Learning Outcomes

After reading this chapter, you should be able to do the following:

LO 1 Describe the changes in European development of North America during the period from 1660 to 1700, and analyze the four distinct areas that began to emerge.

LO 2 Discuss the English colonists’ experiences up to 1700 with Native American tribes.

LO 3 Discuss the English colonists’ experiences up to 1700 with African slaves.

LO 4 Discuss the European wars that had an impact on North America.
During the hundred years between 1660 and 1763, the English colonies in North America not only scratched out a living in a harsh environment, but also grew and expanded into a sizeable power central to the British Empire. In 1660, England had only a few colonies in the land that would become the United States. They were just a tiny part of Europe’s New World holdings, vastly overshadowed by colonial holdings in the Caribbean and South America. They were in New England, with its numerous small towns, and in the Chesapeake, in its large tobacco-producing farms sprawling along the region’s riverbanks. In total, there were about 70,000 people of non-Indian origin living in these regions. There was not much commerce between these European settlements, and no matter where one lived, daily life in the early colonies was grueling.

One hundred years later, the landscape had changed considerably. By 1763, there were thirteen English colonies in four distinct regions: New England, the Middle Colonies, the Chesapeake, and the Southern Colonies. Each of these regions enjoyed a vibrant economy based on commerce, agriculture, and industry. Intellectually and culturally, English colonies on American soil had begun to develop a style all their own. The colonial non-native population reached 1 million by 1750, with colonists pushing toward lands in the west that would accommodate their growing numbers.

This chapter explores this development from 1660 to 1700, paying particular attention to the expansion of British America, the decline of the Indian populations along the Atlantic coast, and the subtle transition from indentured servitude to race-based slavery. It also examines how the growing North American colonies became crucial players in the “Wars for Empire” between the European powers. Chapter 4 will focus on the solidification of the four distinct colonial regions, the development of the American slavery system, and the attempts by the British Crown to reassert control over colonial America, efforts that would ultimately trigger the Revolutionary War.

Expansion of English Holdings in North America, 1660–1700

English Motives for Further Expansion

There were several reasons for England’s further expansion. Some related to the English civil war, others to the issue of royal control, and still others to financial concerns.
The English Civil War

The initial impetus for English colonial expansion came from the homeland. In 1649, revolutionaries led by Oliver Cromwell executed the English king, Charles I, igniting a civil war that lasted a decade and a half. The revolutionaries intended to create a kingless republican government called a commonwealth, founded on concepts like taxation only with representation, limited government, and antimonarchical beliefs—all of which would become central ideas of the American Revolution more than a century later. Because English Puritans formed the backbone of the revolutionary forces, the civil war greatly slowed Puritan migration to Massachusetts.

When he died in 1658, Cromwell's commonwealth dissolved into chaos, leaving the revolution without a leader. Conservative military men took control of the country, and, in 1660, a group of generals invited Charles II to fill his late father's position as king of England. After twelve years of civil war, the Stuarts (the family that had controlled the throne since 1603) regained power. This period of English history is called the Restoration (1660–1685), and it was significant for colonial North America because King Charles II offered land in the New World to his supporters, where they could establish colonies called proprietary colonies, which were colonies owned and ruled by an individual or a private corporation, rather than by the Crown.

The Creation of Colonies during and after the Restoration

Proprietary colonies were the chief means of colonial expansion between 1660 and 1700, and it was through them that the large gap of land unsettled by Europeans between Massachusetts and Virginia, as well as the lands between Virginia and Florida, were colonized (Map 3.1). During the Restoration, friends of Charles II created five proprietary colonies: Carolina (present-day North and South Carolina), New York, Pennsylvania, and East Jersey and West Jersey (later joined to become New Jersey). The proprietary colony of Georgia was founded after the Restoration.

The proprietors of these colonies were free to establish governments as they wished, so long as their laws did not contradict those of England. Given this freedom, each of the proprietary colonies developed quite differently from one another. The expansion of colonial America had begun.

Carolina

Three years after returning to his father's throne, Charles II granted the vast territory of Carolina to a group of eight noblemen who had supported him during the commonwealth. According to the grant, the Carolinas extended from Virginia south to the northern tip of today's Florida, and west all the way to the

Tightening Royal Control

To reinforce control over the colonies (which, in general, had been sympathetic to Cromwell and which had engaged in more trade with the Dutch because of the decline in English trading), Charles II first enacted strict trade regulations. Passed by Parliament in 1651, the first of these regulations, known collectively as the Navigation Acts, dictated where colonial producers could ship their goods, stipulated that colonists must transport their goods in English ships, and listed a group of enumerated articles (tobacco, sugar, cotton, indigo) that colonists were permitted to sell only to England. The goal of these measures was to prevent the transfer of resources from England to its rivals, France and the Dutch Republic. They were also intended to curb the growth of colonial North America, which the Crown saw as a potential threat to English producers.

Paying Off Debts

The Navigation Acts meant that the colonies could be lucrative for those who controlled them, because the acts ensured an English monopoly on the first sale of all colonial goods. Thus, to pay off his debts, Charles II offered land in the New World to his supporters, where they could establish colonies called proprietary colonies, which were colonies owned and ruled by an individual or a private corporation, rather than by the Crown. If the proprietors ruled them successfully, they could become extremely wealthy.

enumerated articles
Goods (tobacco, sugar, cotton, indigo) listed in the Navigation Acts that colonists were permitted to sell only to England

proprietary colonies
Colonies owned and ruled by an individual or a private corporation, rather than by the Crown
Pacific Ocean. The eight proprietors set up elaborate rules (in a constitution drafted by the philosopher John Locke) and encouraged the establishment of large plantations. Two-fifths of each county was to be set aside for the proprietors, thus ensuring the continued wealth of the founders.

The failure of proprietorship. Things did not turn out as Carolina’s proprietors had hoped. Basically, they misunderstood that the American context of abundant land would not accommodate the hierarchical society of England with its noble titles and haughty proprietors. Many of the earliest settlers of Carolina came from the Caribbean rather than England, because a temporary dip in sugar prices made the Caribbean islands less appealing. These settlers were accustomed to self-rule, not the hierarchical society the proprietors intended to emulate. They also brought slaves with them, meaning that, from its earliest history, Carolina was powered by small-scale entrepreneurs and slave laborers. It later had the distinction of being America’s first colony dependent on slave labor. Charles Town (later Charleston) was founded in 1670 after the decimation...
of Indian tribes in the area, but Carolina was con-
sidered highly undesirable; its weather was hot and
humid, and tobacco did not thrive in the colony’s soil.
Everything was going badly.

**Rice.** The colony’s fortunes reversed
in 1693, when Carolinians dis-
covered from their African
slaves that rice could be
grown easily in the fertile soil.
Rice culture spread rapidly,
making Carolina lucrative and
suddenly creating an urgent
need for more labor. This labor
 crunch meant that by 1720 the south-
ern part of the colony, where the soil was
most fertile, was populated by twice as many slaves
as European freemen or indentured servants. Most of
these slaves had been imported from Barbados, in the
West Indies, which had become a key marketplace
for the worldwide slave trade. The large number of
slaves in Carolina made Charlestown the center of
North America’s early slave trade, which would begin
to prosper in the 1680s and 1690s.

**Life in Carolina.** Few Europeans lived in the south-
ern part of Carolina because life there was so
miserable. Diseases spread rapidly, and popula-
tion growth remained low. Despite the proprietors’
hopes for a harmonious existence with the Indians,
before rice made Carolina lucrative its principal
export was captured Indian slaves who were sold
in New England and the West Indies.
This meant continued warfare with
Indian tribes—yet another rea-
ton to avoid the southern part
of Carolina. Within the first
three decades of the colony’s
founding, the two largest
tribes on the Carolina coast
were largely extinct.

In the northern part of the
colony there were fewer diseases
and lower humidity, which led to the
development of a different kind of society.
Tobacco farmers from Virginia developed small
farms and advocated self-rule there. Although slav-
ery existed, it never became the main labor supply.
By 1698, the differences between the south and the
north had become so marked that the proprietors
chose to divide the colonies in two; they became
South Carolina and North Carolina in 1712.

**New York**
New York was also a proprietary colony, but from the
beginning it was polyglot and diverse and developed
much differently than Carolina did.
The New York Dutch. New York began as a Dutch colony, founded long before the Restoration in 1624, when the Dutch claimed New Jersey and New York. The Dutch based their claims on the voyage of Henry Hudson in 1609 and Peter Minuit’s purchase of the island of Manhattan for a small amount of trinkets and jewelry. They called their territory New Netherland. This was a bold move because the English were developing colonies south of New York in Virginia and north of it in New England.

During the early 1600s, the Dutch had moderate success trading furs with the Iroquois. But their biggest success lay in the port town of New Amsterdam (later New York City). There, a multicultural group of traders gathered to trade and barter near the Atlantic. None was more impressive than Adriaen van der Donck, a Dutch lawyer who became an eager advocate for and political leader of New Amsterdam and the New World more generally. He created maps, wrote travelogues, and paid to have colonists come to Manhattan. By 1660, the population of New Amsterdam reached 10,000.

The English take over. Competition over commerce led to bitter relations between the English and Dutch, and three small “Anglo-Dutch” wars broke out between the two nations, fought mostly in the English Channel, between 1652 and 1675. In 1664, England’s Charles II wrested New Amsterdam from the Dutch and granted it to his brother, the Duke of York. Renaming the colony New York, the duke ruled it severely and autocratically for two decades. But his attempts to restrict the rights of New Yorkers were resisted by the diverse mix of settlers and traders, who fought to keep New York free for commerce and expression. No matter who was in charge, though, New York did allow slavery. By 1703, 42 percent of New York’s households had slaves, a percentage that was the second highest of any North American city.
Outdoing even New York’s polyglot character, William Penn established the most diverse of the proprietary colonies. Penn was named after his father, a royal courtier to whom the king had become indebted because of gambling losses. When the elder Penn died, the younger William Penn inherited claim to the debt. And when Charles II began imprisoning religious minorities in the 1670s, Penn, a newly converted Quaker, traded the debt for a North American colony.

**Quakers.** The Quakers were Protestants who believed that God’s will was directly transmitted to people through “the inner light” of divine knowledge that a person possesses within his or her being; this belief was in direct opposition to the Bible-centered Protestant mainstream. The Quakers also rejected the concepts of Original Sin and predestination, further alienating them from the Protestant core. In the 1600s, there were also social differences between Quakers and Protestants. Quaker meetings employed no professional ministers (whom they derisively called “hireling ministers”), relying instead on laypeople (nonordained faith-community members). Quakers, sometimes called the Society of Friends, rejected class distinctions as well, which prevented them from deferring to social superiors. Furthermore, the Quakers argued that any believer was as capable as any other of transmitting the truth about God’s will, including women, a policy that threatened traditional Christian distinctions between the sexes. In an era of religious intolerance and political instability, the Quakers were distrusted and even outlawed.

**Fleeing England.** In 1674, Penn, along with ten other Quakers, purchased the proprietary rights to West Jersey. Penn drafted an egalitarian constitution for the colony that protected the right of trial by jury, prohibited capital punishment, allowed almost all free males the right to vote, and sought to ensure good relations with the Indians. His constitution required settlers to purchase any land taken from Indian inhabitants, and extended the right of trial by jury to Indians (with the stipulation that juries in the trial of an Indian would be half Indian, half English).

Although many considered such policies radical, Penn enjoyed good relations with both Charles II and the Duke of York. In 1681, Charles granted him Pennsylvania (“Penn’s wood”)—which he had named after Penn’s father. The sale of “Penn’s wood” relieved the king of two things: his gambling debt to Penn’s father and the Quakers. In 1682, the Duke of York sold Penn three additional counties from his own vast New World landholdings. In time, these counties would become Delaware.

**Creating Pennsylvania.** Recruiting settlers was the key to creating...
Penn's idyllic vision. Penn's promotion of the colony rested on two factors: religious freedom and a liberal land policy that allowed easy access to land. Penn dispatched agents throughout Europe to advertise the colony, and the response was overwhelming. In 1682, the population was about 1,000; two years later, it had grown to 4,000; by the end of the 1680s it had risen to 12,000. Although not yet as large as the Massachusetts Bay colony, Pennsylvania's population continued to grow. Penn was also successful in promoting peaceful relations with the Indians; Indian refugees migrated to Pennsylvania from other lands where they had faced violence from colonists.

Penn did permit slavery. He owned slaves personally and allowed other colonists to do the same. Like most northern slaves, slaves in Pennsylvania were Africans used primarily as domestic workers. Although some Quakers spoke out publicly against slavery as early as 1688, slavery lasted in Pennsylvania until the 1780s.

**New Jersey**

The Duke of York granted the southern portion of his colony to two friends, one of whom sold his portion to a group of Quakers. This led to the creation of East Jersey, which bordered New York, and West Jersey, which bordered Pennsylvania. Although they retained certain differences, by 1702 both areas had developed substantially, earning a single royal charter. To attract settlers, the proprietors of New Jersey promised both generous land grants and a limited freedom of religion. For these reasons, Puritan New Englanders and Dutch New Yorkers migrated there, prompting significant growth by 1726. The two colonies were united and renamed New Jersey.

**Georgia**

Georgia was founded after the Restoration as a proprietary colony. The chief motives for its settlement were to create a buffer between Spanish Florida and the Carolinas, as well as a haven for English debtors and persecuted English Protestants, a place where they could live comfortably. James Oglethorpe, the utopian lead proprietor, led the first settlers to Savannah in 1733. It was his vision, as an opponent of Britain's policy of imprisoning those who could not pay their debts, that fashioned Georgia as a colony where the “worthy poor” could start anew.

The colony grew slowly because the charter stipulated that no one could own enough land to develop a large-scale plantation. Furthermore, slavery was initially prohibited because of Oglethorpe's vision for the colony and because the Spanish in Florida had promised freedom to any slave who would serve in their military, which would have meant a collection of slaves eager and able to desert Georgia for Florida. It was only in the 1750s that the Crown, to whom the proprietors had returned the charter, succumbed to local demands from English planters and allowed slavery.

**Where Were the Spanish?**

As the English planted deeper roots in colonial North America, the Spanish were pulling their roots out. Their main limitation was an unwillingness to develop colonial settlements, preferring instead to bring home quick profits after a brief period of having conquered and controlled resource-rich lands. They established some settlements, like those founded by Catholic friars eager to convert Indians, although these permanent settlements frequently conflicted with local Indian tribes and persuaded Spain that permanent settlement was not worth the investment. Their colonial conflicts thus tended to be about labor relations and faith, rather than land, which was paramount with the English.

**New Mexico**

In New Mexico, for example, the Pueblo people rejected the forced piety of the Spanish Catholic friars, and in a dramatic 1680 rebellion, a shaman named Popé led the Pueblo Revolt—an uprising of several villages spanning several hundred miles across the New Mexican landscape. The villagers burned Spanish farms, destroyed churches, and killed half the friars. Reeling from the revolt, the Spanish left the Southwest for more than a decade. They returned in the 1690s with a more tolerant outlook, and the Pueblo people welcomed them only because they felt they needed European weaponry to fight their tribal enemies.
Florida

The Spanish faced similar resentments in Florida. But here the resentments were compounded by the proximity of colonial competitors, the English and the French. When England and France went to war in the War of Spanish Succession in 1701, British Carolinians attacked Spanish Florida (the British feared that Spain and France were becoming too closely allied). The result was the devastation of all Spanish strongholds in Florida except St. Augustine. And, because English colonists outnumbered Spanish settlers, the Spanish were slow to resettle Florida. By 1700, the Spanish presence in the future United States was limited to a few Catholic missions and a few increasingly smaller settlements.

Conclusion

Between 1660 and 1700, Britain had crafted the beginnings of a large colonial empire in North America. It had seeded permanent colonies and established itself as the European nation claiming the biggest stake to the land, ahead of the Dutch, French, and Spanish, whose primary colonial interests lay elsewhere. These English colonies were not wholly stable yet, nor were they unified. Furthermore, each colony comprised a mix of people, including Europeans from different countries, Indians from many tribes, and, increasingly, slaves.

LO^2 Indians

As Britain’s colonial holdings expanded into the American interior, they encroached on lands that were already inhabited. The initial encounters between Europeans and the tribes of Native America had mixed outcomes. In their search for gold and other riches in the 1500s, the Spanish annihilated many tribes with violence and disease. The French, without a large settled presence in the New World, had mostly positive trade arrangements with the tribes near Quebec. The English had at first cautiously engaged the Indian tribes for trade and protection, but as their settlements expanded, suspicion and enmity between the two groups increased. In Jamestown, for instance, relations between the Powhatan Confederacy and the first settlers were generally nonviolent until the expansion of Jamestown provoked Powhatan’s successor, Opechancanough, to attack. In New England, the Pequot War symbolized the violent direction that relations were taking.

These first encounters had elements of both trust and suspicion, but the situation worsened over time. By the beginning of the 1700s, it had become clear that the two peoples would not share the New World. Most English colonists believed that any Indian who stood in their path to settlement could be exterminated. Indians responded in kind to this threat. Competition for land was the key motive. Violence, disease, and the market economy were the principal means of effecting change.

What Went Wrong?

There were several reasons why the situation deteriorated so drastically after 1660 (see “The reasons why…” box).

The Middle Ground

Although the decimation of Native America is the most significant story of Euro-Indian relations, positive interactions occurred during the colonial era as well, usually over trade. In this “middle ground,” where trading took place, the two groups operated as equals. Indians and Europeans shared rituals, such as tea and rum drinking, gift giving, and pipe
Indians and colonists. These middle grounds existed most prominently around the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi River basin.

Colonial Land Lust, Colonial Democracy

But the central story of Indian relations with the colonists is one of violence. In the first half of the 1600s, most outbreaks of violence between English colonists and Indians were short-lived. The deadlier conflicts occurred between Indian tribes seeking to win the European trade. The bloodiest of these intertribal battles were the Beaver Wars (1640–1680s), in which the Iroquois, seeking beaver pelts to trade with the French, forced the Hurons and their supporters out of the Northeast altogether, leaving the Iroquois Confederacy as the single most significant collection of tribes between northern Canada, southern Virginia, and the Mississippi River. They decimated their competition and forced the survivors to flee across the Mississippi River.

By the 1670s, enough English settlers had moved to the colonies that colonists and Indians could engage in prolonged wars. These wars established a pattern of violence that would last for the duration of contact between the two groups. Although highlighted by several large-scale battles, conflict between Indians and North American colonists was continual, making every outing a potentially perilous adventure. Two events of the 1670s,

{The reasons why . . .}

There were four general reasons why relations between British colonists and the various Indians they came into contact with dissolved into violence:

Land lust. Land lust of the English colonists grew as the initial colonies succeeded, prompting perpetual incursions on lands occupied by Indians.

Religion. Religious differences between the two groups prevented each group from having a common understanding of the other and led to each one seeing demons and devils in the other.

Culture. Cultural differences about land use, gender roles, and language created further misunderstandings and resentments.

European alignments. Perhaps most important, the European powers were viciously protective of their lucrative New World holdings. Throughout the 1700s the Europeans fought several wars to defend them, and the battleground of this “great war for empire” (as historians have called these wars) was often the New World, forcing colonists and Indians to take sides. In the short term, Indians could profit from the situation by selling their support to one European power or the other. But as England pursued increasing world dominion, the tribes of Native America could no longer play one side off the other, and England (and eventually the United States) could subject the Indians to their will, at times violently.
however, greatly influenced colonist–Indian relations: Metacom’s War and Bacon’s Rebellion.

**Metacom’s War (King Philip’s War), 1675–1676**

The first large-scale conflict was **Metacom’s War** (sometimes called “King Philip’s War”), which broke out in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1675. “King Philip” was the name the English gave to Metacom, the son of the Wampanoag chief, Massasoit. Massasoit had befriended the Plymouth settlers in the 1620s (his generosity thus giving Americans the model for today’s Thanksgiving), but by the 1670s, the English settlement in Massachusetts had grown to 50,000. The New Englanders had expanded onto Indian territories and forcibly subjected the Wampanoags and other tribes to English law. The settler’s cattle trampled native cornfields, demonstrating the differences in concepts of land use between the two peoples and the arrogance of some New Englanders, who felt God had granted them the land to cultivate. The younger generation of Indians had had enough.

The result was war. Many tribes joined Metacom in battling the settlers, although several tribes that had converted to Christianity sided with the English. Over a period of fourteen months in 1675 and 1676, Metacom and his followers attacked fifty-two of the ninety Puritan towns, destroying thirteen of them completely. They attacked towns in four colonies: Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Connecticut (Map 3.2). Before the tide of battle had turned, Metacom’s forces had pushed the area of English colonization almost back to the coast. The story of Mary Rowlandson, a young New England settler, dates from King Philip’s War. Metacom’s forces kidnapped her and held her hostage for three months before ransoming her back to her family; she wrote a wildly popular account of her tribula-

© North Wind Picture Archives
tions, giving many colonists a firsthand look at Indian life.

The tide of war turned against the Indians in 1676. The English retaliated against them for Metacom’s assaults, and the colonists’ most significant victory came after a New England boy escaped captivity, returned home, and then led the colonists to the exact location of the tribes. The fighting ended in 1676 when Metacom fell in battle at the hands of an Indian who was acting as a scout for the colonists. The colonists placed Metacom’s head on a stake and let it stand in Plymouth town square for twenty-five years.

New England’s Indians paid a heavy price for their resistance. Algonquian communities were decimated from Narragansett Bay to the Connecticut River Valley. Many died from disease and starvation, in addition to the thousands who were killed in battle. Both sides suffered: Metacom’s War killed one in ten of New England’s colonists. It also led to a further decline of Puritan leadership, as many colonists viewed the war as a sign of God’s displeasure. More obviously, the war exposed a ferocious undercurrent of racism among the English colonists, many of whom were eager to attack and kill any Indian. Metacom’s War also showed an early, if uneven, willingness of Indian tribes to unite to fight colonists.

**Bacon’s Rebellion, 1676–1677**

The impact of Metacom’s War was felt beyond New England. Metacom’s message of pan-Indian resistance to English settlement spread (aided by the fact that all Indians faced the same frustrations as Metacom had), and in 1676 warriors from the Potomack and Susquahannock tribes of the
Bacon's Rebellion
Revolt among colonists, led by Nathaniel Bacon, that was triggered by Virginia governor Sir William Berkeley’s unwillingness to listen to the demands of the laboring people who wanted to attack several nearby Indian tribes (1676–1677)

Bacon's Laws
Series of laws that democratized the politics of Virginia, granted the franchise to all freemen, inaugurated elections of the members of the legislature, and granted greater representation in taxation

Chesapeake began to raid English outposts in Virginia. The English governor of the colony, Sir William Berkeley, showed a reluctance to retaliate, favoring instead a policy of keeping a strict boundary between Indian and colonial land (and of keeping his bountiful trade relations with several tribes going). His disinclination to fight, and his unwillingness to compromise (or even listen to) the demands of the laboring people, or “middling sorts,” who aspired to own land, sparked a revolt among the colonists, called Bacon’s Rebellion.

Nathaniel Bacon was a young, well-educated, and charismatic member of the Virginia colony council. He was also related to Berkeley through marriage. Bacon advocated immediate retaliation against the Potomack and Susquahannock tribes. After Berkeley denied Bacon’s bid for a commission to attack the Indians (Berkeley recognized that arming hundreds of young colonial men—mostly former indentured servants—would pose a threat to the colony), Bacon raised his own militia to fight the Native Americans.

Bacon’s Laws. Bacon’s militia quickly vanquished the Indians in the area. Fearful of where Bacon might go next, the governor dispatched three hundred militiamen to stop him. Bacon was captured and released, and then continued to seek a commission to attack the tribes. Berkeley resisted. A series of standoffs ensued, with Bacon variously being imprisoned or on the run. In the process, Berkeley became acutely aware of Bacon’s wild popularity among the settlers and, to quell the potential uprising, passed a series of laws that democratized the politics of Virginia. Commonly called Bacon’s Laws, the new rules granted the franchise to all freemen, inaugurated elections of the members of the legislature (rather than offering legislators lifetime appointments), and granted greater representation in taxation. In sum, Bacon’s Laws reduced the influence of the ruling elite in Virginia, setting a precedent for free white man’s democracy. This was a meaningful step in the expansion of colonial liberty.

It was also an attempt to win back some of the popularity Bacon had attracted. After the passage of Bacon’s Laws, Berkeley persisted in his attempts to quell any rebellion, but it seemed that would be impossible without granting the militia a commission to kill local Indians and cultivate their lands—something he would not allow. The continued standoff prompted Bacon and his army to attack Jamestown in the summer of 1676, forcing Berkeley to flee. Bacon invited his troops to plunder the plantations around Jamestown, especially those of Berkeley’s supporters, and throughout the summer, Bacon’s ragtag army fought with Indians and Englishmen alike.

During the late summer of 1676, Berkeley organized a counterattack against Bacon’s anti-Indian, anti-upper-class forces. Berkeley’s men, with superior arms, chased Bacon around eastern Virginia, capturing several of his supporters but not the rebel himself. When 1,100 English troops arrived to help Berkeley, Bacon went on the run, contracted an infectious fever, and died. Other rebels tried to maintain control of the colony, but Bacon’s death brought the rebellion to a rapid close. Berkeley remained in power and later tried to repeal several of Bacon’s Laws, but these efforts were overruled by more moderate members of the Burgesses.

Results. Bacon’s Rebellion succeeded in pushing the Potomack and Susquahannock tribes farther west, opening up more land for Euro-American settlement. But Bacon’s Rebellion is significant to American history for other reasons as well (see “The reasons why…” box).

LO3 The Expansion of American Slavery

Europe’s slave trade with Africa began in the 1400s and increased in the 1500s and 1600s as a means of relieving a labor shortage in the areas surrounding the Mediterranean. Labor needs arose in the New World during the late 1500s and 1600s after Europeans realized that sugar could be grown easily in the West Indies and South America. (Europeans had discovered sugar in their travels during the Crusades, and it became so popular and expensive in Europe that it was among the first items Columbus transported from the New World, in his second voyage of 1493.) Cultivating sugar is incredibly labor intensive, though, and once Europeans had exhausted and exterminated native populations in the West Indies and South America, their search for labor led them to African slaves. This was made
The Expansion of American Slavery

The reasons why . . .

Bacon’s Rebellion is significant to American history for at least three reasons:

**Land lust.** Bacon’s Rebellion reflected the land lust of the growing colonial population.

**Demonstrable violence.** It demonstrated that the settlers were willing to use violent means to gain that land, usually against Indians, but sometimes against the English gentry.

**Rise of slavery.** It made wealthy colonists less willing to import indentured servants, who, as the rebellion proved, would do nearly anything to get land once they were freed from their condition of servitude. This was one factor that led to a rise in the importation of African slaves. It also initiated an upper-class proclamation of the similarity of all men perceived to be white; by importing more slaves and creating a racially divided population, the upper classes of Virginia sought to limit class conflict by prioritizing racial differences. This was a turning point in the history of North American race relations that buttressed a trend toward the expansion of the American slave system and the decline of indentured servitude.

Easier by the fact that the established trade routes between Europe and Africa had made Africans eager for European goods, especially guns. Thus, in a mutually beneficial trade system, beginning in the early 1600s West African kingdoms competed with one another to supply slaves to the Europeans in return for European goods.

But what began so easily was not so easily stopped. As the Atlantic slave trade grew, West African kingdoms grew leery of supplying Europeans with more slaves because they were fearful of the overwhelming demand. Some Europeans resorted to kidnapping slaves from West African villages.

Those who survived were habitually sick and unable to work. And third, indentured servants also earned their freedom once their term of indenture (usually seven years) expired. At that point, some of them acquired land and began competing with their former masters, a situation that most masters did not welcome, as proved by Bacon’s Rebellion. Finally, as England’s economy improved, fewer people signed up to become indentured servants in the first place.

By the 1680s, the practice of indentured servitude diminished rapidly. In need of labor, North American colonists tapped into the slave trade system that had developed during the 1600s.

**Why the Transition from Indentured Servitude to Slavery?**

In the early 1600s, the North American colonies relied mainly on European (and some African) indentured servants for labor. At least 70 percent of those in the Chesapeake came as indentured servants from England. By the 1680s, however, African slaves had begun to replace indentured servants as the colonists’ preferred labor source, and by the early 1700s, there were few indentured servants in the colonial labor pool.

Despite the variety of benefits of indentured servitude (the ability of landowner and laborer to communicate easily, similarities in culture and religion between the two), it posed several problems in North America. First, many servants ran away once they landed in the New World, and, as Europeans, once they escaped they blended in easily. Second, most of those who did remain confronted the wet climate of the Chesapeake, which was so unhealthy that many servants died shortly after arriving in America.

Those who survived were habitually sick and unable to work. And third, indentured servants also earned their freedom once their term of indenture (usually seven years) expired. At that point, some of them acquired land and began competing with their former masters, a situation that most masters did not welcome, as proved by Bacon’s Rebellion. Finally, as England’s economy improved, fewer people signed up to become indentured servants in the first place.

By the 1680s, the practice of indentured servitude diminished rapidly. In need of labor, North American colonists tapped into the slave trade system that had developed during the 1600s.

**Africans Transition from Servants to Slaves**

In 1619, when the first Africans arrived in Virginia, they were treated like indentured servants, which meant not generously, but not inhumanely either. They lived alongside European colonists in their landowner’s house, and some earned their freedom after their term of service. But as the number of Africans in the Chesapeake increased during the 1680s, European and Euro-American colonists began to craft a slave-based society, developing laws that would make slavery an enduring, race-dependent institution.

By the late 1630s, colonists had already begun to differentiate between indentured servants and slaves, but the first major law specifically regarding slavery emerged in Virginia in 1662. It stipulated that the condition of the mother determined the condition of the child; if a mother was a slave from Africa—or had African heritage—her child was to be a slave as well. This allowed male slaveholders...
to exploit African American females and, at the same time, produce new slaves.

In 1664, Maryland enacted an “anti-amalgamation” law, which outlawed interracial sex and marriage, rendering any relationship between a male colonist and a female slave illegal, and any relationship between an African American male slave and a female colonist intolerable. Virginia followed suit, declaring in 1691 that any colonist who married a “Negro, mulatto, or Indian” would be banished from the colony. In 1682, Virginia passed a law that used specific racial differences to differentiate between servants and slaves, thus ensuring that African Americans and Euro-Americans were treated differently by the law. Thus, even before the rapid expansion of slavery in the 1680s and 1690s, colonial laws differentiated people by strict racial classifications. These differences grew markedly after slaves were brought to the American colonies in greater numbers throughout the 1700s.

### Slave Codes

Slowly race became the central factor determining who was perceived as a freeman worthy of “natural rights” and who was not. In 1705, Virginia codified the racial orientation of the new system of labor with a series of **slave codes**. These codes meant that, in most areas, especially in the Southern Colonies and the Chesapeake, it became impossible for an African American to live as a free person. The codes declared that all “Negro, mulatto, and Indian” servants brought into the region were slaves, or “real estate.” This guaranteed slaveholders permanent ownership of the black bondspeople they purchased.

It also allowed masters to punish their property, and, because no one would deliberately destroy his own property, Virginia lawmakers said there was no need to enact laws prohibiting slaveholders from

---

**Some Slave Codes . . .**

**Virginia, 1639**

**Act X.** All persons except Negroes are to be provided with arms and ammunitions or be fined at the pleasure of the governor and council.

**Maryland, 1664**

That whatsoever free-born [English] woman shall intermarry with any slave . . . shall serve the master of such slave during the life of her husband; and that all the issue of such free-born women, so married shall be slaves as their fathers were.

**Virginia, 1667**

**Act III.** Whereas some doubts have arisen whether children that are slaves by birth . . . should by virtue of their baptism be made free, it is enacted that baptism does not alter the condition to the person as to his bondage or freedom; masters freed from this doubt may more carefully propagate Christianity by permitting slaves to be admitted to that sacrament.

**Virginia, 1682**

**Act I.** It is enacted that all servants . . . which [sic] shall be imported into this country either by sea or by land, whether Negroes, Moors [Muslim North Africans], mulattoes, or Indians who and whose parentage and native countries are not Christian at the time of their first purchase by some Christian . . . and all Indians, which shall be sold by our neighboring Indians, or any other trafficking with us for slaves, are hereby adjudged, deemed, and taken to be slaves to all intents and purposes any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.
killing their slaves. The codes stated that slaves needed written permission to leave their plantation, would receive severe physical punishments for any wrongdoing, and no longer had any legal standing. Virginia’s slave codes served as a model for other states to emulate, which they readily did. English colonists were constructing a legalistic slave society based entirely on perceived racial distinctions.

**Wars for Empire**

Propelled by the desires of landless young men and attracted by the potential profits of a slave-based economy, the English colonists pushed west into North America. There, they ran into an obstacle other than Indians: the French. Beginning in the late 1600s, the French recognized the rich potential of North America and fortified their posts from the Great Lakes to New Orleans, traveling down the Mississippi River and usually developing friendly relations with Indian tribes along the way, especially the Algonquians. Their only significant settlements, however, were at Quebec and New Orleans. Nevertheless, the increased French presence brought them into conflict with the English. When France and England had disputes in Europe, their battles had New World ramifications. Beginning in the late 1600s, European wars had North American fronts as well as European ones.

**King William’s War and Queen Anne’s War, 1689–1713**

The first of these carryover battles lasted from 1689 to 1697, and its most significant theaters were in Europe and the Caribbean. But it also reached the North American mainland, where it was called King William’s War. King William’s War began when New York’s governor, Thomas Dongan, goaded the Iroquois into attacking tribes that were friendly with France. The French fought back by attacking the Iroquois and, eventually, English colonists in northern New England and New York. England in turn attacked various French outposts, with minimal success. The New World front had stalemated without significant gains for either side.

Nevertheless, King William’s War was influential for three reasons. First, it prompted the French to fortify their New World position, creating a stronghold of settlers for the first time. Second, it demonstrated the ways Europeans manipulated Indians (and vice versa) in efforts to conquer the land. And third, in its wake, the Iroquois established better relations with the French and agreed to remain neutral in future conflicts.

The second English-French war started four years later, when the French king angled to put his grandson on the newly vacant Spanish throne. The other European powers rejected this power play and attacked France. This was the War of the Spanish Succession, called Queen Anne’s War in the New World. Twelve years of battle between the Spanish in Florida, the French in the North American interior, the English along the coast, and the various Indian tribes friendly to one group or another finally ended with an English victory.

Queen Anne’s War was significant for two reasons. First, success gave the English a base on the Hudson Bay, further promoting their expansion westward, into the interior of America. Second, it ushered in a period of relative peace in Europe, which allowed France and England to fortify their positions in the New World, so that when later battles came, both sides were better entrenched. Over time, the increasing economic and social strength of English colonies threatened the French, who feared that the alliances they had built with the Indians would falter.

**Salem Witchcraft Trials**

It should also be noted that historians have recently attributed the Salem witch trials to fears triggered by the Indian Wars. Because these witch trials were prosecuted during Queen Anne’s War, they suggest how the European Wars for Empire were felt in even the smallest of New World hamlets.

Trouble began in 1692 when two girls were playing with an older female slave who taught the girls African voodoo tales. The girls later became seized with fits, and soon other girls in Salem were behaving strangely as well. Searching for an explanation, the town’s leaders accused the female slave and two other women of practicing witchcraft. Soon, the village elders accused several others of being witches, too. Once started, accusations flew wildly.

Before long it became apparent that divisions relating to social class, gender, commercial profession, and religiosity determined who was accused and who was not, as the poor were accused more readily than the wealthy, as were those who had
fallen away from the church. Recent research demonstrates that unmarried women of property were prominent targets as well. Before the accusations slowed, twenty people had been executed. The strangeness of the Salem witchcraft episode reveals the anxiety of the time, sparked mostly by wars with Indians. It also reflects the widespread willingness to believe in witches, spirits, and ghosts, a prominent feature of what one historian has called the colonial “worlds of wonder.”

And in the end . . .

By 1700, then, the North American colonies had developed into established, but not yet prospering, outliers in Britain’s colonial web. They were stably situated along the Atlantic seaboard, and it seemed inevitable that they would continue to settle farther into the interior of the continent. It was also clear that Europeans (and especially the English) would not blend into the lands of Native America or mix with its inhabitants, but would seek dominion over

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1655</td>
<td>The Dutch of New Amsterdam use lotteries to raise money for the poor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1666</td>
<td>The Great Fire destroys three-fourths of London, killing only sixteen and helping halt the spread of the bubonic plague.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1670</td>
<td>Paris café starts serving ice cream.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1686</td>
<td>Christian Gabriel Fahrenheit invents the thermometer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1688</td>
<td>The start of the Japanese Edo Renaissance, a cultural flowering that saw the development of Kabuki theater.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the areas they controlled. Also by 1700, the colonists had established slavery as the primary system of labor in the New World. From these roots, a system of racialized slavery would expand on American soil.

These trends would only continue from 1700 to 1763 as the colonies developed economically and socially. The four distinct regions became stronger and more established, so that when later “Wars for Empire” broke out, the North American colonists could ponder independence. But in 1700 those thoughts were still years away.