more than a decade of labor on the Bennett property, he was allowed to farm

### indentured servants

An individual who contracted to serve for a period of 4 to 7 years in return for payment of passage to America.



independently while still a slave. He married a woman named Mary. Their children were baptized with the blessings of the authorities. Eventually, he gained his freedom and changed his name. When the Bennetts moved to eastern Virginia, the Johnsons moved with them. By 1651, Anthony Johnson owned a 250-acre farm with his own servants and at least one slave. His son John owned 550 acres, and another son owned 100 acres. The Johnson family, if not viewed as the equals of their white neighbors, were in many ways part of Virginia's landed gentry. During the 1600s, the Johnsons were not the only former slaves to achieve this status. No slaves in Virginia, Maryland, or the Carolinas, however, could hope to repeat this success in the 1700s or 1800s.

There was more to the experience of the Johnsons than the freedom they gained to own and work their own land. They were free to travel. They were members of Christian churches and participated in the financial and religious activities of the colony. The total number of Africans, slave and free, remained relatively small in Virginia before 1680. On the eastern shore where the Johnsons lived, there were some 40 free blacks out of a total black population of 300. While most Africans remained in slavery, 30 percent of the people of African descent in parts of Virginia were free in 1668. Race was not insignificant, but neither race as a marker of slavery nor slavery as an institution had been determined.

Slavery developed in the northern colonies as it did in those further south, coming to Massachusetts fairly soon after it came to Virginia. By the 1660s, Boston's elite lived in a slave-owning world. One-third of the slaves in Massachusetts lived in Boston. In the North, slavery was more urban than rural. In the cities, slaves worked as household servants, cooking, cleaning, sewing, tending gardens and stables, and running errands. They also worked on wagons and wharves. Northern slaves, like many southern slaves of the 1600s, were much more fully integrated into European-American society, had less contact with fellow Africans and African traditions, and had much more freedom than later generations of slaves.

3.1

**Quick Review** Compare the reasons for founding the different English colonies in North America during the 1600s. How might these different reasons lead to different developments in the colonies?

## ENGLAND'S WARS, ENGLAND'S COLONIES

3.2

Analyze the relationship between politics in England, internal colonial tensions, and life in the English colonies in North America during the 1600s.

The tensions that led Pilgrims and Puritans to flee England erupted into a full-scale civil war in the 1640s in which King Charles I lost his head and a Puritan Commonwealth ruled the country for 11 years (1649–1660). The religious and political battles in England fueled settlement in North America. Puritans sought refuge in Massachusetts when they were feeling oppressed in England, supporters of the royal cause sought refuge in Virginia when the Puritans dominated at home, while Catholics moved to Maryland, and other dissidents found tolerant places like Rhode Island.

When the civil wars ended and a new king, Charles II, eldest son of Charles I, began to rule in England in 1660, he also rewarded supporters with grants of yet more colonial charters. All of England's tensions spilled over into its American colonies. More colonies were established, and many more English settlers arrived than might have been the case if their homeland had been at peace.

As England's American colonies were founded and began to grow, they were often violent places that reflected old and new tensions. In the 1670s, internal tensions burst into violence in the colonies. King Philip's War in Massachusetts was one of the most vicious wars ever fought in North America. In Virginia, backcountry farmers—took up arms against the royal governor in 1679. The growth, the tensions, and the violence all helped create the political and cultural structures of the colonies of British North America in the 1700s.

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## Civil War and Revolution in England

When King James died in 1625, his son became King Charles I (r. 1625–1649). King Charles was known for his religious sincerity and lack of political skill. The king and his advisors pursued religious Anglican uniformity far more strictly than any of his predecessors had. The Puritan movement, however, grew despite royal opposition. By the late 1620s, Puritans were a majority in Parliament. As a result, in 1629, King Charles dismissed Parliament and did not convene it again for 11 years.

But in 1640, rebellion broke out in Scotland. To suppress it, Charles needed new taxes, and to get them, he had to call Parliament back into session. That move was his undoing. The Parliament that met in November 1640 was overwhelmingly Puritan and passed laws that favored the Puritans and limited royal authority.

By 1642, England was in a civil war. Parliament's army defeated the king, who was executed in 1649. General Oliver Cromwell, ruled England as a Puritan Commonwealth from 1649 to 1658. By the time Cromwell died in 1658, many in England were tired of Puritan rule. In 1660, Parliament invited the son of Charles I to reign as King Charles II (r. 1660–1685). The Anglican Church again became the official state church, but the new king was more tolerant of religious differences than his father had been. Charles II also took an interest in expanding his North American colonies. Almost half of the colonies of the future United States—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North and South Carolina—date to his reign.

## Rebellion in New England—King Philip's War, 1675–76

The half-century of peace that the Pilgrims of Plymouth and the Wampanoag Indians experienced was unusual in North America. It seemed that the two cultures could live side by side in relative harmony. But while there was harmony in Plymouth between 1620 and 1675, there were also tensions, sometimes sharp ones.

Early in Plymouth's history, one incident showed just how violent the Pilgrims could be. When word came to Governor Bradford that their closest Indian ally, Massasoit, was desperately ill, Bradford sent Edward Winslow to treat the Wampanoag leader as a gesture of goodwill.

While he was recovering, Massasoit told Winslow that another tribe, the Massachusetts Indians, who lived north of Plymouth, were preparing to attack Plymouth. Whether the wily Massasoit was reporting the truth or using the Pilgrims to settle an old score is unclear, but Bradford took him seriously. Under the command of Miles Standish, Pilgrim soldiers killed two of the tribe's leaders. The Massachusetts Indians decided not to antagonize these violent Europeans and moved further north. Other tribes saw that, for good or ill, the alliance between Massasoit and the Pilgrims ran deep. But from Holland, the Pilgrim's spiritual guide Pastor John Robinson, condemned "the killing of those poor Indians" warning, "where blood is once begun to be shed, it is seldom staunch'd of a long time after."

The Massachusetts Bay Puritans did not maintain peace for as long as the Plymouth settlers. Massachusetts Bay was larger, stronger, and less tolerant of outsiders than Plymouth. The Massachusetts Bay Puritans often traded with Indian tribes, especially the Pequots of the Connecticut River Valley. But when the captain of a trading vessel was killed in 1637, the Puritans responded harshly. Building an alliance with the Mohegans and Narragansetts, they attacked a Pequot fortress on the Mystic River, set the houses on fire, and attacked anyone who fled. In the short **Pequot War**, 400 Pequots were killed, and their village was annihilated. Surviving Pequots were sold into slavery. From the Mohegans' perspective, this conflict was an opportunity to expand their influence. From the perspective of the Narragansetts, it was horrifying. They were accustomed to Indian warfare that focused on the skill and bravery of a few, not the annihilation of the many. Europeans, they discovered, fought differently.

### Pequot War

Conflict between English settlers and Pequot Indians over control of land and trade in eastern Connecticut.



Other tensions between the English settlers and Indian tribes were also evident. The English did not tend to intermarry or engage in sexual liaisons with Indians as frequently as the Spanish or the French. Many parts of New Spain and New France were conquered by unmarried men who quickly developed intimate relationships with native women and created a **mestizo** (mixed European and Indian blood) community. These relationships often helped to strengthen ties between cultures and reduce tensions. But New England was settled by English families, and their descendants tended to intermarry within the community. The English also had different views of appropriate sexual relationships. The Puritans were not as straight-laced as later generations came to picture them, but they seldom had sex outside their own community. The result was that mixed-race people who bridged cultures were rarer in English colonies than elsewhere in the Americas.

Additionally, the English, especially in New England, also wanted to convert the Indians to their religion. But most Indians resented and resisted missionaries, whether English, Spanish, or French. For all of his friendship with the Pilgrims, Massasoit distrusted Christianity. He saw the conversion of Indians on Cape Cod as a rejection of his role as their supreme chief.

What fostered the most tension, however, was the constant growth of the European community. The 40 miles between Plymouth and the heart of Massasoit's world provided a sufficient barrier for people who generally walked everywhere, but the European population was expanding. By the 1660s, English settlements were springing up in every direction and were beginning to dominate. European livestock ate Wampanoag corn. Land sales that had once seemed wise now seemed to confine a new generation of Wampanoags.

A new generation of Pilgrims and Wampanoags were coming to power, people who did not remember their early friendship. In 1657, Governor Bradford, who had led Plymouth for 37 years, died. At about the same time, Massasoit was succeeded, first by his son Alexander, and shortly after by his other son Metacom (who was known to the Pilgrims as King Philip).

Throughout the 1670s, rumors circulated that Metacom was preparing for war. He denied that he had anything but peaceful intentions, but he was also buying arms and ammunition. In January, 1675, a Christian Indian, John Sassamon, told Josiah Winslow, Bradford's successor as governor, that Metacom was indeed preparing for war. Winslow refused to believe Sassamon and sent him on his way. Soon thereafter, Sassamon's body was discovered. Metacom denied any role in his death and asked the authorities to allow the Wampanoags to settle what he saw as an internal matter. But instead, the Plymouth authorities hanged three of Metacom's associates.

The first skirmishes of what was known as **King Philip's War**—using Metacom's English name—took place within 2 weeks of the executions, in June 1675. People in outlying towns took refuge in fortresses. Abandoned homes were burned. When a father and son left the Swansea garrison and found Indians vandalizing their home, they fired on them. The Wampanoags did not want to draw the first blood, but once shots had been fired they fought furiously. Within days, at least 10 of the English were killed. When the Plymouth militia gave chase, Indians simply melted into the woods, crossed a river, and lived to fight another day—and fight they did. Early encounters between Europeans and natives of the Americas had pitted matchlocks (difficult-to-fire guns that were unusable in the rain) against Indian bows and arrows. However, in this war, both sides were armed with more modern flintlocks that they could use with deadly aim against the other.

As the war escalated, Europeans throughout New England lived in terror and died, whether in isolated settlements or larger towns. Colonial troops who did not understand Indian wars marched into ambushes and died by the scores. Indians died in even larger numbers, and the Wampanoag community was destroyed. Other tribes, even those that sought to remain neutral, were decimated. In western Massachusetts, after Indians burned the town of Springfield, colonists turned on friendly or neutral tribes, forcing them to join Metacom's side or die. Despite pleas from the missionary

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### **mestizo**

People of mixed bloodlines, usually the children of European fathers and Native American mothers and their descendants.

### **King Phillip's War**

Conflict in New England (1675–76) between Wampanoags, Narragansetts, and other Indian peoples against English settlers.



# American Voices

## Mary Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, 1682

**T**he journal of Mary Rowlandson describes an Indian attack on her town of Lancaster, Massachusetts, in 1676, the death of her daughter and many friends, and her subsequent experience as an Indian captive. Despite the terror and loss in her story, the Rowlandson journal also represents one of the first accounts of an American Indian war dance—just before her captors' successful attack on the town of Sudbury, Massachusetts. It also relates her relatively friendly conversations with Metacom (Philip) himself.

On the tenth of February, 1676, came the Indians with great numbers upon Lancaster. ...Hearing the noise of some guns, we looked out; several Houses were burning....There were five persons taken in one house. The Father and the Mother and a sucking Child they knocked on the head; the other two they took and carried away alive....Some in our house were fighting for their lives, others wallowing in their blood, the House on fire over our heads....But out we must go, the fire increasing and coming along behind us roaring, and the Indians gaping before us with their Guns, Spears, and Hatchets to devour us...yet the Lord by his Almighty power preserved a number of us from death, for there were twenty-four of us taken alive and carried Captive....

But now, the next morning, I must turn my back upon the Town, and travel with them into a vast and desolate Wilderness, I knew not whither. It is not my tongue or pen can express the sorrows of my heart and bitterness of my spirit that I had at this departure, but God was with me in a wonderful manner, carrying me along, and bearing up my spirit that it did not quite fail. One of the Indians carried my poor wounded Babe upon a horse;

it went moaning all along, "I shall die, I shall die." I went on foot after it with sorrow that cannot be expressed....This day in the afternoon, about an hour by Sun, we came to ...An Indian Town called Wenimessett [today New Braintree, MA]...About two hours in the night, my sweet Babe like a lamb departed this life....

During my abode in this place [after several moves], Philip spoke to me to make a shirt for his boy, which I did, for which he gave me a shilling...and with it I bought a piece of Horse flesh. Afterwards he asked me to make a Cap for his boy, for which he invited me to Dinner. I went, and he gave me a Pancake about as big as two fingers; it was made of parched wheat, beaten, and fried in Bear's grease, but I never tasted pleasanter meat in my life.

[Rowlandson was released by her captors in April as part of an unsuccessful peace initiative.]

**Source:** Mary Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, 1682, in Nathaniel Philbrick and Thomas Philbrick, editors, *The Mayflower Papers: Selected Writings of Colonial New England* (New York: Penguin Books, 2007), pp. 166–211.

### Thinking Critically

#### 1. Documentary Analysis

What connections can you make between this passage and the title of Rowlandson's work?

#### 2. Historical Interpretation

How would you explain the Indians' decision to take captives rather than simply killing all of the town's inhabitants? What uses might they have had for such captives?

John Eliot to protect the "Praying Indians"—converts to Christianity who were loyal to the Massachusetts authorities—they were taken to relocation centers in Boston Harbor where many died of exposure and malnutrition.

In one of the bloodiest battles of the war, known as the Great Swamp Fight of December 1675, a combined Massachusetts and Plymouth force attacked a fortress of the Narragansetts after tracking through swamps to get there. Even though the Narragansetts had remained neutral throughout the warfare, the English force destroyed the fort, killing perhaps 300 Narragansett warriors and burning alive another 300 women, children, and old people. Humanity seemed to have vanished from these descendants of those who sought to build a new Christian community.

Throughout the winter of 1675–76, the outcome of the war was unclear. The European communities in New England risked being wiped out that winter. But in the summer of 1676, the Indians were running out of food. Some of the tribes that had been allied with Metacom drifted away or shifted their allegiance. The end came in August when Metacom and a few dedicated supporters were cornered in a swamp and killed.

In a grisly end to the war, King Philip's head was displayed on a pole in Plymouth for the next 20 years. Authorities in Plymouth and Boston expelled many of the Indians from New England. Over 1,000 Wampanoags and their allies, including Philip's wife and son, were sold into slavery in the Caribbean. John Eliot, the long-time pastor to Christian Indians wrote, "To sell souls for money seems a dangerous merchandise." But in the hatreds created by the war, these voices were not heard.



Of the 70,000 people of all races living in New England at the beginning of the war, some 5,000 were killed—1,000 of the English and at least 4,000 Native Americans. King Philip's War was one of annihilation; each side sought to destroy the other. In fact, the percentage of people killed in King Philip's War was larger than corresponding percentages for the American Revolution, the Civil War, or World War II. For the Wampanoags, the war ended the independent nation that Metacom and his father Massasoit had led (see Map 3-2).

**Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, 1676**

As King Philip's War was being fought in New England, Virginia was also engulfed in violence. Like the war in Massachusetts, **Bacon's Rebellion** illustrated the instability of early colonial life and alliances that were constantly shifting. King Philip's War was a battle between Europeans and Indians. In Virginia, the conflict was more complex. By 1660, Virginia had 40,000 colonists, including a small elite and many poor workers—Africans and Indians, some slave, some free, and current or former English

**Bacon's Rebellion**

A 1676 rebellion in Virginia, led by a recent immigrant from England, Nathaniel Bacon, in which a militia attacked not only Indian villages but also the royal governor before being defeated.



**MAP 3-2 King Philip's War in New England in 1675-76.** As the map shows, King Philip's—or Metacom's—war involved all of New England in brutal conflict, not only in Plymouth where it began but throughout Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and the Connecticut River towns.





**Read on MyHistoryLab**  
**Document** William Berkeley,  
 Declaration against the Proceedings  
 of Nathaniel Bacon, 1676

indentured servants. At this time, there were at least as many Indian as African slaves in Virginia. However, most of the Virginia tribes kept their distance from the white settlements, except for occasional trade.

Sir William Berkeley was the royal governor of Virginia from 1642 to the 1670s. He brought order to the colony, but it was an aristocratic order. He and an inner circle ran the government and retained most of the profits from the tobacco trade no matter who actually grew it. The corruption generated increasing tension among others as the social divide increased between rich whites and poor whites, between established landowners and newly arrived colonists (who could acquire land only along the western frontiers of the territory—closer to hostile tribes than colonists nearer the coast), and among Europeans, Africans, and Indians. Even if slaves and indentured servants did earn their freedom, land was increasingly difficult to acquire, and many were limited to becoming tenant farmers for wealthier land owners.

In 1675, resentment came to a head. The economy was in the doldrums. Neither the corn crop, which was essential for food, nor the tobacco crop, which was essential for money, was doing well. When Indians from the Doig tribe raided Thomas Mathew's plantation because Mathew supposedly had not paid for items obtained from the tribe, area colonists retaliated with an attack of their own. However, the colonists mistakenly attacked the Susquehanna tribe instead of the Doigs. Violence was flaring.

At that point, Nathaniel Bacon, recently arrived in Virginia from a prosperous English family and already one of the largest landowners in the western part of the colony, organized a militia to attack the Indians. Bacon and his followers had heard news of King Philip's War where many tribes had united. They feared unity among Virginia's tribes and had no intention of discriminating between friendly and unfriendly Indians. Bacon and his militia began attacking Indians indiscriminately, seeing every Indian as an enemy. Governor Berkeley, however, believed that Virginia needed friendly tribes on its frontier to protect it from hostile tribes

## THINKING HISTORICALLY

### *The Declaration of the People by Nathaniel Bacon, General, 1676*

**A**s the rebellion in Virginia continued, Governor Berkeley complained about trying to govern people who were poor, discontented, and armed. Bacon had the support of most of the people, white and black, who were poor, indebted, unhappy, and well armed. He issued a Declaration of the People, stating the many reasons—from high taxes, to elite control of the fur trade, to lack of support in his Indian wars—for the rebellion.

For having upon specious pretences of public works, raised unjust taxes upon the commonality for the advancement of private favourites and other sinister ends, but no visible effects in any measure adequate....

For having wronged his Majesty's prerogative and interest by assuming the monopoly of the beaver trade....

For having protected, favoured and emboldened the Indians against his Majesty's most loyal subjects, never contriving, requiring, or appointing any due or proper means of satisfaction for their many invasions, murders, and robberies committed upon us.

For having the second time attempted the same thereby calling down our forces from the defence of the frontiers, and

most weak exposed places, for the prevention of civil mischief and ruin amongst ourselves, whilst the barbarous enemy in all places did invade, murder, and spoil us, his Majesty's most faithful subjects.

Of these...we accuse Sir William Berkeley, as guilty.

**Source:** Selections from Louis B. Wright and Elaine W. Fowler, *Documents of Modern History: English Colonization of North America* (New York: St. Martin's Press), pp. 163–165.

### Thinking Critically

#### 1. Historical Interpretation

What does the excerpt from Bacon's declaration tell us about the underlying causes of social tensions during the mid 1600s in Virginia?

#### 2. Contextualization

What role did Bacon and his followers believe the colonial government should play in Virginia? How might their views have differed from those of Berkeley and his supporters?



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**Read on MyHistoryLab**  
**Document** William Berkeley,  
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who lived further west. He refused to support Bacon's militia, and Bacon refused to have his militia disperse. Berkeley had Bacon arrested and then released him. Bacon marched his ragtag army of free Africans, slaves, and poor whites into Jamestown and set it on fire. In the face of the militia, Governor Berkeley fled, calling for help from England. The crown sent 1,000 English troops; it had no patience with rebels. Most rebels surrendered and were pardoned. In 1676, Bacon died at age 29 from dysentery. Twenty-three leaders of the short-lived rebellion were hanged. Virginia's poor had been crushed.

Bacon's Rebellion illustrates the complexity of American history. Berkeley was among the most overbearing aristocrats ever to govern a colony. During his more than 30 years as governor, he made evident his disrespect for the majority of people in his colony. Bacon's militia represented a racially diverse army of the dispossessed. But even as the rebels were demanding more equal treatment from Berkeley for themselves, they were also demanding the right to kill Indians indiscriminately and steal their land.

Bacon's Rebellion was a major turning point in the history of slavery in Virginia. Wealthy landowners now feared uprisings among current and former indentured servants, and they began to prefer slave labor, which they could more strongly control. Among the greatest losers in Virginia were the Native American tribes. While Bacon and his followers were defeated, the arrival of so many well-trained British troops reduced the power of the tribes to bargain. In 1677, the Indians of western Virginia ceded their remaining lands in the colony and moved west, continuing a process of "Indian removal" that would eventually span a continent.

3.2

**Quick Review** Identify two significant differences between the conflicts in New England and Virginia. How did the population and past events of each colony lead to the violence that occurred?

## FRANCE TAKES CONTROL OF THE HEART OF A CONTINENT

3.3

Explain France's growing role and power in North America and its impact on English and Spanish colonies.

French explorers had been among the earliest Europeans to see much of the northern Atlantic coast of North America in the early 1500s. Little came of their discoveries, however, until a new European demand for beaver fur led French traders to set up trading outposts that became the permanent—if small—towns of Quebec and Montreal. During the long reign of King Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715), New France expanded from a tiny isolated community around Quebec to dominate the St. Lawrence River Valley. French communities were founded throughout the heartland of North America from Detroit and Chicago to New Orleans. By 1715, New France claimed far more of North America than either the English or Spanish (see Map 3-3).

### Early French Settlement—Quebec, Montreal, and the Fur Trade

With the news that there seemed to be no way around North America, France, like England, lost interest in the land that Verrazano and Cartier had explored in the 1520s and 1530s. Later in the 1500s, however, a new trade emerged between Europeans and Native Americans to compete with the cod that had been the only North American resource of interest to most Europeans since before the days of Columbus. Beaver pelts were becoming popular for fur hats in Europe. Trade in beaver fur transformed the economies of both Europe and the tribes of North America as surely as the greed for gold and silver transformed South America. As tribes like the Montagnais and Hurons developed trading partnerships with the French, and the Iroquois with the English, trade and tribal warfare became more intense. Ancient rivalries among the Indians escalated as each tribe fought to control the supply of beaver furs that seemed in insatiable demand in Europe. While these tribes had long fought each other for honor, living space, and

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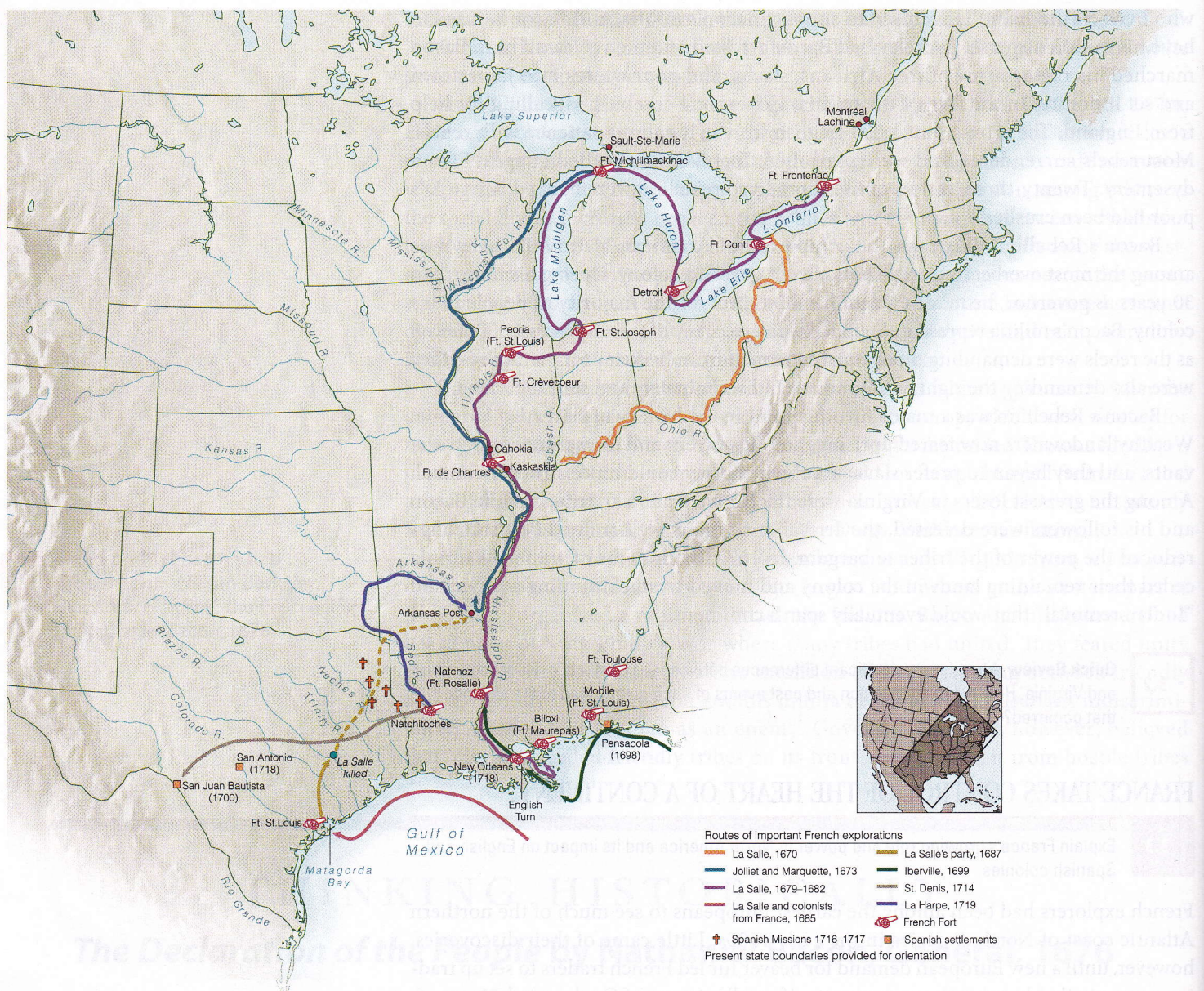


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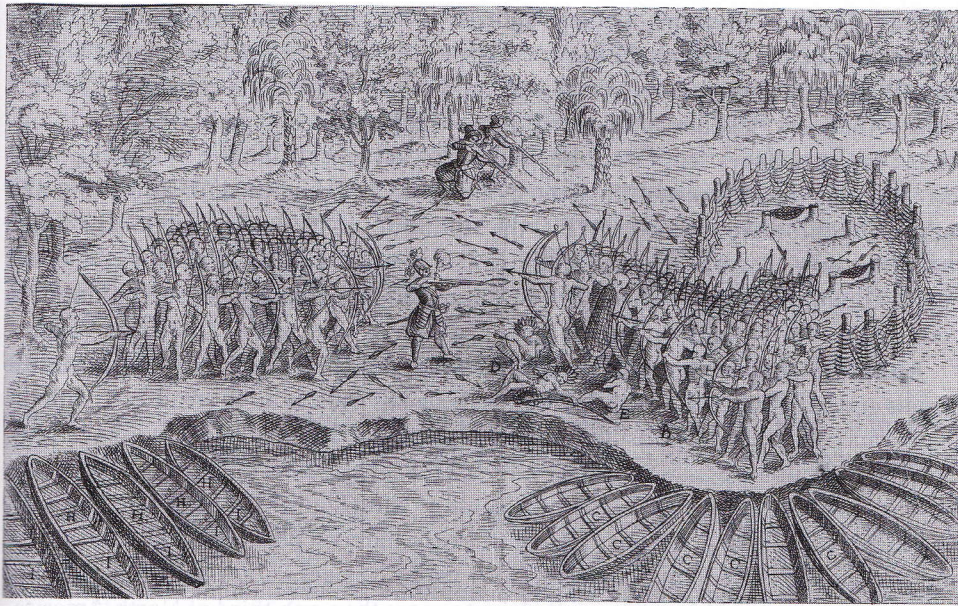
**MAP 3-3 France in the American Interior, 1670-1720.** As this map shows, French exploration and claims to Montreal, the Saint Lawrence River Valley, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi River all the way to the Gulf of Mexico gave it claim to the heart of North America but also completely encircled the English colonies on the Atlantic coast and challenged the Spanish for control of Texas.

captives, they now had European weapons, acquired through trades, that further fueled the warfare. For the first time, tribes seemed bent on annihilating their opponents. Even though the French and British fur traders preferred to make alliances with the Indians rather than enslave them, the results for many tribes were nevertheless disastrous.

The trade in beaver pelts also encouraged Europeans to make permanent settlements. Samuel de Champlain began exploring the St. Lawrence River in 1603 and founded the city of Quebec in 1608 as a representative of a private fur company—just 1 year after the English founded Jamestown. With only 28 men in his colony, Champlain knew that he needed alliances if Quebec was to succeed. So he joined the Montagnais and Hurons in a war against the Iroquois and solidified an alliance that would be the foundation of Quebec's trade. The Huron alliance also allowed Champlain to travel further west. He spent 1615-1616 exploring the Great Lakes.

After 1612, Champlain was also appointed as the king's Viceroy for New France, uniting his commercial and governmental positions. As late as 1635, when Champlain died, Quebec had a population of only 300, but it was there to stay. Montreal was





This picture of Champlain and a group of Hurons attacking the Iroquois was published with Champlain's account of the battle. It is unlikely that Champlain was as heroic as the picture implies, or that there were any palm trees in what is now Canada.

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settled in 1642 to expand trade. Jesuit missionaries arrived and lived among the Hurons learning their ways, and seeking to convert them to Catholic Christianity. New France, and the missions it sponsored, were as deeply Catholic as most of the English settlements were Protestant, fueling tensions between the French and English colonies that would last throughout their histories.

During the early 1600s, Quebec and Montreal were small French towns, thousands of miles from any other such town, but with their own European families, parishes, and culture. These isolated centers were surrounded by villages of French farmers who had decided to make a life in New France. New France came close to being wiped out in the late 1640s when the Iroquois Confederation overran Huron villages, torturing, killing, or taking prisoner everyone in sight. Jesuit missionaries died along with their Huron hosts. Once a nation of over 10,000 people, the Hurons disappeared as a recognizable group after 1648. The defeat of the Hurons was a huge blow to French missionaries and to the fur trade that was the economic anchor of New France.

The Iroquois also attacked French villages, and besieged Montreal itself. Two hundred French settlers were killed. Many more of the villagers left for France as quickly as they could. The future of New France was far from clear in 1650. Montreal and Quebec, however, remained militarily secure, and the Algonquians replaced the Hurons as the major French allies and the source of access to the fur trade.

## Exploring and Claiming the Mississippi River Valley

In 1663, Louis XIV made New France into a royal province and sent 1,000 French soldiers to protect Quebec from Iroquois attack and establish it once and for all as the seat of what he expected to be a vast French empire. Plans were laid to make this expansion happen.

In 1672, Governor Louis de Frontenac sent Louis Joliet, who spoke a number of Indian languages, and Father Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, to find and explore a great waterway spoken of in Indian stories—the Mississippi (or *Mitchisipi*, “great water”), which he hoped might be the route to China. In June 1673, Marquette and Joliet paddled into the Mississippi, the first Europeans known to do so. Early in their trip, they were welcomed by the Illinois tribe and given a great feast. The encounter was the beginning of a long-term French-Indian alliance in the region.

Joliet and Marquette determined that the Mississippi flowed south into the Gulf of Mexico, not west to the Pacific and China as had been hoped. But they understood that they were in the midst of a land of great potential. They could develop a French colony that would allow a rich trade with the Indians and block the expansion of the English.



Fear of hostile tribes and of being captured by the Spanish led Joliet and Marquette to turn back before reaching the mouth of the Mississippi. On the return trip, they visited other Indian villages, including a Miami Indian village of *Checagou* or Chicago. Joliet returned to Quebec to report and draw maps of their travels. Marquette continued his missionary work until he died in 1675. What would, some two centuries later, become the Midwest of the United States was first described for Europeans and mapped by these two explorers. While the authorities in France wanted to strengthen the settlements in the St. Lawrence River Valley surrounding Montreal and Quebec before expanding further, Governor Frontenac had no patience with such caution. In young Robert de la Salle, he found a perfect ally for exploring the Mississippi Valley.

La Salle led a much larger expedition than that of Joliet and Marquette down the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers in 1679. La Salle's goals were to build an alliance with the Illinois and other tribes against the Iroquois and to establish a permanent French presence throughout the Mississippi Valley. In 1681–82, he and his men traveled down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. In the name of King Louis XIV, he claimed "possession of this country of Louisiana," and of "the seas, harbors, ports, bays, adjacent straits, and all the nations, peoples, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams, and rivers within it." It was a claim to more than one-third of North America.

Not content with reaching the mouth of the Mississippi, La Salle then continued as far west on the Gulf of Mexico as Texas. Eventually, he pushed his followers too hard, and some of them murdered him in 1687.

## American Voices

### Journal of the Voyage of Father Jacques Gravier, of the Society of Jesus [Jesuits], in 1700, from the Country of the Illinois To the Mouth of the Mississippi River

**T**he *Jesuit Relations*, was a publication that gave regular reports on Jesuit missionary work and provided an extraordinary glimpse of the countryside and of the people who lived together along the Mississippi from modern-day Wisconsin to the Gulf of Mexico between the 1690s and the mid-1700s.

I started in 1700, on the 8th of September, to come here.... I was accompanied by 5 Canoes manned by Frenchmen.... We made only 4 leagues the 1st day, because one of our canoes was split by a snag hidden in the water, and we had to halt in order to repair it.... I embarked in my Canoe to visit Monsieur Davion, a missionary priest, who was sick.... In his mission, 3 different languages are spoken: the lakou, with 30 Cabins; the Ounspik, with 10 or 12 Cabins, and the Toumika, who are in 7 hamlets, consisting in all of 50 or 60 small Cabins....

[Another] village is on the crest of a steep mountain, precipitous on all sides. There are 80 Cabins in it, and in the middle of the Village is a fine and very level open space, where from morning to night, young men exercise themselves. They run after a flat stone, which they throw in the air from one end of the square to the other, and try to Make it fall on two Cylinders, which they roll wherever they think the stone will fall. There is nothing fine about the temple except the Vestibule, which is embellished with the most pleasant and best executed grotesque figures that one can see. . . . The Old man who keeps up the fire—the name of which, he told us, was *Louak ouloughé*—the "sacred fire."...

Since we have left the Natches, we have lived only on Indian corn with a few Squashes—For it is a long time since either wild oxen, Deer, or bears have been seen in this quarter; and if we have found a few bustards or wild geese, they have been so lean that they were as tasteless as wood. This has caused our Canoemen very often to sigh for the River of the Illinois, And the beauty of the country and of the landing-places; and for the numbers of wild oxen and Deer, and all Kinds of fat and excellent Game. The navigation of the Mississippi is very slow and tedious, and very difficult—especially in ascending it. It is also very troublesome on account of the gnats and other insects called Mosquitoes, midges, And black flies.... At last, on the 17th of December, I reached fort Mississippi, after 68 Days of navigation in descending the river.... The Commandant, Monsieur de Bienville, has there a small and very neat house.

**Source:** Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor, *Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791*, Vol. LXV, *Lower Canada, Mississippi Valley, 1696–1702* (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers, 1900), pp. 101–105, 127–129, 145–147, 159–161.

### Thinking Critically

#### 1. Documentary Analysis

What kinds of communities did Father Gravier encounter on his journey?

#### 2. Historical Interpretation

What does Father Gravier's account suggest about the nature of French settlement along the Mississippi River in 1700?



Other French explorers and settlers followed in La Salle's wake. Working independently, French trappers and traders (known as *coureurs de bois* or "runners of the woods") established relationships with various Native American tribes and brought wealth back to New France. Some of them established a base called Fort Arkansas at the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi Rivers. French Jesuits built a mission at Chicago. In 1698, the Bishop of Quebec appointed missionary priests to a new mission at the Natchez Post on the Arkansas River. The French communities that dotted the Mississippi in the late 1600s and early 1700s were small. They included American Indians and French trappers, families, and missionaries. But they were there to stay.

### Creating the French Gulf Coast—Biloxi, Mobile, and New Orleans

As a result of the reports from explorers and missionaries, Louis XIV decided to secure the French claim to the mouth of the Mississippi. Pierre d'Iberville was commissioned in 1698 to scout the area.

D'Iberville landed on the east bank of the Mississippi River and built a fort near a Bilochi Indian settlement, which came to be called Biloxi. D'Iberville and his crew moved up the Mississippi River until they found a trail connecting the Mississippi to Lake Ponchartrain, and promised to return. To his surprise, d'Iberville also found a group of free blacks who were living with Indians and who did not take kindly to the arrival of Europeans.

Queen Anne's War of 1702–1713 (see Chapter 4) between England, France, and Spain made travel difficult and dangerous. With the coming of peace in 1713, d'Iberville's younger brother Jean-Baptiste de Bienville expanded the colony. When a veteran of LaSalle's trip down the Mississippi arrived in the area in 1713, d'Iberville gave the intrepid French explorer command of another French city on the Gulf coast, which they named La Mobile (now Mobile, Alabama).

In 1718, de Bienville built a colony that he called New Orleans on the land between the Mississippi and Lake Pontchartrain. New Orleans appeared on French maps, and stock was sold to develop it, well before any town existed. In March and April 1718, Bienville led some 50 men in tearing out cypress swamps and laying out a town on the crescent turn in the Mississippi River. After a hurricane destroyed the village in 1722, a new street grid was laid out—the French Quarter for which New Orleans is famous today.

The only contact the residents of New Orleans had with France was the occasional arrival of supply ships. Few volunteers moved to this isolated spot, even though French speculators, led by John Law, the most powerful banker in France, invested



A French visitor to New Orleans painted this view of Illinois Indians engaged in trade with the Europeans in 1735. Note that one of the tribe is most likely an escaped African slave.



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heavily in the New Orleans venture and were desperate for the new colony to succeed. Most of the early immigrants from France were prostitutes and criminals who literally left France in chains. Many died in transit, but by 1721, New Orleans had 178 European residents who enjoyed the freedom their isolation gave them.

The French also introduced African slavery into the Mississippi Valley. While there had been slaves in Quebec, none of the early explorers coming south from Canada brought African slaves with them. But after 1700, slavery grew in French Louisiana. The first slave ships arrived in New Orleans in 1719. In 1721, ships brought 925 slaves from Haiti. A census in 1732 indicated that, of the 471 people living in the French towns in the Illinois River country, 168 were Africans.

Most slaves brought to New Orleans were from Senegal in West Africa. These Africans, if not Muslim themselves, were familiar with Islam and Muslim music that used chanting accompanied by stringed instruments. This music became part of the culture of New Orleans. The Senegalese also knew how to cultivate indigo, which thrived in Louisiana, and how to process it into dye. In addition, early slave ships brought sugar and rice, which the slaves also knew how to grow. Europe and Africa had been shaping each other's cultures for generations by the time New Orleans was founded, but the mix was especially deep in that city. With the French securely in control of both the headwaters and the mouth of the Mississippi River, France was in a strong position to be the dominant European power in North America, just as Spain was dominant further south.

3.3

**Quick Review** How did France's role in North America evolve from small settlements in Canada to become the "dominant European power"? Justify your answer.

## DEVELOPMENTS IN SPANISH COLONIES NORTH OF MEXICO

3.4

Analyze the impact of Indian uprisings and the expansion of other European powers on Spain's colonies in New Mexico, Texas, and California.

Spain had established the first permanent settlements in the future United States—Florida in 1565 and New Mexico in 1598. Both remained isolated, but while St. Augustine, Florida, remained small, Spain claimed vast lands in New Mexico surrounding the new capital they built at Santa Fe in 1610. From Santa Fe, which was close to many of the many Indian pueblos over which Spain claimed authority, the Spanish ruled with an iron hand, demanding more and more work from the Indians and trying to stamp out traditional Indian religious practices. For many years, the Spanish seemed to accomplish their goals, but eventually, to the surprise of the Spanish, the result was a large-scale rebellion. While the Spanish authorities reasserted their presence in New Mexico, they also worried about the territorial claims that England and France were making to other parts of North America. To counter those claims, the government of New Spain established small but permanent colonies across the Southwest from Texas to California (see Map 3-4).



### Read on MyHistoryLab

**Document** When Historians Disagree: What Really Went on in New Mexico Between 1680 and 1692?

### Pueblo Revolt

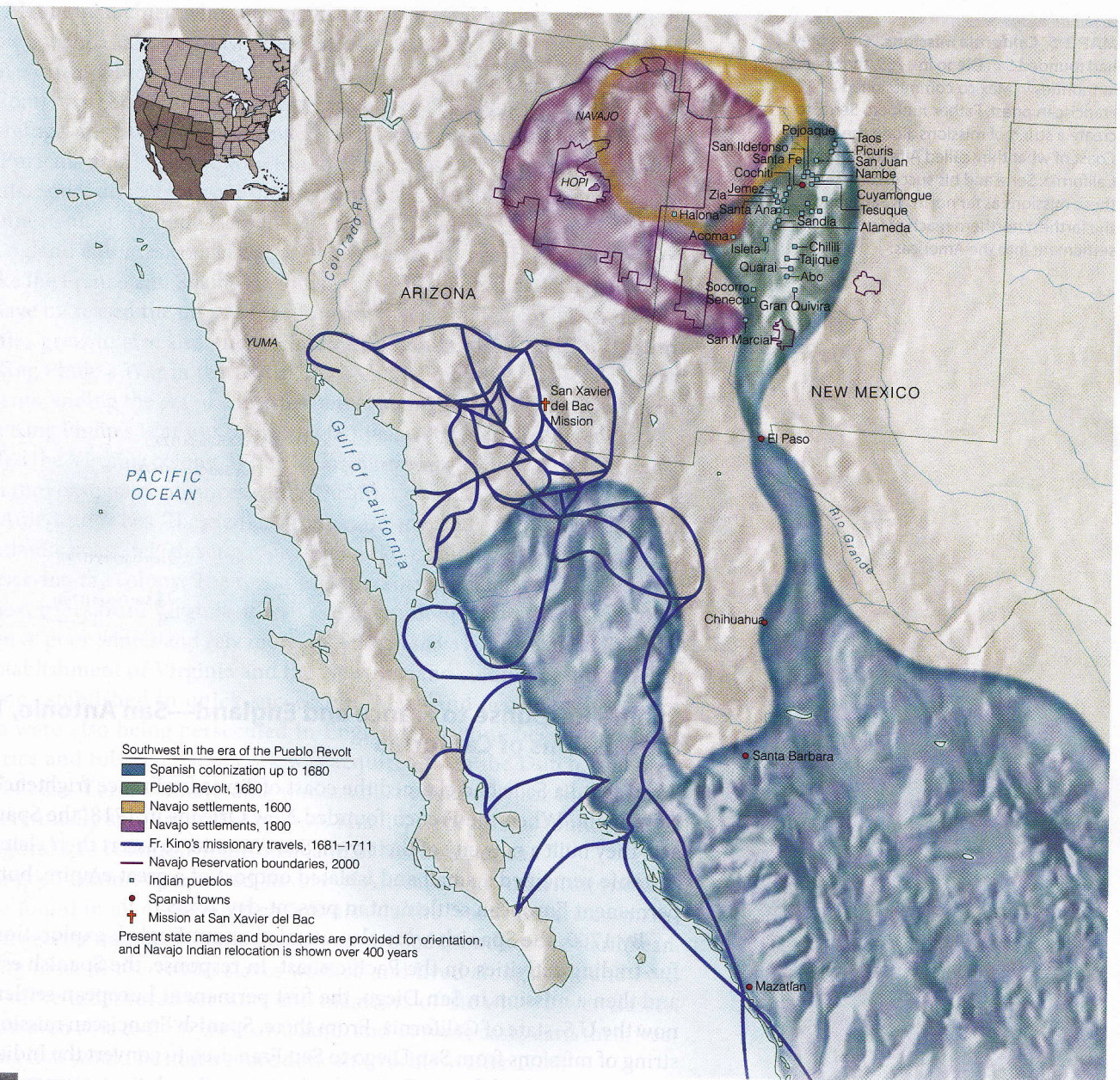
Rebellion in 1680 of Pueblo Indians in New Mexico against their Spanish overlords, sparked by Spanish suppression of native religious activity and excessive Spanish demands for Indian labor.

### The Pueblo Revolt—New Mexico, 1680

In August 1680, an uprising of the normally peaceful Pueblo Indians of northern New Mexico led by a charismatic leader, Popé, resulted in the greatest defeat of a European colony in the history of the Americas. In the **Pueblo Revolt**, nearly all of the Spanish who lived on isolated ranches and farms were killed. Survivors from the outlying communities poured into Santa Fe, which was then besieged. The Indians cut the city's water supply and burned outlying buildings. On August 21, Governor Antonio de Otermín decided to retreat to Mexico with the survivors.

During the retreat, one Indian told Otermín that the revolt happened because his people were "tired of the work they had to do for the Spaniards and the clergy [who] did not allow them to plant, to do other things for their own needs." Another old man





**MAP 3-4 Changes in the Southwest.** The heart of Spain's empire in the Americas always remained south of the future United States in Mexico and Peru. However, by the 1600s authorities based in Mexico had authorized the development of an important Spanish colony in territory they called New Mexico, among the Pueblo Indians in the area around Santa Fe and Taos. Spanish settlers also established a mission near the future Tucson, Arizona, though it would be after 1700 before there was Spanish settlement in Texas or California.

told the governor that it was because the Spaniards had tried to take away “the ways of their ancestors, the faith by which they have lived and thrived.” Both of these grievances—the harsh workloads and religious repression—were crucial in fueling the revolt, as was hope that life might return to a happier day before the Spanish arrived.

After the success of the revolt, Indian leaders lived in the governor's mansion in Santa Fe. Churches were leveled, statues destroyed. Pueblo life returned more or less to what it had been before 1598. The distant and defeated Spanish were mocked.

The Spanish eventually regained control of New Mexico, but it took 12 years. Nowhere else in the Americas, not even among the powerful Aztecs and Incas, was a revolt so successful or long lasting. In 1690, the Spanish viceroy in Mexico City appointed a new governor for New Mexico, Don Diego de Vargas, who had an ability to compromise that many of his predecessors had lacked. Vargas left El Paso with his army in 1692. He offered each pueblo a full pardon in exchange for their reconversion to Christianity, but he did not try to stamp out tribal religion. The Indians could retain both faiths and agreed to his terms.



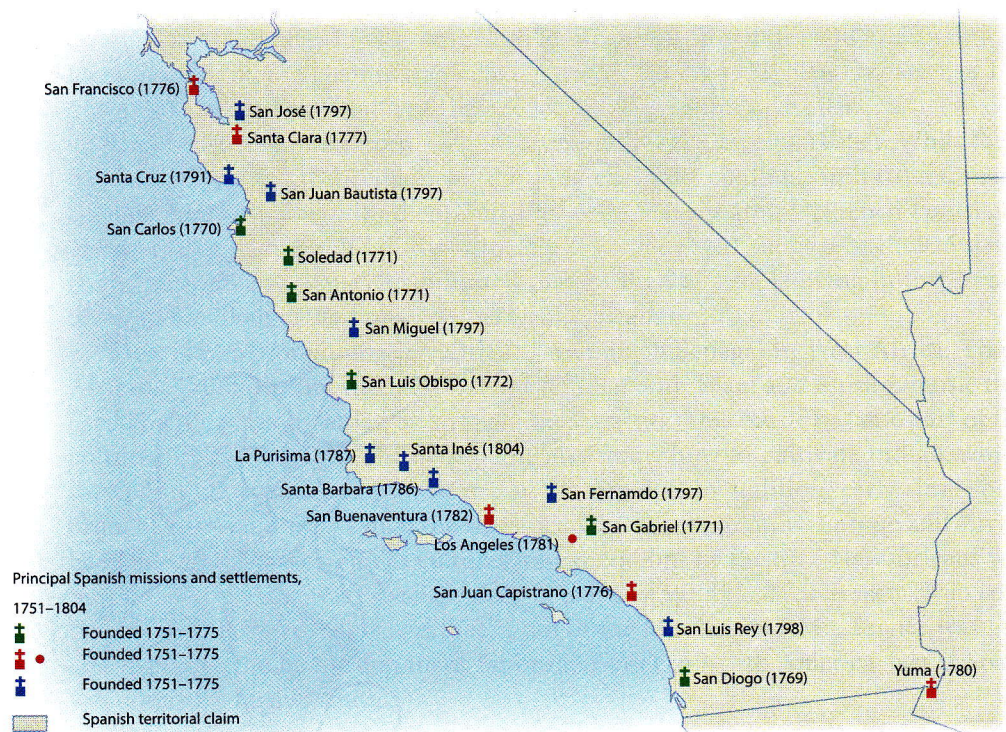
3.1

3.2

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**MAP 3-5 California Missions.** Once they had founded San Diego in 1769, the Spanish authorities in Mexico commissioned a Franciscan priest, Father Junipero Serra, to create a string of missions along the Pacific Coast of what they called Alta (or upper) California. Serra and his successors created these missions as far north as San Francisco, the farthest northern reach of Spanish settlement into the Americas.



## Spain's Response to France and England—San Antonio, Texas, and the Missions of California

Word that La Salle had claimed the coast of Texas for France frightened authorities in New Spain. When the French founded New Orleans in 1718, the Spanish decided to act. They built a new city of their own, San Antonio, to assert their claims to Texas. San Antonio remained a small and isolated outpost of a great empire, but it was the first permanent European settlement in present-day Texas.

By 1769, the Spanish were also worried about English explorations and Russian fur-trading activities on the Pacific coast. In response, the Spanish established a fort and then a mission in San Diego, the first permanent European settlement in what is now the U.S. state of California. From there, Spanish Franciscan missionaries created a string of missions from San Diego to San Francisco to convert the Indians and develop the economy of California. Before the American Revolution, permanent Spanish communities could be found on the Atlantic Coast in Florida, in Texas and New Mexico, and on the Pacific Coast in California (see Map 3-5). It would be many more years before any of these were much more than small dusty outposts. Nevertheless, they were the foundation for the much more extensive settlement that would follow.

3.4

**Quick Review** Why was Spain so concerned about English and French colonization?

## CONCLUSION

The nations of Europe showed little interest in establishing settlements north of Mexico until the early 1600s. The coast of what is now the United States served as little more than a way station for cod fishermen throughout all of the 1500s. After Richard Hackluyt published his *Pamphlet for the Virginia Enterprise* in 1585, some English investors began to take a second look and see the merit of establishing colonies in North America not only to trade with the Indians but also to Christianize them and enlist them as an ally against England's rival Spain. The first successful English colony was established at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. The colony would not have been lasted without the leadership of the English adventurer John Smith or the assistance of



Powhatan, an Algonquian chief, who saw an advantage in establishing trade with the English and using them as allies against other Indian tribes.

Unlike Jamestown, which had been established as a commercial enterprise by the Virginia Company, the colonies in the areas of present-day New England were established as refuges for England's persecuted and restive religious nonconformists, including the Puritans and Pilgrims, who founded colonies in Plymouth and Boston in Massachusetts. Soon, dissenters from these colonies founded their own new English colonies in Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The New England colonies coexisted for some time with nearby Indian groups. However, unlike the French and Spanish colonists, very little intermarriage took place, which might have increased the degree of animosity that soon developed as the New England colonies grew in size and encroached on Indian lands. This hostility ultimately led to King Philip's War in the 1670s, in which the English colonists destroyed Indian settlements, ending the era of coexistence that some in the first generation had enjoyed. While King Philip's War was being fought in New England, a different kind of violence engulfed the Virginia colony. White immigrants, mostly poor people, living at a distance from the coast, made alliances with Africans, slave and free, in attacks on the nearby Native American tribes. These allied groups also attacked the royal government based on the Atlantic coast, which sought peaceful relationship with the Indian tribes as a way of preserving the colony. The revolt was soon defeated, but it resulted in the expulsion of most tribes from Virginia as well as a decision by the authorities to limit the immigration of poor whites and rely more on African slave labor in the colony.

After the establishment of Virginia and the New England colonies, other English colonies became established in quick succession. Maryland became a haven for Catholics, who were also being persecuted in England. Carolina began to expand production of rice and tobacco. New York was acquired from the Dutch, and New Jersey split off from New York. Pennsylvania was established initially for the Quakers, and Delaware eventually split from that colony. Finally, Georgia was founded, thus establishing England's 13 colonies on the mainland of North America.

All of the English colonies permitted slavery of Africans and American Indians, and slaves were found in all of the English colonies on the North American mainland and in even greater numbers on the English-controlled islands of the Caribbean. However, during most of the 1600s, slaves worked and lived alongside—and even rebelled with—white indentured servants and members of the white lower classes. Some slaves were even able to farm their own land, and in some cases earn their freedom—something that would be much more difficult to achieve after 1700.

Meanwhile, as England monitored its colonies, France and Spain had claimed control over much of the rest of North America. New France claimed not only vast areas surrounding Quebec but also a huge slice of the interior along the entire length of the Mississippi River down to New Orleans. New Spain expanded into the Southwest of the future United States from Texas to California. New France and New Spain exploited their territories and related to Indians in far different ways. French explorers along with Jesuit missionaries created small settlements and expanded the fur trade throughout their vast territory. Spain also created settlements in their region and sent priests to live with many of the tribes. In one case, however, Spanish efforts to subjugate the Indians of New Mexico led to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. In spite of revolts, wars, and tensions, however, by the end of the 1600s, settlements established by England, France, and Spain dotted the land that would one day be the United States. Individual colonies might prosper or fail, but the territory that most Europeans had ignored for a hundred years after Columbus was slowly becoming a permanent home to generations of European immigrants and the African peoples they brought with them.

## CHAPTER REVIEW

How did the English, French, and Spanish interaction with American Indians and Africans differ? Identify two reasons for this difference in relations, and explain your choices.