Chapter 2

(Wikimedia Commons)

Founding the Colonies of North America

Chapter Outline

2.1 The English Settlements

As of 115 years after Columbus' discovery of America, the English had not established a single permanent foothold in the Western Hemisphere. As late as 1600, even though they had made several voyages and two attempts at settlement, they had not one colony to show for their efforts. By 1700, however, some twenty colonies—with some 350,000 inhabitants—stretched all the way from Newfoundland on the North Atlantic to the island of Barbados in the southern Caribbean. Heavy losses originally deterred growth, but promoters and settlers learned to adjust to the new environment. Thus, by the end of the 1600s, their settlements had taken root, attained prosperity, and entered into a stage of steady growth. The English dream of expansion overseas had become a reality, and Britain looked with pride upon its American empire.

Jamestown
First successful English colony founded at Jamestown, Virginia, on May 14, 1607

Captain John Smith
English leader in Jamestown's first year (1608–1609)

John Rolfe
English colonist who planted the first tobacco crop in 1612 and married the Powhatan princess, Pocahontas

2.1a Founding Virginia

The first permanent English colony in America was Virginia, begun at **Jamestown** in 1607. In the year 1606, King James I granted a group of London merchants the privilege of establishing colonies in "the part of America commonly called Virginia." Securing a charter, this Virginia Company of London raised sufficient funds through the sale of shares to outfit three ships—the *Godspeed, Discovery,* and *Susan Constant*—with 144 men and send them to Virginia. On May 14, 1607, the 104 men and boys who survived the voyage established a settlement, Jamestown, on a peninsula extending from the banks of the James River. The site was initially chosen because it appeared to be a good location for a defensible fort and the colonists wanted to avoid the native attacks that were believed to have destroyed the ill-fated colony at Roanoke. Unfortunately, the colonists did not choose their site wisely. The peninsula was low and swampy, in addition to being hot and humid in the summer, with the result that mosquitoes were abundant. Consequently, the colonists were quickly stricken with malaria outbreaks.

The early Jamestown settlers had no experience in colonization. Many of them had come for adventure rather than from any desire to become permanent residents in the wilderness. They knew nothing of subsistence farming and displayed little ingenuity. Approximately a third of the original colonists were "gentlemen" that were, in the words of **Captain John Smith**, "averse to work." Another third of the colonists were criminals who had been given a second chance in the New World. According to Smith, they were also averse to work. Although the James River teemed with fish, early colonists nearly perished for want of food. Instead of fishing and engaging in agricultural pursuits, the colonists spent their time on fruitless hunts for gold. Of the 104 that landed in Jamestown in May, only 38 survived until a ship full of supplies arrived in January—and even that many might not have survived if it were not for the natives offering to barter food for English goods throughout the fall of 1607. This pattern of failure and death would continue over the next several years as new colonists arrived. Of the first five thousand people who migrated to Virginia, fewer than one thousand survived. The winter of 1609–1610 was particularly harsh and became known as the "starving time." John Smith had alienated the natives by raiding their food supplies, so the natives retaliated by killing off livestock in the woods and keeping the colonists barricaded within their settlement. The English lived by eating dogs, cats, rats, snakes, toadstools and horsehides—and even cannibalizing the bodies of the dead. One man reportedly sat and watched his wife die and then quickly chopped up her body and salted down the pieces. The man was executed for eating what Smith referred to as "powdered wife." The English imposed draconian laws for stealing food, including the death penalty for stealing a bunch of grapes. One man was nailed to a tree by his tongue for stealing three pints of oatmeal.

Tobacco was a profitable crop in the New World and was in high demand in Europe. By 1700, thirty-five million pounds of tobacco had been exported from Chesapeake Bay. (iStockphoto)

2.1b Reorganization

Upon the colonists' arrival in Jamestown, leadership of the colony had been divided between several members of an ineffective ruling council. In the fall of 1608, however, John Smith became the council president and imposed his will on the community. Smith traded with the natives for food when he could, but organized raids to steal their food at other times. He also kidnapped natives and forced them to explain to the English how to plant corn. In 1609, Smith returned to England after suffering a severe powder burn. Smith's successors, Sir Thomas Dale and Sir Thomas Gates, imposed harsh discipline, organizing settlers into work gangs and sentencing offenders to flogging, hanging, or being broken on the wheel. The Virginia Company raised money by selling stock and recruited new immigrants by providing free passage to the New World for people who would serve the Company for seven years. Eventually, Dale decided that colonists would work harder if he permitted private ownership of land. Still, life in Virginia was harsh, and mortality rates remained high. Over nine thousand people immigrated between 1610 and 1622, but the population was only two thousand in 1622.

Gradually, the Jamestown colonists devised ways of making a livelihood. **John Rolfe** developed the skill of growing tobacco profitably and planted the first tobacco crop in

1612. Rolfe's contribution ensured Virginia's prosperity, for tobacco became a commodity much in demand in Europe very soon after its introduction from the New World. The first commercial shipment of tobacco reached England in 1617. In 1620, the colony—with fewer than a thousand residents—sent sixty thousand pounds of tobacco across the waters. By 1700, there were approximately one hundred thousand colonists in Chesapeake Bay, and they exported thirty-five million pounds of tobacco. The Virginia colony was finally an economic success, but one built on smoke. Even King James' denunciation of tobacco as "loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, and dangerous to the lungs" failed to slow the expansion of tobacco exports.

Indentured servants
Individuals who sold themselves into temporary slavery by contract, normally in exchange for passage to the New World

Pocahontas
Chief Powhatan's daughter who married English planter John Rolfe

Powhatan
Virginia Native American tribe in the area around Jamestown and also the name of the tribe's chief, who died in 1618

2.1c Indentured Servitude

Tobacco is a labor intensive crop, and successful cultivation required Virginia planters to find a reliable supply of low-cost labor. To fill this need, Virginia tobacco growers turned to **indentured servants**—those who willingly sold themselves into a form of temporary slavery for a set number of years (normally four) in exchange for passage to the New World. Of the seventeenth century immigrants to the Chesapeake colonies, 80 percent came as indentured servants. Approximately 75 percent were single males under age 25.

Life was harsh for indentured servants in the seventeenth century Chesapeake colonies. Approximately half of the indentured servants died before fulfilling their indenture contract and securing their freedom. Harsh working conditions on the tobacco plantations, along with tropical diseases, decimated the indentured workforce. Masters often cared only if their servants survived the years of their contracts and thus worked them from "can" (can see, or sunrise) to "can't" (can't see, or sundown). Indentured servants could also be sold for the remainder of their contract and therefore had no control over whom they might work for. Masters were even known to gamble away indentured servants in card games. Women could also be sold into indenture and often endured sexual abuse from masters. To make matters worse, women had time added to their indenture contracts (two years) for pregnancy and childbirth. Time was also added for both men and women for attempting to run away or committing crimes, such as stealing food or livestock. Women could be released from indenture through marriage if prospective grooms had the resources with which to purchase their indenture contracts; hence, many indentured women actively sought husbands. Both women and men received compensation at the end of their indenture contracts in the form of one suit of clothing and one barrel of corn. The more important benefit, of course, was the freedom to seek one's own economic prosperity in the New World.


This Indenture Witnesseth

In the seventeenth century, 80 percent of immigrants came to the New World as indentured servants. Servants willingly sold themselves into slavery (by signing a contract, such as the above example) in exchange for passage to the New World. (Wikipedia, The Cooper Collection of U.S. Historical Documents, photographs and digital restoration by Centpacrr)

2.1d Pocahontas

Pocahontas was the daughter of the native chief **Powhatan** and described by Smith as a "well-featured, but wanton young girl," probably 11 years old. She became famous both for saving the life of John Smith and for marrying the English tobacco planter, John Rolfe, and thus securing a temporary peace between the English and the natives. Shortly after arriving in Jamestown in December 1607, John Smith wrote that he was "feasted by the Indians according to their best, barbarous manner" and then taken and held down upon a rock where a native with a large rock threatened to "beat out his braines." Right before the native was to crush his skull, Pocahontas placed her own head on the rock next to Smith's so as to save him from certain death. Smith wrote that Pocahontas "hazarded the beating out of her own braines" to save his. Instead of a story of romance, however, historians generally interpret it as being part of a staged ceremony that signified Powhatan's power over the life and death of Smith; it was most likely a staged ceremony of subordination.

Instead of a love story, historians generally interpret the story of Pocahontas and John Smith as part of a staged ceremony that signified Powhatan's power over the life and death of Smith—a ceremony of subordination. (Wikimedia Commons)

Pocahontas was eventually captured by the English in a raid on Powhatan's camp in 1613. When Powhatan refused English ransom demands, Pocahontas remained with the English, converted to Christianity, and married the English tobacco planter, John Rolfe. After giving birth to a son, Thomas Rolfe, Pocahontas accompanied Rolfe back to England in 1616 and became known as a gracious woman in English society. Unfortunately, her life in England was short-lived as Pocahontas died of European diseases in 1617, probably at the age of 21.

2.1e Religion in Jamestown

Virginia's Charter declared that the Anglican Church would be the official state religion of the colony and that bringing Christianity to the natives was the true purpose of the colony. John Smith, however, debunked this façade by stating that "it was absurd to cloak under the guise of religion the true intentions of profit." Smith added that what quickened the heart of most Chesapeake folk was "a close horse race, a bloody cock fight, or a fine tobacco crop." The religion of Jamestown was officially Anglican; but the passion of the people was most certainly tobacco, which was not only the primary source of income but also smoked constantly by virtually all inhabitants. Still, most of the colonists of Jamestown were nominally Anglican; and attendance at Sunday services and conformity to Anglican doctrines were required of all Virginia colonists. The Anglicans did not officially allow religious dissent; Baptists, Presbyterians, Catholics, **Quakers**, and other "heretics" were persecuted, whipped, fined, imprisoned, and forced to financially support the Anglican Church through a church tax. Anglican Church courts punished fornicators, blasphemers, and served notice on those who spent Sundays "goeing a fishing." Fines were imposed for fornication; and in 1662, a law was passed making the fine double if one were caught "fornicating with a negro."

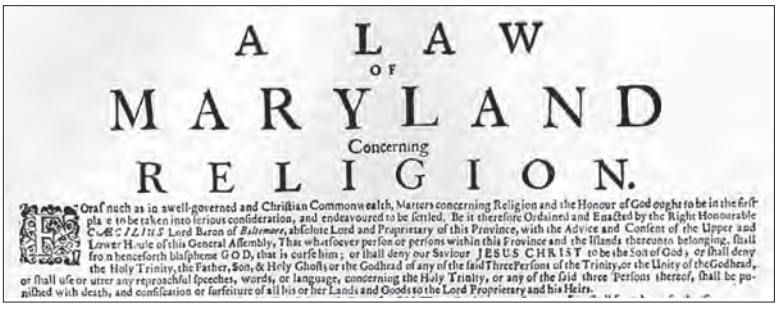
Quakers
A fundamentalist and pacifist sect that preached equality of the sexes and suffered persecution at the hands of the Puritans in both England and in America

Royal colony
A colony ruled by a governor who was appointed by the monarch

George Calvert
Founder of the colony of Maryland

2.1f Governing Virginia

In governing the colony, the Virginia Company at first adopted a policy of having severe laws administered by a strong-armed governor. After this failed, it made the momentous decision to let the settlers share in their own government. When Governor George Yeardley arrived in Virginia in 1619, he carried instructions to annually call an assembly to consist of two members, or burgesses, from each of the various local units in the colony. These burgesses were to be elected by residents on a basis of almost complete male suffrage. This assembly, which met in the church at Jamestown in the summer of 1619, was the first representative law-making body in English America and as such was the forerunner of representative government in the United States. Even when the Virginia Company at last succumbed to bankruptcy in 1624 and lost its charter, with the result that Virginia became a **royal colony**, the company's greatest contribution was preserved intact: The Virginia House of Burgesses continued to meet. It was ironic that this transfer took place under King James I, for it meant that the very monarch who spoke in terms of absolute power of the monarchy and the divine right of kings was also, unwittingly, the one who permitted representative government in America to become a regular part of the system of colonial government under the crown.


A LAW
OF
MARYLAND
Concerning
RELIGION.

For as much as in a well-governed and Christian Commonwealth, Matters concerning Religion and the Honour of God ought to be in the first place to be taken into serious consideration, and endeavoured to be settled. Be it therefore Ordained and Enacted by the Right Honourable CAECILIUS Lord Baron of *Baltemore*, absolute Lord and Proprietary of this Province, with the Advice and Consent of the Upper and Lower House of this General Assembly, That whatsoever person or persons within this Province and the Islands thereunto belonging, shall from henceforth blaspheme GOD, that is curse him; or shall deny our Saviour JESUS CHRIST to be the Son of God; or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, & Holy Ghost; or the Godhead of any of the said Three Persons of the Trinity, or the Unity of the Godhead, or shall use or utter any reproachful speeches, words, or language, concerning the Holy Trinity, or any of the said three Persons thereof, shall be punished with death, and confiscation or forfeiture of all his or her Lands and Goods to the Lord Proprietary and his Heirs.

In 1649 Lord Baltimore sponsored the Maryland Toleration Act to guarantee freedom of worship to Christians. The act marked an advance in the direction of full religious freedom in the New World. (Wikipedia Commons)

2.1g Catholic Maryland

While Virginia was gradually gaining vitality, a neighboring colony was developing to the north. In 1632, Sir **George Calvert**, First Lord Baltimore, received from King Charles I a

charter for the tract of land extending from the fortieth degree of north latitude to the south bank of the Potomac River. Calvert, a Roman Catholic, intended to make Maryland a refuge for oppressed Catholics. He died before he could settle his grant, but his son **Cecilius** became lord proprietor and sent his brother Leonard to take possession of Maryland. The first group of Catholic settlers landed on March 25, 1634.

A **proprietary colony**, such as the one the Calverts obtained, was a return to a feudal and baronial system, which in the seventeenth century was becoming outmoded. The manorial system of land tenure—which made the inhabitants of Maryland tenants of the Calverts instead of landowners—was the source of much unrest and would never have lasted at all had the Calverts not made tenancy similar to ownership. Calvert planned an aristocratic society ruled from the top, but those who immigrated to Maryland created their own democratic structures and often ignored rule from above.

In order to attract settlers and make the colony profitable, the Calverts encouraged Protestants as well as Catholics to come to Maryland from the outset. Though most of the manorial families were Catholic, Catholics never constituted a majority of the general population. Calvert attracted settlers with low cost land, with the result that the vast majority of immigrants came to Maryland for economic opportunity rather than freedom from religious persecution. Nevertheless, unlike in Virginia, Catholics and Anglicans in Maryland held separate worship; and Lord Baltimore would not allow the Jesuits in the colony to place any restrictions upon Protestants. In 1649, he sponsored the famous **Maryland Toleration Act**, which guaranteed freedom of worship to all Christians. This was not yet full liberty of conscience because there was a death penalty for non-Christians; however, the act marked an advance in the direction of full religious freedom.

With an economy based on tobacco agriculture, Maryland economically resembled Virginia in the seventeenth century; but Maryland became more open both religiously and politically. Maryland granted citizenship rights to women and Native Americans; and a black man, named **Matthias de Souza,** became the first African American to vote in North America in 1647. **Margaret Brent** became the first woman to exercise the franchise in the same election.

By the early seventeenth century, Virginia, Maryland, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay were established as colonies; the risk of founding new colonies was reduced; and territories in Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, New Jersey, and New York were soon claimed by the crown or other European groups. (Wikimedia Commons)

Religious tolerance would end in 1689, however, when the Anglicans in Maryland accused the Calverts of refusing to bow to the new Protestant king in England, **William of Orange**. In reality, the Calverts had simply not yet received word of the new king. Anglicans deposed the Calverts; they also declared the end of Catholic worship and closed, and later destroyed, the Catholic churches. Catholics would not be able to worship in public again in Maryland until the American Revolution. The Anglicans were also harsh to the **Puritans**, whom they viewed as traitors for failing to aid in the revolt against the Calverts. As a result, Puritans were arrested and jailed for treason. The Anglicans then made the Anglican Church the official state church of the colony. Interestingly, while Maryland was ending religious toleration, England was culminating its Glorious Revolution by passing it.

2.1ℏ Proprietary Colonies

Except for Maryland, the original colonies were established by joint-stock companies; but after 1660, almost all of the newly founded colonies were proprietaries. Joint-stock companies as a whole did not make a profit, and business enterprisers became less interested in investing in colonial establishments. After 1660, King Charles II began to grant large segments of American land to those who had supported the Stuart claim to the throne during the period of the English Civil War that had led to temporary abolition of the

Cecilius Calvert
Son of George Calvert, proprietor of Maryland who ensured religious freedom in Maryland

Proprietary colony
A colony where one or more individuals are granted the powers of the state and all others are tenants of the proprietors, rather than owning the land themselves

Maryland Toleration Act
1649 law declaring freedom of worship for all Christians in Maryland

Matthias de Souza
African American who voted in Maryland in 1647

Margaret Brent
Woman who voted in Maryland in 1647

William of Orange
England's Protestant king in 1689

Puritans
Protestant fundamentalist faction that sought to "purify" the Anglican Church, but was persecuted in England by King Charles I and immigrated to Massachusetts Bay in 1630

monarchy. Proprietors had been unsuccessful in the late sixteenth century because they could neither command sufficient capital nor sustain a colonizing effort over an extended period of time. But with the successful founding of Virginia, Maryland, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay in the early seventeenth century, the risk of founding proprietary colonies appeared greatly reduced. As a result, the territory of the Carolinas was given to a number of proprietors in 1663, and Pennsylvania was founded as a proprietary colony in 1682. New Jersey began as a proprietorship but eventually was made a crown (or royal) colony, in which affairs were directed by crown officials. New York also began as a proprietary colony, under the Duke of York, after its capture from the Dutch. It became a crown colony when York ascended the throne as James II.

2.1i The English and the Native Americans

The relationship between the English in North America and the Native Americans was different from that between the indigenous peoples and any other European group. For example, a small number of Spanish conquistadors under Hernán Cortéz were able to dominate Mexico by conquering the Aztecs, who held lesser tribes in subordination. But the English in North America faced a different situation that produced a decidedly different result. Powerful tribes blocked the westward expansion of the English settlers. In the triangular area between Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, there were the Hurons. They faced the Iroquois in New York and Pennsylvania, the Susquehannas in Pennsylvania and Virginia, and the Cherokees in the Carolinas—all along the spine of the Appalachians. And in the Mississippi Valley below the Ohio River, there were the Chickasaws and, further south, the Choctaws. In addition, there were many other tribes interspersed throughout. However, no single nation had achieved ascendancy. The defeat of one tribe did not mean the defeat of all.

The relationship between the English and the Native Americans differed from that between the indigenous peoples and other European groups. In the Southern Mississippi Valley, Choctaws—such as those depicted in this painting—clashed with English settlers. (Wikimedia Commons)

Since the most powerful groups of Native Americans did not dwell along the Atlantic seacoast at that time, white settlers from England first encountered friendly tribes or warlike tribes that were easily defeated. If the American Indians had joined forces to drive the English from North America at any time during the first half century of colonization, they could have succeeded. Lack of desire, and perhaps lack of unity of purpose, explains their failure to do so—not an absence of power.

From the beginning, the English treated Native Americans as members of separate nations or separate tribes, never as subjects of the crown. Warfare and negotiation involved two nations: England and the particular tribe or nation in question. In contrast to the fusion of cultures that took place under the Spanish colonial system, white and Native American cultures remained separate in English America.

2.2 The Coming of Africans

The first Africans came to Virginia in 1619, as part of what would become a vast and very profitable Atlantic trade in human flesh—a trade that had begun about a hundred years earlier with the slaves sent to the West Indies. Records do not reveal whether the Africans brought to Virginia in 1619 came as servants or slaves, but it is known that by 1650 Virginia had both black freemen and black slaves. African immigration grew slowly during the seventeenth century. In 1680, Africans (mostly slaves) comprised only 4 percent of the total population, widely scattered throughout the eastern seaboard.

Late in the seventeenth century, the pace of importation of African slaves quickened. Most were brought to the Southern Colonies: Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and eventually Georgia. By the beginning of the American Revolution, blacks comprised 20 percent of the population and the number of blacks (four hundred thousand) was equal to the total population of New England. Given the size of this single ethnic group, it is hardly surprising that the unwilling immigrants from Africa had an enduring impact on life in what was to become the United States of America.

2.2a The Rise of Slavery

Blacks from Africa and the West Indies were by far the largest group of immigrants to come to the English colonies in North America during the eighteenth century. It was a forced migration. The first blacks were brought to Virginia in 1619; and evidence indicates that, until the middle of the seventeenth century, they were both slaves and servants. The numbers involved were relatively insignificant. Less than 4 percent of the population of Virginia in 1670 was composed of slaves, with similar percentages in New York and Rhode Island. Then, in the 1690s, slavery suddenly boomed. The proportion of slaves in the population of Virginia rose to 25 percent in 1720 and to 41 percent in 1750. Slavery became the labor base upon which the large-scale plantation systems in Virginia, Maryland, and North and South Carolina were founded.

Two considerations in particular account for the abrupt change. First, neither intellectual nor moral restraint existed. Blacks were considered property rather than people. Liberty, as understood in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, protected property, and as a consequence protected slavery. No important social institution within Virginia, or indeed in the Western world, condemned slavery in 1700. Whites justified slavery with multiple verses from the Bible. Apostle Paul's command to slaves to obey their masters (Ephesians 6:5) was perhaps most important.

Slavery did not develop as much in the Northern Colonies because of the colder climate, shorter growing season, and prevalence of agriculture based on grain crops (corn and wheat) that are less labor intensive. Northern farms also tended to be smaller so that family labor was sufficient in most circumstances. Given that slaves require sustenance year-round and that there was not work in agriculture in the North for most of the year, slavery did not make economic sense in the higher latitudes. George Washington, for instance—who owned almost three hundred slaves in northern Virginia—eventually concluded that his plantation would have been more profitable if he had used wage labor due to his responsibility to take care of older slaves that could no longer work, but who required healthcare.

Washington, like other slave owners, required his slaves to work from dawn to dusk and "be diligent all the while." In short, slave life was harsh. Washington and other slave owners also instituted whipping so as to impose discipline on the slaves and ensure that they did not slack in their work. Washington's calculations aside, the slave system did work and was generally profitable for slave owners—otherwise they would have shifted to wage labor long before slavery was abolished at the end of the Civil War.

A second contributing factor in the rise of slavery was the fact that Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina were desperately in need of workers. In the seventeenth century, indentured servants had been the primary labor force in Virginia and Maryland; and indentures in modest numbers were introduced into New England as well, even though family labor predominated. But beginning in the late seventeenth century, and accelerating in the eighteenth century, indentured servants were increasingly attracted to the Middle Colonies. As a result, the Southern Colonies were correspondingly desperate for labor, especially as large landholdings became more numerous.

The chief motivation behind the increase in black slave importation in the Southern Colonies, then, was economic. Although twice as expensive as an indentured servant at the outset, a slave provided permanent service; and in every colony the offspring of female slaves were by law also slaves, in perpetuity. Soon, slaves outstripped land as an investment. A broadside written by Thomas Nairne of South Carolina in 1704 informed prospective colonists of the relative costs of establishing a plantation. For a modest plantation of two hundred acres, the cost of two slaves constituted one half of all costs—including tools, land, a house, livestock, and a year's provisions. The land cost only £6 compared with £80 for the two slaves.

In America, slavery's development was also partially a response to landowners' desire for a more pliable labor force. Wage laborers could always choose other options in the vast expanse that was America. If wage laborers were unhappy with their working conditions or wages, they could always walk off the job and head west to the endless frontier where they could subsist through hunting and gathering.

As England rose as a naval force in the seventeenth century, the slave trade increased thanks to British seafaring power. Eventually, half of all British merchant ships would be

Middle Passage
The slave journey aboard sailing ships from Africa to the New World

Seasoned slaves
Slaves who had survived one year in the New World, giving them a greater market value

slave ships, and approximately five hundred thousand people would come to America in bondage from Africa. Eleven million more African slaves would be transported to Latin America and the Caribbean, with Brazil as the number one destination.

The human cargo arrived in colonial America from Africa under particularly cruel conditions. The first part of the slaves' passage was from their local village, where they were captured, to the African coast, where they were sold to African middlemen. These middlemen kept the slaves in holding areas known as "factories" for up to a year before they were sold to European traders. The slaves would be branded while waiting and then sold to a European slave-ship captain. Once the transaction was complete, the traders would load the slaves onto ships for the infamous **Middle Passage** between the African coast and their landing point in the Western Hemisphere. One in seven people would not survive the four to six week voyage from Africa. If the ship became stuck in calm water with insufficient wind, food, and water, then the slaves would simply be tossed overboard. Others died of disease. Two competing goals were in play for the traders. On the one hand, it was in their economic interest to deliver their goods alive and in good enough health to be capable of work. On the other hand, they wanted to cram as many people into the hold as possible, once again to maximize profits. Typically, the captives made the long voyage to America below deck and in shackles.

Jazz music is a significant piece of culture that has been greatly influenced by the legacy of the African Americans who came to this country as slaves. (Shutterstock)

Arrival in the New World, however, did not end the slaves' risk of death. The slaves would be purchased at auction when they landed in the New World, then transported to the plantations of their new owners. Before transportation to their final destination, slaves would be branded again. To make matters worse, an estimated one-third of the new immigrants from Africa would die during their first year in the New World due to European diseases. Those who survived the first year were much more likely to survive thereafter; they were known as **seasoned slaves** and had a higher market value.

Once slaves reached their final destinations, the captives found they were the property of people who spoke an unfamiliar language and had unfamiliar customs and laws. Given such unfavorable circumstances, scholars debate the extent to which slaves were able to reconstitute their own culture, religious traditions, and family life—which was centered more on extended kin networks than was the European model. What is clear is that much of American culture—jazz being the prime example—has been profoundly influenced by the African legacy. Hence, we know that despite all of the suffering, the Africans were not entirely stripped of their culture, as had been formerly thought.

By 1775, 20 percent of the population of the English colonies in North America was composed of blacks, most of them slaves. More than four hundred thousand lived in the colonies of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia—a number almost equal to the total population of New England.

Although it has often been asserted that the British Royal African Company brought most of the slaves to America, in reality free traders were the principal conveyors of blacks. New Englanders, infrequently the Dutch, and later Southern merchants or planters—all imported slaves from the Caribbean as well as from Africa. Most of the colonies tried to end, by law, the increasing importation of slaves; each act adopted by the individual colonial legislatures, however, was rejected by the British Board of Trade. Because of the profitability of the slave trade, Britain considered it to be the basis for its entire trading structure. Indeed, a charge excised from the Declaration of Independence, which condemned the crown for imposing slaves upon the colonies, had a basis in fact.

Several myths were spread to feed a racial bias, including that the slaves came to the English colonies with no skills and that the culture of Africa was vastly inferior to that of the Western world. In truth, most slaves came with skills equal to those of an ordinary laboring Englishman. For example, the original source of the rice that became a

successful crop in South Carolina was Madagascar, where Africans had been cultivating it for centuries. When Eliza Pinckney of South Carolina was unsuccessful in making the commercial indigo dye with a white overseer, she imported a black slave whose knowledge—together with her own perseverance—culminated in an important marketable staple.

The agricultural tools of the African farmer and the English leaseholder did not vary greatly. In time, the transplanted African became the skilled worker in the Southern Colonies—the cook, cooper, cobbler, and blacksmith. It was not unusual for a planter to put in a request for a slave from a special region of Africa because of the particular skills of its inhabitants.

The cultivation of a number of popular crops—including rice, tobacco, and cotton—was very labor intensive; in the case of rice, it required working in mosquito-infested swamps. African slaves, with their greater resistance to tropical diseases, provided a low-cost solution for farmers and plantation owners. (Wikimedia Commons, Kimberly Vardeman)

2.2b Slave Life

Depending on which colony they lived in and what type of work they were in engaged in, life for slaves varied across the American colonies. Approximately 75 percent of slaves were involved in agriculture, and most of the rest were involved in domestic servitude; consequently, slavery was primarily a way of organizing agricultural work so as to produce the greatest profits for land owners. The cultivation of a number of agricultural crops, including rice, tobacco, and cotton, was very labor intensive. In the case of rice, it required working in mosquito-infested swamps—something that few laborers for hire were inclined to do. African slaves, with their greater resistance to tropical diseases, provided the solution.

Most of the African slaves in the colonies, an estimated 80 percent, lived and worked on large plantations with two hundred slaves or more; and most slaves, by far, lived in the Southern Colonies, with South Carolina having the most slaves in the seventeenth century. Most Southerners, however, did not own slaves. Only one in five Southerners owned slaves, and 80 percent of slave owners owned fewer than five slaves.

Once on the plantation in America, slaves lived as family units in rustic, small, crowded slave cottages. Marriage between slaves, while illegal, was often informally encouraged and practiced as slave owners understood that slave men with wives and children were less likely to rebel. Slave owners could then threaten to sell family members as a way to ensure discipline, hard work, and other preferred behaviors. It was not always a mere threat, however. Most slaves would experience the loss of family members through sale, as slave reproduction often exceeded plantation labor demands. The sale of excess laborers, therefore, was often economically expedient for the masters.

Slave breeding was also common, as slave owners desired to increase their slaveholdings through reproduction. Women who resisted the forced breeding would be subjected to the whip. Some women were also forced to satisfy the sexual desires of the master or other male members of the master's family. These relations often produced children, causing difficulties in the slave cottages as slave patriarchs raised the master's illegitimate children.

Not all slave/master sexual relations were forced, however. Some slave women sought sexual relations with the master as a way to improve their lives and the lives of their children. Slave mistresses were more likely to have jobs in the house rather than the field, often had nicer clothing, and often took more frequent baths. Furthermore, the children of the master and the slave woman often received special treatment and preferred jobs on the plantation.

2.2c Slave Resistance and Rebellion

The devastating social consequences of slavery pervaded every aspect of colonial life. Conflict between blacks and whites led to the enactment of elaborate codes for the conduct of slaves. Runaway slaves were normally caught, and the consequences for runaways were dire. That being the case, the most common forms of slave revolt were covert kinds of resistance—such as faking illness, slacking work, breaking tools, and moving as slowly as masters would allow while staying ahead of the whip.

Mose
A settlement begun by the Spanish in Florida in 1738 for slaves who escaped from the British

Stono Rebellion
The largest slave revolt in American history where over twenty whites and sixty slaves were killed

New York Conspiracy Trials
In the arson conspiracy trials that lasted the summer of 1741, four whites and eighteen slaves were hanged, thirteen slaves were burned alive, and seventy were banished to the West Indies. One man, John Uty, who was a clergyman and Latin teacher who had just arrived in New York, was hanged as a likely Spanish priest.

Salem Village
Site of the famous Salem witch trials of 1692

2.2ð Mose

Beginning in the 1680s, Spain offered freedom to slaves from the English colonies who could make their way to Florida and who accepted Catholicism. In 1738, the Spanish governor in Florida established a town north of St. Augustine for escaped slaves from the British colonies. The town, Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose (**Mose** for short), was administered by an African American Catholic convert named Francisco Menendez, a name he took at his Catholic baptism. Menendez was an escaped slave from Carolina who learned not only to speak but also to read and write Spanish. Menendez was given charge of Mose in 1738, and Mose became the first community of free blacks in what is now the United States.

2.2¢ Stono Rebellion

In 1739, the Spanish governor of Florida also offered freedom to any slaves who could make their way to Florida from Carolina (there were no slaves in Georgia at the time). This announcement, along with word about a free settlement for blacks in Mose, ignited the **Stono Rebellion** in South Carolina—the largest slave revolt in American history. On a Sunday morning before dawn, a group of some twenty slaves attacked a country store and killed the store's two shopkeepers while confiscating the store's guns and ammunition. The slave rebels placed the severed heads of their victims on the store's front steps and then headed toward Spanish Florida, attacking Southern plantations along the way and enticing other slaves to join their rebellion. The slave rebels burned and plundered over half a dozen plantations and killed over twenty white men, women, and children. A force of whites was quickly assembled to put down the revolt; and over sixty rebels were killed—their heads placed atop mileposts along the road as reminders to other slaves of the consequences of rebellion.

The fate of these rebels illustrated the fact that, at the time, slaves had no chance of overturning slavery; rebellion would only lead to death for the rebels. The Stono Rebellion stunned the white population, however; and fear of future revolts prompted defensive measures. Laws were passed to restrict the importation of slaves and to encourage the importation of white indentured servants. White settlements were promoted on the frontier as protection for older, slave-centered communities.

Punishment for slave rebellion could be extremely harsh. The whip was commonly used to keep slaves working throughout the day or in retaliation for resistance. (Wikimedia Commons)

The next year, Georgia's governor, James Oglethorpe, retaliated against the Spanish for inciting the Stono Rebellion and led both an invasion of Florida and an attack on Mose; he managed to disperse the free blacks living there before being forced to retreat by the Spanish. Oglethorpe reported that Spanish priests were living in disguise among the free blacks at Mose and that the Spanish were instigating slave revolts in the British colonies.

Oglethorpe's report spread panic and fear of slave revolt throughout the British colonies. New York City, in particular, was gripped by panic because, with over two thousand slaves, it had the largest concentration of slaves in North America at that time. A slave revolt there in 1712 had led to the execution of twenty-one slaves. In the summer of 1741, a series of fires in the city were blamed on a white tavern owner and a number of slaves. The conspiracy trials that followed lasted through the summer of 1741. Sixteen-year-old witness Mary Burton was granted immunity for her testimony. She had worked at the tavern in question and caused a sensation when she testified that it had been the center of a plot by the pope to murder the city's white population and install the tavern's white owner, John Hughson, as king of the Africans. By the time the courts were finished, four whites and eighteen slaves were hanged, thirteen slaves were burned alive, and seventy were banished to the West Indies. One man, John Uty—a clergyman and Latin teacher who had just arrived in New York—was hanged as a likely Spanish priest. The **New York Conspiracy Trials** of 1741 have often been compared to the Salem witch trials in terms of their irrationality and panic, but more people were executed in New York in 1741 (thirty-five) than in **Salem Village** (twenty).

2.3 The Pilgrims in Plymouth

Protestant pilgrims, like those who sailed to the New World on the Mayflower, *are led in prayer prior to their departure from England for their new home. Women and children are shown, perhaps to emphasize the importance of family in the community; and a rainbow is depicted symbolizing hope and divine protection. (Wikimedia Commons)*

Colonists arriving on the ***Mayflower*** at **Plymouth Rock** off Cape Cod on November 11, 1620, made the first permanent settlement in New England. They had been granted permission to settle farther south, but their ship had been blown off course. A small, devoted band of Separatists—part of a larger number of religious dissenters who had left England for Holland in 1608—were at the core of the group of about a hundred settlers. The Separatists viewed the Anglican Church as corrupt and beyond correction; thus, proper service to God required that they separate themselves from the Anglican Church and establish their own separate society. The Separatists first moved to rural England, but finding it impossible to escape Anglican decadence in England, moved to the Netherlands in 1608. The Separatists would find constructing a pure society of uncorrupted Christians in the Netherlands to be futile as well. In the words of Separatist leader **William Bradford**, "many of their children, by the great licentiousness of youth in Holland, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples." Unsuccessful in the Netherlands, the Separatists obtained permission to settle in the New World, in the lands granted to the Virginia Company. In August 1620, 102 **Pilgrims** boarded the *Mayflower* to immigrate to the New World. The expedition, which put out from Plymouth, England, was financed by a joint-stock company in which the Separatists, their fellow passengers, and outside investors participated.

During their eleven week voyage, the Pilgrims were blown off course and ended up far north of the Virginia Company's lands. Realizing that they had no legal authority to settle at Plymouth, the Pilgrims drew up the Mayflower Compact the day they arrived; the document would provide security, order, and a claim to legitimacy. In the document, the Pilgrims agreed to "covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick, for our better Ordering and Preservation." The signatories also agreed to enact and obey just laws. William Bradford was quickly elected governor.

Unfortunately, the Pilgrims got off to a difficult start in the New World. William Bradford's wife jumped overboard and committed suicide by drowning in Plymouth Harbor before ever setting foot in North America. For the rest of the Separatists arriving that November, the weather was harsh and food was scarce. As a result, half of the Pilgrims died the first winter and they were only able to build seven houses. More might have died of starvation had the Pilgrims not stolen corn from the natives while the natives were away from their houses toiling in the fields. Bradford credited God with sending the Native Americans away so that the Pilgrims could steal the natives' food. The Pilgrims at first attempted a communal lifestyle with no private property, but Bradford disappointedly explains that this early attempt at communism was abandoned in 1623 because it apparently sapped the work ethic.

The legendary Squanto, historically described as a great helper to the settlers, may actually have been a slave, traded several times throughout France and Europe and then returned to North America. Squanto may have helped the settlers, but his primary motive was likely personal gain through trade. (Wikimedia Commons)

Squanto, the legendary helpful Native American, arrived at the Pilgrim's camp in March 1621 with the simple greeting, "Welcome Englishmen." Obviously, this meant that Squanto had previous experience with Englishmen—but Bradford viewed Squanto as a "special instrument sent from God for the Pilgrims' good." Historians believe that Squanto had been sold into slavery in Virginia in 1614 and had been transported to Spain, France, and then England where he convinced the Newfoundland Company that he could be a useful guide and trade broker. It appears that, consequently, the English Newfoundland Company returned Squanto to North America.

Plymouth Rock
The landing site of the Pilgrims in North America in November 1620

Mayflower
The ship that carried the Pilgrims to America

William Bradford
The leader of the Pilgrims and author who wrote *Of Plymouth Plantation*, which chronicles their efforts in the new world

Pilgrims
A Separatist group in England that viewed the Anglican Church as corrupt beyond repair, migrated to the Netherlands, and then went on to America in 1620

Squanto
Native American trade broker who befriended and aided the Pilgrims

John Winthrop
Puritan leader and author from whom we have a historical record of the Puritans in Massachusetts Bay

Bradford writes that Squanto taught the Pilgrims the "Indian way" of planting corn, directing that the Pilgrims place four fish in each corn mound and that the corn mounds be one and a half feet apart. In reality, historians doubt that either the Pilgrims or the Native Americans could have followed such a method, since it would have meant using 27,844 fish per acre—or 2,784,400 fish per one hundred acres. Furthermore, there is no evidence that any other Native Americans in North America were using fish for fertilizer in the manner and quantity purportedly prescribed by Squanto. Instead, there is evidence that fish waste was used for fertilizer in coastal Spain and France in the seventeenth century. It has therefore been suggested that, in actuality, Squanto gained the fish-for-fertilizer idea during his time as a slave in Europe. Evidence also suggests that Squanto often kept portions of goods traded between the English and natives for his own personal profit. Historians believe that he coerced Native Americans into trading with the English by telling them that the plague was kept in the ground by the English and that they would release it on the Native Americans if they refused to trade. Instead of an instrument from God, it appears that Squanto was primarily a salesman and an opportunist.

2.3a The Great Migration

Although the character and heroism of the Pilgrims of Plymouth bequeathed a poetic heritage to the American people, the larger colony of Massachusetts Bay contributed more to New England's civilization. The main body of Puritan settlers, under the leadership of **John Winthrop**, arrived in the summer of 1630 on the *Arbella*. This was one of four ships that carried the first wave of the Great Migration; between 1630 and 1640, the Great Migration brought some twenty thousand people into Massachusetts. The Pilgrims of Plymouth would essentially be overwhelmed and absorbed by the larger Puritan society. The Puritans, like the Pilgrims before them, were a splinter group from the Anglican Church who viewed the Anglican Church as corrupt. In contrast to the Pilgrims, who viewed the Anglican Church as beyond reform, the Puritans sought to reform or "purify" the Anglican Church from within.

The Winthrop group had managed to obtain a royal charter for the Massachusetts Bay Company. Unlike other colonial enterprises, this company vested control not in a board of governors in England but rather in the members of the company who themselves were emigrating. They came bringing their charter with them and were self-governing, subject only to the English crown. Voting privileges were granted to those who were members of the Congregational Puritan Church of the colony; and during the early years of settlement, a close relationship between church and state was the key to authority and lifestyle. In all cases, however, the civil magistrates—not the clergy—held preeminence.

Similar to other seventeenth century colonies, the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay suffered hardships upon their arrival in the New World. Over two hundred Puritans died the first year, including Winthrop's son and eleven of his servants. A group of over one hundred decided that immigration to the New World had been a mistake and boarded boats back to England. In spite of these problems, Puritans would continue to emigrate from England due to the persecution of Puritans at the time by the Anglican King Charles I, who charged Anglican Bishop William Land with "harrying them [the Puritans] out of the land." During the ten years after the landing of the *Arbella*, Massachusetts Bay became the most populous English colony in the New World. From towns established at Boston, Cambridge, Dorchester, Salem, and elsewhere, groups would break away, from time to time, and move into fresh territory. In the summer of 1636, for example, the Reverend Thomas Hooker, with about one hundred of his followers, set out on foot from Cambridge and settled a new township at Hartford, in what became Connecticut. Other towns proliferated in similar fashion.

2.3b Puritan Society

Puritan society was democratic in form from the very beginning—at least, for Puritan men—and stressed religion, work, family, and education. Leaders in the Puritan community were university trained ministers, and Harvard University was begun in 1636 as

a theological seminary for Puritans. In 1647, all towns with at least fifty families were ordered to establish elementary schools; and towns of a hundred families were required to establish secondary schools, making the Puritan colonies of New England the most educated of the American colonies.

New England Puritans often expressed themselves in prose and poetry. Sometimes their tone was harsh, but it was always unmistakably clear. Sermons were cultivated as a literary form and were published by the press founded in Massachusetts Bay in 1639—the first printing press in the New World. This press became the voice of Puritanism in America. Its productivity was fabulous, exceeding the output of the presses of Cambridge and Oxford in England.

Pictured is Massachusetts Hall, Harvard's oldest building (1720). University trained ministers were leaders in the Puritan community, and Harvard University was begun in 1636 as a theological seminary for Puritans. (Wikimedia Commons, Daderot)

The Puritans began democratic self-government almost immediately. Male church members elected a governor and colonial legislature, as well as local selectmen who handled most political matters. Once annually, all townspeople would meet to decide local political matters (a practice that continues in small New England towns through the present). Puritans had a multiplicity of municipal offices including surveyors of deer, town criers, measurers, and purchasers of grain; of all adult males, 10 percent held some sort of municipal office.

Each Puritan town was founded by a grant from the Massachusetts Colony General Court in Boston. Settlement grants were given only to groups of Puritans that signed a compact signifying the unity of their purpose. After receiving a charter from Boston, Puritan communities enjoyed much local autonomy.

The New England Puritans turned to congregationalism as a form of church government, but they attempted informally to establish close ties among the individual congregations by means of synods—or assemblies of delegates—to discuss and make decisions on ecclesiastical affairs. Theoretically, each congregation could select its own course of action; but in practice, a consensus of the Puritan leaders usually determined the course.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that the Puritan clergy were all-powerful; indeed, conformity to Puritan beliefs was enforced by civil authority. Lay leaders like John Winthrop, not the leading ministers, were primarily responsible for the banishment of colonials who protested against Puritan doctrines.

The premises of New England Puritanism affected every sphere of life—political, economic, cultural, social, and intellectual. For example, land was distributed to church congregations so that a social-religious community could be created and sustained. Settlements by towns enabled the Puritans to build their lives and activities around the church, and made it so that designated practice could easily be enforced. With the Puritans in political control, and thus able to determine those groups who were to receive land grants, the goal of creating a Bible Commonwealth could be realized.

2.3c Puritan Success

Puritans had astounding success in terms of survival, when compared to the Chesapeake colonies. Ordinary settlers came as family units with men and women almost equal in numbers. Very few were indentured servants. The Puritans' economy was a mix of agriculture, fishing, timber, and fur trade. Puritans farmed in open fields shared by all and grazed livestock in open meadows. Firewood was cut from communal woodlands. Life expectancy had reached 60 years by 1700—exceeding life expectancy in England—and 90 percent of Puritan colonists survived childhood to marry (only 50 percent of Americans survived childhood in 1900). The Puritan population doubled every twenty-seven years to reach one hundred thousand in population by 1700. Furthermore, most of the population increase is accounted for by natural increase, since only 25,000 people immigrated to New England in the seventeenth century. Large scale Puritan immigration ended after 1642, due to the English Civil War that ended their persecution.

In contrast to the Puritans' success, an influx of 75,000 immigrants to Chesapeake in the seventeenth century only yielded a total population of seventy thousand by 1700.

Roger Williams
Puritan who was banished from Massachusetts Bay for heresy and credited with founding the colony of Rhode Island

Anne Hutchinson
Puritan woman banished from Massachusetts Bay for heresy and who joined with Roger Williams in Rhode Island

John Calvin
Protestant leader in Reformation Europe whose ideas spawned the Puritan movement in England

Doctrine of predestination
The Calvinist and Puritan idea stating that before the creation of the world, God predestined his "elect" for heaven

By 1680, the average Massachusetts household had a kitchen, parlor, and sleeping loft, in contrast to the single room dwellings that were still found in Chesapeake at that time; and Puritan living standards were already equal to those in England.

2.3b The Spreading Colonies of New England

Either because they had offended the ruling authorities, or because they were discontented with a thoroughgoing Puritan commonwealth that punished nonconformists severely and tried to impose its religious tenets upon all, colonists occasionally left Massachusetts Bay. Freedom of conscience or religion was not a virtue of Massachusetts Bay. **Roger Williams**, pastor of the church at Salem, complained publicly that the clergy's interference in politics threatened the freedom of individual congregations; because of this, and because he questioned the right of the settlers to take land from the American Indians, he was banished from the colony in 1635. Williams fled in the dead of winter to the Narragansett Indians and arranged, in January 1636, to purchase land from the American Indians in order to build a small settlement that he called Providence. It wasn't long before other fugitives from the persecution of Massachusetts Bay's Puritan clergy found their way to Williams' colony—including a group led by the religious rebel, **Anne Hutchinson**.

The Providence settlers made a compact which provided for the separation of church and state. Other groups came to the area and settled at Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick; and in 1644, Parliament granted Williams a charter that united the various groups, located in what is now Rhode Island, into one civil government. A royal charter in 1663 reiterated the liberties that had been established earlier. This charter remained the basis of Rhode Island's laws until 1842. Rhode Island was far ahead of its time in its legal provisions. As early as 1647, for example, it outlawed trials for witchcraft and imprisonment for debt. The Rhode Island Constitution did not, however, provide for complete religious freedom. In particular, the Rhode Island Constitution of 1644 denounced Catholics and Quakers for "Belching out fire from Hell."

A group of Massachusetts Bay emigrants settled a colony at New Haven, still under conservative Puritan leadership. As in Massachusetts, only church members were permitted to vote—a policy that, in effect, gave the church political control over the affairs of the colony. Since the scriptures made no mention of jury trials, New Haven—in contrast to other New England colonies—forbade such trials and left the dispensation of justice in the hands of the magistrates.

In 1662, Connecticut received a royal charter that confirmed the rights of self-government and provided for the Fundamental Orders, a platform of government extending the franchise to non-church members. New Haven, to its distress, was subsequently absorbed into Connecticut, and its citizens thereby gained the guarantees of Connecticut's charter.

Other Massachusetts Bay residents moved into New Hampshire and Maine, where settlers had already established themselves in small fishing villages. Massachusetts laid claim to both regions; but after many disputes, New Hampshire gained a royal charter and freed itself from the domination of Massachusetts in 1679. Maine did not become separate until 1820.

2.3c Puritanism

As a movement, Puritanism sought to religiously and politically return society to a "better, vanished time"—in this case, the time of the Christian Church in the days of the Acts of the Apostles. The Puritans viewed the first century as an uncorrupted golden age of Christianity, which had become corrupted over the centuries—complete with the addition of defiling and unnecessary traditions, rules, and decorations—first by the Catholic Church and then the Anglican Church. Human history, in the Puritan view, was a history of religious (and therefore human) decline and increasing human depravity.

The Puritans were heavily influenced by **John Calvin** and believed Calvin's **doctrine of predestination**, which holds that before the creation of the world, God exercised his divine grace and chose a few human beings to receive eternal life. Only God, however,

could know who the elect are, and nothing could change God's choices. If one were among the elect, however, one would be expected to act like it so that the saintly behavior would be visible to all.

Holy Watching
The Puritan responsibility to keep a watch on others in the community as a measure against sin

An obvious problem with the Puritan predestination doctrine is that if one is predestined to eternal bliss, and nothing can change God's mind, why worry about sin? In another apparent contradiction, the Puritans stressed the conversion of "those who could not find God's truth in their hearts." If the decision was predestined by God before the beginning of the world, and has nothing to do with humans, why evangelize?

Puritan "logic" was not a method of discovery or of learning the truths of science and nature. Instead, Puritan logic was a rhetorical means of communicating the knowledge passed from God to others. Since the Puritans already knew the truth, there was little need for inductive reasoning.

Nevertheless, the Puritans viewed the salvation of themselves, as well as the salvation of others within the congregation, as the concern of everyone in the Puritan community; and each Puritan was responsible for helping others to achieve their spiritual goals. To further this purpose, the Puritans engaged in **Holy Watching**, or moral surveillance of each other to ensure that they did not sin. Puritan houses were built in close proximity so that Puritans could hear their neighbors and know what they were doing. Curtains on the windows were forbidden so that one could see inside of the house of one's neighbor and ensure that no one inside was engaging in sin. The physical layout of the towns was such that houses faced inward toward their neighbors so as to allow Puritans to keep better watch on one another and guard against ungodly behavior.

2.3f Puritans and Human Nature

Puritans espoused a negative view of human nature, believing that humans are naturally bad and untrustworthy. Consequently, single men and women were prevented from living alone because, left to their own devices, it was expected that they would sin. In the words of Thomas Hooker, "Every natural man and woman is born as full of sin as a toad is of poison." In order to compensate for the depravity of human nature, Puritans believed that coercion was necessary to ensure proper behavior; and civil and religious transgressions were therefore severely punished. Puritans also believed that people were naturally slothful, but that work was Godly; and therefore work was stressed as the primary method of serving God. To ensure that Puritans served God faithfully through work, the Puritans meted out punishment for laziness.

Puritans purged themselves of all luxuries to focus on God's work. Physical beauty and aesthetics were disparaged. In 1634, the General Court forbade garments with any lace, silver or gold thread, all cutworks, embroidered or needlework caps, all gold and silver girdles, hatbands, belts, ruffs, beaver hats, and all clothing whereby the nakedness of the arm may be discovered. The Court also forbade long hair, and neither Christmas nor Easter was celebrated. Religious wedding ceremonies were also outlawed; couples were married by a magistrate in a civil ceremony, instead.

Laws were also passed ensuring that no one engaged in any form of entertainment, which was considered sinful. Prohibited entertainment included sledding, swimming, music, and dancing. According to Puritan leader Increase Mather, "Mixt or Promiscuous Dancing of Men and Women could not be tolerated since the unchaste Touches and Gesticulations used by Dancers have a palpable tendency to that which is evil." Also prohibited were cards, dice, shuffleboard, and other games of chance. To make sure that Puritans did not waste time entertaining themselves, the Court specifically forbade enjoyment when one might be better employed—as well as on the Sabbath, Sunday walks, and visits to the harbor. In 1670, John Lewis and Sarah Chapman were convicted of "engaging in things tending much to the dishonor of God, the reproach of religion, and the prophanation of the holy Sabbath." Lewis and Chapman were, more specifically, "sitting together on the Lord's Day, under an apple tree in Goodman Chapman's orchard." Perhaps the most notorious case of all, however, was the case of Thomas Granger, who was executed in 1642 for having sex with a mare, two cows, five calves, two goats, five sheep, and a turkey. All of the animals were also put to death—according to the instructions of Leviticus 20:15—and their carcasses were thrown in a pit; all were ordered to make no use of them.

2.3g Puritan View of the Bible

The Puritans viewed the Bible as a complete guide to societal organization and believed that "God's laws," as outlined in their Holy book, should also be the basis of civil law. In the Puritan mindset, everything that occurred in the world was somehow analogous to some event in the Bible and therefore a reproduction of divine will. The fact that the Bible was "complete" meant that anything that could not be justified by a passage found somewhere in the Bible was forbidden. In the minds of the Puritans, they spoke when the Bible spoke and were silent when the Bible was silent. The Puritans were extremely legalistic in their approach to the Bible and paid great attention to Biblical details, so much so that they could be criticized for paying more attention to the Biblical "trees" than to the forest. The Puritans conceived of themselves as a covenanted people. In essence, the "covenant theology" held that God had made a contract with humans setting down the terms of salvation. God had pledged himself to abide by these terms. This covenant in no way changed the doctrine that God elected the saints, but it explained why certain people were elected and others were not. Individuals knew that they were numbered among the elect by experiencing God's grace and exhibiting this *regeneration*—spiritual rebirth—before their peers. The Puritans firmly opposed all religious enthusiasms and any evidence of self-revelation (the doctrine that God revealed himself directly to an individual).

The Puritans conceived of themselves as a covenanted people. In essence, the "covenant theology" held that God had made a contract with humans setting down the terms of salvation. (iStockphoto)

2.3h Puritans and Free Thought

Like the seventeenth century Anglicans and the Catholics whom they disparaged, the Puritans refused, absolutely, to tolerate those who thought differently from themselves on religious matters; such heretics were vigorously persecuted. The Puritans believed that they possessed the correct interpretation of the Bible to the exclusion of all groups with whom they disagreed. As a consequence, if anyone offered a persuasive argument that shook the Puritans' certainty, or if someone developed a clever line of reasoning that could confuse the Puritan or cause him to question his beliefs, the Puritans suspected that Satan must somehow be involved. In order to prevent such confusion, settlement grants in the Puritan colony were granted only to groups of Puritans who signed a compact signifying the unity of their purpose. The compact stated, "We shall live by all means, labor to keep off from us such as are contrary minded, and receive only such unto us as may be probably of one heart with us."

2.3i Hutchinson Heresy

In 1636, the Puritan Community of Boston became divided between the male clergy and the theological teachings of Anne Hutchinson. Hutchinson considered herself a devout Puritan, but she challenged the Puritan view of women as subservient. In I Timothy 2:10–11, the writer states that women should be submissive to men, silent in Church, and not teach men. Hutchinson essentially violated all three—by teaching her own version of the gospel—and built up a major following who would meet at her home after church services. Hutchinson had no official church training or standing, but gained the wide respect of converts within the community, thanks to her teachings. Hutchinson preached that salvation was through grace, which she viewed as more important than works, thus violating the premium placed on works in orthodox Puritan theology. Hutchinson also stated that the "Holy Spirit was absent in the Preaching of some Ministers," thus challenging the spirituality, and legitimacy, of Puritan leadership.

Hutchinson was therefore placed on trial by male clergy and judges in 1637, convicted of sedition and contempt, and banished as a "woman not fit for our society, cast out and delivered to Satan to become a heathen and a leper." Hutchinson was also convicted of the heresy of prophecy, the "erroneous" claim that God revealed his will directly to a believer instead of exclusively through the Bible. On the stand at her trial, Hutchinson claimed that "the Lord hath let me see which was the clear ministry and which was wrong

by the Voice of God's own Spirit into my Soul." In claiming that God had spoken to her directly, Hutchinson committed heresy before the Puritans' very eyes. In all, Hutchinson was convicted of preaching eighty-two heresies and banished from the Massachusetts colony, only to help found the colony of dissenters in Rhode Island.

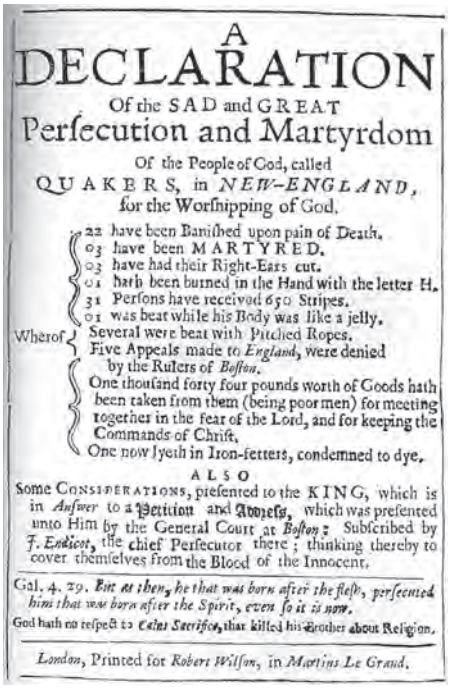
A statue of Puritan religious dissident Anne Hutchinson is seen outside the Statehouse in Boston. (Wikimedia Commons)

2.3j Puritans and Quaker Persecution

In furtherance of their goal of unity, the Puritans persecuted Quakers for blasphemy when members of the competing sect began arriving in Massachusetts in the 1650s. The General Court ordered that any Quaker literature found in the colony should be publicly burned, and the first Quakers that arrived in Boston (a pair of housewives) were arrested before they had even disembarked from their ship.

The Puritan interpretation of "contrary minded" was essentially broadened to include not just those who thought differently but also anyone who acted differently or looked different. For instance, Puritans identified the Quakers as "persons who wore hats in the presence of magistrates" (a violation of Puritan customs) and disliked the Quakers' use of outdated terms such as "thee" and "thou" in conversation. In fact, the first two Quakers arrested in Massachusetts Bay were identified, arrested, and committed to jail because one of them was heard using the word "thee" in conversation.

In that instance, the two Quaker women were jailed, stripped naked, and body-searched for marks of the devil—the Puritan belief being that the Devil's children (witches) had marks on their bodies where the Devil had physically touched them when he made them his own. The windows of the jail were boarded so that the women could not infect the rest of the community with their heresies, after which the women were deported to Barbados, in spite of the fact that there was no law, per se, against Quakerism at the time. The Quaker books that were in the possession of the women were then burned in a ceremony in the public marketplace.



A
DECLARATION
Of the SAD and GREAT
Perſecution and Martyrdom
Of the People of God, called
QUAKERS, in *NEW-ENGLAND*,
for the Worſhipping of God.

22 have been Baniſhed upon pain of Death.
03 have been MARTYRED.
03 have had their Right-Ears cut.
01 hath been burned in the Hand with the letter H.
31 Perſons have received 650 Stripes.
01 was beat while his Body was like a jelly.
Wherof Several were beat with Pitched Ropes.
Five Appeals made to *England*, were denied by the Rulers of *Boſton*.
One thouſand forty four pounds worth of Goods hath been taken from them (being poor men) for meeting together in the fear of the Lord, and for keeping the Commands of Chriſt.
One now lyeth in Iron-fetters, condemned to dye.

ALSO
Some CONSIDERATIONS, preſented to the KING, which is in *Anſwer* to a Petition and Advice, which was preſented unto Him by the General Court at *Boſton*; Subſcribed by *J. Endicot*, the chief Perſecutor there; thinking thereby to cover themſelves from the Blood of the Innocent.

Gal. 4. 29. *But as then, he that was born after the fleſh, perſecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even ſo it is now.*
God hath no reſpect to *Cains Sacrifice*, that killed his Brother about Religion.

London, Printed for *Robert Wilſon*, in *Martins Le Grand*.

In 1656, the Puritans passed a number of laws resulting in the persecution of Quakers. Puritans arrested and jailed Quakers for their beliefs and lifestyle. (Wikimedia Commons)

In October 1656, the Puritans passed a law against "that cursed sect of heretics lately risen up in the world," charging fines of ship captains who brought Quakers to Massachusetts and larger fines of Puritans who sheltered Quakers. Finally, it was decreed, "What person or persons soever shall revile the office or persons of magistrates or ministers, as is usual with the Quakers, such persons shall be severely whipped or pay the sum of five pounds."

The Quakers reacted to the persecution by choosing martyrdom, and Quaker efforts to infiltrate the Puritan community actually increased, rather than decreased, as a result. The Puritans retaliated the next year by passing the following harsher law—which included the extremes of corporal punishment and amputation—against Quakerism.

> And it is further ordered, that if any Quaker or Quakers shall presume, after they have once suffered what the law requireth, to come into this jurisdiction, every such male Quaker shall for the first offense have one of his ears cut off, and be kept at work in the house of correction till he can be sent away at his own charge, and for the second offense shall have his other ear cut off, and kept in the house of correction, as aforesaid; and every woman Quaker that hath suffered the law here and shall presume to come into this jurisdiction shall be severely whipped, and kept at the house of correction at work till she be sent away at their own charge, and so for her coming again she shall be alike used

Mary Dyer
Quaker woman executed by the Puritans in 1660 for heresy

> as aforesaid; and for every Quaker, he or she, that shall a third time herein again offend, they shall have their tongues bored through with a hot iron, and kept at the house of correction, close to work, till they be sent away at their own charge.

Three people lost ears for violating this law; and there were numerous beatings, imprisonments, and other tortures. One man was beaten with 117 blows from a corded whip and left for dead. A witness to the event stated, "His flesh was beaten black and as into jelly, and under his arms the bruised flesh and blood hung down, clotted as it were into bags; and it was so beaten into one mass, that the signs of one particular blow could not be seen."

In October 1658, the General Court passed another new law that required that anyone guilty of Quaker disorders would be banished from the territory "upon pain of death." The law was quickly implemented, with the result that in May 1659, the General Court banished six persons from Salem, Massachusetts, for Quakerism; and two young Quaker children were promptly sold into slavery in order to satisfy claims against their parents.

Puritans considered Quakers heretics, and Mary Dyer was martyred for her Quaker beliefs. In this painting by an unknown nineteenth-century artist, Dyer is being led to the gallows to be hung at Boston Common on June 1, 1660. (Wikimedia Commons)

More banishments of Quakers followed in the summer of 1659, with the result that several Quakers, prepared to die as martyrs, defied the law by returning to Boston in protest during a meeting of the General Court. A group of Puritans from Salem who sympathized with the Quakers came to the court with them, one person bringing linen "wherein to wrap the dead bodies of those who were to suffer." The General Court proceeded to arrest all of the protesters, over twenty people in total, and incarcerate them in the Boston jail. The court then selected three persons from those incarcerated—William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and **Mary Dyer** (who formerly had been a follower of Anne Hutchinson)—and sentenced them to death. The two men were hanged, but Mary Dyer was given a reprieve and taken down from the scaffold at the execution due to unrest among the Puritan audience. Dyer would continue to defy the Puritan Courts, however, and was hanged for her defiance the next year.

Two Quaker women performed the outrageous act of parading naked in public as a protest against their unjust treatment by the Puritans. The parading women were quickly caught and punished. The sentence passed on one of the women by the Essex County Court was as follows:

> The wife of Robert Wilson, for her barbarous and inhuman going naked through the town, is sentenced to be tied at a cart's tail with her body naked downward to her waist, and whipped from Mr. Gidney's gate till she come to her own house, not exceeding thirty stripes.

Similarly, Quaker woman Lydia Wardell was ordered by the court to be, "severely whipped and to pay costs to the Marshall of Hampton upon her presentment for going naked into Newbury meeting house."

Each of the Puritans' escalating stern actions, however, only caused the Quakers to be even more defiant, with the result that the number of Quakers awaiting execution overflowed the jails; and the waiting list for Quaker trials grew to an unmanageable length that overwhelmed the Puritan courts. It soon became clear that either the Puritans would have to develop new tactics in order to deter the Quakers or they would have to engage in a bloodbath of unprecedented proportions. In late 1661, the Massachusetts General Court received a letter from King Charles II prohibiting the use of either corporal or capital punishment in cases involving Quakers, thus laying the issue to rest.

2.3k Puritans and Witches

Malleus Maleficarum
Catholic Church manual from 1484 on witches and witch trials

Concerning witches, the Puritan rationale had its origin in Exodus 22:18, which states, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." The Bible itself, however, does not contain a complete and concise discussion of how to identify and apprehend witches, so the Puritans were forced to rely on traditions that had developed over the prior centuries. Many of the Puritans' ideas concerning witches had been shaped by the Catholic Church in Medieval Europe prior to the Protestant Reformation. The Puritans were merely the beneficiaries of these ideas, which had been developed and handed down over the centuries. The official, pre-Enlightenment Catholic Church position on witches was spelled out in detail in the ***Malleus Maleficarum*** of 1484, written by Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger. The ideas contained therein remained prevalent in society among Protestants and Catholics alike throughout the seventeenth century English colonies.

Kramer and Sprenger explained for the Catholic Church the concept of witches, their power, and how they should be dealt with by the authorities. The *Malleus Maleficarum* was approved by the Catholic Church as valid in 1487, and its prescriptions and procedures served as the official policies of the Inquisition from the late fifteenth through the sixteenth century. In this truly incredible work, Kramer and Sprenger argue that "devils" can "truly and actually remove men's members" as well as "work some prestidigitatory illusion so that the male organ appears to be entirely removed and separate from the body." Furthermore, Kramer and Sprenger explain that witches are able to "collect male organs in great numbers, as many as twenty or thirty members together, and put them in a bird's nest, or shut them up in a box, where they move themselves like living members, and eat oats and corn, as has been seen by many and is a matter of common report." Kramer and Sprenger also provide the story of a "certain man," who explained:

> [W]hen he had lost his member, he approached a known witch to ask her to restore it to him. She told the afflicted man to climb a certain tree, and that he might take which he liked out of a nest in which there were several members. And when he tried to take a big one, the witch said: You must not take that one; adding, because it belonged to a parish priest.

Kramer and Sprenger go on to explain how men can be turned into "werewolves," both voluntarily and involuntarily, and how one such werewolf was condemned by the court of Dole, Lyons, in 1573 to be burned alive. Other fictional creatures described by Kramer and Sprenger include fauns, trolls, and incubus (with penises of ice) and succubus devils, both of which are purported to have sex with humans.

In cases of witches, the Puritan court accepted without question the idea that Satan could take the "shape" of persons and use that shape to terrorize innocent Christians (as had been argued by Kramer and Sprenger two centuries before). The Puritans also contended that the Devil could not assume the shape of an innocent person. Thus, if someone testified that they were visited by a "specter" in the shape of a particular person, it was a foregone conclusion that said person was guilty of "signing the Devil's book," allowing him to use that person's shape.

During an early hearing in the Salem witch proceedings, a young girl had been named as one whose shape had terrorized the other young girls in Salem Village. When the Puritan authorities inquired of the girl "How comes your appearance to hurt these (girls)?" the girl replied, "How do I know, he that appeared in the shape of Samuel, a glorified saint, may appear in anyone's shape." The girl was referencing I Samuel 28: 7–17, where the Witch at Endor conjures the shape of the prophet Samuel at the behest of Israel's King Saul. Through the Bible itself, she had just proven that because the Devil had taken the shape of Samuel—a prophet and an "innocent" man of God—that if he [Devil] could take the shape of humans, he must be able to take the shape of innocent humans. The Puritans, however, were not persuaded by the testimony and continued to condemn persons to death based on "spectral evidence."

The Puritans also altered the rules of evidence in witch trials. Puritans normally followed the rule that two eye-witnesses were necessary for conviction in capital cases. In witch trials, however, they abandoned this standard; instead, they ruled that any two witnesses—even if they were not eye-witnesses, or if they were testifying about other events

at other times—would be sufficient for conviction at a witch trial. The Puritans' efforts to squelch heresy and witchcraft would inevitably end in failure due to the massive immigration and accompanying religious diversity that would eventually render the narrow Puritan experience untenable.

2.3ℓ Witches of Salem Village

In Salem Village, the famous witch trials were preceded by a series of sermons by Samuel Parris in 1692 on demons, the devil, and witchcraft. Following Parris' sermons, nine-year-old Betty Parris and her 11-year-old cousin, Abigail Williams, baked "witch-cakes" with the aid of Tituba, the Jamaican slave of Betty's father, Samuel. The cakes were made with cornmeal and human urine and were eaten by the two young girls. Afterward, the two girls were reported to have been seized with fits and to have made wild gestures and noises. The strange behavior then spread to other young girls in the village. The village elders interrogated the young girls, who confessed that they had been bewitched by Tituba and two other old women. Tituba admitted to having practiced witchcraft in the Caribbean prior to coming to Salem. With the confession to witchcraft, fear gripped the town and other persons came forward with similar tales of bewitching.

Pictured is a dramatic courtroom scene from the Salem Witch Trials. Fourteen women and five men were accused of witchcraft or association with witchcraft and executed by hanging. One man, Giles Corey, was crushed to death under heavy stones. At least five more of the accused died in prison. (Wikimedia Commons)

Foremost among the accusers was the family of Thomas Putnam, who had recently been left out of his father's will and whose family was suffering from economic hardship. Thomas Putnam himself accused twelve persons of witchcraft, while his daughter, Ann, accused twenty-one; his brother, Edward, thirteen; and another Putnam cousin, sixteen. Any personal misfortunes, bad harvests, illnesses, or even bad dreams in Salem Village were blamed on witches. One woman was accused of witchcraft for stroking a cat and causing a nearby batch of milk to turn sour. The trials lasted through the summer of 1693 and nineteen witches were eventually hanged on Witches Hill. One man convicted of witchcraft, eighty-one-year-old Giles Corey, was crushed under heavy rocks. The panic finally ended when officials from Harvard declared that, henceforth, no one could be convicted upon spectral evidence. That being the case, the remaining suspects were released and the ordeal was over—but more people had already been executed for witchcraft in Salem, that summer, than in any other witch-related incident in American history.

2.3m Puritans and the Natives

The natives in Massachusetts Bay were estimated to number around 125,000 in population in 1600; but when English fishermen brought smallpox to the area, an epidemic wiped out over half of the population by 1610—twenty years prior to the arrival of the Puritans. In 1633, three years after the Puritans' arrival, a second smallpox epidemic hit the natives and again wiped out over half the population. The Puritans believed that the epidemic was proof that God had granted them the Native American's land. After the plagues, the remaining Native Americans welcomed the Puritans because they now had surplus land, but lacked the manpower to tend and clear it all. The natives also benefited from trade with the Puritans, who had many things that the natives could use—including steel blades, axes, guns, and steel kettles for boiling water and cooking food. The remaining Massachusetts Bay natives also recognized the value of English protection from tribal enemies to the north and thus hoped that the Puritans could strengthen their own security.

Puritans sought to Christianize the Native Americans and succeeded in converting over a thousand natives by 1640. The Puritan Charter claimed that the Puritans' "Principal end is to convert the Natives to Christianity." Some natives resisted Christianization leading to a war in 1637, which was won by the Puritans. William Bradford credited God with giving the Puritans the victory over the Native Americans in the Pequot War. He recounted how the Puritans massacred four hundred natives in a raid on the Native American village, with most of the them dying in a fire set by the Puritans to burn them out of their homes. In the words of Bradford:

> It was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire and the streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the stink and scent thereof; but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands and give them so speedy a victory over so proud and insulting an enemy.

By the close of the war, all of the Native Americans in eastern Massachusetts were essentially under Puritan control; however, in order to aid in the conversion of the natives, and to avoid a future security threat, it was decreed that all Puritan men were to be trained in the use of firearms.

Henry Hudson
Explored the Hudson River in 1609 in search of the Northwest Passage

New Netherland
Dutch colony in what is now New York

Pictured here is a young child with smallpox, which was brought to the New World by English fishermen. A smallpox epidemic killed off approximately half of the American Indian population. Puritans took this as a sign that God had given them the American Indians' land. (Wikimedia Commons)

2.4 The Capture of New York

In 1609 **Henry Hudson**, an Englishman in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, sailed the Hudson River as far as the present town of Albany while in search of a "Northwest Passage" to Asia. In 1623, after the monopoly of a private Dutch company in the area had run out, the Dutch West India Company was formed to develop trade in the region along the river that Hudson had discovered. In 1626, Dutch West India Company director Peter Minuit purchased Manhattan Island from the natives for trade goods equal to a dozen beaver pelts. A settlement was begun in Manhattan known as "New Amsterdam," which became the trading center for the new Dutch colony named **New Netherland**.

Despite incompetent governors, quarreling inhabitants, and frequent wars with the natives, the colony made progress; and New Amsterdam (New York City) became an important shipping point for furs and farm products. By the 1660s, with a population of 2,500, it was second only to Boston as a trading port. The colony, as a whole, had about 8,000 settlers, many of whom were not Dutch.

Since the citizens of Holland were largely content, the new company had trouble finding colonists; thus, the early settlers included French Protestant refugees and non-Dutch emigrants from Holland. From the very beginning, New Netherland was a polyglot region. The Dutch tried to attract settlers by granting patroonships—allotments of eighteen miles of land along the Hudson River—to wealthy stockholders who would bring fifty families to the colony. Only one patroonship succeeded; and the settlers that were attracted were diverse peoples from Sweden, Holland, France, and Germany. The Dutch sent a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church to oversee religion in the new colony, and the minister wrote back and complained that the colonists were unreceptive. In his words, "Several groups of Jews have recently arrived, adding to the religious mixture of Papists, Mennonites, and Lutherans among the Dutch, and many Puritans and many other atheists who conceal themselves under the name of Christians." In response to this diversity, the Dutch West India Company ensured religious freedom for the colony of New Netherland in 1664, declaring that "the consciences of men should be free and unshackled."

William Penn
The founder of the Pennsylvania Colony

"Great Treaty"
Perhaps mythical, but probably a series of treaties between Penn and the natives purchasing land from the natives and ensuring peace

The English had never admitted the right of the Dutch to the territory they were occupying. In 1664, Charles II named his brother, James, Duke of York, proprietor over lands occupied by the Dutch in the New World. When York sent out an expedition to take over New Netherland, the English claimed that it was not an act of war but merely an action to regain rightfully English territory from the Dutch West India Company. With an English fleet in the harbor of New Amsterdam, the Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, surrendered on September 9, 1664. The town and territory were both rechristened New York in honor of the royal proprietor. The English then lost the colony back to the Dutch in a second war in 1673, before recapturing the colony permanently in 1675. The Duke of York continued to support the religious freedom that had begun under the Dutch; New York never had a state-church blend in leadership, such as in Massachusetts and Virginia. New York City grew quickly due to its harbor location and access to the interior via the Hudson and Oneida rivers.

The Dutch occupation of the Hudson Valley, however, had benefited the English far more than the new rulers cared to admit. Had the Dutch not been in possession of the land during the first half of the seventeenth century, the thin line of English colonies along the coast might have been taken by France since English settlements on the Atlantic seaboard were too sparse and weak, at the time, to prevent the French from moving down the Hudson from Canada.

2.4a The Jerseys

Soon after the Duke of York took over New Netherland in 1664, he granted the land between the Hudson and the Delaware to John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, Royalists who had defended the island of Jersey against the Parliamentarians during the English Civil War. Berkeley sold his proprietary right to two Quakers, and in 1676 the province was divided into East Jersey (belonging to Carteret) and West Jersey (which became a Quaker colony). The later division of the two portions of New Jersey among the many heirs of the proprietors created a land problem so complex that it vexes holders of real estate in that state to the present day.

In 1681 King Charles II granted to William Penn (a Quaker) land that stretched between New Jersey and Maryland, naming him and his heirs forever owners of the soil of Pennsylvania, as the domain was called. Penn established Pennsylvania as a colony that would offer refuge to persecuted Christians from all lands. (Wikimedia Commons)

2.5 Penn's Experiment

In 1681, King Charles II granted to **William Penn**, a Quaker, a charter to the land between New Jersey and Maryland, naming him and his heirs forever owners of the soil of Pennsylvania, as the domain was called. Penn set about establishing a colony that would serve as a refuge for persecuted Christians, especially Quakers, from all lands. He drew up his celebrated first Frame of Government and made various concessions and laws to govern the colony, which already had a conglomerate group of English, Dutch, Swedish, and Finnish settlers scattered here and there. After his own arrival in Pennsylvania, he provided for the calling of a popular assembly on December 4, 1682, which passed the "Great Law," guaranteeing, among other things, the rights of all Christians to liberty of conscience. Penn's colony is generally considered to have been the most democratic and free anywhere in the New World, to that point. Legislative power was vested in a directly elected assembly and suffrage was granted to all free males, not just Church members. Trial by jury was guaranteed to all citizens.

Penn was determined to keep peace with the American Indians and was careful to purchase the land that his settlers occupied. The tradition of a single **"Great Treaty"** signed under an ancient elm at Kensington is probably a myth, but Penn held many powwows with the American Indians and negotiated treaties of peace and amity after purchasing

needed land. To the credit of Penn and the Quakers, these agreements with the American Indians were, for the most part, conscientiously kept. Penn's colony became the only colony where land from the American Indians was purchased, rather than taken. In the words of Voltaire, "This was the only league between the Indians and Christians that was never sworn to and never broken."

Penn's colony, assembled by way of treaty with the American Indians, became the only colony where land was purchased from the natives, rather than taken. (Wikimedia Commons)

2.5a Quakers

Like Puritans and Pilgrims, Quakers were a fundamentalist Protestant sect that regarded the Anglican Church as corrupt and renounced its formalities and rituals. Based on their reading of Hebrews Chapters 4–8, Quakers rejected all church officials and institutions, instead claiming that every individual could claim salvation on an individual basis. Quakers were persecuted in England after the 1650s because they challenged the legitimacy of the existing church (and therefore the political hierarchy, since Anglican clergymen sat in the upper house of Parliament).

Quakers were despised by English nobles for their failure to observe customary deference (for instance, the tipping of one's hat to noblemen). The Quakers refused such deference because they believed that all men were equal before God; consequently, no one should be tipping one's hat in deference to anyone else based on birthright. Quakers also refused to pay church taxes that went to the Anglican Church; refused to sign witness oaths on the Bible (Jesus said "swear not"); and refused to participate in violence, including military service, taking Jesus' admonition to "turn the other cheek" literally. All of these beliefs and practices set them at odds with the Anglican Church and the political authority in England.

2.5b Quaker Laws

Though persecuted by others both in England and in the New World, the Quakers, like both the Anglicans and Puritans, used civil government to enforce religious morality. One of Pennsylvania's first laws provided severe punishment for "all offenses against God, such as, lying, profane talking, drunkenness, drinking of healths, obscene words, all prizes, stage plays, cards, dice, May games, gamesters, masques, revels, bull-baitings, cock-fightings, bear baitings, and the like, which excite the people to rudeness, cruelty, looseness, and irreligion."

2.5c Pennsylvania's Economy and Growth

Pennsylvania's growth from the first was phenomenal. Penn's success was largely due to his own skill as a promoter, for he wrote enticing tracts and went on preaching journeys to describe the opportunities offered by his colony. Mennonites from Switzerland and Germany—especially Pietists from the Rhineland, which had so often been overrun by invading armies—were soon coming to Pennsylvania in large numbers. Dutch sectarians, French Huguenots, Presbyterian Scots from Ulster, Baptists from Wales, and distressed English Quakers also came. Somewhat after the Mennonites, Lutheran emigrants from Germany swarmed into Pennsylvania's back country, where they cleared the forests and developed fertile farms. From the beginning, Pennsylvania was prosperous. Pennsylvania avoided the starvation periods that beset the other colonies due to fertile ground and a longer growing season than in the northeast; they also lacked the tropical diseases that plagued the South. Philadelphia became a major international port due to its excellent harbor on the Delaware River, and the city had become larger than New York City by 1700.

From the beginning, Pennsylvania was prosperous. The city of Philadelphia, which was larger than New York City by 1700, became a major international port because of its excellent harbor on the Delaware River. (Wikimedia Commons, author Nicholas A. Tonelli, uploaded to Commons by Franz Liszt)

2.6 Settlement of the Carolinas

Among the later colonies to be settled was Carolina, which also began as a proprietorship. In 1660, the monarchy was restored in England and King Charles II rewarded those who helped him regain the throne—including a Barbadian planter named **John Colleton** and seven other men—with a charter to establish a colony south of Chesapeake and north of Spanish Florida. The proprietors drew up an instrument of government called the Fundamental Constitutions (probably the handiwork of the English political philosopher John Locke). This document provided for a hierarchy of colonial nobility and set up a platform of government with a curious mixture of feudal and liberal elements. Eventually it had to be abandoned in favor of a more workable plan of government; but for the short term, Colleton and the small group of nobles officially monopolized political power in the new colony. However, they also followed the Chesapeake example of settlement by enticing immigration through the promise of 150 acres of free land and freedom of religion. In 1670, the first settlement was founded just across from present day Charleston.

John Colleton
Planter from Barbados who was named one of the eight lords proprietor of Carolina, for his support of the restoration of the English monarchy, by King Charles II

Most of the early settlers were Englishmen from the English Caribbean colony of Barbados. Carolina was the only seventeenth century English colony to be settled principally by colonists from other colonies, rather than from England. The colonists were a diverse mix of Swiss, Scottish, Irish, French, and English settlers, and African slaves (who made up a quarter of the first settlers). Religious diversity prevented any group from creating a church/state relationship. The new settlers, however, generally ignored the political rule of the nobles and opted instead for local self-rule.

2.6a Carolina Economy

The leaders of Carolina sought to exploit the Native Americans for deerskin trade. In the words of Colleton, "All of Carolina is one continuous deer park." Settlers, however, found greater profit in selling natives as slaves in New England or the West Indies. Local planters would arm and reward one tribe for helping them bring in enemy tribes—and then they would capture the tribe that had helped them and sell them into slavery, as well. By 1700, the native population of Carolina was essentially wiped out. The shortage of natives caused the British to begin the importation of African slaves to South Carolina since white Europeans refused to work in the swamps of the Carolina rice and indigo plantations. In 1680, South Carolina was 80 percent white. By 1720, South Carolina was 70 percent black. Like Virginia and Maryland, the climate of South Carolina was conducive to malaria and high mortality rates—and African slaves proved more resistant to malaria. John Colleton described it thusly, "Carolina is in the Spring Paradise, the Summer Hell, and in the Autumn, a Hospital."

2.6b The Division of Carolina

The division of Carolina into two distinct colonies came about gradually. English settlers were already occupying land around Albemarle Sound when the proprietors received their charter, and Albemarle continued to attract a smattering of settlers. It was geographically remote from the other settlement on the Ashley and Cooper rivers to the south. As the two separate sections gained population, they set up separate legislative assemblies, approved by the proprietors. In 1710, the proprietors appointed a governor of North Carolina, "independent of the governor of Carolina," thus recognizing the separation of North Carolina from South Carolina. In 1721, South Carolina was declared a royal province and eight years later North Carolina also became a crown colony. North and South Carolina also had different economies and different demographics. North Carolina's economy was a mix of livestock, tobacco, and naval stores. Naval stores included lumber,

Map 2.1 Georgia and the Carolinas

rope, and pine tar for sailing ships. Those who worked in the pine tar industry gained the name "tar heels." In terms of population, while South Carolina's population was 70 percent African slaves by 1720, North Carolina had remained 80 percent white.

2.6c Georgia

Georgia, founded in 1732, was administered by twenty trustees in England for two decades. Georgia was established to serve many purposes: as an extension of the southern provincial frontier; as a buffer or a first line of defense between the Spanish colony of Florida and the English settlements; as a planned Utopia where the trustees hoped to establish a model society; as a refuge for persecuted Protestants from Europe; as a new opportunity for men who had been released from debtor's prisons in England; as an Enlightenment project to make productive use of England's "deserving poor"; and as a model "colony" that would produce commodities that England wanted, notably silk and citrus fruits.

In its inception, Georgia was governed strictly by its Board of Noble Trustees and had no popularly elected assembly. The trustees brought in silkworms from China and grapes from France for their planned economy of silk and wine. Alcohol was prohibited in Georgia so as to dissuade the laziness of poor people and "second chance" criminals. Slavery was prohibited for the same reasons.

Silkworms were imported from China and grapes from France for Georgia's planned economy of silk and wine. However, the silk business failed because the insects needed the trees in China to feed on. The birds ate the rest of the population. (Wikimedia Commons, Dennis Jarvis)

The "model colony" envisioned by the Board of Trustees never materialized, however, due to multiple problems. The wine business failed in Georgia due to grape-eating bugs and birds. The silk business also failed because it turned out that silkworms needed the trees from China and Georgia birds feasted on the imported silkworms. As a consequence, the population of Georgia was only 2,800 in 1750; hence, Parliament passed the legalization of slavery and alcohol in Georgia. Georgia then developed into a rice and indigo plantation economy based on slave labor, like South Carolina.

Timeline

1607	Jamestown is founded as the first settlement in Virginia.
1619	First Africans are brought to Virginia.
1620	Pilgrims land at Plymouth Rock on the *Mayflower.*
1626	Peter Minuit purchases Manhattan from the natives for goods equal to twelve beaver pelts.
1630	Puritans arrive in Massachusetts Bay.
1632	Maryland is founded by George Calvert as a planned refuge for Catholics.
1636	Harvard is founded as a Puritan theological seminary.
1642	Persecution of Puritans in England ends.
1649	Maryland Toleration Act
1660	Execution of Mary Dyer
1663	Carolina is founded as a proprietary colony.
1670	Settlement is started near present-day Charleston, South Carolina.
1675	England defeats the Netherlands in a war and gains permanent control of the colony on the Hudson, renamed New York.
1681	King Charles II grants a charter for a colony to William Penn.
1688–1691	Glorious Revolution in England installs Protestant William of Orange to the throne, and England passes religious toleration while Maryland deposes the Calverts and ends religious toleration.
1692	Witch Trials in Salem Village
1732	Georgia is founded as a colony for the deserving poor.
1738	Mose is founded by the Spanish in Florida as a community of runaway slaves.
1739	Stono Rebellion
1741	New York Conspiracy Trials

Chapter Summary

Beginning with the colonization of Jamestown by the Virginia Company in 1607 and proceeding through the establishment of Georgia as a colony for the "deserving poor" in 1732, the English successfully colonized the east coast of what is now the United States, with thirteen colonies from Georgia to New Hampshire. The colonies were diverse, though most were proprietary colonies where profit and the lure of economic advancement were the primary motives for immigration. With the exception of New England, most seventeenth century emigrants from Europe arrived as indentured servants seeking economic opportunity, the majority of them single men. In New England, immigrants arrived as family units fleeing persecution—with the greatest influx taking place between 1630 and 1642. African slaves were brought to North America as early as 1619 (in Virginia) and comprised 80 percent of the population of South Carolina by the early eighteenth century.

Although all were English colonies, they were diverse both economically and culturally. Puritans dominated New England, and others—nominally Anglican, but with religious diversity—were prevalent elsewhere. Pennsylvania was unique as a planned refuge for Quakers with a goal of peace with Native American tribes, emphasized by the practice of purchasing land, rather than seizing it. Maryland was unique as a "planned refuge for Catholics" that never actually attained a Catholic majority, but which nevertheless enjoyed religious tolerance until 1789, when an Anglican revolt removed the Calverts as Catholic proprietors.

Religious tolerance prevailed in New York and other areas where religious diversity precluded dominance by any one group, but Puritanism dominated in New England where charters called for the rejection of all that were "contrary-minded." The Calvinist-influenced Puritans arrived in America to practice their religion freely, but denied religious freedom to others in their midst—persecuting, banishing, and even executing heretics or those who thought differently. Quakers, in particular, bore the brunt of the Puritan persecution. Consequently, Rhode Island was founded by persons banished from the Puritan community; and William Penn set about establishing a colony that would serve as a refuge for persecuted Christians, especially Quakers, from all lands.

Native Americans were generally viewed as obstacles to colonial progress—in spite of sometimes profitable trade and cases where European colonists were saved from starvation by Native Americans, such as at Plymouth in 1620. Land was purchased from the natives rather than taken in Pennsylvania, but armed struggles between whites and natives began almost the moment the English arrived at Jamestown and continued intermittently throughout the seventeenth century.

The first African slaves were brought to Virginia in 1619 and increased greatly in number after that, especially in the Southern Colonies. Slaves increased in the Southern Colonies with the decline of indenture and the rise of England as a naval power. Southern Colonies, such as South Carolina, grew into rice, indigo, and tobacco-based export economies built on African slave labor by the end of the seventeenth century.

The thirteen English colonies were founded over the course of 126 years, beginning in 1607, in what is now the United States. Although they were diverse in terms of culture and economics, they shared an English heritage and English colonial experience that would bind them together to eventually form one nation before the eighteenth century came to a close.

Key Terms

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Pop Quiz

1. The product that King James I denounced as "loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, and dangerous to the lungs" was _____.
   a. alcohol
   b. tobacco
   c. marijuana
   d. peyote
2. Which of the following is true of Pocahontas?
   a. She was killed by the English in a raid on Powhatan's camp.
   b. She committed suicide by jumping overboard on the Thames River upon her arrival in England.
   c. She died of European diseases after moving to England.
   d. She died while being forced to read Shakespeare after moving to England.
3. Which of the following is true of Maryland in the early seventeenth century?
   a. It allowed religious freedom.
   b. It allowed citizenship rights for blacks.
   c. It allowed citizenship rights for women.
   d. All of the above
4. What was most important reason for the importation of African slaves in the eighteenth century?
   a. humanitarian, as Africans willingly sold themselves into slavery so as to enjoy the privilege of living in America
   b. economic, due to the need to remedy the labor shortage in the colonies
   c. luxury, as most Americans had become wealthy enough to own slaves to relieve themselves of domestic chores
   d. religious, as black Christians believed that God was sending them on an exodus from Africa like the ancient Israelites
5. Which of the following is true of the Stono Rebellion?
   a. It was the largest slave rebellion in North America in the eighteenth century.
   b. It led to the death of at least twenty whites and sixty slaves.
   c. It led to widespread panic in the British colonies.
   d. All of the above
6. Which of the following is true of the Pilgrims who arrived on the *Mayflower*?
   a. They were Puritans who wanted to reform the Anglican Church.
   b. They were Separatists who viewed the Anglican Church as so corrupt that they must separate themselves from it.
   c. They had great success in founding a colony of uncorrupted Christians in the Netherlands.
   d. They believed in an economy of pure, unrestrained capitalism.
7. In contrast to the Pilgrims, what did the Puritans want to do?
   a. They wanted to separate themselves from the Anglican Church.
   b. They wanted to "purify" the Anglican Church.
   c. They wanted to establish the Catholic Church in North America.
   d. They wanted to ensure freedom of religious thought to everyone.
8. Who established the colony of Providence?
   a. Roger Williams
   b. Thomas Hooker
   c. John Winthrop
   d. William Penn
9. Which of the following is true of Thomas Granger?
   a. He was the founder of the first animal rights group in America.
   b. He claimed that he could talk to animals.
   c. He preached better living through celibacy.
   d. He was executed in 1642 for bestiality.
10. Puritan punishment of Quakers included _____.
    a. whippings
    b. amputations of the ears
    c. executions
    d. all of the above
11. Puritans in the late seventeenth century believed which of the following?
    a. that the Devil could terrorize people by taking the "shape" of humans
    b. that the Devil was prevented by God from taking the shape of humans
    c. that the Devil was prevented by God from harming humans
    d. Both b and c

Pop Quiz

12. What happened after the Puritans massacred four hundred Indians by burning their village?
    a. The Puritans gave praise to God.
    b. The Puritans wept for the Indian dead.
    c. The Puritans passed a law against killing innocent women and children in warfare.
    d. The Puritans invited the remaining Indians to Thanksgiving dinner.
13. Which of the following is true of the Quakers?
    a. They rejected all Anglican Church officials and rituals.
    b. They believed that everyone must tip their hats to Quakers.
    c. They believed that women must be subordinate and silent in the Church.
    d. They required that everyone pay church taxes and swear oaths on the Bible.
14. Which of the following is true of South Carolina in the seventeenth century?
    a. Cotton was the most important crop.
    b. The population suffered from malaria and other tropical diseases.
    c. There was a complete absence of deer due to mosquitoes.
    d. Tobacco was the most important crop.
15. In Puritan society only _____ _____ _____ could vote.

Answer Key:
1. b 2. c 3. d 4. b 5. d 6. b 7. b 8. a 9. d 10. d 11. a 12. a 13. a 14. b 15. male church members