



3

North America in the Atlantic World

1650–1720

She was starving. Offered a piece of boiled horse's foot by a compassionate neighbor, the slave gulped it down and grabbed another piece from a child. Later, she recalled that "savory it was to my taste. . . . Thus the Lord made that pleasant refreshing, which another time would have been an abomination." But Mary Rowlandson's mistress then threatened to kill her, saying that she had "disgraced" the household by begging for food.

What had brought the wife of the Reverend Joseph Rowlandson of Lancaster, Massachusetts, to such distress? On February 10, 1676, a force of Wampanoags, Narragansetts, and Nipmucks had killed fourteen townspeople (including her daughter) and captured twenty-three others in the conflict that New Englanders called King Philip's War. Carried away, she endured their hardships in the wintry countryside of western Massachusetts and southern New Hampshire. She became the slave of Quinnapin, a Narragansett sachem, and his three wives, one of whom, Weetamoo, herself a Wampanoag sachem, was her mistress. Both were eventually killed by the colonists after the death of their leader, the Wampanoag known as King Philip, in August 1676. But months earlier, in May, Mary Rowlandson had been ransomed from her captors for £20—roughly equivalent to \$500 today.

Mary Rowlandson's famous 1682 narrative, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, exposes the sufferings she shared with her captors and her inability to sympathize with or understand them. When Weetamoo's baby died, Mary remarked coldly that "there was one benefit in it, that there was more room" in the wigwam. Her narrative illustrates the contentious relationships of Anglo New Englanders and their native neighbors.

Much tension was related to the mainland colonies' involvement in a growing international network. North America, like England, was becoming embedded in a worldwide matrix of trade and warfare. Oceangoing vessels now crisscrossed the globe, carrying European goods to America and Africa, Caribbean sugar to New England and Europe, Africans to the Americas, and New England fish and wood products—and occasionally Indian

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SUMMARY

slaves—to the Caribbean. North American colonies expanded their territorial claims and diversified their economies after the mid-seventeenth century.

Three developments shaped mainland English colonial life between 1640 and 1720: escalating conflicts with Indians and other European colonies; the expansion of slavery; and changes in the colonies' political and economic relationships with England.

The explosive growth of the slave trade significantly altered the Anglo-American economy. Mariners and ship owners profited handsomely from their human cargoes, as did planters who could afford slaves. Initially, the slave trade involved Indians and already enslaved Africans from the Caribbean, but it soon focused on cargoes from Africa. The large influx of West African slaves expanded agricultural productivity, fueled the international trading system, and dramatically reshaped colonial society.

The burgeoning North American economy attracted new attention from colonial administrators. After the Stuarts were restored to the throne in 1660 (having lost it briefly during the English Civil War), London bureaucrats attempted to supervise American settlements so England benefited from their economic growth.

As English settlements expanded, they came into violent conflict with powerful Indian nations, the Dutch, the Spanish, and the French. All European colonies confronted significant crises during the 1670s. By 1720, war—between Europeans and Indians, among Europeans, and among Indians allied with colonial powers—had become a familiar feature of American life. No longer isolated, the people and products of North American colonies had become integral to the world trading system and enmeshed in its conflicts.

As you read this chapter, keep the following questions in mind:

- * **What were the consequences of the transatlantic slave trade in North America and Africa?**
- * **How did English policy toward the colonies change from 1650 to 1720?**
- * **What were the causes and results of new friction between Europeans and native peoples?**

Why did New York's development lag behind that of other British colonies in the seventeenth century?

The Growth of Anglo-American Settlements

Between 1642 and 1646, civil war between supporters of King Charles I and the Puritan-dominated Parliament engulfed England. Parliament triumphed, leading to the execution of the king in 1649 and interim rule by the parliamentary army's leader, Oliver Cromwell, during the so-called Commonwealth period. But after Cromwell's death, Parliament restored the monarchy with Charles I's son and heir agreeing to restrictions on his authority. Assuming the throne in 1660 (see Table 3.1), Charles II rewarded nobles and other supporters with huge tracts of land on the North American mainland, thereby establishing six of the thirteen polities that would form the American nation: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania (including Delaware), and North and South Carolina (see Map 3.1). Known as the Restoration colonies, they were proprietorships, where one man or several men owned the soil and controlled the government.

Chronology

1642–46	English Civil War	1686–88	Dominion of New England established, superseding all charters of colonies from Maine to New Jersey
1649	Charles I executed	1688–89	James II deposed in Glorious Revolution; William and Mary ascend throne
1651	First Navigation Act passed to regulate colonial trade	1689	Glorious Revolution in America; Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland overthrow colonial governors
1660	Stuarts (Charles II) restored to throne	1688–99	King William's War fought on northern New England frontier
1663	Carolina chartered	1691	New Massachusetts charter issued
1664	English conquer New Netherland; New York founded; New Jersey established	1692	Witchcraft crisis in Salem; nineteen people hanged
1670s	Marquette, Jolliet, and La Salle explore the Great Lakes and Mississippi valley for France	1696	Board of Trade and Plantations established to coordinate English colonial administration; Vice-admiralty courts established in America
1675–76	Bacon's Rebellion disrupts Virginia government; Jamestown destroyed	1701	Iroquois adopt neutrality policy toward France and England
1675–78	King Philip's War devastates New England	1702–13	Queen Anne's War fought by French and English
1680–1700	Pueblo revolt temporarily drives Spaniards from New Mexico	1711–13	Tuscarora War (North Carolina) leads to capture or migration of most Tuscaroras
1681	Pennsylvania chartered	1715	Yamasee War nearly destroys South Carolina
1685	James II becomes king		

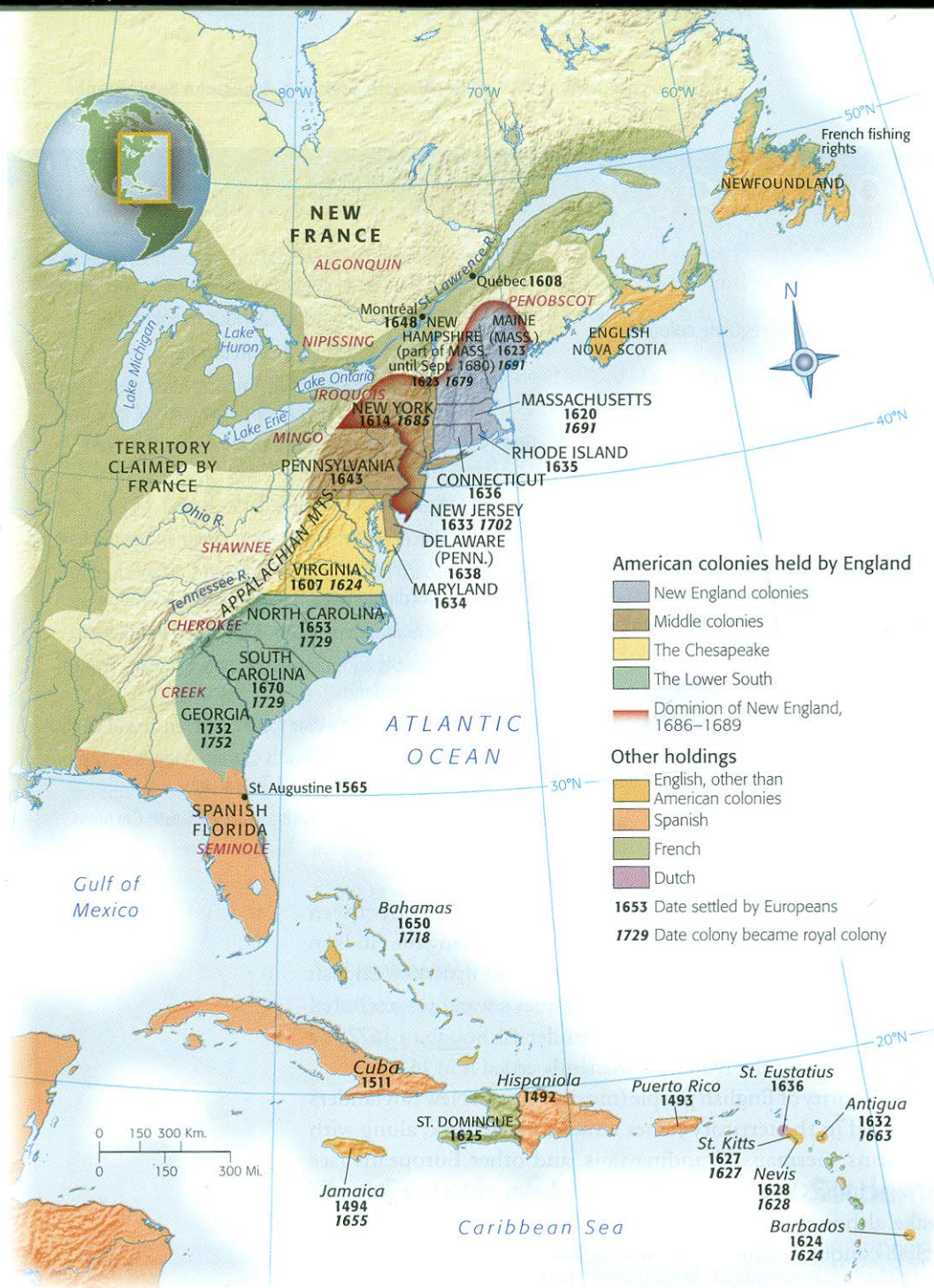
New York

In 1664, Charles II gave his brother James the region between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers, including the Hudson valley and Long Island. That the Dutch had settled there mattered little; the English and Dutch were engaged in sporadic warfare. In August, James's warships anchored off Manhattan Island, demanding New Netherland's surrender. Although in 1672 the Netherlands briefly retook the colony, the Dutch permanently ceded it in 1674.

In 1664, a significant minority of English people (mostly Puritan New Englanders on Long Island) already lived in the territory James renamed New York, along with the Dutch, Indians, Africans, Germans, Scandinavians, and other Europeans (see Table 3.2). The Dutch West India Company had imported slaves, intending some for resale in the Chesapeake although many remained in New Netherland as laborers. At the time of the English conquest, almost one-fifth of Manhattan's approximately fifteen hundred inhabitants were of African descent.

TABLE 3.1 Restored Stuart Monarchs of England, 1660–1714

Monarch	Reign	Relation to Predecessor
Charles II	1660–1685	Son
James II	1685–1688	Brother
Mary	1688–1694	Daughter
William	1688–1702	Son-in-law
Anne	1702–1714	Sister, sister-in-law



MAP 3.1

The Anglo-American Colonies in the Early Eighteenth Century

By the early eighteenth century, the English colonies nominally dominated the Atlantic coastline of North America. But the colonies' formal boundary lines are deceiving because the western reaches of each colony were still largely unfamiliar to Europeans and because much of the land was still inhabited by Native Americans.

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Recognizing the population's diversity, James's representatives moved cautiously in establishing English authority. The Duke's Laws, a 1665 legal code, applied solely to the English settlements on Long Island, only later extended to the entire colony. James initially maintained Dutch local government, confirmed Dutch land titles, and allowed Dutch residents to maintain customary legal practices. Each

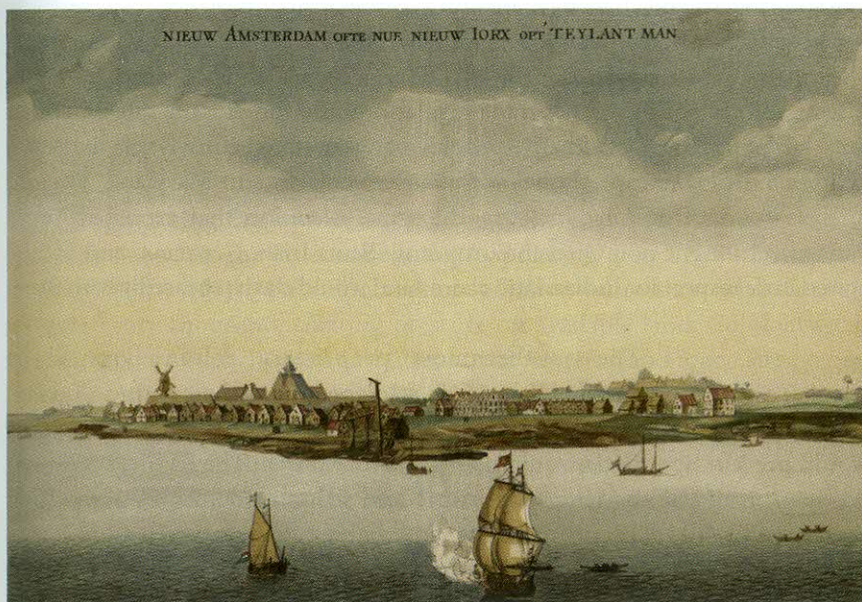
TABLE 3.2 The Founding of English Colonies in North America, 1664–1681

Colony	Founder(s)	Date	Basis of Economy
New York (formerly New Netherland)	James, duke of York	1664	Farming, fur trading
New Jersey	Sir George Carteret, John Lord Berkeley	1664	Farming
North Carolina	Carolina proprietors	1665	Tobacco, forest products
South Carolina	Carolina proprietors	1670	Rice, indigo
Pennsylvania (incl. Delaware)	William Penn	1681	Farming

town could choose which church—Dutch Reformed, Congregational, or Church of England—to support with its taxes. Much to the dismay of English residents, there was no provision for a representative assembly. James distrusted legislative bodies, and not until 1683 did he agree to an elected legislature. The English takeover thus had little immediate effect. The duke did not promote migration, so its population grew slowly, barely reaching eighteen thousand by 1698. Until the 1720s, Manhattan remained a commercial backwater to Boston.

New Jersey

In 1664, the duke of York regranted the land between the Hudson and Delaware Rivers—East and West Jersey—to his friends Sir George Carteret and John Lord Berkeley. That left the duke's own colony hemmed in between Connecticut and the Jerseys, hindering its economic growth. Meanwhile, the Jersey proprietors quickly attracted settlers, promising generous land



National Archives of the Netherlands

The Dutch artist Johannes Vingboons painted this view of New Amsterdam/New York in 1665, shortly after the English takeover. Note the windmill, the tall government buildings, and the small row houses—which made the settlement resemble European villages of its day. The contrast to Plymouth (page 44) is striking.

Quakers: Members of a religious sect that embraced egalitarianism and rejected traditional religious hierarchies. They believed that the Holy Spirit or the “inner light” could inspire every soul.

William Penn: The proprietor of the last unallocated tract of American territory at the king’s disposal, which would become Pennsylvania.

grants, limited religious freedom, and—without the Crown’s authorization—a representative assembly. Many Puritan New Englanders migrated to the Jerseys, along with Barbadians, Dutch New Yorkers, and eventually Scots. By 1726, New Jersey had 32,500 inhabitants, only 8,000 fewer than New York.

Within twenty years, the Society of Friends, also called **Quakers**, purchased Carteret’s share (West Jersey) and some of Berkeley’s (East Jersey). Rejecting religious hierarchies, Quakers believed that anyone could directly receive God’s “inner light” and that all people were equal in God’s sight. With no formally trained clergy, Quakers allowed men and women to speak in meetings and become “public Friends” who traveled to spread God’s word. Quakers proselytized throughout the Atlantic world in the 1650s. Authorities rejected Quakers’ radical egalitarianism, and they encountered persecution everywhere.

Pennsylvania

In 1681, Charles II granted the region between Maryland and New York to his friend **William Penn**, a prominent Quaker.

Penn held the colony as a personal proprietorship, one that earned profits for his descendants until the American Revolution. Penn saw his province as a haven for persecuted coreligionists. Penn offered land to settlers on liberal terms, promising religious toleration, although only Christian men could vote; guaranteeing English liberties, and pledging to establish a representative assembly. He also publicized the availability of land in Pennsylvania through promotional tracts in German, French, and Dutch.

By mid-1683, more than three thousand people—among them Welsh, Irish, Dutch, and Germans—had moved to Pennsylvania, and within five years the population reached twelve thousand. Philadelphia, sited on the easily navigable Delaware River, drew merchants and artisans from throughout the English-speaking world. From mainland and Caribbean colonies alike came Quakers who brought experience on American soil and trading connections. Pennsylvania’s fertile lands enabled residents to export surplus flour and other foodstuffs to the West Indies. Philadelphia rapidly acquired more than two thousand citizens and challenged Boston’s commercial dominance.

Penn attempted to treat native peoples fairly. He learned to speak the language of the Delawares (or Lenapes), from whom he purchased land to sell to European settlers. Penn also established strict trade regulations and forbade the sale of alcohol to Indians. His policies attracted native peoples who moved to Pennsylvania in the late seventeenth century to escape clashes with English colonists in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Ironically, however, the same toleration that attracted Native Americans also brought non-Quaker Europeans—Scots-Irish, Germans, and Swiss—who showed little respect for Indian land claims and would clash repeatedly with them.

Carolina

The southernmost proprietary colony, granted by Charles II in 1663, stretched from the southern bound-

ary of Virginia to Spanish Florida. Strategically, a successful English settlement there would prevent Spaniards from pushing farther north. The fertile, semitropical land also promised to yield such exotic and valuable commodities as figs, olives, wines, and silk. The proprietors named their new province Carolina in honor of Charles. The “Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina,” which they asked the political philosopher John Locke to draft, outlined a colony governed by landholding aristocrats and characterized by a structured distribution of political and economic power.

But Carolina failed to follow this plan. Instead, it quickly developed two distinct population centers, which in 1729 split into separate colonies under royal rule. Virginia planters settled the Albemarle region that became North Carolina. They established a society like their own, based on cultivating tobacco and exporting forest products. The other population center, which eventually formed South Carolina, developed at Charles Town, founded in 1670. Many of its early residents were sugar planters from overcrowded Barbados who expected to reestablish plantation agriculture and escape hurricanes. They were disappointed: sugar would not grow in Carolina, and a destructive hurricane struck in 1686.

The settlers raised corn and cattle, which they sold to Caribbean planters. They also depended on trade with nearby Indians for commodities they could sell elsewhere, mostly deerskins, sent to Europe, and enslaved Indians, who were shipped to Caribbean islands and northern colonies. During the first decade of the eighteenth century, South Carolina exported an average of 54,000 skins annually, which peaked at 160,000. Before 1715, Carolinians exported 30,000 to 50,000 Indian slaves.

Chesapeake

The English Civil War retarded the development of the earlier English settlements. Struggles between supporters of the king and Parliament caused military clashes in Maryland and political upheavals in Virginia. Once the war ended and immigration resumed, the colonies expanded again. Some settlers, especially those on Virginia's eastern shore and southern border, raised grain, livestock, and flax, to be sold to English and Dutch merchants. Tobacco growers began importing increasing numbers of English indentured servants as farms developed into plantations. Less concerned about Indian attack after the 1646 defeat of the Powhatan Confederacy, colonists sought to enlarge their landholdings.

Chesapeake tobacco planters also started to acquire enslaved workers. Most came from a population that historian Ira Berlin has termed "Atlantic creoles"—people (perhaps of mixed race) who came from other European settlements in the Atlantic world, primarily Iberian outposts. Not all Atlantic creoles arriving in the Chesapeake were bondpeople; some were free or indentured. With them, the Chesapeake became a "society with slaves," where slavery coexisted with various labor systems.

New England

In New England, migration ceased after the Civil War began in 1642. While Puritans were challenging the king and then governing England as a commonwealth, they had little incentive to leave their homeland. Yet the Puritan colonies' population grew dramatically by natural increase. By the 1670s, New England's population more than tripled to approximately seventy thousand, creating pressure on available land. Colonial settlement spread into the Massachusetts and Connecticut interior, and many later generations migrated—north to New Hampshire or Maine, southwest to New York or New Jersey—seeking available farmland. Others learned such skills as blacksmithing or carpentry to support themselves in the growing towns.

Those who remained in the small, densely populated older New England communities experienced witchcraft accusations and trials after 1650. The accused allies of the Devil were thought to harness spirits for good or evil. A witch might engage in fortunetelling, prepare healing potions, or cause the death of a child or animal. Only New England witnessed many witch trials (about one hundred in all before 1690). Most of the accused were middle-aged women who had angered their

neighbors. Historians have concluded that daily interactions in close-knit communities fostered quarrels that led some colonists to believe others had diabolically caused certain misfortunes. Even so, judges and juries were skeptical: only a few of the accused were convicted, and fewer were executed.

Colonial Political Structures

By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, almost all the Anglo-American colonies had well-established political and judicial structures. In New England, property-holding men or the legislature elected the governors; in other regions, the king or proprietor appointed them. A council, elected or appointed, advised the governor and served as the upper house of the legislature. Each colony had a judiciary with local justices of the peace and county courts, and most had local governing bodies.

A Decade of Imperial Crises: The 1670s

How did settlers' interests collide with those of Native Americans?

Between 1670 and 1680, New France, New Mexico, New England, and Virginia experienced bitter conflicts as their interests collided with those of America's original inhabitants.

New France and the Iroquois

In the mid-1670s, Louis de Buade de Frontenac, the governor-general of Canada, decided to expand New France south and westward to establish a trade route to Mexico and gain control of the valuable fur trade. Accordingly, he encouraged the explorations of Father Jacques Marquette, Louis Jolliet, and René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle in the Great Lakes and Mississippi valley regions. His goal led to conflict with the powerful Iroquois Confederacy, composed of five Indian nations—the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. (In 1722, the Tuscaroras became the sixth.)

Under the terms of a unique defensive alliance forged in the sixteenth century, a representative council made war decisions for the entire Iroquois Confederacy. Before the arrival of Europeans, the Iroquois waged wars primarily for captives to replenish their population. Foreigners brought ravaging disease by 1633, intensifying the need for captives. Simultaneously, Europeans created an economic motive for warfare: the desire to dominate the fur trade and gain unimpeded access to European goods. The 1640s war with the Hurons initiated several conflicts with other Indians known as the **Beaver Wars**, in which the Iroquois fought to control the lucrative peltry trade. Iroquois did not trap beaver; instead, they raided other villages for pelts or attacked Indians carrying furs to European outposts. Then the Iroquois traded that booty for European-made blankets, knives, guns, alcohol, and other items.

As Iroquois dominance grew, in the mid-1670s to 1690s, the French repeatedly attacked, seeing the Iroquois as a threat to France's plans to trade with western Indians. Although in 1677 New Yorkers and the Iroquois established a formal alliance known as the Covenant Chain, the English only offered weapons to aid their trading partners. The confederacy held its own and even expanded its reach, enabling it in 1701 to negotiate neutrality treaties with France and other Indians. For the next half-century, the Iroquois maintained their power through trade and diplomacy rather than warfare.



Link to Marquette's account of his exploration of the Mississippi.

Beaver Wars: Series of conflicts between the Hurons (and other Indians) and Iroquois in a quest for pelts.

Pueblo Peoples and Spaniards

In New Mexico, too, 1670s events led to a crisis with long-term consequences. Under Spanish domination, Pueblo peoples had added Christianity to their beliefs while retaining traditional rituals. But as decades passed, Franciscans adopted violent tactics to eliminate the native religion. Priests and secular colonists who held *encomiendas* placed heavy labor demands on the people, who were also suffering from Apache raids and food shortages caused by a drought. In 1680, the Pueblos revolted under the leadership of **Popé**, a respected shaman, driving the Spaniards out of New Mexico. Although Spain restored its authority by 1700, Spanish governors now stressed cooperation with the Pueblos, relying on their labor but no longer violating their cultural integrity. The **Pueblo Revolt of 1680** constituted the most successful and longest-sustained Indian resistance movement in colonial North America.

Spanish military outposts (*presidios*) and Franciscan missions offered some protection to Pueblos, but other Indians' desire to obtain horses and guns led to violence throughout the region. Navajos, Apaches, and Utes attacked each other and the Pueblos for captives and hides to trade to the Spanish. Spaniards often kept female and child captives as domestic laborers and sent men to Mexican silver mines. When Comanches migrated west from the Great Plains in the late seventeenth century, Utes allied with them, and after the Pueblo revolt that alliance dominated New Mexico's northern borderlands for several decades.

In the more densely settled English colonies, hostilities developed in the 1670s over land. In New England and Virginia, tensions erupted as settlers increasingly encroached on Native American territories.

King Philip's War

By the early 1670s, the growing settlements in southern New England surrounded Wampanoag ancestral lands on Narragansett Bay. The local chief, Metacom, or King Philip, was troubled by territorial loss and the impact of European culture and Christianity on his people. Philip led attacks on nearby communities in June 1675. Other Algonquian peoples, among them Nipmucks and Narragansetts, joined King Philip's forces. In the fall, they attacked settlements in the northern Connecticut River valley, and the war spread to Maine when the Abenakis entered the conflict. In early 1676, the Indian allies devastated villages like Lancaster, where they captured Mary Rowlandson and others and attacked Plymouth and Providence; later Abenaki assaults forced the abandonment of most Maine settlements. Altogether, the alliance wholly or partially destroyed twenty-seven of ninety-two towns and attacked forty others, pushing the line of English settlement back toward the east and south.

In summer 1676, the Indian coalition ran short of food and ammunition. On June 12, the Mohawks—ancient Iroquois enemies of New England Algonquians—devastated a major Wampanoag encampment while most of the warriors were attacking an English town. After King Philip was killed that August, the southern alliance crumbled. Fighting continued on the Maine frontier for another two years until the English and Abenakis agreed to end the conflict in 1678.

In addition to the Wampanoags, Nipmucks, Narragansetts, and Abenakis who were captured and sold into slavery, still more died of starvation and disease. New Englanders had broken the power of the southern coastal tribes. Thereafter, the southern Indians lived in small clusters, subordinated to the colonists and often working as servants or sailors. Only on Martha's Vineyard did Christian Wampanoags (who had not participated in the war) preserve their cultural identity.

Popé: Leader of the Pueblo Revolt against Spanish in 1680.

Pueblo Revolt of 1680: The most successful Indian uprising in American history. Pueblo Indians rebelled against Spanish authority and drove the Spanish from their New Mexico settlements.

King Philip's War: Major war between Indians and New England settlers.

The settlers paid a terrible price for their victory: an estimated one-tenth of the adult male population was killed or wounded. Proportional to population, it was the most costly conflict in American history. The heavy losses also caused Puritan colonists to question whether God had turned against them. New Englanders did not fully rebuild abandoned interior towns for thirty years, and not until the American Revolution did per capita income reach pre-1675 levels.

Bacon's Rebellion: Uprising that resulted from many conflicts, among them mounting land shortage and settlers' desires for Indian lands.

Bacon's Rebellion

In the early 1670s, conflict wracked Virginia when ex-servants, unable to acquire land, eyed territory reserved by treaty for Virginia's Indians. Governor William Berkeley resisted starting a war, and dissatisfied colonists rallied behind a recent immigrant, the gentleman Nathaniel Bacon, who shared their frustration that desirable land had been claimed. Using as a pretext the July 1675 killing of an indentured servant by Doeg Indians, settlers attacked the Doegs and Susquehannocks, a more powerful nation. In retaliation, Susquehannocks raided outlying farms early in 1676.

The governor outlawed Bacon and his men; the rebels then held Berkeley hostage, forcing him to authorize them to attack the Indians. During the chaotic summer of 1676, Bacon alternately pursued Indians and battled the governor. In September, Bacon's forces burned Jamestown to the ground. But after Bacon died of dysentery the following month, the rebellion collapsed. Even so, a new treaty in 1677 opened much of the disputed territory to settlement. The end of Bacon's Rebellion pushed most of Virginia's Indians west beyond the Appalachians.



Link to Nathaniel Bacon's Manifesto.

How was slavery at the center of the expanding trade network between Europe and the colonies?

The Atlantic Trading System

In the 1670s and 1680s, the Chesapeake's prosperity rested on tobacco, which depended on an ample labor supply. But fewer English men and women proved willing to indenture themselves. Population pressures had eased in England, and the Restoration colonies gave migrants other settlement options. Furthermore, fluctuating tobacco prices and land scarcity made the Chesapeake less appealing. Wealthy Chesapeake tobacco growers found the answer to their labor problem in the Caribbean sugar islands, where Dutch, French, English, and Spanish planters purchased African slaves.

Why African Slavery?

Slavery was practiced in Europe and Islamic lands for centuries. European Christians justified enslaving heathen peoples, especially those of exotic origin, in religious terms, arguing that it might lead to their conversion. Muslims, too, enslaved infidels and imported tens of thousands of black African bondpeople into North Africa and the Middle East. Others believed that wartime prisoners could be enslaved. Consequently, when Portuguese mariners encountered African societies holding slaves, they purchased bondpeople. Indeed, they initially bought slaves in one African nation and sold them in another. From the 1440s on, Portugal imported large numbers of slaves into the Iberian Peninsula; by 1500, enslaved Africans composed one-tenth of the population of Lisbon, Portugal, and Seville, Spain. In 1555, some were taken to England.

Iberians exported African slavery to New Spain and Brazil. Because the Catholic Church prevented the formal enslavement of Indians in those domains and free laborers refused to work in mines or on sugar plantations, African bondpeople

became mainstays of the Caribbean and Brazilian economies. The first enslaved Africans in the Americas were imported from Angola, Portugal's early trading partner, and the Portuguese word *Negro* came into use as a descriptor.

English people had few moral qualms about enslaving other humans. Slavery was sanctioned in the Bible and widely practiced by contemporaries. Yet English colonists initially lacked clear categories for "race" and "slave." For example, the 1670 Virginia law that first tried to define the enslaveable declared that "all servants not being christians imported into this colony by shipping shall be slaves for their lives." Such nonracial phrasing reveals that Anglo-American settlers had not yet fully developed the meaning of *race* and *slave* that would come over time.

Atlantic Slave Trade North American mainland planters could not have obtained bondspersons without the rapid development of an Atlantic trading system. Although this elaborate Atlantic economic system has been called the triangular trade, people and products did not move across the ocean in easily diagrammed patterns. Instead, a complicated web of exchange tied the peoples of the Atlantic world together (see Map 3.2).

The expanding trade network between Europe and its colonies was fueled by the sale and transport of slaves, the exchange of commodities produced by slave labor, and the need to feed and clothe bound laborers. By the late seventeenth century, the basis of the European economic system shifted from the Mediterranean and Asia to the Atlantic, with commerce in slaves and the products of slave labor, as its core.

Chesapeake tobacco and Caribbean and Brazilian sugar were shipped to Europe, where they were in demand. The profits paid for African laborers and European manufactured goods. The African coastal rulers received their payment for slaves in European manufactures and East Indian textiles. Europeans purchased slaves from Africa for resale in their colonies, acquired sugar and tobacco from America, and dispatched their manufactures everywhere.

Europeans fought bitterly to control the lucrative trade. The Portuguese, who at first dominated it, were supplanted by the Dutch in the 1630s. In the Anglo-Dutch wars, the Dutch lost to the English, who controlled the trade through the Royal African Company. Holding a monopoly on English trade with sub-Saharan Africa, the company maintained seventeen forts and trading posts, dispatched to West Africa hundreds of ships carrying English goods, and transported about 100,000 slaves to England's Caribbean colonies. After the company's monopoly expired in 1712, independent traders carried most of the Africans imported into the colonies.

West Africa and the Slave Trade

Most of the enslaved people carried to North America originated in West Africa, some from the Rice and Grain Coasts, many others from the Gold and Slave Coasts and the Bight of Biafra (modern Nigeria) and Angola. Certain



Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

By the middle of the eighteenth century, American tobacco had become closely associated with African slavery. An English woodcut advertising tobacco from the York River in Virginia accordingly depicted not a Chesapeake planter but rather an African, shown with a hoe in one hand and a pipe in the other. Usually, of course, slaves would not have smoked the high-quality tobacco produced for export, although they were allowed to cultivate small crops for their own use.

coastal rulers served as intermediaries, facilitating permanent slave-trading posts and supplying resident Europeans with slaves. Such rulers simultaneously controlled Europeans' access to bound laborers and desirable trade goods, such as textiles, iron bars, alcohol, tobacco, guns, and cowry shells from the Maldive Islands (in the Indian Ocean), used as currency. At least 10 percent of all slaves exported to the Americas passed through Whydah, Dahomey's major slave-trading port. Portugal, England, and France established forts there, and Europeans had to pay fees to Whydah's rulers before they could begin to acquire cargoes.

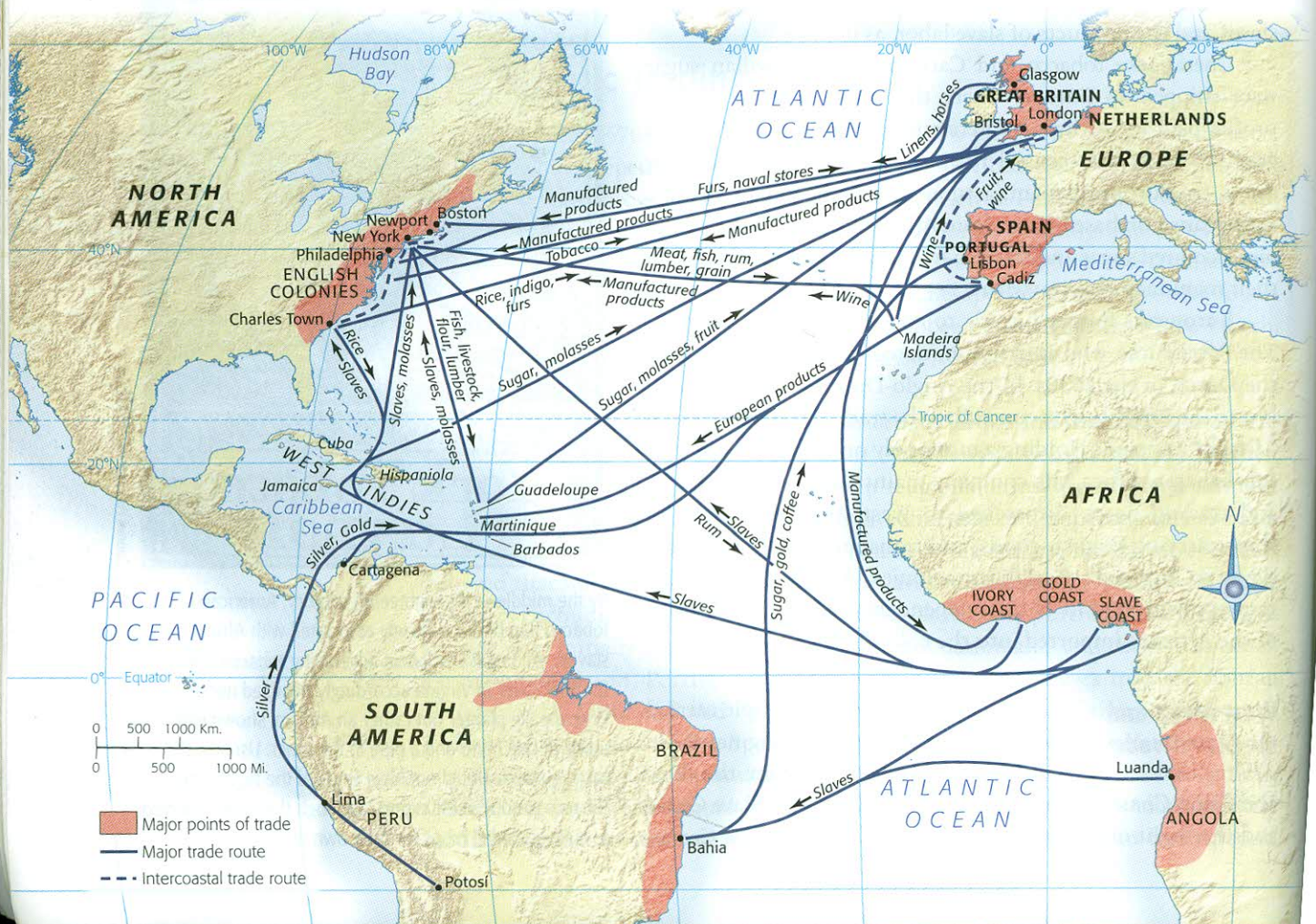
The slave trade affected African regions unevenly. It helped to create such powerful eighteenth-century kingdoms as Dahomey and Asante (formed from the Akan States), while rulers in parts of Upper Guinea, especially modern Gambia and Senegal, largely resisted involvement. Traffic in slaves destroyed smaller polities and disrupted traditional economic patterns. Agricultural production intensified, especially in rice-growing areas, to supply slave ships with foodstuffs. Because prisoners of war constituted most of the exported slaves, active traders were also successful warriors. Some nations even initiated conflicts to acquire captives.

MAP 3.2

Atlantic Trade Routes

By the late seventeenth century, an elaborate trade network linked the countries and colonies bordering the Atlantic Ocean. The most valuable commodities exchanged were enslaved people and the products of slave labor.

Source: Copyright © Cengage Learning





Links to the World

Exotic Beverages

Seventeenth-century colonists developed a taste for tea (from China), coffee (from Arabia), chocolate (from Mesoamerica), and rum. Demand for these once-exotic beverages helped reshape the world economy after the mid-seventeenth century. Approximately two-thirds of the people who migrated across the Atlantic before 1776 were involved, primarily as slaves, in the production of tobacco, calico, and these four drinks. The exotic beverages profoundly affected culture, too, as they moved from luxury to necessity.

Each beverage had its own consumption pattern. Chocolate, brought to Spain from Mexico and consumed hot at intimate gatherings, became the drink of aristocrats. Coffee became the morning beverage of English and colonial businessmen, who praised its caffeine for keeping them focused. Coffee was served in new public coffeehouses, patronized by men, which opened first in London in the late 1660s and in Boston by the 1690s. By the mid-eighteenth century, though, tea—consumed at home in the afternoon at tea tables

presided over by women—supplanted coffee in England and America. Tea was genteel; rum was the drink of the masses, made possible by new technology and the increasing production of sugar.

American colonies played a vital role in the production, distribution, and consumption of these beverages. Cacao plantations in South America multiplied to meet the rising chocolate demand. Rum involved Americans in every phase of its production and consumption. The sugar grown on Caribbean plantations was transported to the mainland in barrels and ships made from North American wood. There the syrup was turned into rum at 140 distilleries. Americans drank an estimated four gallons per person annually, but exported much of the rum to Africa, where it could purchase more slaves to produce more sugar to make more rum.

Thus, these beverages linked the colonies to the world and altered their economic and social development.

The frontispiece of Peter Muguët, Tractatus De Poto Caphe, Chinesium The et de Chocolata, 1685. Muguët's treatise visually linked the three hot, exotic beverages recently introduced to Europeans. The drinks are consumed by representatives of the cultures in which they originated: a turbaned Turk (with coffeepot in the foreground), a Chinese man (with teapot on the table), and an Indian drinking from a hollowed, handled gourd (with a chocolate pot and ladle on the floor in front of him).

Library of Congress



give their children African names and develop a dialect that combined English and African terms. (Known as Gullah, it has survived to the present in isolated areas.) In South Carolina, as in Guinea, African women became the primary petty traders, dominating Charles Town markets.

Rice and Indigo

Slave importation coincided with the successful introduction of rice in South Carolina. English people knew nothing about producing rice, but people from Africa's Rice Coast had long worked with the crop. Rice-growing techniques from West Africa, especially cultivation in inland swamps and tidal rivers, were widely adopted. South Carolinians preferred slaves from the Rice Coast, and they preferred women, possibly due to women's crucial role in cultivating rice in West Africa. There, they sowed and weeded the crop, pounded harvested rice with a mortar and pestle to remove the hulls and bran, and then winnowed to separate the grains from the chaff. South Carolinians utilized the West African system of pounding rice by hand until the late eighteenth century.

Every field worker on rice plantations had to cultivate three to four acres a year. Most were female, because enslaved men were assigned to jobs like blacksmithing or carpentry. Planters also expected slaves to grow part of their own food. Under the "task" system of predefined work assignments, experienced slaves could complete their tasks by early afternoon; after that and on Sundays, they were free to work their own gardens or on other projects. One scholar has suggested this unique **task system** used in South Carolina by the early eighteenth century resulted from negotiations between slaves familiar with rice cultivation and masters who desperately needed their expertise.

task system: Each slave had a daily or weekly quota of tasks to complete.

Developers of South Carolina's second cash crop—indigo—also used the task system and drew on slaves' specialized skills. Indigo, the only source of blue dye for the growing English textile industry, was much prized. Eliza Lucas, who managed her father's plantations, experimented with indigo cultivation during the early 1740s. Drawing on the knowledge of slaves and overseers from the Caribbean, she developed the planting and processing techniques later adopted colony-wide. South Carolina indigo never matched the quality of the Caribbean's, but indigo plantations flourished because Parliament offered Carolinians a bounty on every pound exported to Great Britain.

Indian Enslavement in North and South Carolina

In 1708, enslaved Indians composed roughly 14 percent of South Carolina's population. The lucrative traffic in Indian slaves significantly affected South Carolina's relationship with its indigenous neighbors. Native Americans knew they could find a ready market for captive enemies in Charles Town and used it to rid themselves of rivals. Yet as settlers and traders shifted their priorities, first one set of former allies, then another, were enslaved.

The trade in Indian slaves began when the Westos (originally known as the Eries), migrated south from the Great Lakes in the mid-1650s, fleeing their Iroquois enemies after the Beaver Wars. The Westos raided Spain's lightly defended Florida missions and sold Indian captives to Virginians. With the establishment of Carolina, the proprietors monopolized of trade with the Westos, which infuriated settlers shut out of commerce in slaves and deerskins. The planters secretly financed attacks on the Westos, wiping

them out by 1682. Southeastern Indians protected themselves from such slave raids by subordination to the English or Spanish, or by coalescing into larger political units, such as those known later as Creeks, Chickasaws, or Cherokees.

At first, the Carolinians did not conflict with neighboring Indians. But in 1711, the Tuscaroras, an Iroquoian people, attacked a Swiss-German settlement at New Bern, North Carolina, which had expropriated their lands, which ignited the **Tuscarora War**. South Carolinians and their Indian allies combined to defeat the Tuscaroras. Afterward, more than a thousand Tuscaroras were enslaved, and the remainder drifted northward, where they joined the Iroquois Confederacy.

Four years later, the Yamasees, who aided the Carolinians against the Tuscaroras, turned on their English allies. In what seems a long-planned retaliation for abuses by traders and threats to their lands, the Yamasees enlisted the Creeks and other Muskogean peoples to attack outlying English settlements. In spring and summer 1715, English and African refugees by the hundreds streamed into Charles Town. The Yamasee-Creek offensive was thwarted when reinforcements arrived from the north, colonists hastily armed their African slaves, and Cherokees joined the fight. Afterward, Carolinian involvement in the Indian slave trade ceased, because their native neighbors moved away for self-protection. The native peoples of the Carolinas regrouped and rebuilt, for they were no longer subjected to slavers' raids.

Enslavement in the North

Atlantic creoles from the Caribbean and native peoples from the Carolinas and Florida, along with Indians enslaved for crime or debt, composed the bound laborers in the northern mainland colonies. The intricate involvement of northerners in the commerce surrounding the slave trade ensured that many people of African descent lived in America north of Virginia and that "Spanish Indians" became part of the New England population. Some bondpeople resided in urban areas, especially New York, which in 1700 had a larger black population than any other mainland city. Women worked as domestic servants, men as unskilled laborers on the docks.

Yet even in the North, most bondpeople worked in the countryside doing agricultural tasks. Dutch farmers in the Hudson valley and northern New Jersey were likely to rely on enslaved Africans, as were the owners of large landholdings in Rhode Island's Narragansett region. Some toiled in new enterprises, such as ironworks, alongside hired laborers and indentured servants. Although few northern colonists owned slaves, those who did relied heavily on their labor and wanted to preserve the institution of slavery.

Tuscarora War: War in the Carolinas from 1711 through 1713 that pitted Tuscarora Indians against colonists and their Indian allies.

**NEGROES,
TO BE SOLD**



A Parcel of young able bodied Negro Men, one of whom is a Cooper by Trade, two Negroes Wenches, and likewise two Girls, one of 12 Years old, and the other 16, the latter a good Seemstress, and can be well recommended.

The Granger Collection, New York

An advertisement for a sale of slaves of African descent that appeared in the *New York Journal* in 1768. The expertise of two would have appealed to urban buyers: a cooper would have been useful to a barrelmaker or shipper, and the seamstress might have attracted attention from dressmakers. The other bondpeople mentioned could have been purchased by people who wanted house servants or laborers.

Slave Resistance

As slavery grew, so did slaves' resistance. Usually, resistance meant malingering or running away, but occasionally bondspeople planned rebellions. Seven times before 1713, the English Caribbean experienced major revolts. The first mainland slave revolt occurred in New York in 1712. The rebels set a fire and ambushed those who tried to put it out, killing eight and wounding twelve. Of those caught and tried, eighteen were executed. Their decapitated bodies were left rotting outdoors as a warning.

Imperial Reorganization and the Witchcraft Crisis

How did mercantilism benefit some colonies economically and hurt others?

English officials seeking new sources of revenue focused on the expanding Atlantic trade in slaves and the products of slave labor. Parliament and the Stuart monarchs drafted laws to harness the profits of the trade for the mother country.

Mercantilism and Navigation Acts

Like other European nations, England based its commercial policy on mercantilism, the theory that viewed the economic world as a collection of national states, whose governments competed for shares of a finite amount of wealth. What one nation gained, another nation lost. Each nation sought economic self-sufficiency and a favorable balance of trade by exporting more than it imported. Colonies played an important role, supplying the mother country with valuable raw materials and a market for the mother country's manufactured goods.

Parliament's Navigation Acts—passed between 1651 and 1673—established three principles of mercantilist theory. First, only English or colonial merchants could legally trade in the colonies. Second, certain valuable American products could be sold only in the mother country or other English colonies. Initially, these “enumerated” goods included wool, sugar, tobacco, indigo, ginger, and dyes; and later rice, naval stores (masts, pitch, tar, and turpentine), copper, and furs. Third, foreign goods for sale in the colonies had to be shipped through England, paying English import duties. Years later, new laws established a fourth principle: the colonies could not export items (such as wool clothing, hats, or iron) that competed with English products.

These laws adversely affected Chesapeake planters who could not seek foreign markets for their staple crops. The statutes initially helped English Caribbean sugar producers by driving Brazilian sugar from the home market, but later prevented English planters from selling sugar elsewhere. Others benefited: the laws stimulated a lucrative colonial shipbuilding industry, especially in New England. And the northern and middle colonies produced many unenumerated goods—fish, flour, meat and livestock, and barrel staves—that could be traded directly to the French, Spanish, or Dutch Caribbean islands if transported in English or American ships.

English authorities soon learned that enforcing mercantilist laws would be difficult. The American coast's many harbors were havens for smugglers, and colonial officials often looked the other way when illegally imported goods were sold. Because American juries tended to favor local smugglers, Parliament in 1696 established American vice-admiralty courts, which operated without juries and adjudicated violations of the Navigation Acts.

Colonial Autonomy Challenged

By the early 1680s, mainland colonies had become accustomed to a considerable degree of political autonomy. Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Rhode Island operated independently, subject neither to the king nor a proprietor. Whereas Virginia was a royal colony and New Hampshire (1679) and New York (1685) gained that status, all other mainland settlements were proprietorships, over which England exercised little control. In the English colonies, free adult men who owned some property expected to have a voice in their governments, especially about taxation.

After James II became king in 1685, he and his successors sought to tighten the reins of colonial government and reduce the colonies' political autonomy. English officials saw New England as a hotbed of smuggling. Moreover, Puritans denied religious freedom to non-Congregationalists and maintained laws incompatible with English practice. The charters of all colonies from New Jersey to Maine were revoked, and the Crown established a Dominion of New England in 1686. (For the boundaries of the Dominion, see Map 3.1.) Sir Edmund Andros, the governor, had immense power: Parliament dissolved the assemblies, and Andros needed only the consent of an appointed council to make laws and levy taxes.

Glorious Revolution in America

New Englanders endured Andros's **autocratic** rule for more than two years. Then James II's power crumbled when he angered his subjects by levying taxes without parliamentary approval and by converting to Catholicism. In April 1689, Boston's leaders jailed Andros and his associates. The following month they received news of the bloodless coup known as the Glorious Revolution, in which James was replaced in late 1688 by his daughter Mary and her husband, the Dutch prince William of Orange. With Protestants William and Mary in power, the Glorious Revolution affirmed the supremacy of Parliament and Protestantism.

In other colonies, the Glorious Revolution inspired revolt. In Maryland the Protestant Association overturned the government of the Catholic proprietor, and in New York a militia officer of German origin, Jacob Leisler, assumed control of the government. Bostonians, Marylanders, and New Yorkers saw themselves as carrying out the colonial phase of the English revolt.

But William and Mary also believed that England should exercise tighter control over its unruly American possessions. Consequently, only the Maryland rebellion received royal sanction, primarily because of its anti-Catholic thrust. In New York, Leisler was hanged for treason, and Massachusetts became a royal colony with an appointed governor. The province retained its town meeting system and continued to elect its council, but the 1691 charter eliminated the religious test for voting and office holding. A parish of the Church of England appeared in Boston. The "**city upon a hill**," as John Winthrop had envisioned it, had ended.

King William's War

A war with the French and their Algonquian allies compounded New England's difficulties. King Louis XIV of France allied himself with the deposed James II, and England declared war on France in 1689—Known today as the Nine Years' War, it was called King William's War by the colonists. Even before war broke out in Europe, Anglo-Americans and Abenakis clashed over English settlements in Maine that had been reoccupied after the 1678

autocratic: Absolute or dictatorial rule.

city upon a hill: John Winthrop's vision of the Puritan settlement in New England as a model for the world.

truce and were expanding. Attacks wholly or partially destroyed several towns, and colonial expeditions against Montreal and Quebec in 1690 failed. Even the Peace of Ryswick (1697), which ended the war in Europe, did not bring peace to the northern frontiers. Maine could not be resettled for several decades because of the continuing conflict.

The 1692 Witchcraft Crisis

New Englanders feared a repetition of the devastation of King Philip's War. For eight months in 1692, witchcraft accusations spread through Essex County, Massachusetts—a heavily populated area directly threatened by the Indian attacks in neighboring southern Maine and New Hampshire. Before the crisis ended, fourteen women and five men were hanged, one man was pressed to death with heavy stones, fifty-four people confessed to being witches, and more than 140 people were jailed.

The crisis began in late February when several children and young women in Salem Village charged older female neighbors with torturing them in spectral form. Other accusers and confessors chimed in, among them female domestic servants orphaned in the Maine war. These young women offered fellow New Englanders a compelling explanation for the troubles afflicting them: their province was under direct assault not only by Indians and the French but also by the Devil and his allied witches.

The so-called afflicted girls accused not just the older women commonly suspected of such offenses but also prominent men from the Maine frontier who had traded with or failed to defeat the Indians. Their leader, accusers declared, was the Reverend George Burroughs, a Harvard graduate who had ministered in Maine and Salem Village and was charged with bewitching soldiers sent to combat the Abenakis. The colony's magistrates, who were also its political and military leaders, were willing to believe such accusations, because it freed them from responsibility for losses on the frontier.

In October, the worst phase of the crisis ended when the governor dissolved the special court established to try the suspects. He and prominent clergymen regarded the descriptions of spectral torturers as "the Devil's testimony," and therefore untrustworthy. Most critics did not think the afflicted were faking, that witches did not exist or that confessions were false. Rather, they questioned whether guilt could be legally established by the evidence presented in court. During the final trials in 1693, almost all the defendants were acquitted, and the governor reprieved the few found guilty.

New Imperial Measures

In 1696, England created the fifteen-member Board of Trade and Plantations, the chief government organ concerned with the American colonies. The board gathered information, reviewed Crown appointments in America, scrutinized colonial legislation, supervised trade policies, and advised ministries on colonial issues. It had no enforcement powers and shared jurisdiction with the customs service, the navy, and a member of the ministry. Although this reform improved colonial administration, supervision of the American provinces remained decentralized and haphazard.



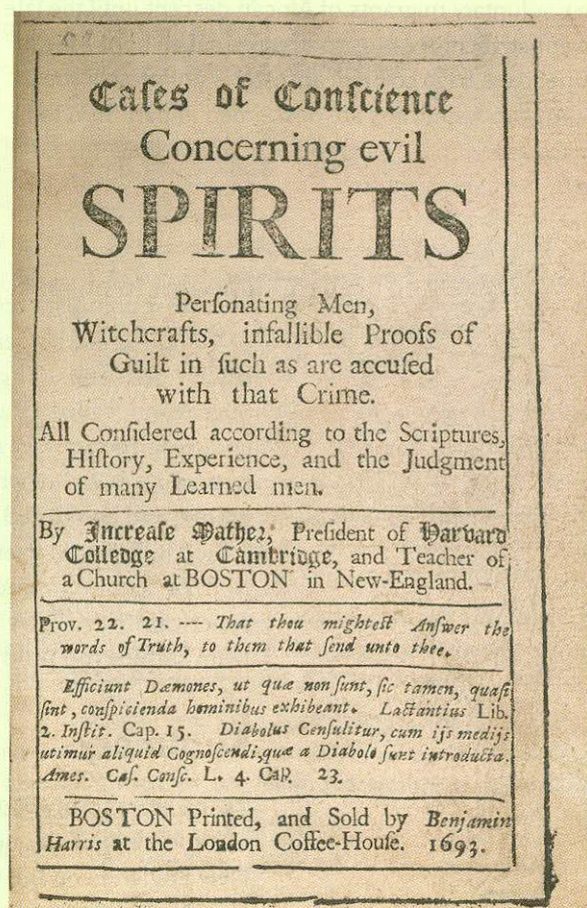
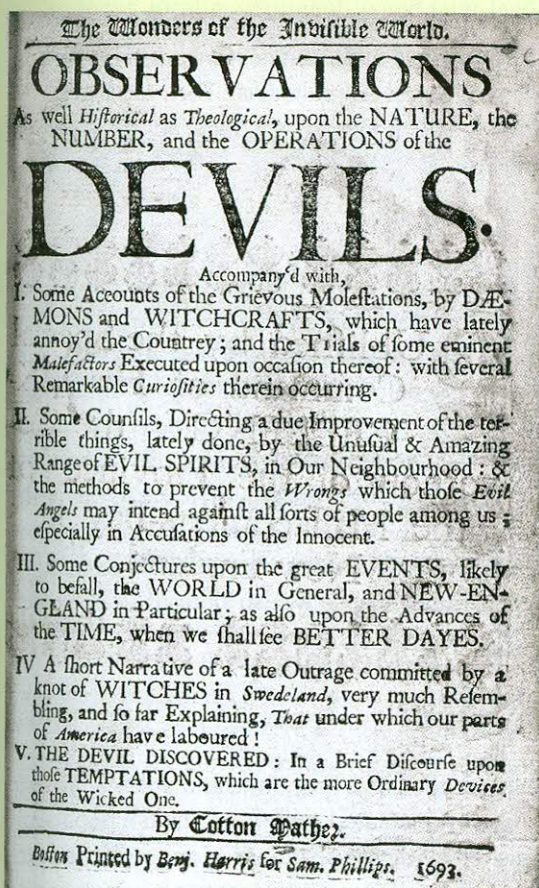
Link to excerpts from the
Salem Witchcraft papers.

Visualizing the Past

Debating the Witchcraft Trials

By late September 1692, disagreements over the Salem witchcraft trials (which had begun in June) sharply divided the intellectual leaders of Massachusetts Bay. Key among them were the colony's ministers, and especially a father and son: the Reverend Increase Mather and his son Cotton. Both were prolific authors, and both chose to present their views in print. The twenty-nine-year-old Cotton Mather strongly supported the trials and, at the request of the governor, wrote *The Wonders of the Invisible World* to defend the procedures and verdicts. Through its typeface, the

title page of his book revealed its subject: DEVILS. On the title page of the related book by his father, *Cases of Conscience*, the less-prominent words were instead "evil Spirits," and rather than language affirming the "Grievous Molestations by Daemons and Witchcrafts" it included the caution that "infallible proofs" would be required to find the accused guilty. Even though Increase inserted an addendum at the end of his text insisting that he agreed with his son, anyone simply comparing the title pages could recognize that he was attempting to conceal competing opinions about the trials within his own family. What other contrasts between the two books are evident in the contents of the title pages?





Legacy for a People and a Nation

Americans of African Descent

After the 1670s, the rise of southern economies based on the enslavement of Africans, coupled with employment of enslaved Africans in northern colonies, dramatically altered the American population. By 1775, more than a quarter-million Africans had been imported into the territory that later became the United States; they and their descendants constituted about 20 percent of the population at that time.

According to the 2000 census, 12.5 percent of the Americans now claim descent from African ancestors. Because the legal importation of African slaves ended in 1808 and because the United States attracted relatively few voluntary migrants of African descent until the late twentieth century, most of today's native-born African Americans have colonial ancestors. Conversely, most European Americans are descended in part from the massive European migrations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The modern African American population includes people with various skin colors, reflecting past interracial sexual relationships (coerced and voluntary). African Americans, free and enslaved, have had children with Europeans and Indians since the colonial period; more recently, they have intermarried with Asian immigrants. State laws, enacted from the early years of the American republic until 1967—when they were struck down by the Supreme Court—forbade legal marriages between people of European descent and those of other races. Thus, if people of color wanted to wed legally, they had to marry other people of color.

Recently, increasing numbers of interracial unions have produced multiracial children. The 2000 census for the first time allowed Americans to define themselves as members of more than one race. Previous laws defined people with any African ancestry as “black”; on census forms today, people of African descent seem less willing to define themselves as multiracial. Their racial self-definition thus continues to be influenced by a legacy of discrimination.

Most colonists resented alien officials who arrived to implement the policies of king and Parliament, but they adjusted to them and to the Navigation Act's trade restrictions. They fought another of Europe's wars—the War of the Spanish Succession, called Queen Anne's War in the colonies—from 1702 to 1713, without enduring the stresses of the first, despite the heavy economic burdens the conflict imposed. Colonists who allied with the royal government received offices and land grants, and composed “court parties” that supported English officials. Others, who lacked well-placed friends or who defended colonial autonomy, made up the opposition, or “country” interest. By the end of the 1725, most men in both groups were American born. They were from elite families whose wealth derived in the South from staple-crop production and in the North from commerce.

Summary

The years from 1650 to 1720 established the basic economic and political patterns in mainland colonial society. In 1650, two isolated centers of English population, New England and the Chesapeake, existed along the seaboard, along with the Dutch New Netherland. In 1720, nearly the entire North American east coast was in English hands, and Indian control east of the Appalachian Mountains had been broken by King Philip's War, Bacon's Rebellion, the Yamasee and Tuscarora wars, and Queen

Anne's War. West of the mountains, the Iroquois reigned. Most of the population was American-born, except for the African-born people in South Carolina and the Chesapeake. Economies originally based on the fur trade had become more complex and closely linked with the mother country, and political structures had become more uniform. The adoption of large-scale slavery and production of tobacco, rice, and indigo in the Chesapeake and Carolinas distinguished them from northern colonies as true slave societies.

The northern colonies, too, rested on profits from the Atlantic trading system, the key element of which was traffic in slaves. New England sold corn, salt fish, and wood products to the West Indies, where slaves consumed the foodstuffs and whence planters shipped sugar and molasses in barrels. Pennsylvania and New York also found the Caribbean islands a ready market for their livestock, grains, and wheat flour.

Meanwhile, north of Mexico Spanish settlements remained centered on Florida missions and on New Mexican presidios and missions. The French had explored the Mississippi valley but had not yet planted many settlements in the Great Lakes or the west. Both nations' colonists depended on indigenous people's labor and goodwill. Yet the Spanish and French presence to the south and west of English settlements ensured future conflicts among European powers in North America.

By 1720, key elements of the imperial administrative structure that would govern the English colonies until 1775 were in place. Anglo-Americans' commitment to autonomous local government would later lead them into conflict with Parliament and the king.

Chapter Review

The Growth of Anglo-American Settlements

Why did New York's development lag behind that of other British colonies in the seventeenth century?

Granted to James the Duke of York in 1664, New York remained a shadow of Boston until well into the 1720s largely because James, unlike William Penn of Pennsylvania and other proprietors, did not encourage migration with offers of land grants and religious freedom to would-be colonists. Instead, his colony remained hemmed in by Connecticut and New Jersey, which each made successful overtures to draw populations helpful to development. English citizens who might have considered migrating to New York were turned off by James's decision to retain the Dutch local government, land title, and legal practices that had been in place when he assumed control of the former Dutch colony. He also allowed towns to decide which church to support with its taxes and refused a legislative assembly—which many English colonists wanted—until 1683.

A Decade of Imperial Crises: The 1670s

How did settlers' interests collide with those of Native Americans?

Settlers' and Native Americans' interests clashed in two pivotal areas: control of trade and desire for more land. New France and the Iroquois Confederacy clashed over control of the valuable fur trade, which the Iroquois had fought hard to attain. Bitter battles and attacks lasted for twenty years, before culminating in a neutrality treaty. Similarly, in the densely settled New England colonies in the 1670s, hostilities developed as Wampanoags led by King Phillip felt threatened by the Anglo-American communities that surrounded their territory. And in Virginia Nathaniel Bacon and his followers also focused on seizing desirable interior land from Indians, ultimately attacking them and pushing them further west.

The Atlantic Trading System

How was slavery at the center of the expanding trade network between Europe and the colonies?

First, the Chesapeake developed around tobacco farming, which required a vast supply of workers. Fewer English workers were available as population pressures in England eased and Restoration colonies offered land and other opportunities to would-be settlers. Tobacco growers instead turned to slave labor, as did other plantation colonies, thereby expanding the sale and transport of slaves. In addition, commodities produced by slave labor helped boost exports and trade networks, while the need to feed and clothe slaves stimulated new business opportunities for other colonies. New England, for example, profited by selling foodstuffs to feed slaves. The slave trade itself created a global economic network and tensions among European nations seeking to control the lucrative trade.

Slavery in North America and the Caribbean

What skills did African slaves bring to America that proved vital to the development of colonial South Carolina?

African-born slaves had several skills that were crucial to the economic development of South Carolina. From a similarly semi-tropical climate, these slaves adapted dugout canoes from their homeland that became a key means of transportation in the many rivers of the Carolinas. Their fishing nets also proved more efficient. African cattle herding techniques aided in producing the meat and hides that were an early export from the region. Some slaves, particularly women, also knew how to cultivate rice, which was rapidly becoming a staple crop in South Carolina. The area's other cash crop—indigo (the only source of blue dye for the growing English textile industry)—similarly drew on the knowledge of slaves transported to South Carolina from the Caribbean, where indigo plantations flourished.

Imperial Reorganization and the Witchcraft Crisis

How did mercantilism benefit some colonies economically and hurt others?

Mercantilism was grounded in the notion that the world contained a finite amount of wealth, and that if one nation gained, another had to lose. For England, that meant controlling colonial trade and development in ways that benefited the mother country. England passed the Navigation Acts between 1651 and 1673, which allowed only English merchants to trade in the colonies, permitted certain American products to be sold only to England or other English colonies, and required foreign goods bound for the colonies to ship through England and pay related duties. Later, it additionally prevented colonists from exporting anything that competed with English goods. For Chesapeake planters, these policies had a negative effect, preventing them from selling staple crops in foreign markets. English sugar producers in the Caribbean were initially helped, as their Brazilian competitors were driven from the market, but later suffered when they were prevented from selling their sugar elsewhere. New England benefitted from the emergence of a lucrative shipbuilding industry, while the northern and middle colonies gained from trading goods not included in the Navigation Acts such as fish, flour, meat, livestock, and barrels.

Suggestions for Further Reading

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- Andrew Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680* (1995)
- Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (1998)
- Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (1975)
- Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (2004)
- Mary Beth Norton, *In the Devil's Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692* (2002)
- Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (2007)
- Betty Wood, *The Origins of American Slavery* (1997)



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