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THE CHALLENGE TO SPAIN AND THE SETTLEMENT OF NORTH AMERICA

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- The Protestant Reformation and the Challenge to Spain • New France
- The Dutch and Swedish Settlements • The Challenge from Elizabethan England • The Chesapeake and West Indian Colonies • The New England Colonies • From Civil War to the First Restoration Colonies • Brotherly Love: The Quakers and America

CATHOLIC FRANCE and two Protestant countries, the Dutch Republic and England, challenged Spanish power in Europe and overseas. None of them planted a permanent settlement in North America before 1600. In the quarter-century after 1600, they all did. Europeans, Indians, and Africans interacted in contrasting ways in this strange “New World.” Spain’s rivals created colonies of different kinds. Some, such as Virginia and Barbados, grew staple crops with indentured servants and African slaves. New France and New Netherland developed a prosperous trade with the Indians without trying to rule them. In New England, the Puritans relied on free labor provided mostly by family members. After 1660, England conquered New Netherland, and English Quakers created another free-labor society in the Delaware valley.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION AND THE CHALLENGE TO SPAIN

By the time its enemies felt strong enough to challenge Spain overseas, the Protestant Reformation had shattered the religious unity of Europe. In November 1517, not long before Cortés landed in Mexico, Martin Luther nailed his 95 Theses to the cathedral door at Wittenberg in Saxony and touched off the Reformation. Salvation, he insisted, comes through faith alone, and God grants saving faith only to those who hear his Word preached to them, struggle to understand it, and admit

CHRONOLOGY

1517	Luther begins the Protestant Reformation
1577–1580	Drake circumnavigates the globe
1580s	Gilbert claims Newfoundland for England (1583) ♦ Raleigh twice fails to colonize Roanoke Island (1585–1587) ♦ England repels attack by the Spanish Armada (1588)
1607	English settlement established at Jamestown
1608	Champlain founds Quebec
1609	Virginia receives sea-to-sea charter
1613–1614	Rolfe grows tobacco, marries Pocahontas
1618	Sandys implements London Company reforms
1619	First Africans arrive in Virginia ♦ House of Burgesses and headright system created
1620s	Pilgrims adopt Mayflower Compact, land at Plymouth (1620) ♦ Dutch West India Company chartered (1621) ♦ Opechancanough launches war of extermination in Virginia (1622) ♦ James I assumes direct control of Virginia (1624) ♦ Minuit founds New Amsterdam (1626)
1630s	Puritans settle Massachusetts Bay (1630) ♦ Maryland chartered (1632) ♦ Williams founds Providence; Hooker founds Hartford (1636) ♦ Anne Hutchinson banished to Rhode Island; Minuit founds New Sweden (1638) ♦ New Haven Colony founded (1639)
1640s	Massachusetts “Body of Liberties” (1641) ♦ English civil wars begin (1642) ♦ Pavonia Massacre in New Netherland (1643) ♦ Charles I beheaded (1649)
Mid-1650s	New Netherland conquers New Sweden ♦ Quakers invade New England
1660s	Charles II restored to English throne (1660) ♦ Puritans institute Half-Way Covenant (1662) ♦ First Carolina charter granted (1663) ♦ New Netherland surrenders to the English (1664) ♦ New Jersey becomes a separate colony (1665) ♦ Carolina’s Fundamental Constitutions proposed (1669)
1670s	First permanent English settlement in South Carolina (1670) ♦ Dutch retake New York (1673–74) ♦ West New Jersey approves Concessions and Agreements (1677)
1680s	Charleston founded (1680) ♦ Pennsylvania charter granted (1681) ♦ New York and Pennsylvania each adopt a Charter of Liberties (1683)
1705	Virginia adopts comprehensive slave code

that, without God’s grace, they are damned. Within a generation, the states of northern Germany and Scandinavia had embraced Lutheranism.

Spaniards Torturing Indians, as Depicted by Theodore de Bry, Late 16th Century.

Among Protestants in northern Europe, images such as this one merged into a “black legend” of Spanish cruelty, which in turn helped justify their own challenge to Spanish power overseas. But in practice, the behavior of Protestant settlers toward Indians was often as harsh as anything the Spaniards had done.



John Calvin, a French Protestant, also embraced justification by faith alone and put his own militant principles into practice in the Swiss canton of Geneva. The Huguenot movement in France, the Dutch Reformed Church in the Netherlands, and the Presbyterian Kirk (or Church) of Scotland all embraced Calvin's principles. In England, the Anglican Church adopted Calvinist doctrines but kept much Catholic liturgy, a compromise that prompted the Puritan reform movement toward a more thoroughly Calvinist Church of England. After 1620 Puritans carried their religious vision across the Atlantic to New England.

Calvinists rejected the pope, all Catholic sacraments except baptism and the Lord's Supper, clerical celibacy, veneration of the saints, and the pious rituals by which Catholics strove to win salvation. They denounced these rites as “work righteousness.” Calvin gave central importance to **predestination**. According to that doctrine, God has already decreed who will be saved and who will be damned. Christ died, not for all humankind, but only for God's elect. Because salvation and damnation were beyond human power to alter, Calvinists—especially English Puritans—felt a compelling need to find out whether they were saved. They struggled to recognize in themselves a conversion experience, the process by which God's elect discovered that they had received saving grace.

France, the Netherlands, and England, all with powerful Protestant movements, challenged Spanish power in Europe. Until 1559, France was the main threat, with Italy as the battleground, but Spain won that phase. In the 1560s, with France embroiled in its own Wars of Religion, a new challenge came from the 17 provinces of the Netherlands, which Spain ruled. The Dutch rebelled against the heavy taxes and severe Catholic orthodoxy imposed by Philip II. As Spanish armies put down the rebellion in the 10 southern provinces (modern Belgium), merchants and Protestants fled north. Many went to Amsterdam, which replaced Spanish-controlled Antwerp as the economic center of northern Europe. The seven northern provinces

gradually took shape as the Dutch Republic, or the United Provinces of the Netherlands. The Dutch turned their resistance into a war for independence from Catholic Spain. The conflict lasted 80 years, drained Spanish resources, and spread to Asia, Africa, and America. England long remained on the edges of this struggle, only to emerge in the end as the biggest winner overseas.

NEW FRANCE

In 1500, France had three times the population of Spain. The French made a few stabs at oversea expansion before 1600, but with little success.

Early French Explorers

In 1524, King Francis I sent Giovanni da Verrazano, an Italian, to America in search of a northwest passage to Asia.

Verrazano explored the North American coast from the Carolinas to Nova Scotia and noted Manhattan's superb potential as a harbor but found no passage to Asia. Between 1534 and 1543, Jacques Cartier made three voyages to North America. He explored the St. Lawrence valley without finding any fabulous wealth. Severe Canadian winters made him give up. For the rest of the century, the French ignored Canada, except for a few fur traders and for fishermen who descended on Newfoundland each year in growing numbers. By the 1580s, the Canadian fisheries rivaled New Spain in the volume of shipping they sustained.

After 1550, the French turned to warmer climates. **Huguenots** sacked Havana, prompting Spain to turn it into a fortified, year-round naval base under the command of Admiral **Pedro Menéndez de Avilés**. Others planted a settlement on the Atlantic coast of Florida. Menéndez attacked them in 1565, talked them into surrendering, and then executed adult males who refused to accept the Catholic faith.

France's Wars of Religion blocked further efforts for the rest of the 16th century. King Henry IV (1589–1610), a Protestant, converted to Catholicism and granted limited toleration to Huguenots through the Edict of Nantes in 1598, thus ending the civil wars for the rest of his reign. Henry was a *politique*; he insisted that the survival of the state take precedence over religious differences. Moreover, he believed in toleration for its own sake. Another *politique* was the Catholic soldier and explorer, Samuel de Champlain.

Missions and Furs

Champlain believed that Catholics and Huguenots could work together, Europeanize the Indians, convert them, and even marry them. Before his death in 1635, he made

11 voyages to Canada. During his second trip (1604–1606), he planted a predominantly Huguenot settlement in Acadia (Nova Scotia). In 1608, he sailed up the St. Lawrence River, established friendly relations with the Indians, and founded Quebec. "Our sons shall wed your daughters," he told them, "and we shall be one people." Many Frenchmen cohabited with Indian women, but only 15 formal marriages took place between them in the 17th century. Champlain's friendliness toward the Indians of the St. Lawrence valley also drew him into their wars against

the Iroquois Five Nations farther south. At times, Iroquois hostility almost destroyed New France.

Champlain failed to unite Catholics and Protestants in mutual harmony. Huguenots in France were eager to trade with Canada, but few settled there. Their ministers showed no interest in converting the Indians, whereas Catholic priests became zealous missionaries. In 1625, the French Crown declared that only the Catholic faith could be practiced in New France, thus ending Champlain's dream of a colony that was more tolerant than France. Acadia soon became Catholic as well. Early New France is a tale of missionaries and furs, of attempts to convert the Indians, and of efforts to trade with them. The carousing habits of the first *coureurs de bois* (roamers of the woods), who swapped brandy for furs, did much for trade but made life difficult for missionaries.

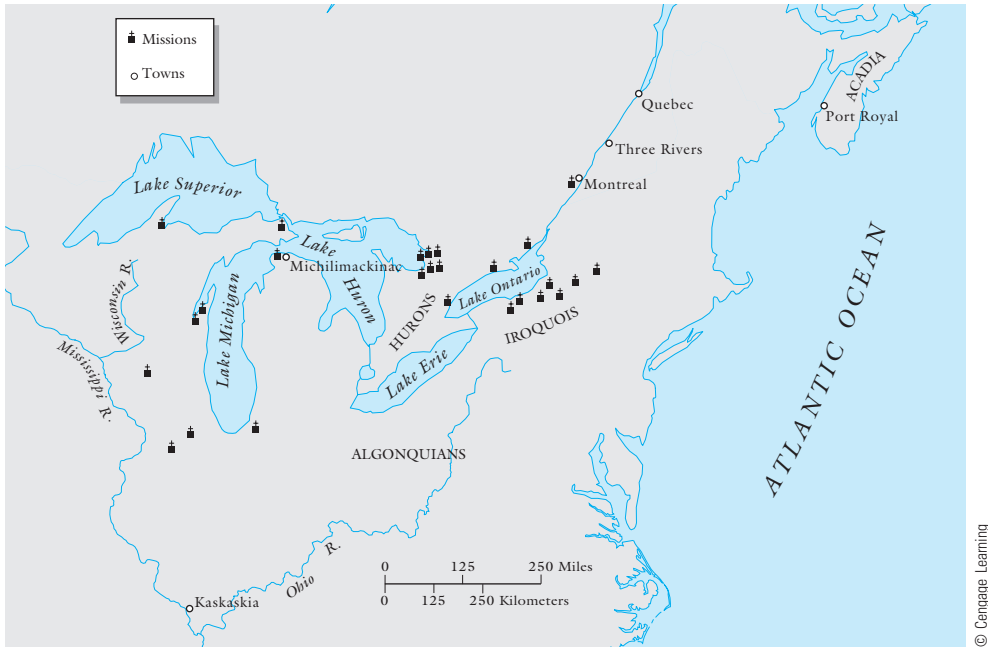
After 1630, Jesuit missionaries made heroic efforts to bring Christ to the Indians. The Society of Jesus, or Jesuits, emerged in the 16th century as the Catholic Church's best-educated and most militant religious order. Uncompromising in their opposition to Protestants, Jesuits proved remarkably flexible in dealing with non-Christian peoples, from China to North America. Other missionaries insisted that Indians must be Europeanized before they could be converted, but the Jesuits saw nothing contradictory about a nation of Christians that retained most of its Indian culture. The Jesuits also tried to protect their converts from contamination by the *coureurs de bois*.

The Jesuits mastered Indian languages, lived in Indian villages, accepted most Indian customs, and converted 10,000 Indians in 40 years, most of them members of the five confederated Huron nations, but this success antagonized Indians who were still attached to their own rituals. When smallpox devastated the Hurons in the 1640s, Jesuits baptized hundreds of dying victims to ensure their salvation. Many Indian survivors noticed that death usually followed this mysterious rite. Suspecting witchcraft, their resistance grew stronger. A second disaster occurred in the 1640s when the Iroquois attacked, defeated, and scattered the Hurons. Despite these setbacks, the Jesuits' courage remained strong. They were the only Europeans who measured up to Indian standards of bravery under torture. Yet their efforts slowly lost ground to the fur trade, especially after the Crown assumed control of New France in 1663.

New France under Louis XIV

Royal intervention transformed Canada after 1663 when Louis XIV and his minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, took charge of the colony and tried to turn it into a model absolutist society—peaceful, orderly, deferential. Government was in the hands of two appointive officials: a governor-general responsible for military and diplomatic affairs, and an *intendant* who administered affordable justice, partly by banning lawyers. The people paid few taxes, and the church tithe, or tax, was set at half its rate in France.

The governor appointed all militia officers and granted promotion through merit, not by selling commissions. When the Crown sent professional soldiers to New France after 1660, the governor put them under the command of Canadian officers, who knew the woodlands. Colbert also sent 774 young women to the



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MAP 2.1 New France and the Jesuit Missions

The Jesuits established Indian missions near Montreal and far into the interior of North America, most of them well beyond the range of French military aid in an emergency.

St. Lawrence, to provide brides for settlers and soldiers. He offered bonuses to couples that produced large families and fined fathers whose children failed to marry while still in their teens. Between 1663 and 1700, the population of New France increased from 3,000 to about 14,000, even though close to 70 percent of 10,000 immigrants throughout the colonial era went back to France, usually to claim a tiny inheritance. About one-fourth of the population concentrated in three cities—Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, the largest, which became the center of the fur trade.

Farming took hold in the St. Lawrence valley, and by the 1690s, Canada was growing enough wheat to feed itself and to give its *habitants*, or settlers, a level of comfort about equal to that of contemporary New Englanders. A new class of *seigneurs*, or gentry, claimed most of the land between Quebec and Montreal, but they had few feudal privileges and never exercised the kind of power wielded by aristocrats in France. Yet when the Church was also the *seigneur*, as often happened near Quebec and Montreal, the obligations imposed on farmers could be heavy.

By 1700, Colbert's policies led to a quiet rebellion in the west. Several hundred Frenchmen settled in the Mississippi River valley between the missions of Cahokia and Kaskaskia in what became the Illinois country. By 1750, these communities contained 3,000 residents. The settlers rejected *seigneurs*, feudal dues, tithes, and compulsory militia service. They did, however, import African slaves from

Louisiana. Most settlers prospered as wheat farmers, and many married Christian Indian women from the missions.

But Canada did not long remain the center of French overseas activity. Most of the French who crossed the Atlantic preferred the warmer climes of the Caribbean. At first, the French in the West Indies joined with other enemies of Spain to prey upon Spanish colonies and ships, contributing the word “buccaneer” (*boucanier*) to the English language. Then they transformed the island colonies of Saint Domingue (modern Haiti), Guadeloupe, and Martinique into centers of sugar or coffee production, where a small planter class prospered from the labor of thousands of slaves. The sugar islands were worth far more than Canada. By the late 18th century, Saint Domingue was generating more wealth than any other colony in the world.

THE DUTCH AND SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS

For most of the 17th century, the Dutch were more active overseas than the French. The Dutch Republic, whose 2 million people inhabited the most densely populated part of Europe, surpassed all rivals in finance, shipping, and trade. It offered an ideological as well as a political challenge to Spanish absolutism. In contrast to Spain, which stood for Catholic orthodoxy and the centralizing tendencies of Europe’s “new monarchies,” Dutch republicanism emphasized local liberties, prosperity, and, in major centers such as Amsterdam, religious toleration. Political power was decentralized to the cities and their wealthy merchants, who favored informal toleration, tried to keep trade as free as possible, and resisted the monarchical ambitions of the House of Orange. The Prince of Orange usually served as *stadholder* (captain general) of Holland, the richest province, and commanded its armies, and often those of other Dutch provinces as well.

The Dutch Republic—with Protestant dissenters from many countries, a sizable Jewish community, and a Catholic minority that exceeded 30 percent of the population—was actually a polyglot confederation. Amsterdam’s merchant republicanism competed with the Dutch Reformed Church for the allegiance of the people. Only during a military crisis could the Prince of Orange mobilize the Dutch Reformed clergy and impose something like Calvinist orthodoxy, even on the cities. The States General, to which each province sent representatives, became a weak central government for the republic. The broader public did not vote or participate actively in public life. The tension between tolerant merchant republicanism and Calvinist orthodoxy carried over into New Netherland.

Profit was the dominant motive in Dutch expansion overseas. By 1620, Dutch foreign trade probably exceeded that of the rest of Europe combined. Even during the long war with Spain, the Dutch traded with Lisbon and Seville for products from the East Indies and America. This effrontery so annoyed Philip II that twice in the 1590s he committed a grave blunder when he confiscated all Dutch ships crowding his ports. The Dutch retaliated by sailing into the Atlantic and Indian oceans to acquire colonial goods at the source. They forced Spain to use expensive convoys to protect the silver fleets crossing the Atlantic. Spain’s power finally crumbled under these pressures.

HISTORY THROUGH FILM

Black Robe (1991)

Directed by Bruce Beresford.

Starring Lothaire Bluteau (Father Laforgue), Aden Young (Daniel), Jean Brusseau (Samuel de Champlain), and Sandrine Holt (Annuka).

In *Black Robe*, director Bruce Beresford has given us the most believable film portrayal of 17th-century North America—both the landscape and its peoples—yet produced. This Canada-Australia co-production won six Genie Awards (Canada's equivalent of the Oscar), including best picture, best director, and best cinematography. The film is based on Brian Moore's novel of the same title, and Moore wrote the screenplay. It was filmed on location amid the spectacular scenery in the Lac St. Jean/Saguenay region of Quebec.

In New France in the 1630s, Father Laforgue (Lothaire Bluteau), a young Jesuit, and Daniel (Aden Young), his teen-aged assistant and translator, leave on Laforgue's first mission assignment. Samuel de Champlain (Jean Brusseau), the governor of the colony, has persuaded the Algonquin tribe to convey the two to their mission site among the Hurons, far in the interior. Before long, Daniel falls in love with Annuka (Sandrine Holt), the

beautiful daughter of Algonquin chief Chomina (August Schellenberg). When the priest inadvertently watches the young couple make love, he realizes that he has committed a mortal sin. From that point, his journey into the North American heartland almost becomes a descent into hell.

The Algonquins, guided by a dream quest, pursue a logic that makes no sense to the priest. Conversely, his religious message baffles them. Even so, when Chomina is wounded and Laforgue and Daniel are captured by the Iroquois, Annuka seduces the Iroquois' lone guard, kills him, and enables all four of them to escape. Chomina dies of his wounds, politely but firmly rejecting baptism until the end. What Indian, he asks, would want to go to the Christian heaven, populated by many black robes but none of his own ancestors?

With the priest's approval, Daniel and Annuka go off by themselves. Laforgue reaches the mission, only to find many of the Indians dead or dying from some European disease. As the film closes, we learn that smallpox would devastate the mission in the following decade, and the Jesuits would abandon it in 1649.

The East and West India Companies

In 1602, the States General chartered the Dutch East India Company, the richest corporation the world had yet seen. It pressured Spain where it was weakest, in the Portuguese East Indies. Elbowing the Portuguese out of the Spice Islands and even out of Nagasaki in Japan, the Dutch set up their own capital at Batavia (now Jakarta) on the island of Java.

The Atlantic and North America also attracted the Dutch. In 1609, during a 12-year truce between Spain and the Netherlands, Henry Hudson, an Englishman in Dutch service, sailed up what the Dutch called the North River (the English later renamed it the Hudson) and claimed the area for the Netherlands. In 1614,



Alliance/Goldwyn/THE KOBAL COLLECTION

Black Robe, based on Brian Moore's novel of the same title, is set in 17th-century North America.

Brian Moore's realism romanticizes nobody but treats both the Jesuits and the Algonquins with great respect. The screenplay drew criticism for its harsh depiction of the Iroquois, but it portrayed them through the eyes of the people they planned to torture. A smaller criticism is that Laforgue is the lone priest on the journey, during which he commits the sin of

watching Daniel and Annuka make love. Jesuits, however, traveled in pairs precisely so they would always be accompanied by someone who could hear their confessions. Bruce Beresford, an Australian, directed *Breaker Morant* (1979), a highly acclaimed film set in the Boer War a century ago, and also *Driving Miss Daisy* (1989).

Lutheran refugees from Amsterdam built a fort near modern Albany to trade with the Mahicans and Iroquois for furs, but they did not create a permanent, year-round settlement.

In 1621, the States General chartered the Dutch West India Company and gave it jurisdiction over the African slave trade, Brazil, the Caribbean, and North America. The company harbored strong Orangist sympathies and even some Calvinist fervor, sustained by refugees fleeing from the Spanish army. It took over Portugal's slave-trading posts in West Africa and for a while even dominated Angola. It also occupied the richest sugar-producing region of Brazil until the Portuguese took it back, as well as Angola, in the 1640s while regaining their independence from Spain.

In North America, the Dutch claimed the Delaware, the Hudson, and the Connecticut River valleys. The company put most of its effort, and some of its religious fervor, into the Hudson valley. The first permanent settlers arrived in 1624. Two years later, Deacon Pierre Minuit, leading 30 Walloon (French-speaking) Protestant refugee families, bought Manhattan Island from the Indians, and founded the port of New Amsterdam. The Dutch established Fort Orange (modern Albany) 150 miles upriver for trade with the Iroquois. Much like New France, New Netherland depended on the goodwill of nearby Indians, and the fur trade gave the colony a similar urban flavor. But unlike New France, few Dutchmen ventured into the deep woods. There were no *coureurs de bois* and hardly any missionary efforts. The Indians brought their furs to Fort Orange and exchanged them for firearms and other goods that the Dutch sold more cheaply than anyone else. New Netherland also resembled New France in other ways. In the 1630s, before the French created *seigneuries* in the St. Lawrence valley, the Dutch established **patroonships**, vast estates under a single landlord, mostly along the Hudson. But the system never thrived, largely because few Dutch settlers had much interest in becoming peasants. The one exception was Rensselaerswyck, a gigantic estate on both banks of the Hudson above and below Fort Orange, which sent wheat and flour down the river and to the Caribbean.

New Netherland as a Pluralistic Society

New Netherland became North America's first experiment in ethnic and religious pluralism. The Dutch were a people with a Flemish (Dutch-speaking) majority and a Walloon minority. Both came to the colony. So did Danes, Norwegians,

Swedes, Finns, Germans, and Scots.

The government of the colony tried to utilize this diversity by drawing on two conflicting precedents from the Netherlands. On the one hand, it appealed to religious refugees by emphasizing the company's Protestant role in the struggle against Spain. This policy, roughly speaking, reflected the Orangist position in the Netherlands. On the other hand, the West India Company sometimes recognized that acceptance of religious diversity might stimulate trade. The pursuit of prosperity through toleration was the normal role of Amsterdam in Dutch politics. Minuit and Pieter Stuyvesant represented the religious formula for unity, and they resisted toleration even in the name of commerce.

After Minuit returned to Europe in 1631, the emphasis shifted rapidly from piety to trade. The Dutch sold muskets to the Iroquois to expand their own access to the fur trade. In 1643, however, Willem Kieft, a stubborn and quarrelsome governor, slaughtered a tribe of Indian refugees to whom he had granted asylum from other Indians. This Pavonia Massacre, which took place across the Hudson from Manhattan, set off a war with nearby Algonquian nations that nearly destroyed New Netherland. By the time Stuyvesant replaced Kieft in 1647, the colony's population had fallen to about 700 people. An autocrat, Stuyvesant made peace and then strengthened town governments and the Dutch Reformed Church. During his administration, the population rose to more than 6,000. Most newcomers arrived as members of healthy families who reproduced readily, enabling the population to double every 25 years.

Swedish and English Encroachments

Minuit, back in Europe, organized another refugee project, this one for Flemings who had been uprooted by the Spanish war. When Dutch authorities refused to back him, he looked for support to the Lutheran kingdom of Sweden. Financed by private Dutch capital, he returned to America in 1638 with Flemish and Swedish settlers to found New Sweden, with its capital at Fort Christina (modern Wilmington) near the mouth of the Delaware River, on land claimed by New Netherland. After Minuit died on his return trip to Europe, the colony became less Flemish and Calvinist and more Swedish and Lutheran, at a time when Stuyvesant was trying to make New Netherland an orthodox Calvinist society. In 1654, the Swedes seized Fort Casimir, a Dutch post that provided access to the Delaware. In response, Stuyvesant took over all of New Sweden the next year, and Amsterdam sent over settlers to guarantee Dutch control. Stuyvesant persecuted Lutherans (along with Jews and Quakers) in New Amsterdam but had to tolerate them in the Delaware Valley where they were a majority.

The English, already entrenched around Chesapeake Bay to the south and New England to the east (see below), threatened to overwhelm the Dutch as they moved from New England onto Long Island and into what is now Westchester County, New York. Kieft welcomed them in the 1640s and gave them local privileges greater than those enjoyed by the Dutch, in the hope that their farms and herds would give the colony valuable exports. Stuyvesant regarded these **Yankees** (a Dutch word that probably meant “land pirates”) as good Calvinists, English-speaking equivalents of his Dutch Reformed settlers. They agitated for a more active role in government, but their loyalty was questionable. If England attacked the colony, would these Puritans side with the Dutch Calvinists or the Anglican invaders? Which ran deeper, their religious or their ethnic loyalties? Stuyvesant would learn the unpleasant answer when England attacked him in 1664.

THE CHALLENGE FROM ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

England's interest in America emerged slowly. In 1497, Henry VII (1485–1509) sent Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot), an Italian mariner who had moved to Bristol, to search for a northwest passage to Asia. Cabot probably reached Newfoundland, which he took to be part of Asia. He sailed again in 1498 with five ships but was lost at sea. Only one vessel returned, but Cabot's voyages gave England a vague claim to portions of the North American coast.

The English Reformation

When interest in America revived during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603), England was rapidly becoming a Protestant kingdom. Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII (1509–1547), desperate for a male heir, had broken with the pope to divorce his queen and had remarried. He proclaimed himself the “Only Supreme Head” of the Church of England, confiscated monastic lands, and opened the way for serious Protestant reformers. Under Elizabeth's younger brother, Edward VI (1547–1553), the government embraced Protestantism. When Edward died, Elizabeth's older sister, Mary I (1553–1558), reimposed Catholicism, burned hundreds of Protestants

at the stake, and drove thousands into exile. Many of them became Calvinists. Elizabeth, however, accepted Protestantism, and the exiles returned. The Church of England became Calvinist in doctrine and theology but remained largely Catholic in structure, liturgy, and ritual. By the time of Elizabeth's death, England's Catholics were a tiny, fitfully persecuted minority, but they had powerful allies abroad, especially in Spain.

Some Protestants demanded the eradication of Catholic vestiges and the replacement of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer with sermons and psalms as the dominant mode of worship. These Puritans, also called **Non-Separatists**, insisted they were loyal to the true Church of England and resisted any relaxation of Calvinist rigor. They would play a major role in English expansion overseas. More extreme Protestants, called **Separatists**, denied that the Church of England was a true church and began to set up independent congregations of their own. Some of them would found the small colony of Plymouth.

Hawkins and Drake

In 1560, England was a rather backward country of 3 million people. Its chief export was woolen cloth. During the 16th century, the numbers of both people and sheep grew rapidly, and they sometimes competed for the same land. When farms were enclosed for sheep pasture, laborers were set adrift and often faced bleak prospects, creating the impression that England was overpopulated. Even without the enclosures, thousands of people headed for London, lifting the city's population from 50,000 in 1500 to 575,000 by 1700. By then London was the largest city in Western Europe. After 1600, internal migration fueled overseas settlement. Before then, interest in America centered, not in London, but in southwestern ports involved in the Newfoundland fisheries.

Taking advantage of friendly relations that still prevailed between England and Spain, John Hawkins of Plymouth made three voyages to New Spain between 1562 and 1569. On his first trip, he bought slaves in Portuguese West Africa and sold them in Hispaniola, where, by paying all legal duties, he tried to set himself up as a legitimate trader. Spanish authorities disapproved, and on his next voyage he had to trade at gunpoint. On his third trip, the Spanish viceroy, in command of a much larger fleet, trapped his six vessels in a Mexican port. After promising Hawkins quarter, he sank four of his ships. Only Hawkins and his kinsman Francis Drake escaped, vowing vengeance.

Drake even began to talk of freeing slaves from Spanish tyranny. His most dramatic exploit came between 1577 and 1580, when he rounded Cape Horn and plundered Spanish possessions along the undefended Pacific coast of Peru. Knowing that the Spaniards would be waiting for him if he returned by the same route, he sailed north, explored San Francisco Bay, and continued west around the world to England. Elizabeth rewarded him with a knighthood.

Gilbert, Ireland, and America

By the 1560s, the idea of permanent colonization intrigued several Englishmen. England had a model close at hand in Ireland, which the English Crown had claimed for centuries. After 1560, the English tried to impose their agriculture, language, local

government, legal system, aristocracy, and religion upon the Irish. The Irish responded by becoming more intensely Roman Catholic than ever.

The English formed their preconceptions about American Indians largely from contact with the Irish, who, claimed one Elizabethan, are “more uncivil, more uncleanly, more barbarous and more brutish in their customs and demeanors, than in any part of the world that is known.” The English tried to conquer Ulster by driving out the Catholics and replacing them with Protestants. In Munster, they ejected Catholic leaders and tried to force the remaining Catholic Irish to become tenants under Protestant landlords. Terror became an acceptable tactic, as when the English slaughtered 200 Irish at a Christmas feast in 1574.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a well-educated humanist, was one of the most brutal of Elizabeth’s captains in the Irish wars of the 1560s. In subduing Munster in 1569, he killed nearly everyone in his path and destroyed all of the crops, a strategy that the English later employed against Indians. Massacring women and children “was the way to kill the men of war by famine,” boasted one admirer. Fresh from these exploits, Gilbert began to think of colonizing America. He proposed that England grab control of the Newfoundland fisheries, a nursery of seamen and naval power. He urged the founding of settlements close enough to New Spain to provide bases for plundering. He obtained a royal patent in 1578 and sent out a fleet, but his ships got into a fight somewhere short of America and limped back to England. He tried again in 1583. This time his fleet sailed north to claim Newfoundland. The crews of 22 Spanish and Portuguese fishing vessels and 18 French and English ships listened in wonder as he read his royal patent to them, divided up the land among them, assigned them rents, and established the Church of England for this mostly Catholic group. He then sailed away to explore more of the American coast. His own ship went under during a storm.

Raleigh, Roanoke, and War with Spain

Gilbert’s half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh (or Raleigh), obtained his own patent from the queen and tried twice to plant a colony in North America. In 1585, he sent a large expedition to Roanoke Island in what is now North Carolina, but the settlers planted no crops and exasperated the Indians with demands for food during a drought. In June 1586, the English killed the local chief, Wingina, whose main offense was apparently a threat to resettle his people on the mainland and leave the colonists to starve—or work. Days later, when the expected supply vessels failed to arrive on schedule, the colonists sailed back to England on the ships of Sir Francis Drake, who had just burned the Spanish city of St. Augustine with the support of Florida Indians, whom he freed. The supply ships reached Roanoke a little later, only to find the site abandoned. They left a small garrison there and sailed off in quest of Spanish plunder. The garrison was never heard from again.

Raleigh sent a second expedition in 1587, one that included some women, a sign that he envisioned a permanent colony. When the governor went back to England for more supplies, his return to Roanoke was delayed by the assault of the Spanish Armada on England in 1588. By the time he reached Roanoke in 1590, the settlers had vanished, leaving a cryptic message—“CROATOAN”—

carved on a tree. The colonists may have settled among the Chesapeake nation of Indians near the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. Sketchy evidence suggests that the Powhatans, the most powerful Indians in the area, wiped out the Chesapeakes, along with any English living with them, in spring 1607, just as the first Jamestown settlers were arriving in the bay.

The Spanish Armada touched off a war that lasted until 1604 and strained the resources of England. The loss of the Armada, first to nimbler English ships in the English Channel and then to fierce storms off the Irish coast, crippled Spain. By 1600, Richard Hakluyt the elder and his cousin Richard Hakluyt the younger were publishing accounts of English exploits overseas and offering advice on how to make future colonization efforts more successful. They celebrated the deeds of Hawkins, Drake, Gilbert, and Raleigh, who were all West Country men



MAP 2.2 Roanoke Colony, 1584–1590

Roanoke marked the first English attempt to plant a permanent colony in North America.

with large ambitions but limited financial resources. Although their plundering exploits continued to pay, they could not afford to sustain a colony such as Roanoke until it could return a profit. But beginning in the 1590s, London became intensely involved in American affairs by launching **privateering** fleets against Spain. Even though London merchants remained more interested in trade with India, the Mediterranean, and Muscovy than in North American projects, the city's growing involvement with Atlantic privateering marked a significant shift. The marriage of London capital to West Country experience would make permanent colonization possible.

The Swarming of the English

In the 17th century, more than 700,000 people crossed the Atlantic to the English colonies in North America and the Caribbean. Most European migrants were single young men who arrived as servants. At first even some Africans were treated as servants, not slaves.

The Europeans who settled in New England or the Hudson or Delaware valleys were the most fortunate. Because Puritans and Quakers migrated as families into healthy regions, their population expanded at a rate far beyond anything known in Europe. The descendants of this small, idealistic minority soon became a substantial part of the total population, and they played a role in American history far out of proportion to their original numbers. As the accompanying table shows, the New England and Middle Atlantic colonies together attracted only 5.4 percent of the immigrants, but by 1700 they contained 37 percent of all the newcomers' descendants in the English colonies and 55 percent of the Europeans' offspring.

THE CHESAPEAKE AND WEST INDIAN COLONIES

In 1606 King James I of England (1603–25) chartered the Virginia Company with authority to colonize North America between the 34th and 45th parallels. The company had two headquarters. One, in the English city of Plymouth, received jurisdiction over the northern portion of the grant. Known as the Plymouth Company, it carried on the West Country traditions of Gilbert and Raleigh. In 1607, it planted a colony at Sagadahoc on the coast of Maine. But the cold winter was intimidating, and when the Abenaki Indians refused to trade with the settlers, they abandoned the site in September 1608, and the company gave up.

The other branch, based in London, chose to colonize the Chesapeake Bay area. In 1607, the London Company sent out three ships with 104 colonists. They landed at a defensible peninsula on what they called the James River and built a fort and other crude buildings that they named Jamestown. Investors hoped to find gold or silver, a northwest passage to Asia, a cure for syphilis, or other valuable products for sale in Europe. The settlers expected to persuade or compel local Indians to work for them, much as Spain had done. If the Indians proved hostile, the settlers were told to form alliances with more distant Indians and subdue those who resisted. Company officials did not realize that a war chief named Powhatan ruled virtually all of the Indians below the **fall line**. He had no rival within striking distance. The company's other expectations proved equally skewed.

THE PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES TO 1700

Region	Who Came (in thousands)				Population in 1700 (in thousands)			
	Europeans		Africans		European		African	
West Indies	220	(29.6%)	316	(42.5%)	33	(8.3%)	115	(28.8%)
South	135	(18.1%)	30	(4.0%)	82	(20.5%)	22	(5.5%)
Mid-Atlantic	20	(2.7%)	2	(0.3%)	51	(12.8%)	3	(0.8%)
New England	20	(2.7%)	1	(0.1%)	91	(22.8%)	2	(0.5%)
Total	395	(53.1%)	349	(46.9%)	257	(64.4%)	142	(35.6%)

The Jamestown Disaster The colony was a deathtrap. Every summer, the river became contaminated around Jamestown and sent out killing waves of dysentery and typhoid fever. Before long, malaria also set in. Only 38 of the original 104 colonists survived the first year. Of the 325 who came before 1609, fewer than 100 were still alive in the spring of that year.

The survivors owed their good fortune to the resourcefulness of Captain John Smith, a soldier and adventurer who outmaneuvered other members of the colony’s ruling council and took charge. When his explorations uncovered neither gold or silver nor any quick route to Asia, he concentrated instead on sheer survival. He tried to awe Powhatan, maintain friendly relations with him, and buy corn. Through the help of Pocahontas, Powhatan’s young daughter, he avoided war. Though Smith gave conflicting versions of the story later on, he clearly believed that Pocahontas saved his life in December 1607, but food remained scarce.

The colony had too many gentlemen and craftsmen who considered farming beneath their dignity. Over their protests, Smith set them to work raising grain for four hours a day.

In 1609, the London Company sent out 600 more settlers under Lieutenant Governor Thomas Gates, but his ship ran aground on Bermuda, and the crew spent a year building another vessel. About 400 new settlers reached Virginia before Gates arrived. Smith, after suffering a severe injury in an explosion, was shipped back to England, and the colony lacked firm leadership for the next year. Wearying Powhatan with their endless demands for corn at a time of severe drought, the settlers provoked the Indian war that Smith had avoided. Some escaped to the Indians, but anyone caught fleeing was executed.

When Gates finally reached Jamestown with 175 colonists in June 1610, he found only 60 settlers alive (plus a small garrison at Point Comfort) and the food supply nearly exhausted. Gates despaired, packed everyone aboard ship, and started downriver. Virginia was going the way of Roanoke and Sagadahoc, despite its greater resources. Instead, the small fleet came abreast of the new governor, Thomas West, baron de la Warr, sailing up the James with 300 new colonists. They all went back to Jamestown, and the colony survived.

Captain John Smith Subduing Opechan-canough, the Warrior Chief of the Pamunkey Indians, 1608. Note the difference in height between Opechan-canough and Smith, even as depicted by a European artist.



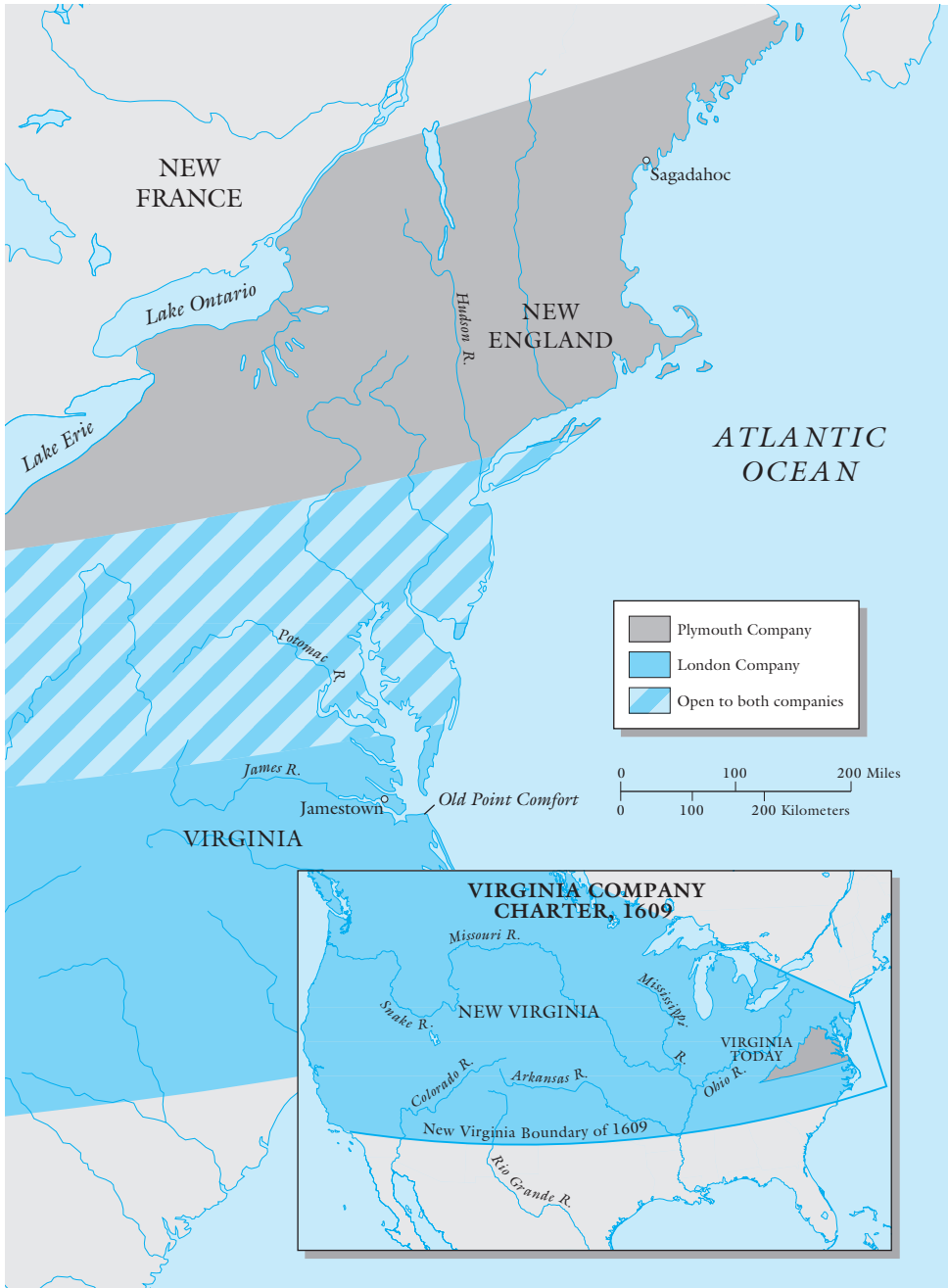
William C. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

De la Warr and Gates found themselves in the middle of the colony's first Indian war, which lasted from 1609 to 1614. Powhatan's warriors picked off any settlers who strayed far from Jamestown. The English retaliated by slaughtering whole villages and destroying crops, as they had in Ireland. The massacre of one tribe might intimidate others. The war finally ended after the English captured Pocahontas, Powhatan's favorite daughter, and used her as a hostage to negotiate peace. She converted to Christianity and married John Rolfe, a widower.

Despite the Indian war, the colony's prospects improved after 1610. The governors imposed martial law on the settlers and sent some of them to healthier locations, such as Henrico, 50 miles upstream. Through Rolfe's efforts, the colony began to produce a cash crop. In 1613, he imported a mild strain of tobacco from the West Indies. It brought such a good price in England that the king, who had insisted no one could build a colony "upon smoke," was proved wrong. Soon, settlers were growing tobacco in the streets of Jamestown.

Reorganization, Reform, and Crisis

In 1609, a new royal charter extended Virginia's boundaries to the Pacific. A third charter in 1612 made the London Company a **joint-stock company**. It resembled a modern corporation except that each stockholder had only



MAP 2.3 Virginia Company Charter, 1606

This charter gave the Plymouth Company jurisdiction over what would become New England and New York, and the London Company jurisdiction over most of what became Virginia and North Carolina. They shared jurisdiction over the intervening area. The insert map shows Virginia's revised sea-to-sea boundaries, laid out in the 1609 charter.

one vote regardless of how many shares he owned. The stockholders met quarterly in the company's General Court but entrusted everyday management to the company's treasurer, who until 1618 was Sir Thomas Smyth, a wealthy London merchant. The lack of profits led to turmoil among the stockholders, who replaced Smyth in 1618 with Sir Edwin Sandys, a Puritan son of the archbishop of York.

The company adopted an ambitious reform program for Virginia. It encouraged economic diversification, such as glass-blowing, planting grape vines, and raising silkworms. English common law replaced martial law. The settlers were allowed to elect their own assembly, the **House of Burgesses**, to meet with the governor and his council and make local laws. Finally, the most popular reform, settlers were permitted to own land. Under this **headright** system, a colonist received 50 acres for each person whose passage to Virginia he financed. By 1623, Sandys had shipped 4,000 settlers to Virginia, but the economic diversification program failed. Only tobacco found a market. Corn still provided most of the food. Instead of growing silkworms and grapes, Virginians raised Indian crops with Indian methods, which meant using hoes instead of plows.

The flood of newcomers strained the food supply and soured relations with the Indians, especially after Powhatan died and was succeeded by his militant brother, Opechancanough. In March 1622, the new chief launched an attack that was intended to wipe out the colony. Without a last-minute warning from a friendly Indian, Jamestown might not have survived. As it turned out, 347 settlers were killed that day, and most of the outlying settlements were destroyed. Newcomers who arrived in subsequent months had nowhere to go and, with food again scarce, hundreds died over the winter.

Back in London, Smyth and his allies turned against Sandys, withdrew their capital, and asked the king to intervene. A royal commission visited the colony and found only 1,200 settlers alive out of the 6,000 sent over since 1607. In 1624, the king declared the London Company bankrupt and assumed direct control of Virginia, making it the first royal colony, with a governor and council appointed by the Crown. The London Company had invested some £200,000 in the enterprise, equal to more than £150 for every surviving settler, at a time when skilled English craftsmen were lucky to earn £50 per year. Such extravagance guaranteed that future colonies would be organized in different ways.

Tobacco, Servants, and Survival

Between Opechancanough's 1622 attack and the 1640s, Virginia proved that it could survive. Despite an appalling death rate, about a thousand new settlers came each year, and population grew slowly, reaching 8,100 by 1640. For 10 years, the settlers warred against Opechancanough. In 1623, they poisoned 200 Indians they had invited to a peace conference. In most years, they attacked the Indians just before harvest time, destroying their crops and villages. By the time both sides made peace in 1632, all Indians had been expelled from the peninsula between the James and York rivers below Jamestown.

The export of tobacco financed the importation of indentured servants, even after the price of tobacco fell sharply in the 1630s. Most servants were young

men, who agreed to work for a term of years in exchange for the cost of passage, plus bed and board during their years of service, and modest freedom dues when their terms expired. Those signing indentures in England usually had valuable skills and negotiated terms of four or five years. Those men arriving without an indenture, most of whom were younger and less skilled, were sold by the ship captain to a planter. Those older than age 19 served five years, whereas those younger than 19 served until age 24. The system turned servants into freemen, who then hoped to prosper on their own. Most former servants became tenants for several years while they tried to save enough to buy their own land. Better tobacco prices enabled many to succeed between 1640 and 1660, but those who imported the servants were always in a stronger economic position, collecting the headright of 50 acres for each one. Because deaths still outnumbered births, the colony needed a steady flow of newcomers to survive.

In 1634, Virginia was divided into counties, each with its own justices of the peace, who sat together as the county court and, by filling their own vacancies, soon became a self-perpetuating oligarchy. Most counties also became Anglican parishes, with a church and a vestry of prominent laymen, usually the justices. The vestry managed temporal affairs for the church and chose the minister. Although the king did not recognize the House of Burgesses until 1639, it met almost every year after 1619 and was well established by 1640. Before long, only a justice could hope to be elected as a burgess.

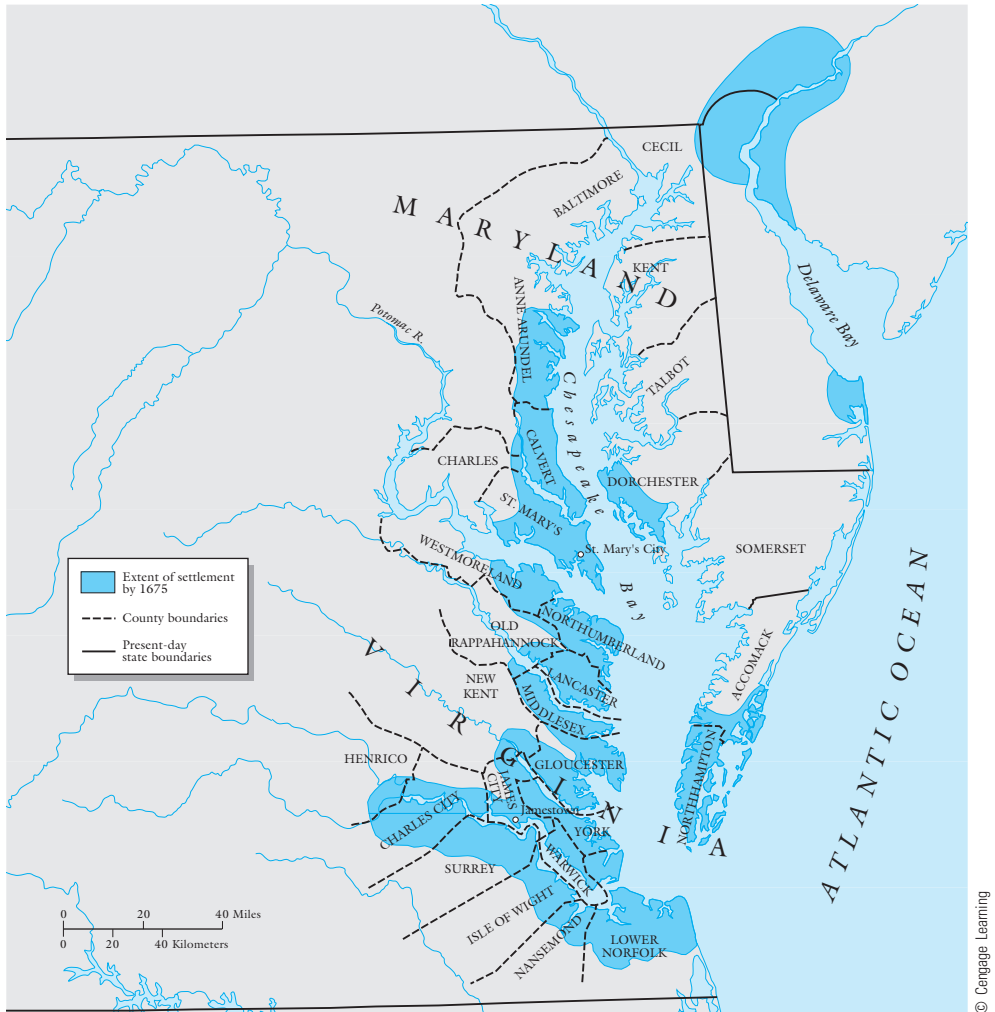
Until 1660, many former servants managed to acquire land, and some even served on the county courts and in the House of Burgesses. As tobacco prices fell after 1660, however, upward mobility became more difficult. Political offices usually went to the richest 15 percent of the settlers, those able to pay their own way across the Atlantic. They, and eventually their descendants, monopolized the posts of justice of the peace and vestryman, the pool from which burgesses and councilors were normally chosen. As Virginia became more oligarchic after 1660, resentments grew increasingly acute among those who were shut off from power and unable to prosper.

Maryland

Maryland arose from the social and religious vision of Sir George Calvert and his son Cecilius, who both became Catholics and looked to America as a refuge for persecuted English and Irish Catholics. Sir George, a prominent officeholder, had invested in the London Company. When he resigned his royal office because of his conversion, King James I made him Baron Baltimore in the Irish peerage.

The Maryland charter of 1632 made Baltimore “lord proprietor” of the colony. The most sweeping delegation of power that the Crown could make, it came close to making Baltimore king within Maryland. After 1630, most new colonial projects were **proprietary colonies**, often with the Maryland charter as a model. Many of them embodied the distinctive social ideals of their founders.

George Calvert died as the Maryland patent was being issued, and Cecilius inherited Maryland and the peerage. Like Champlain, he believed that Catholics and Protestants could live in peace in the same colony, but he expected the servants, who were mostly Protestants, to continue to serve the Catholic gentlemen



MAP 2.4 Virginia and Maryland, Circa 1675

Nearly 70 years after the founding of Jamestown, settlement remained confined to the tidewater and the eastern shore.

of the colony after their indentures expired. Baltimore made the gentlemen manor lords, with the power to preside over feudal courts that were nearly obsolete in England.

Those plans were never fulfilled. English Catholics' condition improved under Charles I (1625–1649) and his queen, Henrietta Maria, a French Catholic for whom the colony was named. Because few Catholics emigrated, most settlers were Protestants. The civil war that erupted in England in 1642 (see later section) soon spread to Maryland. Protestants overthrew Lord Baltimore's regime several times between 1642 and 1660, but the English state always sided with him, even when the Puritans were in power. During these struggles, Baltimore conceded a bicameral

legislature to the colony, knowing that Protestants would dominate the elective assembly and that Catholics would control the appointive council. He also sponsored the Toleration Act of 1649, which granted freedom of worship to Christians (but not officially to Maryland's tiny Jewish minority).

The manorial system did not survive these upheavals. Protestant servants, after their indentures expired, acquired their own land rather than become tenants under Catholic manor lords, most of whom had died or returned to England. When Maryland's unrest ended around 1660, the colony was raising tobacco, corn, and livestock and was governed by county courts similar to those in Virginia. If anything, the proprietary family's Catholicism and its claims to special privileges made the Maryland assembly more articulate than the Virginia House of Burgesses in demanding the liberties of Englishmen. Otherwise, religion provided the biggest difference between the two colonies. Virginia was Anglican, but Maryland had no established church and no vestries. Most Maryland Protestants had to make do without ministers until the 1690s.

Chesapeake Family Life

At first, European men outnumbered women in Virginia by at least 5 to 1. Among new immigrant servants as late as the 1690s, the ratio was still 5 to 2. Population became self-sustaining about 1680, when live births finally began to outnumber deaths. Among adults, this transition was felt after 1700. Until then, most prominent people were immigrants.

Life expectancy improved as the colonists planted orchards to provide wholesome cider to drink, but it still remained much lower than in England, where those who reached puberty could expect to live into their 50s. Chesapeake immigrants had survived childhood diseases in Europe, but men at age 20 typically lived only to about 45, with 70 percent dead by age 50. Women died at even younger ages, especially in areas ravaged by malaria, a dangerous disease during pregnancy. In those places, women rarely lived to age 40. England's patriarchal families found it difficult to survive in the Chesapeake. About 70 percent of the men never married or, if they did, fathered no children. Most men had to wait years after completing their service before they could marry. Because women could not marry until they had fulfilled their indentures, most spent a good part of their childbearing years unwed. Despite severe legal penalties, about one-fifth of the women had illegitimate children and roughly one-third were pregnant on their wedding day. Virtually all women married, most as soon as they could, usually to a landowner. In short, upward mobility for women exceeded that for men.

In a typical Chesapeake marriage, the groom was in his 30s and the bride eight or ten years younger. Although men outlived women, this age gap meant that the husband usually died before his wife, who then quickly remarried. In one Virginia county, three-fourths of all children lost a parent, and one-third lost both. Native-born settlers married at a much earlier age than immigrants; women were often in their middle to late teens when they wed. Orphans were a major community problem. Stepparents were common because surviving spouses with property usually remarried. Few lived long enough to become grandparents. By the time the oldest child in a household was 20, the husband and wife, because of successive

remarriages, might not even be that child's blood relatives. Under these circumstances, family loyalties tended to focus on other kin—uncles, aunts, cousins, older stepbrothers or stepsisters—thus contributing to the value that Virginia and Maryland placed on hospitality. Patriarchy remained weak. Because fathers died young, even the office holding elite that took shape after 1650 had difficulty passing on its status to its sons. Only toward the end of the 17th century were the men holding office likely to be descended from fathers of comparable distinction.

The West Indies and the Transition to Slavery

Before 1700, far more Englishmen went to the West Indies than to the Chesapeake. Between 1624 and 1640, they settled the Leeward Islands (St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat, and Antigua) and Barbados, tiny islands covering just over 400 square miles. In the 1650s, England seized Jamaica from Spain, increasing this total by a factor of 10. At first, English planters grew tobacco, using the labor of indentured servants, but beginning around 1645 in Barbados, sugar replaced tobacco, with dramatic social consequences. The Dutch, then being driven from Brazil by the Portuguese, provided some of the capital for this transition, showed the English how to raise sugar, introduced them to slave labor on a massive scale, and for a time dominated the exportation and marketing of the crop.

Sugar became so valuable that planters imported most of their food from North America rather than divert land and labor from the cash crop. Sugar required a heavy investment in slaves and mills, and large planters with many slaves soon dominated the islands. Ex-servants found little employment, and most of them left after their terms expired. Many joined the buccaneers or moved to the mainland. Their exodus hastened the transition to slavery. In 1660, Europeans outnumbered slaves in the English islands by 33,000 to 22,000. By 1700, the white population had stagnated, but the number of slaves had increased six fold. By 1775, it would triple again. Planters appropriated about 80 percent of their slaves' labor for their own profit, an unprecedented rate of exploitation. They often worked slaves to death and then bought others to replace them. Of the 316,000 Africans imported before 1700, only 115,000 remained alive in that year. Observers were depressed by the moral climate on the islands, where underworked and overfed planters arrogantly dominated their overworked and underfed slaves. Yet the islands generated enormous wealth for the English empire, far more than the mainland colonies well into the 18th century. Around 1700, the islands sent sugar worth £710,000 per year to England at a time when Chesapeake planters were getting only £230,000 for their tobacco.

The Rise of Slavery in North America

Africans reached Virginia in 1619 when, as John Rolfe reported, a Dutch ship "sold us twenty Negars." Their status was ambiguous for decades after slavery had been sharply defined in the West Indies. In the Chesapeake, many of the first Africans had Hispanic names. They were Creoles with a great deal of intercultural experience around the Atlantic world and were in a stronger position to



MAP 2.5 Principal West Indian Colonies in the 17th Century

Spain retained control of the large islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico, while its English, French, and Dutch rivals settled the smaller but fertile islands east of Puerto Rico or south of Cuba.

negotiate with their masters than later comers would be. Some Africans were treated as servants and won their freedom after several years. On Virginia's eastern shore as late as the 1660s, perhaps 30 percent of African people were free, but other Africans in the early years were already serving for life, and that pattern soon prevailed.

Because the English had no experience with slavery at home, a rigid caste system took time to crystallize. When Hugh Davis was whipped in 1630 “for abusing himself to the dishonor of God and shame of Christians, by defiling his body in lying with a negro,” his offense may have been sodomy rather than miscegenation. The record is unclear. In 1680, when Katherine Watkins, a white woman, accused John Long, a mulatto, of raping her, the neighbors (both men and women) blamed her, not him, for engaging in seductive behavior, which they described in lurid detail. The case of Elizabeth Key, a mulatto, a Christian, and the bastard daughter of Thomas Key, shows similar ambiguity. In 1655, when she claimed her freedom, her new owner fought to keep her enslaved. William Greensted, who had fathered two children by her, sued on her behalf, won, and then married her. He had probably fallen in love with her.

In the generation after 1680, the caste structure of the Chesapeake colonies became firmly set. Fewer indentured servants reached the Chesapeake from

England, as the Delaware valley and the expanding English army and navy competed more successfully for the same young men. Slaves took their place. Some of the emerging great planters, such as William Byrd I and William Fitzhugh, deliberately chose to replace indentured servants with enslaved Africans. They cost more to buy, but they served for life and could be treated more ruthlessly than English servants. In 1705, the Virginia legislature, in which slaveholders were gaining greater weight, forbade the whipping of a white servant without a court's permission, a restriction that did not apply to slaves. To attract more whites, Virginia promised every ex-servant 50 acres of land. The message was obvious: Every white was now superior to any black. Racial caste replaced opportunity as the organizing principle of Chesapeake society.

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

In New England, unlike the Chesapeake colonies, settlers reproduced the mixed economy of old England, with minor variations. Their quarrel with England was over religion, not economics. They came to America, they insisted, to worship as God commanded, not as the Church of England required.

The Pilgrims and Plymouth

The Pilgrims were Separatists who left England for the Netherlands between 1607 and 1609, convinced that the Church of England was no true daughter of the Reformation. They hoped to worship freely in Holland. After 10 years there, they realized that their children were growing up Dutch, not English. That fear prompted a minority of the congregation to move to America. After negotiating rather harsh terms with the London Company, they sailed for Virginia on the *Mayflower*. But the ship was blown off course in late 1620, landing first on Cape Cod and then on the mainland well north of the charter boundaries of Virginia, at a place they named Plymouth. Two-thirds of the settlers were not Separatists; they had been added to the passenger list by London investors. Before landing, the 100 passengers agreed to the Mayflower Compact, which bound them all to obey the decisions of the majority, a sound precaution in a colony with uncertain legal status.

Short on supplies, the colonists suffered keenly during the first winter. Half of them died, including the governor and all but three of the married women. William Bradford became governor, and he would be reelected annually for all but five years until his death in 1656.

The settlers fared much better when spring came. The Patuxet Indians of the area had been wiped out by disease in 1617, but their fields were ready for planting. Squanto, the only Patuxet to survive, had been kidnapped and carried to England by coastal traders in 1614. He had just made his way home and showed up at Plymouth in March 1621. He taught the settlers Indian methods of fishing and growing corn. He also introduced them to Massasoit, the powerful Wampanoag **sachem** (or chief), whose people celebrated the first thanksgiving feast with the settlers after the 1621 harvest. By 1630, the settlers numbered about 300. By paying off their London creditors, they gained political autonomy and private



Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. 99-54-10/A4126

An Indian Pottery Pipe. *This pipe, from a pre-1634 site in eastern New England, demonstrates early contact with settlers, the Indians' only source for brass.*

ownership of their flourishing farms. During the 1630s, they founded several new towns and sold their surplus crops to the colonists flooding into Massachusetts Bay.

Covenant Theology

A much larger Puritan exodus settled Massachusetts Bay between 1630 and 1641. To Puritans, the stakes were immense by the late 1620s. God's wrath would visit England, they warned. During the early phase of Europe's Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), Catholic armies seemed about to crush the German Reformation. Charles I blundered into a brief war against both Spain and France, raised money by dubious means, and dissolved Parliament when it protested.

Puritans embraced what they called covenant theology. According to this system, God had made two biblical covenants with humans: the covenant of works and the covenant of grace. In the covenant of works, God had promised Adam that if he kept God's law he would never die, but Adam disobeyed, was expelled from the Garden of Eden, and died. All of Adam's descendants remain under the same covenant, but because of his fall can never be capable of keeping the law; they *deserve* damnation. But God was merciful and answered sin with the covenant of grace. God will save his chosen people; everyone else will be damned. Even though the covenant of works can no longer bring eternal life, it remains in force and establishes the strict moral standards that every Christian must strive to follow, before and after conversion. A Christian's inability to keep the law usually triggered the conversion experience by demonstrating that only faith, not works, could save.

At this level, covenant theology merely restated Calvinist orthodoxy, but the Puritans gave it a novel social dimension by pairing each personal covenant with a communal counterpart. The social equivalent of the covenant of grace was the church covenant. Each congregation organized itself into a church, a community of the elect. The founders of each church, after satisfying one another of their own conversions, agreed that within their church the Gospel would be properly preached and discipline would be strictly maintained. God, in turn, promised to bestow saving grace within that church—not to everyone, but presumably to most of the children of the elect. The communal counterpart of the covenant of works was the key

to secular history. Puritans called it the “national” covenant. It determined not who was saved or damned, but the rise and fall of nations or peoples. As a people, New Englanders agreed to obey the law, and God promised to prosper them. If magistrates enforced God’s law and the people supported these efforts, God would not punish the whole community for the misdeeds of individuals. But if sinners escaped public account, God’s anger would be terrible toward his chosen people of New England. God gave them much and demanded much in return. In England, the government had refused to assume a godly role. Puritans fleeing to America hoped to escape the divine wrath that threatened England and to create in America the kind of churches that God demanded.

Massachusetts Bay

In 1629, several English Puritans obtained a charter for the Massachusetts Bay Company, a typical joint-stock corporation except for one feature: The charter did not specify where the company was to be located. Puritan investors going to New England bought out the other stockholders. Led by Governor John Winthrop, they carried the charter to America, beyond the gaze of Charles I. They used it not to organize a business corporation, but as the constitution for the colony. The General Court created by the charter became the Massachusetts legislature.

New England settlers came from the broad middle range of English society—few rich, few very poor. Most had owned property in England. When they sold it to go to America, they probably liquidated far more capital than the London Company had invested in Virginia. A godly haven was expensive to build.

An advance party that sailed in 1629 took over a fishing village on the coast and renamed it Salem. The Winthrop fleet brought 1,000 settlers in 1630. In small groups, they scattered around the bay, founding Dorchester, Roxbury, Boston, Charlestown, and Cambridge. Each town formed around a minister and a magistrate. The local congregation was the first institution to take shape. From it evolved the town meeting. Soon the colonists were raising European livestock and growing English wheat and other grains, along with corn. Perhaps 30 percent of them perished during the first winter. A few hundred others grew discouraged and returned to England. Then conditions rapidly improved, as they had at Plymouth a decade earlier. About 13,000 settlers came to Massachusetts by 1641, most as families—a unique event in Atlantic empires to that time.

Settlers did a brisk business selling grain to the newcomers arriving each year. When the flow of immigrants ceased in 1641, that trade collapsed, creating a crisis that lessened as towns improved their economic infrastructure by increasing their capacity to build ships or to raise sheep and produce woolen textiles. The region began to prosper after 1650 as Boston merchants opened up West Indian markets for New England grain, lumber, and fish. New Englanders possessed this flexibility because they had started to build ships in 1631.

The very existence of colonies committed to free labor was odd. To sustain free labor, towns severely restricted inward migration, thus guaranteeing a home market to their own craftsmen and other laborers. But towns also imposed strict discipline upon them. Into the 1660s, New England magistrates whipped more freemen than any other English colonies, but gradually this discipline became

self-sustaining. To prosper, the New England colonies had to trade with more typical colonies, the societies elsewhere in the hemisphere that raised tobacco and sugar with unfree labor.

Puritan Family Life

In rural areas, New Englanders soon observed a remarkable fact. After the first winter, deaths were rare. The place was undeniably healthy, and families grew rapidly as 6 or even 10 children reached maturity. The settlers had left most European diseases behind and had encountered no new ones in the bracing climate. For the founders and their children, life expectancy far exceeded the European norm. More than one-fifth of the men who founded Andover lived past age 80. Infant mortality fell, and few mothers died in childbirth. Because people lived so long, New England families became intensely patriarchal. Many fathers refused to grant land titles to their sons before their own deaths. In the early years, settlers often moved, looking for the richest soil, the best neighbors, and the most inspiring minister. By about 1645, most of them had found what they sought. Migration into or out of country towns became much lower than in England, and the New England town settled into a tight community that slowly became an intricate web of cousins. Once the settlers had formed a typical farming town, they grew reluctant to admit “strangers” to their midst. New Englanders largely avoided slavery, not out of sympathy for Africans or hatred of the institution, but to keep outsiders from contaminating their religion.

Conversion, Dissent, and Expansion

The vital force behind Puritanism was the quest for conversion. Probably because of John Cotton’s stirring sermons in Boston, the settlers crossed an invisible boundary in the mid-1630s. As Cotton’s converts described their religious experiences, their neighbors turned from analyzing the legitimacy of their own conversions to assessing the validity of someone else’s. Churches began to impose tests for regeneracy, and the standards of acceptance escalated rapidly.

The conversion experience was deeply ambiguous to a Puritan. Anyone who found no inner trace of saving grace was damned. Anyone absolutely certain of salvation had to be relying on personal merit and was also damned. Conversion took months, even years to achieve. It began with the discovery that one could not keep God’s law and that one deserved damnation, not for an occasional misdeed, but for what one was at one’s best—a wretched sinner. It progressed through despair to hope, which always arose from passages of scripture that spoke to that person’s condition. A “saint” at last found reason to believe that God had saved him or her. The whole process involved a painful balance between assurance and doubt. A saint was sure of salvation, but never too sure.

This quest for conversion generated dissent and new colonies. The founders of Connecticut feared that Massachusetts was becoming too severe in certifying church members. The founders of the New Haven Colony worried that the Bay Colony was too lenient. The first Rhode Islanders disagreed with all of them.

In the mid-1630s, Reverend Thomas Hooker, alarmed by Cotton’s preaching, led his people west to the Connecticut River, where they founded Hartford and



MAP 2.6 New England in the 1640s

The five Puritan colonies spread over the Atlantic coast and nearby islands, the shores and islands of Narragansett Bay, both sides of Long Island Sound, and much of the Connecticut Valley. Although New Hampshire and Maine (not named as such on this map) were not founded by Puritans, Massachusetts extended its government over those settlers during the English civil wars. The insert map shows the principal military campaign of the Pequot War.

other towns south of the charter boundary of Massachusetts. John Winthrop, Jr., built Saybrook Fort at the mouth of the river, and it soon merged with Hooker's towns into the colony of Connecticut. In 1639, an affluent group planted the New Haven Colony on Long Island Sound. The leaders were Theophilus Eaton, a wealthy London merchant, and Reverend John Davenport, who imposed the strictest requirements for church membership in New England.

The residents of most towns agreed on the kind of worship they preferred, but some settlers, such as Roger Williams and **Anne Hutchinson**, made greater demands. Williams, who served briefly as Salem's minister, was a Separatist who refused to worship with anyone who did not explicitly repudiate the Church of England. Nearly all Massachusetts Puritans were Non-Separatists who claimed only to be reforming the Anglican Church. In 1636, after Williams challenged the king's right as a Christian to grant Indian lands to anyone at all, the colony banished him. He fled to Narragansett Bay with a few disciples and founded Providence. He developed eloquent arguments for religious liberty and the complete separation of church and state.

Anne Hutchinson, an admirer of John Cotton, claimed that virtually all other ministers were preaching only the covenant of works, not the covenant of grace, and were leading their people to hell. She won a large following in Boston. At her trial there, she claimed to have received direct messages from God (the Antinomian heresy). Banished in 1638, she and her followers also fled to Narragansett Bay, where they founded Newport and Portsmouth. These towns united with Providence to form the colony of Rhode Island and accepted both the religious liberty and the separation of church and state that Williams advocated.

Much of this territorial expansion reflected not just religious idealism, but also a quest for more land that threatened neighboring Indians. Connecticut and Massachusetts waged a war of terror and annihilation against the Pequot Indians, who controlled the Thames River valley in eastern Connecticut. In May 1637, New England soldiers debated with their chaplain, which of two Pequot forts to attack, the one held by warriors or the one with women, children, and the elderly. He probably told them to remember Saul and the Amalekites because, with horrified Narragansett Indians looking on as nominal allies of the settlers, the Puritan army chose the second fort, set fire to all the wigwams, and shot everyone who tried to flee. The godly had their own uses for terror.

Congregations, Towns, and Colony Governments

These struggles helped shape New England's basic institutions. Congregations abandoned the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, vestments, incense, church courts, and the need to be ordained by a bishop. The sermon became the dominant rite, and each congregation chose and ordained its own minister. No singing was permitted, except of psalms. Congregations sometimes sent ministers and laymen to a synod, but its decisions were advisory, not binding. A 1648 synod issued the Cambridge Platform, which defined "Congregationalist" worship and church organization.

By then the town had become something distinct from the congregation. Some towns chose independent farms at the outset, but many adopted open-field

agriculture, a medieval system that appeared nowhere else in colonial America. Farmers owned scattered strips of land within a common field, and the town decided what crops to grow. Communal cooperation may have appealed to the founders, but they were also short of oxen and plows at first and had to share them. The open-field system did not survive the first generation.

Town meetings decided who got how much land. It was distributed broadly but never equally. In Springfield, at one extreme, the Pynchon family controlled most of the land and most of the labor as well. In other towns, such as Dedham, the distribution was much more equitable. In some villages, town meetings occurred often, made most of the decisions, and left only the details to a board of elected “selectmen.” In others, the selectmen did most of the governing. Usually, all adult males participated in local decisions, but Massachusetts and New Haven restricted the vote for colony-wide offices to only those men who were full church members, a decision that greatly narrowed the electorate by the 1660s.

Massachusetts had a bicameral legislature by the 1640s. Voters in each town chose representatives who met as the Chamber of Deputies, or lower house. Voters also elected the governor and the magistrates, or upper house (the Council or, in its judicial capacity, the Court of Assistants). Magistrates also staffed the county courts. The Court of Assistants heard major criminal cases and appeals from the counties. The General Court heard final appeals, with both houses sitting together to decide judicial questions.

Massachusetts defined its legal system in the “Body of Liberties” of 1641 (which may actually be history’s first bill of rights) and in a comprehensive law code of 1648 that was widely imitated in other colonies. Massachusetts sharply reduced the number of capital offenses under English law and listed them in the order of the Ten Commandments. Unlike England, Massachusetts seldom executed anyone for a crime against property. Other distinctive features of the legal system included an explicit recognition of the liberties of women, children, servants, foreigners, and even “the Bruite Creature,” or animals; a serious effort to ban professional lawyers; and the swift punishment of crime.

New England also transformed the traditional English jury system. New Haven abolished juries altogether because the Bible does not mention them, but the other colonies vastly expanded the role of civil (noncriminal) juries, using them even to decide appeals, something that never happened in England. Except in capital trials, however, the criminal jury—a fixture of English justice—almost disappeared in New England. The punishment of sin involved fidelity to the covenant and was too important to leave to 12 ordinary men. This system worked well because even sinners shared its values. Most offenders appeared in court and accepted their punishments. Acquittals were rare, almost unheard of in New Haven. Yet hardly anyone ran away to avoid trial or punishment.

Infant Baptism and New Dissent

Although most of the founders of the New England colonies became church members during the fervor of the 1630s, their children had trouble achieving conversion. They had never lived as part of a beleaguered minority in England, nor had they experienced the joy of joining with other holy refugees

in founding their own church. They had to find God on their own and then persuade their elders—who were on guard because leniency had let Williams, Hutchinson, and other deviants through—that their conversions were authentic. Most failed. They grew up, married, and requested baptism for their children. The Cambridge Platform declared that only “saints” (the converted) and their children could be baptized. But what about the children whose grandparents were saints, if their own parents had not yet experienced conversion? By 1660, this problem was becoming acute.

Dissenters offered two answers, and the ministers a third. In the 1640s, some settlers became Baptists. Noting that scripture contains no mandate to baptize infants, they argued that only converted adults should receive that rite. Their position challenged the logic of a covenanted community by implying that New England was no different from Europe. The community was a mass of sinners from whom God would randomly choose a few saints. Samuel Gorton, a Baptist expelled from Massachusetts and Plymouth, founded Warwick, Rhode Island, in the 1640s. When Massachusetts arrested him, accused him of blasphemy, and put him on trial for his life, the legislature banished him instead, but Gorton appealed to Parliament in England, and Massachusetts backed down. Baptist principles also attracted Henry Dunster, the able president of Harvard College, which had been founded in 1636 to educate ministers and magistrates for a Puritan society. When the courts began to harass Baptists, Dunster left for more tolerant Plymouth.

Even more alarming to most Puritans were the Quakers, who invaded the region from England in the 1650s. Quakers found salvation within themselves—through God, the Inner Light present in all people if they will only let it shine forth. To Puritans, the Quaker answer to the conversion dilemma seemed blasphemous and Antinomian. Massachusetts hanged four Quakers who refused to stop preaching, including Mary Dyer, a former disciple of Anne Hutchinson.

The clergy’s answer to the lack of conversions, worked out at a synod in 1662, became known as the Half-Way Covenant. Parents who had been baptized but had not yet experienced conversion could bring their children before the church, “own the covenant” (that is, subject themselves and their offspring to the doctrine and discipline of the church), and have their children baptized. In practice, women often experienced conversion before age 30, men closer to 40, but many never did. In most churches, women also began to outnumber men as full members. For 15 or 20 years after 1662, most churches were still dominated by the lay members of the founding generation. Despite the urging of the clergy (by then most ministers were young Harvard graduates, not venerable saints), aging church members resisted implementation of the Half-Way Covenant, but as the founders died off in the 1670s and 1680s, the covenant took hold and soon led to something like universal baptism. Almost every child had an ancestor who had been a full church member.

Dissent persisted anyhow. The orthodox colonies were divided over whether to persecute or to ignore their Baptist and Quaker minorities. Ministers preached “jeremiads,” shrill warnings against any backsliding from the standards of the founding generation, but many laypeople disliked the persecution of conscientious Protestants.

FROM CIVIL WAR TO THE FIRST RESTORATION COLONIES

England fell apart in the 1640s. After governing without Parliament from 1629 to 1640, Charles I tried to impose the Anglican Book of Common Prayer upon Presbyterian Scotland. The Scots revolted and invaded England. Charles had to summon Parliament, but in 1642 they took up arms against each other. Parliament won the military struggle. In 1649 it executed the king, abolished the House of Lords, and proclaimed England a Commonwealth (or republic). In 1653 the army named its most successful general, Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, but he died in 1658. As the Protectorate collapsed, part of the army invited Charles II to return from exile and accept the throne. By then the Church of England had nearly disintegrated. For two decades, no new bishops had been created.

The new Restoration government did its best to restore the old order. It brought back the House of Lords and reestablished the Church of England under its episcopal form of government. The English state, denying any right of dissent, persecuted both Catholics and Protestant dissenters: Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers. This persecution would drive thousands of Quakers to the Delaware valley after 1675.

England had founded six of the original thirteen colonies before 1640. Six others were founded or came under English rule during the Restoration era (1660–1688). The last, Georgia, was settled in the 1730s (see Chapter 4). Most of the new colonies shared certain common features and also differed in some respects from earlier settlements. All were proprietary in form, which empowered the organizers to pursue daring social experiments. Except for Pennsylvania, the Restoration colonies were all founded by men with big ideas and small purses. The proprietors tried to attract settlers from the older colonies because importing them from Europe was expensive. The most readily available prospects were servants completing their indentures in the West Indies and being driven out by the sugar revolution. Many went to South Carolina. The most prized settlers, however, were New Englanders. Proprietors distrusted both their piety and their politics, but New Englanders had built the most thriving colonies in North America. However, few of them would go farther south than New Jersey.

The Restoration colonies made it easy for settlers to acquire land, and they competed with one another by offering newcomers strong guarantees of civil and political liberties. They all promised either toleration or full religious liberty, at least for Christians. Whereas Virginia and New England (except Rhode Island) were still homogeneous societies, the Restoration colonies attracted a mix of religious and ethnic groups. They all found it difficult to create political stability out of this diversity.

Except for William Penn, the new proprietors were Cavaliers who had supported Charles II and his brother James, duke of York, during their long exile. Charles owed them something, and a colonial charter cost him nothing. Many proprietors took part in more than one project. The eight who obtained charters for Carolina in 1663 and 1665 were also prominent in organizing the Royal African Company, which soon made England a major participant in the African slave trade. Two of the Carolina proprietors obtained a charter from the Duke of York for New Jersey as well.

Carolina, Harrington, and the Aristocratic Ideal

In 1663, eight courtiers obtained a charter by which they became the board of proprietors for a colony to be founded south of Virginia. Calling their province Carolina in honor of the king, they tried to colonize the region in the 1660s but achieved no success until the following decade. Most of the settlers came from two sources. Former servants from Virginia and Maryland, many in debt, hoped that they could claim land around Albemarle Sound in what eventually became North Carolina. Other former servants came from Barbados. They settled what became South Carolina.

To the proprietors in England, these scattered settlements made up a single colony called Carolina. Led by Anthony Ashley-Cooper, later the first earl of Shaftesbury and the principal organizer of England's Whig Party, the proprietors drafted the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina in 1669, an incredibly complex plan for organizing the new colony. Philosopher John Locke, Shaftesbury's young secretary, helped write the document.

The Fundamental Constitutions drew on the work of Commonwealth England's most prominent republican thinker, James Harrington, author of *Oceana* (1656). He tried to design a republic that could endure—unlike ancient Athens or Rome, which had finally become despotic states. Harrington argued that how land was distributed ought to determine whether power should be lodged in one man (monarchy), a few men (aristocracy), or many (a republic). Where ownership of land was widespread, he insisted, absolute government could not prevail. He proposed several other republican devices, such as frequent rotation of officeholders (called “term limits” today), the secret ballot, and a bicameral legislature, with the smaller, upper house proposing laws and the larger one approving or rejecting them. Harrington had greater impact on colonial governments than any other thinker of his time.

To Shaftesbury, Harrington had uncovered the laws of history. By emphasizing Henry VIII's confiscation of monastic lands and their sale to an emerging gentry, he seemed able to explain the decline of the monarchy, England's civil wars, and the execution of Charles I—an explanation the king hated because, if correct, the monarchy was still in trouble. English writers dared not discuss these ideas openly in the 1660s, but by applying Harrington's principles at a safe distance of 3,000 miles, the Carolina proprietors could choose the kind of society they desired and devise institutions to ensure its success. Well aware that the House of Lords had been abolished for 11 years, they were not certain whether the aristocracy could survive at home. In Carolina, they hoped to create a model aristocratic society.

They overdid it. The Fundamental Constitutions proposed a government that was far more complex than any colony could sustain. England had three supreme courts; Carolina would have eight. A legislature of nobles (called “landgraves” and “casiques”) and commoners would make laws. The nobles would control 40 percent of the land. In a later version of the text, a noble who lost his land or permanently left the colony would forfeit his title, an application of Harrington's warning not to divorce power from land. A distinct group of manor lords would also have large estates. The document guaranteed religious toleration to all who believed in God, but everyone had to join a church or lose his citizenship. The document also

envisioned a class of lowly whites, “leetmen,” who would live on small tracts and serve the great landlords—and it accepted slavery. “Every Freeman of Carolina shall have absolute Power and Authority over his Negro Slaves,” declared Article 110.

Conditions were bleak on Barbados for ex-servants, but not bleak enough to make the Fundamental Constitutions attractive to the Barbadians who settled in Carolina. Between 1670 and 1700, the proprietors tried several times, without success, to win their approval of the document. In the 1680s, weary of resistance from the predominantly Anglican Barbadians, the proprietors shipped 1,000 dissenters from England and Scotland to South Carolina. These newcomers formed the nucleus of a proprietary party in South Carolina politics and made religious diversity a social fact, but they never grew strong enough to win approval for the Fundamental Constitutions.

Carolina presented its organizers with other unanticipated obstacles to these aristocratic goals. The proprietors assumed that land ownership would be the key to everything else, including wealth and status, but many settlers prospered in other ways. Some of them, especially in Albemarle, exploited the virgin forests all around them to produce masts, turpentine, tar, and pitch for sale to English shipbuilders. Other settlers raised cattle and hogs by letting them run free on open land. Some of South Carolina’s enslaved Africans were probably America’s first cowboys. The settlers also traded with the Indians, usually for deerskins, often acquired west of the Appalachians. As in New France and New Netherland, the Indian trade sustained a genuine city, Charleston, the first in the American South, founded in 1680. The Indian trade also became something more dangerous than hunting or trapping animals. Carolina traders allied themselves with some Indians to attack others and drag the captives, mostly women and children, to Charleston for sale as slaves. Until 1715, the Indian slave trade was the colony’s biggest business. South Carolina exported more enslaved Indians to other colonies than it imported Africans for its emerging plantations.

In the early 18th century, South Carolina and North Carolina became separate colonies, and South Carolina’s economy began to move in a new direction. For two decades, until the mid-1720s, a parliamentary subsidy sustained a boom in the naval stores industry, but Charleston merchants increasingly invested their capital, acquired in the Indian trade, in rice plantations. In the 1690s, planters learned how to grow rice from slaves who had cultivated it in West Africa. Especially after the collapse of the Indian slave trade in 1715 (see Chapter 3), it became the staple export of South Carolina and triggered a sharp growth of African slavery. In 1700, of the colony’s population of 5,700 more than 40 percent were African or Indian slaves engaged in a wide variety of activities. By 1730, two-thirds of the colony’s 30,000 people were African slaves, most toiling on rice plantations.

New York: An Experiment in Absolutism

In 1664, James, Duke of York, obtained a charter from his royal brother for a colony between the Delaware and Connecticut rivers. Charles II claimed that New Netherland was rightfully English territory because it was included in the Virginia charter of 1606. James sent a fleet to Manhattan, and the English settlers on Long Island rose to support his claim. Reluctantly, Stuyvesant surrendered

without resistance. The English renamed the province New York. New Amsterdam became New York City, and Fort Orange became Albany. The Dutch ceded New Netherland with few regrets. It had never been profitable anyway. New York took over all of Long Island, most of which had been ruled by Connecticut, but never made good on its claim to the Connecticut River as its eastern boundary. New York also inherited New Netherland's role as mediator between the settlers and the Iroquois Five Nations. In effect, the Duke of York's autocratic colony assumed most of the burdens of this relationship while unintentionally conferring most of the benefits on the Quakers who would begin to settle the Delaware valley a decade later. The shield provided by New York and the Iroquois would make the Quaker experiment in pacifism a viable option.

Although English soldiers abused many Dutch civilians, official policy toward the Dutch was conciliatory. Those who chose to leave could take their property with them. Those who stayed retained their property and were assured of religious toleration. Most stayed. Except in New York City and the small Dutch portion of Long Island, Dutch settlers still lived under Dutch law. Dutch inheritance practices, which were far more generous to women than English law, survived in New York well into the 18th century. England also expected to take over the colony's trade with Europe, but New York's early governors realized that a total ban on commerce with Amsterdam could ruin the colony. Under various legal subterfuges, they allowed this trade to continue.

The duke boldly tried to do in New York what he and the king did not dare attempt in England—to govern without an elective assembly. This policy upset English settlers on Long Island far more than the Dutch, who had no experience with representative government. Governor Richard Nicolls compiled a code of laws (the Duke's Laws) that were culled mostly from New England statutes. With difficulty, he won the consent of English settlers to this code in 1665, but thereafter he taxed and governed on his own, seeking only the advice and consent of his appointed council and of a court of assize, also appointive, that rode circuit dispensing justice, mostly to the English settlers. Nicolls hoped to lure New Englanders to the area west of the Hudson only to learn that James had granted it as the separate colony of New Jersey to two Carolina proprietors, Sir George Carteret and John, Baron Berkeley.

These decisions made it difficult to attract English colonists to New York, especially after New Jersey granted settlers the right to elect an assembly, which made that colony far more attractive to English settlers than New York. The creation of New Jersey also slowed the flow of Dutch settlers across the Hudson and thus helped to keep New York Dutch.

The transition from a Dutch to an English colony did not go smoothly. James expected his English invaders to assimilate the conquered Dutch, but the reverse was more common for two or three decades. Most Englishmen who settled in New York after the conquest married Dutch women (few unmarried English women were available) and sent their children to the Dutch Reformed Church. In effect, the Dutch were assimilating the English. Nor did the Dutch give up their loyalty to the Netherlands. In 1673, when a Dutch fleet threatened the colony, the Dutch settlers refused to assist the English garrison of Fort James at the southern tip of Manhattan. Eastern Long Island showed more interest in reuniting with Connecticut than in fighting the Dutch. Much like Stuyvesant nine years earlier, the



MAP 2.7 The Duke of York's Colonial Charter

This map shows the boundary of New York as set forth in the charter of 1664, the compromise boundary the first English governor negotiated with Connecticut, and the principal manors created in the 17th century.

English garrison gave up without resistance. New York City now became New Orange and Fort James was renamed Fort William, both in honor of young William III of Nassau, Prince of Orange, the new *stadholder* (military leader) of the Dutch Republic in its struggle with France.

New Orange survived for 15 months, until the Dutch Republic again concluded that the colony was not worth what it cost and gave it back to England in 1674, at the end of the Third Anglo-Dutch War. The new governor, Major Edmund Andros, arrested seven prominent Dutch merchants and tried them as aliens after they refused to swear an oath of loyalty to England that might oblige them to fight other

Dutchmen. Faced with the confiscation of their property, they gave in. Andros also helped secure bilingual ministers for Dutch Reformed pulpits. These preachers made a great show of their loyalty to the duke, a delicate matter now that James, in England, had openly embraced the Catholic faith. Ordinary Dutch Protestants looked with suspicion on the new ministers and on wealthier Dutch families who socialized with the governor or sent their sons to New England to learn English.

English merchants in New York City resented the continuing Amsterdam trade and the staying power of the Dutch elite. They believed the colony had to become more English to attract newcomers. When Andros failed to renew the colony's revenue act before returning to England in 1680, the merchants refused to pay duties not voted by an elective assembly. The court of assize, supposedly a bastion of absolutism, supported the tax strike, convicted the duke's customs collector of usurping authority, and sent him to England for punishment, where James exonerated him. The justices also fined several Dutch officeholders for failing to respect English liberties. The English (but not Dutch) towns on Long Island joined in the demand for an elective assembly, an urgent matter now that Penn's much freer colony on the Delaware threatened to drain away the small English population of New York. Several prominent merchants did move to Philadelphia.

The duke finally relented and conceded an assembly. In 1683, it adopted a Charter of Liberties that proclaimed government by consent. It also imposed English law on the Dutch parts of the province. Although the drain of English settlers to Pennsylvania declined, few immigrants came to New York at a time when thousands were going to Pennsylvania. Philadelphia's thriving trade cut into New York City's profits. New York remained a Dutch society with a Yankee enclave, governed by English intruders. In 1689, when James and William fought for the English throne, their struggle threatened to tear the colony apart.

BROTHERLY LOVE: THE QUAKERS AND AMERICA

The most fascinating social experiment of the Restoration era took place in the Delaware valley, where Quakers led another family-based, religiously motivated migration of more than 10,000 people between 1675 and 1690. Founded by George Fox during England's civil wars, the Society of Friends expanded dramatically in the 1650s as it went through a heroic phase of missionaries and martyrs, including the four executed in Massachusetts. After the Restoration, persecution in England finally prompted Quakers to seek refuge in America.

Quaker Beliefs Quakers infuriated other Christians. They insisted that God, in the form of the Inner Light, is present in all people, who can become good—even perfect—if only they will let that light shine forth. They took literally Jesus's advice to "Turn the other cheek." They became pacifists, enraging Catholics and most other Protestants, nearly all of whom had found ways to justify war. Quakers also obeyed Jesus's command to "swear not." They denounced oaths as sinful. Again, other Christians reacted with horror because their judicial systems rested on oaths.

Although orderly and peaceful, Quakers struck others as dangerous radicals whose beliefs would bring anarchy. For instance, slavery made them uncomfortable, although the Friends did not embrace abolitionism until a century later (see Chapter 5). Also, in what they called “the Lamb’s war” against human pride, Quakers refused to doff their hats to social superiors. Hats symbolized the social hierarchy of Europe. Every man knew his place so long as he understood whom to doff to, and who should doff to him. And Quakers refused to accept or to confer titles. They called everyone “thee” or “thou,” familiar terms used by superiors when addressing inferiors, especially servants.

The implications of Quaker beliefs appalled other Christians. The Inner Light seemed to obliterate predestination, original sin, maybe even the Trinity. Quakers had no sacraments, not even an organized clergy. They denounced Protestant ministers as “hireling priests.” Other Protestants retorted that the Quakers were conspiring to return the world to “popish darkness” by abolishing a learned ministry. (The terms “papists” and “popish” were abusive labels applied to Catholics by English Protestants.) Quakers also held distinctive views about revelation. If God speaks directly to Friends, that Word must be as inspired as anything in the Bible. Quakers compiled books of their “sufferings,” which they thought were the equal of the Acts of the Apostles in the New Testament, a claim that seemed blasphemous to others.

Contemporaries expected the Society of Friends to fall apart as each member followed the Light in some unique direction, but in the 1660s, Quakers found ways to deal with discord. The heart of Quaker worship was the “weekly meeting” of the local congregation. There was no sermon or liturgy. People spoke whenever the Light inspired them. But because a few men and women spoke often and with great effect, they became recognized as **public friends**, the closest the Quakers came to having a clergy. Public friends occupied special, elevated seats in some meetinghouses, and many went on missionary tours in Europe or America. The weekly meetings within a region sent representatives to a “monthly meeting,” which resolved questions of policy and discipline. The monthly meetings sent delegates to the “yearly meeting” in London. At every level, decisions had to be unanimous. There is only one Inner Light, and it must convey the same message to every believer. This insistence on unanimity provided strong safeguards against schism.

Quaker Families

Quakers transformed the traditional family as well. Women enjoyed almost full equality, and some of them, such as Mary Dyer, became exceptional preachers, even martyrs. Women held their own formal meetings and made important decisions about discipline and betrothals. Quaker reforms also affected children, whom most Protestants saw as tiny sinners whose wills must be broken by severe discipline. But once Quakers stopped worrying about original sin, their children became innocents in whom the Light would shine if only they could be protected from worldly corruption. In America, Quakers created affectionate families, built larger houses than non-Quakers with equivalent resources, and worked hard to acquire land for all of their children. Earlier than other Christians, they began to limit family size to give more love to the children they did have. Once the missionary impulse faded, they seldom associated with non-Quakers. The



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“Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Mifflin,” Oil Painting by John Singleton Copley (1773). *Traditional family portraits emphasized the patriarch’s superiority. Quakers stressed the equality of husbands and wives.*

needs of their own children became paramount. To marry an outsider meant expulsion from the Society, a fate more likely to befall poor Friends than rich ones.

Persecution in England helped drive Quakers across the ocean, but the need to provide for their children was another powerful motive for emigration. By 1700, about half of the Quakers in England and Wales had moved to America.

West New Jersey

In 1674, the New Jersey proprietors split their holding into two colonies. Sir George Carteret claimed what he now called East New Jersey, a province near New York City with half a dozen towns populated by Baptist, Quaker, Puritan, and Dutch Reformed

settlers. Lord Berkeley claimed West New Jersey and promptly sold it to some Quakers, who then founded two colonies in America: West New Jersey and Pennsylvania. In the 1680s, Quakers bought out the proprietor of East New Jersey and also gained power in Delaware (formerly New Sweden). They seemed poised to dominate the entire region between Maryland and New York. Two of the organizers were Edward Byllinge, a social radical from the 1650s, and William Penn, an admirer of Harrington.

In 1676, Byllinge drafted a document, the West New Jersey Concessions and Agreements, which the first settlers approved in 1677. It lodged legislative power in a unicameral assembly, elected by secret ballot, and it empowered voters to instruct their representatives. In the court system, juries would decide both fact and law. Judges would merely preside over the court and, if asked by a juror, offer advice. Although the document was never fully implemented, it made West Jersey the most radical political experiment attempted in America before the Revolution. West Jersey Quakers believed that godly people could live together in love without war, lawyers, or internal conflict. They kept government close to the people, made land easy to acquire, and promised freedom of worship to everyone. In the 1680s, lawsuits often ended with one litigant forgiving the other, and criminal trials sometimes closed with the victim embracing the perpetrator. But as social and religious diversity grew, the system broke down. Non-Quakers increasingly refused to cooperate. In the 1690s, the courts became impotent and Quaker rule collapsed. The Crown took over the colony and East New Jersey in 1702.

Pennsylvania

By 1681, Quaker attention shifted to the west bank of the Delaware River. There, William Penn launched a much larger, if rather more cautious, “holy experiment” in brotherly love. The son of a Commonwealth admiral, Penn grew up surrounded by privilege. He knew well both Charles II and the Duke of York, attended Oxford and the Inns of Court (England’s law schools), went on the grand tour of Europe, and began to manage his father’s Irish estates. Then something happened that embarrassed his family. “Mr. William Pen,” reported a neighbor in December 1667, “is a Quaker again, or some very melancholy thing.” Penn often traveled to the continent on behalf of the Society of Friends, winning converts and recruiting settlers in the Netherlands and Germany.

A gentleman and a Quaker, Penn was no ordinary colonizer. Using his contacts at court, he converted an old debt (owed to his father by the king) into a charter for a **proprietary colony** that Charles named Pennsylvania in honor of the deceased admiral. The emerging imperial bureaucracy disliked the whole project and, after failing to block it, inserted several restrictions into the charter. Penn agreed to enforce the Navigation Acts (see Chapter 3), to let the Crown approve his choice of governor, to submit all legislation to the English Privy Council for approval, and to allow appeals from Pennsylvania courts to the Privy Council in England. Contemporaries said little about the most striking innovation attempted by Quaker colonists. They entered America unarmed. The Pennsylvania government did not organize a militia until the 1750s. Friendly relations with Indians were essential to



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Penn's Treaty with the Indians, by Benjamin West. This 1771 painting celebrates William Penn's efforts, nearly a century earlier, to establish peaceful relations with the Delaware Indians.

the project's success, and Penn was careful to deal fairly with the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians.

More thought went into planning Pennsylvania than into the creation of any other colony. Twenty drafts survive of Penn's First Frame of Government, his 1682 constitution for the province. It evolved from what was a larger version of the West Jersey Concessions and Agreements into something more Harringtonian but still quite liberating. The settlers would elect a council of 72 men to staggered three-year terms. The council would draft all legislation and submit copies to the voters. In the early years, the voters would meet to approve or reject these bills in person. Penn anticipated that as the province expanded, such meetings would become impractical. Voters would then elect an assembly of 200, which would increase gradually to 500, about the size of the House of Commons, although for a much smaller population. Government would still remain close to the people. Penn gave up the power to veto bills but retained control of the distribution of land. Capital punishment was abolished for crimes against property and most other offenses, except murder. Religious liberty, trial by jury, and habeas corpus all received strong guarantees.

Settlers had been arriving in Pennsylvania for a year when Penn landed in 1682 with his First Frame of Government. Some of them lived in caves along the river; others, imitating the nearby Swedes, built log cabins. The colonists persuaded Penn that the First Frame was too complex for a small colony, and the first

legislature worked with him to devise a simpler government. In what became known as the Second Frame, or the Pennsylvania Charter of Liberties of 1683, the council was reduced to 18 men and the assembly to 36. The assembly's Harrington-inspired inability to initiate legislation soon became a grievance.

Penn laid out Philadelphia as "a green country town" and organized other settlements. Although an idealist, he hoped that land sales and other revenues would provide a handsome support for his family. Then, in 1684, he returned to England to answer Lord Baltimore's complaint that Philadelphia fell within the charter boundaries of Maryland, a claim that was soon verified. This dispute troubled the Penn family until the 1760s, when the Mason-Dixon line finally established the modern boundary.

In England, persecution had kept Quaker antiauthoritarianism in check. In the colony, these attitudes soon became public. Penn expected his settlers to defer to the leaders among them. He created the Free Society of Traders to control commerce with England and gave high offices to its members. From the start, however, wealth in Pennsylvania rested on trade with other colonies, especially in the Caribbean, more than with England. That trade was dominated by Quakers from Barbados, Jamaica, New York, and Boston. These men owed little to Penn and became an opposition faction in the colony. They and others demanded more land, especially in Philadelphia. They claimed that they could not afford to pay Penn's **quitrents**, and they quarreled more often than was seemly for men of brotherly love. In exasperation, Penn finally appointed John Blackwell, an old Cromwellian soldier, as governor in 1688, ordering him to end the quarrels and collect quitrents but to rule "tenderly." Boys jeered Blackwell as he tried to enter Penn's Philadelphia house, and the council refused to let him use the colony's great seal. Debate in the legislature became angrier than ever. After 13 months, Blackwell resigned. Each Quaker, he complained, "prayed for the rest on the First Day [of the week], and preyed on them the other six." Because Penn had supported James II in England, he lost control of the colony until 1693.

In 1691, the Society of Friends suffered a brief schism in the Delaware valley. George Keith, a schoolteacher, urged fellow Quakers to systematize their beliefs and even wrote a catechism, only to encounter the opposition of the public friends, who included the colony's major officeholders. When he attacked them directly, he was convicted and fined for abusing civil officers. He claimed that he was being persecuted for his religious beliefs, but the courts insisted that his only crime was his attack on public authority. In contrast to Massachusetts in the 1630s, no one was banished, and Pennsylvania remained a haven for all religions. The colony's government changed several more times before 1701, when Penn and the assembly finally agreed on the Fourth Frame, or Charter of Privileges, which gave Pennsylvania a unicameral legislature, but its politics remained turbulent and unstable into the 1720s.

Despite these controversies, Pennsylvania quickly became an economic success, well established in the Caribbean trade as an exporter of wheat and flour. Quaker families were thriving, and the colony's policy of religious liberty attracted thousands of outsiders. Some were German pacifists who shared the major goals of the Society of Friends. Others were Anglicans and Presbyterians who warned London that Quakers were unfit to rule—anywhere.

CONCLUSION

In the 16th century, France, the Netherlands, and England all challenged Spanish power in Europe and across the ocean. After 1600, all three founded their own colonies in North America and the Caribbean. New France became a land of missionaries and traders and developed close ties of cooperation with most nearby Indians. New Netherland also was founded to participate in the fur trade. Both colonies slowly acquired an agricultural base.

The English, by contrast, desired the land itself. They founded colonies of settlement that threatened nearby Indians, except in the Delaware valley, where Quakers maintained the peace. Southern mainland and Caribbean colonies produced staple crops for sale in Europe, first with the labor of indentured servants and then with enslaved Africans. The Puritan and Quaker colonies became smaller versions of England's mixed economy, with an emphasis on family farms. Maintaining the fervor of the founders was a problem for both. After conquering New Netherland, England controlled the Atlantic seaboard from Maine to South Carolina, and by 1700 the population of England's mainland colonies was doubling every 25 years. England was beginning to emerge as the biggest winner in the competition for empire.