SESSION PREPARATION
Read the following material before attending the workshop. As you read the excerpts and primary sources, take note of the “Questions to Consider” as well as any questions you have. The activities in the workshop will draw on information from the readings and the video shown during the workshop.

UNIT INTRODUCTION
As encounter changed to settlement, relations between Native Americans and European colonial powers became more complex. This unit charts the changing interactions between competing European powers and Native Americans, and the increasing reliance on the race-based enslavement of Africans.

UNIT LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After reading the text materials, participating in the workshop activities, and watching the video, teachers will

• compare the difference in European colonial enterprises and the relations that different Native American tribes had with the colonies;
• learn about the rise of race-based slavery in the colonies;
• examine the reasons for the increasing economic power of the English colonies.

THIS UNIT FEATURES
• Textbook excerpts (sections of U.S. history surveys, written for introductory college courses by history professors)
• An article by a historian (“German-Speaking Immigrants in the British Atlantic World, 1680–1730”), which uses both primary sources and secondary sources (other articles and books written by historians)
• Primary sources (documents and other materials created by the people who lived in the period), including a promotional tract, a declaration describing the Pueblo Revolt, a remonstrance against religious intolerance, a slave code and an appeal by slaves, and drawings
• A timeline at the end of the unit, which places important events in the history of colonization
The initial encounters between Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans occurred over three centuries. What began as short-term, tentative encounters soon gave way to prolonged contact as Spain, England, France, the Netherlands, and others established long-term settlements in the Americas. These settlements played important roles in the global battle for economic, political, and religious primacy.

The drive for profit led to complex interactions between these groups. Europeans often relied on Native Americans and Africans to advance their interests. Native Americans found increasing opportunities to deepen trade relationships with Europeans, but were also faced with encroachment on their lands by colonists. In addition, increasing agricultural production led to the institutionalization of slavery and the hardening of roles for enslaved Africans.

After almost 300 years, the English colonies became the most populous and successful during the seventeenth century. This rise was partially due to the influx of non-English arrivals from Africa, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden.

The economies of the British colonies shifted around the turn of the eighteenth century. Slavery expanded in the South along with plantation agriculture. Small cities appeared, as well as iron foundries and other small manufacturing concerns that produced both domestic and exportable goods. People were more likely to purchase some of their household goods and produce goods for broader markets. The thirteen colonies were becoming more prosperous and autonomous.

**Theme 1:**
Between the 1580s and the 1680s, numerous European powers competed to establish colonies in North America and define colonial relationships to Native American tribes.

**Theme 2:**
Between 1660 and 1720, the English colonies in North America implemented the system of race-based slavery, altering the status of blacks living in the colonies and prompting the increased importation of enslaved Africans.

**Theme 3:**
The later colonial period, from the 1680s through the 1760s, saw the increasing economic power of England's colonies.
Historical Perspectives

The search for profit drove many colonial ventures in North America, and the Spanish and French also hoped to convert Native Americans to Christianity. England relied more heavily than other European powers on private ventures, which varied a great deal in their goals and the composition. Those in the Chesapeake region relied heavily on indentured servants and then slaves to labor on their plantations. The English seized Dutch, Spanish, and French colonies in North America, and their colonies gradually grew more powerful in the eighteenth century, in part due to their liberal immigration policy. Cities on the coast grew with imports and exports.

Faces of America

Many in the colonies were not in positions of power and were forced to resist in novel ways to the persecution that they faced.

Popé was a Tewa shaman born about 1630 into Spain’s repressive New Mexico region. In 1680, Popé united the diverse Pueblo groups and led a revolt that overthrew the Spanish authority in the region.

Elizabeth Key was born into servitude in Virginia. In 1655, she sought her freedom in court, challenging her status as a slave. As Virginians increasingly associated blacks with life-long servitude, she was able to challenge her position and win her freedom.

Lady Deborah Moody was an Anabaptist who left England in search of religious toleration in Salem, Massachusetts. She left there for the same reason in 1643 and came to New Amsterdam, where the Dutch allowed her to found a town with like-minded settlers. Few women of her time played that sort of public role.

Hands on History

How can archaeology be used to settle disputes about the past?

Jim Bruseth works as an archaeologist for the Texas Historical Commission. His work excavating Fort Saint Louis proved that the Spanish had built the largest Presidio in the Americas.
Theme One: Between the 1580s and the 1680s, numerous European powers competed to establish colonies in North America and define colonial relationships to Native American tribes.

Overview
For those accustomed to associating early settlement with Jamestown and Plymouth Rock, it comes as a surprise that the Spanish, not the English, established the first permanent colonies in what would become the United States. Outposts such as St. Augustine in Florida and Santa Fe in New Mexico were soon joined by French and Dutch settlements.

These daring ventures had two main objectives: political and economic gain. European nations competed with each other to control as much of the world as they could. Spain, by virtue of Columbus’s voyages, asserted a broad claim to the Americas. But others soon contested it. From the start, European colonists in North America were expected to find ways to provide for themselves and generate wealth for the European nations and companies that governed them. This often included trading with and trying to exploit the labor of Native Americans and Africans. Native Americans often cooperated and collaborated with Europeans, but not at the cost of surrendering their autonomy. Africans increasingly came to North America as slaves.

Questions to Consider
1. What motivated these colonists?
2. To what extent did they experience match their expectations?
1. Conversion and Rebellion in Spanish Florida

The flat, lush environment of the Florida peninsula contrasts sharply with the dry, rugged landscape of New Mexico. Yet by 1600, Spain’s Florida colony had also disappointed imperial officials. Dreams of gold-filled kingdoms and a strategic passage from the Southeast to the Orient had never materialized. The 500 needy soldiers, settlers, and slaves who resided in thatched huts at St. Augustine struck Spanish officials at home as an undue burden. The government planned to disband the colony and end its annual subsidy. But Franciscan missionaries won the day, as in New Mexico. They argued that scores of Indian towns appeared ready to receive Christianity. By 1608, the crown had decided to let the colony continue. A handful of missionaries fanned out among the Indians of northern Florida, erecting small churches, celebrating mass, and explaining the rudiments of the Catholic faith.

Contact with Christian beliefs and books came at a steep price, for each inland village was expected to help feed the colonial garrison at St. Augustine. Local women neglected their own household crops to grow additional maize and grind it into meal. Annually, the crown requisitioned the labor of Indian men from each village. Spanish officials compelled them to transport the cornmeal overland to the Atlantic coast and return to the mission bringing supplies back to the Franciscans. Imported candles, communion wine, and mission bells all had to be hauled inland from St. Augustine. The trip to and from the coast took several weeks, and each bearer shouldered a 75-pound load . . .

Even though the small cadre of friars grew, reaching a high of 70 after midcentury, the region’s overall population plummeted. A report from 1635, shortly after Spanish expansion into Apalachee, claimed 30,000 baptisms at 44 missions. But within a generation, the number of native Floridians, whether baptized or not, had plunged by nearly half. In 1655 the governor noted “high mortality” throughout Timucua caused by a “series of small-pox plagues which have affected the country for the last ten months” and by “the trials and hunger which these unfortunate people have suffered.” Two years later, he reported that the people of Timucua and Guale had been almost “wiped out with the sickness of the plague and small-pox which has overtaken them.”

2. Oñate Creates a Spanish Foothold in the Southwest

[The Spanish moved from the Caribbean to Central Mexico in the 1520s. In 1598 about 500 moved north, into what would become New Mexico. They hoped to create a profitable colony and to convert the local Pueblo, whom they lived among.]

... The newcomers, desperate to survive, pressed hard on the native peoples they had harried into submission. They demanded tribute in the form of cotton blankets, buffalo hides, and baskets of scarce maize. In winter, ill-equipped Spanish soldiers stripped warm robes off the backs of shivering women and children; in summer, they scoured each pueblo for corn. Sometimes they tortured residents to find out where food was hidden.

Wood et al., 49–50.

3. The Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico

[Weakened by disease and intrigued by the possibilities of trade, North America’s Indians were often unsure of how to respond to the newcomers from Europe. Some of the sharpest debates occurred along the upper Rio Grande in the late seventeenth century, where the Pueblo had suffered disease, violence, and other forms of oppression at the hands of the Spanish.] There, Pueblo Indians from dozens of separate communities (or pueblos) united in a major upheaval in August 1680. They murdered 1 of the 40 friars serving in New Mexico, ransacked their churches, and killed more than 350 settlers. After laying siege to Santa Fe, the rebels drove the remaining Spanish colonists and their Christian Indian allies south out of the province and kept them away for more than a decade. Several thousand refugees ended up at El Paso del Norte, a crossing point on the Rio Grande where the Franciscans had constructed a mission in 1659. These stunned survivors, at what is now El Paso, soon began questioning Indian informants to find an explanation for the fearsome rebellion they had just endured.

In 1681, the Pueblos fended off a Spanish attempt at reconquest. But they remained divided among themselves and more vulnerable than ever to Apache raids. [The Spanish were determined to reestablish control.] It took the new governor several years to subdue the province, and the Pueblos managed another full-scale rebellion in 1696. [The Spanish crushed it.] Learning from previous mistakes, Spanish officials did not reimpose the hated encomienda, with its demand for Native American labor or tribute. A new generation of Franciscan missionaries tolerated indigenous Pueblo traditions as long as the Indians also attended Catholic mass.

Wood et al., 87–90.
Excerpted from Declaration of Pedro Naranjo of the Queres Nation. [Place of the Rio del Norte, December 19, 1682]

Questions to Consider

1. Naranjo was in a difficult position, as he had just been captured and the Spanish likely assumed that he had been part of the revolt. How, if at all, did his circumstances affect his testimony?

2. What does this testimony reveal about the causes of the revolt?

Asked whether he knows the reason or motives which the Indians of this kingdom had for rebelling, forsaking the law of God and obedience to his Majesty, and committing such grave and atrocious crimes, and who were the leaders and principal movers, and by whom and how it was ordered; and why they burned the images, temples, crosses, rosaries, and things of divine worship, committing such atrocities as killing priests, Spaniards, women, and children, and the rest that he might know touching the question, he said that since the government of Señor General Hernando Ugarte y la Concha they have planned to rebel on various occasions through conspiracies of the Indian sorcerers, and that although in some pueblos the messages were accepted, in other parts they would not agree to it; and that it is true that during the government of the said senor general seven or eight Indians were hanged for this same cause, whereupon the unrest subsided. Some time thereafter [the conspirators] sent from the pueblo of Los Taos through the pueblos of the custodia two deerskins with some pictures on them signifying conspiracy after their manner, in order to convoke the people to a new rebellion, and the said deerskins passed to the province of Moqui, where they refused to accept them. The pact which they had been forming ceased for the time being, but they always kept in their hearts the desire to carry it out, so as to live as they are living today. Finally, in the past years, at the summons of an Indian named Popé who is said to have communication with the devil, it happened that in an estufa of the pueblo of Los Taos there appeared to the said Popé three figures of Indians who never came out of the estufa. They gave the said Popé to understand that they were going underground to the lake of Copala. He saw these figures emit fire from all the extremities of their bodies, and that one of them was called Caudi, another Tilini, and the other Tleume; and these three beings spoke to the said Popé, who was in hiding from the secretary, Francisco Xavier, who wished to punish him as a sorcerer.

Charles Wilson Hackett, Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin’s Attempted Reconquest, 1680–1682 (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico, 1942), Volume 2: 245–49.
4. The Founding of New France

Since the time of Jacques Cartier, fishing boats from the coast of France had crisscrossed Newfoundland’s Grand Banks. [The French found little in the way of gold or silver, but the region was rich in furs, so the French tended to focus on extracting natural resources and creating relationships with Native Americans in the area. But the French colonies developed more slowly than the Spanish colonies in North America.]

Year-round French settlements in Acadia could support the Atlantic fisheries, extend the fur trade, and preempt the English, who were eyeing the same coast . . . . . . But settlement efforts came to nothing, so the French directed their attention inland. [A group led by Samuel de Champlain established Quebec, on the St. Lawrence River, in 1608. A year later, Champlain joined Algonquin and Huron Indians in a raid on the Iroquois. This victory guaranteed positive relations between the French and the Huron and Algonquin.] . . .

In 1627, the powerful first minister in France, Cardinal Richelieu, pressed for greater French settlement in Canada through a new private company . . . . . . But his expansive policies alarmed England, which began aggressive efforts to force out the French colonists. In 1628 English privateers (privately owned ships commissioned to seize enemy vessels for profit) captured an arriving convoy of 400 French Catholic settlers. The next year, they forced the surrender of Quebec. When restored to French control several years later, the tiny outpost contained fewer than a hundred people. In an effort to expand the meager settlement and populate the fertile valley upriver from Quebec, French authorities began granting narrow strips of land with river frontage to any Catholic lord who would take up residence there and bring French tenants to his estate.

Wood et al., 54–55.
5. **A Dutch Colony on the Hudson River**

[Dutch colonization occurred on a smaller scale than French or Spanish settlement. They arrived in 1609 and settled the area of the Hudson River Valley.]

To begin, officials of the Dutch West India Company recruited a group of Walloon refugees, French-speaking Belgians who had hoped to found a community in English Virginia. They transported these people to New Netherland in 1624. To secure the boundaries of the province, they deposited farm families far up the Hudson at Fort Orange and along the Connecticut and Delaware rivers. However, Peter Minuit, the colony’s director from 1626 to 1631, saw danger in this dispersal. He worried that the widely scattered newcomers lacked defenses, trade, and community ties. To consolidate Dutch settlement, he purchased Manhattan Island at the mouth of the Hudson from the local Indians. By 1630, the village of New Amsterdam boasted 270 settlers clustered in cottages around a waterfront fort at the southern tip of Manhattan.

Wood et al., 57–58.
Excerpted from the Remonstrance of the Inhabitants of Flushing, Long Island, Against the Law Against Quakers and Subsequent Proceedings

Questions to Consider

1. The petitioners were advocating what was then a radical doctrine of religious tolerance. How did they justify that argument?
2. The petitioners referred to religious and secular (state) authority. Were they asserting that the state should not be influenced by religious beliefs?

Right Honorable,

You have been pleased to send up unto us a certain Prohibition or Command, that wee shoulde not receive or entertaine any of those people called Quakers, because they are supposed to bee by some seducers of the people; for our parte wee cannot condemn them in this case, neither can wee stretch out our hands against them to punish, bannish or persecute the, for out of Christ, God is a consuming fire, and it is a fearful thing to fall into the handes of the liveing God; wee desire therefore in this case not to judge least wee be judged, neither to Condem least wee bee Condemed, but rather let every man stand and fall to his own . . .

The law of love, peace and libertie in the states extending to Jews, Turks and Egyptians, as they are considered the sonnes of Adam, which is the glory of the outward State of Holland; so loue, peace and libertie extending to all in Christ Jesus, Condemns hatred, warre and bondage; and because our Savior saith it is impossible but that offence will come, but woe be unto him by whom they Commeth, our desire is not to offend one of his little ones in whatsoever forme, name or title hee appeares in, whether Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist or Quaker; but shall be glad to see anything of God in any of them: desiring to doe unto all men as wee desire all men should doe unto us, which is the true law both of Church and State; for our Savior saith this is the Law and the Prophets; Therefore if any of these said persons come in loue unto us, wee cannot in Conscience lay violent hands upon them, but give them free Egresse into our Towne and howses as God shall preswade our Consciences; and in this we are true subjects both of the Church and State; for wee are bounde by the
law of god and man to do good unto all men, and evill to no man; and this is according to the Patent and Charter of our Towne given unto us in the name of the States Generall which we are not willing to infringe and violate but shall hold to our pattent and shall remaine your Humble Subjects the inhabitants of Vlishing; written the 27th of December in the Yeare 1657 by mee.

6. **English Beginnings on the Atlantic Coast**

[England’s attempts at colonizing in North America proceeded more slowly than did its European rivals.] When Queen Elizabeth I passed away in 1603, several important elements were already in place to help England compete for colonial outposts. The so-called enclosure movement, where large landholders [in England] had fenced in their fields and turned to raising sheep, had pushed thousands of tenants off rural farms. These people, who roamed the countryside and flocked to urban centers in search of work, formed a restless supply of potential colonists. Also, the country had an expanding fleet of English-built ships, sailed by experienced mariners who had accumulated extensive knowledge of the North Atlantic. In addition, England had a group of seasoned and ambitious leaders. A generation of soldiers (many of them younger sons of the property-holding elite known as the gentry) had participated in the brutal colonization of Ireland or sailed as privateers in the conflict with Spain. Some, including John Smith, who later became a leader of the Jamestown Colony, had skipped school and fought Spanish forces in the Netherlands. Smith himself had even survived battles and enslavement in Hungary, Turkey, and Russia.

Wood et al., 59–60.
7. The Virginia Company and Jamestown

In 1606 James I chartered the Virginia Company as a two-pronged operation to exploit the sweeping Virginia claim. Under the charter, a group of London-based merchants took responsibility for colonizing the Chesapeake Bay region. Meanwhile, merchants from England's West Country, based in the seaports of Plymouth, Exeter, and Bristol, took charge of developing the northern latitudes of the American coast. In 1607, two ships from Plymouth deposited roughly a hundred colonists at the Sagadahoc (Kennebec) River in Maine. The Sagadahoc settlers erected a fort and buildings; they even constructed a small sailing vessel called the Virginia, the first of hundreds of ships that the English built from American forests. But frostbite, scurvy, and dwindling supplies prompted a retreat home in 1608, two decades after the Roanoke failures.

A parallel effort by the Londoners proved more enduring—but just barely. In April 1607, three ships from the Thames sailed into Chesapeake Bay carrying 105 men. They disembarked on what appeared to be a secluded island near a broad river. In fact, they had entered the territory of a large Indian confederation. The confederacy numbered more than 13,000 people living in dozens of villages spread across the Tidewater area. The paramount chief, Powhatan, had been steadily expanding his power in the region. Initially, his councilors wondered whether to view the new arrivals as dangerous intruders or as potential trading partners, military allies, and members of the confederacy. The isolated English proved equally unsure whether to offer friendship or defiance. Within months, these subjects of James I had named the waterway the James River and established a fortified village beside it called Jamestown. In June, hoping for quick rewards, they shipped to London various stones that they thought contained precious gems and gold ore.

When the rocks proved worthless, the colonists' dreams of easy wealth evaporated.

Wood et al., 60–61.
CHESAPEAKE AND NEW ENGLAND SETTLEMENTS

Questions to Consider

1. The log walls in the drawing of Jamestown form a sharp barrier between two very different places. What features or objects were inside and outside the walls? What sort of distinction was the artist trying to draw between Jamestown and the land and people around it?

2. The second map shows the plots of land and property lines. What do those plots suggest about the town? Consider access to water, proximity of other plots, and the size of the plots.

The first image, below, is an artist’s representation of the Chesapeake settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, the date of its settlement. The second is a map of a New England town (New Haven, Connecticut) in 1768.

Creator: Captain John Smith and an unknown author
Context: Early in the seventeenth century, English colonies in North America were developing in different regions with different goals.
Audience: Residents and officials of Jamestown and New Haven
Purpose: To describe settlement

Historical Significance:
The early colonists of the Chesapeake and New England differed in many respects. Those on the Chesapeake arrived earlier and settled in an area where the Powhatan (led by a leader of the same name) had formed a powerful nation. The English adventurers hoped to get rich quick and return to England—not cultivate the soil. They were not, by the standards of the day, particularly pious.

The Puritans who landed at Massachusetts Bay in 1630 desired to create a separate and holy commonwealth in what they called New England. They came to stay and to farm, and most of them came in families. Diseases had destroyed most of the indigenous peoples of the area, and the English settlements quickly spread. The Puritans were strict Calvinists who believed that in close-knit congregations church members could ward off sin and assist one another in daily life. Puritan leaders required people to live in families and towns so that they could build communities and attend church.
James Wadsworth, A PLAN OF THE TOWN OF NEW HAVEN WITH ALL THE BUILDINGS IN 1748 TAKEN BY THE HON. GEN. WADSWORTH OF DURHAM (1748). Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

See Appendix for larger image – pg. 56
8. “We Shall Be as a City Upon a Hill”

[Early settlers came to New England for different reasons than other emigrants.] In 1629 five vessels anchored at Salem. Three years earlier, an advance party had established a post there “for such as upon the account of religion would be willing to begin a foreign plantation.”

In England, meanwhile, a Suffolk squire named John Winthrop, whose Puritan commitment had cost him his government post, assumed leadership of the Massachusetts Bay Company. “God will bringe some heavy Affliction upon this lande,” he predicted to his wife, but the Lord “will provide a shelter & a hidinge place for us and others.” In exchange, God would expect great things from these chosen people, as from the Old Testament Israelites. “We are entered into covenant with him for this work,” Winthrop told his companions aboard the Arbella en route to America in 1630. “We shall be as a city upon a hill.”

Wood et al., 67–68.
9. Pacifism in a Militant World: Quakers and Indians

[Several decades later another group of religious idealists, led by the wealthy William Penn, prepared to found a very different sort of colony in North America.] On the day Penn received his royal charter for Pennsylvania, he wrote a friend, “My God that has given it to me will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation.” The nation that Penn envisioned was unique among colonizing schemes. Penn intended to make his colony an asylum for the persecuted and a refuge from arbitrary state power. Puritans had strived for social homogeneity and religious uniformity, excluding all not of like mind. In the Chesapeake and Carolina colonies, aggressive, unidealistic men had sought to exploit their lands and bondspeople. But Penn dreamed of inviting to his forested colony people of all religions and national backgrounds, offering them peaceful coexistence. His state would neither claim authority over citizens’ consciences nor demand military service of them. The Quakers who began streaming into Pennsylvania in 1682 quickly absorbed earlier Dutch, Finnish, and Swedish settlers. They participated in the government by electing representatives who initiated laws. They were primarily farmers, and like colonists elsewhere, they avidly acquired land, which Penn sold at reasonable rates. But unlike other colonizers, the Quakers practiced pacifism, holding the ethic of love and nonresistance embodied in the Sermon on the Mount as literally binding on them.

Even before arriving, Penn laid the foundation for peaceful relations with the Delaware tribe inhabiting his colony. “The king of the Country where I live, hath given me a great Province,” he wrote to the Delaware chiefs, “but I desire to enjoy it with your Love and Consent, that we may always live together as Neighbors and friends.” In this single statement Penn dissociated himself from the entire history of European colonization in the New World and from the widely held negative view of Indians. Recognizing the Indians as the rightful owners of the land included in his grant, Penn pledged not to sell one acre until he had first purchased it from local chiefs. He also promised to regulate strictly the Indian trade and to ban alcohol sales.

The Quaker accomplishment is sometimes disparaged with the claim that there was little competition for land in eastern Pennsylvania between the natives and the newcomers. However, a comparison between Pennsylvania and South Carolina, both established after the restoration of Charles II to the English throne in 1660, shows the power of pacifism. A quarter century after initial settlement, Pennsylvania had a population of about 20,000 whites. Penn’s peaceful policy had so impressed Native American tribes that Indian refugees began migrating into Pennsylvania from all sides. During the same 25 years, South Carolina had grown
to only about 4,000 whites, while becoming a cauldron of violence. Carolinians spread arms through the region to facilitate slave dealing, shipped some 10,000 members of local tribes off to New England and the West Indies as slaves, and laid waste to the Spanish mission frontier in Florida.

As long as the Quaker philosophy of pacifism and friendly relations with the local Indians held sway, interracial relations in the Delaware River valley contrasted sharply with those in other parts of North America. But ironically, the Quaker policy of toleration, liberal government, and exemption from military service attracted thousands of immigrants to the colony (especially in the eighteenth century) whose land hunger and disdain for Indians undermined Quaker trust and friendship. Germans and Scots-Irish flooded in, swelling the population to 31,000 by 1720. Neither shared Quaker idealism about racial harmony. Driven from their homelands by hunger and war, they pressed inland and, sometimes encouraged by the land agents of Penn’s heirs, encroached on the lands of the local tribes. This created conflict with the natives who had sought sanctuary in Pennsylvania. By the mid-eighteenth century, a confrontation of displaced people, some red and some white, was occurring in Pennsylvania.

Nash et al., 105–6.
Conclusion
Most of us are familiar with the stories of Jamestown and Plymouth Rock. But many other colonies preceded and followed the founding of those colonies. These colonies often varied from each other in their composition and goals, variables that help to explain why Native Americans reacted so differently to these settlements. Some of these colonies became more and more dependent on African labor, a development that brought great wealth or suffering to many North American colonists.

Questions to Consider
1. North America’s colonies were settled at different times by people from different places and with diverse goals. What did these colonies have in common?
2. Which colonies were the most apt to exploit people inside and outside of their colonies? Why?
**Theme Two**: Between 1660 and 1720 the English colonies in North America implemented the system of race-based slavery, altering the status of blacks living in the colonies and prompting the increased importation of enslaved Africans.

**Overview**

The number of slaves rose in many of England’s North American colonies because of an increase in plantation agriculture, and because other forms of labor were waning. Although slavery itself was not new, the form that emerged on the sugar, coffee, and tobacco plantations of the Americas was unprecedented.

Slavery was widely practiced and accepted across the world when Europeans began to colonize North America; slaves had long served as personal servants, for example. In most parts of the world, the condition of slavery was not inherited and slaves had some rights, including the right to own property. But European expansion in the Americas was followed by a shift in the institution of slavery.

The roots of slavery in the Americas extend to Portuguese and Spanish slavery in places such as the Canary Islands. They soon transplanted and expanded the system in Brazil and the Caribbean, where millions of slaves—who had been captured and sold in Africa—would toil to produce sugar, coffee, and other profitable crops.

As slavery spread to the mainland British colonies, it began to replace indentured servitude in the Chesapeake during the second half of the 1600s, and it entered the new Carolina colonies in the same era. By the early 1700s, slave labor was at the economic heart of the southern colonies.

**Questions to Consider**

1. Why did slavery become so common in parts of the British colonies?
2. What consequences did this system of labor have for slaves and broader society?
1. Ominous Beginnings

As far back as the sixteenth century, African men had participated in Spanish explorers' forays into the Southeast, and some had remained, fathering children with Indian women. African slaves had helped to establish the small Spanish outpost at St. Augustine in 1565, but a century later no additional coastal colonies had yet appeared on the mainland anywhere south of Chesapeake Bay. Granted, Africans were present farther north in the fledgling settlements of the French, Dutch, and English. But their numbers remained small—several thousand at most—in comparison to the expanding black populations of the older sugar colonies near the equator. In addition, few of these newcomers had come directly from Africa. Most had lived for years in the Caribbean or on the mainland, absorbing the languages, customs, and beliefs of the majority population . . .

The legal and social standing of these few early African Americans remained vague before the 1660s. Local statutes regarding labor were crude and contradictory; their interpretation and enforcement varied widely. Everywhere, workers were in demand, and most black newcomers found themselves indentured for a period of years alongside European servants in a similar unfree condition.

. . . Throughout the 1640s and 1650s, aggressive English tobacco farmers in Virginia and Maryland, in imitation of planters in Barbados, attempted to purchase the labor of Indians and Africans for life. They even claimed rights to the future children of nonwhite women in their possession . . .

Where did most enslaved Africans come from, and where did they go?

Wood et al., 117–19.
THEME TWO SECONDARY SOURCE

THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE 1526–1810

DESTINATION OF ENSLAVED AFRICANS

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<tr>
<td>Mexico and Central America</td>
<td>224,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British/French West Indies</td>
<td>4,040,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spanish America</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portuguese America</td>
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SOURCE: Data from Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*

Nash et al., 87.
2. Alternative Sources of Labor

[In the decades after 1660, African arrivals in English North America faced an ominous change. Their legal status became more clear and less hopeful.] This shift was linked to the fact that colonial efforts to exploit two other supplies of affordable workers—captured Native Americans and impoverished Europeans—were running into increasing difficulty. The transatlantic slave trade, already more than a century old, provided certain English colonies with a ready source of African workers at a time when more obvious streams of inexpensive labor were dwindling or drying up.

Wood et al., 119.
3. The Fateful Transition

In Virginia and Maryland, therefore, planters passed a series of laws that sharpened distinctions between servants working for a fixed period and slaves consigned to labor for life.

In shaping new legislation, they even challenged long-standing English legal traditions, such as the right of children to inherit their father’s status. In 1662 Virginia’s General Assembly considered whether any child fathered “by an Englishman upon a negro woman should be slave or Free.” In a crucial reversal of precedent, the legislature said that in such cases “all children born in this country” shall be “held bond or free only according to the condition of the mother.” From now on, the infant of any female slave would be enslaved from birth, an obvious boon for masters who wanted additional long-term labor at little cost. Slavery was becoming a hereditary condition.

If enslaved persons accepted Christianity, could they receive their freedom, as sometimes happened in Spanish colonies? A Maryland law of 1664 closed off that prospect. The act made clear that the legal status of non-Christian slaves did not change if they experienced religious conversion. Three years later, Virginia’s government agreed that “the conferring of baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage.” By taking religion out of the question, legislators shifted the definition of who could be enslaved from someone who was not Christian to someone who did not look European. In 1680, Reverend Morgan Godwyn observed that the “two words, Negro and Slave,” had already “by custom” grown interchangeable in Virginia. Because nobody could alter their skin color but anyone could change faith, planters moved to categorize colonial workers by their appearance rather than their religion.

In scarcely a generation, black bondage had become a hereditary institution, and the conditions of life had grown markedly worse for African Americans. Europeans receiving wages for work could pay fines for misbehavior; servants indentured for a term could be required to work additional months or years as a punishment. But enslaved Africans, condemned to unpaid labor for life, had no money or time to give up when disciplined for misdeeds, whether real or imagined. Therefore, they found themselves subjected increasingly to corporal punishments: whippings, torture, and even mutilation. [They no longer had the right to accuse or testify in court against a white person] “And further,” stated Virginia’s formative slave law of 1680, “if any Negro” so much as raises a hand, even in self-defense, “against any Christian, he shall receive thirty lashes, and if he absent himself . . . from his master’s service and resist lawful apprehension, he may be killed.”

Wood et al., 120–21.
4. Survival in a Strange New Land

[Slavery spread across England’s North American colonies during the eighteenth century but remained concentrated in the South.] Among roughly 247,000 slaves in the colonies in 1750, only 30,000 (or 12 percent) resided in the North, where they made up just 5 percent of the overall population from Pennsylvania to New Hampshire. More than one-third of these northerners (11,000) lived in the colony of New York, where they made up as much as 14 percent of the inhabitants. All the rest of the people of African descent in North America—some 217,000 men, women, and children by the mid-eighteenth century—lived and worked in the Chesapeake region and the lower South. (Fewer than 5000 of these black southerners resided in French Louisiana.)

Wood et al., 133.
Population of the Chesapeake Colonies 1610–1750

How did population trends of Native American, white, and black affect each other?

As indicated in this chart, it was not until the 1690s, when Chesapeake planters began turning to Africa for their labor, that the black population in the Chesapeake colonies began to rise rapidly.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Nash et al., 80.
5. African Rice Growers in South Carolina

Throughout the eighteenth century, by far the most North American slaves lived in Virginia or Maryland: 150,000 African Americans by 1750. But the highest proportion of enslaved workers lived in South Carolina, where Africans began outnumbering Europeans as early as 1708. By 1750 this black majority (40,000 people) constituted more than 60 percent of the colony’s population. Almost all had arrived through the deepwater port of Charleston. Sullivan’s Island, near the entrance to the harbor, with its so-called pest house to quarantine incoming slaves and reduce the spread of shipborne disease, has been called the Ellis Island of black America.

The new arrivals understood South Carolina’s subtropical climate, with its alligators and palmetto trees, better than their European owners did. Many of these enslaved newcomers were already familiar with keeping cattle. Others, obliged to feed themselves, began growing rice in the fertile swamplands just as they had in West Africa. Slave owners quickly realized that this plant, unfamiliar to much of northern Europe, held the answer to their search for a profitable staple crop. Soon, people who had tended their own irrigated rice crops near the Gambia River were obliged to clear cypress swamps along the Ashley and Cooper rivers to grow rice for someone else. Women who had prepared small portions of rice daily for their families in West Africa—pounding the grains with a wooden pestle to remove the husks, then tossing them in a broad, flat basket to winnow away the chaff—now had to process vast quantities of rice for export.

Before long, people in England had developed a taste for rice pudding, and London merchants were shipping tons of Carolina rice to other European countries, where it proved a cheap grain for feeding soldiers, orphans, and peasants. By the middle of the eighteenth century, South Carolina’s white minority had the most favorable trade balance of any mainland colonists. Their fortunes improved even more when indigo, another African crop, joined rice as a profitable export commodity. Outnumbered by their enslaved workers, South Carolina’s landowners passed strict Negro Acts patterned on those of the Caribbean. Legislation prohibited slaves from carrying guns, meeting in groups, raising livestock, or traveling without a pass. Statutes controlled everything from how they dressed to when they shoveled the dung off of Charleston streets. Everywhere, mounted patrols enforced the regulations with brutal severity.

Wood et al., 133–35.
Excerpted from The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia

Questions to Consider
1. How are slaves referred to in this law?
2. In what respect did this law codify or establish that people of African descent were supposed to be slaves?

Article IV
And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted, That all servants imported and brought into this country, by sea or land, who were not christians in their native country . . . shall be accounted and be slaves, and as such be here bought and sold notwithstanding a conversion to christianity afterwards . . .

Article XIX
That whatsoever English, or other white man or woman, being free, shall intermarry with a negro or mulatto man or woman, bond or free, shall, by judgment of the county court, be committed to prison, and there remain, during the space of six months, without bail or mainprize; and shall forfeit and pay ten pounds current money of Virginia, to the use of the parish, as aforesaid.

Article XXXIV
And if any slave resist his master, or owner, or other person, by his or her order, correcting such slave, and shall happen to be killed in such correction, it shall not be accounted felony; but the master, owner, and every such other person so giving correction, shall be free and acquit of all punishment and accusation for the same, as if such incident had never happened: And also, if any negro, mulatto, or Indian, bond or free, shall at any time, lift his or her hand, in opposition against any christian, not being negro, mulatto, or Indian, he or she so offending shall, for every such offence, proved by the oath of the party, receive on his or her bare back, thirty lashes, well laid on; cognizable by a justice of the peace for that county wherein such offence shall be committed.


Creator: The Virginia General Assembly
Context: A system of race-based slavery was emerging in Virginia.
Audience: Virginians
Purpose: To establish new laws

Historical Significance:
For much of the seventeenth century, Chesapeake tobacco planters relied on the labor of indentured servants—poor people who labored for several years to pay the cost of their passage across the Atlantic. Africans formed part of that labor force, but many of them became free, and some owned land and the labor of indentured servants.

By the 1660s, whites began to switch to a system of life-long slavery restricted to people of African descent. By the 1680s, they had created a separate legal code for African Americans and passed laws stipulating that blacks would ordinarily be enslaved for life and could not own Christian servants. Mixed-race children, whose fathers were usually white, inherited their mother’s status. The Virginia Slave Code from 1705, a portion of which is reproduced here, elaborated on those earlier laws.
6. **Voices of Dissent**

As race-based slavery expanded numerically and geographically, white colonists treated the continuing presence of free blacks as a contradiction and a threat. As early as 1691, the Virginia assembly passed an act restricting manumissions (grants of individual freedom by masters) because “great inconvenience may happen to this country by setting of negroes and mulattoes free.” According to the act, such people fanned hopes of freedom among enslaved blacks by their mere presence . . . By 1723, additional Virginia statutes prevented free people of color from voting, taxed them unfairly, and prevented them from owning or carrying firearms. Lawmakers went on to prohibit manumissions altogether, except when the governor rewarded “meritorious service,” such as informing against other enslaved workers.

While the southern slave colonies labored to intimidate, divide, and reduce their free black communities, free blacks in the North faced growing discrimination in their efforts to hold jobs, buy land, obtain credit, move freely, and take part in civic life. Northern slave populations, though small in comparison to those in the South, were growing steadily. As the North’s involvement in the Atlantic slave trade expanded, its economic and legal commitment to race slavery increased. Rhode Island’s slave ranks jumped from 500 in 1720 to more than 3000 in 1750. Everywhere, new laws made manumission more difficult and African American survival more precarious. In Philadelphia, only 90 slaves gained their freedom between 1698 and 1765. Of the few hundred free blacks living in Boston in 1742, 110 resided in the church-supported almshouse and another 36 in the public workhouse. Only in the century after 1760 did northern free black communities gain the numerical and social strength to offer effective opposition to enslavement.

By the 1730s, only a few whites in Europe or America dared to press publicly for an end to slavery.

Wood et al., 140–41.
Estimated Southern Population by Race and Region, 1685–1790

Questions to Consider

1. In what places did blacks (the great majority of whom were slaves) increase most dramatically?
2. How were those increases associated with population changes for Indians and whites?

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<th>Race</th>
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<th>1700</th>
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**Estimated Southern Population by Race and Region, 1685–1790**

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The population breakdown reveals that in 1790 more than 85 percent of all whites and blacks in the South lived in the new coastal states in Virginia and the Carolinas, while nearly 99 percent of all Indians were spread throughout the rest of the vast Southern region. All numbers are rounded estimates.

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<th>The U.S. South: The Story in Numbers</th>
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<td>1685</td>
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<td>Population of the Entire Region</td>
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<th>Population of Virginia and the Carolinas</th>
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<td>Total</td>
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August the forth 1723

to the Right Raverrand father in god my Lord arch Bishop of Lonnd . . .
this coms to sattesifie your honour that there is in this Land of verJennia a Sort of people that is Calld molatters which are Baptised and brouaht up in the way of the Christian faith and followes the ways and Rulles of the Chrch of England and sum of them has white fathars and sum white mothers and there is in this Land a Law or act which keeps and makes them and there seed Slaves forever . . .

wee your humbell and poore partishinners doo begg Sir your aid and assistancec in this one thing . . . which is that your honour will by the help of our Sufvering [i.e., sovereign] Lord King George and the Rest of the Rullers will Releese us out of this Cruell Bondegg . . . /and here it is to bee notd that one brother is a Slave to another and one Sister to an othe which is quite out of the way and as for mee my selfe I am my brothers Slave but my name is Secrett/

wee are commandded to keep holey the Sabbath day and wee doo hardly know when it comes for our task mastrs are has hard with us as the Egypttions was with the Childdann of Issarall . . . wee are kept out of the Church and matrimony is deenied us and to be plain they doo Look no more upon us then if wee ware dogs which I hope when these Strange lines comes to your Lord Ships hands will be Looket in to . . .

And Sir wee your humble perticners do humblly beg . . . that our childarn may be broatt up in the way of the Christian faith and our desire is that they may be Larnd the Lords prayer the creed and the ten commandements and that they may appeare Every Lord’s day att Church before the Curatt to bee Exammond for our desire is that godllines Shoulld abbound amongs us and wee desire that our Childarn be putt to Scool and Larnd to Reed through the Bybell

My Riting is vary bad . . . I am but a poore Slave that writt itt and has no other time butt Sunday and hardly that att Sumtimes . . . wee dare nott Subscribe any mans name to this for feare of our masters for if they knew that wee have Sent home to your honour wee Should goo neare to Swing upon the gallass tree.

Thomas N. Ingersoll, “‘Releese Us out of This Cruell Bondegg’: An Appeal from Virginia in 1723” William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, 51 (October 1994): 776–82.
**Conclusion**

The enslavement of people of African descent became more widespread and codified into law as the economies of the southern colonies blossomed. African American slaves provided the labor—and often the knowledge necessary—to plant, cultivate, harvest, and process tobacco, rice, indigo, and other profitable crops. Slavery, then, was an integral part of the economic expansion in many colonies. But other factors also drove economic growth.

**Questions to Consider**

1. What factors, what historical changes, made slavery entrenched in much of North America? Why was it more common in some colonies than others?
2. How did the nature of slavery change over time?
Theme Three: The later colonial period, from the 1680s through the 1760s, saw the increasing economic power of England’s colonies.

Overview

England and its North American colonies became more prosperous and powerful after the late 1600s. Spain continued its long decline, and the Dutch pulled out of their American colonial ventures. France largely withdrew from the North American continent in 1763 after being defeated by the British in the French and Indian War. Britain had become the most powerful nation in the world.

Although Britain’s North American colonies flourished, their successes ultimately made them less dependent on—and more likely to challenge—the mother country. The colonies’ populations increased and diversified in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, driven by both birth rate and immigration. Their economies were changing, too. Agricultural production increased in the southern and middle colonies, and trade expanded in the growing market towns. All along the Atlantic coast, seaports emerged that more and more resembled English port towns.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did the colonies grow so rapidly over such a long period?
2. What were the most important factors or variables uniting and dividing these colonies as time passed?
1. Britain’s Mainland Colonies: A New Abundance of People

A comparison with England demonstrates how astounding American demographic growth was along the eastern seaboard. England in 1700 had 5.1 million people, and that figure increased a mere 14 percent to 5.8 million by 1750. In the same half century, the colonial population in British North America more than quadrupled, from 60,000 to nearly 1.2 million.

This enormous expansion in numbers contained an additional change. During the first two thirds of the eighteenth century, the Atlantic seaboard colonies made a permanent and dramatic shift away from a population that was almost entirely of English origin. Never before had North America seen such extensive ethnic and racial diversity. As the numerous cultures and languages indigenous to western Europe, western Africa, and eastern North America mixed and mingled, they gave rise to an American Babel.

Wood et al., 157.

2. Population Growth on the Home Front

Although a high birth rate typified most preindustrial cultures, it was the low death rate and long average life span that pushed up American population numbers. With no huge urban centers, the colonial populace remained dispersed, so epidemics proved less devastating and of shorter duration than in Europe. Food was plentiful, and housing improved steadily. Newborns who survived infancy could live a long life.

[More and more women came to or were born in North America, and their fertility rates were high.]

Wood et al., 157–58.
3. “Packed Like Herrings”: Arrivals from Abroad

Frequent births and improving survival rates were only part of the population story. Immigration—both forced and free—also contributed mightily to the colonies’ growth. The unfree arrivals came in two different streams from two separate continents and faced very different prospects. The largest flow of unfree arrivals came from Africa, and these forced migrants faced a bleak new life with few options for improvement . . .

A separate stream of unfree laborers came to the colonies from Europe. It included prisoners forced from crowded jails and also indentured servants unable to pay their own way to America. By comparison to enslaved Africans, the long-term prospects of these European migrants were far more promising. Every year, hundreds of detainees in British jails were offered transportation to the colonies and a term of service laboring in America as an alternative to prison time or execution . . .

Britain’s imperial administrators also sought to recruit Europeans to the American colonies. The settlements these immigrants established could bolster colonial defenses against foreign rivals and provide a buffer on the frontier to ward off Indian attacks. In one of many pamphlets for German immigrants, Joshua von Kocherthal explained how South Carolina’s proprietors would give a 65-acre plot to each head of household, with the promise of more land if they needed it or if they came with a large group. Even with such enticements, South Carolina’s enslaved African community expanded faster than its free population.

Even for those who could pay their own way, the Atlantic passage was a life-threatening ordeal. “The people are packed densely, like herrings,” Lutheran minister Gottlieb Mittelberger recorded after a voyage to Pennsylvania. “During the journey the ship is full of pitiful signs of distress—smells, fumes, horrors, vomiting, various kinds of sea sickness, fever, dysentery, headaches, heat, constipation, boils, scurvy, cancer, mouth-rot, and similar afflictions.” Despite such hardships, newcomers found economic opportunities awaiting them in America. They often wrote home glowing accounts of colonial life, and their letters helped boost the rising population further. In 1773 English customs officials quizzed 29-year-old Elizabeth McDonald about why she was departing for Wilmington, North Carolina. The unmarried Scottish servant replied that she was setting out “because several of her friends, having gone to Carolina before her, had assured her that she would get much better service and greater encouragement in Carolina than in her own country.”

Wood et al., 159–60.
Pastures Can Be Found Almost Everywhere

Questions to Consider

1. Tracts promoting the settlement of particular areas were (and are) notoriously biased. But even biased sources can tell us more than their authors intended. What aspects of von Kocherthal’s description hinted at possible difficulties?

2. What can this tract tell us about the sort of people who were drawn to South Carolina? What did they expect to do there?

South Carolina is one of the most fertile landscapes to be found. . . preferable in many respects to the terrain in Germany, as well as in England . . . Game, fish, and birds, as well as waterfowl such as swans, geese, and ducks, occur there in such plentiful numbers that . . . newcomers can sustain themselves if necessary . . . until they have cleared a piece of land, sown seeds, and gathered in a harvest . . . . . Among other things, there can be found in the wild so-called “Indian chickens” [turkeys], some of which weigh about 40 pounds or even more. These exist in incredible numbers . . .

Hunting game, fishing, and bird-catching are free to anyone, but one shouldn’t cross the borders of neighbors or of the Indians [who] live in complete peace and friendship with our families. In addition, their number decreases while the number of our people (namely the Europeans) increases . . . Lumber can be found there in abundance, especially the most beautiful oaks, but also many of the nicest chestnuts and nut trees which are used by many for building and are considered better than oaks. One can also find beeches, spruces, cypresses, cedars, laurels, myrtle, and many other varieties.

Hogs can be raised very easily in great numbers at little cost, because there are huge forests everywhere and the ground is covered with acorns . . . Above all, the breeding of horses, cows, sheep, hogs and many other kinds of domestic livestock proceeds excellently, because pastures can be found almost everywhere, and the livestock can remain in the fields the whole year, as it gets no colder in Carolina in the middle of winter than it does in Germany in April or October . . . Because of the multiplication of livestock, almost no household in Carolina (after residing there a few years) can justifiably be called poor.

Creator: Joshua von Kocherthal

Context: Some of the colonies were attempting to attract immigrants from many parts of Europe, including Germany.

Audience: Germans who might be interested in leaving

Purpose: To attract settlers

Historical Significance:
Several of England’s North American colonies had very diverse populations by the mid-eighteenth century. English settlers had long mingled with indigenous peoples and African slaves, of course, but Europe’s economic dislocations and its growing population prompted more and more people to consider moving to North America.

Joshua von Kocherthal, who was from southern Germany, played a crucial role in leading struggling German farmers to a rural community on the Hudson River in the colony of New York. His 1706 tract on South Carolina succeeded in drawing many Germans to that colony.
As far as vegetables and fruits are concerned, Indian corn predominates, thriving in such a way that one can harvest it twice a year and grow it wherever one wants to. Our local cereals such as wheat, rye, barley, and oats do well, but above all, rice thrives there as excellently as in any other part of the world, and it grows in such amounts that it can be loaded on ships and transported to other places. And as the inhabitants use rice so much and make much more profit from it than any other cereal, they are most keen on growing rice and there has been very little cultivation of other cereals.

All kinds of our fruits can be planted there, but . . . future arrivals would do well to bring along seedlings of any kind, or at least the seeds . . . There can already be found different kinds of our local apples . . . As far as cabbage, beets, beans, peas, and other garden plants are concerned, not only do our local plants grow very well, but there are also many other varieties with excellent taste that are completely unknown to us . . . Newcomers will do well to acquire all sorts of iron tools and bring these along . . . If someone has lived in Carolina for a time and he wants to go to another country, he may do so freely at any time.

Historians have long focused on the early settlement of English people in North America. Scholars such as Rosalind Beiler remind us that immigration remained very important in the eighteenth century and that immigrants came from many places and for many reasons.

**German-Speaking Immigrants in the British Atlantic World, 1680–1730**

By Rosalind J. Beiler

Between 1680 and 1780, more than one hundred thousand German-speaking people migrated to British North America. They were the largest group of free, non-British immigrants to settle in the colonies. Most of the newcomers arrived through the port of Philadelphia between 1727 and 1775. By the eve of American independence, however, they and their descendants could be found in nearly all of the colonies from Nova Scotia to Georgia. While they all spoke some form of German, the immigrants did not share a common political identity. Rather, they came from the Rhine Lands, more than three hundred fifty distinct political territories in what is today Germany, France, and Switzerland. Their American neighbors usually lumped them together, calling them “Dutch”—an anglicization of “Deutsch,” “Germans,” or “Palatines.” In Europe, however, the immigrants identified primarily with their villages or regions. They spoke local dialects and maintained village customs and traditions.

Nevertheless, immigrants from the Rhine Lands did have some common characteristics. Most were Protestants, members of the Lutheran or Reformed churches. The majority were from farming or artisan families from rural villages. Predominantly from political territories where the heads of state were strengthening and consolidating their resources and power, the immigrants struggled against growing taxes and rising competition for land. Finally, many came from regions dominated by warfare in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The German-speaking settlers who moved to British North America were participants in larger local and long distance migration patterns. Young men and women moved from village to village as apprentices learning a trade; families were frequently displaced by war or crop failures; and individuals made religious pilgrimages or moved to new areas in search of religious toleration. Furthermore, those who traveled west were only a small portion of long-distance migrants. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, six times as many Germans
moved to Hungary and Poland as those who chose the British colonies as their destination. Smaller streams of emigrants went to Poland, Russia, and Spain.

Why did some Germans choose to move west across the Atlantic to British North America while others moved east? What kind of information was available to them? How did they hear about the colonies? …

During the earliest period of German migration to British America, promotional literature was the primary means for disseminating information about the colonies. The proprietors of each colony founded during the period, Carolina, New York, East and West Jersey, and Pennsylvania, used pamphlets and other forms of published literature to recruit settlers. They usually described a colony’s landscape and natural resources and gave practical information about how to plan for the journey …

But the proprietors were not the only ones to publish literature about the new colonies. Religious leaders who were interested in particular settlement schemes also wrote descriptions intended to recruit immigrants. The works of three authors were especially influential in convincing German-speaking settlers to move west: Francis Daniel Pastorius, Daniel Falkner, and Josua Kochertal …

Each of these authors provided important incentives for migration … Kochertal championed South Carolina as one of the “most fertile regions which can be found” (8). Furthermore, crops seemed to grow more easily than in Europe. In Pennsylvania, Falkner observed, peaches and cherries were plentiful and “grew like weeds” (9). To those in the Rhine Lands who suffered from land shortages and crop failures resulting from war, the British colonies sounded like paradise.

Pamphlet writers also described in glowing terms the privileges colonial governments extended to potential immigrants. Pastorius pointed out that Pennsylvania’s colonists elected assemblymen each year who made “the necessary laws and ordinances for that year according to the condition of the time and the people, and thereby prevent encroaching vices” (10). The colony’s political structure stood in stark contrast to those in the Rhine Lands where villagers had no control over state governments. In addition, Pastorius observed, the colonists played an important role in determining taxation. He claimed that “neither the king himself nor his envoys, bailiffs, nor governors may lay any kind of burden or tax upon the subjects, unless those subjects themselves have first voluntarily resolved and consented to give a specified amount.” Furthermore, “no tax may remain in force for longer than a single year” (11). Kochertal likewise stressed Carolina’s low
taxes. Unlike German towns, where villagers paid tithes to local officials to support clergy, Carolina colonists collected tithes themselves and distributed them to their ministers. In near disbelief, Kochertal added that “the entire annual contribution due to the authorities comes only from the groundrent.” The settlers were “otherwise completely freed from all obligations, compulsory labor, serfdom, and all other burdens, whatever they may be named, and the authorities are prepared to give security that it will always remain so in the future” (12). His promise was appealing to villagers in the Rhine Lands who still performed compulsory labor as one of the many different taxes they paid.

Another important incentive for recruiting settlers was religious toleration. In Curious Report, Falkner surveyed religious conditions in all of the British colonies. He claimed that in Pennsylvania, “all sects except the Jews and such as absolutely deny Christianity, are not only countenanced, but they are granted the free exercise of their religion and are undisturbed and protected by the public authorities.” …

Religious toleration was a critical incentive in the earliest years of German-speaking migration when a range of Protestant groups, including Mennonites, Quakers, and Pietists, were being harassed, imprisoned, and banished from many German states…

…While each group had its own particular religious beliefs, they shared certain characteristics. First, they were tied together by interests in reforming society through individual piety. Throughout the second half of the seventeenth century, numerous Protestant reform movements emerged throughout England and Europe. In spite of differences in theology, they all emphasized the individual's relationship to God and direct, unmediated access to Him. They also emphasized the importance of living a pious life.

Second, each group established regular correspondence networks for one of two reasons. The Quakers and the Pietists were interested in uniting divisions within the Protestant Christian church. For this reason, they worked to convince others from “like-minded” groups to join them…

They also sought out “like-minded” persons because, as people who were not part of larger, officially recognized Protestant groups, they suffered discrimination and persecution. English, Scottish, and Irish Quakers were imprisoned throughout the 1660s, 1670s, and 1680s. Mennonites—Swiss Brethren and Anabaptists in the Rhine Valley — were banished, forced to serve as galley slaves, and imprisoned
in the second half of the seventeenth century. Pietists were also imprisoned, sentenced to hard labor and exiled from several German states. While numbers did not necessarily insure safety, they were comforting and promised greater influence with local political leaders, members of the nobility, and heads of state—in short, anyone with political power …

During the early period of German-speaking migration, then, religious communication networks were critical in recruiting settlers for new British American colonies. Proprietors and religious leaders who belonged to dissenting groups wrote pamphlets and circulated letters promoting the new colonies. They distributed literature through communication channels originally set up to enable missionary activity or secure religious toleration. Early German-speaking immigrants, therefore, relied more heavily on information they received from religious leaders than immigrants later in the eighteenth century when choosing to go east or west.

Endnotes
1. William Penn, Some account of the province of Pennsylvania in America; Lately Granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn, etc. Together with Privileges and powers necessary to the well-governing thereof. Made publick for the Information of such as are or may be disposed to Transport themselves or Servants into those Parts (London: Printed, and Sold by Benjamin Clark Bookseller in George-Yard, Lombard-street, 1681) reprinted in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630-1707, Albert C. Myers, ed. (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1912), 207.
2. Ibid., 209.
3. The most influential of these was Umständige Geographische Beschreibung Der zu allerletzten erfundenen Provintz Pensylvaniae, in denen End-Gränten Americae In der West-Welt gelegen Durch Franciscum Danielem Pastorium, J. U. Lic. Und Friedens-Richtern daselbsten. Worbey angehecket sind einige notable Begebenheiten, und Bericht-Schreiben an dessen Herrn Vatern melchiorem Adamum Pastorium, Und andere gute Freunde, published in 1700 and reprinted in Myers, Narratives, 360-558. Pastorius’s Umständige Beschreibung was usually bound together with a German translation of Gabriel Thomas’s An Historical and Geographical Account of Pennsylvania and of West-New-Jersey (London, 1698), and Daniel Falckner’s Curieuse Nachricht, both reprinted in Myers, Narratives, 356-9.
5. Ibid., 23-8.


8. Kochertal, 12; see also Sachse, *Falkner’s Curieuse Nachricht*, 102-3.

9. Sachse, *Falkner’s Curieuse Nachricht*, 104-5; see also Kochertal, 12-3.


11. Ibid., 437.


### Bibliography


Rosalind Beiler is an associate professor of history at the University of Central Florida in Orlando. Her essays on German migration to the British American colonies have appeared in numerous publications and she has essays in two forthcoming publications on the Atlantic World. Beiler has been a fellow at the Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History at Harvard University and a Senior Fulbright Scholar at the Free University of Berlin.
4. Non-English Newcomers in the British Colonies

Colonies that were thoroughly English at their origin became decidedly more varied after 1700 . . .

. . . A growing stream of families, at least 30,000 people by 1770, came from Scotland itself. They were pushed by poverty, land scarcity, famines, and a failed political rebellion in 1745. In addition, a larger group known as the Scots-Irish came from Ulster in Ireland.

Another stream, German-speaking immigrants from the heart of Europe, nearly equaled the combined flow of Scots and Scots-Irish settlers. They began to arrive shortly after 1700 as religious persecution, chronic land shortages, and generations of warfare pushed whole communities out of the so-called Palatinate in southern Germany and also neighboring Switzerland.

Wood et al., 161–63.
German Settlement Areas, 1775
Scots-Irish Settlement Areas, 1775

Where did Germans and Scots-Irish tend to settle in the eighteenth century?

Nash et al., 121.
5. The Varied Economic Landscape

[Immigration contributed to the colonies’ rapid population growth in the early and mid-seventeenth century.] Population growth had consequences, and the changes began at the water’s edge. Ships carrying newcomers docked most often at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or Charleston. Each of these deepwater ports grew from a village to a bustling commercial hub, absorbing manufactured goods from Britain and shipping colonial produce abroad . . .

Widening networks of contact, using boats and wagons, extended inland from the primary ports. And expanding fleets of ships tied each major hub to distant Atlantic ports. As a result, farmsteads and villages that had been largely self-sufficient before 1710 gradually became linked to wider markets. Local production still met most needs. But increasingly, the opportunity existed to obtain a new tool, a piece of cloth, or a printed almanac from far away. These and scores of other items might come from a larger town in the colony or from abroad. The new possibility of obtaining such goods lured farmers to grow crops for market rather than plant only for home consumption.

Societies are said to be highly stratified when the rich have an unusually large proportion of wealth and the poor have an unusually small proportion. When and where was stratification most pronounced? (Bear in mind that a reduction from 4% to 2% in wealth represents only two percentage points but half of that group’s wealth.)

Wood et al., 163–65.
WEALTH DISTRIBUTION IN COLONIAL AMERICA

Commercial growth widened the gap between rich and poor, particularly in cities.

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<th>Wealth Distribution in Colonial America</th>
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<td>Percentage of wealth held by the richest 10% and the poorest 30% of the population in two cities and one rural area.</td>
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Source: Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible, 1799*.

Nash et al., 143.

What was the discrepancy in wealth between urban and rural life?
**“JOIN, OR DIE”**

**Questions to Consider**
1. What emotion does this image convey?
2. How many years before the American Revolution would you expect this image to have been created? Why?

**Creator:** Ben Franklin

**Context:** The colonies were becoming more powerful and more aware of their relationships with each other—though more slowly than Franklin hoped for.

**Audience:** Residents of the colonies

**Purpose:** To prompt the colonists to think of what they had in common

**Historical Significance:**
Political changes accompanied social and economic developments in the thirteen colonies. Colonists desired political autonomy as they grew larger and more prosperous. Through the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, colonial governments interacted with England much more frequently than with each other. The Albany Congress of 1754 presented an opportunity to change that, as 23 delegates from seven colonies met to discuss dealing with Indian nations on the eve of the French and Indian War. Benjamin Franklin, a learned delegate from Pennsylvania, tried to persuade the congress that it should create a continental government, complete with an executive and a Grand Council, which would deal with Indian affairs and defense. But Franklin’s proposal excited little interest on either side of the Atlantic Ocean. Franklin published this cartoon in his newspaper, the Pennsylvania Gazette.
Conclusion

Great Britain’s colonies became dynamic and prosperous in the century before the American Revolution. Immigration from across Europe helped fuel a population boom, cities expanded, and the economy became more sophisticated. However, not all colonists received the benefits of this expansion—notably slaves and other laborers. But the colonies as a whole were becoming more powerful.

Questions to Consider

1. In what respects did the colonies seem ready for independence by the mid-1700s?
2. In what respects did the colonies offer opportunity by the first half of the eighteenth century? What sort of people were excluded from those opportunities? Who benefited and who suffered as the colonies became larger and more prosperous?

Unit Conclusion

The founding of St. Augustine in Florida and the outbreak of the American Revolution were separated by more than two centuries—and a great deal of change in the nature of colonization. Native Americans and Africans found it more and more difficult to affect the nature of contact with European colonists, and the English gradually pulled ahead of their European rivals in North America.

England’s North American colonies grew quickly and for varied reasons: the expansion of slavery in the South, the expansion of cities and commerce near the seaboard, and the arrival of diverse immigrants most everywhere. This transformation made some rich and left many poor—and it changed the colonies into something quite different from what they and other colonies had been before.

European nations had created colonies to serve their political and economic interests. But by the mid-eighteenth century, the thirteen British colonies of the North American continent were beginning to chafe at that role. Would it be possible for colonies to attain a significant degree of autonomy from the country that had founded them?
**Timeline**

1565  Spanish establish St. Augustine in Florida and begin preaching to Timucua and Apalachee Indians

1589  Spanish establish New Mexico colony

1607  English establish Jamestown colony in Virginia

1608  French establish Quebec on St. Lawrence River

1609  English settlers at Jamestown rely on Powhatan’s generosity to survive

1619  First African laborers brought to Jamestown

1620  Plymouth colony founded

1645  Lady Deborah Moody receives a charter for Gravesend from Willem Kieft, Governor General of New Netherland

1656  Elizabeth Key wins her freedom in court

1657  Flushing Remonstrance written

1675–6  Metacom and other Wampanoag wage a series of battles against colonists across New England

1664  Dutch cede New Netherland to the English

1680  Popé leads Pueblo Revolt against Spanish

1681  William Penn receives charter for Pennsylvania colony

1759  British capture Quebec in French and Indian War

1763  Treaty of Paris ends French and Indian War
UNIT REFERENCE MATERIALS


FURTHER READING


Visit the Web Site

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THEME ONE PRIMARY SOURCE
Item 3608
John Hull, JAMES FORTE AT JAMESTOWNE, PLAN OF JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA (1607), Courtesy of A. H. Robins Co., Inc.
APPENDIX 1-2

THEME ONE PRIMARY SOURCE
Item 2777
Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
Benjamin Franklin, "JOIN, or DIE" [WOODCUT] (1754). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.