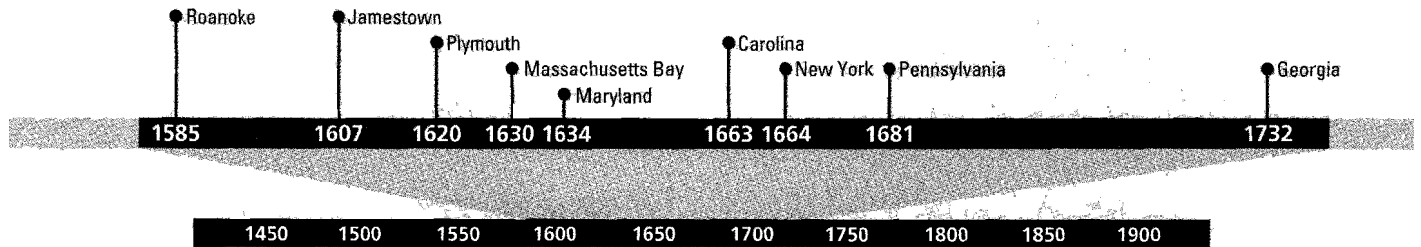
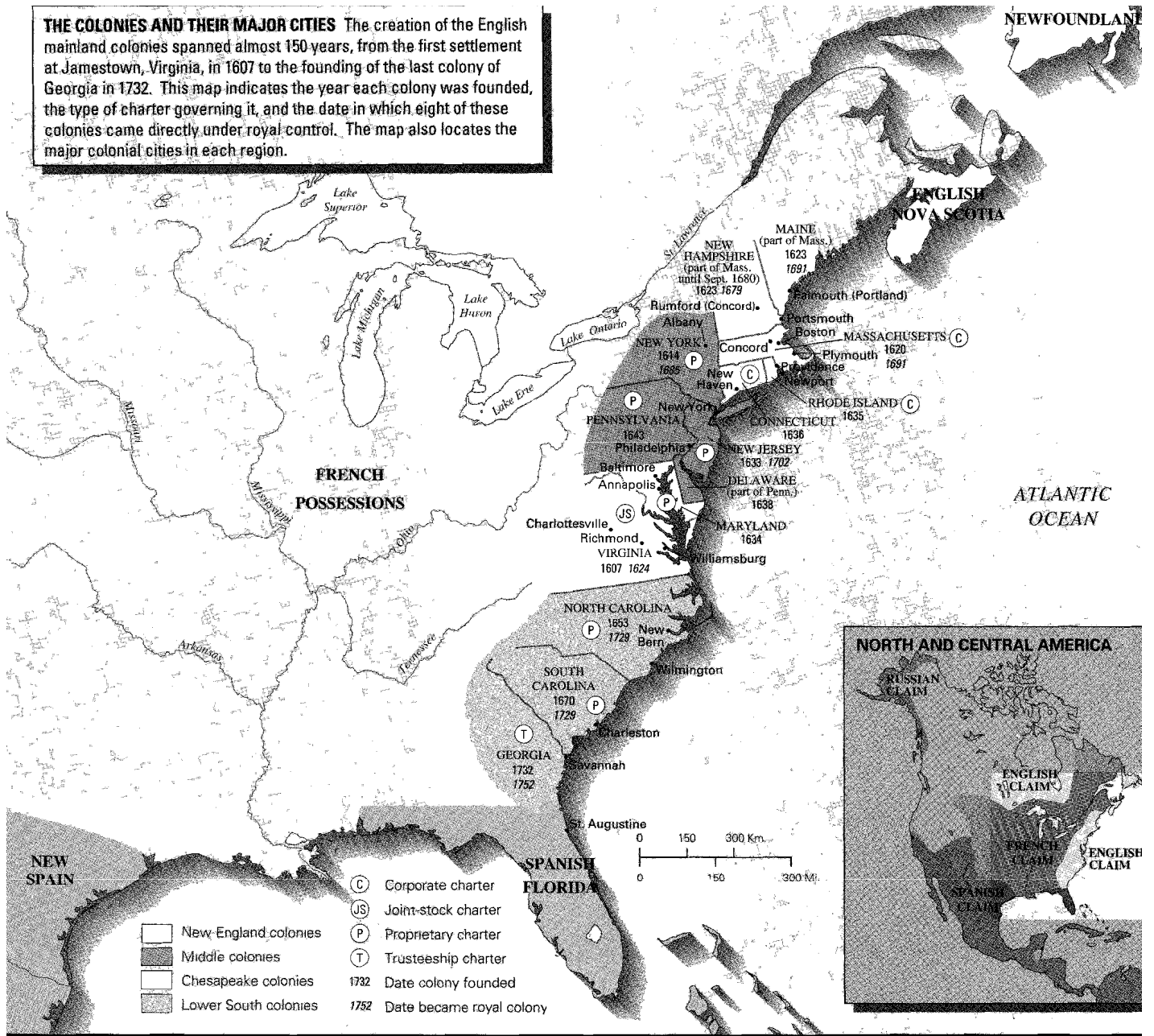


**THE COLONIES AND THEIR MAJOR CITIES** The creation of the English mainland colonies spanned almost 150 years, from the first settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607 to the founding of the last colony of Georgia in 1732. This map indicates the year each colony was founded, the type of charter governing it, and the date in which eight of these colonies came directly under royal control. The map also locates the major colonial cities in each region.



# Founding the English Mainland

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## Colonies, 1607-1732

### England and Colonization

- What constraints in England encouraged people to migrate to America?

### Settling the Chesapeake

- What expectations did the Virginia Company and the Calvert family have for their Chesapeake colonies? Did the outcomes satisfy or disappoint these founders?
- How did Chesapeake colonists choose to resolve conflicts within their communities?

### New England: Colonies of Dissenters

- Why did English religious dissenters choose to settle in America?

•What kind of society did the Puritans expect to create?

•What constraints did Puritan authorities impose to discourage dissent? What was the outcome of dissenters' actions?

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## **The Pluralism of the Middle Colonies**

- Why did the Dutch and the English choose to encourage a multicultural population in New York?
- What made the expectations for Pennsylvania so distinctive?

## **The Colonies of the Lower South**

- What type of society did the founders of Carolina expect to create? How did the outcome differ from their expectations?
- Why did philanthropists choose to create Georgia? Why did the king choose to support this project?

# ( INTRODUCTION )

Beginning in the early seventeenth century, many English men and women set out on the adventure of their lives: colonizing a new world. Whatever their *expectations*, the *choice* to begin life anew on the mainland of North America shaped their fates. *Constraints* in England such as poverty, religious persecution, terrifying civil war, and confusing economic transformations drove many to emigrate. The love of danger or dreams of sudden fame or fortune spurred others to come. Still others pursued the promise of land, even if they first had to work as servants for several years. Only the slaves who arrived from Africa, often by way of the Caribbean, had no *choice* about coming to the English mainland colonies.

The *constraints* and dangers facing the colonists proved fatal to many. Some did not survive the ocean voyage. Others died of diseases they had never encountered in their homeland. Many died in the recurrent warfare that raged between Indians and Europeans and among rival European powers. But circumstances in England and Europe continued to prompt new groups to come to North America. By 1732, there were thirteen colonies. Although each colony had its own individual history, groups of colonies shared regional characteristics. The colonies of the Chesapeake, New England, the Middle Colonies, and the Lower South usually possessed a common economy, labor system, and religious heritage. Whether established by a group of investors, by wealthy proprietors, by conquest,

## England and Colonization

Following the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603 and the establishment of peace with Spain, Englishmen again began to entertain Sir Walter Raleigh's dream of a New World colony. A host of motives caused English men and women to look across the Atlantic. The lure of easy riches attracted the attention

of those who sought to emulate Spain's early colonizers. Religious persecution and economic uncertainties combined to cause some groups to flee England to establish colonies. The prospect of owning land and of economic opportunities attracted still others who faced a dismal future in England. To understand the motives,

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

or by the division of another colony, each colony grew through experimentation, adjustment, cooperation, and conflict.

The colonists and their leaders faced a seemingly endless series of critical *choices* about where to settle, how to organize their communities, and how to sustain themselves. Through trial and error, they began to *choose* the crops they would grow, the labor force they would employ, and the rules that would govern them. Although the colonists *expected* to re-create the world they had left behind, most had to adapt to the *constraints* imposed by their new environment and situation. The earliest settlers often lacked the resources and skills needed to achieve their goals. Because the American Indians often opposed their efforts to push farther inland or to cultivate more land, deadly conflict was often the *outcome*. Nevertheless, by the eighteenth century it was clear that the American colonies were no longer outposts but permanent communities.

No matter how wide the Atlantic seemed, events in England affected the lives of all the colonists. English law and governmental policy cut across colonial borders, placing *constraints* on colonial behavior and altering colonial *expectations*.

hopes, and fears of those willing to uproot themselves from England and venture into the unknown, we need to look first at

## Settling the Mainland Colonies

1585 English colonize Roanoke Island	1649 Charles I executed Cromwell and Puritans come to power in England
1603 James I becomes king of England	1660 Restoration of English monarchy
1606 Creation of the London (later Virginia) Company	1662 Half-Way Covenant
1607 Jamestown founded	1663 Carolina chartered
1608 Pilgrims flee to Holland from England 1612 Tobacco cultivation begins in Virginia 1619 Virginia House of Burgesses meets 1620 Pilgrims found Plymouth Plantations	1664 English capture New Netherland New Jersey chartered
1630 Puritans found Massachusetts Bay Colony	1675 King Philip's War in New England
1634 First English settlements in Maryland	1676 Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia
1636 Roger Williams founds Providence	1681 Pennsylvania chartered
1637 Anne Hutchinson banished from Massachusetts Pequot War in New England	1685 James II becomes king of England 1686 Dominion of New England established 1688 Glorious Revolution in England
1642-1648 English Civil War	1691 Massachusetts becomes royal colony 1692 Salem witch trials 1732 Georgia chartered

the prevailing political, social, and religious conditions of seventeenth-century England.

### Religious and Political Tensions in Seventeenth Century England

Between 1603 and 1688, the English people lived through periods of intense religious conflict, economic upheavals and dislocations, civil war, and the removal of two kings from the throne. In the midst of these dramatic events, wealthy men found ways to finance risky colonizing ventures, religious sects

established communities in America, and impoverished men and women sought their fortunes across the ocean.

The political unrest began soon after the death of the childless Queen Elizabeth in 1603, when first the son (James I) and then the grandson (Charles I) of Mary Stuart, a Catholic, came to the throne. Neither was committed to Protestantism, and both were thought to be secret Catholics. Their religious

background disturbed many who wanted to see further Protestant reforms within the Church of England. Elizabeth had listened politely to the demands of Puritans who wanted to purge the church of all vestiges of Catholicism and then ignored them. James was not the diplomat that Elizabeth was. He responded to the Puritans' calls for further reforms by harassing them. He succeeded only in provoking more Puritan opposition.

James and Charles did not welcome challenges to their political authority either. They had little respect for Parliament, the legislative body that claimed important powers for itself and set limits on royal authority. James was not shy about declaring his commitment to absolutism, the doctrine that the king alone held all power. Parliament did not take kindly to James's lectures on the subject.

The Stuart kings underestimated the determination of Parliament to insist on its rights. Because Parliament controlled how taxes were raised and spent, it had a powerful weapon against these kings. Although James had clashes with Parliament, open conflict did not emerge until Charles's reign began in 1625. His solution to the problem of an uncooperative Parliament, which included many Puritans, was to dismiss that body. Charles attempted to rule alone, financing his rule by the imposition of arbitrary taxes.

In 1640, however, a rebellion in Scotland forced Charles to call Parliament back into session in order to raise an army. The legislature quickly challenged the king. In 1642, civil war erupted between those loyal to the Stuart monarchy and the political and religious dissenters represented by Parliament. Led by Oliver Cromwell, the rebels won, ultimately executing Charles in 1649. For the next eleven years, England was ruled by Cromwell and his followers. Cromwell's increasingly dictatorial rule, however, led to great popular dissatisfaction. His death in 1658 paved the way for a restoration of the monarchy and the return of the house of Stuart in 1660.

The Catholic sympathies of Charles II and the open Catholicism of James II revived tensions that had existed between the earlier Stuart monarchs and Parliament. Charles II avoided a confrontation by generally cooperating with Parliament during his twenty-five-year reign, but James's commitment to Catholicism led to his overthrow only three years into his rule. Parliament deposed him in 1688 in fa-

vor of James's Protestant daughter, Mary, and her Dutch husband, William of Orange. This bloodless revolution established William and Mary as king and queen of England, with the clear understanding that their rule was subject to Parliament. The **Glorious Revolution** was a victory for English Protestantism and a defeat for arbitrary government.

### **Colonizers and Colonies**

For most of the seventeenth century, the people of England had to endure turbulent, sometimes violent, and very rapidly changing circumstances. Those in power had harassed and persecuted religious dissenters. The shift from an agricultural society to a more commercial one had made some people very wealthy but had left others in poverty or in fear of poverty. The political disputes over the rights of king and Parliament and over the liberties of Englishmen had led to such remarkable events as the execution of a king and a civil war. These precarious conditions at home provided compelling motives for thousands of English men and women to seek a new life across the Atlantic.

Initially, England's merchant entrepreneurs provided these men and women with the means and the great sums needed for colonizing North America. Early in the seventeenth century, they

**Church of England** The Protestant church that King Henry VIII established as England's official church in the sixteenth century; also known as the Anglican church.

**Puritans** English Protestants who wanted to reform the Church of England.

**Parliament** The lawmaking branch of the English government, composed of the House of Lords, representing English nobility, and the House of Commons, an elected body of untitled English citizens.

**absolutism** The exercise of complete and unrestricted power in government.

**Glorious Revolution** The events in 1688 that resulted in the removal of James II from the throne of England and the crowning of the Protestant monarchs William and Mary.

**entrepreneur** A person who organizes and manages a business enterprise that involves risk and requires initiative.

formed **joint-stock companies** that pooled the resources of numerous individuals and that protected investors from losing their entire fortunes (as Sir Walter Raleigh had) to finance England's first North American colonies. After the Restoration, the king played an increasingly important role in colonization. He gave his friends and supporters large grants of land that became **proprietary colonies**. Eventually, the English monarchs themselves established colonies or took control of existing ones, making them royal **colonies**.

By the early eighteenth century, the English colonists who lived in the North American settlements had come to think of themselves not as members of a single society but as residents of four distinct regions. The Chesapeake, consisting of Virginia and Maryland, was the site of the first successful English foothold on the continent. New England followed soon after. The Middle Colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey came about through the conquest of earlier Dutch settlements. The Lower South—consisting of North Carolina, South Carolina, and ultimately Georgia—carried the English flag to the borders of Spanish Florida.

## Settling the Chesapeake

In 1606, James granted royal **charters** to two groups of merchants. The Plymouth Company was given the right to colonize a northern area stretching all the way from present-day Maine to Virginia. Its single venture, the Popham Colony in Maine, failed almost immediately in 1607. The wealthier London Company received permission to create settlements from present-day New York to South Carolina. Its outpost near the Chesapeake Bay became England's first successful colony in the New World.

## The Planting of Jamestown

The London Company's investors expected a quick profit from their venture because the settlers were instructed to "dig, mine, and search for all Manner of Gold, Silver, and Copper." Many of the 144 initial colonists were gentlemen adventurers more inter-

ested in the excitement of gathering precious metals than in starting life over in a new world.

The exclusively male colonists set sail from England in December 1606. Before land was sighted, sixteen people had died at sea. But **Jamestown**, the camp they established on a small peninsula on the James River, near the Chesapeake Bay, would prove to be more deadly than the transatlantic voyage.

The colonists chose the site because it was easy to defend against attack by Spanish ships or local Indians. What they did not realize was that the swampy area around Jamestown was an unhealthy environment. "Swelling Fluxes" and "Burning Fevers" (probably caused by typhoid and dysentery) killed many Englishmen that summer.

By winter, starvation had replaced disease as the primary danger. The English gentlemen in the camp, unaccustomed to working, refused to clear fields or to do any manual labor at all. The personal servants of these gentlemen were inept pioneers as well. By January 1608, only thirty-eight of these helpless settlers were still alive.

Among the survivors of the nightmare winter was a 27-year-old soldier of fortune, **Captain John Smith**. With the settlement in crisis, Smith took charge. He immediately imposed military discipline on the colonists. Smith forced the gentlemen, their servants, and the newcomers who arrived in the spring of 1608 to build, plant, and fish. Even with these sensible efforts, the deaths continued.

**joint-stock company** A business financed through the sale of shares of stock to investors, who share both the profits and the losses from a risky venture.

**proprietary colonies** Colonies owned by an individual or group of individuals who determined how settlement would take place and the rules and laws under which the colonists would live.

**royal colonies** Colonies under the direct authority of the king or queen.

**charter** An official document in which a sovereign or a governing body grants rights or privileges.

**Jamestown** The first permanent English settlement in America; it was founded in Virginia in 1607.

**Captain John Smith** English colonist at Jamestown who imposed military discipline when disease and famine threatened the settlement.

By October 1608, almost 150 of the original and new Virginia colonists had died.

Terrible as the first winters had been, Virginians remembered 1609 as "the starving time." When new settlers arrived in the spring of 1610, they found only sixty ragged survivors. The Virginia Company, as it was now known, continued to send new colonists annually to replace the dead and the dying. But the survival of the colony remained in doubt.

Tobacco proved to be Virginia's salvation. Since the 1560s, when Indian tobacco was introduced, smoking had become a steady English habit. Native Virginia tobacco was too harsh for English tastes, but colonist John Rolfe experimented successfully with a milder West Indian strain. By 1612, Rolfe and most of his neighbors had begun a mad race to plant and harvest as many acres of tobacco as possible.

Tobacco became the colony's obsession. "Brown gold" grew to dominate every aspect of Virginia life. Colonists dispersed themselves over vast areas, rather than settling in towns or farming communities, because planters needed large tracts of land for a crop that rapidly depleted the soil. Planters fanned out along the Virginia river system because the waterways provided transportation for their tobacco. One outcome was a life of isolation rather than a sense of community. Another was improved health, for tobacco drew Virginians away from Jamestown's deadly environment.

"Brown gold" may have made Rolfe and his neighbors prosperous, but the Virginia Company continued to struggle. To cut its expenses, in 1618 the company introduced the headright system. Under this system, any man who paid the cost of transporting and supplying a settler—whether himself, a family member, or a servant—had the right to obtain fifty acres per settler for himself. The system shifted the cost of populating and developing the colony to the residents, but it also diminished the company's control over its primary resource: land. The company made other significant concessions to its colonists. The tight military discipline begun by Captain John Smith gave way to civil government. The planters won decision-making powers over local issues in 1619, when the company created an elected, representative lawmaking body called the **House of Burgesses**.

The company made costly errors in its Indian policy. Its governors in Virginia chose confronta-

tion rather than compromise or negotiation with the local Powhatan Indians. The outcome was a deadly Indian raid on Jamestown on Good Friday in 1622. News of the attack and of other mismanagement prompted King James to revoke the company's charter and to assume control of the colony in 1624. By that time, only 1,275 of the 8,500 settlers who had arrived since 1607 remained alive.

### **Creating a Refuge for Catholics**

As Virginians spread out along the riverways of their colony, George Calvert, a wealthy Catholic, began making plans for a second southern colony. The first Lord Baltimore, Calvert was a Catholic who turned his attention to America to accomplish two aims. First, he wanted to create a refuge for English Catholics. Second, he wanted to establish a peaceful, orderly society where aristocrats would rule over respectful commoners much as he believed they had in medieval England. Charles I, who had ascended the English throne when James I died in 1625, was happy to oblige his friend's request for a colonial charter.

Calvert died before the charter was actually drawn up in 1632. Thus it fell to his son Cecilius to realize his father's dreams for Maryland, a vast tract of southern land. The second Lord Baltimore soon discovered, however, that very few of England's remaining Catholics wanted to go to Maryland to become **tenant** farmers. Ironically, most of Maryland's first settlers in 1634 were Protestants from England's middle and lower classes. Few Protestants or Catholics joined the colony subsequently because of the lack of prospects to own land. By 1640, Calvert had to abandon his father's

**headright system** Virginia Company program under which colonists who paid their own expenses or the expenses of another person got 50 acres of land per settler in return.

**House of Burgesses** The representative lawmaking body of Virginia; it was established by the Virginia Company in 1618.

**tenant farmer** A person who farms land owned by someone else and pays rent either in cash or by giving up a share of the crops.



vision in favor of the headright system that Virginia used to attract colonists.

Maryland's colonists immediately turned to tobacco growing. They repeated Virginians' scramble for good riverfront land and used trickery, threats, or violence to pry acres away from resisting Indians. Virginians did not welcome their new neighbors despite the fact that most were fellow Protestants. They resented the competition of Maryland tobacco planters, and they disliked the constraints on their own acquisition of land that Calvert's colony imposed.

### Troubles on the Chesapeake

The Catholics who came to Maryland did not find a peaceful haven from religious problems. Both Protestant and Catholic Marylanders brought religious hatreds with them to the New World. When the English Civil War broke out in 1642 between the Puritan-dominated Parliament and King Charles I, the conflict spread to this Catholic colony.

The triumph of the parliamentary forces, led by Oliver Cromwell, and the subsequent beheading of the king in 1649 spelled trouble for Calvert. In 1654, the militantly Protestant Parliament took Maryland away from the Calvert family and established a Protestant Assembly in the colony. The Assembly began persecuting Catholics and ultimately provoked Catholics to take up arms. At the Battle of Severn River in 1655, a smaller Puritan force routed a Catholic army of two hundred men. When Cromwell died in 1658, the local balance of power shifted once again as the English government returned Maryland to the Calverts. Still no peace followed. Protestants in Maryland organized rebellions in 1659, 1676, 1681, and 1691, the last of which was successful.

Seventeenth-century Virginia also witnessed a revolt, although for different reasons. By the 1670s, a planter aristocracy was entrenched in Virginia. Governor William Berkeley ran the colony for the benefit of himself and a group of planter cronies. They faced little opposition until Nathaniel Bacon arrived in the colony. Although Bacon was as well educated and refined as the local elite, he found himself outside the governor's circle of friends. Unable to acquire choice coastal land, he had no

choice but to take up land in the backcountry among poor neighbors, who were often freed white servants. Indian resistance to white expansion and high taxes on the backcountry posed serious constraints for Bacon and his neighbors.

Bacon's growing anger at the government erupted in 1676 when the Susquehannock Indians retaliated for the settlers' killing of five of their tribe. The Indians killed several dozen colonists, leading western planters to demand protection and reprisals. Governor Berkeley refused to send troops or to permit the westerners to raise an army of their own. Bacon then led a large number of armed planters in a march on Jamestown, threatening to demolish the capital unless the governor changed his mind. Furious but frightened, Berkeley gave in to Bacon's demand for a military commission. As soon as Bacon's army headed west, however, Berkeley revoked the military commission he had just given Bacon. He declared Bacon and his men "rebels and traitors" and ordered them to disband at once.

Bacon responded by turning his army around and heading back to Jamestown. Poor farmers, servants, craftsmen, artisans, and black slaves, to whom Bacon promised freedom, swelled the army's ranks as it neared Jamestown. What began as an uprising by a group of vigilantes was rapidly turning into a social revolution against a privileged elite.

Governor Berkeley tried desperately to rally his supporters, but to no avail. When Bacon's army reached Jamestown, even the governor fled. The rebels looted the town and then headed home to fight the Indians. Before Bacon could do so, however, he fell victim to a fatal attack of dysentery.

Without Bacon's leadership, the rebellion fell apart. Berkeley took revenge for all the insults and humiliations he had suffered by executing twenty-three of the rebels. Bacon's **Rebellion** was over,

**commission** Authorization to carry out a particular task or duty.

**vigilantes** People who take the law into their own hands.

**Bacon's Rebellion** A revolt of backcountry farmers against the colonial government of Virginia; it was triggered by inland taxes and strife with the Indians, and it collapsed after the death of Nathaniel Bacon.



- ◆ Nathaniel Bacon came to Virginia as a gentleman in the 1670s, but his resentment of the economic and political domination of the colony by a small group of planters transformed him into a backwoods rebel. In 1676, Bacon led an army of discontented farmers, servants, and slaves against the powerful coastal planters—and almost won. In this stained-glass window, discovered and restored in the twentieth century, Bacon's social class and his commanding presence are both evident. *The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities at Bacon's Castle, Library of Virginia.*

but resistance to the old planter government continued sporadically until 1683, when royal troops flushed the last of Bacon's men out of hiding.

### Colonial Chesapeake Life

Tobacco established rhythms of work, play, and life in Virginia and Maryland that differed dramatically from those in England. Planting, tending, harvesting, and drying tobacco took almost ten months of the year, beginning in late winter and ending just before Christmas. In the short period between the holiday and the beginning of the new planting sea-

son, Chesapeake planters frantically tried to catch up on other neglected farm chores. They mended fences, built new cabins and sheds, and cut timber and firewood. They also compressed their meager social life into these winter months. Courtships were not long in the Chesapeake.

Because tobacco exhausted the soil quickly, planters moved often to new fields on their land or acquired new land. With each move, they left drying sheds and workers' shacks behind. Planters placed little value on permanent homes until well into the eighteenth century. They were willing to sacrifice comfort and permanence to the profits of growing tobacco.

Planters searched endlessly for a large and cheap labor force. During the seventeenth century, economic hard times in England sent thousands of landless and jobless young men and women to them as indentured servants. Such servants worked for planters for four to seven years in exchange for their passage across the Atlantic and the promise of land at the end of their service. The planters' decided preference for male laborers resulted in very lopsided sex ratios in the Chesapeake. In many areas, there were more than three males for every female.

More than three-quarters of the white immigrants to the Chesapeake in the seventeenth century arrived as indentured servants. They spent long, backbreaking days stooped down among tobacco plants. Food rations were meager and whippings frequent. A shocking number did not survive their term of service. Malnutrition took a severe toll. Diseases to which the English had little or no immunity struck down planters as well as their servants. Life was so uncertain in the first century of settlement in the Chesapeake that the white population was unable to reproduce itself. Only immigration sustained the population.

Improving economic conditions in England during the second half of the seventeenth century meant

**indentured servant** Someone obligated to compulsory service for a fixed period of time, usually from four to seven years, most often agreed to in exchange for passage to the colonies. A labor contract called an indenture spelled out the terms of the agreement.

a declining number of people were willing to immigrate to the harsh conditions that prevailed in Maryland and Virginia. Tobacco planters turned increasingly to African slaves to meet their labor needs.

## **New England: Colonies of Dissenters**

Shortly after the founding of Jamestown, religious dissenters in a small English village began preparations to escape King James I's wrath. These residents of Scrooby Village were people of modest means. But they had angered the king by their declaration that the Church of England was hopelessly corrupt and that they intended to separate from it. James vowed to drive these **Separatists** out of England.

### **Founding Plymouth**

In 1608, a small group of Separatists took this threat to heart. These Pilgrims went to the city of Leyden, Holland, where they found religious freedom and prosperity. But William Bradford, a leader of the exiles, saw hidden dangers in this comfortable new life. He worried that the Pilgrims were being "drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses." Bradford decided it was time to become a pilgrim once more, this time to America.

In 1620, Bradford led thirty-five supporters back to England. There they joined a second, smaller group of Separatists and set sail for Virginia aboard an old, creaky ship. Nine weeks later, the *Mayflower* delivered them to Cape Cod, hundreds of miles north of their destination of Jamestown. Although many of the Pilgrims were disheartened by the captain's faulty piloting and the approach of winter, Bradford saw distinct advantages to the accident that had taken them so far from Virginia. In an isolated settlement, the Pilgrims would be able to pursue their own religious ideas without interference. Bradford's problem was to persuade the loudly complaining passengers to remain where they were.

To prevent a mutiny, Bradford negotiated an unusual contract with all the men aboard the *Mayflower*. The Mayflower Compact granted polit

ical rights to any man willing to remain and abide by the new colony's laws. Given such an unheard-of opportunity to participate in political decisions, the men chose to remain in what came to be called Plymouth Plantations.

Half of the colonists died during that first winter. The colony survived thanks to Squanto, a Patuxet Indian who came upon the struggling settlement in the spring of 1621. Squanto became the Pilgrims' teacher and adviser. He taught them how to plant corn, squash, and pumpkins. He acted as translator for William Bradford when he and Massasoit, leader of the local Wampanoag Indians, sat down to negotiate a treaty of friendship. The summer of cooperation between the Wampanoags and the Pilgrims saved Plymouth Plantations. In the fall of 1621, the English settlers and Indians sat down to a harvest feast of thanksgiving.

Over the next decades, Plymouth Plantations grew at a steady, modest pace. When William Bradford died in 1657, after a long career as governor, the colony had over thirteen hundred people. Most of the colonists lived comfortably by farming, fishing, or cutting timber. A few grew wealthy from the fur trade. Much of the of the colony's success was probably due to the alliance with the Wampanoags. For forty years, Plymouth Plantations grew peacefully by purchasing land from Massasoit's people. By the time of Bradford's death, however, the intense religious piety of the original Pilgrims had faded. Bradford had recognized the dangers of a comfortable life in Holland but not in America.

**Separatists** English Protestants who chose to leave the Church of England because they believed it was corrupt.

**Pilgrims** A small group of Separatists who left England in search of religious freedom and sailed to America on the *Mayflower* in 1620.

**William Bradford** Pilgrim leader who organized the *Mayflower* journey and became governor of the Plymouth colony.

**Mayflower Compact** An agreement drafted in 1620, when the Pilgrims reached Cape Code, granting political rights to all male colonists willing to abide by the colony's laws.

**Squanto** A Patuxet Indian who taught the Pilgrims how to survive in America and acted as a translator.

## Massachusetts Bay and Its Settlers

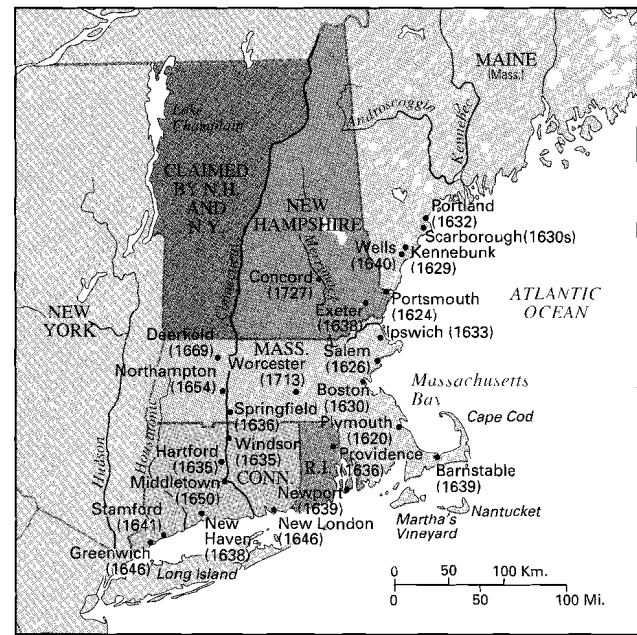
When Charles I came to the throne in 1625, the persecution of religious dissenters became unrelenting. William Laud, whom the king appointed as archbishop of Canterbury, was determined to rid the Church of England of all would-be purifiers. This persecution and a deepening economic depression in England led many Puritans who had opposed the Pilgrims' separatism to reconsider their choice to remain critics within the Church of England. The outcome was the planting of new colonies in America (see Map 3.1).

A young Puritan lawyer named John Winthrop agonized over the Puritans' increasingly desperate situation. His solution was to propose that the Puritans leave England yet retain their ties to the Anglican church. This proposal would free the Puritans from the taint of separatism yet allow them to create a truly godly community far from the prying eyes of the king's officials, especially Archbishop Laud. This ideal Puritan community would serve as a model for others and show England the error of its sinful ways.

King Charles I, who was more than willing to help dissenters leave England, approved the request by Winthrop's Massachusetts Bay Company for a northern colony. The company immediately began to recruit devout Puritan families to join in the religious experiment. Winthrop spoke of the colony in biblical terms, comparing the American "Wilderness Zion" of the Puritans to the desert wilderness in which the Hebrews wandered before reaching their "Promised Land." Winthrop's vision and the king's dismissal of Parliament in 1629 produced the **Great Migration** of nearly twenty thousand Puritans in the 1630s. Many more Puritans, however, remained in England.

The first years of the Massachusetts Bay Colony stood in sharp contrast to the lean and lonely beginnings of nearby Plymouth Plantations or Jamestown. An advance crew traveled to Massachusetts in early 1629 to prepare shelters and to clear fields for planting. Winthrop and over a thousand more colonists followed in 1630 in seventeen sturdy ships loaded with livestock, tools, supplies, and food. There was no "starving time" in the colony.

Aboard his flagship, the *Arbella*, John Winthrop preached a sermon in which he urged his audience



◆ **MAP 3.1 New England Settlement in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries** This map shows the major towns and cities of New England and their settlement dates. By the end of the seventeenth century, the region had four colonies. Colonists seeking land moved west and south toward the New York border and north toward French Canada. Those involved in trade, shipping, and crafts migrated to the seaport cities.

to create a model Protestant community. "We shall be a city upon a hill," he pointed out, observing that "the eyes of all peoples are upon us." God would protect and nurture their settlement if they kept their promises to Him. To falter in their mission, or to forget their purpose, however, would bring punishment from God.

The first government of the colony, called the General Court, consisted of Winthrop and the

**John Winthrop** English Puritan who was one of the founders of Massachusetts Bay Colony and served as its first governor.

**Great Migration** The movement of Puritans from England to America in the 1630s; it was caused by political conflict in England and by fear of persecution.

eleven other stockholders in the Massachusetts Bay Company who had decided to emigrate. No man was permitted to vote or hold office unless he was an acknowledged church member, not simply a churchgoer. To be a church member, or saint, a person had to testify to an experience of "saving faith"—a moment of intense awareness of God's power that offered an assurance of salvation. Slowly, however, free white males who could not claim sainthood did win the right to vote on local matters, and by the mid-1630s the Puritan saints had wrested important political power from Winthrop and his fellow shareholders with the creation of a representative assembly.

Puritan authorities intended to enforce biblical laws as well as English civil law. A colonist's religious beliefs and practices, style of dress, sexual conduct, and personal behavior were all legally subject to regulation by the community. Every colonist was required to attend church, and the church joined the government in supervising business dealings, parent-child relationships, and marital life. The Puritan desire to create a godly community on earth led the colony's leaders to create standards of behavior that they imposed on every individual.

Massachusetts Bay developed into a society of small farming villages and small seaport towns. The Puritans believed that these close-knit settlements would help them create model Christian communities. In contrast to the Chesapeake settlers, the Puritans in Massachusetts largely re-created the village life they had known in England. They built their homes in clusters around a village green, where they also located the church. Farms were within walking distance of the village center. As town populations grew and the walking distance to fields lengthened, those who had to walk the farthest requested and were usually granted permission to start new communities for themselves.

The Bay Colony and other later Puritan colonies in New England were societies based on families. Because the Puritans arrived in family groups, roughly the same number of men and women lived in the Puritan settlements. Unlike the Chesapeake colonists, men and women in New England could expect to find marriage partners. Puritan couples could expect to raise a family of five to seven children and to see their children marry and produce children. Cool temperatures, good drink-

ing water, and an ample diet provided much more favorable conditions for a long life and for families than existed in the Chesapeake.

Family was also the building block for the larger society in New England. The Puritans and Pilgrims believed that it was the duty of families to teach children to obey and to be respectful. In Massachusetts Bay, criticizing a parent was a crime punishable by death, although the punishment was rarely enforced. Family government extended to wives. Puritan ministers reinforced the ideal of a hierarchy within a family by saying, "Wives are a part of the House and Family, and ought to be under a Husband's Government: they should obey their own Husbands." In return, the husband was expected to be loving, kind, and tender. But the man was the undisputed head of the household. He was owed obedience by all its members and had control over all its economic resources. Wives, no matter how wise or wealthy, had no property or political rights.

### **Dissenters in Zion**

Despite being victims of persecution, the Puritans did not favor religious toleration. They saw no reason to welcome **Quakers**, Jews, Catholics, or Anglicans into their midst. The Bay Colony dealt harshly with non-Puritans who came to Massachusetts. When Quaker missionaries arrived and attempted to convert the Puritans, they were flogged, beaten, imprisoned, and branded with hot irons. Some persistent Quakers were even hanged.

Puritan leaders showed just as little tolerance toward fellow Puritans who criticized or challenged them. Winthrop and his cofounders tried to

**saint** A person who was granted full membership in a Puritan church after testifying to an experience of "saving faith."

**hierarchy** A system in which people or things are ranked one above another.

**Quakers** Members of the Religious Society of Friends, a Protestant sect; Quakers believe in the equality of men and women, refuse to bear arms, and seek divine inspiration from the "inner light" within each individual.

enforce orthodoxy, or religious agreement, by labeling their critics heretics.

One of the most powerful challenges came from Roger Williams, the assistant minister in the Salem congregation, who was highly critical of every aspect of the colony's life. Williams condemned the government's seizure of Indian lands through intimidation and warfare as a "National Sinne." He insisted that true religious belief was a matter of personal commitment and could not be compelled by the government. "Forced religion," he said bluntly, "stinks in God's nostrils."

Williams's evident popularity and his dissident views led the General Court to banish him from the Bay Colony in the middle of the winter of 1635. Williams sought refuge with the Narragansett Indians, who lived south of the colony. In the spring, many of his most faithful followers joined him in exile. Providence, the community they established, became a magnet for Puritan dissenters, Quakers, and Jews. John Winthrop tolerated Providence, for he saw it as a dumping ground for troublemakers. In 1644, Providence Plantations acquired a colonial charter from England's new Puritan government. This charter clearly established Williams's principle of separation of church and state. The colony later became known as Rhode Island.

Another challenge to Winthrop's authority came from Anne Hutchinson, who arrived in the Bay Colony with her husband in 1634. Soon after their arrival, the Hutchinsons began to host meetings in their home to discuss their minister's sermons. The meetings were immediately popular. The brilliant Anne Hutchinson, who had been trained by her minister father to interpret the Scriptures, quickly acquired a reputation as a critic of the colony's clergy. She contended that the vast majority of the colony's clergy had slipped into what Calvinists considered a Catholic heresy: the belief that good works earned a person salvation. Hutchinson reemphasized the original Calvinist doctrine that only God's grace, not good behavior or obedience to biblical laws, could save a person's soul. Puritan ministers conceded this point but could not agree with Hutchinson that proper behavior had no place in a Christian community. They feared her thinking might lead to sin and anarchy.

The fact that Hutchinson was a woman made the challenge to Puritan authorities seem worse. Men

like John Winthrop believed that women had no business criticizing ministers and government officials. A surprising number of Puritans, however, were untroubled by Hutchinson's outspokenness. She developed a strong following among women and among merchants and artisans who were not saints. They appreciated her attacks on men who had political rights that they themselves lacked. Hutchinson also attracted Puritan saints who disliked the tight reins on business, personal, and social life that Winthrop and the clergy maintained.

In the end, however, none of Hutchinson's supporters could protect her. In 1637, she was arrested and brought to trial before the General Court. Although she was in the last stages of a troubled pregnancy, the judges forced her to stand throughout the long, exhausting, repetitive examination. Hutchinson was a clever defendant and seemed to be winning until she claimed that she had had direct communication with God. Such a claim was counter to Puritan teachings that God spoke to individuals only through the Bible, and it justified her conviction as a heretic. Triumphant, Winthrop and his court ruled her "unfit to our society" and banished her from the Bay Colony.

Some Puritans left Massachusetts voluntarily. In 1636, Reverend Thomas Hooker and his entire Newton congregation resettled in the Connecticut River valley. Other Puritan congregations followed. By 1639, the Connecticut valley towns had drafted their own government, and in 1664 they joined to create the colony of Connecticut. A number of Bay colonists searching for new or better lands made their way north to what later became Maine and New Hampshire. New Hampshire became a separate colony in 1679, but Maine remained part of Massachusetts until 1820.

**heretic** A person who publicly dissents from an officially accepted doctrine or religion.

**Roger Williams** A minister who was banished from Massachusetts for criticizing the Puritan leaders of the colony; in 1636 he founded Providence, a community based on religious freedom.

**Anne Hutchinson** A religious leader who was banished from Massachusetts in 1637 because of her heretical beliefs.



◆ King Philip's War was one of the bloodiest conflicts in colonial history. One out of every sixteen adult male colonists was killed, and local tribes like the Wampanoags and Narragansetts were virtually exterminated. The Puritan victory at the Battle of Hadley, depicted in this nineteenth-century drawing, was a turning point in this bitter struggle. Soon afterward, the leader of the Indian uprising, Metacomet (King Philip), was trapped and killed. "*General Goffe Repulsing the Indians at Hadley.*" Library of Congress.

## Indian Suppression

The Puritans' commitment to building a godly community did not mean that they were pacifists or that they were always altruistic. Their treatment of the New England Indians offers ample proof that the Puritans were all too often motivated by greed.

In 1637, the Puritans used trumped-up murder charges against Sassacus, the leader of the **Pequots** in Connecticut, as an excuse to declare war on the tribe. The Puritans were often the "savages" in the Pequot War, as is evidenced by their attack on the civilian Indian population at Mystic Village. The Bay Colony's Captain John Underhill noted with satisfaction that there were "about four hundred souls in this fort, and not above five of them escaped out of our hands." The Pequot War did not end until all the men had been killed and the women and children sold into slavery in the Caribbean.

In 1675, the long alliance between the Plymouth colonists and the Wampanoag Indians broke down when colonists encroached on Wampanoag lands. The Narragansetts and other smaller tribes joined Chief Metacomet (known to the English as King Philip) in **King Philip's War**. Indian resistance was dealt a crushing blow when the governor of New York sent Iroquois troops into battle against Metacomet's exhausted army. Metacomet escaped immediate capture, only to be killed in 1676 by an Indian ally of the English.

Metacomet's death ended Indian resistance in New England. Some tribes had been entirely

wiped out, or the survivors had been sold into slavery. Indians who escaped death or capture scattered to the north and the west. The outcome was a New England virtually depopulated of its original inhabitants.

## Religious and Political Change in New England

New England Puritans discovered that the Atlantic Ocean did not free them from English politics. The start of the English Civil War in 1642 affected New England profoundly. As Puritans seized control of England's government, England itself became a grand Puritan experiment. Massachusetts lost its special place as a "city upon a hill," and the sense of mission among its inhabitants declined.

The war affected New England in mundane ways as well. Population fell as many settlers returned to England to fight beside Oliver Cromwell. The end of the Great Migration dried up the flow

**Pequots** An American Indian people inhabiting eastern Connecticut; when the Pequots resisted colonial expansion, the Massachusetts Bay colonists declared war on them.

**King Philip's War** War between settlers and Indians in New England from 1675 through 1676; it ended after the Wampanoag chief Metacomet was killed.

of funds and supplies from England. New England's remaining colonists, who had profited by selling livestock and foodstuffs to immigrants, now had to find a new way to pay for the imported goods that they needed. When English fishing fleets could not make their usual voyages to New England's waters because of the war, colonists created local fishing fleets. By the end of the seventeenth century, Bay colonists were actively involved in transatlantic and Caribbean trade, and Boston had grown into the largest of the English mainland colonial cities.

Massachusetts faced new religious problems after the English Civil War. Puritan colonists who had been born in America lacked the religious intensity that marked their parents' sainthood. Perhaps their growing interest in trade and commerce lessened their zeal. Whatever the cause, fewer young Puritans became saints. The declining number of new church members led to the Half-Way Covenant of 1662. This allowed children of church members to be baptized even if they could not make a convincing declaration of their salvation. The Half-Way Covenant allowed those baptized to become halfway members of the church and thus to participate in church affairs.

Meanwhile, external political pressures were growing. After the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, King Charles II insisted that Anglicans and other Protestants be allowed to settle in New England. A growing number did so. Charles II also pressured Massachusetts to conform to English law. He revoked the colony's charter in 1683 when the colony refused to end its restriction of voting to church members. This marked the beginning of an effort to centralize royal control over the growing American empire.

King James II, who assumed the throne after his brother's death in 1685, took the next step in this process. He revoked the charter of every English mainland colony and combined the New England colonies as well as New Jersey and New York into the Dominion of New England.

James hoped the Dominion would increase the land grants and other political favors that he could distribute to loyal supporters. He also expected to increase the royal revenues by imposing duties and taxes on colonial goods. What he may not have foreseen was the strength of popular resistance to

his new Dominion and to the man he chose to govern it, Sir Edmund Andros. Andros offended New England's Puritans immediately by establishing the Church of England as the Dominion's official church. Then he alienated the non-Puritans by abolishing the General Court in Massachusetts. Nonsaints had been struggling for inclusion in this representative body, not for its destruction. So when Andros imposed new taxes, many saints and nonsaints refused to pay.

In 1689, when news of James II's downfall in the Glorious Revolution reached Boston, New Englanders imprisoned Andros and shipped him back to England for trial as a traitor. Puritans hoped that their new English rulers, William and Mary, would reward them by restoring their charter. But under the new charter of 1691, Massachusetts became a royal colony whose governor was appointed by the Crown. The charter did call for a popularly elected assembly. Potential voters, however, would now have to meet the standard English property **requirement**. Church membership was no longer relevant to the exercise of political rights in New England. The Puritan experiment had largely ended.

The Salem witch trials occurred in the context of these wrenching and bewildering changes in New England life. In 1692, a group of young women and girls in Salem began to show signs of "bewitchment." They fell into violent fits and their bodies contorted. Under questioning, they named several local women, including Tituba, a slave acquired from the West Indies, as their tormentors. The conviction that the devil had come to Massachusetts spread quickly, and the number of accused witches grew. By summer, over a hundred women, men, and even children filled local jails. Testimony of the alleged victims led to the execution of twenty witches, most by hanging, before the new royal governor, Sir William Phips, arrived in Massachusetts and forbade any further arrests. In January

Half-Way Covenant An agreement that gave partial membership in Puritan churches to the children of church members even if they had not had a "saving faith" experience.

property requirement The limitation of voting rights to people who own certain kinds of property.





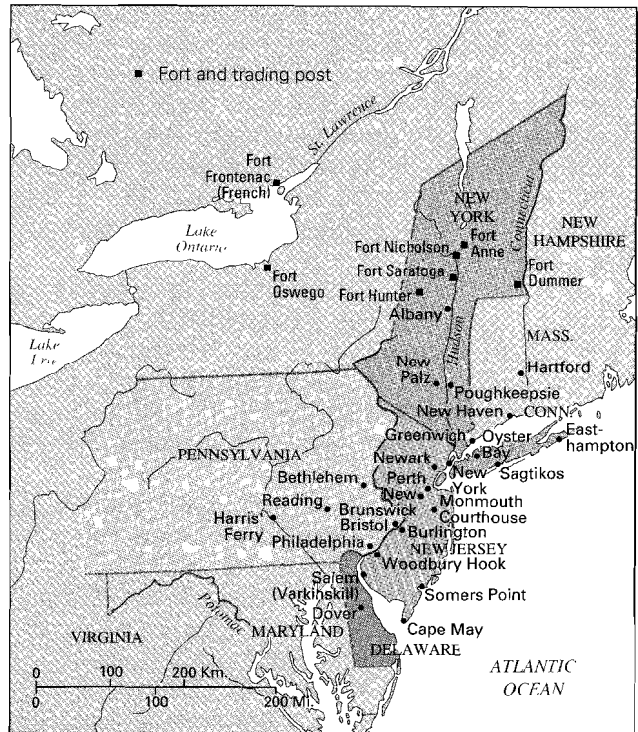
# Although often described as an African, Tituba was probably a West Indian. Tituba's accounts of witchcraft in Massachusetts were a powerful combination of her own Indian background, African traditions learned on the Barbadian plantation where she was a slave, and the Puritan beliefs acquired in the household of a local minister. *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem* by Elaine G. Breslaw.

1693, the governor assembled a new court that quickly acquitted the remaining prisoners.

Economic change and local resentments apparently played a role in the Salem witchcraft hysteria as well as uncertainties about the end of Puritan government. Those leveling the accusations typically lived on small farms outside the town of Salem; those accused of witchcraft were wealthier and lived in the rising seaport of Salem.

## The Pluralism of the Middle Colonies

Between the Chesapeake and New England lay a vast stretch of forests and farmland claimed by the Dutch. In the early seventeenth century, settlers



• MAP 3.2 The Middle Colonies This map shows the major towns, cities, and forts in the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania (including Delaware), and New Jersey. The prosperity of the region was based on the thriving commerce of its largest cities, Philadelphia and New York, and on the commercial production of wheat.

from Holland, Sweden, Germany, and France made New Netherland their home. But in the 1660s, the Dutch lost this American empire to England. The English divided the conquered territory into three colonies: New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania (see Map 3.2).

### From New Amsterdam to New York

New Netherland in 1664 had only about eight thousand people, the majority of whom were not Dutch. The colony grew slowly because it was not very prosperous, thanks largely to the poor management of the Dutch West India Company.

The company was also unable to defend its colony. Eager to gain an advantage over the Dutch, England's main commercial rival, King Charles II

in 1664 granted New Netherland to his brother James, the duke of York. All James had to do was take this prize from the Dutch. When the duke's four armed ships arrived in New Amsterdam harbor, the colonists refused to defend the town. The Dutch had done little for them. Governor Peter Stuyvesant was forced to surrender the colony without a shot being fired, and New Netherland became New York.

New York grew rapidly under James's rule. Its population doubled between 1665 and 1685. Religious refugees, including French Protestants, English Quakers, and Scottish Presbyterians, found New York attractive because it offered religious toleration. The result was a remarkably diverse colonial population.

Diversity did not ensure harmony in the colony. English, Dutch, and German merchants in New York City competed fiercely for control of the colony's trade and for domination of the city's cultural life. Fierce rivalries also existed between New York City's merchants and Albany's fur traders.

New Yorkers were united only in their resentment of James's political control of the colony. Except for a brief period, New York lacked a representative assembly under his rule. Thus when King James II merged New York with the surrounding colonies in his Dominion of New England in 1686, local opposition was as great as it was in Massachusetts. In 1689, news of the Glorious Revolution prompted a revolt in New York City similar to the revolt in Boston. New Yorkers were also successful in deposing the king's officials.

## The Founding of New Jersey

In 1664, James granted the area west of Manhattan and east of the Delaware River to two loyal supporters. Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley were never able to profit from their New Jersey holdings. They did not anticipate the rush of Puritans, Quakers, and Baptists into New Jersey that began as soon as the Dutch surrendered New Netherland. The settlers refused to recognize the authority of the governor appointed by the proprietors or to pay rents.

Exasperated, Berkeley sold his half-interest in New Jersey to a group of Quaker merchants in

1672. Carteret held on to his half until his death in 1681, when a second group of Quaker merchants acquired it. The liberal policies of the Quakers drew great numbers of dissenters to the colony. The Quaker proprietors granted suffrage to all male inhabitants and established a representative assembly with broad powers. Colonists were ensured full religious freedom and the right to a trial by jury. These policies promoted a thriving and prosperous pair of communities. In 1702, West Jersey and East Jersey combined to form New Jersey.

## Pennsylvania: Another Holy Experiment

**William Penn** was eager to create a refuge for his fellow Quakers, who had been severely persecuted in England. Penn was in a unique position to accomplish this end. His father, Admiral Sir William Penn, who was not a Quaker, had been one of England's naval heroes and one of King Charles II's political advisers. Although Charles II disliked the Quakers, by the 1670s they had become the largest dissenting sect in England, and he wanted their political support in his battles with Parliament. He looked to the younger Penn to secure that support. For a decade, Penn combined political loyalty with generous loans to the king just as his father had done. As a reward, in 1681 Charles granted Penn a charter to a huge area west of the Delaware River, which Penn named Pennsylvania ("Penn's Woods"). King Charles gave Penn the same sweeping powers as proprietor that he gave others, but Penn did not intend to govern by whim. He planned a holy experiment based on Quaker values and principles.

Quakers believed that the divine spirit—or "inner light"—resided in every human being. They there-

**Presbyterians** Members of a Calvinist sect that eventually became the established church of Scotland; in the seventeenth century, it was sometimes opposed by Scotland's rulers.  
suffrage The right to vote.

**William Penn** English Quaker who founded the colony of Pennsylvania in 1681.

fore respected all individuals and maintained a highly egalitarian church structure. The **Quaker** meeting was strikingly simple, without ceremony or ritual. Any congregation member who felt moved to speak was able to participate. Within the meetinghouse, distinctions of wealth and social status were not recognized. Women as well as men were welcome to speak in the meeting. In their plain dress and their refusal to remove their hats in the presence of their social "betters," Quakers demonstrated their belief that all men and women were equal.

Quaker egalitarianism influenced the political structure of Pennsylvania as well. All free male residents had the right to vote, and the legislature had full governing powers. William Penn, unlike his patron Charles II, did not interfere in the colony's lawmaking process. He honored the legislature's decisions even when they disturbed him. The political quarrels that developed in Pennsylvania's assembly actually shocked Penn, but his only action was to urge political leaders not to be "so noisy, and open, in your dissatisfactions."

Penn's land policy promoted a thriving colony of small, independent, landowning farmers. He wanted no politically powerful landlords and no economically dependent tenant farmers. He insisted that all land be purchased fairly from the Indians, and he strived for peaceful coexistence between Indian and English societies. Penn recruited settlers from outside England by publishing pamphlets that stressed the freedom and the economic opportunity available in Pennsylvania. Over eight thousand immigrants poured into the colony in the first four years. Many came from England, but Irish, Scottish, Welsh, French, Scandinavian, and German settlers came as well. To their English neighbors, German newcomers such as the Mennonites and Amish became known as the "Pennsylvania Dutch."

When William Penn died in 1717, he left behind a successful, dynamic colony. Philadelphia had already emerged as a great shipping and commercial center, rivaling Boston and New York City. But this success was achieved at some cost to Penn's original vision and to his Quaker principles. Most of the eighteenth-century settlers were not Quakers and had no strong commitment to egalitarianism, pacifism, or other Quaker principles. Penn's welcome to all immigrants ultimately jeopardized his holy experiment.

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## The Colonies of the Lower South

In 1663, Charles II granted eight of his favorite supporters several million acres of land south of Virginia. Gratitude certainly influenced Charles's grant, but so did his desire to secure an English foothold in this region that was also claimed by France, Spain, and Holland (see Map 3.3).

The new proprietors named their colony Carolina. Their plan for Carolina was similar to Lord Baltimore's, and to this end the *Fundamental Constitution of Carolina* sought to create a society of great landowners, yeoman **farmers**, and serfs. Like the Calverts, the Carolina proprietors found out that few Englishmen and women were willing to travel 3,000 miles to become serfs. The proprietors soon had to abandon their scheme and to adopt the headright system used in Virginia and Maryland.

### The Carolina Colony

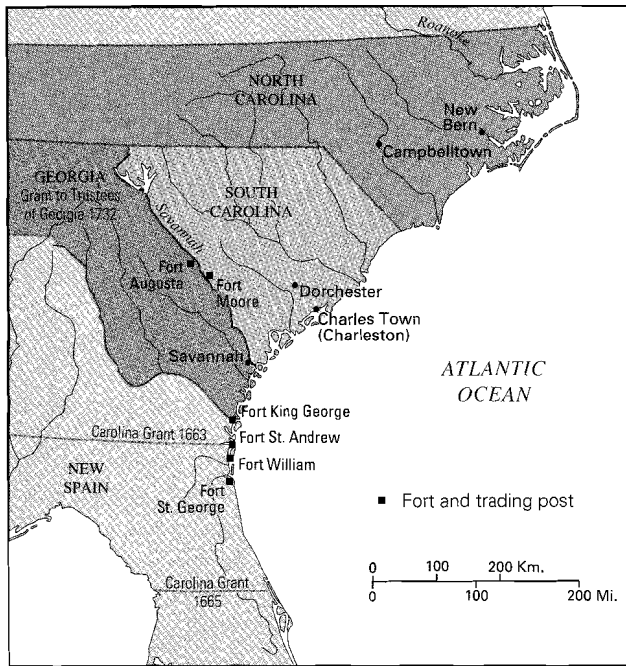
A fine natural harbor, fertile land, and the short distance to England's overcrowded possessions in the West Indies attracted settlers to Charleston in southeastern Carolina. Charleston (Charles Town before 1782) became the most important city in the southern colonies. The colony supported itself initially by trading with the local Indians for deerskins and for other Indians captured in tribal warfare. The deerskins were shipped to England, the Indians to the Caribbean as slaves. Other colonists took advantage of the region's pine forests to produce naval stores such as tar, resin, pitch, and turpentine, which were used in maintaining wooden ships.

Carolinians tried, unsuccessfully, to develop sugar cane, tobacco, silk, cotton, ginger, and olives

**Quaker meeting** A gathering of Quakers for reflection and silent or oral prayer.

**yeoman farmers** Owners of small landholdings who were entitled to vote.

**naval stores** Products such as timber, tar, resin, pitch, and turpentine, used in the building of wooden ships.



◆ **MAP 3.3 The Settlements of the Lower South** This map shows the towns and fortifications of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, as well as the overlapping claims by the Spanish and the English to the territory south and west of Fort King George. The many Georgia forts reflect that colony's role as a buffer state between rice-rich South Carolina and the Spanish troops stationed in Florida.

as cash crops. Cattle raising, which the settlers learned from African slaves imported from the West Indies, was successful. Later, rice planting, another African borrowing, proved even more profitable. The rice grown in swampy lowlands by African slaves quickly made Carolina planters the richest English colonists on the mainland. By 1708, African Americans outnumbered Europeans in the *rice* region.

In 1719, the Charleston planter elite wrested control of the southern half of Carolina from the original proprietors. In South Carolina, as it was now called, a small white elite dominated and controlled the lives of thousands of black slaves.

The northern region of Carolina around Albemarle Sound was economically unpromising and

isolated. It was bordered by swamps to the north and south. A chain of barrier islands blocked access to oceangoing vessels. Despite all these constraints, settlers had begun drifting into the area about 1660. These poor farmers and freed white servants from Virginia were searching for unclaimed land and a fresh start. They grew tobacco and produced naval stores from the pine forests around them.

In 1729, the Albemarle colonists overthrew proprietary rule and officially separated from the southern part of the colony to form North Carolina. Both South Carolina and North Carolina became royal colonies.

### Georgia: The Last Colony

In 1732, a group of wealthy English social reformers received a charter for an unusual social experiment. They hoped to reform the lives of thousands of imprisoned English debtors by giving them a new start in America.

James Oglethorpe and his colleagues gave few political rights to their colonists in Georgia. Georgians were not given a representative assembly or a voice in the selection of political or military officers. The reformers established many other restrictions. For example, no Georgian was allowed to buy or sell property in the colony, and slave labor was banned. Clearly, Oglethorpe felt that the ideal colonist was a hardworking farmer of permanently modest means.

Oglethorpe, however, could find few English debtors whom he considered as "deserving poor." Thus Georgia actually filled with South Carolinians searching for new land and with English men and women of the middling ranks. These colonists soon challenged all the land and labor policies imposed on Georgians. They won the right to buy and sell land. They introduced slave labor even though the founders refused to lift the ban on slavery. In 1752, Oglethorpe and his friends abandoned their reform project and turned Georgia over to the king.

**James Oglethorpe** Englishman who established the colony of Georgia as an asylum for debtors.

## Summary

The Virginia Company established Jamestown in *expectation* of profits from gold and silver. But the Virginians found no precious metals. *Constrained* for years by illness and the Powhatan Indians, they *chose* to cultivate tobacco. The *outcome* was a small coastal planter elite that ruled over a struggling frontier population.

Though intended as a refuge for Catholics, Maryland attracted mostly Protestant immigrants. Marylanders *chose* to cultivate tobacco through servant and slave labor as Virginians had done. One *outcome* was a tobacco-growing society throughout the Chesapeake.

The Pilgrims sought a refuge from religious persecution. Initially, they faced two main *constraints* on the New England coast: discontent among the settlers and the cold. They *chose* cooperation by offering political participation to all adult males and by establishing peaceful relations with the local Indians. The *outcome* was a society that attracted other religious dissenters.

The Puritan founders of New England *expected* to create a perfect religious society. Colonists were to obey biblical laws, and only church members were to participate in politics. The *outcome* of this experiment was not what the Puritans *expected*. No

Expectations  
Constraints  
Choices  
Outcomes

uniformity existed, and the colony had to exile its dissenters. The Puritan experiment ended in 1691, when King William issued a new Massachusetts charter.

The region between the Chesapeake and New England was colonized by the Dutch and later conquered by the English. Tolerant policies there led a diverse population to *choose* to settle in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

In the Lower South, the proprietors of Carolina *expected* to create a medieval society, but settlers would not volunteer to live in such a colony. Carolinians eventually developed a thriving rice economy built on slave labor. The *outcome* in South Carolina was that a small planter elite dominated the culture. Georgia, the last of England's mainland colonies, was founded by philanthropists who *expected* to reform "worthy debtors." In Georgia too, labor supply *constraints* led to a reliance on slavery.

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## **SUGGESTED READINGS**

Barbour, Philip. *Pocahontas and Her World* (1970).

A factual account of the life of an American Indian princess celebrated in folklore.

Breslaw, Elaine G. *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies* (1996).

The author reconstructs the life of the West Indian slave who was a central figure in the Salem witch trials.

Demos, John. *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (1970).

A beautifully written and very engaging portrait of family and community life in Plymouth Plantations.

Erikson, Kai T. *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (1966).

The author discovers the values and ideals of Massachusetts Puritan society by examining the behavior and ideas these Puritans condemned, including witchcraft and Quakerism.