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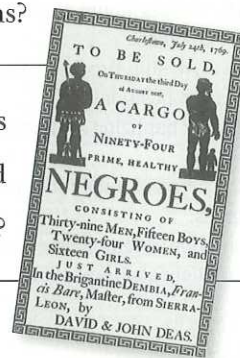


THE CREATION OF NEW WORLDS



WHAT FACTORS shaped the character of the relationship between Native Americans and Europeans?

WHO WERE the first slaves in North America and what role did they play in early American colonies?



WHAT EFFECT did the development of African American families and communities have on slaves and slave owners?

WHAT FACTORS motivated European immigrants to make the long journey to North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?



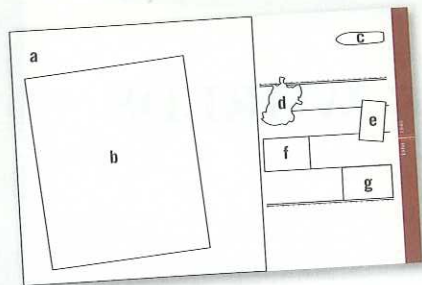
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- f. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum, Colonial Williamsburg Foundations. VA
- g. Laurie Platt Winfrey, Inc. Chronicles of Michoacan (by Beaumont); Collection Revillagigedo Historia; 18th century manuscript (detail); Archivos General de la Nacion, Palacios Nacional.



IMAGE KEY

for pages 56–57



- a. White Hills Map by John Foster, 1677, woodcut. America's first map.
- b. 14 men and 6 women from Guinea arriving on a Dutch ship at Jamestown, Virginia in August 1619, the beginning of slavery in the American colonies.
- c. Model of the slave ship Brookes, showing plan view of slave positions.
- d. Jesuit missionary baptizing an Indian in New France.
- e. "To be sold, a cargo of ninety-four prime, healthy Negroes."
- f. The Old Plantation, showing slaves at work.
- g. Chronicles of Michoacan; detail of manuscript.



The freed slave Olaudah Equiano appears in this 1780 portrait by an unknown artist. After purchasing his freedom, Equiano wrote a vivid account of his capture in Africa and his life in slavery. One of the first such accounts to be published (in 1789), this narrative testified to slavery's injustice and Equiano's own fortitude.

"Portrait of a Negro Man, Olaudah Equiano," 1780s (previously attributed to Joshua Reynolds) by English School (18th c.). Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter, Devon, UK. Bridgeman Art Library, London/New York.

One day [in 1756], when all our people were gone out to their work as usual, and only I and my sister were left to mind the house, two men and a woman got over our walls, and in a moment seized us both; and without giving us time to cry out, or to make any resistance, they stopped our mouths and ran off with us into the nearest wood. Here they tied our hands, and continued to carry us as far as they could. . . . Thus I continued to travel, both by land and by water, through different countries and various nations, till at the end of six or seven months after I had been kidnapped, I arrived at the sea coast. . . .

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. These filled me with astonishment, that was soon converted into terror, which I am yet at a loss to describe. . . . I was immediately handled and tossed up to see if I was sound, by some of the crew; and I was now persuaded that I had got into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me. Their complexions too, differing so much from ours, their long hair, and the language they spoke, which was very different from any I had ever heard, united to confirm me in this belief. . . . I asked . . . if we were not to be eaten by those white men with horrible looks, red faces, and long hair. . . .

In a little time after, amongst the poor chained men, I found some of my own nation. . . . They gave me to understand we were to be carried to these white people's country to work for them. . . . [Many weeks later] we were landed up a river a good way from the sea, about Virginia county, where we saw few of our native Africans, and not one soul who could talk to me.

Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African*.

OLAUDAH EQUIANO, born in 1745 in the African kingdom of Benin, was only a boy when his terrifying journey to America began. The son of an Igbo chief, he was caught in the web of the expanding transatlantic slave trade. Slavery had spread from England's Caribbean colonies to dominate the Chesapeake settlements as well.

At the same time, North American Indian peoples, faced with a flood of immigrants from Europe and Africa, employed adaptation, co-existence, diplomacy, and resistance to assert their claims to land and their right to participate in the events and deliberations that affected their lives as much as those of colonists. The America to which Olaudah Equiano had been forcibly transported remained a place where Indian voices had to be heeded.

Equiano's journey did not end in Virginia. Over the next quarter-century, he visited nearly every part of England's empire and beyond. He worked as the servant of a naval officer, a barber, a laborer, and an overseer until he could purchase his own freedom. His extraordinary career bore witness to the emergence of an international market for laborers, which—like slavery and Indian relations—shaped the development of North America. Thousands of people from England, Scotland, Ireland, and Germany sought their fortunes in America. The interactions of Indians, Africans, and Europeans created not one but many New Worlds.

CHRONOLOGY

1440s	Portuguese enter slave trade in West Africa.	1680	Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico.
c. 1450	Iroquois form Great League of Peace and Power.	1680s	Second phase of Beaver Wars begins.
1610–1614	First war between English settlers and Powhatan Indians.	1690s	Shift from white indentured servants to black slaves as principal labor force in the Chesapeake.
1619	First Africans arrive in Virginia.	1701	Iroquois adopt policy of neutrality toward French and English.
1622–1632	Second war between English settlers and Powhatan Indians.	1711–1713	Tuscarora War in Carolina.
1637	Pequot War in New England.	1713	Beginnings of substantial Scottish, Scots-Irish, and German immigration to colonies.
1640s	Slave labor begins to dominate in the West Indies. First phase of the Beaver Wars.	1715–1716	Yamasee War in Carolina.
1651	First “praying town” established at Natick, Massachusetts.	1720s	Black population begins to increase naturally in English mainland colonies.
1661	Maryland law defines slavery as lifelong, inheritable status.	1732	Georgia established.
1670	Virginia law defines status of slaves.	1739	Stono Rebellion in South Carolina.
1675–1676	King Philip’s War in New England.	1741	Slave conspiracy discovered in New York City.
1676	Bacon’s Rebellion in Virginia.	1750	Slavery legalized in Georgia.
		1760–1775	Peak of European and African immigration to English colonies.

INDIANS AND EUROPEANS

Although, by 1750, European colonists and African slaves together outnumbered Indians north of the Rio Grande, Native Americans continued to dominate much of the continent. The colonists remained clustered along the coasts and had yet to make significant movement into the interior. Some native peoples had scarcely seen any colonists. Indians living along the northern Pacific coast, for instance, met their first white men—Russian fur traders—only in the 1740s. By this time, the Pueblos of the Southwest, the Hurons of Canada, and the Algonquians of the Atlantic seaboard had more than a century’s experience with European colonists.

The character of the relationship between Indians and Europeans depended on more than relative population size and the length of time they had been in contact. It was also shaped by the intentions of the newcomers—whether they came to extract resources, to trade, to settle, or to gain converts—and the responses of particular Native American groups intent on preserving their cultures. The result was a variety of regionally distinctive New World communities.

INDIAN WORKERS IN THE SPANISH BORDERLANDS

More than any other European colonists, the Spanish sought direct control over Indians. Their ability to marshal Indian workers for Spanish gain depended on the existence of sizable Indian communities and Spanish military force. In North America outside of Mexico itself, these conditions could be found in New Mexico and parts of Florida.

One of the Spaniards’ most important methods of labor control was the *encomienda*. *Encomiendas*, granted to influential Spaniards in New Mexico, gave

WHAT FACTORS shaped the character of the relationship between Native Americans and Europeans?

Encomienda In the Spanish colonies, the grant to a Spanish settler of a certain number of Indian subjects, who would pay him tribute in goods and labor.

these colonists the right to collect tribute from the native peoples living on a specific piece of land. It was not supposed to include forced labor, but often it did.

The *repartimiento* was another Spanish technique for exploiting Native American labor. This was a mandatory draft of Indian labor for public projects, such as building forts, bridges, and roads. Laws stated that native workers should be paid and limited the length of their service, but the Spanish sometimes compelled Indians to work on private estates. Spaniards also acquired laborers by ransoming captives that Indian groups seized from one another. This practice, called *rescate*, obliged rescued Indians to work for those who had paid their ransom.

Together these Spanish strategies for controlling Indian labor aroused considerable resentment on the part of native peoples. Spanish demands for labor and tribute remained constant, even when Indian populations declined from disease or crops failed in bad weather. Workers who resisted were punished. Resentments simmered until late in the seventeenth century, when native anger burst forth in rebellion.

THE WEB OF TRADE

WHO WERE the first slaves in North America and what economic role did they play in early America colonies?

Europeans eager to trade with Indians had to prove their friendship by offering gifts and military aid as well as trading goods. French traders in Canada brought gifts and prepared feasts for their native partners, obliging the Indians to offer the furs that the French wanted. One seventeenth-century observer described the French governor giving the Hurons barrels of hatchets and arrowheads, in part “to waft their canoes gently homewards, [in] part to draw them to us next year.” The Indians also got iron tools, kettles, cloth, beads, and—eventually—guns.

Trading with Europeans would gradually destroy the Indians’ way of life. Contact with traders exposed Indians to deadly European diseases. The Huron population declined by half in just six years between 1634 and 1640. Indians trading with the Dutch in New Netherlands in the 1650s insisted “their population had been melted down” by smallpox.

Trade also undermined self-sufficiency. Before the French arrived, for instance, the Micmacs in easternmost Canada supported themselves mainly by fishing. After becoming partners of the French around 1610, they trapped beaver year round, relying on the French and New England Indians for food. After they had trapped virtually all the beavers on their lands, they were abandoned by the French, who turned instead to the Hurons. The once prosperous Micmacs barely survived.

Other groups would suffer a similar fate. “The Cloaths we wear, we cannot make ourselves,” a Carolina Cherokee used to woolen garments observed in 1753. “We cannot make our Guns. . . . Every necessary Thing in Life we must have from the white People.”

Before European contact, most Indian bands living north of the Rio Grande made war to seek revenge for violent acts committed against their own people. But after the Europeans arrived, Indians began to fight each other for economic advantage, and the hostilities became far more deadly. Rivalries among French, English, and Dutch traders led to conflicts among their Indian partners. The **Beaver Wars**, a long struggle between the Hurons and the Iroquois, began in the 1640s.

Because the French already traded with the Hurons, Dutch merchants in the Hudson River Valley seeking to break into the fur trade turned to the *Iroquois League*. Composed of five separate Indian nations—the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas—it functioned as a religious organization to preserve peace among the five nations and strengthen them in their conflicts with other Indian peoples. The Iroquois agreed to supply the Dutch with furs in return for trade goods.

Repartimiento In the Spanish colonies, the assignment of Indian workers to labor on public works projects.

Rescate Procedure by which Spanish colonists would pay ransom to free Indians captured by rival natives.

Beaver Wars Series of bloody conflicts, occurring between 1640s and 1680s, during which the Iroquois fought the French for control of the fur trade in the east and the Great Lakes region.

By the 1630s, the Hurons and Iroquois had killed nearly all the beavers on their own lands and began to look elsewhere for furs. The Hurons traded corn for furs with Indians living north of the Great Lakes. The Iroquois began to raid Huron trading parties and then to attack Huron villages.

The Iroquois triumphed in the resulting conflict largely because the Dutch readily supplied them with guns while the French did not arm the Hurons. In the end, the Hurons were destroyed. A French traveler reported seeing no Hurons in “districts which, not ten years ago, I reckoned to contain eight or ten thousand men.”

The cycle of warfare did not end with the destruction of the Hurons. The Iroquois went on to challenge Indian nations near the Great Lakes and in the Ohio Valley. Seeking iron kettles more durable than earthenware pots, cloth that was lighter and more colorful than animal skins, and guns that were deadlier than bows and arrows, Indians changed their lives in ways that suited their own needs as much as those of European traders.

DISPLACING NATIVE AMERICANS IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES

Trading colonies relied on Indian partners to supply them with furs and so maintained friendly relations with them out of self-interest. The European population of the trading colonies also stayed fairly low. Even after the devastation of disease, Indians outnumbered Europeans in New France and New Netherlands. As late as 1650, there were just 657 French people in Canada (compared to perhaps ten thousand Hurons) and only three thousand Europeans in New Netherlands. The English, in contrast, came mainly to settle. By 1650 there were more than fifty thousand Europeans and two thousand Africans in England’s North American colonies.

The influx of settlers into the English colonies, as always, exposed native peoples to European diseases. So swift was the decline in native populations—and so rapid the influx of Europeans—that in coastal Massachusetts and eastern Virginia, colonists outnumbered Indians by 1650.

Largely because of the colonists’ desire for land, violence between Europeans and Indians occurred with greater regularity in the English colonies than in New France or New Netherlands. Colonists thrilled at the sight of what they saw as vast unoccupied territory. One New England settler declared that the natives “do but run over the grass, as do also the foxes and wild beasts” and that therefore the “spacious and void” land was free for the taking.

The settlers misunderstood how Indians used their territory. Eastern Algonquian peoples cleared areas for villages and planting fields, which native women farmed until the soil grew less fertile. Then they moved to a new location, allowing the former village site to return to forest. In ten to twenty years, they or their descendants might return to that site to clear and farm it again. Indians often built villages near the seacoast or rivers so they could fish and use reeds and grasses for weaving. In the winter, village communities broke up into small bands to hunt in the forest for deer and other animals.

Thus what the colonists considered “vacant” lands were either being used for nonfarming activities or recovering from human occupation in order to be farmed in years to come. Settlers who built towns on abandoned native village sites deprived the Indians of these future planting fields. Competition from the rapidly increasing settlers threatened Indian survival.

Disputes between Europeans and Indians frequently arose from misunderstandings about land ownership and property rights. Indian villages claimed collective sovereignty over a certain territory to be used for farming, fishing, hunting,

QUICK REVIEW

Native Americans and English Settlers

- ◆ Influx of settlers exposed native peoples to disease.
- ◆ Settlers’ desire for land led to violence between settlers and Indians.
- ◆ By 1650 settlers outnumbered Indians in some areas.

and gathering. For Europeans, ownership conferred on an individual the exclusive right to use or sell a piece of land.

When Indians transferred land to settlers, the settlers assumed that they had obtained complete rights to the land, whereas the Indians assumed that they had given the settlers not the land itself but only the right to use it, and that no Indian inhabitants would have to leave. It was the English understanding that ultimately prevailed, enforced in the settlers' courts under the settlers' laws.

Settlers' agricultural practices also strained relations with the Indians. Cutting down forests destroyed Indian hunting lands. When colonists dammed rivers, they disrupted Indian fishing. When they surrounded fields with log fences and stone walls, they made trespassers of natives who crossed them. Yet the colonists felt free to let their cattle and pigs loose to graze in the woods and meadows, where they could wander into unfenced Indian cornfields and damage the crops.

The settlers gradually displaced Indian inhabitants, acquiring their lands in various ways. Some colonial leaders, such as Roger Williams in Rhode Island and William Penn of Pennsylvania, insisted on buying it. But sometimes settlers bought collectively owned land from individual Indians who had no right to sell it. Indians frequently misunderstood the terms of sale recorded in English. Even Indian groups who had willingly sold land grew resentful as colonists approached them for more. Finally, native peoples could be forced to sell land to settle debts they had run up with English creditors.

Increasingly, colonists simply settled on Indian lands without permission and appealed to colonial governments for help when the Indians objected. Land speculators amplified this kind of unrest as they sought to acquire land as cheaply as possible and sell it for as much as they could.

Finally, the settlers often seized Indian lands in the aftermath of war, as befell, among others, the Pequots in Connecticut in 1637, and in Carolina the Tuscaroras in 1713 and the Yamasees in 1715. Sometimes colonial leaders contrived for some Indian groups to help them displace others. During the Pequot War, Narragansetts had aided Connecticut settlers' efforts to oust the Pequots. Carolina colonists enlisted the help of the Yamasees against the Tuscaroras and then turned to the Cherokees to help them against the Yamasees.

The English viewed the Indians, as they had the Irish, as savages with whom it would be better not to mix. Colonists built communities on lands bought or taken from natives and then discouraged them from living there. In New France and New Spain, Europeans and Indians mingled more freely and even intermarried, but in the English colonies, separation prevailed.



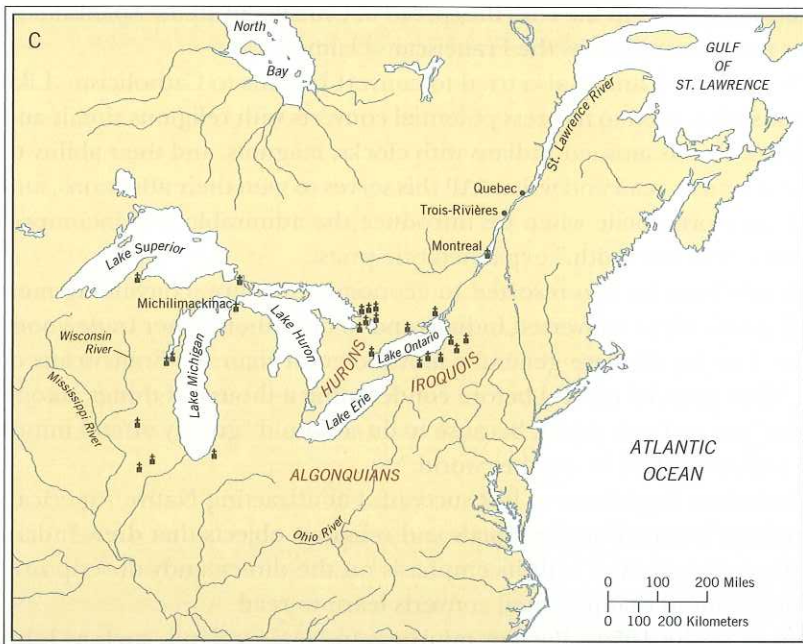
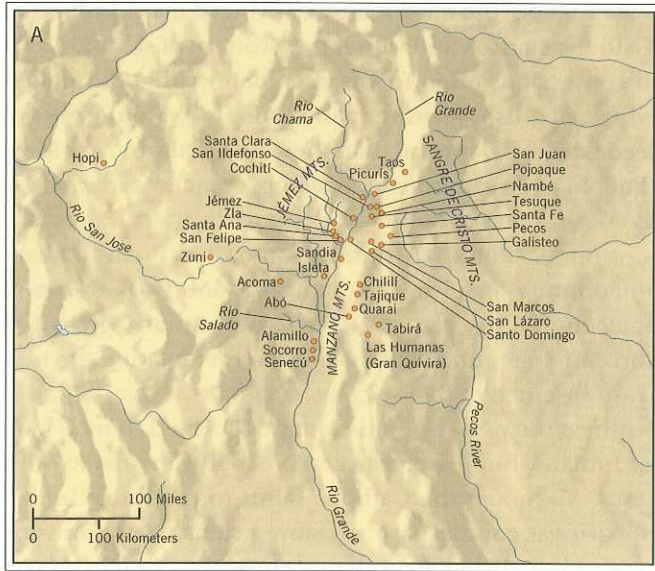
This Jesuit missionary, wearing his distinctive Catholic vestments, is baptizing an Indian in New France. French Jesuits proved to be more tolerant than most European missionaries in allowing Indian converts to retain at least some of their own customs.

Courtesy of Library of Congress.

BRINGING CHRISTIANITY TO NATIVE PEOPLES

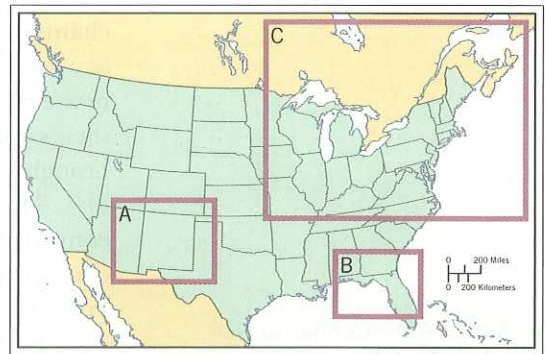
In early colonial North America, the three major New World empires—those of Spain, France, and England—competed for Indians' souls as well as their lands and riches.

Catholic missionaries—mainly Franciscan priests—were the driving force behind Spain's efforts to assert control over its colonies of New Mexico and Florida. Spain's bases in Florida helped protect Spanish ships bearing treasure from the mines of Mexico and Peru and discouraged the southward spread of English settlement. New Mexico similarly served as a buffer between the silver mines of northern Mexico and roaming Plains Indians. Neither colony attracted many settlers, however, because neither offered much opportunity for wealth. When Franciscan missionaries proposed to move into New Mexico and Florida in order to convert their inhabitants to Christianity, Spanish officials agreed and even provided financial support. (See Map 3-1.)



GUALES Indian tribal names

- Pueblos
- ⚡ Missions
- Forts
- Towns



MAP 3-1

Spanish and French Missions in Seventeenth-Century North America Spanish Franciscans in New Mexico (A) and Florida (B) and French Jesuits in New France (C) devoted considerable effort to converting native peoples to Catholic Christianity.

BASED ON this series of maps, what geographic rationale might have been behind Spanish and French decisions to convert native peoples to Catholic Christianity?

The priests wore their finest vestments and displayed religious paintings and statues, trying to impress the Indians with European goods and Catholic ceremonies. They gave away bells, knives, cloth, and food. According to one Franciscan in New Mexico, these gifts brought Indians to the missions “like fish to the fish hook.” The natives believed that accepting these gifts obliged them to listen to the priests’ Christian message and help them build houses and churches.

QUICK REVIEW

Conversion

- ◆ Missionaries convinced many Indians to accept baptism.
- ◆ Many Indians did not understand the implications of baptism.
- ◆ Converts blended Christianity and native religion.

After brief religious instruction, the missionaries convinced many Indians to accept baptism into the Catholic Church and with it the promise of salvation and a heavenly afterlife. Such conversions often followed epidemics that devastated native villages but spared the Spanish, leading many Indians to wonder if the Christian God might indeed be more powerful than their own gods. In New Mexico, the Spanish offered Pueblo converts protection against Apache raids and access to Franciscan storehouses in times of famine.

Many Indians did not understand that baptism committed them to abandoning native beliefs and adopting Spanish food, clothing, and work routines. Priests in New Mexico, objecting to the ease with which Pueblo marriages could be dissolved, tried to enforce lifelong unions. Punishments for violating the new code were severe and in rare cases led to their victims' deaths.

By the mid-seventeenth century, Spanish missionaries claimed to have baptized tens of thousands of Indians. But many converts blended Christianity with native religion, adding Jesus, Mary, and the Catholic saints to the list of Indian gods and accepting missionaries as counterparts to native priests. Many converts were *mestizos*—people of mixed Indian and Spanish descent—who often practiced native rituals in secret. Some groups, such as the Zuni and Hopi peoples, rejected Christianity altogether. In the end, the spread of Christianity in the Spanish borderlands was not as complete as the Franciscans claimed.

French priests in Canada also tried to convert Indians to Catholicism. Like the Franciscans, they tried to impress potential converts with religious rituals and material objects. Priests amazed Indians with clocks, magnets, and their ability to predict eclipses and to read and write. "All this serves to gain their affections, and to render them more docile when we introduce the admirable and incomprehensible mysteries of our Faith," explained one priest.

French missionaries also resorted to economic pressure, convincing merchants to sell guns only to converted Indians and to offer them other trade goods at a discount. The Jesuits were generally more tolerant than the Franciscans of native ways. "One must be careful before condemning a thousand things among their customs," warned one priest, because to do so would "greatly offend minds brought up and nourished in another world."

The Protestant English were less successful at attracting Native American converts. Puritans frowned on the rituals and religious objects that drew Indian converts to Catholicism. And with its emphasis on the direct study of scripture, Protestantism required that potential converts learn to read.

Beginning in the 1650s, Puritan ministers in New England, such as John Eliot, established several praying towns, communities where Indians lived apart from settlers to learn Protestant Christianity and English ways. By 1674 about 2,300 Indians resided in these towns. Although individual ministers were interested in missionary work, efforts at conversion in the Anglican southern colonies enjoyed little success. English settlers preferred to isolate Indians rather than convert them.

AFTER THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS: CONFLICT AND WAR

After nearly a century of European settlement, violence between colonists and Indians erupted in all three North American empires, in **King Philip's War** in New England, **Bacon's Rebellion** in Virginia, the **Pueblo Revolt** in New Mexico, and the resumption of the Beaver Wars in New France.

King Philip's War, which broke out in 1675, was sparked by the growing frustration of the Wampanoags—the Indians who had befriended the Pilgrims more than half a century before—with the land-hungry settlers whose towns now surrounded them. Massasoit's younger son, Metacom—called King Philip by the



Ste. Marie among the Hurons,
near Midland, Ontario, Canada
www.saintemarieamongthehurons.on.ca

King Phillip's War Conflict in New England (1675–1676) between Wampanoags, Narragansetts, and other Indian peoples against English settlers; sparked by English encroachments on native lands.

Bacon's Rebellion Violent conflict in Virginia (1675–1676), beginning with settler attacks on Indians but culminating in a rebellion led by Nathaniel Bacon against Virginia's government.

Pueblo Revolt Rebellion in 1680 of Pueblo Indians in New Mexico against their Spanish overlords, sparked by religious conflict and excessive Spanish demands for tribute.

English—led the Wampanoags and struggled to preserve their independence. He had little reason to trust the colonists. His older brother had died mysteriously while being questioned by colonial officials about rumors of an Indian conspiracy. Philip himself had been accused of plotting against the settlers and then forced to sign a treaty submitting to English authority.

In the spring of 1675, a colonial court found three Wampanoags guilty of murdering a Christian Indian who had warned the English of Wampanoag preparations for war. The court sentenced the men to be hanged. The Wampanoags decided to strike back against the English. Only “a small part of the dominion of my ancestors remains,” declared Philip. “I am determined not to live until I have no country.”

At least a thousand colonists and perhaps three thousand Indians died in King Philip’s War. One out of every sixteen male colonists of military age was killed, making this the deadliest conflict in American history in terms of the proportion of casualties to total population. (See American Views: “Mary Rowlandson among the Indians.”) The Indians succeeded in forcing back the line of settlement but lost what remained of their independence in New England. Philip died in an ambush in August 1676, and the war ended soon afterwards. The victorious English sold many native survivors, including Philip’s wife and young son, into slavery in the West Indies. Philip’s head, impaled on a stake, was left for decades on the outskirts of Plymouth as a grisly warning of the price to be paid for resisting colonial expansion.

A bloody conflict erupted in Virginia that had a similarly devastating effect on that colony’s native population. Frustrated by shrinking economic opportunities in eastern Virginia, many settlers moved to Virginia’s western frontier. In the summer of 1675, a group of frontier settlers attacked the Susquehannocks in order to seize their lands. The Indians struck back, prompting Nathaniel Bacon, a young, wealthy planter who had only recently arrived in Virginia, to lead the settlers in a violent campaign against all Indians, even those at peace with the colonial government. Governor William Berkeley ordered Bacon and his men to stop their attacks. They defied him and marched on Jamestown, turning a war between settlers and Indians into a rebellion of settlers against the colonial authorities.

The rebels believed that Berkeley and the colonial government represented the interests of established tobacco planters. Desperate because of the low price of tobacco, the rebels demanded lower taxes and easier access to land. They also wanted help exterminating the Indians. Rebels captured and burned the colonial capital at Jamestown, forcing Berkeley to flee. They burned Indian villages and massacred the inhabitants. Trying to appease the rebels, the House of Burgesses passed measures allowing them to seize native lands and legalizing the enslavement of Indians.

By the time troops arrived from England to put down the rebellion, Bacon had died of a fever and most of his men had drifted home. Berkeley hanged twenty-three rebels, but the real victims of the rebellion were Virginia’s Indians. The remnants of the once-powerful Powhatans lost their remaining lands and either moved west or lived in poverty on the edges of English settlement. Hatred of Indians became a permanent feature of frontier life in Virginia.

In 1680 the Pueblo Revolt erupted against Spain’s colony of New Mexico. Nearly twenty thousand Pueblo Indians in New Mexico had grown restless under the harsh rule of only 2,500 Spaniards. During a prolonged drought that began in the 1660s, many people starved. The Apaches, who had once traded with the Pueblos for corn, now raided their storehouses instead, and Spanish soldiers could not stop them.



3-4
Edward Randolph Describes
King Philip's War (1865)

QUICK REVIEW

King Philip's War

- ◆ King Philip's War broke out in 1675.
- ◆ Conflict between Wampanoags and settlers led to war.
- ◆ Thousands of settlers and Indians died in the fighting.

WHERE TO LEARN MORE



Taos Pueblo,
Taos, New Mexico

www.cr.nps.gov/worldheritage/taos.htm

◆ AMERICAN VIEWS ◆

MARY ROWLANDSON AMONG THE INDIANS

In February 1676, in the midst of King Philip's War, Indian warriors attacked the town of Lancaster, Massachusetts. They killed many inhabitants and took 23 colonists captive, including Mary Rowlandson and three of her children. Rowlandson spent the next three months traveling with various groups of Nipmucs, Narragansetts, and Wampanoags. She watched her youngest daughter die in her arms and worried about her other two children, from whom she was frequently separated. Rowlandson survived her captivity by adapting to the Indians' way of life until she was ransomed and rejoined her family. In 1682, she published an account of her captivity in which she explored the meaning of her experience. The narrative was so popular that three editions were printed in the first year.

HOW DID Rowlandson describe the Indians? How did she characterize her encounter with King Philip? How did Rowlandson accommodate herself to the Indians' way of life? How did she employ her skills to fit in? How did her gender affect her captivity? How did Rowlandson's Puritan faith shape her narrative?

We travelled on till night; and in the morning, we must go over the River to Philip's crew. When I was in the Canoo, I could not but be amazed at the numerous crew of Pagans that were on the Bank on the other side. When I came ashore, they gathered all about me, I sitting alone in the midst: I observed they asked one another questions, and laughed, and rejoiced over their Gains and Victories. Then my heart began to fail: and I fell a weeping which was the first time to my remembrance, that I wept before them. Although I had met with so much Affliction, and my heart was many times ready to break, yet could I not shed one tear in their sight: but rather had been all this while

in a maze, and like one astonished: but now I may say as, Psal. 137.1 *By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down: yea, we wept when we remembered Zion.* There one of them asked me, why I wept, I could hardly tell what to say: yet I answered, they would kill me: No, said he, none will hurt you. Then came one of them and gave me two spoon-fulls of Meal to comfort me. . . . Then I went to see King Philip, he bade me come in and sit down, and asked me whether I would smoke (a usual Complement now adayes amongst Saints and Sinners) but this no way suited me. For though I had formerly used Tobacco, yet I had left it ever since I was first taken, *It seems to be a bait, the devil lays to make men loose their precious time.* . . .

During my abode in this place, Philip spake to me to make a shirt for his boy, which I did, for which he gave me a shilling: I offered the money to my master, but he bade me keep it: 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 fryed in Bears grease, but I thought I never tasted pleasanter meat in my life. There was a Squaw who spake to me to make a shirt for her *Sannup* [husband], for which she gave me a piece of Bear. Another asked me to knit a pair of Stockins, for which she gave me a quart of Pease. . . . Hearing that my son was come to this place, I went to see him, and found him lying flat upon the ground: I asked him how he could sleep so? He answered me, *That he was not asleep, but at Prayer;* and lay so, that they might not observe what he was doing. I pray God he may remember these things now he is returned in safety.

Source: Neal Salisbury, ed., *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God. Together with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed.* . . . (Boston, 1997), pp. 82–83.

The spark that ignited the revolt, however, was an act of religious persecution. Spanish officials unwisely chose this troubled time to stamp out Pueblo religion. In 1675, the governor arrested forty-seven native religious leaders on charges of sorcery. The court ordered most of them to be publicly whipped and released but sentenced four of them to death.

Spanish soldiers marched into Pueblo villages and destroyed kivas, the underground chambers that Indians used for religious ceremonies. Led by Popé,

one of the freed leaders, the outraged Pueblos organized a network of rebels. By the summer of 1680, Popé commanded an enormous force drawn from twenty Pueblo villages. On August 10, the rebels attacked the Spanish settlements. Popé urged them to “break up and burn the images of the holy Christ, the Virgin Mary and the other saints, the crosses, and everything pertaining to Christianity.” Within a few weeks, the rebels had destroyed or damaged every Spanish building and killed more than four hundred Spaniards, including twenty-one of the colony’s thirty-three missionaries. By October, all Spaniards had fled New Mexico.

They did not return for thirteen years. By then, internal rivalries had split the victorious Pueblo coalition. Even so, the Spanish understood the folly of pushing the Indians too far. Officials reduced demands for tribute, and the Franciscans eased their attacks on Pueblo religion.

In the last phase of the Beaver Wars, what began as a struggle between the Iroquois and western native peoples for control of the fur trade blossomed into a larger conflict as it was absorbed into the imperial rivalry between England and France.

Looking for new trading partners, the French turned in the 1680s to the Ottawas, Wyandots, and other Indian peoples living near the Great Lakes. But the Iroquois had begun to raid these same peoples for furs and captives, much as they had attacked the Hurons in the first phase of the Beaver Wars in the 1640s. They exchanged the furs with their English allies. The Iroquois objected to French traders’ attempt to “have all the Bevers” for themselves.

The French attacked the Iroquois to prevent them and their English allies from extending their influence in the west. In June 1687, a combined force of French and Christian Indian soldiers invaded the lands of the Senecas, the westernmost of the five nations of the Iroquois League. The Iroquois retaliated by besieging a French garrison at Niagara, where nearly two hundred soldiers starved to death, and killing hundreds of colonists in attacks on French villages along the St. Lawrence River.

In 1689, France and England went to war in Europe, and the struggle between them and their Indian allies for control of the fur trade in North America became part of a larger imperial contest between the two countries. The European powers made peace in 1697, but calm did not immediately return to the Great Lakes region.

The conflict was devastating for the Iroquois. Perhaps a quarter of their population died from disease and warfare by 1689. The devastation encouraged Iroquois diplomats to find a way to extricate themselves from future English-French conflicts. In 1701, a pair of treaties, negotiated separately with Albany and Montreal, recognized Iroquois neutrality and, at least for a few decades, prevented either the English or the French from dominating the western lands.

English settlers fought with Wampanoags, Powhatans, and Susquehannocks for control of land, and the losers were the outnumbered Indians. In 1680 a Pueblo revolt drove the Spanish from New Mexico for thirteen years. The Spanish were only able to re-establish control by abolishing the *encomienda system* and relaxing their strictures against Pueblo religious practices. French soldiers battled with the Iroquois over control of the fur trade until both sides agreed to an uneasy truce. In each case, nearly a century of contact culminated in a struggle that revealed how difficult, if not impossible, it was to reconcile European and native interests.

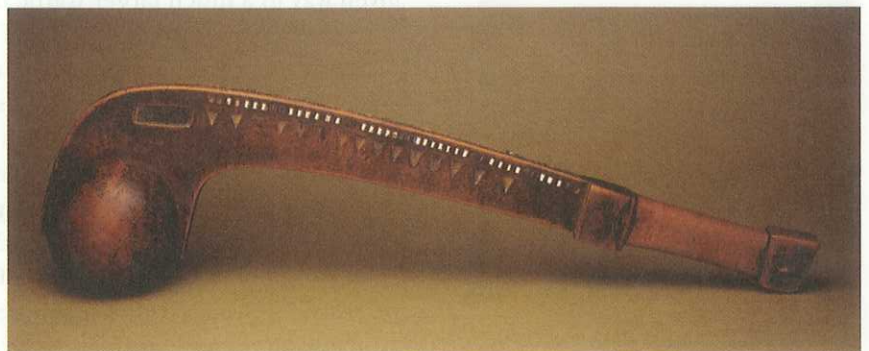
QUICK REVIEW

France, Britain, and the Iroquois

- ◆ France attacked the Iroquois to prevent them from extending their influence.
- ◆ France and England went to war in 1689.
- ◆ War spilled over into North America devastating Iroquois.

This ball-headed war club, carved of maple wood, is thought to have been owned by King Philip, who led a confederation of Wampanoags and other New England Indians in a war against the colonists in 1675–1676. It is inlaid on both sides with pieces of white and purple wampum, which supposedly represented the number of English and Indian enemies killed.

King Philip’s War Club. Courtesy of Fruitlands Museums, Harvard, MA.



WHAT EFFECT did the development of African American families and communities have on slaves and slave owners?



3-12

Alexander Falconbridge, *The African Slave Trade* (1788)

AFRICANS AND EUROPEANS

Many more Africans than Europeans came to the New World during the colonial period. Virtually all of them arrived as slaves; thus the history of African experience in America is inseparable from the history of slavery and the slave trade.

LABOR NEEDS AND THE TURN TO SLAVERY

Europeans in the New World thrilled to find that land was abundant and quite cheap by European standards. They were perplexed, however, by the unexpectedly high cost of labor. In Europe, the reverse had been true. There land was expensive but labor cheap because competition for jobs among large numbers of workers pushed wages down.

Colonial workers commanded high wages because there were so few of them compared to the supply of land waiting to be developed. Moreover, few settlers wanted to work for others when they could get farms of their own. The scarcity and high cost of labor led some colonial employers to turn to enslaved Africans as a solution.

Europeans had owned slaves (both white and black) long before the beginning of American colonization. But by 1500 slavery had all but disappeared in northern Europe. It persisted longer in southern Europe and the Middle East. Because neither Christians nor Muslims would hold as slaves members of their own faiths, Arab traders turned to sub-Saharan Africa to find slaves who did not belong to either religion. Eventually the Arabic word for slave—*abd*—became a synonym for “black man.” By the fifteenth century, a durable link between slave status and black skin had been forged in European minds.

When Spanish and Portuguese adventurers needed workers to develop newly colonized Atlantic islands and New World lands, they turned to slavery. Masters exercised complete control over slaves and paid them no wages. English colonists later adopted slavery in America even though it was unknown as a system of labor at home.

It was Indians, however, not Africans, whom the Europeans first forced into slavery in the Americas. Spaniards held native slaves in all their New World colonies and English colonists condemned Indian enemies captured in wartime to slavery. In early Carolina, English traders encouraged Indians “to make War amongst themselves to get Slaves” whom the traders could buy and then resell to West Indian and local planters.

Native American slaves, however, could not fill the settlers’ labor needs. Disease and harsh working conditions reduced their numbers. Enslaved Indian men refused to perform agricultural labor, which they considered women’s work. Because they knew the land better than the colonists, Indians could easily escape and make their way back to their own people. By 1700 the Indian slave trade had given way to a much larger traffic in Africans.

The Spanish and Portuguese first brought Africans to the Americas to supplement the dwindling numbers of Indian slaves toiling in silver mines and on sugar plantations. English colonists adopted slavery more slowly. West Indian planters were the first to do so on a large scale in the 1640s, following the Portuguese example in using black slaves to grow sugar.

Black slaves first arrived in Virginia in 1619 when a Dutch trader sold “20. and odd Negroes” in Jamestown, but they did not form a significant portion of the colony’s population until the end of the century. For decades, tobacco planters saw no reason to switch from white indentured servants to slaves. Servants were cheap, available, and familiar; slaves were expensive, difficult to obtain, and exotic.

QUICK REVIEW

The Demand for Labor

- ◆ Indians first forced into slavery in the Americas.
- ◆ By 1700 Indian slave trade replaced by slaves from Africa.
- ◆ Overtime slaves replaced servants on tobacco plantations.

Beginning in the 1680s, planters in the Chesapeake colonies of Virginia and Maryland began to shift from servants to slaves. White indentured servants became harder to find. Fewer young English men and women chose to emigrate as servants after 1660 because an improving economy in England provided jobs for them at home. And Virginia's white population tripled between 1650 and 1700, rapidly increasing the competition for a shrinking supply of laborers. Chesapeake planters also faced competition from newer colonies.

As white servants grew scarcer, African slaves became more available, largely due to changes in the slave trade. After 1698, England's Royal African Company lost its monopoly rights and many English merchants—and New Englanders—entered the fiercely competitive trade.

Chesapeake planters eventually came to prefer slaves to servants. Although more expensive than servants, slaves were a better long-term investment. Buying both men and women gave planters a self-reproducing labor force. Runaway black slaves were more easily recaptured than escaped servants, who blended into the white population. And unlike indentured servants, slaves were slaves for life and would not someday compete as planters with their former masters.

Chesapeake planters' view of white servants as possessions, whose labor could be bought and sold like any other commodity, eased the gradual transition in the 1680s and 1690s to the much harsher system of slavery. In Carolina, slaves had arrived right from the start, brought in the 1670s by colony founders accustomed to slavery in Barbados. By 1720, one-third of Virginia's settlers—and nearly three-quarters of South Carolina's—were black people.

Slavery grew rapidly in the South because it answered the labor needs of planters engaged in the commercial production of tobacco and rice. When James Oglethorpe founded Georgia in 1732, however, he intended to keep slavery out. Oglethorpe's idea was to send English debtors to Georgia to produce exotic goods like silk and wine. But when only rice turned a profit in Georgia, its founders reluctantly legalized slavery. By 1770, slaves made up nearly half of the colony's settlers.

In the northern colonies, slaves were too expensive for farmers who mainly produced food for their families, not export crops. The relatively few northern slaves generally worked as domestic servants, craftsmen, and day laborers.

Race relations in the mainland colonies were less rigid in the seventeenth century than they would later become. In the few Chesapeake households that had slaves, white and black people lived and worked in close contact. Black slaves and white servants cooperated during Bacon's Rebellion. In some areas, free black people—often slaves who had bought their own freedom—prospered in an atmosphere of racial tolerance that would be unthinkable by the eighteenth century.

The career of an ambitious black Virginian named Anthony Johnson, for example, resembled that of many white settlers—a remarkable achievement given that he arrived in the colony as a slave in 1621. Once free, Johnson married and raised a family. By 1651, he owned a large plantation, and later he even bought a slave. Johnson belonged to the first or what one historian has called the “charter” generation of American slaves. These people mainly came from African port towns or via the West Indies or New Netherlands. Familiar with European ways and languages, they bargained with their masters in ways their descendants would not be able to replicate, and they often gained their freedom.

But Johnson's descendants, and the generations of slaves who came afterwards, encountered harsher conditions. After 1700, slavery became the dominant labor system in the Chesapeake. Tobacco planters feared that free black people might encourage slaves to escape. In 1699, Virginia's assembly passed a law requiring newly freed black people to leave the colony.

QUICK REVIEW

Growth of Slavery

- ◆ Slavery grew rapidly in the South.
- ◆ The use of slaves made economic sense on tobacco and rice plantations.
- ◆ Northern slaves worked as servants, craftsmen, and day laborers.

FROM THEN TO NOW

The Legacy of Slavery

As the twenty-first century begins, Americans continue to grapple with the social, economic, and political consequences of the nation's past involvement in the enslavement of Africans. Slavery's roots extend deeply into American history, reaching back before nationhood itself. White colonists, facing a New World labor shortage in the seventeenth century, chose to fill their need for workers by purchasing slaves from Africa. Seeking to produce as much tobacco, rice, or sugar as they could for as little cost as possible, they left a painful legacy that has shaped America's history for centuries.

By the early eighteenth century, slavery was a fixture in every colony, and white colonists had come to associate slave status with black skin. The Revolution, with its rhetoric of freedom, challenged slavery but did not end it. It took another, far bloodier, war in the following century to accomplish that end. But the constitutional amendments outlawing slavery and guaranteeing black people's civil rights that passed after the Civil War—important milestones though they were—still could not eradicate the racism that had become deeply ingrained in American life.

Even today, well over a century after the Civil War ended, problems persist. Many black Americans have joined the middle class, but many others continue to suffer from discrimination and poverty. Black Americans' average incomes lag behind those of white people, fewer black people attend college, more of them live in impoverished neighborhoods in decaying urban centers. Black victims occasionally become targets of hate crimes merely because of the color of their skin. To a considerable extent, these economic and social dislocations, and the racial attitudes that help to shape them, can be traced to the lingering effects of slavery.

Recent public and private efforts to address the condition of African Americans have sought to highlight that longstanding

connection. In 1997, for instance, President Bill Clinton appointed a commission to study the persistent problem of race in America. That he chose an historian, John Hope Franklin, to head the group suggested that Clinton recognized the link between America's past involvement with slavery and the nation's current racial divisions. But when some of his supporters subsequently urged Clinton to issue a formal apology for slavery, he refused to take what would have been a highly controversial step.

The reluctance of political leaders to take on such a sensitive issue may explain the recent search for private remedies. Among the most prominent of these efforts was a federal lawsuit filed in March 2002 against the Aetna Insurance Company, the Fleet-Boston Financial Corporation, and the CSX Corporation. A group of black plaintiffs charged that these companies profited from slavery in the past, and ought to make restitution. In the 1850s the Aetna Insurance Company, for example, made money insuring the lives of slaves. Deandria Farmer-Paellmann, the lead plaintiff in the lawsuit and a descendant of slaves, discovered the connection as she researched the slave reparations issue for a law-school class. These companies, she suggested, "should be held responsible, and later on down the road there will be more companies."

Whether these suits will be any more successful than the push for a presidential apology remains to be seen. How reparations, if granted, would be used to ameliorate the condition of black Americans is also unclear. This lawsuit joins a host of earlier strategies, including constitutional amendments and civil rights legislation, in seeking to reverse the legacy of slavery and to make equality and justice a reality for all Americans. Even in the first decade of the twenty-first century, the nation is still contending with the consequences of decisions made by some of the earliest colonists almost four hundred years ago.

The condition of black people swiftly deteriorated. Laws defined slavery as lifelong and hereditary according to the condition of the mother and identified slave status with black skin. Other measures deprived black persons, slave or free, of basic civil rights. They could not testify in court against white people, hold property, congregate in public places, or travel without permission. Interracial marriages, never common, were now prohibited as "shameful Matches."

Colonists resorted to these slave codes—which reduced human beings to the status of property—largely because of fears generated by a rising black population. In 1720, a South Carolina planter predicted that slaves would soon rise up against their masters because black people were "too numerous in proportion to the White Men there." The changing composition of the slave labor force also created tensions.

Unlike the charter generation, slaves who came later usually came from the African interior. Planters commented on the strange appearance and behavior of these slaves, but the colonists' uneasiness scarcely compared to the Africans' harrowing experience.

THE SHOCK OF ENSLAVEMENT

European traders relied on other Africans to capture slaves for them, tapping into a preexisting African slave trade and helping to expand it. Europeans built forts and trading posts on the West African coast and bought slaves from African traders (see Map 3-2). Attracted by European cloth, iron, liquor, guns, and other goods, West Africans fought increasingly among themselves to secure captives and began kidnapping individuals from the interior.

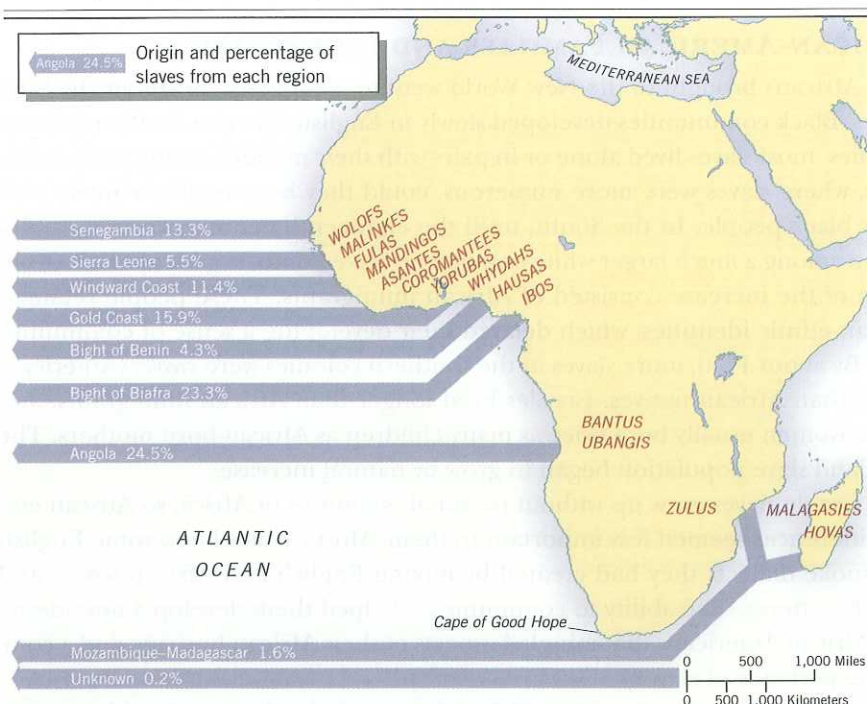
People of all social ranks ended up on the slave ships. Some had been slaves in Africa; others had been village leaders. Even members of African royal families ended up in shackles as slavery reduced all Africans, regardless of their social origins, to the same degraded status.

Once captured, slaves marched in chains to the coast, to be confined in cages called "barracoons" until there were enough to fill a ship. Captains examined them to ensure their fitness and branded them like cattle with a hot iron. The slaves then boarded canoes to be ferried to the ships.



MAP EXPLORATION

To explore an interactive version of this map, go to <http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield2/map3.2>



MAP 3-2

African Origins of North American Slaves, 1690-1807 Nearly all slaves in English North America were West Africans. Most had been captured or purchased by African slave traders, who then sold them to European merchants.

WHY MIGHT the Bight of Biafra and Angola together have made up nearly 50 percent of all slave trading out of West Africa?

Source: After Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (1969), tab. 45, p. 157.



As this nineteenth-century engraving indicates, slaves were often subjected to humiliating physical inspections so that potential buyers could be convinced of their good health and strength.

Courtesy of Library of Congress.

Slaves suffered through a horrendous six- to eight-week-long ocean voyage known as the **Middle Passage**. Captains wedged men below decks into spaces about 6 feet long, 16 inches wide, and 30 inches high. Women and children were packed even tighter. They occasionally came up on deck for fresh air, but spent most of the time below decks, where the air grew foul from the vomit, blood, and excrement in which the terrified victims lay. Sailors sometimes heard a “howling melancholy noise” coming from below. Some slaves tried to commit suicide by jumping overboard or starving themselves. Between 5 and 20 percent of the slaves perished from disease, but captains had usually packed the ships tightly enough to make a profit selling the rest.

Survivors of the dreadful voyage endured the fear and humiliation of sale. Sometimes buyers rushed aboard ship in a scramble to choose slaves. Ship captains also sold slaves at public auctions, where eager purchasers poked them, looking for signs of disease. The terrified Africans often thought they were about to be eaten.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES

Most Africans brought to the New World went to New Spain, Brazil, or the West Indies. Black communities developed slowly in English America. In the northern colonies, most slaves lived alone or in pairs with their master’s family. Only in the cities, where slaves were more numerous, could they have regular contact with other black people. In the South, until the eighteenth century, slaves were dispersed among a much larger white population. Slave numbers grew after 1700, but much of the increase consisted of African immigrants. These people retained African ethnic identities, which delayed their developing a sense of community.

By about 1750, more slaves in the southern colonies were *creoles* (American-born) than African natives. Creoles lived longer than African immigrants, and creole women usually bore twice as many children as African-born mothers. The mainland slave population began to grow by natural increase.

Creole slaves grew up without personal memories of Africa, so African ethnic differences seemed less important to them. Most creoles knew some English and spoke dialects they had created by mixing English and African words and speech patterns. The ability to communicate helped them develop a new identity as African Americans that mingled aspects of their African heritage and a common experience of slavery.

Kinship ties, crucial to West Africans’ sense of identity, remained important to American slaves. But slave families were fragile units, subject to the whims of masters who could break up families by sale at any time, and who could take slave women as sexual partners at will. Even so, slaves managed to form families that preserved and modified African traditions.

Households headed by mothers reappeared in America. Slave fathers often belonged to different masters than their wives and children and had to live apart from their families. Some slave husbands, like West African men, took more than

Middle Passage The voyage between West Africa and the New World slave colonies.

one wife (a practice masters allowed because it led to more slave children). Slave parents gave their children African names, often secretly adding them to the “official” names given by masters.

Carolina slaves followed West African practice by building their houses of “tabby,” a mixture of lime and seashells, and constructing houses on a circular plan. Potters and basketmakers used African designs in their work. Slaves raised African food plants (millet, yams, sesame seeds) in their gardens. They also made music, performed dances, and told folk tales derived from African models.

Traces of African religion also endured in America. Faith in magic and fortune tellers and the belief that relatives remained members of kin communities even after death, which made funerals extremely important, reflected slaves’ West African background. During most of the colonial period Christianity offered little competition to these African religious practices. Few masters were interested in converting their slaves, and most slaves did not adopt Christianity until after the Revolution.

Labor, however, consumed most of a slave’s waking hours. On tobacco plantations, slaves toiled in gangs supervised by overseers. Rice planters allowed their workers more flexibility, permitting them free time after they finished assigned tasks. On large plantations, masters selected slaves to be trained as shoemakers, weavers, or tailors. Only a few slave women—nurses, cooks—avoided the drudgery of field work. And after a day in the fields, slave women had to take care of their families, doing the cooking, child care, washing, and housework.

The growth of slave family and community ties made it much more difficult for slaves to risk escape or contemplate rebellion. The master could use his power to break up families as a tool to ensure compliant behavior. In effect, every slave child was his hostage.

Community life offered further opportunities to preserve elements of African heritage. Traces of African religious practices endured in America. Magical charms and amulets have been found buried in slave quarters, indicating that certain spiritual ceremonies may have been conducted out of sight of white masters. Slave conjurors told fortunes, concocted herbal potions, and placed curses on their clients’ enemies. Reflecting their West African background, slaves placed great emphasis on funerals, in the belief that relatives remained members of kin communities even after death. Funerals were sometimes divided into two distinct ceremonies. First, the deceased received a somber burial, often with beads or other ceremonial objects placed in the grave; some weeks later, slaves played music and danced at livelier funeral rites.

Christianity offered little competition to African religious practices during most of the colonial period. Few masters showed much interest in converting their slaves. Evangelical ministers, who began to preach to slave audiences around the middle of the eighteenth century, did gain some converts, but the widespread adoption of Christianity by slaves did not occur until after the Revolution.

African influences shaped aspects of slaves’ recreational activity and material life. Slave musicians used African-style instruments, including drums and banjos, to accompany traditional songs and dances. In parts of South Carolina, slaves enjoyed *papaw*, an African game with dice. Storytellers entertained audiences with folk tales that may have had African roots. Where slaves were allowed to build their own houses, they often incorporated African elements into the designs, for instance, by using mud walls and roofs thatched with palmetto leaves. Their gardens frequently contained African foods such as millet, yams, peppers, and sesame seeds along with European and Native American crops.

Family and community ties gave a sense of belonging and dignity to people whose masters treated them as outcasts. Working and living together, slaves preserved

QUICK REVIEW

Slave Society

- ◆ Traces of African culture remained in slave society.
- ◆ Labor consumed most of slave’s time.
- ◆ Growth of slave families and communities inhibited escape and rebellion.

at least some elements of African culture despite the harrowing conditions of their forced migration. Out of their African past and their American experience, they created new identities as African Americans as they coped with the oppressiveness of slavery.

RESISTANCE AND REBELLION

Slaves on ships anchored off the Guinea Coast waiting to leave for America sometimes mutinied but rarely succeeded. The powerful desire for freedom and the spirit of resistance remained strong among Africans and their descendants in America.

Thousands of slaves ran away from masters. Deciding where to go posed a problem as slavery was legal in every colony. Some runaways went to Florida, where Spanish officials promised them freedom. Others tried to survive on their own in the woods or join the Indians. But South Carolina planters paid Indians to catch escaped slaves, causing distrust between the two peoples. Running away also carried the high emotional cost of separation from loved ones as well as physical danger. Many slaves chose other ways to resist their bondage.

Landon Carter of Virginia, who complained that his slaves “seem to be quite dead hearted and either cannot or will not work,” was the target of another form of resistance. Slaves worked slowly, broke tools, and pretended to be ill in order to conserve strength and exert some control over their working lives. When provoked, they also took more direct action, damaging crops, stealing goods, and setting fire to their masters’ barns, houses, and fields. Some occasionally tried to poison whites.

South Carolinians and coastal Virginians, who lived in regions where black people outnumbered white people, had a particular dread of slave revolt. No slave rebellion succeeded in the British colonies, however. In Charleston, South Carolina, rumors of a planned uprising in 1740 led to the torture and execution of fifty



WHERE TO LEARN MORE

Carter's Grove Slave Quarter,
near Williamsburg, Virginia
www.williamsburg.com/plant/carter.html

This eighteenth-century painting from South Carolina records the preservation of certain African traditions in American slave communities. The dance may be Yoruba in origin, while the stringed instrument and drum were probably modeled on African instruments.

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center, Williamsburg, VA.





black suspects. The following year, thirty-five accused rebels (including four white people) were executed in New York City.

Two slave revolts did occur in the colonial period and instilled lasting fear in white colonists. In 1712 in New York City, about twenty slaves set a building on fire and killed nine white men who came to put it out. The revolt was quickly suppressed. The court sentenced twenty-four alleged rebels to death: Thirteen were hanged, three burned at the stake, one starved to death, and one was broken on the wheel. Six committed suicide before execution.

The **Stono Rebellion**, colonial America's largest slave uprising, occurred in South Carolina in 1739. About twenty slaves—including several recently arrived Angolans—broke into a store and armed themselves with stolen guns. As the rebels marched southward along the Stono River, their ranks grew to perhaps a hundred. Heading for freedom in Spanish Florida, they attacked white settlements along the way. White troops (with Indian help) defeated the rebels within a week, but tensions remained high for months. The death toll, in the end, was about two dozen white people and perhaps twice as many black rebels.

In the wake of the Stono Rebellion, South Carolina's assembly passed a law requiring stricter supervision of slave activities. Other measures encouraged more white immigration to offset the colony's black majority. But the colony continued to consider slavery indispensable to economic survival and would not end it.



2-12

James Oglethorpe: The Stono Rebellion (1739)

EUROPEAN LABORERS IN NORTH AMERICA

Slavery was one of several responses to the scarcity of labor in the New World. It took hold mainly in areas where the profits from growing export crops such as sugar, rice, and tobacco offset the high purchase price of slaves and where a warm climate permitted year-round work. Elsewhere, Europeans found other means to acquire and manage laborers.

A SPECTRUM OF CONTROL

Most colonial laborers were, in some measure, unfree. One-half to two-thirds of all white emigrants to the English colonies arrived as indentured servants. Servants were most common in the Chesapeake, and to a lesser extent in Pennsylvania, where they produced export crops valuable enough to enable their masters, to feed, clothe, and shelter them—and still make a profit.

Slaves gradually replaced white indentured servants in Chesapeake tobacco fields. By the middle of the eighteenth century, white servitude was in decline as a dominant labor system throughout the colonies.

Eighteenth-century Chesapeake planters availed themselves of another unfree labor source: transported English convicts, serious criminals who might otherwise have been executed. Between 1718 and 1775, nearly fifty thousand convicts were sent to the colonies, 80 percent of whom ended up in the Chesapeake. Labor-hungry planters eagerly bought them for seven-year terms at relatively low prices and exploited them ruthlessly.

The **redemptioner** system brought many German families to the colonies in the eighteenth century. Instead of negotiating contracts for service before leaving Europe, as indentured servants did, redemptioners promised to redeem, or pay, the costs of passage on arrival in America. They often paid part of the fare themselves before sailing. If they could not raise the rest soon after landing, the ship captain who brought them sold them into servitude. The length of their service depended on how much they still owed. Most Germans went to Pennsylvania,

WHAT FACTORS

motivated European immigrants to make the long journey to North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?

Stono Rebellion Uprising in 1739 of South Carolina slaves against whites; inspired in part by Spanish officials' promise of freedom for American slaves who escaped to Florida.

Redemptioner Similar to an indentured servant, except that a redemptioner signed a labor contract in America rather than in Europe.



WHERE TO LEARN MORE

Ephrata Cloister,
Ephrata, Pennsylvania
www.cob-net.org/cloister.htm

where they hoped to find friends or relatives willing to help them pay off their debt quickly.

Purchasing slaves, servants, or convicts did not make sense for everyone. Colonists who owned undeveloped land faced many tasks—cutting trees, clearing fields, building fences and barns—that brought no immediate profit. These landowners, many of whom lived in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, rented undeveloped tracts to propertyless families. Both tenants and landlords benefited from this arrangement. Tenants enjoyed greater independence than servants and could save toward the purchase of their own farms. The landlord secured the labor necessary to transform his property into a working farm, which increased the land's value. He also received an annual rent payment, usually a portion of the tenant's crop, and eventually profited from selling the land—often to the tenant family that had rented it.

Merchants eager to develop New England's fisheries devised other means to fill their labor needs. Because it was fairly easy to get a farm, few New Englanders cared to take on the difficult and risky job of fishing. Moreover, few could afford the necessary equipment. New England fish merchants advanced credit to coastal villagers so they could outfit their own boats and become fishermen. To pay off the debt, the fishermen were legally bound to bring their catch to the merchant, who then sold it to Europe and the West Indies.

In the northern colonies, the cost of servants or slaves exceeded whatever small profit could be made on farms that produced no export crops and could not be worked during cold winter months. So northern farmers turned to the cheapest and most dependable workers they could find—their children.

Children as young as 5 or 6 years old began with simple tasks and moved on to more complex work as they grew older. By the time they were in their late teens, girls knew how to run households and boys knew how to farm. Fathers used their ownership of property to prolong the time their sons worked for them. Young men in New England could not marry until they could support a wife and family. Often sons did not actually own any land until their fathers died and left it to them in their wills.

Thus New England's labor shortage produced strong ties of dependency between generations. Fathers kept their sons working for them as long as possible; sons accepted this arrangement as a way to become independent farmers, eventually employing their own children in the same way.

Property owners in all the English colonies found different ways to control laborers. But where property owners saw problems—high wages (often twice what workers in England received) and abundant land (which deterred colonists from working for others when they could have their own farms)—others saw opportunities. For tens of thousands of Europeans, the chance to own or rent a farm or to find steady employment made North America an irresistible magnet, promising a prosperity that was beyond their reach at home.

NEW EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS

European immigrants flooded into America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By 1773, the tremendous outflow of Britons—Protestant Scots-Irish, Scots, and Irish Catholics—to America sparked debate in England over whether emigration should be prohibited lest the British Isles be left empty. Continental Europe contributed another stream of emigrants, mostly from the German states. Perhaps 100,000 Protestants left the Rhine Valley, fleeing war, economic hardship, and religious persecution. French Protestants (known as Huguenots)



began emigrating after 1685, when their faith was made illegal in France. Swiss Protestants likewise fled religious persecution. Even a few Poles, Greeks, Italians, and Jews reached the colonies in the eighteenth century.

Streams of emigrants flowed to places where land was cheap and labor most in demand (see Map 3-3). Few went to New England, where descendants of the first settlers already occupied the best land. They also avoided areas where slavery predominated—the Chesapeake tidewater and lowland South Carolina—in favor of the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains from western Pennsylvania to the Carolinas.

Not all emigrants realized their dreams of becoming independent landowners. The scarcity of labor in the colonies led as easily to the exploitation of white workers as of slaves and Indians. Even so, for many people facing bleak prospects in Europe, the chance that emigration might bring prosperity was too tempting to ignore.

CONCLUSION

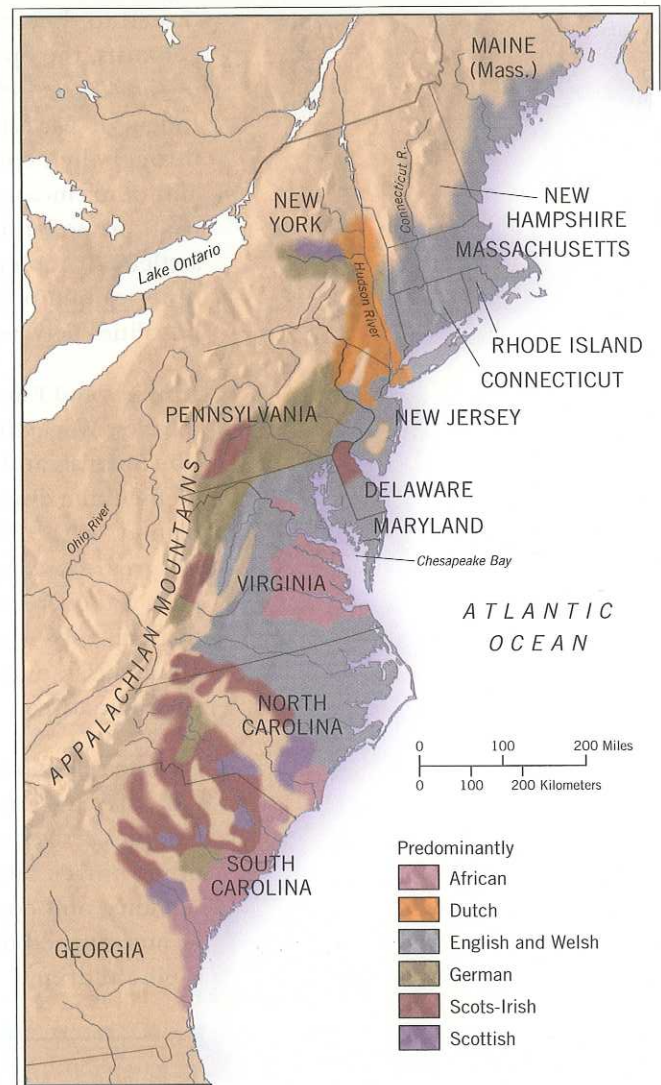
By the middle of the eighteenth century, America offered a strikingly diverse mosaic of peoples and communities. Along the St. Lawrence River, lay Kahnawake, a village of Mohawks and Abenakis who had adopted Catholicism and French ways under Jesuit instruction. In Andover, Massachusetts, New Englanders tilled fields that their Puritan grandparents had cleared. German immigrants who had forsaken the world in search of spiritual perfection populated the isolated Pennsylvania settlement of Ephrata. The hundred or so slaves on Robert Carter's Virginia plantation at Nomini Hall gathered on Sunday evenings to nurture ties of community with songs and dances, while the master cultivated his very different sense of community with neighboring planters. Near St. Augustine, Florida, runaway slaves farmed and gathered shellfish under the protection of Spanish soldiers. Far to the west, the Spanish, *mestizo*, and Pueblo residents of Santa Fe warily reestablished ties broken during the Pueblo Revolt.

In these and many other communities, peoples from three continents adapted to one another and to American conditions. Indians struggled with the consequences of disease, trade, religious conversion, settlement, and warfare resulting from European immigration. Africans exchanged traditional ethnic connections for a new identity as African Americans. English settlers became landowners in unprecedented numbers and adopted new ways to control laborers, re-inventing slavery, unknown in England for centuries. No European settlement in America fully reproduced Old World patterns, and no native village fully preserved the precontact Indian way of life.



MAP EXPLORATION

To explore an interactive version of this map, go to <http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield2/map3.3>



MAP 3-3

Ethnic Distribution of Settler Population in British Mainland Colonies, c. 1755 Settlers of different ethnic backgrounds tended to concentrate in certain areas. Only New Englanders were predominantly English, while Africans dominated in the Chesapeake tidewater and South Carolina. German, Scottish, and Scots-Irish immigrants often settled in the backcountry.

DO YOU think colonists from different ethnic backgrounds tended to settle in areas geographically similar to those from which they came?



SUMMARY

Indians and Europeans Although by 1750 European colonists and African slaves together outnumbered Indians north of the Rio Grande, Native Americans continued to dominate much of the continent. More than any other European colonists, the Spanish sought direct control over Indians. Using the practices of *encomienda*, *repartimiento*, and *rescate*, Spanish colonists were able to control Indians in use for labor. The English caused much displacement of Indian tribes through their constant expansion of land needs. Through the spread of disease and other means, they managed to push the Indians farther and farther away from prime land once considered theirs. After nearly a century of European settlement, violence between colonists and Indians erupted in all three North American empires. A series of wars and revolts began a period of decades of hostilities between Europeans and Indians.

Africans and Europeans Though many more Africans than Europeans came to the New World during the colonial period, virtually all of them arrived as slaves. The Spanish and the Portuguese first brought Africans to the Americas to supplement the dwindling numbers of Indian slaves. Then, beginning in the 1680s, planters in the Chesapeake colonies began to shift from servants to slaves. Slavery grew most rapidly in the south because of the type of labor needed. European traders relied on other Africans to capture slaves for them. Slaves suffered through a six- to eight-week-long ocean voyage known as the Middle Passage. By about 1750, more slaves in the southern colonies were American-born than African natives.

European Laborers in North America Most colonial laborers were, in some measure, unfree. More than one-half of all white emigrants to the English colonies arrived as indentured servants. And, Chesapeake planters tapped another unfree labor source: transported English convicts. Purchasing slaves, servants, and convicts, however, did not make sense for everyone. Northern farmers turned to the cheapest and most dependable workers they could find, their children.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Why did English colonists experience more frequent, and more violent, conflicts with the Indians than the settlers of New France?
 2. Why were Catholic missionaries more successful than Protestants in converting Indians to Christianity in early America?
 3. When did Chesapeake planters switch from servants to slaves? Why did they make this change?
 4. By about 1750, more slaves in the mainland British colonies were creoles (American-born) than African-born. What effects did this have on the formation of African-American communities in America?
 5. Many European immigrants came to America in the eighteenth century, but they tended to settle only in certain colonial regions. What regions did they favor and why?
-

KEY TERMS

Bacon's Rebellion (p. 64)

Beaver Wars (p. 60)

Encomienda (p. 59)

King Philip's War (p. 64)

Middle Passage (p. 72)

Pueblo Revolt (p. 64)

Redemptioner (p. 75)


Repartimiento (p. 60)


Rescate (p. 60)


Stono Rebellion (p. 75)

WHERE TO LEARN MORE

 **Ste. Marie Among the Hurons, near Midland, Ontario, Canada.** This site contains a reconstructed Jesuit mission from the seventeenth century. There is a museum with information about seventeenth-century France as well as life among the Huron Indians. Further information may be found at: www.saintemarieamongthehurons.on.ca

 **Taos Pueblo, Taos, New Mexico.** Still a residence for Pueblo Indians, portions of this multi-storied pueblo date from the fifteenth century. This was the site from which Popé directed the beginnings of the Pueblo Revolt in 1680. Pictures and other information are available at: www.cr.nps.gov/worldheritage/taos.htm

 **Ephrata Cloister, Ephrata, Pennsylvania.** Founded by German immigrants in the eighteenth century, the Ephrata community attracted religious pietists. The site now contains a museum, buildings that reflect medieval German architectural styles, and a collection of decorative art objects. The website www.cob-net.org/cloister.htm includes a biography of Ephrata's founder, Johann Conrad Beissel.

 **Carter's Grove Slave Quarter, near Williamsburg, Virginia.** Site includes reconstructed eighteenth-century slave quarters on original site where slave cabins once stood. Costumed African-American interpreters show visitors around and tell stories about actual slaves who lived on the plantation. Information about the house and plantation can be found at: www.williamsburg.com/plant/carter.html Pictures of the plantation may also be seen at: www.wise.virginia.edu



For additional study resources for this chapter, go to:
www.prenhall.com/goldfield/chapter3

*Mr. Lawrence, Be pleased to send me
a genteel sute of Cloaths made of superfine
broad Cloth handsomely chosen . . .*



CITY HALL AND GREAT DOCK.

New Amsterdam, 17th century. City Hall and Great Dock
in the late 17th century.

