Europeans Colonize North America
1600–1640

Captain William Ryder seemed like a man any Puritan colony in the Americas would prize, so when his older brother urged the planners of the new settlement to appoint him muster master general, they readily agreed. Ryder, a veteran of European wars, followed the new dissenting English faith, as did the planners and many of the settlers. In the colony’s first years, Ryder proved to be a vigorous soldier who worked hard to train the settlers to defend themselves. But he also proved to be a vigorous defender of his own status, and his actions wreaked havoc in the fragile community. The captain beat to death a servant suffering from scurvy (thinking the servant merely lazy), and he also quarreled continually with other settlers, believing they failed to show the proper respect to a gentleman of noble birth.

Similar conflicts occurred in all the Anglo-American settlements, as gentlemen accustomed to unquestioning deference from their inferiors learned that in a colonial setting, their inherited social standing could be challenged. But in Ryder’s colony, the disputes were especially dangerous, because the settlers lived on Providence Island, an isolated Puritan outpost off the coast of modern Nicaragua.

Providence Island, founded by a company of Puritan adventurers in 1630, sought to establish an English beachhead that could lead to successful colonization of the Central American mainland. Yet the outpost’s failure to establish a viable economy and, ultimately, its desperate attempts to stay afloat financially by serving as a base for English privateers caused its downfall. That decision led the Spanish to conclude that the Puritans must be removed. In May 1641, a large Spanish fleet captured the island, and the English survivors scattered to other Caribbean settlements or returned to England.

By this time, though, Spain no longer predominated in the Americas. France, the Netherlands, and England all had permanent colonies in North America by the 1640s. The French and Dutch colonies, like the Spanish out-

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posts, were settled largely by European men who interacted regularly with indigenous peoples, using their labor or seeking to convert them to Christianity. Like the conquistadors, French and Dutch merchants and planters hoped to make a quick profit and then perhaps return to their homelands. The English, as Thomas Harriot had made clear in the 1580s, were just as interested in profiting from North America. But they pursued these profits in a different way.

In contrast to other Europeans, most of the English settlers, including those of the failed Providence Island colony, came to America intending to stay. Especially in the area that came to be known as New England, they arrived in family groups. They re-created European society and family life to an extent not possible in the other colonies, where migrant men found their sexual partners within the Indian or African populations. Among the English colonies, those in the Chesapeake region and on the Caribbean islands most closely resembled the colonies founded by other nations with economies, like those of Hispaniola or Brazil, based on large-scale production for the international market by a labor force composed of bonded servants and slaves. Wherever they settled, the English, like other Europeans, prompted only after they learned to adapt
to the alien environment. The first permanent English colonies survived because nearby Indians assisted the newcomers. The settlers had to learn to grow unfamiliar American crops. They also had to develop extensive trading relationships with Native Americans and with colonies established by other European countries.驾驭 labourers for their fields, they first used English indentured servants, then later began to import African slaves. Thus, the early history of the region that became the United States and the English Caribbean is best understood not as an isolated story of English colonization, but rather as a series of complex interactions among a variety of European, African, and American peoples and environments.

New Spain, New France, and New Netherland

Spanish established the first permanent European settlement within the boundaries of the modern United States, but others initially attempted to escape from persecution in their homeland by planting colonies on the south Atlantic coast. A passing ship rescued the remaining survivors of the first, in present-day South Carolina. The second, near modern Jacksonville, Florida, was debarred in 1665 by a Spanish expedition under the command of Pedro Menendez de Aviles. To ensure Spanish domination of the strategically important region (located near sea-lanes used by Spanish treasure ships bound for Europe), Menendez set up a small fortified outpost, which he named St. Augustine—now the oldest continuously inhabited European settlement in the United States. Franciscan missionaries soon followed, and by the end of the sixteenth century, a chain of Franciscan missions stretched across northern Florida.

More than thirty years after the founding of St. Augustine, in 1698, Juan de Oñate, a Mexican-born adventurer, led a group of about five hundred soldiers and settlers to New Mexico. At first the Pueblos greeted the newcomers cordially. When the Spaniards began to torture, murder, and rape the villagers to extort food and clothing, however, the residents of Acoma killed several soldiers. The invader’s response was ferocious, killing more than a hundred people and capturing the remainder. Not surprisingly, the other Pueblo villages surrendered.

Because New Mexico held little wealth and was too far from the Pacific coast to profit in protecting Spanish sea-lanes, many of the Spaniards returned to Mexico, and officials considered abandoning the isolated colony. Instead, in 1679, the authorities decided to maintain a small military outpost and a few Christian missions in the area, with the capital at Santa Fe (founded in 1610). Here too, Spanish leaders were granted encomiendas, but the absence of mines or fertile agricultural lands made for small profit.

After Spain’s destruction of France’s Florida settlement in 1665, the French turned their attention northward. In 1608, Samuel de Champlain set up a trading post at an interior site (the local Iroquois had called it Stadacona; Champlain renamed it Quebec). He had chosen well; Quebec was the most easily defended spot in the entire St. Lawrence River valley and controlled access to the heartland of the continent. In 1642 the French established a second post, Montreal, at the falls of the St. Lawrence (and thus at the end of navigation by oceangoing vessels).

Before the founding of these settlements, Frenchmen served as the major transporters of North American beaver pelts to France, but the new posts quickly took over control of the lucrative trade in furs (see Table 2.1). In the hope of attracting settlers, the colony’s leaders gave land grants along the river to wealthy seigneurs (nobles), who then imported tenants to work their farms. Even so, more than twenty-five years after Quebec’s founding, it had just sixty-four resident families, including Indians and soldiers. With respect to territory occupied and farmed, northeastern New France never grew much beyond the confines of the river valley between Quebec and Montreal (see Map 2.1). Thus, it differed significantly from New Spain, where Europeans resided in widely scattered locatives and Spanish men sometimes directly supervised Indian laborers.

Missionaries of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), a Roman Catholic order dedicated to converting non-
The Founding of Permanent European Colonies in North America, 1565-1640

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colony</th>
<th>Founder(s)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Basis of Economy</th>
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<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Padré Menéndez de Avilés</td>
<td>1565</td>
<td>Farming</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>Juan de Onate</td>
<td>1568</td>
<td>Livestock</td>
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<td>Virginia</td>
<td>Virginia Company</td>
<td>1607</td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
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<td>New France</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>1608</td>
<td>For trading</td>
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<td>New Netherlands</td>
<td>Dutch West India Company</td>
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<td>Plymouth</td>
<td>Pighina</td>
<td>1620</td>
<td>Farming, fishing</td>
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<td>Maine</td>
<td>Sir Ferdinando Gorges</td>
<td>1627</td>
<td>Fishing</td>
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<td>St. Kitts, Barbados et al.</td>
<td>European immigrants</td>
<td>1624</td>
<td>Sugar</td>
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<td>Massachusetts Bay</td>
<td>Massachusetts Bay Company</td>
<td>1630</td>
<td>Farming, fishing, fur trading</td>
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<td>Maryland</td>
<td>Cecilia Calvert</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
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<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>Roger Williams</td>
<td>1636</td>
<td>Farming</td>
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<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>Thomas Holker</td>
<td>1636</td>
<td>Farming, fur trading</td>
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<td>New Haven</td>
<td>Massachusetts migrants</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>Farming</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>Massachusetts migrants</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>Farming, fishing</td>
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Jesuit Missionaries

In New France

believes to Christianity, also came
to New France. First arriving in
Quebec in 1625, the Jesuits, whom
the Indians called Black Robes, ini-
tially tried to persuade indigenous peoples to live
near French settlements and adopt European agri-
cultural methods. When that effort failed, the Black
Robes learned Indian languages and traveled to re-
more regions of the interior, where they lived in towns
and three among hundreds of potential converts.

Using a variety of strategies, Jesuits sought to un-
demine the authority of village shamans (the tradi-
tional religious leaders) and to gain the confidence
of leaders who could influence others. Trained in rhetoric,
they were admired by their eloquence, and heard to
smuggle for all had survived the disease already, they
explained epidemics among the Indians as God’s pun-
ishment for sin. Perhaps most important, they amazed
the villagers by communicating with each other over
long distances through marks on paper. The Indians’
desire to learn how to harness the extraordinary power
of literacy was one of the critical factors making them
receptive to the missionaries’ spiritual message.

The Jesuits slowly gained thousands of converts,
some of whom moved to reserves set aside for Chris-
tian Indians. In those communities, the converts re-
placed their own culture’s traditional/equal treatment
of men and women with notions more congenial to
the Europeans’ insistence on male dominance and fe-
nal subordination. They also altered their practice
of allowing premarital sexual relationships and easy
divorces customs that Catholic doctrine prohibited.

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Primary Source: Jesuits’ Interpretation of Gender Roles

Jesuit missionaries faced little competition from
other Europeans for native peoples’ souls, but French
fur traders had to confront a direct
challenge. In 1614, five years after
Henry Hudson explored the river
that bears his name, his sponsor, the
Dutch West India Company, estab-
lished an outpost (Fort Orange) on that river at the
site of present-day Albany, New York. Like the French,
the Dutch sought beaver pelts. Because the Dutch were
interested primarily in trade rather than colonization,
Map 2.1 European Settlements and Indians in Eastern North America, 1650

Note the widely scattered European settlements along the ocean and riverbanks, while America's native inhabitants controlled the vast interior.
New Netherland remained small. The colony's southern anchor was New Amsterdam (see Map 2.1), a town founded in 1624 on Manhattan Island.

As the Dutch West India Company's colony in North America, New Netherland was an unimportant part of a vast commercial empire. The colony was ruled autocratically, and subjects felt little loyalty to their nominal leaders. Few immigrants arrived. Even a company policy of 1629 that offered a large land grant, or patroonship, to anyone who would bring fifty settlers to the province failed to attract takers. As late as the mid-1660s, New Netherland had only about five thousand inhabitants. Some of these were Swedes and Finns, who resided in the former colony of New Sweden (founded in 1638 on the Delaware River), which was taken over by the Dutch in 1655.

The American Indian allies of New France and New Netherland clashed with each other in part because of fur trade rivalries. In the 1640s, the Iroquois, who traded chiefly with the Dutch and lived in modern upstate New York, went to war against the Hurons, who traded primarily with the French and lived in present-day Ontario. Using guns supplied by the Dutch, the Iroquois largely exterminated the Hurons, whose population had already been decimated by a smallpox epidemic. The Iroquois thus established themselves as a major force in the region, one that Europeans could ignore only at their peril. And the European demand for beaver pelts had disastrously affected native communities and their interactions.

The Caribbean

In the Caribbean, France, the Netherlands, and England fought openly in the first half of the seventeenth century. The Spanish concentrated their efforts on colonizing the Greater Antilles: Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico. This left many smaller islands alone, but other European nations saw the tiny islands as both bases from which to attack Spanish vessels loaded with American gold and silver and sources of valuable tropical products such as spices, dyes, and fruits.

England was the first northern European nation to establish a permanent foothold in the smaller West Indian islands (the Lesser Antilles). English people settled on St. Christopher (St. Kitts) in 1624, then later on other islands such as Barbados (1627) and Providence. France colonized Guadeloupe and Martinique, and the Dutch gained control of St. Eustatius (strategically located near St. Kitts). Because of conflict among the European powers, most of the islands were attacked at least once during the course of the century, and some, like Providence, changed hands.

Why did other Europeans devote so much energy to gaining control of these small volcanic islands that Spain had neglected? The primary answer to that question is sugar. Europeans loved sugar; it gave them a quick energy boost and served as a sweetener for two stimulating, addictive, and bitter Asian drinks: coffee and tea.

Early in the 1640s, English residents of Barbados discovered that the island's soil and climate were ideally suited for cultivating sugar cane. At the time, sugar was a status symbol in Europe and was imported from the East Indies and the West Indies. But the large amounts of sugar that were imported were expensive and consumed a large part of the buyer's income. The English discovered that by planting sugar cane on their British islands, they could produce large quantities of sugar at lower costs. The production process was far more efficient on the islands than in Europe.

In the early 1650s, the Dutch took control of northeastern Brazil, where they had imported sugar cane from the English colonies on the Caribbean islands. The English quickly responded by sending two ships to the Caribbean islands to establish sugar plantations. The English invasion caused the Dutch to withdraw from Brazil and focus on their Caribbean colonies. In the ensuing war, the English colonies in the Caribbean were effectively destroyed.

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When Europeans first came to North America, they quickly learned that native peoples highly valued small cylindrical beads made from whale and quahog shells, known collectively as wampum. The white and purple beads had been strung on fibers for centuries to make necklaces and ornamental belts, but with the Europeans' arrival, wampum changed its character, becoming a currency widely employed by both groups.

The transformation of wampum occurred not only because the Indians prized it and would trade deer skins and beaver pelts to acquire the beads, but also because Dutch and English settlers lacked an equally handy medium of exchange. These settlers had limited access to coins and currency from their homelands, yet they needed to do business with each other and with their native neighbors. Wampum filled a key need, especially in the first decades of settlement.

Whale (white) and quahog (purple) shells were found primarily along the shores of Long Island Sound, Narragansett, Montauk, Nantucket, and other local peoples had long gathered the shells during the summer, women then fashioned the beads during the long northeastern winters. The shells were hard and brittle, shaping them into hollow beads was a time-consuming task involving considerable skill. But Europeans' metal tools, including fine drills, allowed a rapid increase in the quantity and quality of wampum. Some villages gave up their hunter-gatherer modes of subsistence and settled permanently in shell-rich areas, where they focused almost exclusively on the manufacture of wampum.

Wampum played a key role in the early economy of both New Netherland and New England. Dutch settlers in Manhattan traded such manufactured goods as guns and kettles, iron, or knives with the wampum makers, then transported wampum up the Hudson River to Fort Orange, where they sold it to purchase furs and skins from the Iroquois. In 1622, Jean de Resende, a Dutch trader, introduced wampum to the English colonists at Plymouth when he offered it in exchange for corn. Ten years later, the Massachusetts Bay Colony made wampum legal tender for the payment of debts under 12 pence, at a rate of 8 white beads or 3 purple beads which were rare to 1 penny. Wampum beads could be traded in loose handfuls but more often were strung on thin cords in set amounts worth English equivalents. People trading larger sums measured in wampum always feared being shortchange. In 1669, one resident of New Netherland agreed to accept payment of a substantial debt in wampum only if his wife personally counted all the beads.

Wampum—originally with purely ornamental significance for its Indian makers—became an initial, indispensable link in the commerce between Europe and North America.

Before Europeans arrived in North America, wampum served primarily ceremonial purposes for native peoples, as in this wampum belt depicting the six nations of the Iroquois and the thirteen American colonies. But several decades later, after Dutch and English colonists came to rely on it as a medium of exchange and European trade goods made it easier to manufacture, wampum became far more utilitarian in design and appearance. (Right: Photo by XP/Hulton Archive/Getty Images; Below: Image #19813. Wampum Beads by Craig D. Cheesk, courtesy the Library of Congress, American Museum of Natural History.)
in 1606 to try once more, they again planned colonies
that imitated the Spanish model. Yet their success
came when they abandoned that model and sent large
numbers of men and women to set up agriculturally
based colonies on the mainland. Two major develop-
ments prompted approximately 200,000 ordinary
English men and women to move to North America
in the seventeenth century and led their government
to encourage their emigration.

The onset of dramatic social and economic changes stimulated many English to move to North
America. In the 1350s, largely as a result of the in-
trusion of nutritious American crops into Europe, England's popu-
lation doubled. All those additional people needed food, clothing, and other goods. The competition for goods led to high inflation, coupled with a fall in real wages as the number of workers in-
creased. The enhanced demand for food and wood for
Clothing benefited those with sizable landholdings, but served landlords, peasants and those with small
amounts of land into emerging poverty.

Well-to-do English people reacted with alarm as they saw landless and homeless people fill the streets
and highways. Obsessed with the problem of main-
taining order, officials came to believe that England
was overcrowded. They concluded that colonies estab-
lished in North America could absorb off England's
"surplus population," thus easing social strains at
home. For similar reasons, many English people de-
cided that they could improve their circumstances by
migrating to a larger, land-rich, apparently empty con-
tinent. Such economic considerations were rendered
even more significant in light of the second develop-
ment, a major change in English religious practice.

The sixteenth century witnessed a religious trans-
formation that eventually led large numbers of English
souls to leave their homeland. In 1533 Henry VIII, wanting a male heir and infatuated with Anne Bo-
elyn, sought to annul his marriage to his Spyns-born queen, Catherine of Aragon. When the pope refused to approve the au-
thority, Henry left the Roman Catholic Church. He
formed the Church of England and—with Papal
acknowledgment—proclaimed himself its head. As
the reformed Church of England differed little
from Catholicism in its practices, but under Henry's
daughter Elizabeth I (the child of his marriage to Anne
Boelyn), new currents of religious belief that had orig-
nated on the European continent early in the sixteenth
century dramatically affected the English church.

This Protestant Reformation was led by Martin
Luther, a German monk, and John Calvin, a French
cleric, and lawyer. Challenging the Catholic doctrine
that priests must serve as intermediaries between lay-
people and God, Luther and Calvin insisted that
people could interpret the Bible for themselves. Both
Luther and Calvin rejected Catholic rituals, denying the need for an elaborate church hierarchy. They also
asserted that faith in God was the key to salvation, rather than—as Catholic teaching had it—a combi-
nation of faith and good works. Calvin went further than Luther, stressing God's omnipotence and em-
phazing the need for people to submit totally to
God's will.

During her long reign (1558–1603), Elizabeth I
tolerated religious diversity as long as her subjects
acknowledged her authority as head of the Church of England. By the late sixteenth century, many English
Calvinists—those who came to be called Puritans—because they wanted to purify the Church of England or Separatists be
cause they wanted to leave it entirely—believed that the English Reformation had not gone far enough.
Henry had simplified the church hierarchy; they wanted to abolish it altogether. Henry had subordi-
nated the church to the interests of the state; they wanted a church free from political interference. And
whereas the Church of England continued to include all English people, Puritans and Separatists wanted to
confine church membership to the "saved"—those
God had selected for salvation before birth.

Paradoxically a key article of their faith insisted that people could not know for certain if they were
"saved" because mortals could not comprehend or affect their predestination to heaven or hell. Thus, pi-
ous Puritans and Separatists confronted a serious
dilemma: if one was predisposed for heaven or hell
and could not alter one's fate, why should one attend
Church or do good works? They resolved this conun-
drum by reasoning that God gave the elect the ability
to accept salvation and to lead a good life. Although piety and good works could not earn a place in
heaven, they could indicate one's place in the ranks of the saved.
The Founding of Virginia

In 1606, envisioning the possibility of earning great profits by finding precious metals and opening new trade routes, a group of merchants and wealthy gentry established a joint-stock venture, the Virginia Company, and obtained a charter from King James I. A settlement they financed in present-day Maine soon collapsed, but a second enterprise would become England's first permanent colony in the Western Hemisphere.

In 1607, the Virginia Company sent 104 men and boys to a region near Chesapeake Bay. They arrived in May and established the settlement called Jamestown. Ill equipped for survival in the unfamiliar environment, the colonists were afflicted by disease and disaster. Moreover, through sheer bad luck, they arrived in the midst of a severe drought (now known to be the worst in the region for 1,700 years). The lack of rainfall not only made it difficult for them to cultivate crops but also polluted their drinking water.

By January 1608, only thirty-eight of the original colonists remained alive. Many of the first immigrants were gentlemen or soldiers who resented hard labor, tried to maintain traditional social hierarchies, and retained elaborate English dress and casual work habits despite their desperate circumstances. Such attitudes, combined with the effects of chronic malnutrition and epidemic disease, took a terrible toll. Only when Captain John Smith, one of the colony's lower-status founders, imposed military discipline in 1608 was Jamestown saved from collapse. But after Smith's departure the settlement experienced a severe "starving time" (the winter of 1609-1610). Although many settlers including a few women and children arrived in 1608 and 1609 and living conditions slowly improved, as late as 1624 only 1,300 of approximately 8,000 English immigrants to Virginia remained alive.

Jamestown owed its survival to a group of six Algonquin tribes known as the Powhatan Confederacy (see Map 2.1). Powhatan was aggressively consolidating his authority over some twenty-five smaller bands when the Europeans arrived. Fortunately for the colonists, Powhatan at first viewed them as potential allies and a reliable source of useful items such as knives and guns. In return, Powhatan's people traded their excess corn and other foodstuffs to the starving settlers. But the initial cordial relationship soon deteriorated. Drought reduced the Indians' crops, and they could no longer exchange food. Suspecting duplicity, English colonists kidnapped Powhatan's daughter, Pocahontas, holding her as a hostage. In captivity, she agreed in 1614 to marry a colonist, John Rolfe, perhaps as a form of diplomacy.
English and Algonquian peoples had much in common: deep religious beliefs, a lifestyle oriented around agriculture, clear political and social hierarchies, and sharply defined gender roles. Yet the two groups focused on their cultural differences. English men regarded Indian men as lazy because they did not cultivate crops and spent much of their time hunting (a sport, not work, in English eyes). Indian men thought English men effeminate because they did “women’s work” of cultivating.

Other differences between the two cultures caused serious misunderstandings. Among East Coast Algonquians, political power and social status were not necessarily passed down through the male line. Members of the English gentry inherited their position from their fathers, and English leaders tended to rule autocratically. By contrast, the authority of Algonquian leaders rested on consensus. Accustomed to the European concept of powerful kings, the English sought such figures in native villages. Often (for example, when negotiating treaties) they willfully overestimated the ability of chiefs to make independent decisions for their people.

Furthermore, Algonquians and English had very different notions of property ownership. Most Algonquin villages held their land communally. It could not be bought or sold absolutely, although certain rights to use the land (for example, for hunting or fishing) could be transferred. English people, in contrast, were accustomed to individual farms and to buying and selling land. The English also refused to accept Indians’ claims to traditional hunting territories, insisting that only land intensively cultivated could be regarded as owned or occupied. Above all, the English settlers believed unwaveringly in the superiority of their civilization.

The spread of tobacco cultivation upset the balance of power in early Virginia. In tobacco, the settlers and the Virginia Company found the salable commodity for which they had been searching. John Rolfe planted the first crop in 1611. By the late 1620s, shipments totaled 1.5 million pounds. The great tobacco boom had begun, fueled by high prices and substantial profits for planters, who were meeting the escalating demand in Europe and Africa. Although the price of tobacco fluctuated wildly from year to year, the crop made Virginia prosperous. Soon the once-all-male outpost was an agricultural settlement inhabited by both men and women.

Farmers learned quickly that successful tobacco cultivation required abundant land, since a field could produce only about three satisfactory crops before it had to lie fallow for several years to regain its fertility. Thus, the small English settlements began to expand rapidly. Eager applicants asked the Virginia Company for large land grants on both sides of the James River and its tributary streams.

To attract more settlers to the colony, the Virginia Company in 1617 developed the “headright” system: every new arrival paying his or her own way was promised a land grant of fifty acres, those who financed the passage of others received similar headrights for each person. To ordinary English farmers, many of whom owned little or no land, the headright system offered a powerful incentive to move to Virginia. To wealthy gentry, it promised the possibility of establishing vast agricultural enterprises worked by large numbers of laborers. Two years later, the company introduced a second reform, authorizing the landowning men of the major Virginia settlements to elect representatives to an assembly called the House of Burgesses. English landholders had long been accustomed to electing members of Parliament and controlling their own local governments, and they expected the same privilege in the nation’s colonies.

Opechancanough, Powhatan’s brother and successor, watched the English colonists steadily encroaching on the confederacy’s lands and attempting to convert its members to Christianity. Recognizing the danger his nation had overlooked, the war leader launched coordinated attacks all along the James River on March 22, 1622. By the end of the day, 347 colonists (about one-fifth of the total) lay dead. Virginia reeled from the blow but did not collapse, and an uneasy peace prevailed. Two decades later, Opechancanough tried one last time to repel the invaders. He failed, losing his life in the war that ensued. After this defeat and a 1646 treaty subordinating the Powhatan Confederacy to English authority, the Indian’s efforts to resist the spread of European settlement ended. The 1622 Powhatan uprising that failed to destroy the colony succeeded in killing its parent. The
Virginia Company never made any profits, for internal corruption and the heavy cost of supporting the settlers offset all its earnings. In 1624 James I revoked the charter, transforming Virginia into a royal colony ruled by officials he appointed. James continued the headright policy but abolished the assembly. Virginians protested so vigorously, however, that by 1629 the House of Burgesses was functioning once again. Because Virginians successfully insisted on governing themselves at the local level, the political structure of England's American possessions came to differ from that of New Spain, New France, and New Netherlands, all of which were ruled autocratically.

**Life in the Chesapeake**

By the 1630s, tobacco was firmly established as the staple crop and chief source of revenue in Virginia. It quickly became just as important...
in the second English colony planted on Chesapeake Bay; Maryland, given by Charles I to George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, as a personal possession (proprietary) and settled in 1634. The Calverts intended the colony to serve as a haven for their persecuted fellow Catholics. Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, became the first colonizer to offer freedom of religion to all Christian settlers; he understood that protecting the Protestant majority could also ensure Catholics' rights.

In everything but religion, the two Chesapeake colonies resembled each other. In Maryland as in Virginia, tobacco planters spread out along the river banks, establishing isolated farms instead of towns. The region's deep, wide rivers offered dependable water transportation, and each farm or group of farms had its own wharf, where outgoing vessels could take on or discharge cargo. As a result, Virginia and Maryland had few towns, for their residents did not need commercial centers in which to buy and sell goods.

Online Study Center: Improve Your Grade Interactive Map: Patterns of Settlement in Surry County, Virginia, 1620-1660

Because the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of tobacco were labor intensive, successful Chesapeake tobacco farms required laborers. Merchants could more easily and profitably sell slaves to Caribbean sugar planters. By 1660 only about three hundred blacks, some of them free, lived in Virginia—a tiny fraction of the population. Chesapeake tobacco farmers thus looked primarily to England to supply their labor needs. Under the headright system (which Maryland also adopted in 1660), a tobacco farmer anywhere in the Chesapeake could simultaneously obtain both land and labor by importing workers from England. Good management would make the process self-perpetuating: a farmer could use his profits to pay for the passage of more workers and thereby gain title to more land.

Because men did the agricultural work in European societies, colonists assumed that field laborers should be men. Such male laborers, along with a few women, immigrated to America as indentured servants in return for their passage, they contracted to work for periods ranging from four to seven years. Indentured servants accounted for 75 to 85 percent of the approximately 130,000 English immigrants to Virginia and Maryland during the seventeenth century.

Males between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four composed roughly three-quarters of these servants; only one immigrant in five or six was female. Most of these young men came from farming or laboring families and were what their contemporaries called the "common sort." For such people, the Chesapeake appeared to offer good prospects. Servants who completed their indentures earned "freedom dues" consisting of clothes, tools, livestock, casks of corn and tobacco, and sometimes even land. Yet immigrants' lives were difficult. Servants typically worked six days a week, ten to fourteen hours a day. Their masters could discipline or sell them, and they faced severe penalties for running away. Even so, the laws did offer them some protection. For example, their masters were supposed to supply them with sufficient food, clothing, and shelter, and cruelly treated servants could turn to the courts for assistance.

Servants and their masters alike contended with epidemic disease. Immigrants first had to survive the process the colonists called "seasoning"—a hour with disease (probably malaria) that usually occurred during their first Chesapeake summer. They then often endured sequela of malaria, along with dysentery, typhoid fever, and other diseases. Consequently, about 40 percent of male servants did not survive long enough to become freemen. For those who survived their indentures, however, the opportunities for advancement were real. Until the last decades of the seventeenth century, former servants often became independent farmers ("freeholders"), living a modest, if combersome, existence. Some even assumed positions of political prominence. But after 1670, tobacco prices declined, and good land grew increasingly scarce and expensive, and in 1681 Maryland dropped its legal requirement that servants receive land as part of their freedom dues. By 1780 the Chesapeake was no longer the land of opportunity it once had been. Life in the early Chesapeake was hard for everyone, regardless of sex or status. Farming (and sometimes
The Founding of New England

The economic motives that prompted English people to move to the Chesapeake and Caribbean colonies also drew men and women to New England. But because Puritans organized the New England colonies and also because of environmental factors, the northern settlements turned out very differently from those in the South.

Hoping to exert control over a migration that appeared disorderly, royal bureaucrats in late 1634 ordered port officials in London to collect information on all travelers departing for the colonies. The resulting records for the year 1635 documented the departure of 53 vessels in that year alone. On those ships sailed almost 5,000 people, with 2,000 departing for Virginia, about 1,200 for New England, and the rest for island destinations. Nearly three-fifths of all the passengers were between 15 and 24 years old, reflecting the predominance of young male servants among migrants to America. But among those bound for New England, such youths constituted less than one-third of the total; nearly 40 percent were between ages 25 and 30, and another third were aged 14 and below. Whereas women made up just 14 percent of those going to Virginia, they composed almost 40 percent of the passengers to New England. It is therefore evident that New Englanders often traveled in family groups. They also brought more goods and livestock with them and tended to travel with other people from the same regions. In short, although migrants to the Chesapeake and the islands most commonly left friends and families behind, those who moved to New England came in concert with their close associates, which must have made for a more comfortable and less lonely life.

Among Chesapeake migrants, only the Catholics who moved to Maryland seemed to have been motivated by religious concerns, and neither the Church of England nor the Catholic Church much affected the settlers. Yet religion inspired many of the people who colonized New England, and Puritan congregations quickly became key institutions.
Religion constantly affected the lives of pious Puritans, who regularly reassessed the state of their souls. Many devoted themselves to self-examination and Bible study, and families prayed together each day under the guidance of the husband and father. Yet because even the most pious could never be certain that they were numbered among the elect, anxiety about their spiritual state troubled devout Puritans.

Separatists who thought the Church of England too corrupt to be salvaged were the first to move to New England, hoping to isolate themselves and their children from the corrupting influence of worldly temptations. In 1620, some Separatists, many of whom had earlier migrated to Holland in quest of the right to freely practice their religion, received permission from the Virginia Company to colonize the northern part of its territory. That September more than one hundred people, only thirty of them Separatists, set sail from England in the old and crowded Mayflower. Two months later, they landed in America, but farther north than they had intended. Given the lateness of the season, they decided to stay where they were. They established their settlement on a fine harbor and named it Plymouth.

Even before they landed, the Pilgrims had to surmount their first challenge—from the "strangers," or non-Separatists, who sailed with them to America. Because they landed outside the jurisdiction of the Virginia Company, some of the strangers questioned the authority of the colony's leaders. In response, the Mayflower Compact, signed in November 1620 on board the ship, established a "Civil Body Politic" and a rudimentary legal authority for the colony. The male settlers elected a governor and at first made all decisions for the colony at town meetings. Later, after more towns had been founded, Plymouth, like Virginia and Maryland, created an assembly to which the landowning male settlers elected representatives.

Survival also challenged the Pilgrims. Like the Jamestown settlers before them, they were poorly prepared for their new environment. Winter quickly descended, compounding their difficulties. Only half the Mayflower's passengers lived to see spring. But, again like the Virginians, the Pilgrims benefited from the political circumstances of nearby Indians. The Pokanokets (a branch of the Wampanoags) controlled the area in which the Pilgrims settled and decided to uphold the newcomers to protect themselves from the powerful Narragansetts of the southern New England coast. In the spring of 1621, their leader, Massanot, signed a treaty with the Pilgrims, and during the colony's first difficult years, the Pokanokets supplied the English with essential foodstuffs. The settlers were also assisted by Squanto, an Indian who had earlier been captured by fishermen and taken to Europe, where he learned to speak English. Squanto became the Pilgrims' interpreter and a major source of information about the unfamiliar environment.

Before the 1630s ended, a group of Puritan Congregationalists (who hoped to reform the Church of England from within) launched the colonial enterprise that would come to dominate New England. Charles I, who became king in 1625, was more hostile to Puritans than his father had been. In response to Charles's attempts to suppress Puritans, some Congregationalist merchants, concerned about their long-term prospects in England, sent a body of colonists to Cape Ann (north of Cape Cod) in 1628. The following year the merchants obtained a royal charter, constituting themselves as the Massachusetts Bay Company.

The new joint-stock company quickly attracted the attention of Puritans of the "innisiling sort," who remained committed to the goal of reforming the Church of England but concluded that they should pursue that aim in America. In a dramatic move, the Congregationalist merchants boldly decided to transfer the Massachusetts Bay Company's headquarters to New England. The settlers would then be answerable to no one in the mother country and would be able to handle their affairs as they pleased.

The most important recruit to the new venture was John Winthrop. In October 1632, the Massachusetts Bay Company elected Winthrop its governor, and he organized the initial segment of the great Puritan migration to America. In 1630 more than one thousand English men and women moved to Massachusetts—most of them to Boston, which soon became the largest town in English North America. By 1643 nearly twenty thousand contemporaries had followed them.
Winthrop’s was a transcendent vision. He foresaw in Puritan America a true commonwealth, a community in which each person put the good of the whole ahead of private concerns. “In America we shall be as a city upon a hill,” he asserted, “the eyes of all people are upon us.” Although, as in England, this society would be characterized by social inequality and clear hierarchies of status and power, Winthrop hoped that its members would live according to the precepts of Christian love. Such an ideal was beyond human reach, but it persisted well into the third and fourth generations of the immigrants’ descendants.

The Puritans expressed their communal ideal chiefly in the doctrine of the covenant. They believed God had made a covenant—that is, an agreement or contract—with them when they were chosen for the special mission to America. In turn, they covenanted with one another, promising to work together toward their goals. The founders of churches, towns, and even colonies in Anglo-America often drafted formal documents setting forth the principles on which their institutions would be based. The Mayflower Compact was a such a covenant.

The leaders of Massachusetts Bay likewise transformed their original joint-stock company charter into the basis for a covenanted community based on mutual consent. Under pressure from landowning male settlers, they gradually changed the General Court—officially the company’s small governing body—into a colonial legislature. They also granted the status of freeman, or voting member of the company, to all property-owning adult male church members. Less than two decades after the first large group of Puritans arrived in Massachusetts Bay, the colony had a functioning system of self-government com-
posed of a governor and a two-house legislature. The General Court also established a judicial system modeled on England’s.

The colony’s method of distributing land helped further the communal ideal. Groups of men applied together to the General Court for grants of land on which to establish towns (novel governance units that did not exist in England). The men receiving such a grant determined how the land would be distributed. First they laid out lots for houses and a church. Then they gave each family parcels of land scattered around the town center: a pasture here, a woodlot there, an arable field elsewhere. Every man obtained land, but the best and largest plots went to the most distinguished among them (including the ministers).

Thus, New England settlements initially tended to be more compact than those of the Chesapeake. Town centers developed quickly, evolving in three distinctly different ways. Some, chiefly isolated settlements in the interior, tried to sustain Winthrop’s vision of harmonious community life based on diversified family farms. A second group, the coastal towns like Boston and Salem, became bustling seaports. The third category, commercialized agricultural towns, grew up in the Connecticut River valley, where easy water transportation enabled farmers to sell surplus goods readily.

When migrants began to move beyond the terrestrial limits of the Massachusetts Bay colony into Connecticut (1630), New Haven (1638), and New Hampshire (1638), the same pattern of land grants persisted. (Only Maine, thinly populated by coastal fishing families, deviated.) The migration to the Connecticut Valley ended the Puritans’ relative freedom from clashes with nearby Indians. The first English people in the valley moved there from Massachusetts Bay under the direction of their minister, Thomas Hooker. Although remote from other English towns, the wide river promised ready access to the ocean. The site had just one problem: it fell within the territory controlled by the powerful Pequots.

The Pequots’ dominance stemmed from their role as primary middlemen in the trade between New England Indians and the Dutch in New Netherland. The arrival of English settlers signaled the end of this

power, for previously subordinate hands could now trade directly with Europeans. Pequots and English colonists clashed even before the establishment of settlements in the Connecticut Valley, but their fractious relationship tipped the balance toward war. After two English traders were killed (not by Pequots), the English raided a Pequot village. In return, the Pequots attacked the new town of Wethersfield in April 1637, killing nine and capturing two. To retaliate, a Massachusetts Bay expedition the following month attacked and burned the main Pequot town on the Mystic River. The English and their Narragansett allies slaughtered at least four hundred Pequots, mostly women and children.

For the next thirty years, the New England Indians accommodated themselves to the spread of European settlement. They traded with the newcomers and sometimes worked for them, but for the most part they resisted acculturation or incorporation into English society. Native Americans persisted in using traditional farming methods, without plows or fences. The one European practice they adopted was keeping livestock: domesticated animals provided excellent sources of meat now that their hunting territories had been turned into English farms and game had disappeared.

Although the official seal of the Massachusetts Bay colony showed an Indian crying, “Come over and help us,” most colonists showed little interest in converting the Algonquins to Christianity. Only a few Massachusetts clerics, most notably John Eliot, seriously undertook missionary activities. Eliot insisted that converts reside in towns, farm the land in English fashion, assume English names, wear European-style clothing and shoes, cut their hair, and stop observing a wide range of their own customs. He understandably met with little success. At the peak of Eliot’s efforts, only eleven hundred Indians lived in the fourteen “Praying Towns” he established.

The Jesuits’ successful missions in New France contrasted sharply with the Puritans’ failure to win many converts. Catholicism had several advantages over Puritanism. The Catholic Church employed beautiful ceremonies, instructed converts that through good works they could help to even their own salvation, and offered Indian women an inspiring role
Life in New England

New England’s colonists adopted lifestyles that differed considerably from those of both their Indian neighbors and their counterparts in the Chesapeake. Unlike the Algonquin bands, who usually moved four or five times each year to take full advantage of their environment, English people lived in the same location year-round. And unlike residents of the Chesapeake, New Englanders constructed sturdy dwellings intended to last. They used the same fields again and again, fertilizing with manure rather than clearing new fields every few years. And they fenced their croplands to prevent them from being overrun by the cattle, sheep, and hogs that were their chief sources of meat.

Because Puritans commonly moved to America in family groups, the age range in early New England was wide; and because many more women went to New England than to the tobacco colonies, the population could immediately begin to reproduce. Also, New England was much healthier than the Chesapeake. Once Puritan settlers had survived the difficult first five years, New England proved to be even healthier than the mother country. Adult male migrants to the Chesapeake lost about ten years from their English life expectancy of fifty to fifty-five years; their Massachusetts counterparts gained five or more years. Consequently, while Chesapeake families were few in number and small in size, New England families were numerous and large. If seventeenth-century Chesapeake women could expect to rear one to three healthy children, New England women could anticipate raising five to seven.

The nature of the population had other major implications for family life. New England in effect created grandfamilies, since in England people rarely lived long enough to know their grandchildren. And whereas early Chesapeake parents commonly died before their children married, New England parents exercised a good deal of control over their adult offspring. Young men could not marry without a dowry to cultivate, and because of the communal land-grant system, they had to depend on their fathers to give them that land. Daughters too needed a dowry of household goods supplied by their parents. Yet parents relied on their children’s labor and often seemed reluctant to see them marry and start their own households. These needs at times led to considerable conflict between the generations.

Another important difference lay in the influence of religion on New England life. Puritans controlled their governments. Congregationalism was the only officially recognized religion; except in Rhode Island, founded by dissenters from Massachusetts, members of other sects had no freedom of worship. Some non-Puritans voted in town meetings, but in Massachusetts Bay and New Haven, church membership was a prerequisite for voting in colony elections. All the early colonies taxed residents to buy the minister’s salary, but Puritan colonies in particular attempted to enforce strict codes of moral conduct. Colonists there were frequently tried for drunkenness, card playing, and illicitness. Couples who had sex during their engagement—as revealed by the birth of a baby less than nine months after their wedding—were fined and publicly humiliated. More hardly treated were men—and a handful of women—who engaged in behaviors that today would be called homosexual. (The
term did not then exist.) Several men who had con-
scion same-sex relationships were hanged.

Puritans objected to sexual interference in reli-
gious affairs but at the same time expected the church
to influence the conduct of politics and the affairs of
society. They also believed that the state was obliged
and support and protect the one true church—theirs.
As a result, although they came to America seeking
freedom to worship as they pleased, they saw no con-
tradiction in refusing to grant that freedom to others.

Roger Williams, a Separatist who immigrated to
Massachusetts Bay in 1631, quickly ran afoul of that
Puritan orthodoxy. He told his fel-

Roger

Puritan

Separatist

Massachusetts

Bay

1631

afoul

church

state

grant

freedom

others.

Because Puritan lead-
ers placed a heavy emphasis on achieving consensus
in both religion and politics, they could not long tolerate
significant dissent.

Banished from Massachusetts, Williams jour-
ned in early 1636 to the head of Narragansett Bay,
where he founded the town of Providence. Because
Williams believed that government should not inter-
fer with religion in any way, Providence and other
towns in what became Rhode Island adopted a policy
of tolerating all religions, including Judaism. Along
with Maryland, the tiny colony that Williams founded
presaged the religious freedom that eventually be-
came one of the hallmarks of the United States.

A dissenter who presented a more sustained chal-

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In America, Spaniards reaped the benefits of their South and Central American gold and silver mines, while French people earned their primary profits from Indian trade (in Canada) and cultivating sugar cane (in the Caribbean). Sugar also enriched the Portuguese. The Dutch concentrated on commerce—trading in furs and sugar as well as carrying human cargoes of enslaved Africans to South America and the Caribbean.

Although the English colonies, too, at first sought to rely on trade, they quickly took another road altogether when many English people of the "middling sort" decided to migrate to North America. To a greater extent than their European counterparts, the English transferred the society and politics of their homeland to a new environment. Their laborers, coupled with their need for vast quantities of land on which to grow their crops and raise their livestock, inevitably brought them into conflict with their Indian neighbors. Ultimately New England and the Chesapeake would also be drawn into the increasingly fierce rivalries besetting the European powers. Those rivalries would continue to affect Americans of all races until after the mid-eighteenth century, when France and England fought the greatest war yet known, and the Anglo-American colonies had won their independence.

The Foxwoods Casino and the Mashantucket Pequot Museum

In 1992 the Mashantucket Pequots opened the enormously successful Foxwoods Resort Casino on their small reservation in southeastern Connecticut. Just six years later, in August 1998, the Pequots proudly inaugurated a new museum (built with some of their substantial profits) presenting their people's story. Both developments surprised many Americans, who did not realize that Native Americans still lived in New England. The existence of the Pequots was particularly startling, because histories had long recorded that the nation was destroyed in the Pequot War of 1637.

Survivors of the Mystic River massacre had regrouped in the Mashantucket swamps, building lives as farmers, laborers, and craftspeople. Some left the area, but a few Pequots remained; the 1910 census, the source today for determining Pequot tribal membership, counted sixty-six residents of a reservation just 213 acres in size. By the 1970s, the residents had been reduced to two, and the state of Connecticut threatened to turn the reservation into a park. But an elder, Elizabeth George, persuaded several hundred people tracing descent from those listed in 1910 to return to live on the reservation. In 1983 the determined Pequots won formal federal recognition, which in turn allowed them to build the profitable casino, a hotel, and several restaurants, and to begin purchasing more land.

Now the museum introduces the history of the Pequots and of eastern Algonquian peoples to hundreds of thousands of visitors each year. At its heart is a re-creation of a Pequot village as it would have looked shortly before Europeans first arrived on Connecticut's shores, complete with sounds and smells controlled by state-of-the-art computers. Exhibits detail the origins of the Pequot War, and a film narrates the tale of the massacre.

The Pequots' success has helped to embolden other eastern Algonquian nations to reassert publicly their long-suppressed Indian identities. The Pequot people's dedication to preserving their culture and reaffirming their history has created a remarkable legacy for the nation.