

2. Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda Belittles the Indians (1547)

*Juan Ginés Sepúlveda was an outstanding example of the "Renaissance man." A Spaniard who studied in the cradle of the Renaissance, Italy, he achieved fame as a theologian, philosopher, historian, and astronomer. When Emperor Charles V convened a debate in Valladolid, Spain, in 1550–1551 to determine the future of Spain's relationship with the American aborigines, he naturally turned to Sepúlveda as one of the most learned men in his realm. As a student of Aristotle, Sepúlveda relied heavily on the classical distinction between "civilized" Greeks and "barbarians." The selection that follows is not a transcript of the debate at Valladolid but an excerpt from Sepúlveda's book *The Second Democrates*, published in 1547, in which he set forth his basic arguments. What differences does Sepúlveda emphasize between Europeans (especially Spaniards) and the Indians, and on what grounds does he assert the superiority of European culture?*

The Spanish have a perfect right to rule these barbarians of the New World and the adjacent islands, who in prudence, skill, virtues, and humanity are as inferior to the Spanish as children to adults, or women to men, for there exists between the two as great a difference as between savage and cruel races and the most merciful, between the most intemperate and the moderate and temperate and, I might even say, between apes and men.

You surely do not expect me to recall at length the prudence and talents of the Spanish. . . . And what can I say of the gentleness and humanity of our people, who, even in battle, after having gained the victory, put forth their greatest effort and care to save the greatest possible number of the conquered and to protect them from the cruelty of their allies?

Compare, then, these gifts of prudence, talent, magnanimity, temperance, humanity, and religion with those possessed by these half-men (*homunculi*), in whom you will barely find the vestiges of humanity, who not only do not possess any learning at all, but are not even literate or in possession of any monument to their history except for some obscure and vague reminiscences of several things put down in various paintings; nor do they have written laws, but barbarian institutions and customs. Well, then, if we are dealing with virtue, what temperance or mercy can you expect from men who are committed to all types of intemperance and base frivolity, and eat human flesh? And do not believe that before the arrival of the Christians they lived in that pacific kingdom of Saturn which the poets have invented; for, on the contrary, they waged continual and ferocious war upon one another with such fierceness that they did not consider a victory at all worthwhile unless they sated their monstrous hunger with the flesh of their enemies. . . . Furthermore these Indians were otherwise so cowardly and timid that they could barely endure the presence of our soldiers, and many times thousands upon thousands of them scattered in flight like women before Spaniards so few that they did not even number one hundred. . . . Although some of them show a certain ingenuity for various works of artisanship, this is no proof of human cleverness, for we can

²Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *The Second Democrates* (1547).

observe animals, birds, and spiders making certain structures which no human accomplishment can competently imitate. And as for the way of life of the inhabitants of New Spain and the province of Mexico, I have already said that these people are considered the most civilized of all, and they themselves take pride in their public institutions, because they have cities erected in a rational manner and kings who are not hereditary but elected by popular vote, and among themselves they carry on commercial activities in the manner of civilized peoples. But see how they deceive themselves, and how much I dissent from such an opinion, seeing, on the contrary, in these very institutions a proof of the crudity, the barbarity, and the natural slavery of these people; for having houses and some rational way of life and some sort of commerce is a thing which the necessities of nature itself induce, and only serves to prove that they are not bears or monkeys and are not totally lacking in reason. But on the other hand, they have established their nation in such a way that no one possesses anything individually, neither a house nor a field, which he can leave to his heirs in his will, for everything belongs to their masters whom, with improper nomenclature, they call kings, and by whose whims they live, more than by their own, ready to do the bidding and desire of these rulers and possessing no liberty. And the fulfillment of all this, not under the pressure of arms but in a voluntary and spontaneous way, is a definite sign of the servile and base soul of these barbarians. They have distributed the land in such a way that they themselves cultivate the royal and public holdings, one part belonging to the king, another to public feasts and sacrifices, with only a third reserved for their own advantage, and all this is done in such a way that they live as employees of the king, paying, thanks to him, exceedingly high taxes. . . . And if this type of servile and barbarous nation had not been to their liking and nature, it would have been easy for them, as it was not a hereditary monarchy, to take advantage of the death of a king in order to obtain a freer state and one more favorable to their interests: by not doing so, they have stated quite clearly that they have been born to slavery and not to civic and liberal life. Therefore, if you wish to reduce them, I do not say to our domination, but to a servitude a little less harsh, it will not be difficult for them to change their masters, and instead of the ones they had, who were barbarous and impious and inhuman, to accept the Christians, cultivators of human virtues and the true faith. . . .

3. Bartolomé de Las Casas Defends the Indians (1552)

*The Dominican friar Bartolomé de Las Casas was Sepúlveda's great antagonist in the debates of 1550–1551 at Valladolid. As a young man, Las Casas had sailed with one of the first Spanish expeditions to the West Indies in 1502. A humane, sensitive priest, he was soon repelled by his countrymen's treatment of the native peoples of the New World. He eventually became bishop of Guatemala and devoted himself to reforming Spanish colonial policies—for which he was recognized as the "Protector of the Indians." His vivid and polemical account *The Destruction of the Indies* did much to spread the "Black Legend" of Spain's brutal behavior in the New World—a*

³Bartolomé de Las Casas. *Thirty Very Judicial Propositions* (1552).

legend not without substance, and eagerly exploited by the rival English. How are his views of the Indians different from those of Sepúlveda? What ideas did the two debaters share?

Now if we shall have shown that among our Indians of the western and southern shores (granting that we call them barbarians and that they are barbarians) there are important kingdoms, large numbers of people who live settled lives in a society, great cities, kings, judges and laws, persons who engage in commerce, buying, selling, lending, and the other contracts of the law of nations, will it not stand proved that the Reverend Doctor Sepúlveda has spoken wrongly and viciously against peoples like these, either out of malice or ignorance of Aristotle's teaching, and, therefore, has falsely and perhaps irreparably slandered them before the entire world? From the fact that the Indians are barbarians it does not necessarily follow that they are incapable of government and have to be ruled by others, except to be taught about the Catholic faith and to be admitted to the holy sacraments. They are not ignorant, inhuman, or bestial. Rather, long before they had heard the word Spaniard they had properly organized states, wisely-ordered by excellent laws, religion, and custom. They cultivated friendship and, bound together in common fellowship, lived in populous cities in which they wisely administered the affairs of both peace and war justly and equitably, truly governed by laws that at very many points surpass ours, and could have won the admiration of the sages of Athens. . . .

Now if they are to be subjugated by war because they are ignorant of polished literature, . . . I would like to hear Sepúlveda, in his cleverness, answer this question: Does he think that the war of the Romans against the Spanish was justified in order to free them from barbarism? And this question also: Did the Spanish wage an unjust war when they vigorously defended themselves against them?

Next, I call the Spaniards who plunder that unhappy people torturers. Do you think that the Romans, once they had subjugated the wild and barbaric peoples of Spain, could with secure right divide all of you among themselves, handing over so many head of both males and females as allotments to individuals? And do you then conclude that the Romans could have stripped your rulers of their authority and consigned all of you, after you had been deprived of your liberty, to wretched labors, especially in searching for gold and silver lodes and mining and refining the metals? . . . For God's sake and man's faith in him, is this the way to impose the yoke of Christ on Christian men? Is this the way to remove wild barbarism from the minds of barbarians? Is it not, rather, to act like thieves, cut-throats, and cruel plunderers and to drive the gentlest of people headlong into despair? The Indian race is not that barbaric, nor are they dull witted or stupid, but they are easy to teach and very talented in learning all the liberal arts, and very ready to accept, honor, and observe the Christian religion and correct their sins (as experience has taught) once priests have introduced them to the sacred mysteries and taught them the word of God. They have been endowed with excellent conduct, and before the coming of the Spaniards, as we have said, they had political states that were well founded on beneficial laws.

Furthermore, they are so skilled in every mechanical art that with every right they should be set ahead of all the nations of the known world on this score, so

very beautiful in their skill and artistry are the things this people produces in the grace of its architecture, its painting, and its needlework. But Sepúlveda despises these mechanical arts, as if these things do not reflect inventiveness, ingenuity, industry, and right reason. For a mechanical art is an operative habit of the intellect that is usually defined as “the right way to make things, directing the acts of the reason, through which the artisan proceeds in orderly fashion, easily, and unerringly in the very act of reason.” So these men are not stupid, Reverend Doctor. Their skillfully fashioned works of superior refinement awaken the admiration of all nations, because works proclaim a man’s talent, for, as the poet says, the work commends the craftsman. Also, Prosper [of Aquitaine] says: “See, the maker is proclaimed by the wonderful signs of his works and the effects, too, sing of their author.”

In the liberal arts that they have been taught up to now, such as grammar and logic, they are remarkably adept. With every kind of music they charm the ears of their audience with wonderful sweetness. They write skillfully and quite elegantly, so that most often we are at a loss to know whether the characters are handwritten or printed. . . .

The Indians are our brothers, and Christ has given his life for them. Why, then, do we persecute them with such inhuman savagery when they do not deserve such treatment? The past, because it cannot be undone, must be attributed to our weakness, provided that what has been taken unjustly is restored.

Finally, let all savagery and apparatus of war, which are better suited to Moslems than Christians, be done away with. Let upright heralds be sent to proclaim Jesus Christ in their way of life and to convey the attitudes of Peter and Paul. [The Indians] will embrace the teaching of the gospel, as I well know, for they are not stupid or barbarous but have a native sincerity and are simple, moderate, and meek, and, finally, such that I do not know whether there is any people readier to receive the gospel. Once they have embraced it, it is marvelous with what piety, eagerness, faith, and charity they obey Christ’s precepts and venerate the sacraments. For they are docile and clever, and in their diligence and gifts of nature, they excel most peoples of the known world. . . .

B. *The Spanish in America*

1. *Hernán Cortés Conquers Mexico (1519–1526)*

In 1519 the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés landed in Mexico and quickly conquered the Aztecs, a powerful people who had long dominated their neighbors in the central Mexican highlands. In the passage below, Cortés, writing to his king in Spain, describes his first encounter with the Aztec ruler Mutezuma (Montezuma), as well as his efforts to suppress the religious practices of the Aztecs, especially those involving human sacrifice. What advantages did Cortés possess in his confrontation

¹Hernán Cortés, *Five Letters, 1519–1526* (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1929), pp. 69–92.

Some attempted to force their way out, but the Spaniards murdered them at the gates. Others climbed the walls, but they could not save themselves. Those who ran into the communal houses were safe there for a while; so were those who lay down among the victims and pretended to be dead. But if they stood up again, the Spaniards saw them and killed them.

The blood of the warriors flowed like water and gathered into pools. The pools widened, and the stench of blood and entrails filled the air. The Spaniards ran into the communal houses to kill those who were hiding. They ran everywhere and searched everywhere; they invaded every room, hunting and killing. . . .

3. *Francisco Coronado Explores the American Southwest (1541)*

In 1540–1542 Francisco Coronado led a Spanish expedition from Mexico into the present-day territory of Arizona and New Mexico and as far east as Kansas. Seeking fabled cities of gold, he found instead the modest villages of the Pueblo Indians, who urged him to continue eastward to a region they called Quivira. As he struggled across the vast and forbidding American wilderness, the truth gradually dawned on Coronado that Quivira held no more gold than did the land of the Pueblos. How does Coronado describe the landscape? How does his cultural background influence what he sees and how he estimates its usefulness?

... While I was engaged in the conquest and pacification of the natives of this province, some Indians who were natives of other provinces beyond these had told me that in their country there were much larger villages and better houses than those of the natives of this country, and that they had lords who ruled them, who were served with dishes of gold, and other very magnificent things; and although, as I wrote Your Majesty, I did not believe it before I had set eyes on it, because it was the report of Indians and given for the most part by means of signs, yet as the report appeared to me to be very fine and that it was important that it should be investigated for Your Majesty's service, I determined to go and see it with the men I have here. I started from this province on the 23d of last April, for the place where the Indians wanted to guide me.

After nine days' march I reached some plains, so vast that I did not find their limit anywhere that I went, although I traveled over them for more than 300 leagues. And I found such a quantity of cows in these, of the kind that I wrote Your Majesty about, which they have in this country, that it is impossible to number them, for while I was journeying through these plains, until I returned to where I first found them, there was not a day that I lost sight of them. And after seventeen days' march I came to a settlement of Indians who are called Querechos, who travel around with these cows, who do not plant, and who eat the raw flesh and drink the blood of the cows they kill, and they tan the skins of the cows, with which all the people of this country dress themselves here. They have little field tents made of the hides of the

³George Parker Winship, trans. and ed., *The Journey of Coronado, 1540–1542* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1904), pp. 213–220

cows, tanned and greased, very well made, in which they live while they travel around near the cows, moving with these. They have dogs which they load, which carry their tents and poles and belongings. These people have the best figures of any that I have seen in the Indies. They could not give me any account of the country where the guides were taking me. I traveled five days more as the guides wished to lead me, until I reached some plains, with no more landmarks than as if we had been swallowed up in the sea, where they strayed about, because there was not a stone, nor a bit of rising ground, nor a tree, nor a shrub, nor anything to go by. . . .

It was the Lord's pleasure that, after having journeyed across these deserts seventy-seven days, I arrived at the province they call Quivira, to which the guides were conducting me, and where they had described to me houses of stone, with many stories; and not only are they not of stone, but of straw, but the people in them are as barbarous as all those whom I have seen and passed before this; . . .

The province of Quivira is 950 leagues from Mexico. Where I reached it, it is in the fortieth degree. The country itself is the best I have ever seen for producing all the products of Spain, for besides the land itself being very fat and black and being very well watered by the rivulets and springs and rivers, I found prunes like those of Spain [*for I found everything they have in Spain*] and nuts and very good sweet grapes and mulberries. I have treated the natives of this province, and all the others whom I found wherever I went, as well as was possible, agreeably to what Your Majesty had commanded, and they have received no harm in any way from me or from those who went in my company. I remained twenty-five days in this province of Quivira, so as to see and explore the country and also to find out whether there was anything beyond which could be of service to Your Majesty, because the guides who had brought me had given me an account of other provinces beyond this. And what I am sure of is that there is not any gold nor any other metal in all that country, and the other things of which they had told me are nothing but little villages, and in many of these they do not plant anything and do not have any houses except of skins and sticks, and they wander around with the cows; so that the account they gave me was false, because they wanted to persuade me to go there with the whole force, believing that as the way was through such uninhabited deserts, and from the lack of water, they would get us where we and our horses would die of hunger. And the guides confessed this, and said they had done it by the advice and orders of the natives of these provinces. . . .

4. Don Juan de Oñate Conquers New Mexico (1599)

Don Juan de Oñate, inspired by tales of Coronado's expedition some fifty years earlier, led a heavily armed expedition into present-day New Mexico in 1598 and proceeded to impose Spanish rule on the native Pueblo Indians. The Indians of the

⁴From *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595–1628*, by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, pp. 456–459. Copyright © 1953. Reprinted by permission of The University of New Mexico Press.

village of Acoma inflicted a humiliating defeat on Oñate's forces on December 4, 1599, prompting a swift and harsh reprisal from the Spanish. In the selection that follows, Oñate instructs his officers on how to deal with the Indians at Acoma (eventually they severed one foot of every adult male survivor). What motives prompted Oñate? In what ways did he try to promote the cause of Christianity among the Indians? How did he justify his action?

... Instructions to you, Vicente de Zaldívar, sargento mayor [sergeant-major] of the expedition to New Mexico, my lieutenant governor and captain general for the punishment of the pueblo of Acoma for having killed Don Juan de Zaldívar Oñate, my maese de campo [second-in-command], ten other captains and soldiers, and two servants, which resulted in disrupting the general peace of the land, which is now in serious danger of revolting if the offenders are not properly punished, as their vile-ness would be emulated by other savages whenever they wished: in this situation one can see the obvious danger of slavery or death for the innocent people entrusted to my protection and care by his majesty; these innocent ones are the ministers of the holy gospel, whom the Indians would not spare any more than they did others in the past, and they would also kill the many women and children in the expedition, who would suffer without cause once the natives overcame their fear of rebelling. The greatest force we possess at present to defend our friends and ourselves is the prestige of the Spanish nation, by fear of which the Indians have been kept in check. Should they lose this fear it would inevitably follow also that the teaching of the holy gospel would be hindered, which I am under obligation to prevent, as this is the main purpose for which I came. For the gospel is the complete remedy and guide for their abominable sins, some of them nefarious and against nature. For the following just cases, such as general peace in the land, protection of the innocent, punishment of those who transgress against their king and his ministers and against their obligations to him as ruler of these Indies, to whom they voluntarily swore obedience, and furthermore to obtain redress for such serious offenses as the killing of such worthy persons, disregarding the recovery of the goods they took from us, and finally to remove such pernicious obstacles and open the way for the spreading of the holy gospel, I have determined that in the discharge of your commission to the pueblo of Acoma, you should make more use of royal clemency than of the severity that the case demands, take into serious consideration the stupidity (*brutalidad*) and incapacity of the Indians, if that is what they showed in this case rather than malice, and observe the following instructions:

First: On receiving your commission and the instructions that follow, you will acknowledge receipt of them before the secretary. With these you will have sufficient authority for what you are to do and you must bind yourself to observe and obey exactly what you are ordered, as we expect from you.

Since the good success of the undertaking depends on the pleasure of God our Lord in directing you to appropriate and effective methods, it is right that you should seek to prevent public or private offenses to Him in the expedition. You must exercise particular care in this respect, admonishing and punishing in exemplary fashion those who cause them, so that one may readily see that you take special interest in this matter.

You will proceed over the shortest route to the pueblo of Acoma, with all the soldiers and war equipment. At the places and pueblos that you pass through on the way you will treat the natives well and not allow any harm to be done them, and to this end you may issue whatever proclamations that seem desirable or necessary.

When you come to the pueblo of Acoma, you must weigh very carefully and calmly the strength of the Indians, plant at once your artillery and musketry at the places that seem most practical, and assign the captains and soldiers to their posts in battle formation, without making any noise or firing an *harquebus* [heavy musket].

This done, you will, in the presence of Juan Velarde, my secretary, and with the help of Don Tomás and Don Cristóbal, Indian interpreters who are expert in the language, or with the aid of any other interpreters that you may deem suitable, summon the Indians of Acoma to accept peace, once, twice, and thrice, and urge them to abandon their resistance, lay down their arms, and submit to the authority of the king our lord, since they have already rendered obedience to him as his vassals.

You will ask the people of Acoma to surrender the leaders responsible for the uprising, and the murderers, assuring them that they will be justly dealt with.

The Acomas must abandon at once the fortified place in which they live and move down into the valley, where the ministers of the holy gospel who were sent to these kingdoms and provinces by his majesty for this purpose may be able to teach them more easily the matters of our holy Catholic faith.

The Indians must deliver up the bodies of those killed, their personal belongings and weapons, and the horseshoes and other iron that they had dug up three leagues from the pueblo. You must record their answers before my secretary in the presence of as many as can conveniently be brought together to hear them. If the Indians should do all that is prescribed above and come down and submit peacefully, you will establish them in the valley at a safe place where they will not run away and disappear. You will keep them under strict guard and bring them before me in order that we may hear their pleas and administer justice.

After the Indians have been removed from the pueblo and placed under custody, you will send back to the pueblo as many soldiers as you deem necessary, burn it to the ground, and leave no stone on stone, so that the Indians may never be able again to inhabit it as an impregnable fortress.

If the Indians are entrenched and should have assembled many people and you think there is danger of losing your army in trying to storm the pueblo, you will refrain from doing so, for there would be less harm in postponing the punishment for the time being than in risking the people with you and those left here for the protection of the church of God, its ministers, and me. In this matter you must exercise the utmost care and foresight.

If the people should have deserted the pueblo, you will burn it to the ground and destroy it. You will then consult with the council of war as to whether or not it is desirable to pursue the natives, since the council must consider the matter. This must be handled with much discretion.

If God should be so merciful as to grant us victory, you will arrest all of the people, young and old, without sparing anyone. Inasmuch as we have declared war

on them without quarter, you will punish all those of fighting age as you deem best, as a warning to everyone in this kingdom. All of those you execute you will expose to public view at the places you think most suitable, as a salutary example. If you should want to show lenience after they have been arrested, you should seek all possible means to make the Indians believe that you are doing so at the request of the friar with your forces. In this manner they will recognize the friars as their benefactors and protectors and come to love and esteem them, and to fear us. To execute this punishment as you may see fit, I grant you the same powers I myself hold from his majesty.

And since all matters properly discussed and thought out lead to a happy and successful end, you already know that I have named as members of the council of war of this expedition. Alonso Sánchez, contador of the royal treasury; Diego de Zubía, captain of cavalry and purveyor general; Marcos Farfán de los Godos, captain of my guard; Captain Gaspar de Villagrán, procurator general; Pablo de Aguilar Inojosa, captain of cavalry; and Gerónimo Márquez, captain of artillery. All six of them are men of much experience and well informed in all that pertains to warfare. You will hold councils of war whenever it seems desirable to you, to them, or to the majority of them. Whatever is agreed upon by all or by the majority in council must be observed. The councils held are to be attended by my secretary who will record what may be determined. I have given these men the appropriate commissions as members of the council of war.

All of the aforesaid you will fulfill with proper diligence and care in order that God and his majesty may be served, and this offense punished.

Stamped with the seal of my office at the pueblo of San Juan Bautista on January 11, 1599. Don Juan de Oñate. By order of the governor, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary.

C. The African Slave Trade

1. *Mungo Park Describes Slavers in the African Interior (c. 1790)*

Mungo Park, a Scottish explorer, spent nearly two years in the 1790s in the interior of Africa—still terra incognita to most Europeans. Although his description dates from nearly three centuries after the initial European development of the African slave trade, it provides a rare and probably reliable glimpse of the practices of the African slave traders with whom the Europeans made contact in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Does Park's account suggest any differences between the African and European slavers? What inferences might be drawn from Park's narrative about the influence of the Europeans on those interior tribes, far from the coast, that never came into direct contact with the whites?

¹Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior of Africa* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, North Bridge, 1860), pp. 291–293.

The Planting of English America, 1500–1733

There is under our noses the great and ample country of Virginia; the inland whereof is found of late to be so sweet and wholesome a climate, so rich and abundant in silver mines, a better and richer country than Mexico itself.

Richard Hakluyt, 1599

Prologue: The spectacular success of the Spanish conquerors excited the cupidity and rivalry of the English and partly inspired Sir Humphrey Gilbert's ill-fated colony in Newfoundland in 1583 and Sir Walter Raleigh's luckless venture on Roanoke Island, off the North Carolina coast, in the 1580s. But England, though suffering from blighting economic and social disruptions at home, was not prepared for ambitious colonial ventures until the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the perfection of the joint-stock company—a device that enabled “adventurers” to pool their capital. Virginia, which got off to a shaky start in 1607, was finally saved by tobacco. Launched in 1634 by Lord Baltimore as a Catholic haven, Maryland profited from Virginia's experience and assistance. In all the young colonies, people of diverse cultures—European, Indian, and African—commingled, and sometimes clashed.

A. Precarious Beginnings in Virginia

1. The Starving Time (1609)

Captain John Smith—adventurer, colonizer, explorer, author, and mapmaker—also ranks among America's first historians. Writing from England some fifteen years later, about events that he did not personally witness, he tells a tale that had come to him at second hand. What indications of modesty or lack of it are present? What pulled the settlers through?

¹Edward Arber, ed., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith* (A. G. Bradley, 1910), vol. 2, pp. 497–499 (*The General History of Virginia by Captaine John Smith, sometymes Governour in those Countreyes and Admirall of New England*. [London: Printed by I. D. and I. H. for Michael Sparkes, 1674].)

The day before Captain Smith returned for England with the ships [October 4, 1609], Captain Davis arrived in a small pinnace [light sailing vessel], with some sixteen proper men more. . . . For the savages [Indians] no sooner understood Smith was gone but they all revolted, and did spoil and murder all they encountered. . . .

Now we all found the loss of Captain Smith; yea, his greatest maligners could now curse his loss. As for corn provision and contribution from the savages, we [now] had nothing but mortal wounds, with clubs and arrows. As for our hogs, hens, goats, sheep, horses, and what lived, our commanders, officers, and savages daily consumed them. Some small proportions sometimes we tasted, till all was devoured; then swords, arms, [fowling] pieces, or anything we traded with the savages, whose cruel fingers were so often imbrued in our blood that what by their cruelty, our Governor's indiscretion, and the loss of our ships, of five hundred [persons] within six months after Captain Smith's departure there remained not past sixty men, women, and children, most miserable and poor creatures. And those were preserved for the most part by roots, herbs, acorns, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fish. They that had starch [courage] in these extremities made no small use of it; yea, [they ate] even the very skins of our horses.

Nay, so great was our famine that a savage we slew and buried, the poorer sort took him up again and ate him; and so did divers one another boiled and stewed, with roots and herbs. And one amongst the rest did kill his wife, powdered [salted] her, and had eaten part of her before it was known, for which he was executed, as he well deserved. Now whether she was better roasted, boiled, or carbonadoed [broiled], I know not; but of such a dish as powdered wife I never heard of.

This was the time which still to this day [1624] we called the starving time. It were too vile to say, and scarce to be believed, what we endured. But the occasion was our own, for want of providence, industry, and government, and not the barrenness and defect of the country, as is generally supposed. For till then in three years . . . we had never from England provisions sufficient for six months, though it seemed by the bills of loading sufficient was sent us, such a glutton is the sea, and such good fellows the mariners. We as little tasted of the great proportion sent us, as they of our want and miseries. Yet notwithstanding they ever overruled and ruled the business, though we endured all that is said, and chiefly lived on what this good country naturally afforded, yet had we been even in Paradise itself with these governors, it would not have been much better with us. Yet there were amongst us who, had they had the government as Captain Smith appointed but . . . could not maintain it, would surely have kept us from those extremities of miseries.

2. Governor William Berkeley Reports (1671)

Sir William Berkeley, a polished Oxford graduate, courier, and playwright, was appointed governor of Virginia in 1642, when only thirty-six years of age. Conciliatory, energetic, and courageous, he served well in his early years, both as administrator and as military leader. He cultivated flax, cotton, rice, and silk on his own lands, and in one year sent a gift of three hundred pounds of silk to the king. In response to

²W. W. Hening, *The Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia . . .* (Richmond: Samuel Pleasants, 1823), vol. 2, pp. 514-517.

brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!

B. *The Mix of Cultures in English America*

1. *The Great Indian Uprising (1622)*

At the outset the Indians attacked the Virginia colonists with arrows, and relations between the two races remained uneasy for many years after 1607. As if deaths from famine, exposure, improper food, and malarial fever were not enough, the colonists lost perhaps a quarter of their number in the great attack of 1622. Among other grievances, the Indians resented the clearing of their forests and the seizure of their cornfields by the whites. Edward Waterhouse, a prominent Virginia official, sent home this firsthand report. What does it reveal about how the colony subsisted, how earnest the Christianizing efforts of the colonists were, and how the disaster could be used to the advantage of the Virginians?

And such was the conceit of firm peace and amity [with the Indians] as that there was seldom or never a sword worn and a [fowling] piece seldomer, except for a deer or fowl. By which assurance of security the plantations of particular adventurers and planters were placed scatteringly and stragglingly as a choice vein of rich ground invited them, and the farther from neighbors held the better. The houses generally sat open to the savages, who were always friendly entertained at the tables of the English, and commonly lodged in their bed-chambers . . . [thus] seeming to open a fair gate for their conversion to Christianity.

Yea, such was the treacherous dissimulation of that people who then had contrived our destruction, that even two days before the massacre, some of our men were guided through the woods by them in safety. . . . Yea, they borrowed our own boats to convey themselves across the river (on the banks of both sides whereof all our plantations were) to consult of the devilish murder that ensued, and of our utter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the means of some of themselves converted to Christianity) prevented. . . .

On the Friday morning (the fatal day) the 22nd of March [1622], as also in the evening, as in other days before, they came unarmed into our houses, without bows or arrows, or other weapons, with deer, turkeys, fish, furs, and other provisions to sell and truck with us for glass, beads, and other trifles; yea, in some places, sat down at breakfast with our people at their tables, whom immediately with their own tools and weapons, either laid down, or standing in their houses, they basely and barbarously murdered, not sparing either age or sex, man, woman, or child; so sudden in their cruel execution that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction. In which manner they also slew many of our people then at their several works and husbandries in the fields, and without [outside] their houses, some in planting corn and tobacco, some in gardening, some in making

¹Susan M. Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), vol. 3, pp. 550-551, 556-557.

brick, building, sawing, and other kinds of husbandry—they well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their daily familiarity and resort to us for trading and other negotiations, which the more willingly was by us continued and cherished for the desire we had of effecting that great masterpiece of works, their conversion.

And by this means, that fatal Friday morning, there fell under the bloody and barbarous hands of that perfidious and inhumane people, contrary to all laws of God and man, and nature and nations, 347 men, women, and children, most by their own weapons. And not being content with taking away life alone, they fell after again upon the dead, making, as well as they could, a fresh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling the dead carcasses into many pieces, and carrying away some parts in derision, with base and brutish triumph. . . .

Our hands, which before were tied with gentleness and fair usage, are now set at liberty by the treacherous violence of the savages . . . so that we, who hitherto have had possession of no more ground than their waste and our purchase at a valuable consideration to their own contentment gained, may now by right of war, and law of nations, invade the country, and destroy them who sought to destroy us; whereby we shall enjoy their cultivated places. . . . Now their cleared grounds in all their villages (which are situate in the fruitfulest places of the land) shall be inhabited by us, whereas heretofore the grubbing of woods was the greatest labor.

2. A West Indian Planter Reflects on Slavery in Barbados (1673)

Richard Ligon, an English merchant, came to Barbados in 1647 to work on a sugarcane plantation. After suffering repeatedly from tropical diseases, he returned to England in 1650, only to be thrown in debtors' prison by his creditors. While incarcerated, he wrote the following account of his experiences in Barbados. What differences did he notice between the condition of indentured servants and the condition of slaves? What factors did he think prevented slave revolts? What role did Christianity play in the lives of slaves—and slave holders?

The Island is divided into three sorts of men, viz. Masters, Servants, and slaves. The slaves and their posterity, being subject to their Masters for ever, are kept and preserv'd with greater care than the servants, who are theirs but for five years, according to the law of the Island. So that for the time, the servants have the worser lives, for they are put to very hard labour, ill lodging, and their diet very sleight. . . .

It has been accounted a strange thing, that the *Negroes*, being more than double the numbers of the Christians that are there, and they accounted a bloody people, where they think they have power or advantages; and the more bloody, by how much they are more fearful than others: that these should not commit some horrid massacre upon the Christians, thereby to enfranchise themselves, and become Masters of the Island. But there are three reasons that take away this wonder; the one is, They are not suffered to touch or handle any weapons: The other, That they are held in such awe and slavery, as they are fearful to appear in any daring act: and

²Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (1673), pp. 51-59.

any more upon those Melancholy Affaires I submit as to the Justice of those Proceedings to Your Wisdom. When I am asked how we are to deal with those unfortunate slaves, I content my selfe to Exhort that they be used with Xtian Charity and yt. we render their Condition as tollerable as we can . . .

The Indian traders have always discouraged me by raising a world of Difficultyes when I proposed any thing to them relating to the Conversion of the Indians. It appears they do not care to have Clergymen so near them who doubtless would never approve those perpetual wars they promote amongst the Indians for the onely reason of making slaves to pay for their trading goods; and what slaves! poor women and children, for the men taken prisoners are burnt most barbarously. I am Informd It was done So this Last year & the women and children were brought among us to be sold.

C. Religious Strife in Maryland

1. The Intolerant Act of Toleration (1649)

Lord Baltimore, who had founded Maryland as a refuge for Catholics in 1634, pursued a policy of religious toleration from the outset. But the influx of hostile Protestants, combined with the success of the Puritans under Oliver Cromwell in the English Civil War, prompted him to protect his Catholic co-religionists. He appointed a Protestant governor, and urged the Maryland Assembly to pass "An Act Concerning Religion," which he had drafted back home in England. Protestants joined with Catholics in passing it. What specific protection for Catholics is mentioned? What would have happened to all Jews and atheists if the law had been strictly enforced?

Forasmuch as, in a well-governed and Christian commonwealth, matters concerning religion and the honor of God ought in the first place to be taken into serious consideration and endeavored to be settled, be it therefore ordered and enacted by the Right Honorable Cecilius Lord Baron of Baltimore, absolute Lord and Proprietary of this Province, with the advice and consent of this General Assembly:

That whatsoever person or persons within this Province . . . shall from henceforth blaspheme God, that is, curse him; or deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the son of God; or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; or [shall deny] the Godhead of any of the said three Persons of the Trinity, or the unity of the Godhead; or shall use or utter any reproachful speeches, words, or language concerning the said Holy Trinity, or any of the said three Persons thereof, shall be punished with death and confiscation or forfeiture of all his or her lands and goods to the Lord Proprietary and his heirs.

And be it also enacted . . . that whatsoever person or persons shall from henceforth use or utter any reproachful words or speeches concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of our Saviour, or the Holy Apostles or Evangelists, or any of them, shall in such case for the first offense forfeit . . . the sum of five pounds ster-

¹W. H. Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883), vol. 1, pp. 244-246.

ling. . . . But in case such offender or offenders shall not then have goods or chattels sufficient for the satisfying of such forfeiture . . . then such offender or offenders shall be publicly whipped and be imprisoned during the pleasure of the Lord Proprietary. . . .

[Harsher penalties are here prescribed for second and third offenses.]

And be it also further enacted . . . that whatsoever person or persons shall from henceforth . . . in a reproachful manner or way declare, call, or denominate any person or persons . . . an heretic, schismatic, idolater, Puritan, Independent, Presbyterian, popish priest, Jesuit, Jesuited papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barrowist, Roundhead, Separatist, or any other name or term in a reproachful manner relating to matter of religion, shall for every such offense forfeit and lose the sum of ten shillings . . . the one half thereof to be forfeited and paid unto the person and persons of whom such reproachful words are or shall be spoken or uttered. . . .

[Harsher penalties are here prescribed for those unable to pay the fine.]

Be it therefore also . . . enacted . . . that no person or persons whatsoever within this Province . . . professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be in any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for . . . his or her religion nor in the free exercise thereof . . . nor any way compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against his or her consent, so as they be not unfaithful to the Lord Proprietary, or [do not] molest or conspire against the civil government established, or to be established, in this Province, under him or his heirs.

And that all and every person and persons that shall presume contrary to this act . . . to wrong, disturb, trouble, or molest any person whatsoever . . . professing to believe in Jesus Christ for or in respect of his or her religion or the free exercise thereof . . . shall be compelled to pay treble damages to the party so wronged or molested, and for every such offense shall also forfeit twenty shillings sterling in money or the value thereof, half thereof for the use of the Lord Proprietary and his heirs . . . and the other half for the use of the party so wronged or molested . . . or if the party so offending . . . shall refuse or be unable to recompense the party so wronged, or to satisfy such fine or forfeiture, then such offender shall be severely punished by public whipping and imprisonment during the pleasure of the Lord Proprietary. . . .

2. Persecutions of the Catholics (1656)

Lord Baltimore's beautiful dream soon turned into a nightmare. In 1654, after five years of so-called toleration, the aggressive Protestant majority in Maryland passed a law that specifically "restrained" Roman Catholics from worshiping according to their faith. Civil war broke out, with the Puritans, aided by Virginians, vanquishing the Catholics in a pitched battle in which some fifty men were killed or wounded. The subsequent persecutions of the Jesuit fathers, resembling anti-Catholic cruelties al-

²Peter Force, *Tracts . . .* (Washington: Peter Force, 1846), vol. 4, no. 12, pp. 43–44.

ready familiar in England, are graphically portrayed in the following report by a Jesuit priest in 1656. What manifestations of the religious intolerance of the age are mentioned? What appropriate conclusions can you draw?

In Maryland, during the year last past, our [Catholic] people have escaped grievous dangers, and have had to contend with great difficulties and straits, and have suffered many unpleasant things, as well from enemies as [from] our own people.

The English who inhabit Virginia had made an attack on the colonists, themselves Englishmen too; and safety being guaranteed on certain conditions, received indeed the governor of Maryland, with many others in surrender. But the conditions being treacherously violated, four of the captives, and three of them Catholics, were pierced with leaden balls. Rushing into our houses, they demanded for death the impostors, as they called them, intending inevitable slaughter to those who should be caught. But the Fathers, by the protection of God, unknown to them, were carried from before their faces [i.e., saved]; their books, furniture, and whatever was in the house, fell a prey to the robbers. With almost the entire loss of their property, private and domestic, together with great peril of life, they were secretly carried into Virginia, and in the greatest want of necessaries, scarcely, and with difficulty, do they sustain life. They live in a mean hut, low and depressed, not much unlike a cistern, or even a tomb, in which that great defender of the faith, St. Athanasius, lay concealed for many years.

To their other miseries this inconvenience was added, that whatever comfort or aid this year, under name of stipend, from pious men in England, was destined for them, had been lost, the ship being intercepted in which it was carried. But nothing affects them more than that there is not a supply of wine which is sufficient to perform the sacred mysteries of the altar.

They have no servant, either for domestic use, or for directing their way through unknown and suspected places, or even to row and steer the boat, if at any time there is need. Often, over spacious and vast rivers, one of them, alone and unaccompanied, passes and repasses long distances, with no other pilot directing his course than Divine Providence. By and by the enemy may be gone and they may return to Maryland; the things which they have already suffered from their people, and the disadvantages which still threaten, are not much more tolerable.

Thought Provokers

1. Why did the early Virginia colonists experience such punishing difficulties?
2. What were the relative advantages and disadvantages of Europeans, Africans, and Indians as these three peoples commingled and clashed in seventeenth-century English America?
3. In what ways did English experiences in the West Indies provide a model for the colonization of mainland North America?
4. In what respects would the Maryland Act of Toleration be regarded as intolerance today?

were now out,* and there was nothing but beating of drums and preparing for war, the events whereof are always uncertain. The Spaniard might prove as cruel as the savages of America, and the famine and pestilence as sore here as there, and their liberty less to look out for remedy.

After many other particular things answered and alleged on both sides, it was fully concluded by the major part to put this design in execution and to prosecute it by the best means they could.

2. Framing the Mayflower Compact (1620)

Leaving Plymouth (England) in the overburdened Mayflower, the plucky band of Pilgrims crossed the Atlantic. After severe storms and much seasickness, they sighted the Cape Cod coast of Massachusetts, far to the north of the site to which they had been granted patent privileges by the Virginia Company. The absence of valid rights in the Plymouth area, so William Bradford recorded, caused "some of the strangers amongst them" to utter "discontented and mutinous speeches" to the effect that when they "came ashore they would use their own liberty; for none had the power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia, and not for New England. . . ." In an effort to hold the tiny band together, the leaders persuaded forty-one male passengers to sign a solemn pledge known as the Mayflower Compact. A constitution is "a document defining and limiting the functions of government." Was the Compact, as is often claimed, the first American constitution? In what ways did it foreshadow the development of democratic institutions?

In the name of God, amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, etc., having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape Cod the eleventh of November, in the reign of our sovereign lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland, the fifty-fourth. Anno Domini 1620.

*The twelve years' truce in Holland's bitter war of independence against Spain had been negotiated in 1609.

²B. P. Poore, ed., *The Federal and State Constitutions*, 2nd ed. (1878), part 1, p. 931.

3. Abandoning Communism at Plymouth (1623)

Some wag has said that the Pilgrims first fell on their knees, and then on the aborigines. The truth is that a plague—probably smallpox, possibly measles—had virtually exterminated the Indians near Plymouth, and the Pilgrims got along reasonably well with the few survivors. The Native Americans taught the whites how to grow maize (corn), which helped revitalize the ragged, starving, disease-decimated newcomers. The story of the first Thanksgiving (1621) is well known, but less well known is the fact that the abundant harvest of 1623 was made possible when the Pilgrims abandoned their early scheme of quasi-communism. For seven years there was to have been no private ownership of land, and everyone was to have been fed and clothed from the common stock. William Bradford, the historian and oft-elected governor of the colony, here tells what happened when each family was given its own parcel of land. Why did individual ownership succeed where communal enterprise had failed?

This had very good success, for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corn was planted than otherwise would have been by any means the Governor or any other could use, and saved him a great deal of trouble, and gave far better content. The women now went willingly into the field and took their little ones with them to set corn, which before would allege weakness and inability, whom to have compelled would have been thought great tyranny and oppression.

The experience that was had in this common course and condition, tried sundry years and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanity of that conceit of Plato's and other ancients, applauded by some of later times, that the taking away of property and bringing in community [communism] into a commonwealth would make them happy and flourishing, as if they were wiser than God. For this community (so far as it was) was found to breed much confusion and discontent and retard much employment that would have been to their benefit and comfort. For the young men that were most able and fit for labor and service did repine that they should spend their time and strength to work for other men's wives and children, without any recompense. The strong, or man of parts, had no more in division of victuals and clothes than he that was weak and not able to do a quarter the other could; this was thought injustice. The aged and graver men to be ranked and equalized in labors and victuals, clothes, etc., with the meaner and younger sort, thought it some indignity and disrespect unto them. And for men's wives to be commanded to do service for other men, as dressing their meat, washing their clothes, etc., they deemed it a kind of slavery, neither could many husbands well brook it.

³From *Of Plymouth Plantation* by William Bradford, edited by Samuel Eliot Morison. Copyright 1952 by Samuel Eliot Morison and renewed 1980 by Emily M. Beck. Reprinted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf Inc

Governor Winthrop. The Court hath already declared themselves satisfied concerning the things you hear, and concerning the troublesomeness of her spirit, and the danger of her course amongst us, which is not to be suffered. Therefore, if it be the mind of the Court that Mrs. Hutchinson, for these things that appear before us, is unfit for our society, and if it be the mind of the Court that she shall be banished out of our liberties, and imprisoned till she be sent away, let them hold up their hands.

All but three held up their hands.

[Governor Winthrop.] Those that are contrary minded, hold up yours.

Mr. Coddington and Mr. Colburn only.

Mr. Jennison. I cannot hold up my hand one way or the other, and I shall give my reason if the Court require it.

Governor Winthrop. Mrs. Hutchinson, you hear the sentence of the Court. It is that you are banished from out our jurisdiction as being a woman not fit for our society. And you are to be imprisoned till the Court send you away.

Mrs. Hutchinson. I desire to know wherefore I am banished.

Governor Winthrop. Say no more. The Court knows wherefore, and is satisfied.

3. John Winthrop's Concept of Liberty (1645)

Governor John Winthrop, who pronounced Anne Hutchinson's banishment, was the most distinguished lay leader in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Cambridge-educated and trained in the law, he was modest, tender, self-sacrificing, and deeply religious. After a furious quarrel had broken out at Hingham over the election of a militia leader, he caused certain of the agitators to be arrested. His foes brought impeachment charges against him, but they instead were fined. After his acquittal, Winthrop delivered this famous speech to the court. It illustrates the close connection between the aristocratic lay leaders of the Bay Colony and the leading clergymen. Would the kind of liberty that Winthrop describes be regarded as liberty today?

There is a twofold liberty: natural (I mean as our nature is now corrupt) and civil or federal. The first is common to man with beasts and other creatures. By this, man, as he stands in relation to man simply, hath liberty to do what he lists. It is a liberty to evil as well as to good. This liberty is incompatible and inconsistent with authority, and cannot endure the least restraint of the most just authority. The exercise and maintaining of this liberty makes men grow more evil, and in time to be worse than brute beasts. . . .

The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal. It may also be termed moral, in reference to the covenant between God and man in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions amongst men themselves. . . . Whatsoever crosseth this, is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained and exercised in

³John Winthrop, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1853), vol. 2, pp. 281–282.

a way of subjection to authority. It is of the same kind of liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.

The woman's own choice makes such a man her husband; yet being so chosen, he is her lord, and she is to be subject to him, yet in a way of liberty, not of bondage. And a true wife accounts her subjection her honor and freedom, and would not think her condition safe and free, but in her subjection to her husband's authority.

Such is the liberty of the church under the authority of Christ, her king and husband. His yoke is so easy and sweet to her as a bride's ornaments; and if through forwardness or wantonness, etc., she shake it off at any time, she is at no rest in her spirit until she take it up again. And whether her lord smiles upon her, and embraceth her in his arms, or whether he frowns, or rebukes, or smites her, she apprehends the sweetness of his love in all, and is refreshed, supported, and instructed by every such dispensation of his authority over her. On the other side, ye know who they are that complain of this yoke and say, let us break their bands, etc., we will not have this man to rule over us.

Even so, brethren, it will be between you and your magistrates. If you stand for your natural corrupt liberties, and will do what is good in your own eyes, you will not endure the least weight of authority, but will murmur, and oppose, and be always striving to shake off that yoke. But if you will be satisfied to enjoy such civil and lawful liberties, such as Christ allows you, then will you quietly and cheerfully submit unto that authority which is set over you, in all the administrations of it, for your good. Wherein if we [magistrates] fail at any time, we hope we shall be willing (by God's assistance) to hearken to good advice from any of you, or in any other way of God. So shall your liberties be preserved, in upholding the honor and power of authority amongst you.

4. Puritan Mistreatment of Quakers (1660)

The peace-loving Quakers, who opposed a paid clergy and a tax-supported church, likewise felt the restraining hand of Massachusetts authority. The Reverend Increase Mather wrote in 1684 that they were "under the strong delusion of Satan." Their stubborn devotion and courage under punishment were so exasperating as to provoke increasingly severe measures. Edward Burrough, one of their co-religionists in England, presented the following appeal on their behalf to the king, who thereupon sent orders to Massachusetts to end the persecutions. What were alleged to be the chief offenses of the Quakers? What were the most serious injustices, aside from physical abuse, that they suffered?

1. Two honest and innocent women stripped stark naked, and searched after such an inhumane manner, as modesty will not permit particularly to mention.

2. Twelve strangers in that country [Massachusetts], but free-born of this [English] nation, received twenty-three whippings, the most of them being with a whip

⁴[Edward Burrough], *A Declaration of the Sad and Great Persecution and Martyrdom of the People of God, Called Quakers, in New England* (1660), pp. 17-19.

of three cords, with knots at the ends, and laid on with as much strength as they could be by the arm of their executioner, the stripes amounting to three hundred and seventy. . . .

3. Eighteen inhabitants of the country, being free-born English, received twenty-three whippings, the stripes amounting to two hundred and fifty.

4. Sixty-four imprisonments of the Lord's people, for their obedience to his will, amounting to five hundred and nineteen weeks, much of it being very cold weather, and the inhabitants kept in prison in harvest time. . . .

5. Two beaten with pitched ropes, the blows amounting to an hundred thirty-nine. . . .

6. Also, an innocent man, an inhabitant of Boston, they banished from his wife and children, and put to seek a habitation in the winter. And in case he returned again, he was to be kept prisoner during his life; and for returning again, he was put in prison, and hath been now a prisoner above a year.

7. Twenty-five banishments, upon the penalties of being whipped, or having their ears cut; or branded in the hand, if they returned.

8. Fines laid upon the inhabitants for meeting together, and edifying one another, as the saints ever did; and for refusing to swear [take oaths], it being contrary to Christ's command, amounting to about a thousand pound. . . .

9. Five kept fifteen days (in all) without food, and fifty-eight days shut up close by the jailor. . . .

10. One laid neck and heels in irons for sixteen hours.

11. One very deeply burnt in the right hand with the letter H [for *heretic*], after he had been whipped with above thirty stripes.

12. One chained the most part of twenty days to a log of wood in an open prison in the winter-time.

13. Five appeals to England, denied at Boston.

14. Three had their right ears cut by the hangman in the prison, the door being barred, and not a friend suffered to be present while it was doing, though some much desired it. . . .

15. One of the inhabitants of Salem, who since is banished upon pain of death, had one half of his house and land seized on while he was in prison, a month before he knew of it.

16. At a General Court in Boston, they made an order, that those who had not wherewithal to answer the fines that were laid upon them (for their consciences) should be sold for bond-men and bond-women to Barbados, Virginia, or any of the English plantations. . . .

17. Eighteen of the people of God were at several times banished upon pain of death. . . .

18. Also three of the servants of the Lord they put to death [hanged], all of them for obedience to the truth, in the testimony of it against the wicked rulers and laws at Boston.

19. And since they have banished four more, upon pain of death. . . .

These things, O King, from time to time have we patiently suffered, and not for the transgression of any just or righteous law, either pertaining to the worship of God or the civil government of England, but simply and barely for our consciences to God. . . .

In our opinion this country will never flourish under the government of the Honorable [West India] Company, but will pass away and come to an end of itself, unless the Honorable Company be reformed. And therefore it would be more profitable for them, and better for the country, that they should be rid thereof, and their effects transported hence.

To speak specifically. Care ought to be taken of the public property, as well ecclesiastical as civil, which, in beginnings, can be illy dispensed with. It is doubtful whether divine worship will have to cease altogether in consequence of the departure of the minister and the inability of the Company.

There should be a public school, provided with at least two good masters, so that first of all in so wild a country, where there are many loose people, the youth be well taught and brought up, not only in reading and writing, but also in the knowledge and fear of the Lord. As it is now, the school is kept very irregularly, one and another keeping it according to his pleasure and as long as he thinks proper. There ought also to be an almshouse, and an orphan asylum, and other similar institutions. The minister who now goes home can give a much fuller explanation thereof. The country must also be provided with godly, honorable, and intelligent rulers who are not very indigent, or, indeed, are not too covetous. . . .

[In 1664, fourteen years after this remonstrance, an English fleet, without firing a shot, forced a fuming Stuyvesant to surrender his flimsily fortified colony.]

2. *Early Settlers in Pennsylvania (1682)*

Richard Townsend, a Quaker who had come from England with William Penn in the ship Welcome, remembered through the haze of the years the founding of the colony. He set down his recollections about 1727, when he was eighty-three years old. What peculiar advantages did this colony have that the others had not enjoyed?

At our arrival [in Pennsylvania] we found it a wilderness. The chief inhabitants were Indians, and some Swedes, who received us in a friendly manner. And though there was a great number of us, the good hand of Providence was seen in a particular manner, in that provisions were found for us, by the Swedes and Indians, at very reasonable rates, as well as brought from divers other parts that were inhabited before.

Our first concern was to keep up and maintain our religious worship; and, in order thereunto, we had several meetings in the houses of the inhabitants; and one boarded meeting-house was set up, where the city was to be, near Delaware. And, as we had nothing but love and good will in our hearts, one to another, we had very comfortable meetings from time to time; and after our meeting was over, we assisted each other in building little houses, for our shelter.

After some time I set up a mill, on Chester creek, which I brought ready framed from London; which served for grinding of corn and sawing of boards, and was of great use to us. Besides, I with Joshua Tittery made a net and caught great quanti-

²Robert Proud, *The History of Pennsylvania* . . . (1797), vol. 1, pp. 229-231.

ties of fish, which supplied ourselves and many others; so that, notwithstanding it was thought near three thousand persons came in the first year, we were so providentially provided for that we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey for about one shilling, and Indian corn for about two shillings and sixpence per bushel.

And, as our worthy Proprietor [Penn] treated the Indians with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought in abundance of venison. As in other countries the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection.

About a year after our arrival, there came in about twenty families from high and low Germany, of religious, good people; who settled about six miles from Philadelphia, and called the place Germantown. The country continually increasing, people began to spread themselves further back. . . .

About the time in which Germantown was laid out, I settled upon my tract of land, which I had purchased of the Proprietor in England, about a mile from thence; where I set up a house and a corn mill, which was very useful to the country for several miles round. But there not being plenty of horses, people generally brought their corn on their backs many miles. . . .

As people began to spread and improve their lands, the country became more fruitful; so that those who came after us were plentifully supplied; and with what we abounded we began a small trade abroad. And as Philadelphia increased, vessels were built, and many employed. Both country and trade have been wonderfully increasing to this day; so that, from a wilderness, the Lord, by his good hand of Providence, hath made it a fruitful field. . . .

Thought Provokers

1. In regard to the Plymouth Pilgrims, what support does one find for this statement: "The cowards never started; the weak died on the way"? An English writer claims that the brave ones were actually those who stayed at home and fought the authorities for religious freedom instead of fleeing from them. Comment.
2. How can one justify the so-called intolerance of the Puritans, especially since they were the victims of intolerance at home? What light does this statement of Pope Leo XIII in 1885 throw on the problem: "The equal toleration of all religions . . . is the same thing as atheism"?
3. It has been said that the Puritans were misguided in following biblical law, which did not fit conditions of the seventeenth century. Comment. The blacks of South Africa have this proverb: "At first we had the land and the white man had the Bible. Now we have the Bible and the white man has the land." Comment with reference to Indian-white relations in North America.
4. In which of the colonies from Pennsylvania to Massachusetts would you have preferred to be a settler? Explain fully why.

4. An Unruly Servant Is Punished (1679)

The planter-employers and masters struggled constantly to keep their hard-drinking, fractious servants in line. Sometimes matters got seriously out of hand, as in the following account from Virginia's Accomack County Court records in 1679. What were the terms of the offender's punishment? Were they justified?

The Examination of Elizabeth Bowen Widdow—

saith—That on Sunday evening being the eighteenth day of May 1679 Thomas Jones her servant did come into her Roome and with a naked Rapier in his hand did tell her he would kill her and said shee had sent Will Waight to her Mothers and that shee had got a master for them, but hee would bee her Master and allso said that he would not kill her if shee would let him lye with her all night and bade her goe to bed and she answered she would not and Runn in with his Rapier and bent it, then he said he woald cutt her throat but she getting [to] the dore did run out of dores and he after her and ketched [her] in the yard and as she was standing did endeavor to cutt her throat with a knife but could not and then he threw her down and did there allso indeavour to cutt her throat but she prevented it by defending her throat with her hands and bending the knife hee took her [petti]coats and threw [them] over her head and gave her two or three blows in the face with his fist and bade her get her gun and did in this act with the Knife scurrify her throat and brest and cut her right hand with six or seven cutts very much and that she with bending the Rapier and knife cut her hands and fingers very much

Elizabeth Bowen

Whereas Elizabeth Bowin Widdow did by her examination upon oath in open Court declare that Thomas Jones her servant in a most barbarous and villanous nature sett upon and most desparately attempted to murder the said Bowin with a naked Rapier and Knife to cut her throat which had been perpatrated and committed had it not beef[n] Providentially and strongly prevented by the said Bowins resistance relieving severall wounds in her endeavours to prevent the sam[e] which was allso confessed by the said Jones: The Court takeing the same into their serious Considerations do order as a just reward for his said horrid offense and crime that the sherriff Forthwith take him into Custody and that he forthwith receive thirty nine lashes on the bare back well laid on: and to have his haire cutt off and an Iron Coller forthwith put about his neck dureing the Courts pleasure and after the time for which he was to serve his said mistriss is expired to serve his said mistriss or assignes one whole yeare according to Act for laying violent hands on his said mistriss and allso two yeares for his wounding her as aforesaid and after due punishment inflicted accordingly The Court do further order that the sherriff deliver the said Jones to the

¹From *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1609*, edited by Warren M. Billings. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. Copyright © by The University of North Carolina Press. Used by permission of the publisher.

said Elizabeth Bowin or order (it being by her request) and the said Bownig [sic] to Pay Court Charges the said Jones making satisfaction for the same after his time of service is expired—

B. Bacon's Rebellion and Its Aftermath

I. The Baconite Grievances (1677)

Angry former servants, impoverished and resentful, crowded into the untamed Virginia backcountry as the seventeenth century wore on. Governor William Berkeley's unwillingness to protect the hardscrabble planters on the frontier against Indian butcheries gave rise to ugly rumors of graft, and helped spark a rebellion led by his wife's kinsman, the well-born Nathaniel Bacon. After the uprising had collapsed, a royal commission sent out from England prepared the following report, which was not friendly to Berkeley. What were the governor's alleged shortcomings? Did they justify Bacon's defiance of his authority?

The unsatisfied people, finding themselves still liable to the Indian cruelties, and the cries of their wives and children growing grievous and intolerable to them, gave out in speeches that they were resolved to plant tobacco rather than pay the tax for maintaining of forts; and that the erecting of them was a great grievance, juggle, and cheat, and of no more use or service to them than another plantation with men at it; and that it was merely a design of the [tidewater] grandees to engross [monopolize] all their tobacco into their own hands.

Thus the sense of this oppression and the dread of a common approaching calamity made the giddy-headed multitude mad, and precipitated them upon that rash overture of running out upon the Indians themselves, at their own voluntary charge and hazard of their lives and fortunes. Only they first by petition humbly craved leave or commission to be led by any commander or commanders as the Governor should please to appoint over them to be their chieftain or general. But instead of granting this petition, the Governor by proclamation, under great penalty, forbade the like petitioning for the future.*

This made the people jealous that the Governor for the lucre of the beaver and otter trade, etc., with the Indians, rather sought to protect the Indians than them, since after public proclamation prohibiting all trade with the Indians (they complain), he privately gave commission to some of his friends to truck with them, and that those persons furnished the Indians with powder, shot, etc., so that they were better provided than His Majesty's subjects.

The peoples of Charles City County (near Merchants Hope) being devised [denied] a commission by the Governor, although he was truly informed . . . of several formidable bodies of Indians coming down on the heads of James River within fifty or sixty miles of the English plantations. . . , they begin to beat up drums for volunteers to go out against the Indians, and so continued sundry days drawing into arms,

¹*The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 4 (1896): 121–122.

*The governor feared that the settlers would attack, as they did, both friendly and unfriendly tribes.

the magistrates being either so remiss or of the same faction that they suffered this disaster without contradiction or endeavoring to prevent so dangerous a beginning and going on.

The rout [mob] being got together now wanted nor waited for nothing but one to head and lead them out on their design. It so happened that one Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., a person whose lost and desperate fortunes had thrown him into that part of the world about fourteen months before. . . , framed him fit for such a purpose. . . .

2. The Governor Upholds the Law (1676)

The youthful Bacon, putting himself at the head of about a thousand men, chastised both the Indians and Berkeley's forces. He died mysteriously at the moment of victory, and his rebellion ended. The ferocity with which Berkeley executed Bacon's followers (more than twenty all told) shocked Charles II, who allegedly remarked, "That old fool has killed more people in that naked country than I have done for the murder of my father." Before the rebellion collapsed, Berkeley pleaded his own case with the people of Virginia as follows. What is the strongest argument in defense of his position? Comment critically on it.

But for all this, perhaps I have erred in things I know not of. If I have, I am so conscious of human frailty and my own defects that I will not only acknowledge them, but repent of and amend them, and not, like the rebel Bacon, persist in an error only because I have committed it. . . .

And now I will state the question betwixt me as a governor and Mr. Bacon, and say that if any enemies should invade England, any counselor, justice of peace, or other inferior officer might raise what forces they could to protect His Majesty's subjects. But I say again, if, after the King's knowledge of this invasion, any the greatest peer of England should raise forces against the King's prohibition, this would be now, and ever was in all ages and nations, accounted treason. . . .

Now, my friends, I have lived thirty-four years amongst you, as uncorrupt and diligent as ever governor was. Bacon is a man of two years among you; his person and qualities unknown to most of you, and to all men else, by any virtuous action that ever I heard of. And that very action [against the Indians] which he boasts of was sickly and foolishly and, as I am informed, treacherously carried to the dishonor of the English nation. Yet in it he lost more men than I did in three years' war; and by the grace of God will put myself to the same dangers and troubles again when I have brought Bacon to acknowledge the laws are above him, and I doubt not but by God's assistance to have better success than Bacon hath had. The reasons of my hopes are, that I will take counsel of wiser men than myself; but Mr. Bacon hath none about him but the lowest of the people.

Yet I must further enlarge that I cannot, without your help, do anything in this but die in defense of my King, his laws and subjects, which I will cheerfully do, though alone I do it. And considering my poor fortunes, I cannot leave my poor

²Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, Fourth Series (1871), vol. 9, pp. 179-181.

wife and friends a better legacy than by dying for my King and you: for his sacred Majesty will easily distinguish between Mr. Bacon's actions and mine; and kings have long arms, either to reward or punish.

Now after all this, if Mr. Bacon can show one precedent or example where such acting in any nation whatever was approved of, I will mediate with the King and you for a pardon and excuse for him. But I can show him an hundred examples where brave and great men have been put to death for gaining victories against the command of their superiors.

Lastly, my most assured friends, I would have preserved those Indians that I knew were hourly at our mercy to have been our spies and intelligence, to find out our bloody enemies. But as soon as I had the least intelligence that they also were treacherous enemies, I gave out commissions to destroy them all, as the commissions themselves will speak it.

To conclude, I have done what was possible both to friend and enemy; have granted Mr. Bacon three pardons, which he hath scornfully rejected, supposing himself stronger to subvert than I and you to maintain the laws, by which only, and God's assisting grace and mercy, all men must hope for peace and safety.

3. Slavery Is Justified (1757)

Following Bacon's ill-starred rebellion, tobacco culture continued to flourish. The Virginians had early learned that the path to wealth and leisure involved the use of African slaves. Even ministers of the gospel parroted the arguments in behalf of slavery, as is evident in this brutally frank letter by the Reverend Peter Fontaine, of Westover, Virginia, to his brother Moses. Is the attempt to shift the blame onto the British convincing? Was there a valid economic basis for slavery?

As to your second query, if enslaving our fellow creatures be a practice agreeable to Christianity, it is answered in a great measure in many treatises at home, to which I refer you. I shall only mention something of our present state here.

Like Adam, we are all apt to shift off the blame from ourselves and lay it upon others, how justly in our case you may judge. The Negroes are enslaved [in Africa] by the Negroes themselves before they are purchased by the masters of the ships who bring them here. It is, to be sure, at our choice whether we buy them or not; so this then is our crime, folly, or whatever you will please to call it. But our Assembly, foreseeing the ill consequences of importing such numbers amongst us, hath often attempted to lay a duty upon them which would amount to a prohibition, such as ten or twenty pounds a head. But no governor dare pass a law, having instructions to the contrary from the Board of Trade at home. By this means they are forced upon us, whether we will or will not. This plainly shows the African Company has the advantage of the colonies, and may do as it pleases with the [London] ministry.

Indeed, since we have been exhausted of our little stock of cash by the [French and Indian] war, the importation has stopped; our poverty then is our best security. There is no more picking for their [slave traders'] ravenous jaws upon bare bones, but should we begin to thrive, they will be at the same again. . . .

³Ann Maury, ed., *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family* (1853), pp. 351-352.

This is our part of the grievance, but to live in Virginia without slaves is morally impossible. Before our troubles, you could not hire a servant or slave for love or money, so that unless robust enough to cut wood, to go to mill, to work at the hoe, etc., you must starve, or board in some family where they both fleece and half starve you. There is no set price upon corn, wheat, and provisions, so they take advantage of the necessities of strangers, who are thus obliged to purchase some slaves and land. This, of course, draws us all into the original sin and the curse of the country of purchasing slaves, and this is the reason we have no merchants, traders, or artificers of any sort but what become planters in a short time.

A common laborer, white or black, if you can be so much favored as to hire one, is a shilling sterling or fifteen pence currency per day; a bungling carpenter two shillings or two shillings and sixpence per day; besides diet and lodging. That is, for a lazy fellow to get wood and water, £19.16.3 current per annum; add to this seven or eight pounds more and you have a slave for life.

C. Slavery in the Colonial Era

1. The Conscience of a Slave Trader (1694)

In September 1693 the thirty-six-gun ship Hannibal, commanded by Thomas Phillips, set sail from England for West Africa, where Phillips bought slaves for sale on the West Indian sugar island of Barbados. What does Phillips's account reveal about the involvement of the Africans themselves in the slave trade? What was Phillips's own attitude toward the Africans? How could he reconcile such sentiments with the brutal business in which he was engaged?

We mark'd the slaves we had bought in the breast, or shoulder, with a hot iron, having the letter of the ship's name on it, the place being before anointed with a little palm oil, which caus'd but little pain, the mark being usually well in four or five days, appearing very plain and white after.

When we had purchas'd to the number of 50 or 60 we would send them aboard, there being a cappsheir, intitled the captain of the slaves, whose care it was to secure them to the water-side, and see them all off; and if in carrying to the marine any were lost, he was bound to make them good, to us, the captain of the trunk being oblig'd to do the like, if any ran away while under his care, for after we buy them we give him charge of them till the captain of the slaves comes to carry them away: These are two officers appointed by the king for this purpose, to each of which every ship pays the value of a slave in what goods they like best for their trouble, when they have done trading; and indeed they discharg'd their duty to us very faithfully, we not having lost one slave thro' their neglect in 1300 we bought here.

¹Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (Washington, D.C.: The Carnegie Institution, 1930), vol. 1, pp. 402-403. Reprinted by permission of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

There is likewise a captain of the sand, who is appointed to take care of the merchandize we have come ashore to trade with, that the negroes do not plunder them, we being often forced to leave goods a whole night on the sea shore, for want of porters to bring them up; but notwithstanding his care and authority, we often came by the loss, and could have no redress.

When our slaves were come to the seaside, our canoes were ready to carry them off to the longboat, if the sea permitted, and she convey'd them aboard ship, where the men were all put in irons, two and two shackled together, to prevent their mutiny, or swimming ashore.

The negroes are so wilful and loth to leave their own country, that they have often leap'd out of the canoes, boat and ship, into the sea, and kept under water till they were drowned, to avoid being taken up and saved by our boats, which pursued them: they having a more dreadful apprehension of Barbadoes than we can have of hell. tho' in reality they live much better there than in their own country; but home is home, etc: we have likewise seen divers of them eaten by the sharks, of which a prodigious number kept about the ships in this place, and I have been told will follow her hence to Barbadoes, for the dead negroes that are thrown overboard in the passage. I am certain in our voyage there we did not want the sight of some every day, but that they were the same I can't affirm.

We had about 12 negroes did wilfully drown themselves, and others starv'd themselves to death; for 'tis their belief that when they die they return home to their own country and friends again.

I have been inform'd that some commanders have cut off the legs and arms of the most wilful, to terrify the rest, for they believe if they lose a member, they cannot return home again: I was advis'd by some of my officers to do the same, but I could not be perswaded to entertain the least thought of it, much less put in practice such barbarity and cruelty to poor creatures, who, excepting their want of christianity and true religion (their misfortune more than fault) are as much the works of God's hands, and no doubt as dear to him as ourselves, nor can I imagine why they should be despis'd for their colour, being what they cannot help, and the effect of the climate it has pleas'd God to appoint them. I can't think there is any intrinsick value in one colour more than another, nor that white is better than black, only we think so because we are so, and are prone to judge favourably in our own case, as well as the blacks, who in odium of the colour, say, the devil is white, and so paint him. . . .

The present king often, when ships are in a great strait for slaves, and cannot be supply'd otherwise, will sell 3 or 400 of his wives to compleat their number, but we always pay dearer for his slaves than those bought of the cappasheirs. . . .

2. *The Stono River Rebellion in South Carolina (1739)*

Black slaves made up a majority of the population in early eighteenth-century South Carolina. Naturally, they dreamed of freedom, and the refuge of nearby Spanish Florida held out the promise of turning their dream into reality. In 1739 a number of South Carolina slaves rose up in arms and struck out for Florida and freedom.

²Allen D. Candler, compiler, *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (1913), vol. 22, part 2, pp. 232-236. Courtesy of Public Record Office (London)—CO 5/640ff.

What did their behavior suggest about the character of colonial slavery? In the following account by a white contemporary, what appear to be the greatest fears of the white slaveowning minority?

Sometime since there was a Proclamation published at Augustine, in which the King of Spain (then at Peace with Great Britain) promised Protection and Freedom to all Negroes [sic] Slaves that would resort thither. Certain Negroes belonging to Captain Davis escaped to Augustine, and were received there. They were demanded by General Oglethorpe who sent Lieutenant Demere to Augustine, and the Governor assured the General of his sincere Friendship, but at the same time showed his Orders from the Court of Spain, by which he was to receive all Run away Negroes. Of this other Negroes having notice, as it is believed, from the Spanish Emissaries, four or five who were Cattel-Hunters, and knew the Woods, some of whom belonged to Captain Macpherson, ran away with His Horses, wounded his Son and killed another Man. These marched f [sic] for Georgia, and were pursued, but the Rangers being then newly reduced [sic] the COUNTRY people could not overtake them, though they were discovered by the Saltzburghers, as they passed by Ebenezer. They reached Augustine, one only being killed and another wounded by the Indians in their flight. They were received there with great honours, one of them had a Commission given to him, and a Coat faced with Velvet. Amongst the Negroe Slaves there are a people brought from the Kingdom of Angola in Africa, many of these speak Portugueze [which Language is as near Spanish as Scotch is to English,] by reason that the Portugueze have considerable Settlement, and the Jesuits have a Mission and School in that Kingdom and many Thousands of the Negroes there profess the Roman Catholic Religion. Several Spaniards upon diverse Pretences have for some time past been strolling about Carolina, two of them, who will give no account of themselves have been taken up and committed to Jayl in Georgia. The good reception of the Negroes at Augustine was spread about, Several attempted to escape to the Spaniards, & were taken, one of them was hanged at Charles Town. In the latter end of July last Don Pedr. Colonel of the Spanish Horse, went in a Launch to Charles Town under pretence of a message to General Oglethorpe and the Lieutenant Governour.

On the 9th day of September last being Sunday which is the day the Planters allow them to work for themselves, Some Angola Negroes assembled, to the number of Twenty; and one who was called Jemmy was their Captain, they surprized a Warehouse belonging to Mr. Hutchenson at a place called Stonehow [Stonol]: they there killed Mr. Robert Bathurst, and Mr. Gibbs, plundered the House and took a pretty many small Arms and Powder, which were there for Sale. Next they plundered and burnt Mr. Godfrey's house, and killed him, his Daughter and Son. They then turned back and marched Southward along Pons Pons, which is the Road through Georgia to Augustine, they passed Mr. Wallace's Tavern towards day break, and said they would not hurt him, for he was a good Man and kind to his Slaves, but they broke open and plundered Mr. Lemy's House, and killed him, his wife and Child. They marched on towards Mr. Rose's resolving to kill him; but he was saved by a Negroe, who having hid him went out and pacified the others. Several Negroes joyned them, they calling out Liberty, marched on with Colours displayed and two Drums beating, pursuing all the white people they met with, and killing Man Woman and Child when they could come up to them. Collonel Bull, Lieutenant

Governour of South Carolina, who was then riding along the Road, discovered them, was pursued, and with much difficulty escaped & raised the Countrey. They burnt Colonel Hext's house and killed his Overseer and his Wife. They then burnt Mr. Sprye's house, then Mr. Sacheverell's, and then Mr. Nash's house, all lying upon the Pons Pons Road, and killed all the white People they found in them. Mr. Bullock got off, but they burnt his House, by this time many of them were drunk with the Rum they had taken in the Houses. They increased every minute by new Negroes coming to them, so that they were above Sixty, some say a hundred, on which they halted in a field, and set to dancing, Singing and beating Drums, to draw more Negroes to them, thinking they were now victorious over the whole Province, having marched ten miles & burnt all before them without Opposition, but the Militia being raised, the Planters with great briskness pursued them and when they came up, dismounting; charged them on foot. The Negroes were soon routed, though they behaved boldly, several being killed on the Spot, many ran back to their Plantations thinking they had not been missed, but they were there taken and Shot. Such as were taken in the field also, were, after being examined, shot on the Spot. And this is to be said to the honour of the Carolina Planters, that notwithstanding the Provocation they had received from so many Murders, they did not torture one Negroe, but only put them to an easy death. All that proved to be forced & were not concerned in the Murders & Burnings were pardoned, And this sudden Courage in the field, & the Humanity afterwards hath had so good an Effect that there hath been no farther Attempt, and the very Spirit of Revolt seems over. About 30 escaped from the fight, of which ten marched about 30 miles Southward, and being overtaken by the Planters on horseback, fought stoutly for some time and were all killed on the Spot. The rest are yet untaken. In the whole action about 40 Negroes and 20 whites were killed. The Lieutenant Governour sent an account of this to General Oglethorpe, who met the advices on his return from the Indian Nation. He immediately ordered a Troop of Rangers to be ranged, to patrole through Georgia, placed some Men in the Garrison at Palichocolas, which was before abandoned, and near which the Negroes formerly passed, being the only place where Horses can come to swim over the River Savannah for near 100 miles, ordered out the Indians in pursuit, and a Detachment of the Garrison at Port Royal to assist the Planters on any Occasion, and published a Proclamation ordering all the Constables &ca. of Georgia to pursue and seize all Negroes, with a Reward for any that should be taken. It is hoped these measures will prevent any Negroes from getting down to the Spaniards.

D. Life Among New England's Puritans

1. Cotton Mather on the Education of His Children (1706)

Cotton Mather (1663–1728), grandson of John Cotton, was among the most famous of New England's Puritan preachers. Entering Harvard at age twelve, he went on to

¹Worthington Chauncy Ford, ed., *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681–1724*, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Seventh Series (Boston, 1911–1912), vol. 1, pp. 534–537

over, and we left them to go and look at the land about there. We found the place beautifully situated on a large plain, more than eight miles square, with a fine stream in the middle of it, capable of bearing heavily laden vessels. As regards the fertility of the soil, we consider the poorest in New York superior to the best here. As we were tired, we took a mouthful to eat, and left. We passed by the printing office, but there was nobody in it; the paper sash however being broken, we looked in, and saw two presses with six or eight cases of type. There is not much work done there. Our printing office is well worth two of it, and even more.

3. The Salem Witchcraft Hysteria (1692)

Thousands of suspected witches were hanged or burned in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and belief in witches was common in the American colonies. In fact, the Bible decreed, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" (Exodus 22:18). Hysteria swept Salem Village, Massachusetts, in 1692 after some children, mostly girls, brought witchcraft charges against certain persons, mostly women, whom they disliked. Before the special court had adjourned, nineteen persons and two dogs had been hanged, one man had been pressed to death in an attempt to wring from him an answer to the indictment, and 150 victims were in prison awaiting trial. Which aspects of the following testimony seem least credible? Would such testimony be allowed in courts today?

Martha Carrier was indicted for the bewitching of certain persons, according to the form usual in such cases pleading not guilty to her indictment. There were first brought in a considerable number of the bewitched persons, who not only made the court sensible to an horrid witchcraft committed upon them, but also deposed that it was Martha Carrier, or her shape, that grievously tormented them by biting, pricking, pinching, and choking of them. It was further deposed that while this Carrier was on her examination before the magistrates, the poor people were so tortured that every one expected their death upon the very spot, but that upon the binding [arrest] of Carrier they were eased. . . .

Before the trial of this prisoner, several of her own children had frankly and fully confessed, not only that they were witches themselves, but that this, their mother, had made them so. This confession they made with great shows of repentance, and with much demonstration of truth. They related place, time, occasion; they gave an account of journeys, meetings, and mischiefs by them performed, and were very credible in what they said. . . .

Benjamin Abbott gave in his testimony that. . . this Carrier was very angry with him upon laying out some land near her husband's. Her expressions in this anger were that she "would stick as close to Abbot as the bark stuck to the tree; and that he should repent of it afore seven years came to an end, so as Doctor Prescott should never cure him." . . . Presently after this he was taken with a swelling in his foot, and then with a pain in his side, and exceedingly tormented. It bred into a sore, which was lanced by Doctor Prescott, and several gallons of corruption [pus]

³G. L. Burr, ed., *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases, 1648–1706* (1914), pp. 241–242, 244. Permission granted by Barnes & Noble Books, Totowa, New Jersey.

ran out of it. For six weeks it continued very bad, and then another sore bred in his groin, which was also lanced by Doctor Prescott. Another sore then bred in his groin, which was likewise cut, and put him to very great misery. He was brought unto death's door, and so remained until Carrier was taken and carried away by the constable, from which very day he began to mend and so grew better every day, and is well ever since.

Sarah Abbot also, his wife, testified that her husband was not only all this while afflicted in his body, but also that strange, extraordinary, and unaccountable calamities befell his cattle, their death being such as they could guess at no natural reason for. . . .

One Foster, who confessed her own share in the witchcraft for which the prisoner stood indicted, affirmed that she had seen the prisoner at some of their witch meetings, and that it was this Carrier who persuaded her to be a witch. She confessed that the devil carried them on a pole to a witch meeting; but the pole broke, and she hanging about Carrier's neck, they both fell down, and she then received an hurt by the fall whereof she was not at this very time recovered.

Thought Provokers

1. What sorts of people became indentured servants? How did the life of the servant compare with that of the slave?
2. What caused Bacon's Rebellion? Were the Baconites justified in revolting? In what ways did their rebellion foreshadow the American Revolutionary War?
3. How did slavery affect the spirit of the enslaved? of the enslavers? Would you rather have been a slave or an indentured servant in colonial Virginia?
4. How did seventeenth-century New England differ from the seventeenth-century Chesapeake region? In what ways did such differences between the two regions persist into later periods of American history?
5. What caused the Salem witchcraft hysteria, and why did the Puritan rulers respond as they did? Was their reaction justified?

master will not keep the runaway after he has got him back, he may sell him for so many years as he would have to serve him yet.

3. Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur Discovers a New Man (c. 1770)

Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur, a young Frenchman of noble family, served with the French army in Canada from 1758 to 1759. Upon reaching the English colonies in 1759, he traveled widely, married an American woman, and settled down to an idyllic existence on his New York estate, "Pine Hill." A born farmer, he introduced into America a number of plants, including alfalfa. Probably during the decade before 1775, he wrote in English the classic series of essays known as Letters from an American Farmer (published in 1782). This glowing account was blamed for luring some five hundred French families to the wilds of the Ohio Country, where they perished. What does Crèvecoeur reveal regarding the racial composition of the colonies? What did he regard as the most important factors creating the new American man?

... Whence came all these people?

They are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes. From this promiscuous breed, that race now called Americans have arisen. The Eastern [New England] provinces must indeed be excepted, as being the unmixed descendants of Englishmen. I have heard many wish that they had been more intermixed also. For my part, I am no wisher, and think it much better as it has happened. They exhibit a most conspicuous figure in this great and variegated picture; they too enter for a great share in the pleasing perspective displayed in these thirteen provinces. I know it is fashionable to reflect on them, but I respect them for what they have done; for the accuracy and wisdom with which they have settled their territory; for the decency of their manners; for their early love of letters; their ancient college, the first in this hemisphere;* for their industry, which to me, who am but a farmer, is the criterion of everything. There never was a people, situated as they are, who with so ungrateful a soil have done more in so short a time. . . .

In this great American asylum, the poor of Europe have by some means met together, and in consequence of various causes; to what purpose should they ask one another what countrymen they are? Alas, two-thirds of them had no country. Can a wretch who wanders about, who works and starves, whose life is a continual scene of sore affliction or pinching penury—can that man call England or any other kingdom his country? A country that had no bread for him, whose fields procured him no harvest, who met with nothing but the frowns of the rich, the severity of the laws, with jails and punishments; who owned not a single foot of the extensive surface of this planet? No! urged by a variety of motives, here they came. Everything has tended to regenerate them: new laws, a new mode of living, a new social system. Here they are become men. In Europe they were as so many useless plants, wanting vegetative

*M. G. J. de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York: Fox, Duffield & Company, 1904; reprint), pp. 51–56.

*In fact, the Spanish universities in Mexico City and Lima, Peru, antedated Harvard by eighty-five years.

mould, and refreshing showers; they withered, and were mowed down by want, hunger, and war. But now by the power of transplantation, like all other plants, they have taken root and flourished! Formerly they were not numbered in any civil lists of their country, except in those of the poor. Here they rank as citizens.

By what invisible power has this surprising metamorphosis been performed? By that of the laws and that of their industry. The laws, the indulgent laws, protect them as they arrive, stamping on them the symbol of adoption. They receive ample rewards for their labors; these accumulated rewards procure them lands; those lands confer on them the title of freemen, and to that title every benefit is affixed which men can possibly require. . . .

What then is the American, this new man? He is either an European, or the descendant of an European; hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations.

He is an American who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great *alma mater*. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them the great mass of arts, sciences, vigor, and industry which began long since in the East. They will finish the great circle.

The American ought therefore to love this country much better than that wherein either he or his forefathers were born. Here the rewards of his industry follow with equal steps the progress of his labor; his labor is founded on the basis of nature, *self-interest*; can it want a stronger allurement? Wives and children, who before in vain demanded of him a morsel of bread, now, fat and frolicsome, gladly help their father to clear those fields whence exuberant crops are to arise to feed and to clothe them all; without any part being claimed, either by a despotic prince, a rich abbot, or a mighty lord. Here religion demands but little of him: a small voluntary salary to the minister, and gratitude to God. Can he refuse these?

The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labor, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence.

This is an American.

4. The Growth of the Colonial Population (1740–1780)

This table shows the growth and shifting composition of the colonial population in the several decades before independence. What are the principal trends in the

⁴Reprinted by permission of The Peters Fraser and Dunlop Group Limited on behalf of R. C. Simmons from *The American Colonies from Settlement to Independence*. Copyright © 1976 by R. C. Simmons.

expense, I thought it would have been better to have built the house there, and brought the children to it. This I advised, but he was resolute in his first project, rejected my counsel, and I therefore refused to contribute.

I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the coppers. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all.

At this sermon there was also one of our club who, being of my sentiments respecting the building in Georgia, and suspecting a collection might be intended, had, by precaution, emptied his pockets before he came from home. Towards the conclusion of the discourse, however, he felt a strong desire to give, and applied to a [Quaker] neighbor, who stood near him, to borrow some money for the purpose. The application was unfortunately to perhaps the only man in the company who had the firmness not to be affected by the preacher. His answer was, "At any other time, Friend Hopkinson, I would lend to thee freely; but not now, for thee seems to be out of thy right senses."

2. Jonathan Edwards Paints the Horrors of Hell (1741)

Jonathan Edwards, a New England Congregational minister, was, like George Whitefield, a Great Awakener. Tall, slender, and delicate, Edwards had a weak voice but a powerful mind. He still ranks as the greatest Protestant theologian ever produced in America. His command of the English language was exceptional, and his vision of hell, peopled with pre-damned infants and others, was horrifying. As he preached hellfire to his Enfield, Connecticut, congregation, there was a great moaning and crying: "What shall I do to be saved? Oh, I am going to hell!" Men and women groveled on the floor or lay inert on the benches. Would Edwards's famous sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," be equally effective today?

The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked. His wrath towards you burns like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else but to be cast into the fire. He is of purer eyes than to bear you in his sight; you are ten thousand times as abominable in his eyes as the most hateful, venomous serpent is in ours.

You have offended him infinitely more than ever a stubborn rebel did his prince, and yet it is nothing but his hand that holds you from falling into the fire every moment. It is to be ascribed to nothing else that you did not go to hell the last night; that you were suffered to awake again in this world, after you closed your

²Jonathan Edwards, *Works* (Andover, Mass.: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, 1842), vol. 2, pp. 10-11

eyes to sleep. And there is no other reason to be given why you have not dropped into hell since you arose in the morning, but that God's hand has held you up. There is no other reason to be given why you have not gone to hell since you have sat here in the house of God provoking his pure eye by your sinful, wicked manner of attending his solemn worship. Yea, there is nothing else that is to be given as a reason why you do not this very moment drop down into hell.

O sinner! consider the fearful danger you are in! It is a great furnace of wrath, a wide and bottomless pit, full of the fire of wrath that you are held over in the hand of that God whose wrath is provoked and incensed as much against you as against many of the damned in hell. You hang by a slender thread, with the flames of Divine wrath flashing about it, and ready every moment to singe it and burn it asunder. . . .

It would be dreadful to suffer this fierceness and wrath of Almighty God one moment; but you must suffer it to all eternity. There will be no end to this exquisite, horrible misery. When you look forward, you shall see along forever a boundless duration before you, which will swallow up your thoughts, and amaze your soul. And you will absolutely despair of ever having any deliverance, any end, any mitigation, any rest at all. You will know certainly that you must wear out long ages, millions of millions of ages in wrestling and conflicting with this Almighty, merciless vengeance. And then when you have so done, when so many ages have actually been spent by you in this manner, you will know that all is but a point [dot] to what remains. So that your punishment will indeed be infinite.

Oh! who can express what the state of a soul in such circumstances is! All that we can possibly say about it gives but a very feeble, faint representation of it. It is inexpressible and inconceivable: for "who knows the power of God's anger"!

How dreadful is the state of those that are daily and hourly in danger of this great wrath and infinite misery! But this is the dismal case of every soul in this congregation that has not been born again, however moral and strict, sober and religious, they may otherwise be. Oh! that you would consider it, whether you be young or old!

There is reason to think that there are many in this congregation, now hearing this discourse, that will actually be the subjects of this very misery to all eternity. We know not who they are, or in what seats they sit, or what thoughts they now have. It may be they are now at ease, and hear all these things without much disturbance, and are now flattering themselves that they are not the persons, promising themselves that they shall escape.

If we knew that there was one person, and but one, in the whole congregation, that was to be the subject of this misery, what an awful thing it would be to think of! If we knew who it was, what an awful sight would it be to see such a person! How might all the rest of the congregation lift up a lamentable and bitter cry over him!

But, alas! instead of one, how many is it likely will remember this discourse in hell! And it would be a wonder, if some that are now present should not be in hell in a very short time, before this year is out. And it would be no wonder if some persons that now sit here in some seats of this meeting-house, in health, and quiet and secure, should be there before tomorrow morning!

C. The Colonial Economy

1. The West Indian Connection (1766)

Serving as a colonial agent in England in 1766, many-sided Benjamin Franklin was summoned to testify about American commerce before a parliamentary committee. What does the following excerpt from his testimony reveal about the economic relationship between the colonies and the mother country, and about the importance of the West Indian trade?

Q. What may be the amount of one year's imports into Pennsylvania from Britain?

A. I have been informed that our merchants compute the imports from Britain to be above 500,000 Pounds.

Q. What may be the amount of the produce of your province exported to Britain?

A. It must be small, as we produce little that is wanted in Britain. I suppose it cannot exceed 40,000 Pounds.

Q. How then do you pay the ballance?

A. The Ballance is paid by our produce carried to the West-Indies, and sold in our own islands, or to the French, Spaniards, Danes and Dutch; by the same carried to other colonies in North-America, as to New-England, Nova-Scotia, Newfoundland, Carolina and Georgia; by the same carried to different parts of Europe, as Spain, Portugal and Italy. In all which places we receive either money, bills of exchange, or commodities that suit for remittance to Britain; which, together with all the profits on the industry of our merchants and mariners, arising in those circuitous voyages, and the freights made by their ships, center finally in Britain, to discharge the ballance, and pay for British manufactures continually used in the province, or sold to foreigners by our traders.

Q. Have you heard of any difficulties lately laid on the Spanish trade?

A. Yes, I have heard that it has been greatly obstructed by some new regulations, and by the English men of war and cutters stationed all along the coast in America.

2. The Pattern of Colonial Commerce (1766)

Gottfried Achenwall was a distinguished German scholar whom Benjamin Franklin visited at Göttingen, Germany, in July 1766. At that time few Germans had any reliable knowledge about America, so Achenwall seized the opportunity to interview the immensely knowledgeable Franklin. What does Achenwall's analysis, as inspired by Franklin, suggest about the colonists' situation in the British imperial system?

¹From *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree (Yale University Press, 1969), vol. 13, p. 133.

²From *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree (Yale University Press, 1969), vol. 13, pp. 368-371.

Certainly it will in time be necessary to establish some manufacturers in the colonies. For with the growth of the North American colonies lasting for centuries, Great Britain and Ireland, as islands of limited resources (e.g., their wool production cannot be increased proportionately or without limit) will in the future find it beyond their power to supply from their output, the quantity of goods required by the colonies.

The three largest cities, centers of trade and seaports, in British America, are Boston in New England, New York in the province of that name, and Philadelphia in Pennsylvania. About 1720, Boston was as large as the other two cities together, but since that time New York and Pennsylvania have grown far more than Boston. For in New England there are many seaports, but the other two are the only ports in their respective provinces, as these have only a small coastal area. So both these cities are the common markets for their whole province and grow more in proportion to the province and have the hope in consequence of becoming the largest cities in America. Philadelphia has more than 3,000 houses and more than 20,000 inhabitants. The city is regularly laid out, the streets are all at right angles; they are extended every year and new houses are always being built beyond the first boundary. The houses are almost all of brick, like most of those in London.

All the American colonies have their cities and villages; but Virginia has the fewest villages and only one small city, Williamsburg, where the governor resides and the provincial Assembly and the courts meet. In this province the colonists are scattered and distant from each other, each on its own tobacco plantation. This is because of the nature of the country. Chesapeake Bay runs deep into the land, and many navigable streams flow into it. By these streams the colonists send down their tobacco in barges to the Bay, where the seagoing vessels load it. This transport is the easiest and cheapest, especially for a product taking up as much room as tobacco. Virginia is cut up by as many naturally navigable streams, as Holland by artificial canals.

New York has excellent advantage for the trade with the savages. It ships its goods up the Hudson River, to the city of Albany. Hence they are sent by other streams, and because of waterfalls, here and there partly by land several English miles, on to Oswego on Lake Ontario. Here the fairs for Indian trade are held. Lake Ontario is connected by water through the greater lakes lying inland with the *Obersee* (Lake Superior). The savages easily bring their skins and hides from the interior in their boats to Oswego. In this trade Pennsylvania has no share, as New York would not allow it. On the other hand, the trade of Pennsylvania profits by the commerce of New Jersey, as this by the convenience of the Delaware River is mostly directed to Philadelphia.

The English colonies lack salt and rarely make it for themselves. They import it from Spanish South America. There it is produced naturally, as in the Cape Verde Islands and Senegal. When the tide is high, it flows over the sand banks in certain valleys, and the heat of the sun makes salt. The colonies import it in 50 or 60 ships a year.

The colonies are generally restricted in all their foreign trade, and even more in their shipping in all sorts of ways. Nevertheless the continental colonies particularly maintain a considerable shipping trade of their own. Many products, particularly

those for ship building and raw materials suitable for manufactures: mast trees, ship timber, iron, copper ore, hemp, flax, cotton, indigo, tobacco, ginger, tar, pitch, rosin, potash, skins and furs. they may not export. These are reserved for the British realm, must be bought by British merchants, and carried by British ships and sailors. In areas where an English company has the exclusive trade, they may not trade, for example, the East Indies. In 1765, trade also was prohibited with the West Indies colonies of the French and Spanish. But this prohibition had bad results, and has been lifted. To the Portuguese Sugar Islands they may carry all sorts of food stuffs, such as grain, flour, butter, meat, and cattle for butchering, wood and timber for house building and farm use, and in return bring back chiefly molasses, from which rum is made. Trade with the Spanish in America is a mere contraband trade; the Spanish government requires the confiscation of the goods and enforces the law by its coastguard ships. But the colonist risks it because he can bring back specie, which is so rare in the colonies.

Great Britain has now, 1766, established two free ports in the West Indies, one in Jamaica and one in Dominica. Other nations had formerly done so, the French a port in St. Domingo, the Dutch in St. Eustatius, an unproductive island, the Danes in the island of St. Thomas. Great Britain has done so to enjoy the same advantages, and particularly to reduce the contraband trade with the Spanish. Yet there are restrictions on this new arrangement: all foreigners can buy all goods there duty free, but for cash, not in exchange for goods.

That the shipping trade of their own which the colonies carry on, is so important rises partly from the trade referred to with the Spanish and French West Indies, partly from the intercolonial trade by exchange of their marketable over-production, especially between the continental colonies and the English Sugar Islands, partly from their great off-shore fisheries.

After the West Indies, the chief trade of the colonies goes to the regions lying south of Cape Finisterre. They traffic directly (in their own products and in their own ships) to Africa, the Canaries, and other islands in the ocean; as also in their own wares but in British ships to Portugal, Cadiz, Malaga, Marseilles, Leghorn, and Naples. They can in this way even trade to Turkey, but up to now have not. Hither they export their surplus, especially fish, grain, and flour, timber, also sugar and rice, and bring back their price partly in hard cash. The trade with Portugal has special restrictions. They can export their products there, but cannot bring back Portuguese wine for that must be carried by way of England. So they usually in return bring back salt as ballast. Sugar is the only product which the colonist can export as his own property, though in British ships, to all Europe and sell directly.

The greatest part of American goods are taken by the English, as they ship their manufactures to America. In general, no foreign nation is permitted to go to the colonies to buy their products and carry them away, much less to send their own goods over; both export and import remain a privilege for British subjects or especially for inhabitants of England. The import of English goods into the colonies increases as they grow. England sells annually to the colonies in North America and the West Indies more than three million pounds sterling of its own products, chiefly manufactures, and including Scotland and Ireland over five million pounds sterling.

with them on all their journeys; but the women do not. The men, upon the whole, are more fond of dressing than the women.

9. *Burning glasses*. These are excellent utensils in the opinion of the Indians because they serve to light the pipe without any trouble, which pleases an indolent Indian very much.

10. *Tobacco* is bought by the northern Indians, in whose country it will not grow. The southern Indians always plant as much of it as they want for their own consumption. Tobacco has a great sale among the northern Indians, and it has been observed that the further they live to the northward, the more tobacco they smoke.

11. *Wampum*, or as it is here called, *porcelain*. It is made of a particular kind of shell and turned into little short cylindrical beads, and serves the Indians for money and ornament.

12. *Glass beads*, of a small size, white or other colors. The Indian women know how to fasten them in their ribbons, bags, and clothes.

13. *Brass and steel wire*, for several kinds of work.

14. *Brandy*, which the Indians value above all other goods that can be brought them; nor have they anything, though ever so dear to them, which they would not give away for this liquor. But on account of the many irregularities which are caused by the use of brandy, the sale of it has been prohibited under severe penalties; however, they do not always pay implicit obedience to this order.

These are the chief goods which the French carry to the Indians and they do a good business among them. . . .

It is inconceivable what hardships the people in Canada must undergo on their hunting journeys. Sometimes they must carry their goods a great way by land. Frequently they are abused by the Indians, and sometimes they are killed by them. They often suffer hunger, thirst, heat, and cold, and are bitten by gnats, and exposed to the bites of poisonous snakes and other dangerous animals and insects. These destroy a great part of the youth in Canada, and prevent the people from growing old. By this means, however, they become such brave soldiers, and so inured to fatigue, that none of them fears danger or hardships. Many of them settle among the Indians far from Canada, marry Indian women, and never come back again.

B. The French and Indian War

1. Benjamin Franklin Characterizes General Edward Braddock (1755)

Once the French and Indian War had begun, the British aimed their main thrust of 1755 at Fort Duquesne, on the present site of Pittsburgh. Their commander was General Edward Braddock, a sixty-two-year-old veteran of European battlefields. Transportation over uncut roads from Virginia was but one of the many difficulties facing the invaders, and Benjamin Franklin won laurels by rounding up 150 wagons.

¹John Bigelow, ed., *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1868), pp. 309-313.

Within about ten miles of Fort Duquesne, Braddock's vanguard of some 1,200 officers and men encountered an advancing force of about 250 French and 600 Indians. Both sides were surprised, but the French, at first driven back, rallied and attacked the flanks of the crowded redcoats from nearby ravines. In Franklin's account, written some sixteen years after the event, who or what is alleged to have been responsible for the disaster?

This general [Braddock] was, I think, a brave man, and might probably have made a figure as a good officer in some European war. But he had too much self-confidence, too high an opinion of the validity of regular troops, and too mean a one of both Americans and Indians. George Croghan, our Indian interpreter, joined him on his march with one hundred of those people, who might have been of great use to his army as guides, scouts, etc., if he had treated them kindly. But he slighted and neglected them, and they gradually left them.

In conversation with him one day, he was giving me some account of his intended progress. "After taking Fort Duquesne," says he, "I am to proceed to [Fort] Niagara; and, having taken that, to [Fort] Frontenac, if the season will allow time; and I suppose it will, for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days; and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara."

Having before revolved in my mind the long line his army must make in their march by a very narrow road, to be cut for them through the woods and bushes, and also what I had read of a former defeat of 1,500 French who invaded the Iroquois country, I had conceived some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign. But I ventured only to say, "To be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne, with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, that place, not yet completely fortified, and as we hear with no very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march is from ambuscades of Indians, who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attacked by surprise in its flanks, and to be cut like a thread into several pieces, which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support each other."

He smiled at my ignorance, and replied, "These savages may, indeed, be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia, but upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible they should make any impression." I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man in matters of his profession, and said no more.

The enemy, however, did not take the advantage of his army which I apprehended its long line of march exposed it to, but let it advance without interruption till within nine miles of the place; and then, when more in a body (for it had just passed a river, where the front had halted till all were come over), and in a more open part of the woods than any it had passed, attacked its advanced guard by a heavy fire from behind trees and bushes, which was the first intelligence the General had of an enemy's being near him. This guard being disordered, the General hurried the troops up to their assistance, which was done in great confusion, through wagons, baggage, and cattle; and presently the fire came upon their flank. The officers, being on horseback, were more easily distinguished, picked out as

marks, and fell very fast; and the soldiers were crowded together in a huddle, having or hearing no orders, and standing to be shot at till two-thirds of them were killed; and then, being seized with a panic, the whole fled with precipitation.

The wagoners took each a horse out of his team and scampered. Their example was immediately followed by others, so that all the wagons, provisions, artillery, and stores were left to the enemy. The General, being wounded, was brought off with difficulty; his secretary, Mr. Shirley, was killed by his side; and out of 86 officers, 63 were killed or wounded, and 714 men killed out of 1,100. . . .

Captain Orme, who was one of the General's aides-de-camp, and, being grievously wounded, was brought off with him and continued with him to his death, which happened in a few days, told me that he was totally silent all the first day, and at night only said, "Who would have thought it?" That he was silent again the following day, saying only at last, "We shall better know how to deal with them another time"; and died in a few minutes after.

2. *A Frenchman Reports Braddock's Defeat (1755)*

An anonymous Frenchman, presumably stationed at Fort Duquesne, sent the following report of the battle home to Paris. In what important respects does it differ from Franklin's account just given? Where the two versions conflict, which is to be accorded the more credence? Why? What light does this report cast on the legend that Braddock was ambushed?

M. de Contrecoeur, captain of infantry, Commandant of Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, having been informed that the English were taking up arms in Virginia for the purpose of coming to attack him, was advised, shortly afterwards, that they were on the march. He dispatched scouts, who reported to him faithfully their progress. On the 7th instant he was advised that their army, consisting of 3,000 regulars from Old England, were within six leagues [eighteen miles] of this fort.

That officer employed the next day in making his arrangements; and on the 9th detached M. de Beaujeu, seconded by Messrs. Dumas and de Lignery, all three captains, together with 4 lieutenants, 6 ensigns, 20 cadets, 100 soldiers, 100 Canadians, and 600 Indians, with orders to lie in ambush at a favorable spot, which he had reconnoitred the previous evening. The detachment, before it could reach its place of destination, found itself in presence of the enemy within three leagues of that fort.

M. de Beaujeu, finding his ambush had failed, decided on an attack. This he made with so much vigor as to astonish the enemy, who were waiting for us in the best possible order; but their artillery, loaded with grape[shot]. . . , having opened its fire, our men gave way in turn. The Indians, also frightened by the report of the cannon, rather than by any damage it could inflict, began to yield, when M. de Beaujeu was killed.

M. Dumas began to encourage his detachment. He ordered the officers in command of the Indians to spread themselves along the wings so as to take the enemy

²E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, N.Y.: Weed, Parsons, Printers, 1858), vol. 10, pp. 303-304.

C. A New Restlessness

1. Andrew Burnaby Scoffs at Colonial Unity (1760)

Andrew Burnaby, the broad-minded Church of England clergyman who traveled extensively in the colonies during the closing months of the French and Indian War, recorded many penetrating observations. But he scoffed at the idea that the Americans would one day form a mighty nation or even come together in a voluntary union. Which of his arguments were borne out when the colonies did attempt to form one nation?

An idea, strange as it is visionary, has entered into the minds of the generality of mankind, that empire is traveling westward; and everyone is looking forward with eager and impatient expectation to that destined moment when America is to give law to the rest of the world. But if ever an idea was illusory and fallacious, I will venture to predict that this will be so.

America is formed for happiness, but not for empire. In a course of 1,200 miles I did not see a single object that solicited charity. But I saw insuperable causes of weakness, which will necessarily prevent its being a potent state. . . .

The Southern colonies have so many inherent causes of weakness that they never can possess any real strength. The climate operates very powerfully upon them, and renders them indolent, inactive, and unenterprising; this is visible in every line of their character. I myself have been a spectator—and it is not an uncommon sight—of a man in the vigor of life, lying upon a couch, and a female slave standing over him, wafting off the flies, and fanning him, while he took his repose. . . .

The mode of cultivation by slavery is another insurmountable cause of weakness. The number of Negroes in the Southern colonies is upon the whole nearly equal, if not superior, to that of the white men; and they propagate and increase even faster. Their condition is truly pitiable: their labor excessively hard, their diet poor and scanty, their treatment cruel and oppressive; they cannot therefore but be a subject of terror to those who so unhumanly tyrannize over them.

The Indians near the frontiers are a still farther formidable cause of subjection. The southern Indians are numerous, and are governed by a sounder policy than formerly; experience has taught them wisdom. They never make war with the colonists without carrying terror and devastation along with them. They sometimes break up entire counties together. Such is the state of the Southern colonies.

The Northern colonies are of stronger stamina, but they have other difficulties and disadvantages to struggle with, not less arduous, or more easy to be surmounted, than what have been already mentioned. . . . They are composed of people of different nations, different manners, different religions, and different languages. They have a mutual jealousy of each other, fomented by considerations of interest, power, and ascendancy. Religious zeal, too, like a smothered fire, is secretly burning in the hearts of the different sectaries that inhabit them, and were it not restrained by laws and superior authority, would soon burst out into a flame of uni-

¹Andrew Burnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North-America in the Years 1759 and 1760* (London: J. Payne, 1775; reprinted Ithaca, N.Y.: Great Seal Books, 1960), pp. 110–114

versal persecution. Even the peaceable Quakers struggle hard for pre-eminence, and evince in a very striking manner that the passions of mankind are much stronger than any principles of religion. . . .

Indeed, it appears to me a very doubtful point, even supposing all the colonies of America to be united under one head, whether it would be possible to keep in due order and government so wide and extended an empire, the difficulties of communication, of intercourse, of correspondence, and all other circumstances considered.

A voluntary association or coalition, at least a permanent one, is almost as difficult to be supposed: for fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North America. Nothing can exceed the jealousy and emulation which they possess in regard to each other. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania and New York have an inexhaustible source of animosity in their jealousy for the trade of the Jerseys. Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island are not less interested in that of Connecticut. The West Indies are a common subject of emulation to them all. Even the limits and boundaries of each colony are a constant source of litigation.

In short, such is the difference of character, of manners, of religion, of interest, of the different colonies, that I think, if I am not wholly ignorant of the human mind, were they left to themselves there would soon be a civil war from one end of the continent to the other, while the Indians and Negroes would, with better reason, impatiently watch the opportunity of exterminating them all together.

2. A Lawyer Denounces Search Warrants (1761)

During the French and Indian War, the American merchant-smugglers kept up a lucrative illicit trade with the French and Spanish West Indies. They argued that they could not pay wartime taxes if they could not make profits out of their friends, the enemy. Angered by such disloyalty, the royal authorities in Massachusetts undertook to revive the hated writs of assistance. Ordinary search warrants describe the specific premises to be searched; writs of assistance were general search warrants that authorized indiscriminate search of ships and dwellings for illicit goods. Colonial participation in the recent war against the French had inspired a spirit of resistance, and John Adams, later president of the United States, remembered in his old age the following dramatic episode. Why were the colonials so alarmed? Were their fears exaggerated?

When the British ministry received from General Amherst his despatches announcing his conquest of Montreal, and the consequent annihilation of the French government in America, in 1759 [actually 1760], they immediately conceived the design and took the resolution of conquering the English colonies, and subjecting them to the unlimited authority of Parliament. With this view and intention, they sent orders and instructions to the collector of the customs in Boston, Mr. Charles Paxton, to apply to the civil authority for writs of assistance, to enable the custom-house officers, tidewaiters, landwaiters, and all, to command all sheriffs and constables, etc., to attend and aid them in breaking open houses, stores, shops, cellars.

²C. F. Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams* (1856), vol. 10, pp. 246–248.

ships, bales, trunks, chests, casks, packages of all sorts, to search for goods, wares, and merchandises which had been imported against the prohibitions or without paying the taxes imposed by certain acts of Parliament, called "The Acts of Trade." . . .

An alarm was spread far and wide. Merchants of Salem and Boston applied to [lawyers] Mr. Pratt, who refused, and to Mr. Otis and Mr. Thacher, who accepted, to defend them against this terrible menacing monster, the writ of assistance. Great fees were offered, but Otis, and I believe Thacher, would accept of none. "In such a cause," said Otis, "I despise all fees."

I have given you a sketch of the stage and the scenery, and the brief of the cause; or, if you like the phrase better, the tragedy, comedy, or farce.

Now for the actors and performers. Mr. Gridley argued [for the government] with his characteristic learning, ingenuity, and dignity, and said everything that could be said in favor of Cockle's (deputy collector at Salem) petition, all depending, however, on the "If the Parliament of Great Britain is the sovereign legislature of all the British empire."

Mr. Thacher followed him on the other side, and argued with the softness of manners, the ingenuity, and the cool reasoning which were remarkable in his amiable character.

But Otis was a flame of fire! With a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eye into futurity, and a torrent of impetuous eloquence he hurried away everything before him. American independence was then and there born; the seeds of patriots and heroes were then and there sown. . . .

Every man of a crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance. Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child Independence was born. In fifteen years, namely in 1776, he grew up to manhood and declared himself free. . . .

Mr. Otis' popularity was without bounds. In May, 1761, he was elected into the House of Representatives by an almost unanimous vote. On the week of his election, I happened to be at Worcester attending a Court of Common Pleas, of which Brigadier Ruggles was Chief Justice, when the News arrived from Boston of Mr. Otis' election. You can have no idea of the consternation among the government people. Chief Justice Ruggles, at dinner at Colonel Chandler's on that day, said, "Out of this election will arise a d—d faction, which will shake this province to its foundation."

Thought Provokers

1. It has been said that the true martyr does not feel pain, as other humans do, but actually takes pleasure in suffering for a noble cause. Comment in the light of the Jesuit experience in Canada. Explain why there was prolonged conflict in New France between the missionaries and the fur traders. Did the whites "rob" the Indians when they exchanged a string of beads for valuable furs?