

# 2



## TRANSPLANTATION 1600-1685



**WHAT ROLE** did the fur trade and fur traders play in the success of French colonies?

**HOW DID** the English colonies in and around Jamestown of the early seventeenth century differ from those in New England later in that same century?

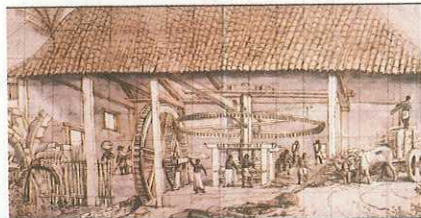


**WHY WAS** tobacco so important to the economies of the Southern colonies?



**WHAT ROLE** did religion play in the establishment of the New England colonies?

**HOW WERE** the Dutch able to successfully establish New Netherland along the eastern seaboard of America?



**HOW WERE** the societies of the West Indies and Carolina different from societies in other parts of North America?

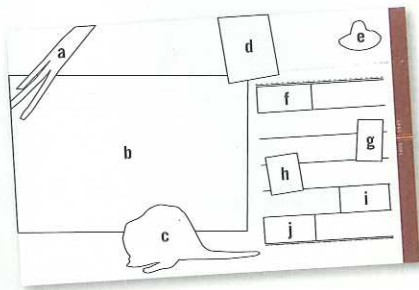


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## IMAGE KEY

for pages 30–31



- a. Several sugarcane stems.
- b. Map of New Netherland showing a view of New Amsterdam.
- c. Beaver
- d. Matoaka, or Pocahontas (c. 1595 – 1617, the daughter of Native American Chief Powhatan, after her conversion to Christianity and marriage to settler John Rolfe under the new name Rebecca.
- e. A tattered historical beaver hat from 1620.
- f. Native American exchanges fur pelt for Western goods.
- g. Tobacco plant.
- h. John Winthrop, 1588 – 1649.
- i. New Amsterdam traders bargaining with a view of trade transportation in the background.
- j. African slaves working in a sugar mill in Brazil.

*Boston in New England*

*March 28, 1631*

*To the Right Honorable my very good lady, the Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln, Madam:*

*I have . . . thought fit to commit to memory our present condition and what hath befallen us since our arrival here. . . . [I] must do [so] rudely, having yet no table nor other room to write in than by the fireside upon my knee in this sharp winter. . . .*

*[In] April 1630 we set sail from old England with four good ships. And in May following, eight more followed, two having gone before in February and March and two more following in June and August, besides another set out by a private merchant. These seventeen ships arrived all safe in New England for the increase of the plantation here this year 1630, but made a long, a troublesome and costly voyage, being all windbound long in England and hindered with contrary winds after they set sail, and so scattered with mists and tempests that few of them arrived together. . . .*

*[Once we disembarked in mid-June, after more than nine weeks at sea] we began to consult of the place of our sitting down, for Salem, where we landed, pleased us not. And to that purpose some were sent to the Bay to search up the rivers for a convenient place. . . . [We] found a place . . . three leagues up Charles river, and thereupon unshipped our goods into other vessels and with much cost and labor brought them in July to Charlestowne, but there receiving advertisements by some of the late arrived ships from London and Amsterdam of some French preparations against us . . . we were forced to change counsel and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly. . . . This dispersion troubled some of us, but help it we could not. . . . The best counsel we could find out was to build a fort to retire to, in some convenient place, if an enemy pressed thereunto, after we should have fortified ourselves against the injuries of wet and cold.*

Everett Emerson, ed., *Letters from New England: the Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1629–1638* (Amherst, 1976).

**THOMAS DUDLEY**, the man who wrote this letter, was 54 years old when he moved with his family to New England. Thomas and his wife Dorothy had six children ranging in age from 9 to 25 years old. Dudley had prospered in England by working as a steward for local aristocrats, including the Countess of Lincoln to whom he addressed his letter. A man of talent and education, he had been chosen as deputy governor of the new colony of Massachusetts and worried that it might not survive its first months.

The Countess of Lincoln, could not help but sense the contrast between her comfortable situation and the hardships Dudley endured. Neither could she miss this preoccupation with the French, who had established a colony in Canada. Remote as they were from Europe, the English colonists worried more about Old World enemies than about the Indians whose lands they now occupied.

The Dudleys ended up in Newtown (now Cambridge) and prospered. Thomas Dudley served four terms as governor and accumulated a large estate.



peasants could only envy. However, few French people moved to North America, and almost three out of four of those who did eventually returned to France.

Accounting for this reluctance to emigrate was Canada's reputation as a distant and inhospitable place. Rumors about frigid winters and surprise Indian attacks circulated among French peasants and villagers. In addition, the government required prospective settlers to be Catholic, reducing the pool from which they could be drawn.

Most settlers were sponsored by the government or by employers who paid their passage in return for three years of labor. Those who completed their terms of service received land. Most settlers were young men eager to marry and raise children to help them farm. But as late as 1666, only one out of three French settlers was female. Some young Frenchmen married Indian women. Others found brides from among the female orphans whom the French government paid to go to Canada in an attempt to remedy the sexual imbalance. Most young men, however, chose to go home to France.

### QUICK REVIEW

#### The Fur Trade

- ◆ Fur traders were critical to New France's success.
- ◆ New France was ruled by royal appointees.
- ◆ *Coueurs de bois*: independent fur traders living among the Indians.

### THE FUR TRADE

Fur traders, not settlers, determined the colony's success. Furs were an ideal commodity—light, easy to transport, and very profitable. For the French, at least, the fur trade was also not very hard work. Indians, not Frenchmen, trapped the beavers, prepared the skins, and carried them from the interior to trading posts. French traders paid for the pelts with such goods as axes, knives, metal pots, and glass beads.

The Indians understood trade as part of a broader process of alliance that involved the exchange of gifts and mutual military assistance. When Champlain approached the Hurons for trade, they insisted that the French agree to help them fight the Iroquois. By becoming Huron allies, the French acquired Iroquois enemies. Thereafter the security of the colony depended on the ability of its governors to handle delicate diplomatic relations with the Indians.

Beginning in 1663, the colony was ruled by a governor and an intendant, both royal appointees who in turn appointed several lesser officials. New France's settlers never developed institutions of self-government as English colonists did. The king also insisted on a strong military force to protect the colony from attack by Indian enemies or European rivals. He ordered the construction of forts and sent several companies of professional soldiers.

Yet colonial officials disobeyed orders from France when it suited them. Even though instructions from Paris prohibited westward expansion, the *intendant* in Quebec allowed explorers to move inland. By the 1670s, French traders and missionaries had reached the Mississippi River, and in 1681–1682, Robert, sieur de La Salle, followed it to the Gulf of Mexico, claiming the entire river valley (which he named Louisiana in honor of King Louis XIV) for France. Scores of independent fur traders, known as *coueurs de bois* (“woods runners”), roamed the forests, living and trading among the Indians there.

*coureur de bois* French for “woods runner,” an independent fur trader in New France.

### ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN THE CHESAPEAKE

HOW DID the English colonies in and around Jamestown of the early seventeenth century differ from those in New England later in that same century?

When the English again attempted to settle in America in 1607, they chose the lower Chesapeake Bay region. The new settlement, Jamestown, eventually developed into the prosperous colony of Virginia. The reason for Virginia's success was an American plant—tobacco—that commanded good prices from European consumers. Tobacco also underlay the economy of a neighboring colony, Maryland, and had a profound influence on the development of Chesapeake society.



He died in July 1653 at the age of 76, an unusually long life span for the seventeenth century. But Dudley could not have predicted such a happy outcome in the first difficult months following his voyage to America. His journey took place at a time of increased rivalry among European nations for New World territory. England's greatest adversaries were France and the Netherlands. Each nation scrambled to claim pieces of the North American mainland and islands in the Caribbean, hoping to match Spain's earlier success. As Thomas Dudley's letter suggests, this international race for overseas possessions was never far from colonists' minds.



2-2  
Samuel de Champlain's Battle  
with the Iroquois, July 1609

## THE FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA

The economic base of France's New World empire, known as New France, was the fur trade, which depended more on the control of waterways and alliances with Indians than on the occupation of land.

The focus of the French colony was the St. Lawrence River, which provided access to a vast interior populated by an abundance of beavers and by Indian peoples eager for trade. Because of its emphasis on the fur trade rather than extensive settlement, New France's population grew slowly in the seventeenth century. Its few, scattered villages were linked as closely to their Indian neighbors as to each other.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW FRANCE

As we saw in Chapter 1, French efforts to found American colonies in the late sixteenth century ended in failure, but French fishermen continued to visit the Newfoundland coast. Setting up frames onshore to dry their catch, they met Indians with furs to trade for European goods. The already strong market for furs in Europe soon expanded dramatically as broad-brimmed beaver fur hats became fashionable.

Once it was clear that a profit could be made in Canada, France's interest revived. French kings sold exclusive trading rights to merchants willing to set up outposts in Canada. But to succeed, the merchants needed to bring farmers to New France to produce food and other supplies for the traders.

Quebec, organized in 1608 by Samuel de Champlain, was the first permanent French settlement in Canada (see Map 2-1). It was inhabited for its first two decades by only a few dozen settlers. Thereafter, efforts to recruit colonists to New France intensified, and French Jesuits—members of a Catholic religious order founded during the Counter Reformation—sent missionaries to convert the Indians. In 1642, Montreal was founded as a religious and commercial center, and by the 1650s, the Jesuits claimed thousands of Indian converts, many of whom lived in native Christian communities.

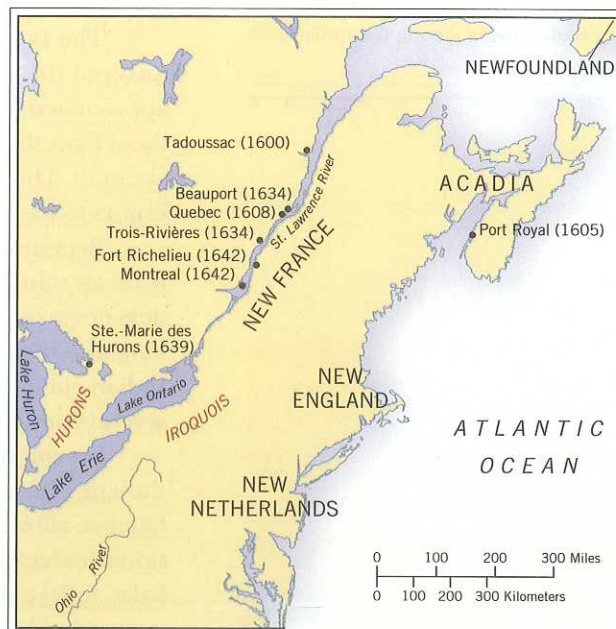
By 1700, New France had about fifteen thousand settlers, less than 7 percent of the number of English colonists in mainland North America that same year. One observer reported that “if they are the least inclined to work,” immigrants could prosper in Canada. Colonists generally lived in sturdier houses, enjoyed a better diet, and paid lower taxes than their relatives back home. They acquired land to pass on to their children with an ease that French

WHAT ROLE did the fur trade and fur traders play in the success of French colonies?



### MAP EXPLORATION

To explore an interactive version of this map, go to <http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield2/map2.1>



MAP 2-1

**New France, c. 1650** By 1650, New France contained a number of thinly populated settlements along the St. Lawrence River Valley and the eastern shore of Lake Huron. Most colonists lived in Quebec and Montreal; other sites served mainly as furtrading posts and Jesuit missions to the Huron Indians.

WHAT DOES this map tell you about the geographic location of many of the early French colonies in Canada? What do you think were among the critical geographic factors in the decisions France made in colonizing Canada?



## CHRONOLOGY

<p><b>1603–1625</b> James I reigns as king of England.</p> <p><b>1607</b> Founding of English colonies at Jamestown and Sagadahoc.</p> <p><b>1608</b> Establishment of French colony at Quebec.</p> <p><b>1619</b> First Africans arrive in Jamestown. Virginia's House of Burgesses meets for the first time.</p> <p><b>1620</b> Founding of Plymouth Colony in New England. Mayflower Compact signed.</p> <p><b>1620s</b> Tobacco boom in Virginia.</p> <p><b>1624</b> Dutch found colony of New Netherlands.</p> <p><b>1625</b> Virginia becomes a royal colony. Fort Amsterdam founded.</p> <p><b>1625–1649</b> Charles I reigns as king of England.</p> <p><b>1627</b> English colony at Barbados founded.</p> <p><b>1630</b> Massachusetts Bay Colony founded.</p> <p><b>1630–1642</b> Great Migration to New England.</p> <p><b>1634</b> Lord Baltimore (Cecilius Calvert) founds proprietary colony of Maryland.</p>	<p><b>1635–1636</b> Roger Williams banished from Massachusetts, founds Providence, Rhode Island.</p> <p><b>1637</b> Anne Hutchinson banished from Massachusetts. Pequot War.</p> <p><b>1638</b> New Haven colony founded.</p> <p><b>1640s</b> Sugar cultivation and slavery established in West Indies.</p> <p><b>1642–1660</b> English Civil War and Interregnum.</p> <p><b>1649</b> Maryland's Act for Religious Toleration.</p> <p><b>1660</b> Charles II restored to English throne; reigns until 1685.</p> <p><b>1663</b> Founding of Carolina colony.</p> <p><b>1664</b> New Netherlands conquered by the English, becomes New York. New Jersey established.</p> <p><b>1673</b> French explorers reach the Mississippi River.</p> <p><b>1681</b> Founding of Pennsylvania.</p>
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### QUICK REVIEW

#### Powhatan, Indian Leader

- ◆ Chief of a confederacy of about thirty tribes.
- ◆ Besieged Jamestown when colonists began stealing corn.
- ◆ Instructed in English manners and religion by John Rolfe.
- ◆ Father of Pocahontas.

**House of Burgesses** The legislature of colonial Virginia. First organized in 1619, it was the first institution of representative government in the English colonies.

**House of Burgesses**, setting a precedent for the establishment of self-government in other English colonies. Landowners elected representatives to the House of Burgesses, which, subject to the approval of the company, made laws for Virginia.

The settlers were still unable to earn the company a profit. To make things worse, the headright system expanded English settlement beyond Jamestown, straining the already tense relations with the Indians.

The English settlement was in the heart of territory ruled by the Indian leader Powhatan, then at the peak of his power and chief of a confederacy of about thirty tribes with some fourteen thousand people. After an initial skirmish with English soldiers, he sent gifts of food, assuming that by accepting the gifts, the colonists acknowledged their dependence on him. Further action against the settlers seemed unnecessary, since they seemed fully capable of destroying themselves.

However, armed colonists began seizing corn from Indian villages whenever the natives refused to supply it. During one raid in 1609, John Smith held a pistol to the chest of Opechancanough, Powhatan's younger brother, until the Indians ransomed him with corn. Protesting that the English came "to invade my people and possess my Country," Powhatan besieged Jamestown and tried to starve the colony to extinction. The colony was saved by reinforcements from England. War with the Indians continued until 1614, when the colonist John Rolfe married Pocahontas, Powhatan's daughter. Pocahontas had briefly been held captive by the English during the war and had been instructed in English manners and religion by Rolfe. Sent to negotiate with Powhatan in the spring of 1614, Rolfe asked him for his daughter's hand. Powhatan gave his consent, and Pocahontas—baptized in the Church of England and renamed Rebecca—became Rolfe's wife.

Pocahontas died on a trip to England in 1617, severing the tie between her family and the English. Powhatan died in 1618, and Opechancanough succeeded



## THE ORDEAL OF EARLY VIRGINIA

In 1606, several English merchants, convinced that they could succeed where others had failed, petitioned King James I for a charter incorporating two companies, the *Virginia Company* and the *Plymouth Company*, to attempt New World settlement. James I issued a charter granting the companies two tracts of land along the mid-Atlantic coast. These **joint-stock companies** sold shares to investors (who expected a profit in return) to raise money for colonization.

On a peninsula about 50 miles up a river they named the James, in honor of their king, 104 colonists, all men, built a fortified settlement they called Jamestown (see Map 2–2). They immediately began searching for gold and exploring the James in search of the Northwest Passage to Asia. All they found were disappointment and suffering. The swampy region was a perfect breeding area for malarial mosquitoes and parasites carrying other diseases. The settlers neglected to plant crops, and their food supplies dwindled. By January 1608, only thirty-eight of them were still alive.

The colony's governing council turned to Captain John Smith for leadership. Just 28 years old, Smith had fought against Spain in the Netherlands and the Ottomans in Hungary. He imposed military discipline on Jamestown, organizing settlers into work gangs and decreeing that “he that will not worke shall not eat.” His high-handed methods revived the colony but antagonized certain settlers. When a gun-powder explosion wounded Smith in 1609 and forced him to return to England, his enemies had him replaced as leader.

Once again, the colony nearly disintegrated. New settlers arrived, only to die of disease and starvation. Of the five hundred people in Jamestown in the autumn of 1609, just sixty remained alive by the spring of 1610—some of whom survived only by eating their dead companions. Facing financial ruin, company officials back in England tried to conceal the state of the colony. They reorganized the company twice and sent more settlers, including glassmakers, wine-growers, and silkmakers, in a desperate effort to find a marketable product. They experimented with harsh military discipline, with a legal code—the *Laws Divine, Morall and Martiall*—that prescribed the death penalty for offenses as trivial as swearing or killing a chicken. When it became clear that such severity discouraged immigration, the company tried more positive inducements.

The first settlers had been expected to work together in return for food and other necessities. With no profits forthcoming, governors began assigning small plots of land to colonists who finished their terms of service to the company. In 1616, the company instituted the **headright system**, giving 50 acres to anyone who paid his own way to Virginia and an additional 50 for each person (or “head”) he brought with him.

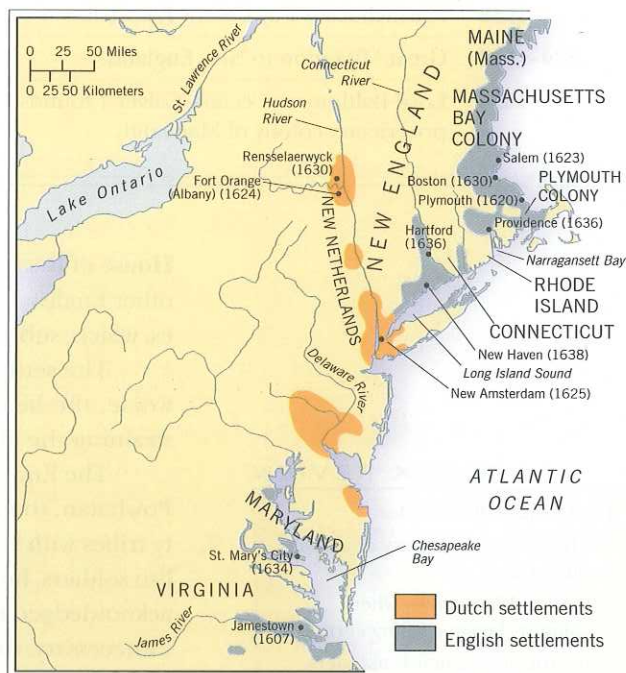
In 1619, three other important developments occurred. The company began transporting women to Virginia to become wives for planters and induce them to stay in the colony. It was also the year in which the first Africans arrived in Virginia, and the company created the first legislative body in English America, the

**Joint-stock company** Business enterprise in which a group of stockholders pooled their money to engage in trade or to fund colonizing expeditions.

**headright system** Instituted by the Virginia Company in 1616, this system gave fifty acres to anyone who paid his own way to Virginia and an additional fifty for each person (or “head”) he brought with him.

## MAP EXPLORATION

To explore an interactive version of this map, go to <http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield2/map2.2>



MAP 2–2

### English and Dutch Mainland Colonies in North America, c. 1655

Early English colonies clustered in two areas of the Atlantic seaboard—New England and the Chesapeake Bay. Between them lay Dutch New Netherlands, with settlements stretching up the Hudson River. The Dutch also acquired territory at the mouth of the Delaware River in 1655 when they seized a short-lived Swedish colony located there.

ON THE BASIS of this map, what about the geographic location of Dutch colonies was ideal for Dutch colonists? What about their locations might have been problematic?



of labor, usually four to seven years, in exchange for free passage to Virginia. The master provided food, shelter, clothing, and, at the end of the term of service, "freedom dues" paid in corn and clothing. Between 1625 and 1640, an estimated one thousand or more indentured servants arrived each year. Some were orphans; others were condemned criminals given a choice between execution and transportation to Virginia. Most, however, came from the ranks of England's unemployed, who emigrated in hopes of "bettering their condition in a Growing Country."

Most found such hopes quickly dashed. Many servants died from disease, and some, occasionally, from mistreatment. Richard Price beat his servant, Endymion Inleherne, for "being a common runaway and one that did use to feign himself sick" so severely that the young man died. A jury refused to charge Price with murder, reasoning that Inleherne deserved punishment and Price had not intended to kill him. The courts (administered by masters) usually favored masters' authority over servants' rights.

For every ex-servant who became a landholder, dozens died in poverty. Many ex-servants could find farms only in parts of the colony less suitable for tobacco cultivation and more vulnerable to Indian attack.

Because of their labor needs, masters favored young men in their teens and twenties as indentured servants, importing three or four times as many of them as women. As a result, Virginia's population in the seventeenth century was overwhelmingly young and male. Many free male servants found that marriage was as remote a possibility as landownership. John Rolfe's union with Pocahontas was one of only three English-Indian marriages recorded in seventeenth-century Virginia.

Population growth was further slowed because servants could not marry until their indentures were completed. Many men were already in their thirties when they married, usually to women in their early twenties. Older couples had fewer children than younger couples would have had. Few colonists lived past 50, and many of their offspring died young. Children who survived had usually lost one or both parents by the time they reached adulthood.

Surviving spouses often remarried a widow or widower with children, creating complex households with stepparents and half-brothers and half-sisters. Widows controlled property left to them by their husbands, assuming the normally male responsibility of managing estates for their children's benefit. A widow tried to choose a new spouse wisely, for he would manage the property that the children of her first marriage would inherit.

The number of settlers rose from about 2,500 in 1630 to 21,000 in 1660, thanks to the demand for indentured servants. When Opechancanough launched another raid in 1644 that killed nearly five hundred colonists, it had a far less devastating effect than his attack of 1622 because the settler population had grown so much and now outnumbered the Indians.

Some settlers acquired large estates and grew wealthy from the labor of indentured servants tilling their tobacco fields. Others, cultivating small land-holdings or renting plots from more successful colonists, grew just-enough food to survive and as much tobacco as they could manage. But even the most successful settlers, investing every penny of profit in labor and land, lived under quite primitive conditions.

Early colonial dwellings were often no larger than 16 by 20 feet, with one or two rooms. Poor settlers slept on the floor on straw mat-

**Virginia-grown tobacco** found a ready market among European consumers such as this contemplative smoker. As tobacco prices declined during the seventeenth century due to increased production, even people of modest means could take up the habit of smoking.

Arents Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundation.





him as chief. Still harboring intense resentment against the English, the new chief made plans to retaliate against them. Early in the morning on March 22, 1622, hundreds of Indian men traveled to the scattered English settlements, as if they meant to visit or trade. Instead they attacked the unsuspecting colonists, killing 347 by the end of the day—more than one-fourth of the English population.

The English gathered to plot revenge. They struck at native villages, killing the inhabitants and burning cornfields. At peace talks held in April 1623, the English served poisoned wine to their enemies, killing two hundred more. During nine years of war, the English treated the Indians with a ferocity that recalled their earlier subjugation of the Irish.

Economic activity ceased as settlers retreated to fortified garrisons. The Virginia Company went bankrupt. A royal commission investigating the 1622 surprise attack was shocked to discover that nearly ten times more colonists had died from starvation and disease than at the hands of Indians. King James had little choice but to dissolve the company in 1624 and Virginia became a royal colony the following year. Now the king chose the colony's governor and council, and royal advisors monitored its affairs.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF TOBACCO

In their search for a marketable product, settlers had begun growing tobacco after 1610. Initially expensive, it became popular among wealthy European consumers. The first cargo of Virginia-grown tobacco arrived in England in 1617 and sold at a highly profitable 3 shillings-per pound.

Settlers immediately planted tobacco everywhere—even in the streets of Jamestown. Company officials, unwilling to base the colony's economy on a single crop, tried to restrict annual production. After company rule ended, tobacco planting surged.

Between 1627 and 1669, annual tobacco exports climbed from 250,000 pounds to more than 15 million pounds. As the supply grew, the price per pound plunged from 13 pence in 1624 to a mere penny in the late 1660s, where it remained for the next half century. The only way colonists could compensate for falling prices was to grow even more, pushing exports to England to more than 20 million pounds by the late 1670s.

Tobacco shaped nearly every aspect of Virginia society, from patterns of settlement to the recruitment of colonists. Planters scrambled to claim lands near navigable rivers so that ships could easily reach their plantations and carry their crops to market. As a result, the colonists dispersed across the countryside instead of gathering in towns. People settled, one governor wrote, wherever “a choice veine of rich ground invited them, and further from neighbours the better.” Colonists competed to produce the biggest and best crop and get it to market the fastest, hoping to enjoy even a small price advantage over everyone else.

The key to success was to control a large labor force. Tobacco kept workers busy nine months of the year. Planters sowed seeds in the early spring, transplanted seedlings a few weeks later, and spent the summer pinching off the tops of the plants (to produce larger leaves) and removing worms. After the harvest, the leaves were “cured”—dried in ventilated sheds—and packed in large barrels. During the winter, planters cleared and fenced more land and made barrels for next year's crop. Working on his own, one planter could tend two thousand plants, which yielded about 500 pounds of cured tobacco.

To make a profit, planters needed help. They turned to England, importing thousands of **indentured servants**, or contract workers, who agreed to a fixed term

WHY WAS tobacco so

important to the economies of the southern colonies?

### QUICK REVIEW

#### Tobacco

- ◆ 1617: Virginia-grown tobacco arrives in England.
- ◆ 1669: tobacco exports reach 15 million pounds annually.
- ◆ A large labor force: key to tobacco farming.

**indentured servants** Individuals who contracted to serve a master for a period of four to seven years in return for payment of the servant's passage to America.





WHAT ROLE did religion play in the establishment of the New England colonies?

## THE FOUNDING OF NEW ENGLAND

The first English attempt to settle the northeastern coast of North America was a miserable failure. In 1607, the Plymouth Company sent a group of settlers who abandoned their settlement in present-day Maine the next summer. But English explorers and fishermen continued to visit New England, among them John Smith, who in 1616, published his book extolling its virtues as a site for colonization.

Six colonies appeared in the region between 1620 and 1640, settled by thousands of people troubled by religious, political, and economic upheavals in England. The society these settlers created differed markedly from the one developing in the Chesapeake—not least of all in the absence of significant Indian opposition. Between 1616 and 1618 a terrible epidemic swept through coastal New England, killing up to 90 percent of the Indians living there. The devastated survivors were unable to prevent the encroaching English from building towns where their villages had once stood.

### THE PILGRIMS AND PLYMOUTH COLONY

Plymouth Colony, the first of the New England settlements, was founded in 1620. Its origins lay in religious disputes that had plagued England since the late sixteenth century. Most of Queen Elizabeth's subjects approved of her efforts to keep England a Protestant nation, but some believed that she had not rid the Church of England of Catholic practices. The enemies of these reformers, ridiculing them for wanting to purify the Church of England (or **Anglican** Church) of all corruption, called them **Puritans**.

Following the doctrine of predestination taught by John Calvin, English Puritans believed in an all-powerful God who, at the moment of Creation, had determined which humans would be saved and which would be damned. The centerpiece of their spiritual life was conversion: the transforming experience that occurred when individuals felt the stirrings of grace in their souls and began to hope that they were among the saved. Those who experienced conversion were considered saints and acquired new strength to live godly lives.

Puritans rejected the *Book of Common Prayer*, which regulated Anglican worship, insisting that ministers should pray from the heart and preach from the Bible. They objected when Anglican clergy wore rich vestments that set them apart from ordinary Christians. And they objected to any church organization above the level of individual congregations, seeing no need for bishops and archbishops. But what they hated most of all about the Anglican Church was that anyone could be a member. Puritans believed that everyone should attend church services, but they wanted church membership—which conferred the right to partake in the Lord's Supper, or communion—to be limited to saints.

Puritans thus insisted on further reform. Elizabeth and the rulers who followed her disagreed and tried to silence them. Some Puritans, known as **separatists**, were convinced that the Church of England would never change and left it to form their own congregations.

One such group, mainly artisans and middling farmers from the village of Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, left England in 1607–1608, settling for more than a decade in Holland. There they worshiped in peace, but many struggled to make a living and feared that their children were being tempted by the worldly pleasures of Dutch city life. Some Scrooby separatists gained the backing of the Plymouth Company for a move to America. Called **Pilgrims** because they thought of themselves as spiritual wanderers, they were joined by other separatists and by non-

**Anglican** Of or belonging to the Church of England, a Protestant denomination.

**Puritans** Individuals who believed that Queen Elizabeth's reforms of the Church of England had not gone far enough in improving the church. Puritans led the settlement of Massachusetts Bay Colony.

**Separatists** Members of an offshoot branch of Puritanism. Separatists believed that the Church of England was too corrupt to be reformed and hence were convinced they must "separate" from it to save their souls.

**Pilgrims** Settlers of Plymouth Colony, who viewed themselves as spiritual wanderers.



tresses and had few other furnishings. Rich planters owned more goods, though often of poor quality. In 1655, for instance, William Brocas, a prominent colonial official, owned “a parcell of old hangings, very thin and much worn”; seven chairs, “most of them unusefull”; and seven guns, “most unfixt.”

### MARYLAND: A REFUGE FOR CATHOLICS

Encouraged by Virginia’s success, King Charles I in 1632 granted 10 million acres of land north of Chesapeake Bay to the nobleman Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore. Unlike Virginia, which was founded by a joint-stock company, Maryland was a **proprietary colony**—the sole possession of Calvert and his heirs. They owned all the land, which they could divide up as they pleased, and had the right to set up the colony’s government.

Calvert, who was Catholic, intended Maryland to be a refuge for others of his faith. English Catholics were a disadvantaged minority. They paid double taxes, could not worship in public, hold political office, or send their children to universities. In Maryland, Calvert wanted Catholic colonists to enjoy economic and political power. He intended to divide the land into manors—large private estates like those of medieval England—and distribute them to wealthy Catholic friends. These manor lords would live on rents collected from tenant farmers, hold the most important governmental offices, and run their own law courts.

Calvert died before settlement began, and his plans unraveled. The majority of colonists, who began arriving in 1634, were Protestants who despised Catholics. Refusing to live as tenants on Catholic estates, they claimed land of their own—a process that accelerated after 1640, when Maryland adopted a headright system like Virginia’s as a way to recruit settlers.

Maryland’s problems intensified when civil war broke out in England in 1642. Charles I, who became king in 1625, clashed with Protestants who called for further reform of the Church of England. He also antagonized many government leaders by dissolving Parliament in 1629 and ruling on his own for eleven years. Needing funds to suppress a rebellion in Scotland in 1640, however, Charles was forced to recall Parliament, which quickly turned against him. Both king and Parliament recruited armies and went to war in 1642. Parliamentary forces triumphed, and in 1649, they executed Charles. For the next decade, Oliver Cromwell, a general, ruled until his death in 1658. His son, Richard, proved an inept successor, and in 1660 a group of army officers invited Charles’s exiled son to accept the throne.

During the 1640s and 1650s, Maryland Protestants took advantage of the upheaval in England, contesting the Calverts’ control of the colony. To pacify them, Calvert’s son Cecilius established a legislature, assuming that Protestants would dominate the elective lower house while he could appoint Catholics to the upper house. In 1649, Calvert also approved the **Act for Religious Toleration**, the first law in America to call for freedom of worship for all Christians, but the Protestant majority continued to resist Catholic political influence, at one point passing a law that prohibited Catholics from voting.

Instead of the peaceful Catholic refuge Calvert intended, Maryland soon resembled neighboring Virginia. Its settlers raised tobacco and imported as many indentured servants as possible. Because Maryland initially provided former servants with 50 acres of land, more became landholders than in Virginia. As in Virginia, however, economic opportunity diminished after 1660 when the price of tobacco dropped. Maryland’s settlers enjoyed more peaceful relations with the Indians among whom they settled than Virginians had, but they fought intensely among themselves.

WHERE TO LEARN MORE



Jamestown Settlement,  
near Williamsburg, Virginia  
[www.apva.org](http://www.apva.org)

WHERE TO LEARN MORE



St. Mary's City, Maryland  
[www.somd.com](http://www.somd.com)

**Proprietary colony** A colony created when the English monarch granted a huge tract of land to an individual or group of individuals, who became “lords proprietor.”

**Act for Religious Toleration** The first law in America to call for freedom of worship for all Christians.



**John Winthrop** (1588–1649) served as the Massachusetts Bay Colony's governor for most of its first two decades. Throughout his life, Winthrop—like many fellow Puritans—struggled to live a godly life in a corrupt world.

Courtesy American Antiquarian Society.

Before Winthrop's ship landed, he preached a lay sermon, called "A Model of Christian Charity," to his fellow passengers, reminding them of their goal "to do more service to the Lord." They should "love one another with a pure heart" and place the good of all above private ambitions. Winthrop argued that the Lord had made them his chosen people, and that as a result, "we shall be as a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us." If they failed to live up to God's expectations, he would punish them. With this mingled encouragement and threat, the emigrants soon landed and founded Boston and six adjoining towns.

Winthrop described the settlers' mission in New England as a **covenant**, or contract, with God, binding them to meet their religious obligations in return for God's favor. The settlers also created covenants when they founded towns and churches, agreeing to live together in peace. The desire for peace and purity could breed intolerance. Settlers scrutinized their neighbors for signs of unacceptable behavior. But the insistence on covenants and conformity also created a remarkably stable society, far more peaceable than Virginia's.

That stability was enhanced by the development of representative government. The *General Court*, which initially included only the shareholders of the joint-stock company, was transformed into a twohouse legislature. Freemen—adult males who held property and were church members—had the right to elect representatives to the lower house, as well as 18 members (called "assistants") to the upper house. They also chose a governor and a deputy governor.

Between 1630 and 1642, at least thirteen thousand settlers came to New England and established dozens of towns. The progress of settlement was generally untroubled in coastal Massachusetts, but when colonists moved into the Connecticut River Valley, tensions with Indians grew rapidly. These erupted in 1637 in the brief, tragic conflict called the **Pequot War**.

English settlers from Massachusetts first arrived in the Connecticut Valley in the mid-1630s. Dutch traders already in the region had been dealing exclusively with the Pequot Indians as partners. In 1633, however, they invited other Indian groups to trade with them. The Pequots, suffering terribly from a recent smallpox epidemic, resented losing their special trading rights and began fighting the Dutch. Initially, they saw the English settlers as potential allies against the Dutch. But when the settlers demanded Pequot submission to English authority as the price of an alliance, they turned against them too.

The English settlers formed alliances with the Narragansetts and Mohegans, who were both rivals of the Pequots. In May 1637, English forces surrounded a Pequot village inhabited mainly by women and children, located on the Mystic River. They set it ablaze and shot anyone who tried to escape. Between three hundred and seven hundred Pequots died, a toll that shocked the settlers' Indian allies, who protested that English-style warfare was "too furious, and slays too many men." [See American Views, "Miantonomo's Plea for Indian Unity (1642)."] After the surviving Pequots had fled or been sold into slavery, many more settlers moved to Connecticut, which soon declared itself a separate colony. In 1639, the settlers adopted the *Fundamental Orders*, creating a government similar to that of Massachusetts, and the English government granted them a royal charter in 1662.

Massachusetts spun off other colonies as its population expanded in the 1630s and dissenters ran afoul of its intolerant government. Puritan leaders tried to suppress unorthodox religious opinions whenever they emerged, for fear that God would interpret their failure to do so as a breach of their covenant with him. Some dissenting colonists, however, refused to be silenced.

Roger Williams was one such irrepressible dissenter. Williams was a separatist minister who declared that because Massachusetts churches had not reject-

**covenant** A contract with God, binding settlers to meet their religious obligations in return for God's favor.

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



separatist “strangers” hired to help get the colony started. In all, 102 men, women, and children set sail on the *Mayflower* in September 1620.

After a long and miserable voyage, they landed near Massachusetts Bay. Because this was about 200 miles north of the land their charter permitted them to settle, some of the “strangers” claimed that they were no longer legally bound to obey the expedition’s separatist leaders. The leaders responded by drafting the *Mayflower Compact*, which became the first document to establish self-government in North America, and urging all adult males to sign it.

The Pilgrims settled at Plymouth, the site of a Wampanoag village recently depopulated by disease, where they found abandoned cornfields, Indian graves, and baskets of corn buried underground. Even with this corn, nearly half of the Pilgrims died of starvation and disease that first winter.

Two English-speaking natives, Squanto and Samoset, emerged from the woods the next spring and approached the Pilgrims on behalf of Massasoit, the Wampanoag leader. The Wampanoags thought the Pilgrims might be useful allies against Wampanoag enemies, such as the Narragansetts, who had escaped the recent epidemics.

In 1621, the Wampanoags and the Pilgrims signed a treaty of alliance. The Pilgrims assumed that Massasoit had submitted to the superior authority of King James, whereas Massasoit assumed that the agreement treated himself and the English king as equal partners. Despite frequent disputes caused by English assertion of authority over the Wampanoags, the two groups enjoyed relatively peaceful relations for nearly half a century.

The Indians taught the English how to plant corn and traded corn with them for manufactured goods. The Pilgrims also exchanged corn with other Indians to the north for furs, which they shipped back to England to help pay off their debts to English investors. In the autumn of 1621, Indians and Pilgrims gathered for a feast celebrating the settlers’ first harvest—an event Americans still commemorate as the first Thanksgiving.

Plymouth remained small, poor, and weak. It never had more than seven thousand settlers and never produced more than small shipments of furs, fish, and timber to sell in England. It took the Pilgrims more than twenty years to repay their English creditors. Yet because of the idealistic visions of the founders of Plymouth Colony, who saw in the New World a chance to escape religious persecution and create peaceful communities and pure churches, it has become an important symbol in American history.

## MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY AND ITS OFFSHOOTS

The Puritans who settled Massachusetts shared many of the Pilgrims’ beliefs, but they insisted that the Anglican Church *could* be reformed and so were not separatists. They went to New England to create godly churches to serve as models for English reform. And England, they believed, was in more desperate need of reformation than ever.

Charles I, who became king in 1625, opposed Puritans more forcefully than his father had and supported changes in Anglican worship that recalled Catholic practices. England at the time also suffered from economic troubles that many Puritans saw as signs of God’s displeasure with their country.

In 1629, a group of Puritan merchants received a royal charter for a joint-stock enterprise, the Massachusetts Bay Company, to set up a colony north of Plymouth. They chose John Winthrop, a prosperous Puritan lawyer, as their leader. In the spring of 1630, a fleet of eleven ships carried about a thousand men, women, and children across the Atlantic.

### QUICK REVIEW

#### The Pilgrims

- ◆ Plymouth Colony founded in 1620.
- ◆ Puritans wanted reform of the Church of England.
- ◆ Pilgrims were separatists who believed the Church of England could not be reformed.

### QUICK REVIEW

#### Mayflower Compact

- ◆ Mayflower Compact signed in 1620.
- ◆ Established self-government in North America.
- ◆ Pilgrim leaders urged all adult males to sign the compact.

WHERE TO LEARN MORE



Plymouth Plantation,  
Plymouth, Massachusetts  
<http://pilgrims.net/plimouthplantation/vtour>



Unlike Chesapeake colonists, who spread out on tobacco lands near navigable rivers, New Englanders clustered in towns. The Massachusetts government strongly encouraged town formation by granting land to groups of families who promised to settle together. The families divided the land among themselves, allotting each family a farm of sufficient size to support all its members. People who had had higher social standing in England received larger farms than those of lower standing. Land that the original families could not yet farm was held “in common” to be distributed to their children as they grew up. Settlers and their children generally remained in their chosen towns for the rest of their lives.

Towns—usually made up of fifty to a hundred families—provided the context for religious, political, and economic activity. The importance Puritans placed on worship with fellow Christians helped promote community feeling. Every Sunday, townspeople gathered at the meetinghouse to listen to the minister preach God’s word. At other times, the meetinghouse served as a town hall, where men assembled to discuss matters ranging from local taxes to making sure that everyone’s fences were mended. Townsmen tried to reach decisions by consensus in order to preserve harmony. To oversee day-to-day local affairs, men chose five to seven of their most trusted neighbors to serve as selectmen.

Economic life likewise centered on the town. New England’s stony soil and short growing season offered few ways to get rich, but most people achieved a modest prosperity. Farmers grew corn and other foods and raised livestock. Their goal was to achieve what they called *competency*—the possession of enough property to ensure their families’ economic independence.

Maintaining competency was a family affair. New England farmers relied on their wives and children for labor. Women cared for children, cleaned, cooked, sewed and mended, milked cows, and tended poultry. Many farmwives made butter and cheese, brewed beer, preserved fruits and vegetables, salted meat, spun yarn, and wove cloth. Although they generally did not perform heavy agricultural work, women helped with planting and harvesting crops and tended gardens near their houses. If their husbands worked as merchants or craftsmen, wives might also help out in the shop.

Children began work shortly after their fifth birthday. Older siblings cared for younger ones, fetched tools, and minded cattle. Around age 10, girls began learning more complicated housekeeping skills from their mothers, and boys received instruction from their fathers in such tasks as plowing, cutting hay and wood, and caring for livestock. Many children in their early teens performed tasks little different from adult duties.

No family could produce all the goods that it needed, so New Englanders regularly traded with their neighbors. A skilled carpenter might erect a house in return for barrels of salted beef. Men with several sons sent them to help neighbors whose children were too young to work. Midwives delivered babies in return for cheese or eggs. Women nursed sick neighbors, whom they might one day call on for similar help. These sorts of transactions allowed most New Englanders to enjoy a fairly comfortable life.

Without a staple crop like tobacco, New England prospered by exploiting a variety of resources, developing a diversified economy that was less vulnerable to depression than Virginia’s. Farmers sent livestock and meat to merchants to be marketed abroad. Fishermen caught thousands of pounds of cod, haddock, and other fish to be sold in Europe. Some of the region’s timber found its way abroad, but most of it ended up in shipyards. New Englanders became such skilled shipbuilders and seafaring merchants that by the 1670s, London merchants complained about

## QUICK REVIEW

### Childhood in New England

- ◆ Children went to work shortly after their fifth birthday.
- ◆ Around age 10 children began doing more complex work.
- ◆ Many early teens performed work similar to that of adults.



ed the Church of England, they shared its corruption. He argued for the separation of church and state, and also attacked the Massachusetts charter, insisting that the king had no right to grant Indian lands to English settlers.

Williams was an immensely likable man—even Governor Winthrop remained on friendly terms with him, but the General Court sentenced him to banishment, intending to ship him back to England. In the winter of 1635, Williams slipped away with a few followers and found refuge among the Narragansett Indians, from whom he purchased land for the village of Providence, founded in 1636. More towns soon sprang up nearby when a new religious crisis, provoked by a woman named Anne Hutchinson, sent additional refugees to Rhode Island from Massachusetts.

Anne Hutchinson arrived in Boston from England with her husband and seven children in 1634. Welcomed by the town's women for her talents as a midwife, she also began to hold religious meetings in her house, where she denounced several ministers.

Many people, including prominent Boston merchants, flocked to Hutchinson's meetings. But her critics believed her to be a dangerous *antinomian* (someone who claimed to be free from obedience to moral law) because she seemed to maintain that saints were accountable only to God and not to any worldly authority. Her opponents also objected to her teaching of mixed groups of men and women, a breach of normal gender roles. Colony magistrates arrested her and tried her for sedition—that is, for advocating the overthrow of the government.

During her trial, Hutchinson mounted a lively defense. In the end, however, the court found her guilty and banished her from the colony. With many of her followers, she moved to Rhode Island, where Roger Williams had proclaimed a policy of religious toleration.

At the height of the Hutchinson controversy, a group of zealous Puritan emigrants led by the Reverend John Davenport departed Boston to found New Haven in 1638. Davenport's efforts to impose perfect Puritan conformity in his colony made Massachusetts seem easygoing in comparison. But New Haven failed to thrive, and in 1662, the poor, intolerant, and isolated colony was absorbed into Connecticut.

## FAMILIES, FARMS, AND COMMUNITIES IN EARLY NEW ENGLAND

"This plantation and that of Virginia went not forth upon the same reasons," declared one of Massachusetts's founders. Virginians came "for profit," whereas New Englanders emigrated to bear witness to their Puritan faith. Unlike the unmarried young men who moved in great numbers to Virginia, most New Englanders settled with their families.

The average family in early New England had seven or eight children. Because women and men arrived in nearly equal numbers, young adults easily found spouses and produced more children. Thus the population continued to grow rapidly even when immigration slowed after 1642, so that by 1660, New England's settlers numbered more than 33,000.

New Englanders were largely spared from the diseases that ravaged Virginia's settlers and devastated Indian populations. It seemed a "marvelous providence of God" to Plymouth's Governor Bradford that many settlers made it to their seventies and eighties when few of England's adults lived past 60. Longevity strengthened economic security as well as emotional ties. Fathers lived long enough to build prosperous farms to pass along to their sons. And they accumulated herds of livestock and stores of household goods to give to their daughters when they married.

### QUICK REVIEW

#### Anne Hutchinson

- ◆ Arrived in Boston with her family in 1634.
- ◆ Began to hold religious meetings in her house.
- ◆ Found guilty of sedition and banished to Rhode Island.



2-7

The Trial of Anne Hutchinson (1638)



competition from them. England itself had little use for the dried fish, livestock, salted meat, and wood products that New England vessels carried, but enterprising merchants found exactly the market they needed in the West Indies.

## COMPETITION IN THE CARIBBEAN

The Spanish claimed all Caribbean islands by right of Columbus's discovery, but during the early seventeenth century, French, Dutch, and English adventurers defied them. France eventually retained Guadeloupe, Martinique, Haiti (which the French called Saint Dominque), and several smaller islands. The Dutch had Aruba, Curaçao, St. Martin and St. Eustasius. The English occupied Antigua, Barbados, Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Christopher; in 1655, they conquered the Spanish-held island of Jamaica. The West Indies soon became the jewel of England's empire, producing vast wealth from the cultivation of sugar. Caribbean planters created a society totally unlike any of the mainland colonies—not least of all because their prosperity depended on the exploitation of African slaves.

### SUGAR AND SLAVES

The first English colonists who came to the West Indies in the 1630s raised tobacco and imported indentured servants to work their fields. By that time, however, tobacco fetched low prices. Moreover, the disease environment of the West Indies proved even harsher than that of the Chesapeake, and settlers died in great numbers.

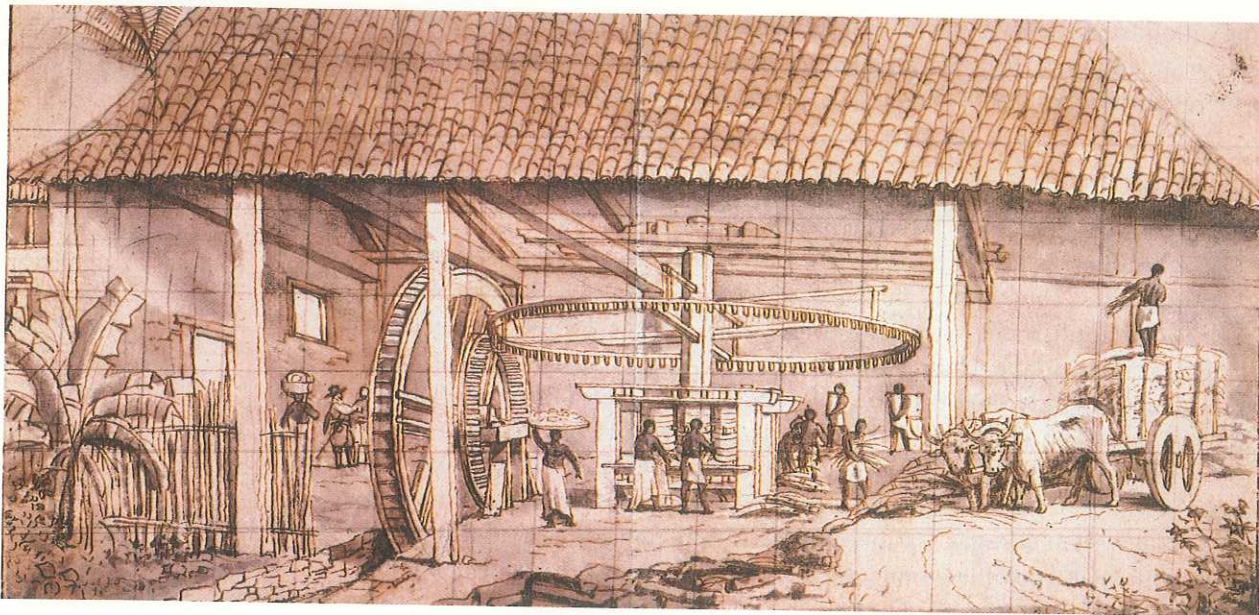
But by the 1640s, a Barbados planter boasted of “a great change on this island of late from the worse to the better, praised be God.” That change was a shift from tobacco to sugar cane. Many sugar planters grew wealthy. In 1646, a 500-acre plantation on Barbados sold for £16,000—more than the whole island had been worth just a few years before. On average, the estate of a Caribbean sugar planter was worth four times as much as a prosperous Chesapeake plantation.

Sugar rapidly transformed the West Indies. Planters deforested whole islands to raise sugar cane. They stopped planting food crops and raising livestock—thereby creating a demand for lumber and provisions that boosted New England's economy.

The sugar boom also led to a scramble for labor. Planters continued to import white indentured servants, including some kidnapped English and Irish youths, but soon turned to African slaves. Africans were already used to agricultural work in a tropical climate. And the English would not have to enslave any Africans themselves; they could simply import people who had already been enslaved by other Africans and sold to Dutch or Portuguese traders. The planters' choice has been called an “unthinking decision,” but it had an enormous impact on English colonial life, first in the islands and then on the mainland.

### A BIRACIAL SOCIETY

The West Indies had the first biracial plantation society in the English colonial world. By 1700, more than 250,000 slaves had been imported into the region, quickly becoming the most numerous segment of its population. Slaves lived in wretched conditions, underfed, poorly dressed, and housed in rough huts. They labored six days a week from sunrise to sunset—except at harvest time, when they toiled seven days a week in round-the-clock shifts. Masters considered them property, often branding them like livestock and hunting them with bloodhounds when they ran away.



In this seventeenth-century drawing, African slaves are shown toiling in a Brazilian sugar mill. Similar scenes prevailed on Barbados and other Caribbean colonies dominated by sugar production.

The Granger Collection, New York.

Laws declared slavery to be a lifelong condition that passed from slave parents to their children. Slaves had no legal rights and were under the complete control of their masters. Only rarely would masters who killed slaves face prosecution, and those who did and were found guilty were subject only to fines. Slaves, in contrast, could be whipped, branded, or maimed for stealing food or harboring a runaway compatriot. Serious crimes such as murder or arson brought execution without trial. Slaves who rebelled were burned to death.

When masters began to import African women as well as men—hoping to create a self-reproducing labor force—slaves formed families and preserved at least some African traditions. They gave their children African names (although masters often gave them English names as well). They celebrated with African music and worked to the rhythm of familiar songs. They performed West African funeral rituals, often burying their dead with food and other goods to accompany them on the journey to the afterlife.

Some planters, profiting handsomely from their slaves' toil, lived better than many English gentlemen, dwelling in large houses, with fine furnishings. But sugar production required a heavy investment in land, slaves, mills, and equipment. As great planters took vast amounts of land for themselves, freed servants and small farmers struggled to survive. After 1650, some poorer white colonists headed for the mainland. They were joined by planters looking for a place to expand their operations once most of the good land on the islands had been brought under cultivation.

## THE PROPRIETARY COLONIES

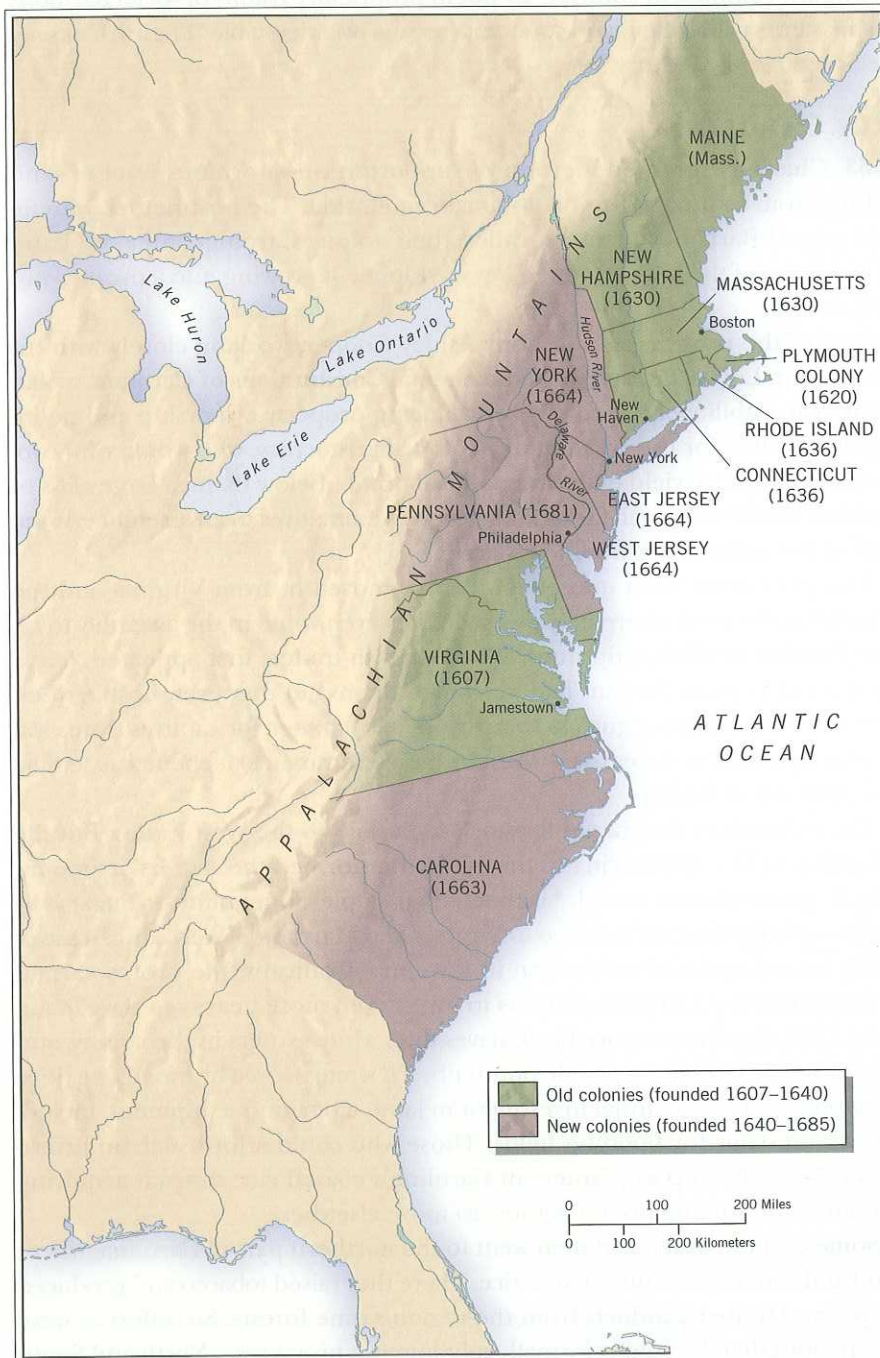
The initial burst of English colonization ended in 1640 when England tottered on the brink of civil war. With the accession of Charles II to the English throne in 1660, however, interest in North American colonies revived. Charles II rewarded the supporters who had remained loyal to him during his long exile in France with huge tracts of American land. Four new colonies—Carolina, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York—resulted from such grants during his reign (1660–1685) (see Map 2–3). All were proprietary colonies, essentially





## MAP EXPLORATION

To explore an interactive version of this map, go to <http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield2/map2.3>



**MAP 2-3**

**English North American Colonies, c. 1685** After the restoration of Charles II in 1660, several large proprietary colonies joined earlier English settlements in New England and the Chesapeake. By 1685, a growing number of English settlers solidified England's claim to the Atlantic coast from Maine (then part of Massachusetts Bay Colony) to the southern edge of Carolina.

**EXPLAIN WHY**, on the basis of this map, England had such an early stronghold on North America? Why was it difficult by the mid-1680s for other European countries to establish colonies in the New World?



the private property of the people to whom they had been given. Carolina and Pennsylvania, like the earlier proprietary colony of Maryland, provided their owners the chance to test idealistic social visions. The origins of New York and New Jersey as English colonies, in contrast, lay not in proprietary visions of social harmony but in the stern reality of military conquest (see the overview table “English Colonies in the Seventeenth Century”).

### EARLY CAROLINA

In 1663, Charles II granted a group of supporters an enormous tract of land stretching from southern Virginia to northern Florida. The proprietors, who included several Barbados planters, called their colony Carolina, after the Latin form (Carolus) of the king’s name. They envisioned it growing into a prosperous, orderly society.

One of the proprietors, Anthony Ashley Cooper, working closely with his secretary, John Locke, devised the **Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina**, a plan to ensure the stability of the colony by balancing property ownership and political rights. It called for the creation of a colonial aristocracy, who would own two-fifths of the land and wield extensive political power. Below them, a large class of freeholders would own small farms and elect representatives to an assembly. At the bottom of the social order would be slaves.

This plan never went into effect. People moved in from Virginia and the West Indies and settled where they pleased. They even voted in the assembly to reject the Fundamental Constitutions. When English traders first appeared, eager to buy deerskins, many Indians had welcomed them. But they grew hostile when some traders began selling guns to some tribes in exchange for captives from rival tribes who were sold as slaves to the West Indies. Resentments deepened as settlers moved onto native lands.

The colonists at first raised livestock to be sold to the West Indies. But the introduction of rice in Carolina in the 1690s transformed the settlers’ economy, making it, as one planter noted, “as much their staple Commodity, as Sugar is to Barbadoes and Jamaica, or Tobacco to Virginia and Maryland.” West African slaves probably introduced rice cultivation in Carolina. Ironically, the profits earned from rice persuaded Carolina planters to invest even more heavily in slave labor.

By 1708, there were more black slaves than white settlers in the colony, and two decades after that, black people outnumbered white people by two to one. Rice farming required a substantial investment in land, labor, and equipment, including dikes and dams for flooding fields. Those who could afford such an investment set themselves up as planters in Carolina’s coastal rice district, acquiring large estates and forcing poorer settlers to move elsewhere.

Some of these dislocated men went to the northern part of Carolina, where the land and climate were unsuited to rice. There they raised tobacco and produced pitch, tar, and timber products from the region’s pine forests. So different were the two regions that the colony formally split into two provinces—North and South Carolina—in 1729.

South Carolina rice planters became some of the wealthiest colonists on the mainland. But their luxurious style of life came at a price. As Carolina began to look “more like a negro country than like a country settled by white people,” planters dreaded the prospect of slave rebellion. To avert this nightmare, they enacted **slave codes** as harsh as those of the sugar islands. Carolina would not be the harmonious colony that John Locke and Cooper had envisioned. It evolved instead into a racially divided society founded on the oppression of a black majority and permeated by fear.

**Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina**  
A complex plan for organizing the colony of Carolina, drafted in 1669 by Anthony Ashley Cooper and John Locke.

**Slave codes** A series of laws passed mainly in the southern colonies in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to define the status of slaves and codify the denial of basic civil rights to them.



# OVERVIEW

## ENGLISH COLONIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Colony	Date of Founding	Established Religion	Economy	Government
Virginia	1607	Anglican	Tobacco	Royal (after 1625)
Plymouth	1620	Puritan	Mixed farming	Corporate
St. Christopher	1624	Anglican	Sugar	Royal
Barbados	1627	Anglican	Sugar	Royal
Nevis	1628	Anglican	Sugar	Royal
Massachusetts (including present-day Maine)	1630	Puritan	Mixed farming, fishing, shipbuilding	Corporate
New Hampshire	1630 (first settlement, annexed to Mass. 1643–1679; royal colony after 1679)	Puritan	Mixed farming	Corporate (royal after 1679)
Antigua	1632	Anglican	Sugar	Royal
Montserrat	1632	Anglican	Sugar	Royal
Maryland	1634	None (Anglican after 1692)	Tobacco	Proprietary
Rhode Island	1636	None	Mixed farming	Corporate
Connecticut	1636	Puritan	Mixed farming	Corporate
New Haven	1638	Puritan	Mixed farming	Corporate
Jamaica	1655 (captured from Spanish)	Anglican	Sugar	Royal
Carolina	1663	Anglican	Rice	Proprietary
New York	1664 (captured from Dutch)	None	Mixed farming, furs	Proprietary (royal after 1685)
New Jersey	1664	None	Mixed farming	Proprietary
Pennsylvania	1681	None	Wheat, mixed farming	Proprietary



**No colonial proprietor** was more idealistic than William Penn, shown here in a portrait made in about 1698 by Francis Place. Penn wanted Pennsylvania to be a place of peace, prosperity, and religious toleration—especially for his fellow Quakers. The colony eventually became an economic success but failed to achieve the social harmony that Penn had wanted.

AP/Wide World Photos.



WHERE TO LEARN MORE

★ Pennsbury Manor,  
Morrisville, Pennsylvania  
[www.pennsburymanor.org](http://www.pennsburymanor.org)

**Quakers** Members of the Society of Friends, a radical religious group that arose in the mid-seventeenth century. Quakers rejected formal theology, focusing instead on the Holy Spirit that dwelt within them.

**Frame of Government** William Penn's constitution for Pennsylvania which included a provision allowing for religious freedom.

## PENNSYLVANIA: THE DREAM OF TOLERANCE AND PEACE

William Penn put his own utopian plans into action in 1681, when Charles II granted him a huge tract of land north of Maryland as payment for a royal debt owed to Penn's father. Penn intended his colony to be a model of justice and peace, as well as a refuge for members of the Society of Friends, or **Quakers**, a persecuted religious sect to which Penn himself belonged.

Like the separatists, Quakers abandoned the Church of England as hopelessly corrupt, but they went even further in their beliefs. Rejecting predestination, they maintained that every soul had a spark of grace and that salvation was possible for all who heeded that "Inner Light." They rejected trained clergy and elaborate church rituals. Instead of formal religious services, Quakers held meetings in silence until someone, inspired by the Inner Light, rose to speak.

Quaker beliefs had disturbing social and political implications. Quakers granted women spiritual equality with men, allowing them to preach, hold separate prayer meetings, and exercise authority over "women's matters." Arguing that social distinctions were not the work of God, Quakers refused to remove their hats in the presence of those of higher social class. And instead of the formal *you*, Quakers addressed superiors with the informal *thee* and *thou*. Because their faith required them to renounce the use of force, Quakers also refused to perform military service.

When English authorities began harassing Quakers, William Penn (who was himself jailed briefly) conceived his plan for a New World "holy experiment," a harmonious society governed by brotherly love. Using his father's connection with the king, he acquired the land that became Pennsylvania ("Penn's Woods") and recruited settlers from among Europe's oppressed peoples and persecuted religious sects. By 1700, about 18,000 emigrants had left England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and various German provinces for the new colony.

Many came in families and settled in an area occupied by the Delaware Indians, whose numbers had recently been reduced by disease and warfare. The "holy experiment" required colonists to live "as Neighbours and friends" with the Indians as well as with one another. Penn paid Indians for land and regulated trade. As long as he remained in control of the colony, relations between the settlers and the Indians were generally peaceful—so much so that refugee Indians from nearby colonies moved into Pennsylvania. Relations between Penn and the settlers, however, were less cordial.

In the **Frame of Government**, his constitution for Pennsylvania, Penn remained true to his Quaker principles with a provision allowing for religious freedom. But true to his aristocratic origins, he designed a legislature with limited powers and reserved considerable authority for himself. When Penn returned to England after a brief stay in the colony (1682–1684), the governor and council—both appointed by Penn—fought with elected members of the assembly. Penn's opponents—many of whom were fellow Quakers—objected to his proprietary privileges, including his control of foreign trade and his collection of fees from landholders. Settlers on the lower Delaware River gained autonomy for themselves with their own legislature, in effect creating an unofficial colony that later became Delaware.

Settlers continued to fight among themselves, and with Penn's heirs, after his death. A flood of increasingly aggressive immigrants undermined peaceful relations with the Indians, forcing many natives to abandon their homelands and move west.

By 1720, Pennsylvania's ethnically and religiously diverse population numbered more than thirty thousand. The colony had some of the richest farmland



along the Atlantic coast and was widely known as the “best poor man’s country in the world.” Growing wheat and other crops, the settlers lived mostly on scattered farms rather than in towns. From the busy port of Philadelphia, ships carried much of the harvest to markets in the West Indies and southern Europe. Penn’s “holy experiment” in social harmony may have failed, but as a thriving colony, Pennsylvania succeeded handsomely.

## THE DUTCH OVERSEAS EMPIRE

**S**mall but densely populated, the Dutch Republic joined the scramble for empire in the early seventeenth century. The Northern Provinces, sometimes known as Holland, had declared their independence from Spain in 1581. The new republic, dominated by Protestants, was intent on challenging Catholic Spain’s power for religious as well as political reasons in the New World as well as the Old. More than any other factor, however, the desire for profit drove the Dutch quest for colonies.

### THE WEST INDIA COMPANY AND NEW NETHERLAND

The Dutch Republic served as a major center of world trade. Thousands of Dutch ships plied the world’s oceans and the republic’s earnings from foreign trade may have surpassed those of the rest of Europe combined. This commercial vitality provided the context for overseas expansion.

The first instrument of colonial dominance was the Dutch East India Company, founded in 1602. Eager to reap profits from spices and other exotic goods, the Company challenged what had until then been a virtual Portuguese monopoly of Asian trade. Its first success was the capture of the Spice Islands (now Indonesia and East Timor), followed by the takeover of Batavia (Jakarta), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and Sumatra. The Company established trading posts on the Gold Coast of West Africa, where it competed with the Portuguese in the slave trade, and at the Cape of Good Hope on Africa’s southern tip. Its far-flung commercial net eventually encompassed parts of India and Formosa (Taiwan). These possessions sealed Dutch trading predominance for decades to come.

The Dutch next set their sights on the Americas, creating the West India Company in 1621. Its claim to the Connecticut, Hudson, and Delaware valleys stemmed from the 1609 voyage of Henry Hudson, an Englishman sailing for the Dutch, who discovered the river that bears his name.

The first permanent Dutch settlers on mainland North America arrived in 1624 to set up a fur-trading post at Fort Orange (now Albany). Two years later, a company of Protestant refugees established New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island. The Hudson River corridor between these two settlements became the heart of the New Netherland colony. Like New France, its economic focus was the fur trade. Dutch merchants forged ties with the Iroquois, who brought furs to exchange for European tools and weapons.

In the 1630s, to help supply colonial traders, the West India Company offered large landed estates (called *patroonships*) to wealthy Dutchmen who would be responsible for populating them with tenant farmers. The plan never really worked, and at its peak, New Netherland’s colonists only numbered about ten thousand.

What they lacked in numbers the colonists made up for in divisiveness. New Netherland became a magnet for religious refugees from Europe, as well as a

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HOW WERE the Dutch able to successfully establish New Netherland along the eastern seaboard of America?

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2-8  
A Jesuit Priest Describes  
New Amsterdam (1642)



destination for Africans acquired through the slave trade. Ethnic differences hindered a sense of community. Among the colony's Dutch, German, French, English, Swedish, Portuguese, and African settlers were Calvinists, Lutherans, Quakers, Catholics, Jews, and Muslims.

The West India Company, more interested in making money than keeping order, dispatched inept governors who provoked conflict with Indians. Although colonists maintained good relations with their Iroquois trading partners on the upper Hudson River, they had far less friendly dealings with Algonquian peoples around New Amsterdam. In one gruesome incident in 1645, Governor Willem Kieft ordered a massacre at an encampment of Indian refugees who had refused to pay tribute. A horrified Dutch witness described Indian children being “thrown into the river, and when the fathers and mothers endeavored to save them, the soldiers would not let them come on land, but made both parents and children drown.” He saw victims “with their hands, some with their legs cut off, and some holding their entrails in their arms.” Ten years later, Governor Peter Stuyvesant antagonized Susquehannock Indians along the Delaware River by seizing a small Swedish colony where the Susquehannocks had traded.

Such actions provoked retaliatory raids by the Indians, further weakening the colony. Though profitable, the fur trade did not generate the riches to be found in other parts of the Dutch empire. By the 1650s and 1660s, New Netherland looked like a poor investment to company officials in Europe.

### NEW NETHERLAND BECOMES NEW YORK

The proprietary colonies of New York and New Jersey were carved out of the Dutch colony of New Netherland. Competition between the English and the Dutch had generated two Anglo-Dutch wars, first in 1652–1654, and again in 1665–1667. In the New World, tensions were heightened by the presence of English colonists on Long Island, which the Dutch claimed for themselves.

In 1664, Charles II brought matters to a head by claiming that since the site of New Netherland lay within the bounds of the original charter of Virginia, the land belonged to England. He granted the territory to his brother James, Duke of

York, who sent ships to Long Island to back up England's claim. Their arrival provoked a rebellion by the island's English colonists, leading the Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant—who commanded just 150 soldiers—to surrender without firing a shot.

The Duke of York became proprietor of this new English possession, which was renamed New York. James immediately created another colony, New Jersey, when he granted some of the land to a group of his supporters.

New York, which James retained for himself, included the port of New York City (the former New Amsterdam) and the Hudson Valley with its fur trade. James, who succeeded his brother to the English throne in 1685, encouraged Dutch colonists to remain and promoted immigration from England. By 1700, the settlers numbered twenty thousand.

This engraving depicts New Amsterdam in 1643 as a bustling port. The figures of African laborers in the foreground attest to the importance of slavery in the Dutch colonial city, where perhaps a quarter of the residents had been born in Africa.

Corbis / Bettmann.





## ◆ AMERICAN VIEWS ◆

### MIANTONOMO'S PLEA FOR INDIAN UNITY (1642)

**U**ntil European colonization, the native inhabitants of North America never thought of themselves as one people, any more than the inhabitants of Europe considered themselves “Europeans.” Miantonomo, a Narragansett living in Rhode Island, was one of the first native leaders to call for a unified response to English intrusion. With the gruesome lessons of the Pequot War fresh in his mind, he urged the Montauks of Long Island to join the Narragansetts in opposing the settlers. His appeal, recorded by Lion Gardiner, an English officer during the Pequot War, was in vain. Captured by the English and convicted of the murder of an Indian, Miantonomo was turned over to a Mohegan rival for execution.

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HOW DID Miantonomo describe Indian life before the arrival of the English? What changes occurred as a result of their settlement?

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Brothers, we must be as one as the English are, or we shall all be destroyed. You know our fathers had plenty of deer and skins and our plains were full of game and turkeys, and our coves and rivers were full of fish.

But, brothers, since these Englishmen have seized our country, they have cut down the grass with scythes, and the trees with axes. Their cows and horses eat up the grass, and their hogs spoil our bed of clams; and finally we shall all starve to death; therefore, stand not in your own light, I ask you, but resolve to act like men. All the sachems both to the east and the west have joined with us, and we are resolved to fall upon them at a day appointed, and therefore I come secretly to you, [be]cause you can persuade your Indians to do what you will.

Source: Steven Mintz, ed., *Native American Voices: A History and Anthology* (1995), pp. 84–85. Reprinted with permission of Brandywine Press.

## CONCLUSION

**D**uring the seventeenth century, France, the Netherlands, and England competed for land and trade in North America, with France and England gaining colonies on the mainland and all three joining Spain in the Caribbean. New France's small and scattered settlements clung to the St. Lawrence River Valley. The profits from the fur trade encouraged the French to maintain friendly relations with their Indian allies and ensured that French kings would monitor the colony's affairs and invest in its defense. English kings granted charters—sometimes to joint-stock companies (Virginia, Plymouth, Massachusetts), sometimes to proprietors (Maryland, Carolina, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania)—and let the colonies develop more or less on their own.

English settlers adjusted to different environments, developed different economies and labor systems, and worshiped in different churches. In South Carolina, New York, Pennsylvania, the West Indies, most settlers were not even of English origin. What held these colonies together was an overlay of common English institutions of government. By the mid-1680s, all the colonies had legislatures that provided for self-government and laws and judicial institutions based on English models.

The planting of French, Dutch, and English colonies not only ended Spain's monopoly of settlement in North America but also challenged the Indians' hold on the continent. Native peoples had to deal with a rising tide of settlers and often to choose sides between European antagonists. Transplanted Europeans adapted too, not only in their dealings with native peoples but also in finding and controlling the

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HOW WERE the biracial societies of the West Indies and Carolina different from societies in other parts of North America?

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supply of laborers they needed to make their colonies prosper. For English colonists this meant the widespread adoption of slavery. For millions of Africans, the result was forced migration to the New World.

## SUMMARY

**The French in North America** Although French efforts to found American colonies in the late sixteenth century ended in failure, French fishermen continued to visit the Newfoundland coast. As a result, the French did begin to establish colonies in the early seventeenth century. Quebec, organized by Samuel de Champlain, was the first permanent French settlement in Canada. By 1700, New France had about fifteen thousand settlers.

**English Settlement in the Chesapeake** When the English again attempted to settle in America in 1607, they chose the lower Chesapeake Bay region. The new settlement, Jamestown, eventually developed into the prosperous colony of Virginia. It didn't take long before tobacco became the staple crop of this region, supplying much of Western Europe while providing an important source of economy to the Chesapeake Bay area colonies.

**The Founding of New England** Six English colonies appeared in the New England region between 1620 and 1640. The Pilgrims founded Plymouth in 1620, and, before long, the Massachusetts Bay colony and its offshoots comprised a populous region. The average family in New England had seven or eight children. Unlike Chesapeake colonists who spread out on tobacco lands near navigable rivers, New Englanders clustered in towns, which provided the context for religious, political, and economic activity.

**Competition in the Caribbean** The Spanish claimed all Caribbean islands by right of Columbus's discovery, but during the early seventeenth century, French, Dutch, and English adventurers defied them. The first English colonists who came to the West Indies in the 1630s raised tobacco and imported indentured servants to work their fields. Sugar rapidly transformed the West Indies, and with its boom came the need for labor. Slave labor in the West Indies soon created a biracial society.

**The Proprietary Colonies** With the accession of Charles II to the English throne in 1660, interest in North American colonies revived. In 1663, Charles II granted a group of supporters a track of land from southern Virginia to northern Florida. The proprietors called their colony Carolina. By 1708, there were more black slaves than white settlers in the colony. As Carolina continued to grow, William Penn started a colony just north of there. Penn's Quaker beliefs became entrenched in the fabric of the new colony, and his Frame of Government (Penn's constitution for Pennsylvania) included a provision allowing for religious freedom.

**The Dutch Overseas Empire** Small but densely populated, the Dutch Republic joined the scramble for empire in the early seventeenth century. The first permanent Dutch settlers on mainland North America settled at Fort Orange (now Albany) in 1624. Two years later, a company of Protestant refugees established New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island. The Hudson River corridor between these two settlements became the heart of the New Netherland colony.

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## REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Comparing French, Dutch, and English colonies, which ones attracted the most settlers, and which the fewest? How did these differences in emigration affect the various colonies' development?









2. Which English settlements were proprietary colonies? Did they share any common characteristics? What plans did the various proprietors have for their colonies?
3. Religion played a major role as a motive for settlement in both Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. What were the religious beliefs of the settlers in each colony, and how did those beliefs help shape each colony's development?
4. The Chesapeake, the West Indies, and Carolina were all colonies dependent upon staple crops. What were those staple crops? In what ways did staple crop agriculture shape society in each region?

## KEY TERMS

<b>Act for Religious Toleration</b> (p. 39)	<b>headright system</b> (p. 35)	<b>proprietary colony</b> (p. 39)
<b>Anglican</b> (p. 40)	<b>House of Burgesses</b> (p. 36)	<b>Puritans</b> (p. 40)
<b>coureur de bois</b> (p. 34)	<b>indentured servants</b> (p. 37)	<b>Quakers</b> (p. 50)
<b>covenant</b> (p. 42)	<b>joint-stock company</b> (p. 35)	<b>separatists</b> (p. 40)
<b>Frame of Government</b> (p. 50)	<b>Pequot War</b> (p. 42)	<b>slave codes</b> (p. 48)
<b>Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina</b> (p. 48)	<b>Pilgrims</b> (p. 40)	

## WHERE TO LEARN MORE

-  **Jamestown Settlement, near Williamsburg, Virginia.** Site includes replicas of first English passenger ships to Virginia, a reconstructed Powhatan Village, the recreated James Fort, and galleries with Indian and English artifacts. Visitors can also see archaeological excavations of site of the actual James Fort, as well as sample artifacts recovered from the area. For updated information about archaeological excavations at Jamestown, see [www.apva.org](http://www.apva.org). At <http://jeffersonvillage.virginia.edu>, you can take a virtual tour of the Jamestown settlement.
-  **St. Mary's City, Maryland.** Visitors to this site of the first permanent settlement under the Calvert family may tour the area and view exhibits and living history programs that describe life in early Maryland. The website [www.somd.com](http://www.somd.com) contains information about the historic site of St. Mary's City and has links to a virtual tour of the area.
-  **Plimoth Plantation, Plymouth, Massachusetts.** A living history museum, Plimoth Plantation recreates colony life in the year 1627. There are reproductions of the English village and a Wampanoag settlement. Visitors may also see a replica of the Mayflower. For a virtual tour, go to [pilgrims.net/plimothplantation/vtour](http://pilgrims.net/plimothplantation/vtour). Information on Pilgrims and early years of the colony can be found at: [pilgrims.net/plymouth/history](http://pilgrims.net/plymouth/history)
-  **Pennsbury Manor, Morrisville, Pennsylvania.** A reconstruction of William Penn's seventeenth-century plantation, this site includes furnished buildings and restored gardens. There are also guided tours and demonstrations of colonial crafts. Both [www.bucksnet.com/pennsbury](http://www.bucksnet.com/pennsbury) and [www.pennsburymanor.org](http://www.pennsburymanor.org) provide information about William Penn, the historic site, and various activities at the manor.



For additional study resources for this chapter, go to:  
[www.prenhall.com/goldfield/chapter2](http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield/chapter2)

The first object that saluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast was the sea, and a slave ship, which was then riding at anchor, and waiting for its cargo.



Fourteen men and six women from Guinea arriving on a Dutch ship at Jamestown, Virginia, in August 1619, the beginning of Negro slavery in the American colonies.