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THE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

NATIVE AMERICANS IN PRE-COLUMBIAN NORTH AMERICA

Historians refer to the period before Christopher Columbus's arrival in the New World as the **pre-Columbian** era. During this period, North America was populated by **Native Americans**, also known as American Indians and not to be confused with native-born Americans, a group that includes anyone born in the United States. Recently, the College Board has pushed for an increase in the number of multiple-choice questions involving this era, so it is extremely important to understand the clash of cultures that occurred between the European settlers and the Native Americans, as well as their subsequent conflicts throughout American history. Most historians believe that Native Americans are descendants of Asian migrants who traveled through Siberia (in modern Russia), across the frozen **Bering Strait**, then through **Alaska** and into modern Canada, the United States, and Mexico. The initial migration is believed to have taken place sometime between 20,000 and 40,000 years ago.

At the time of Columbus's arrival, between 1 million and 5 million Native Americans lived in modern Canada and the United States; another 20 million populated Mexico. Most natives survived by farming or hunting and gathering. Common to most Native American cultures was a belief in animism and a reverence for nature. These cultures also tended to have limited or minimal impact on the environment. The degree to which Native American cultures flourished depended primarily on their environments. Those in fertile, temperate regions developed complex societies and religions, and many excelled in the arts and craft work. Those in more rugged areas necessarily devoted most of their energy to survival.

The tribes were independent of each other and often competed for the same natural resources; as a result, they were slow to unify against European settlers. Later, as settlers pushed westward, they would force competing tribes into one another's territories. Native Americans came to be called "Indians" because that was the name given them by Christopher Columbus, who mistakenly believed that he had reached the East Indies (he had in fact landed in the Bahamas).

EARLY COLONIALIZATION OF THE NEW WORLD (1492-1650)

THE EARLY COLONIAL ERA: SPAIN COLONIZES THE NEW WORLD

Christopher Columbus arrived in the New World in 1492. He was not the first European to reach North America (the Norse had arrived in modern Canada around 1000) but his arrival marked the beginning of the Contact Period, during which Europe sustained contact with the Americas and introduced a widespread exchange of plants, animals, foods, communicable diseases, and ideas in the **Columbian Exchange**. Unlike Leif Eriksson, Bjarni Herjolfsson, and other Norse explorers, the better-remembered Columbus arrived at a time when Europe had the resources and technology to establish **colonies** far from home. (A *colony* is a territory settled and controlled by a foreign power.) When Columbus returned to Spain and reported the existence of a rich new world with easy-to-subjugate natives, he opened the door to a long period of European expansion and colonialism.

During the next century, Spain was *the* colonial power in the Americas. Advanced weaponry and the truly incredible ruthlessness with which the **conquistadors** treated Native Americans allowed them to dominate the New World, while the strength of the **Spanish Armada** (the navy) made it difficult for other countries to send their own expeditions. The Spanish settled a number of coastal towns in Central and South America and the West Indies, where the conquistadors collected and exported as much of the area's wealth as they could. Wherever they went, the conquistadors enslaved the natives on **encomiendas**, which were grants to settlers that gave authority over Native Americans for the purpose of labor and obliged the holder to Christianize and protect the Native Americans, and attempted to erase their culture and supplant it with Catholicism. They slaughtered many of the locals, sometimes for sport, but even more Native Americans died from exposure to **smallpox**. (The Europeans were "carriers" of the disease.) In 1588, the English navy defeated the Armada, and consequently, French and English colonization of North America became much easier.

THE ENGLISH ARRIVE

England's first attempt to settle North America came a year prior to its victory over Spain, in 1587, when **Sir Walter Raleigh** sponsored a settlement on Roanoke Island (now part of North Carolina). By 1590, the colony had disappeared, which is why it came to be known as the **Lost Colony**. The English did not try again until 1607, when they settled **Jamestown**. Jamestown was funded by a **joint-stock company**, a group of investors who bought the right to establish New World plantations from the king. (How the monarchy came to sell the rights to land that it clearly did not own is just the kind of

interesting question that this review will not be covering. Sorry, but it is not on the AP!) The company was called the **Virginia Company** (named for the virgin Queen Elizabeth), from which the area around Jamestown took its name. (The Jamestown colony nearly went the way of the Lost Colony.) The settlers, many of them English gentlemen, were ill-suited to the many adjustments life in the New World required of them. The colony survived only because **Captain John Smith** imposed harsh martial law. His motto was, "He who will not work shall not eat." Things got so bad for the colonists that during the **starving time** of 1609 and 1610, some resorted to cannibalism, while others abandoned the settlement to join Native American tribes. Smith was removed and went on to map New England.

The colony would have perished without the help of a group of local tribes called the **Powhatan Confederacy**, who taught the English what crops to plant and how to plant them. In 1614, Pocahontas, the daughter of the chief, married planter John Rolfe, which helped ease tension between the natives and the settlers. The Powhatan hoped that alliance with the English settlers would give them an advantage over enemy tribes. They guessed wrong. The English forgot their debt to the Powhatan as soon as they needed more land (to grow tobacco). After numerous conflicts, the Powhatan Confederacy was destroyed by English "Indian fighters" in 1644.

Jamestown's prospects brightened considerably once John Rolfe introduced the cash crop of **tobacco**, which local Native Americans had been growing for years. Jamestown would have gone the way of Roanoke had it not been for the cultivation of tobacco. Tobacco was a huge success in England, and its success largely determined the fate of the Virginia region. Because the crop requires vast acreage and depletes the soil (and so requires farmers to constantly seek new fields), the prominent role of tobacco in Virginia's economy resulted in rapid expansion. The introduction of tobacco would also lead to the development of plantation slavery. As new settlements sprang up around Jamestown, the entire area came to be known as the **Chesapeake** (named after the bay). That area today is comprised mostly of Virginia and Maryland.

Many who migrated to the Chesapeake did so for financial reasons. Overpopulation in England had led to widespread famine, disease, and poverty. Chances for improving one's lot during these years were minimal. Thus, many were attracted to the New World by the opportunity provided by **indentured servitude**. In return for free passage, indentured servants typically promised seven years' labor, after which they received their freedom. Throughout much of the seventeenth century, indentured servants also received a small piece of property with their freedom, thus enabling them (1) to survive, and (2) to vote. As in Europe, the right to vote was tied to the ownership of property. Indenture was extremely difficult, and nearly half of all indentured servants—most of whom were young, reasonably healthy men—did not survive their period of servitude. Still, indenture was common. More than 75 percent of the 130,000 Englishmen who migrated to the Chesapeake during the seventeenth century were indentured servants.

In 1618, the Virginia Company introduced the **headright system** as a means of attracting new settlers to the region and to address the labor shortage created by the emergence of tobacco farming, which required a large number of workers. A "headright" was a tract of land, usually about 50 acres, that was granted to colonists and potential settlers. Men already settled in Virginia were granted two headrights, totaling about 100 acres of land, while new settlers to Virginia were granted one headright. Wealthy investors could accumulate land by paying the passage of indentured servants and gaining a headright for each servant they sponsored. The headright system became the basis for an emerging aristocracy in colonial Virginia (where land was still the basis of wealth and political power) and was one of the factors that hindered the development of democracy in the region. Furthermore, it must be noted that these land grants infringed upon the rights of Native Americans, whose values regarding the environment and property ownership were vastly different from the values of the Europeans who settled in this region.

In 1619 Virginia established the **House of Burgesses**, in which any property-holding, white male could vote. All decisions made by the House of Burgesses, however, had to be approved by the Virginia Company. That year also marks the origin of slavery in the English colonies. (See the section in this chapter, Slavery in the Early Colonies.)

FRENCH COLONIZATION OF NORTH AMERICA

At first glance, the French colonization of North America appears to have much in common with Spanish and English colonization. While the English had founded a permanent settlement at Jamestown in 1607, the French colonized what is today Quebec City in 1608. Like the Spanish missionaries, the French Jesuit priests were trying to convert native peoples to Roman Catholicism, but were much more likely to spread diseases such as smallpox than to convert large numbers to Christianity. Like colonists from other European countries, the French were exploring as much land as they could, hoping to find natural resources such as gold, as well as a shortcut to Asia.

Unlike the Spanish and English, however, the French colonists had a much lighter impact on the native peoples. Few French settlers came to North America, and those who did tended to be single men, some of whom intermarried with women native to the area. They also tended to stay on the move, especially if they were *coureurs du bois* ("runners in the woods") who helped trade for the furs that became the rage in Europe. True, the French ultimately did play a significant role in the French and Indian War (surprise!) from 1754–1763. However, their chances of shaping the region soon known as British North America were slim from the outset and faded dramatically with the **Edict of Nantes** in 1598. This edict provided for religious tolerance of the **Huguenots** (the French Protestants), who might otherwise have fled their mother country just as the Puritans would flee England during the 1600s.

THE PILGRIMS AND THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY

During the sixteenth century, English Calvinists led a Protestant movement called **Puritanism** in England. Its name was derived from its adherents' desire to purify the Anglican church of Roman Catholic practices. English monarchs of the early seventeenth century persecuted the Puritans, and so the Puritans began to look for a new place to practice their faith.

One Puritan group called **Separatists** (because they were so appalled at the corruption of the English church that they had abandoned it) left England around this time. First they went to Holland, but ultimately decided to start fresh in the New World. In 1620 they set sail for Virginia, but their ship, the *Mayflower*, went off course and they landed in modern-day Massachusetts. Because winter was approaching, they decided to settle where they had landed. This settlement was called **Plymouth**.

While on board, the travelers (called "**Pilgrims**") signed an agreement establishing a "body politic" and a basic legal system for the colony. That agreement, the **Mayflower Compact**, is important not only because it created a legal authority and an assembly, but also because it asserted that the government's power derives from the consent of the governed and not from God, as some **monarchists** known as **Absolutists** believed.

Like the earlier settlers in Jamestown, the Pilgrims received life-saving assistance from local Native Americans. To the Pilgrims' great fortune, one of the Pokanokets, **Squanto**, spoke English, having earlier been captured by English traders and imprisoned in England for several years. Squanto served as the Pilgrims' interpreter and taught them how best to plant in their new home. Interaction between Native Americans and settlers was rarer in Massachusetts than in Virginia because the Native Americans of Massachusetts had previously suffered a plague that had decimated much of the population.

In 1629 a larger and more powerful colony called **Massachusetts Bay** was established by **Congregationalists** (Puritans who wanted to reform the Anglican church from within). This began what is known as The Great Puritan Migration, which lasted from 1629 to 1642. Led by Governor **John Winthrop**, Massachusetts Bay developed along Puritan ideals. While onboard the ship *Arabella*, Winthrop delivered a now-famous sermon urging the colonists to be a “city upon a hill”—a model for others to look up to. All Puritans believed they had a **covenant** with God, and the concept of covenants was central to their entire philosophy, in both political and religious terms. Government was to be a covenant among the people; work was to serve a communal ideal, and, of course, the true church (that is, the Puritan church) was always to be served. This is why both the Separatists and the Congregationalists did not tolerate religious freedom in their colonies, even though both had experienced and fled religious persecution.

The settlers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were strict Calvinists, and Calvinist principles dictated their daily lives. For example, much has been written about the “Protestant work ethic” and its relationship to the eventual development of a market economy. In fact, some historians believe the roots of the Civil War can be traced back to the founding of the Chesapeake region and New England, as a plantation economy dependent on slave labor developed in the Chesapeake and subsequent southern colonies, and New England became the commercial center.

Two major incidents during the first half of the seventeenth century demonstrated Puritan religious intolerance. **Roger Williams**, a minister in the Salem Bay settlement, taught a number of controversial principles, among them that church and state should be separate. The Puritans banished Williams, who subsequently moved to modern-day Rhode Island and founded a new colony. Rhode Island’s charter allowed for the free exercise of religion, and it did not require voters to be church members. **Anne Hutchinson** was a prominent proponent of *antinomianism*, the belief that faith and God’s grace—as opposed to the observance of moral law and performance of good deeds—suffice to earn one a place among the “elect.” Her teachings challenged Puritan beliefs and the authority of the Puritan clergy. The fact that she was an intelligent, well-educated, and powerful woman in a resolutely patriarchal society turned many against her. She was tried for heresy, convicted, and banished.

Puritan emigration to New England came to a near-halt between 1649 and 1660, the years during which **Oliver Cromwell** ruled as Lord Protector of England. Cromwell’s reign represented the culmination of the **English Civil Wars**, which the Puritans won. For slightly over a decade, Cromwell ruled England as a republic, complete with a constitution. The death of Cromwell (1658) robbed the Puritans of their best-known and most respected leader, and by 1660 the Stuarts were restored to the throne. During the **Interregnum** (literally “between kings”), Puritans had little motive to move to the New World. Everything they wanted—freedom to practice their religion, as well as representation in the government—was available to them in England. With the restoration of the Stuarts, many English Puritans again emigrated to the New World. Not coincidentally, these emigrants brought with them some of the republican ideals of the revolution.

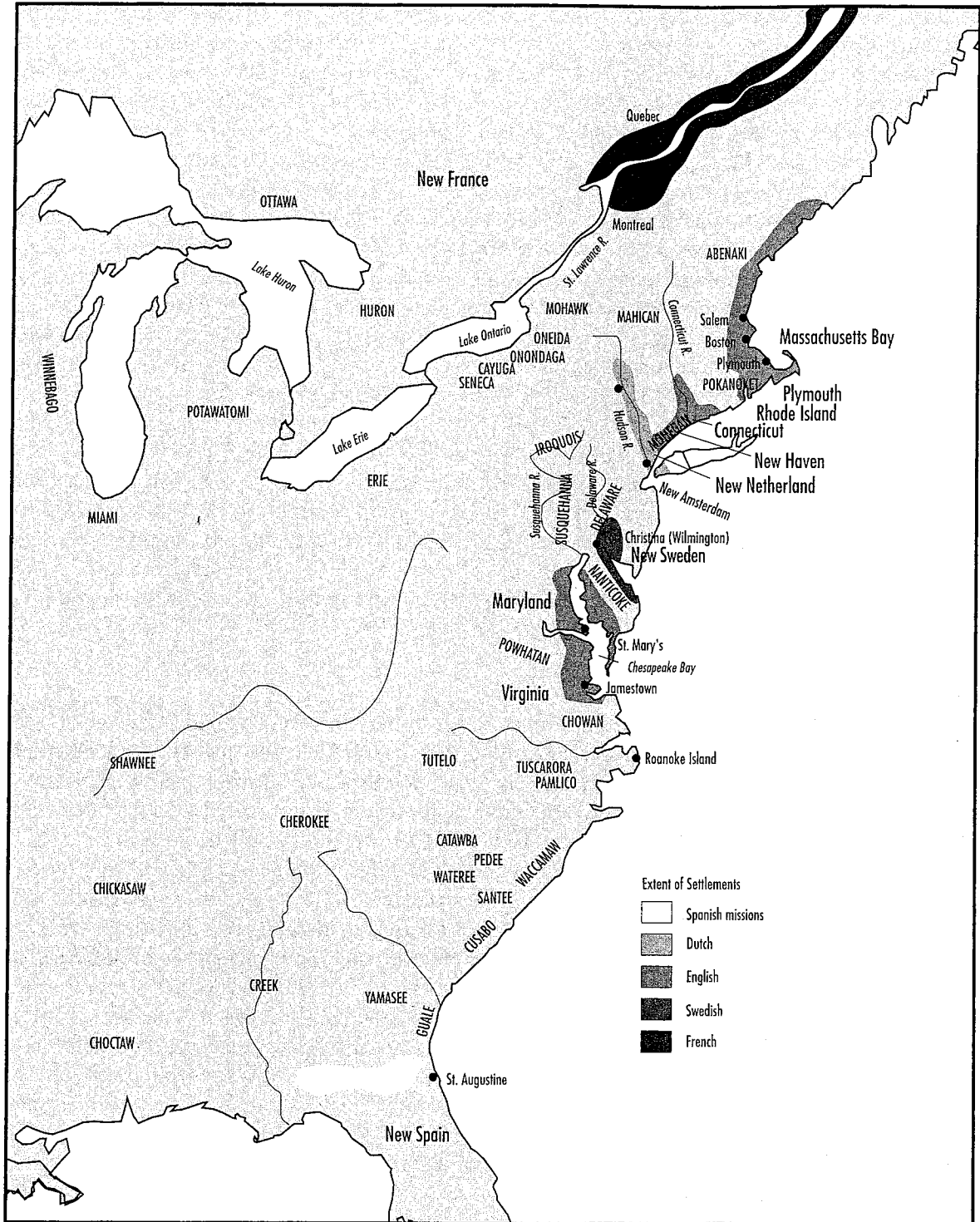
The lives of English settlers in New England and the Chesapeake differed considerably. Entire families tended to emigrate to New England; in the Chesapeake, immigrants were often single males. The climate in New England was more hospitable, and so New Englanders tended to live longer and have larger families than Chesapeake residents. A stronger sense of community, and the absence of tobacco as a cash crop, led New Englanders to settle in larger towns that were closer to one another; those in the Chesapeake lived in smaller, more spread-out farming communities. While both groups were religious, the New Englanders were definitely *more* religious, settling near meetinghouses.

OTHER EARLY COLONIES

As the population of Massachusetts grew, settlers began looking for new places to live. One obvious choice was the Connecticut Valley, a fertile region with lots of access to the sea (for trade). The area was already inhabited by the **Pequots**, however, who resisted the English incursions. When the Pequots attacked a settlement in Wakefield and killed nine colonists, members of the Massachusetts Bay Colony retaliated by burning the main Pequot village, killing 400, many of them women and children. The result was the near-destruction of the Pequots in what came to be known as the **Pequot War**.

Several colonies were proprietorships; that is, they were owned by one person, who usually received the land as a gift from the king. **Connecticut** was one such colony, receiving its charter in 1635 and producing the **Fundamental Orders**, usually considered the first written constitution in British North America. **Maryland** was another, granted to Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore. Calvert declared Maryland a haven of religious tolerance for all Christians, and it became the first major Catholic enclave in the New World, though Protestants eventually outnumbered Catholics even there, leading Marylanders to pass the **Act of Toleration** in 1649 that protected most Christians.

New York was also a royal gift, this time to James, the king's brother. The Dutch Republic was the largest commercial power during the seventeenth century and, as such, was an economic rival of the British. The Dutch had established an initial settlement in 1614 near present-day Albany, which they called New Netherland, and a fort at the mouth of the Hudson River in 1626. This fort would become New Amsterdam and is today New York City. In 1664 Charles II of England waged a war against the Dutch Republic and sent a naval force to capture New Netherland. Already weakened by previous clashes with local Native Americans, the Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, along with 400 civilians, surrendered peacefully. Charles II's brother, James, became the Duke of York, and when James became king in 1685, he proclaimed New York a royal colony. The Dutch were allowed to remain in the colony on generous terms, and made up a large segment of New York's population for many years. Charles II also gave **New Jersey** to a couple of friends, who in turn sold it off to investors, many of whom were Quakers.



European Settlements in North America, 1650

Ultimately, the Quakers received their own colony. William Penn, a Quaker, was a close friend of King Charles II, and Charles granted Penn what became **Pennsylvania**. Charles, like most Anglicans,

perceived the egalitarian Quakers as dangerous radicals, but the two men's friendship (and Charles's desire to export the Quakers to someplace far from England) prevailed. Penn established liberal policies toward religious freedom and civil liberties in his colony. That, the area's natural bounty, and Penn's recruitment of settlers through advertising, made Pennsylvania one of the fastest growing of the early colonies. He also attempted to treat Native Americans more fairly than did other colonies and had mixed results. His attitude attracted many tribes to the area but also attracted many European settlers who bullied tribes off of their land. An illustrative story: Penn made a treaty with the Delawares to take only as much land as could be walked by a man in three days. Penn then set off on a leisurely stroll, surveyed his land, and kept his end of the bargain. His son, however, renegotiating the treaty, hired three marathon runners for the same task, thereby claiming considerably more land.

Carolina was also a proprietary colony, which ultimately split in two: **North Carolina**, which was settled by Virginians and developed into a Virginia-like colony, and **South Carolina**, which was settled by the descendants of Englishmen who had colonized Barbados. Barbados's primary export was sugar, and its plantations were worked by slaves. Although slavery had existed in Virginia since 1619, the settlers from Barbados were the first Englishmen in the New World who had seen widespread slavery at work. Their arrival truly marked the beginning of the slave era in the colonies.

Eventually, most of the **proprietary** colonies were converted to **royal** colonies; that is, their ownership was taken over by the king, who could then exert greater control over their governments. By the time of the Revolution, only Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland were *not* royal colonies.

For an overview of which areas were settled by whom during this period, see the map on the previous page.

SLAVERY IN THE EARLY COLONIES

As mentioned above, the extensive use of African slaves in the American colonies began when colonists from the Caribbean settled the Carolinas. Until then, indentured servants had satisfied labor requirements in the colonies. As tobacco and, in South Carolina, rice farming became more widespread, more laborers were needed than indenture could provide. Events such as Bacon's Rebellion (see Major Events of the Period for more on this) had also shown landowners that it was not in their best interest to have an abundance of landless, young, white males in their colonies, either.

Enslaving Native Americans was difficult; they knew the land, so they could easily escape and subsequently were difficult to find. In some Native American tribes, cultivation was a woman's work, so gender was another obstacle to enslaving the natives. Furthermore, Europeans brought diseases that often decimated the Native Americans, wiping out 85 to 95 percent of the native population. Southern landowners turned increasingly to African slaves for labor. Unlike Native Americans, African slaves did not know the land, and so were less likely to escape. Removed from their homelands and communities and often unable to communicate with one another (because they were from different regions of Africa), black slaves initially proved easier to control than Native Americans. Furthermore, the English considered dark skin a sign of inferiority. As the West Africans who made up the slave population had extremely dark skin, the colonists found it easier to rationalize their enslavement and to identify slaves by sight.

The majority of the slave trade, right up to the Revolution, was directed toward the Caribbean and South America. Still, during that period nearly 500,000 slaves were brought to the English colonies (of the almost 10 million brought to the New World). By 1790, 700,000 blacks were in servitude in the United States.

The shipping route that brought the slaves to the Americas was called the **Middle Passage** because it was the middle leg of the **triangular trade route** among the colonies, Europe, and Africa. Conditions for the Africans aboard were brutally inhumane, so intolerable that some committed suicide by

throwing themselves overboard. Many died of sickness, and others died during insurrections. It was not unusual for one-fifth of the Africans to die on board. Most, however, reached the New World, where conditions were only slightly better.

Slavery flourished in the South. Because of the nature of the land and the short growing season, the Chesapeake and the Carolinas farmed labor-intensive crops such as **tobacco, rice, and indigo**, and plantation owners there bought slaves for this arduous work. Slaves' treatment at the hands of their owners was often vicious and at times sadistic. Slavery never really took hold in the North because those slaves who wound up in the North were mostly used as domestic servants. In both regions, only the very wealthy owned slaves. The vast majority of people remained at a subsistence level.

THE AGE OF SALUTARY NEGLECT (1650–1750)

British treatment of the colonies during the period preceding the **French and Indian War** (also called the **Seven Years' War**) is often described as "**salutary neglect**" (or "**benign neglect**"). Although England regulated trade and government in its colonies, it interfered in colonial affairs as little as possible. Because of the distance, England set up absentee customs officials and the colonies were left to self-govern, for the most part. England occasionally turned its back to the colonies' violations of trade restrictions. Thus, the colonies developed a large degree of autonomy, which helped fuel revolutionary sentiments when the monarchy later attempted to gain greater control of the New World.

During this century, the colonies "grew up," developing fledgling economies. The beginnings of an American culture—as opposed to a transplanted English culture—took root. This time period was known as the Age of Salutary Neglect.

ENGLISH REGULATION OF COLONIAL TRADE

Throughout the colonial period, most Europeans who thought about economics at all subscribed to a theory called **mercantilism**. Mercantilists believed that economic power was rooted in a favorable balance of trade (that is, exporting more than you import) and the control of **specie** (hard currency, such as gold coins). Colonies, they felt, were important mostly for economic reasons, which explains why the British considered their colonies in the West Indies that produced sugar and other valuable commodities to be more important than their American colonies. The American colonies were seen primarily as markets for British and West Indian goods, although they also were valued as sources of raw materials that would otherwise have to be bought from a foreign country.

In order to guarantee a favorable balance of trade, the British government encouraged manufacturing in England and placed **protective tariffs** on imports that might compete with English goods. A number of such tariffs, included in the **Navigation Acts**, were passed between 1651 and 1673. The Navigation Acts required the colonists to buy goods only from England, to sell certain of their products only to England, and to import any non-English goods via English ports and pay a duty on those imports. The Navigation Acts also prohibited the colonies from manufacturing a number of goods that England already produced. In short, the Navigation Acts sought to establish wide-ranging English control over colonial commerce.

The Navigation Acts were only somewhat successful in achieving their goal, as it was easy to smuggle goods into and out of the colonies. Not surprisingly, many merchants did just that. In the 1690s the British took steps to strengthen the Navigation Acts. First, they set up **vice-admiralty courts**—military-style courts, in which defendants were not entitled to a jury—to try violations of the Navigation Acts. The British considered this change necessary because most colonial juries sided with the colonists accused of smuggling, and not with the Crown. Second, the British set up **Boards of Trade** to better regulate colonial commerce. The Boards of Trade also reviewed colonial legislation,

revoking laws that conflicted with British law, and administered government appointments. Because the colonists understood and accepted the concept of mercantilism, their protests to the Navigation Acts and Boards of Trade were less strenuous than their protests would later be to the Stamp Act and Townshend Acts. (See the next chapter for details on these acts.) The colonists also did not protest aggressively against the Navigation Acts at the time, because they were entirely dependent on England for trade and for military protection.

COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS

Despite trade regulations, the colonists maintained a large degree of autonomy. Every colony had a **governor** who was appointed by either the king or the proprietor. Although the governor had powers similar to the king's in England, he was also dependent on colonial **legislatures** for money. Also, the governor, whatever his official powers, was essentially stranded in the New World. His power relied on the cooperation of the colonists, and most governors ruled accordingly, only infrequently overruling the legislatures.

Except for Pennsylvania (which had a unicameral legislature with just one house), all the colonies had **bicameral** legislatures modeled after the British Parliament. The lower house functioned in much the same way as does today's House of Representatives; its members were directly elected (by white, male property holders), and its powers included the "power of the purse" (control over government salaries and tax legislation). The upper house was made up of appointees, who served as advisors to the governor and had some legislative and judicial powers. Most of these men were chosen from the local population. Most were concerned primarily with protecting the interests of colonial landowners.

The British never tried to establish a powerful central government in the colonies. The autonomy that England allowed the colonies helped ease their transition to independence in the following century.

The colonists did make some small efforts toward centralized government. **The New England Confederation** was the most prominent of these attempts. Although it had no real power, it did offer advice to the northeastern colonies when disputes arose among them. It also provided colonists from different settlements the opportunity to meet and to discuss their mutual problems.

MAJOR EVENTS OF THE PERIOD

Here is a laundry list of events with which you should be familiar:

Bacon's Rebellion took place on Virginia's western frontier during the 1670s. The stage was set by Sir William Berkeley, the royal governor of Virginia, who controlled the government from his appointment by King Charles I in 1642 until the 1670s. He was popular at first, though autocratic, but eventually his rule created tension between the original settlers of the Tidewater region and the more recent "backcountry" settlers. As the farmable land to the east filled up, settlers looked to the western portion of the colony. Many were willing to chance the dangers of frontier life in return for an opportunity to "strike it rich." As they were encroaching on land already inhabited by Native Americans, however, those dangers were considerable. The pioneers soon came to believe that the colonial government was not making a good-faith effort to protect them, and that, furthermore, the government was using them as a "human shield" to protect the wealthier colonists to the east. Most rebellions of that era involved the discontent of backcountry farmers with coastal elites. Rallying behind **Nathaniel Bacon**, a recent immigrant who wanted a piece of the lucrative fur trade that was the domain of the governor, these settlers first attacked both the Doegs and the Susquehannocks, and then turned their attentions toward the colonial governor. The rebels marched on Jamestown and burned it to the ground. When Bacon later died of dysentery, the rebellion dissolved. The war Bacon nearly instigated between the colonists and Native American tribes was averted with a new treaty. Bacon's Rebellion is often cited as an early example of a populist uprising in America.

Rebellion is significant for other reasons not always discussed in most textbooks. Many former indentured servants allied themselves with free blacks who were also disenfranchised and unable to vote. This alliance along class lines, as opposed to racial lines, frightened many whites and led to the development of what would eventually become **black codes**. Bacon's Rebellion may also be seen as a precursor to the American Revolution. As colonists pushed westward, away from the commercial and political centers, they experienced a sense of isolation and desire for greater political autonomy. It is important to remember that Berkeley was the governor of Virginia, and the backcountry of Virginia was even further from London.

In England, colonial expansion led to the bloodiest English–Native American conflict of the 17th century. By the 1670s the Pokanokets (also known as the Wampanoags) living in Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island, were surrounded by white settlements, and colonists were attempting to blot out Native American life with English culture and religion. The Pokanokets were led by Metacomb (known to the English as King Philip; hence, **King Philip's War**), who led attacks on several settlements in retaliation for this intrusion on Pokanoket territory. Soon after, he formed an alliance with other local tribes. The alliance destroyed a number of English settlements but eventually ran out of ammunition. When Metacomb died, the alliance fell apart and the colonists devastated the remaining tribes, sending many into slavery in the West Indies. King Philip's War marks the end of a formidable Native American presence among the New England colonists.

Rebellions led by slaves did not begin until nearly 70 years later with the **Stono Uprising**, the largest and one of the most successful slave rebellions. In September 1739, approximately 20 slaves met on the Stono River outside Charleston, South Carolina. They stole guns and ammunition, killed several overseers and planters, and liberated a number of slaves. The rebels, now numbering about 100, fled to Spanish Florida, where they hoped the Spanish colonists would grant them their freedom. The colonial militia caught up with them and attacked, killing some and capturing most others. Those who were captured and returned were later executed. As a result of the Stono Uprising (sometimes called the **Stono Rebellion**), many colonies passed more restrictive laws to govern the behavior of slaves. Fear of slave rebellions increased, and New York experienced a "witch hunt" period, during which 31 blacks and 17 whites were executed for conspiracy to liberate slaves.

Following a period of witch hunts, the **Salem Witch Trials** took place in 1692. These were not the first witch trials in New England. During the first 70 years of English settlement in the region, 103 people (almost all women) had been tried on charges of witchcraft. Never before had so many been accused at once, and during the summer of 1692, more than 130 "witches" were jailed or executed in Salem.

Historians have a number of explanations for why the mass hysteria started and ended so quickly. Massachusetts had recently endured the autocratic control of the **Dominion of New England**, an English attempt to clamp down on illegal trade. Massachusetts' charter had been revoked, its courts dissolved, and the governor who ruled for two years was granted powers usually exercised by an absolute monarch. The Dominion of New England came to an end when the **Glorious Revolution** in England overthrew James II and replaced him with William and Mary. In 1691, Massachusetts became a royal colony under the new monarchs, and suffrage was extended to all Protestants (previously only Puritans could vote), thus weakening Puritan primacy. War against French and Native Americans on the Canadian border (called **King William's War** in the colonies and the **League of Augsburg** in England) soon followed and further heightened regional anxieties. At all times, the Puritans feared that their religion—which they fervently believed was the true religion—was being undermined by the growing commercialism in cities like Boston. Many second and third-generation Puritans lacked the fervor of the original Pilgrim and Congregationalist Puritans. A situation that led to the **Halfway Covenant**, which changed the rules governing Puritan church membership. Prior to the passage of the Halfway Covenant in 1662, a Puritan had to experience the gift of grace in order for his or her children to be baptized by the church. With so many, particularly

men, losing interest in the church, the Puritan clergy decided to baptize all children whose parents were baptized. However—here is the “halfway” part—those who had not experienced God’s grace were not allowed to vote.) All of these factors—religious, economic, and gender—historians argue, combined to create **mass hysteria in Salem in 1692**. The hysteria ended when the accusers, most of them teenage girls, accused some of the colony’s most prominent citizens of consorting with the Devil, thus turning town leaders against them. Some historians also feel that the hysteria had simply run its course.

As noted above, the generations that followed the original settlers were generally less religious than those that preceded them. By 1700 women constituted the majority of active church members. However, between the 1730s and 1740s the colonies (and Europe) experienced a wave of religious revivalism known as the **Great Awakening**. Two men, Congregationalist minister **Jonathan Edwards** and Methodist preacher **George Whitefield**, came to exemplify the period. Edwards preached the severe, predeterministic doctrines of Calvinism and became famous for his graphic depictions of Hell; you may have read his speech “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God.” Whitefield preached a Christianity based on emotionalism and spirituality, which today is most clearly manifested in Southern **evangelism**. The First Great Awakening is often described as the response of devout people to the **Enlightenment**, a European intellectual movement that borrowed heavily from ancient philosophy and emphasized rationalism over emotionalism or spirituality.

Whitefield was a native of England, where the Enlightenment was in full swing; its effects were also being felt in the colonies, especially in the cities. The colonist who came to typify Enlightenment ideals in America was the self-made and self-educated man, **Ben Franklin**. Franklin was a printer’s apprentice who, through his own ingenuity and hard work, became a wealthy printer and a successful and respected intellectual. His *Poor Richard’s Almanack* was extremely popular and remains influential to this day. (It is the source of such pithy aphorisms as “A stitch in time saves nine” and “A penny saved is a penny earned.”) Franklin did pioneering work in the field of electricity. He invented bifocals, the lightning rod, and the Franklin stove, and he founded the colonies’ first fire department, post office, and public library. Franklin espoused Enlightenment ideals about education, government, and religion and was, until Washington came along, the colonists’ favorite son. Toward the end of his life, he served as an ambassador in Europe, where he negotiated a crucial alliance with the French and, later, the peace treaty that ended the Revolutionary War.

LIFE IN THE COLONIES

Perhaps the most important development in the colonies during this period was the rate of growth. The population in 1700 was 250,000; by 1750, that number was 1,250,000. Throughout these years the colonies began to develop substantial non-English European populations. Scotch-Irish, Scots, and Germans all started arriving in large numbers during the eighteenth century. English settlers, of course, continued to come to the New World as well. The black population in 1750 was more than 200,000, and in a few colonies (South Carolina, for example) they would outnumber whites by the time of the Revolution.

The vast majority of colonists—over 90 percent—lived in **rural areas**. Life for whites in the countryside was rugged but tolerable. Only in the cities was there pronounced income inequality and substantial numbers of people living in poverty. In the country, labor was divided along gender lines, with men doing the outdoor work such as farming, and women doing the indoor work of housekeeping and childrearing. Opportunities for social interaction outside the family were limited to shopping days and rare special community events. Both children and women were completely subordinate to men, particularly to the head of the household, in this patriarchal society. Children’s education was secondary to their work schedules. Women were not allowed to vote, own property, draft a will, or testify in court.

Blacks, most of whom were slaves, lived predominantly in the countryside and in the South. Their lives varied from region to region, with conditions being most difficult in the South, where the labor was difficult and the climate less hospitable to hard work. Those slaves who worked on large plantations and developed specialized skills such as carpentry or cooking fared better than did field hands. In all cases, though, the condition of servitude was demeaning. Slaves often developed extended kinship ties and strong communal bonds to cope with the misery of servitude and the possibility that their nuclear families might be separated by sale. In the North, where black populations were relatively small, blacks often had trouble maintaining a sense of community and history.

Conditions in the **cities** were often much worse than those in the country. Because work could often be found there, most immigrants settled in the cities. The work they found generally paid too little, and poverty was widespread. Sanitary conditions were primitive, and epidemics, as of smallpox, were common. On the positive side, cities offered residents much wider contact with other people and with the outside world. Cities served as centers for progress and education.

Citizens with anything above a rudimentary level of education were rare and nearly all **colleges** established during this period served primarily to train ministers.

The lives of colonists in the various regions differed considerably. **New England** society centered on trade. Boston was the colonies' major port city. The population farmed for subsistence, not for trade, and mostly subscribed to rigid Puritanism. The **middle colonies**—New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey—had more fertile land and so focused primarily on farming (they were also known as the "bread colonies," due to their heavy exports of grain). Philadelphia and New York City, like Boston, were major trade centers. The population of the region was more heterogeneous than was that of New England. The **lower South** (the Carolinas) concentrated on such cash crops as tobacco and rice. Slavery played a major role on plantations, although the majority of Southerners were subsistence farmers who had no slaves. Blacks constituted up to half the population of some Southern colonies. The colonies on the **Chesapeake** (Maryland and Virginia) combined features of the middle colonies and the lower South. Slavery and tobacco played a larger role in the Chesapeake than in the middle colonies, but like the middle colonies, the Chesapeake residents also farmed grain and thus diversified their economies. The development of major cities in the Chesapeake region also distinguished it from the lower South, which was almost entirely rural.

Thus, the colonies were hardly a unified whole as they approached the events that led them to rebel. How then did they join together and defeat the most powerful nation in the world? The answer to this and other exciting questions awaits you in the next chapter.