Chapter 4: Creating the Empire, 1660-1720

Overview
During the first half of the seventeenth century, England’s colonies developed without any real governmental plan or control. Colonies were private ventures with charters from the British government but nothing came in the way of supervision of support because of political turmoil in Great Britain. When the chaos over the monarchy was resolved, Britain had been transformed into a constitutional monarchy in which the crown and Parliament jointly ruled. The British state became stronger and more centralized. The economic theory of mercantilism guided Britain’s economic development and was implemented in the Navigation Acts (1651-1696). In the absence of strict British control new colonies, such as New Netherland, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina, were developed in the second half of the seventeenth century, each in a different manner from the others. The most successful offered opportunity and religious toleration to its colonists. By the end of the seventeenth century, Virginians lived through a rebellion designed to secure economic opportunity and a legitimate government that would protect that opportunity and Virginia had developed into a slave society complete with laws regulating slave behavior and protecting an owner’s rights to his property. In Massachusetts the Puritans lost control of their world. They had to contend with prosperity, conflicts with their neighbors, and the region’s deadliest Indian war known as King Philip’s War. In 1692 twenty people were executed who had been convicted of witchcraft. As Britain regained political stability at the end of the seventeenth century she tried to gain some control over her colonies. She was also more confident that she could challenge France for world supremacy. Between 1689 and 1713 Britain fought two wars against France and her allies. Of the three European nations with colonies in the New World, Britain was the only nation to have a substantial presence in America north of the Rio Grande. The French and Spanish both maintained outposts but these had not become thriving colonies vital to their nation’s economy. More than anything they functioned as military outposts to keep other nations out of the region. The Spanish focused their attentions on Mexico and Latin America while settlements in New Mexico and Florida languished. For the French the West Indies were valuable possessions; not so much Quebec and Louisiana. Spain’s settlement at St. Augustine, Florida was intended to be a self-supporting military outpost. It never developed to that extent and more than once the Spanish thought about abandoning it and in 1763, at the end of the French and Indian War, Spain abandoned its Florida colony. Its colony in New Mexico was the location of the only successful Indian revolt in North America, the Pueblo Revolt. The Pueblos held off the Spanish for thirteen years but in 1696 Spain reconquered New Mexico. Spain’s settlements in New Mexico were always precarious.

Key Topics The information in chapter 4 introduces your students to the following key topics:
- Britain’s plan for empire, and the effect of the English Revolution, Restoration, and the Glorious Revolution on the colonies
- New patterns established by the colonies founded in the second half of the seventeenth century
- Political instability in most of the American colonies including Spain’s colony of New Mexico
- The conflict between the role envisioned for Indians in the British empire and the ambitions of colonial settlers in Virginia and New England
- The Salem witchcraft trials as an expression of tensions in late seventeenth century Massachusetts
- The distinctive society of New Mexico

Chapter Outline
Tituba Shapes Her World and Saves Herself
The Plan of Empire
Turmoil in England
The Political Economy of Mercantilism
New Colonies, New Patterns
New Netherlands Becomes New York
Diversity and Prosperity in Pennsylvania
Indians and Africans in the Political Economy of Carolina
The Barbados Connection

21
The Transformation of Virginia
  Social Change in Virginia
  Bacon’s Rebellion and the Abandonment of the Middle Ground
  Virginia Becomes a Slave Society
New England Under Assault
  Social Prosperity and the Fear of Religious Decline
  King Phillip’s War
  Indians and the Empire
The Empire Strikes
  The Dominion of New England
  The Glorious Revolution -- in Britain and America
  The Rights of Englishmen
  Conflict in the Empire
Massachusetts in Crisis
  The Social and Cultural Context of Witchcraft
  Witchcraft at Salem
Feature: The Supernatural on Trial
  Witchcraft at Salem
  The End of Witchcraft
French and Spanish Outposts
  France Attempts an Empire
  The Spanish Outposts in Florida
Conquest, Revolt, and Reconquest in New Mexico
  The Conquest of Pueblo Society
  The Pueblo Revolt
  Reconquest and the Creation of Spanish Colonial Society
Conclusion

Annotated chapter outline with review questions

Tituba Shapes Her World and Saves Herself: Either a Yoruba from Africa or an Arawak Indian from Guyana, the woman Tituba, was accused of practicing witchcraft in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692. She had spent her life working on sugar plantations in the Caribbean and as a household slave in Massachusetts before moving with her owner and his family to Salem. What might have been nothing more than a young girl’s parlor game, an old folk custom of trying to see the future in the white of an egg dropped into a glass of water, Tituba got caught up in a hysterical witchcraft scare -- one in which she was accused of practicing witchcraft. The charge was a capital offense. In order to save herself, Tituba created a fanciful tale of hairy beasts, flying to Boston on a broomstick, and covenants with the Devil. Her descriptions of events reflect her experiences in several different cultures and reflect a strong personal survival instinct. She told the magistrates what they wanted to hear in order to save herself. Her story is a story of cultural mixing and self-preservation.

The Plan of Empire: During the first half of the seventeenth century, England’s colonies developed without any real governmental plan or control. Colonies were private ventures with charters from the British government but there was nothing in the way of supervision or support. The reason for this neglect was the Glorious Revolution. When it was over, Britain had been transformed into a constitutional monarchy in which the crown and Parliament jointly ruled.
  • The economic theory of mercantilism guided Britain’s economic development.
  • The theory of mercantilism holds that nations require vast amounts of money to support their needs.
  • It holds that money is a finite commodity -- one country’s gain is another’s loss.
  • In order to implement mercantilism and to regulate the colonists’ trade, Parliament passed the Navigation Acts (1651–1696).
  • Mercantilism held that the colonists were to provide the raw materials; manufacturers back home made the finished product.
- Mercantilism also held that if the colonists came to manufacture things that competed with manufacturers back home, those colonial industries were restricted (see the Hat Act and Wool Act).

What was Britain’s plan of empire? What role were the American colonies supposed to play in it?

New Colonies, New Patterns: In the absence of strict British control new colonies developed in the second half of the seventeenth century. New Netherland, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina were developed, each in a different manner from the others. The most successful offered opportunity and religious toleration to its colonists.

- Britain cut the Dutch trade, became the primary slave trader, and moved to take New Netherland and in 1665 New Netherland became New York. However, feudal land policies and a failure to restore self-government kept potential colonists out of New York despite the promise of religious freedom.

- Pennsylvania demonstrated the potential of a colony that offered both religious toleration and economic opportunity. Chartered in 1661 by the Quaker William Penn, colonists were promised self-government, freedom of religion, and reasonably priced land which had been bought from its Indian owners. This multilingual colony was characterized by rapid growth and widespread prosperity.

- Carolina was founded in 1670 and was the first English colony to recognize slavery from the outset.

- By 1680, the Carolinian colonists had control of the Indian trade -- the defeated Indians became slaves in the southeast; a vital aspect of Carolina’s economy. Many of Carolina’s colonies had substantial experience in colonial plantations and with African slavery on the island of Barbados. They brought with them their racist ideas about Africans as well as their slave codes, which defined slave behavior. The slave codes in Barbados were the harshest in any of the Atlantic colonies and Carolina’s slave codes were the harshest on the North American continent.

- Carolina became a slave society and slavery stood at the center of its political economy.

The Transformation of Virginia: By the end of the seventeenth century, Virginians had lived through a rebellion designed to secure economic opportunity and a legitimate government that would protect that opportunity and Virginia had developed into a slave society. Economic opportunity for whites came at the denial of liberty to Indians and Africans in Virginia.

- Virginians had managed to mitigate some of its environment and health problems. With a growing population, all of the productive arable land in eastern Virginia had already been taken and the land to the west was inhabited by Indians. Poor small landholders also saw the colonial government exacerbating these problems. When the revolt came it was led by a member of the elite, Roger Bacon, who was as much opposed to the governor of Virginia, William Berkeley, as he was in favor of dispossessing the Indians of their valuable western lands. Bacon’s Rebellion failed on the one hand, government reform, but succeeded in its primary aim: the Indians on the frontier were dispersed and their land open for Virginians.

- By 1700 Virginia was a slave society -- a society in which slavery was central to the political economy and the social structure. As the population of Africans in Virginia grew, so, too, did the laws controlling Africans. A slave code further defined slaves’ roles and codified what they could and could not do.

Many of the American colonies experienced a period of political instability in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Describe the rebellions and other examples of political instability and explain what caused them.

New England Under Assault: The Puritans lost control of their world by the last quarter of the seventeenth century. They had to contend with prosperity, conflicts with their neighbors, and the region’s deadliest war in 1675.

- The Puritans had become successful but their offspring had grown more worldly and less concerned about the hereafter. In 1662 a group of Puritan ministers drew up the Half Way Covenant which actually made tensions within the communities worse.

- Prosperity brought the need for more land, resulting in the region’s deadliest Indian war, King Philip’s War. It was part of a much larger British concern.

- The British government had always had to balance colonists’ desires against the empire’s larger geopolitical objectives. The alliance of the French and various Indian groups had become one of Great Britain’s concerns. New York Governor Andros created the Covenant Chain, an alliance between the British and the Iroquois which recognized the Iroquois as middlemen between all the tribes in the area and the traders in Albany, New York.
Describe the Indian-white relations in the American colonies in the second half of the seventeenth century. What was the Covenant Chain, and how did Edmund Andros’s vision of Indian-white relations differ from that of settlers in New England?

The Empire Strikes: As Britain regained political stability at the end of the seventeenth century she tried to gain some control over her colonies. Following the Glorious Revolution (1688) Britain emerged stronger and more stable and confident that she could challenge France for world supremacy. What resulted was a series of Anglo-French wars (1689 to 1763) that drew the colonies into the empire.

- James II reorganized the New England colonies under the Dominion of New England under the governorship of Edmond Andros. The result was political and social chaos in New England. Glorious Revolution left unanswered questions in the colonies and the differences of opinions grew in magnitude.
- Colonists believed they had the same rights as English citizens. They believed their elected representative colonial councils were the equivalent of Parliament.
- Englishmen back home believed Parliament was superior to the colonial councils. They believed that the good of the whole empire was more important than any one of its parts. The British government believed it had complete jurisdiction over all aspects of colonial life.
- Between 1689 and 1713 Britain fought two wars against France and her allies which resulted in endemic conflict on the colonial frontiers as English and French forces contended with one another and each other’s Indian allies.

What effect did political turmoil and the change of leadership in Britain have upon the American colonies in the second half of the seventeenth century?

Massachusetts in Crisis: The Salem witchcraft trials illustrate the tensions in Massachusetts at the end of the seventeenth century. Economic development, conflict between religious and scientific views of the world, political instability, imperial war, and conflict with the Indians worked together to heighten the environment in which the witchcraft hysteria broke out. In 1692 twenty people were executed who had been convicted of witchcraft.

- People in Massachusetts were unusually anxious in 1692. Memories of King Philip’s War were vivid and King William’s War had just begun. Massachusetts had yet to receive a new charter and was without an effective government. Perhaps more immediate, were the economic changes that had occurred which in turn caused social change -- all of which was unsettling to the people.
- Declining opportunity had disrupted the social order -- men and women married later in life but had not postponed sexual relations. In a society that held women particularly responsible for sin, they held women particularly responsible for witchcraft as well.
- By the fall of 1692, 156 people had been accused of witchcraft and jailed in Salem, an economic backwater town in Massachusetts. Of the 156, nineteen had been hung and one crushed to death. With the accusations becoming more widespread and perhaps outlandish, a four-year old child and Lady Phips, the wife of the Massachusetts Governor were among the accused, the church and the governor stepped in and put an end to the trials.
- The last witchcraft scare in New England was over.

What were the primary causes of the witchcraft trials in Salem in 1692? What were the primary results?

Feature: The Supernatural on Trial: Most of the convictions in the Salem witch trails rested on “spectral” evidence, that is the specter of the accused witch rather than the actual, physical person, had committed the act. The trials, which had convicted and executed those who had freely confessed or been proven guilty by at least two eye witnesses, became more unusual as time went on. Those who confessed found themselves freed while those who maintained their innocence were executed. Another way out of execution was to accuse someone else. In this way, the number of accused increased along with the witch hysteria. Years later, many of those who participated repented their participation.

- A new faith emerged in which the powers of reason prevailed and more and more men and women believed they controlled their own destiny. Women were also relieved of the belief that they held some supernatural symbolic power to do harm.
- The Salem witchcraft trials also mark an end to the cohesion of Puritan communities. The population had grown and become more diverse and New Englanders abandoned the belief that God had chosen them for some special mission.
French and Spanish Outposts: Of the three European nations with colonies in the New World, Britain was the only nation to have a substantial presence in America north of the Rio Grande. The French and Spanish both maintained outposts but these had not become thriving colonies vital to the nation’s economy. More than anything they functioned as military outposts to keep other nations out of the region. The Spanish focused their attentions on Mexico and Latin America while settlements in New Mexico and Florida languished. For the French the West Indies were valuable possessions; not so much Quebec and Louisiana.

- As late as the eighteenth century, France lacked the ability to develop Quebec into an important financially self-sustaining colony and despite attempts to do otherwise, Quebec failed to make France a profit. The fur trade, which the French controlled for much of the sixteenth century, had changed and when the Indians demonstrated their preference for British manufactured goods, the French built a series of forts to intercept them. Declining revenues from the fur trade and the escalating expense of protecting its Canadian possession made New France an expensive investment.
- Further south in the region named Louisiana, the French also built forts to check the advance of the British and the French. Louisiana proved to be an economic drain on France’s economy and the colonists were left to fend for themselves. The center of France’s New World political economy was in the Caribbean.
- Spain’s settlement at St. Augustine, Florida was intended to be a self-supporting military outpost. It never developed to that extent and more than once the Spanish thought about abandoning it. Once the British established themselves in Carolina, Florida was once again important to Spain and it gained a new source of “colonists” in run away slaves from Carolina. Florida existed until 1763, when at the end of the French and Indian War Spain abandoned its Florida colony.

Conquest, Revolt, and Reconquest in New Mexico: Also financially insignificant, Spain’s New Mexico colony was a candidate for abandonment. Like in Florida, the Franciscan missionaries prevailed. Spain was the only European power in the southwest and the Indians there could not play one European power against the other as Indians had done in the east. Nor were there African slaves in New Mexico. When the Pueblo Indians rose up in rebellion in 1680 the survival of New Mexico was in doubt.

- In 1598 Spain established a colony in New Mexico. Although it was hoped that New Mexico would contribute to Spain’s economy, its real purpose was to block French incursions and its other purpose was to convert the Indians. A series of missions were established in the southwest and the Franciscans soon came into conflict with their potential converts. The Franciscans’ marginal success was enough to undermine traditional Pueblo society.
- Known as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, it was the most successful Indian revolt in North America. When it was over, more than 400 Spanish had been killed, including twenty-one of thirty-three Franciscan priests, mission churches were destroyed, sacred objects defiled, and Spanish settlements torched. Santa Fé, the colonial capitol, was abandoned and the Spanish colonists sought refuge in El Paso.
- The Pueblos held off the Spanish for thirteen years but in 1696 it was reconquered and was always precarious.

Describe the causes and results of Pope’s Rebellion of 1680 and describe New Mexican society in the early eighteenth century.

Conclusion: By the end of the seventeenth century, almost all of the British colonies had developed the political economies that they would maintain until the American Revolution. They were prosperous and had a well developed middle class. Slavery was the solution to labor shortages. France’s and Spain’s colonies on the other hand were poorly developed and in New Mexico the best example of Old World social hierarchies was in place.

Making links to other ideas Using the maps and websites, in addition to your prepared lectures and other assignments, can give you more resources to enable your students to see that history is much more than memorizing names and dates. You will find that the websites are even more comprehensive and adaptable than described and because they have been collected here in one volume you have a world of information no further away than the click of your mouse. If you are new to the web's opportunities, you will be pleasantly surprised at the breadth and depth of the information available in these sites.
Map 01: What information does this map convey? What purpose would these paths have in Indian and colonial societies? Why do the paths terminate at Charles Town and Bermuda Hundred?

Map 02: According to this map and compared to the maps in chapter three (03.02 and 03.03), what has happened to the settlement patterns of the Indians and the colonists? Is the outbreak of violence predictable?

Map 03: Identify the locations of New Mexico, New England, and New France. Why are there such huge areas of eastern North America unclaimed by any European power? What is the relationship of topography to settlement?

Map 04: Which settlements are Spanish and which are Indian? Would the people living at Oraibi and Walpi be less likely to have contact with the Spanish or would the people living at Acoma or Laguna?

In the summary table, “Codifying Race and Slavery,” answer the following questions:

1. According to the summary chart, identify examples which support the authors’ statement that slavery was defined “as a racial institution, appropriate only for Africans.”
2. How do these laws create and protect the privileged position for whites?

Web connections and resources

Consider using these websites to supplement your students’ reading and analytical skills. The sites were chosen because of their relevance to the material in the chapter— not just to mirror it but to provide additional materials and perspectives. Questions from the student study guide have been included so that you can use or amend them to your own needs. Your students may find it insightful for you to guide them through the site as you help them develop research strategies.

“Creating the Empire” www.prenhall.com/boydston/witchcraft

Witchcraft in Salem has haunted the American imagination for more than three centuries. "Witch hunt" remains the term of choice to describe mass hysteria and paranoia. Historians have seen in the Salem outbreak clues to everything from social strains associated with the development of a market-based economy to cultural stereotypes about women and their place in American life. We know much of what happened at Salem but less of how it happened and less still of why. How did a group of young women and girls convince first their neighbors and then the colony's most experienced ministers and magistrates that Satan was abroad in the land?


By examining Penn’s plans for the city of Philadelphia and his relationships with Native Americans, this site provides great insight into Penn’s religious, political, and social ideology, both as a Quaker and a member of the elite class.

1. William Penn planned Philadelphia in such a way as to create a “wholesome” city. Describe the characteristics of his plan and his reasons for planning the city as he did.


This comprehensive site contains various sources about this infamous incident in American history including excerpts from trial transcripts, biographies of key accusers and the accused, copies of arrest warrants for alleged witches, and illustrations. Also, read Cotton Mather’s primary account of the events titled “Memorable Providences.”

1. Compare the testimonies of Tituba, Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse, Mary Easty, and Bridget Bishop. What elements do their testimonies have in common? What elements are different?

National Park Service’s “Salina Pueblo Missions” http://www.nps.gov/sapu/home.htm

Through this site of the National Park Service, learn about the Pueblo Indians prior to their cultural clash with Spaniards and the establishment of missions. Maps, narratives, and illustrations tell the social, political, and religious ideologies of the Pueblos and how they differed from Europeans.

1. The term “ethnocentrism” is used to describe the process by which one person or group judges another by his own values and standards. Generally, the result of ethnocentrism is to find those differences wrong and bad. Describe the ways in which the Spanish priests were ethnocentric in their understanding of the Pueblo people.

Through this site, explore the meaning of mercantilism and the impact it had on all facets of life in the North American colonies of the Eighteenth Century.

1. Compare the practices of English mercantilism with the French version of mercantilism.

**Analytical reading**  Your students may need more experience analyzing a short reading passage so that he or she can determine its component parts. They may need help identifying primary and supporting information as well as the author’s analysis. The analytical reading passages and the questions from the student study guide have been duplicated in the instructor’s manual for your use. Your students may need direction and encouragement in using them.

When the revolt came, it was led, however, not by one of the poor or landless, but by a member of the elite. Nathaniel Bacon was only twenty-seven when he arrived in Virginia in 1674. Well-educated, wealthy, and a member of a prominent family, Bacon and his wife Elizabeth had left England after he disgraced himself by marrying without his father-in-law's consent and attempting to cheat a man out of his property. Tall, dark-haired, and brooding, Bacon made an immediate impression upon Virginia's ruling clique, and Governor Berkeley invited him into the colony's Council of State. For reasons that may never be entirely clear, however, Bacon decided to cast his lot with Berkeley's enemies among the elite. At that time, the instability of colonial elites in Britain's accidental empire gave rise to political factions in a number of colonies. When ruling elites, such as Berkeley's in Virginia, levied exorbitant taxes and ignored the needs of their constituents, they left themselves vulnerable to challenge.

The contest between Bacon and Berkeley might have remained an ordinary faction fight had not Bacon been able to capitalize on the discontent of the colony's freemen. The conflict that is known as Bacon’s Rebellion was triggered by a routine episode of violence on the middle ground inhabited by Indians and Europeans. Seeking payment for goods they had delivered to a wealthy frontier planter, a band of Doeg Indians from Maryland crossed into Virginia, killed the planter's overseer, and tried to steal some of his hogs. Over the years, Europeans and Indians who shared the middle ground had adapted the Indian custom of providing restitution for crimes committed by one side or the other. Although this practice inevitably accepted sporadic violence, it also helped maintain order in regions inhabited by both groups. It also reflected the Indian concept of communal responsibility more than the European one of individual accountability. But this time, the conflict escalated, as Virginians sought revenge, prompting further Indian retaliation.

1. By beginning the paragraph with “when the revolt came,” the authors suggest that violence between the landed and the landless was bound to happen. Does the evidence in this part of chapter four suggest that violence was inevitable? Explain your answer.
2. Did the fact that Nathaniel Bacon was a member of the socially elite in England and Virginia give him additional credibility in gathering supporters to his cause?
3. Was the event dealing with the hog the cause of Bacon’s Rebellion or was it just the spark that set off the violence? Discuss the conflict environment in which this rebellion occurred.
4. Why didn’t the custom of providing restitution help prevent violence from breaking out this time?

**Writing**  The questions or writing prompts from the student study guide have been duplicated here for your use. These writing topics make good lecture topics especially if you help your students see the development of the idea in lecture format before they refine the idea in their writing assignments.

1. Mercantilism was at the heart of Britain’s plan for colonization. Discuss the economic theory of mercantilism and the development of New Netherland, Pennsylvania, and Carolina.
2. What effect did political turmoil in England have on the development of existing colonies? What effect did it have on the establishing of new colonies during that time?
3. Governor Edmund Andros had a very different idea of Indian policy in the colonies. Describe his policy and describe how it differed from other’s ideas.

4. The Salem witchcraft trials are seen as an expression of social change and unrest brought about because of those changes. What was happening in Massachusetts that may have contributed to this outbreak of witchcraft accusations? What were the long lasting results of the Salem trials?

5. The Pueblo Revolt is a reaction to social, spiritual, and political change in Spain’s New Mexico colony. Describe the causes of this rebellion, why it was successful, and then why it eventually failed in 1692.

Lecture Strategies  Ultimately the lecture is where you impart, or profess, your knowledge for the benefit of your students. These strategies were designed around the textbook and if your classroom strategy is to use the organization of the text to organize your course content, these lecture ideas may prove helpful. However, if you lecture around themes please see the section entitled “Thematic Lecture Topics.” You may find that you are more comfortable with and your students are more responsive to a combination of the two.

In chapter four, England solidified her claim on the Atlantic coastline of North America and Spain proved that her claims on the southeast and southwest were tenuous at best. Building on the concepts you discussed in chapter three, overcoming the obstacles of colonization, you now have the opportunity to look at three new English colonies, New York, Pennsylvania, and Carolina, and at a maturing colony, Virginia. The economic theory of mercantilism (introduced in chapter two) is expanded to include the Navigation Acts. Whether the Navigation Acts enhanced or retarded colonial trade is an interesting topic for discussion with your students. Social upheavals came along with the economic maturity of the Virginia and the Chesapeake colonies. Bacon’s Rebellion, Leisler’s Rebellion, and Coode’s Rebellion reflect tensions between the advantaged and disadvantaged and these tensions illustrate the maturing of the colonial economies. The Salem witch trials, a perennial favorite among students, is an interesting study in the anxieties of social change. You could also use Bacon’s Rebellion and King Philip’s War to discuss social, political, and economic change and the need white colonists had for Indians’ land. The evolution of Virginia from a society with slaves to a slave society is the continuation of the topic begun in previous chapters.

The Pueblo Revolt can be discussed as an example of ethnocentrism: Spanish priests judged the Pueblo Indians by the Spaniards’ own personal codes of moral behavior and definitions of civilization. The Pueblo Revolt is also an example of native people empowering themselves to do something about their Spanish overlords. The Pueblo Revolt is an interesting example of one people unified against a European power. Unlike the alliances of the Hurons and Algonquins each with their own political and social agendas, for example, the Pueblos were similar both culturally and spiritually and this enhanced their unity. It also enhanced their ability to throw out the Spanish for over a decade.

With the exception of the frontier outposts in Florida and New Mexico, chapter four presents a maturing British colonial population whose successes will take them into the next half century.