

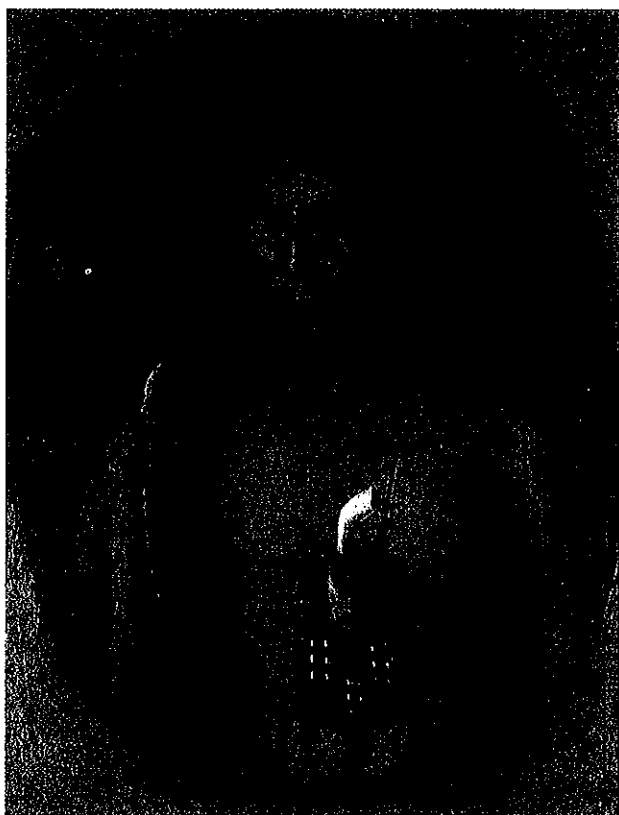
TABLE 5.1 POPULATION OF NORTH AMERICA IN 1750

Region	Population
New France	70,000
New England	400,000
New York	100,000
Pennsylvania	230,000
Chesapeake	390,000
Lower South	100,000
Backcountry	100,000
Northern New Spain	20,000
Indian America	1,500,000
TOTAL	2,910,000

A portrait of the Delaware chief Tishcohan

by Gustavus Hesselius, painted in 1732. In his purse of chipmunk hide is a clay pipe, a common item of the Indian trade. Tishcohan was one of the Delaware leaders forced by Pennsylvania authorities into signing a fraudulent land deal that reversed that colony's history of fair dealing with Indians over land. He moved west to the Ohio River as settlers poured into his former homeland.

Gustavus Hesselius, "Tishcohan," Native American Portrait, 1735. Courtesy of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania Collection, Atwater Kent Museum of Philadelphia.



World of traditional Old World beliefs, customs, and institutions, as well as a general pattern of European adaptation to American conditions (see Map 5-1).

INDIAN AMERICA

As the native peoples of the Atlantic coastal plain lost their lands to colonists through battles or treaties and moved into or beyond the Appalachian Mountains, they became active in the fur trade. Indians demonstrated a remarkable capacity for change and adaptation. They used firearms and metal tools, built their homes of logs as the frontier settlers did, and participated in the commercial economy. In the process, they became dependent on European goods. "The clothes we wear, we cannot make ourselves, they are made for us," a Cherokee chief admitted. "We cannot make our guns. Every necessary thing in life we must have from the White People."

Yet Indian peoples continued to assert a proud independence and gained considerable skill at playing colonial powers against one another. The Iroquois Five Nations battled the French and their Indian allies in King William's War (see Chapter 3), but in 1701, signed a treaty of neutrality with France that kept them out of harm's way during the next round of conflicts. The Catholic Iroquois of Kahnawake sometimes supported the French, as they did by mounting the Deerfield raid, but they also traded with the English. In the Lower South, the Creeks maintained commercial relations with both the French and the English as a means of maintaining their autonomy.

In general, the French had better relations with native peoples than the English. There were fewer French colonists, and the French strategy was to build alliances with native tribes. The preeminent concern of the Indians of the eastern half of the continent was the tremendous growth of colonial population in the British Atlantic coastal colonies, especially the movement of settlers westward. Indian alliances with the French resulted not from any great affection, but rather from their greater fear of British expansion.

Indian communities continued to take a terrific beating from epidemics of European disease. No census of Indian population was taken before the nineteenth century, but historians estimate that from a high of 7 to 10 million north of Mexico in 1500, the native population probably fell to around a million by 1800. Thus, during the eighteenth century, colonists began to overwhelm natives in sheer numbers. Population loss did not affect all Indian tribes equally, however. Native peoples with a century or more of colonial contact and interaction had lost 50 percent or more of their numbers, but most Indian societies in the interior had yet to be struck by the horrible epidemics.

By the early eighteenth century, Indians on the southern fringe of the Great Plains were using horses stolen from the Spanish in New Mexico (see Map 5-2 on page 134). Horses enabled Indian hunters to exploit the buffalo herds much more efficiently, and on the basis of this more productive economy a number of groups built a distinctive and elaborate nomadic culture. Great numbers of Indian peoples moved onto the plains during the eighteenth century, pulled by this new way of life and pushed by colonial invasions and disruptions radiating southwest from Canada and north from the Spanish borderlands. The invention of nomadic Plains Indian culture was another of the dramatic cultural

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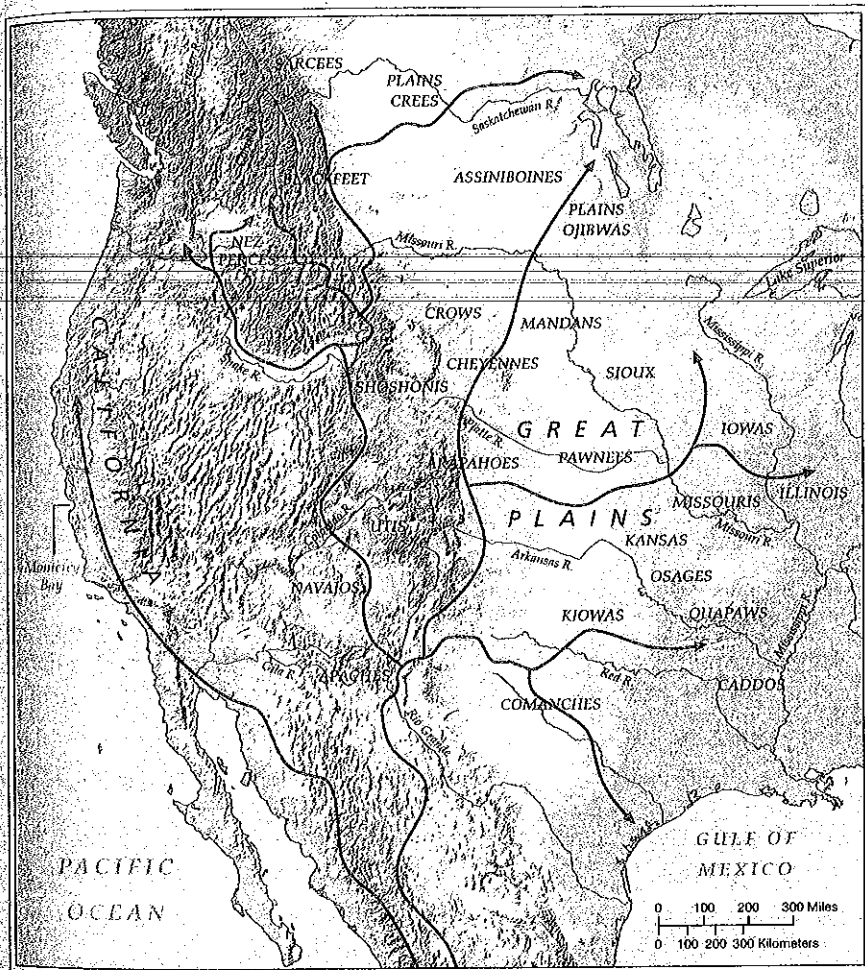
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MAP EXPLORATION

To explore an interactive version of this map, go to www.prenhall.com/faragherap/map5.1



MAP 5-1

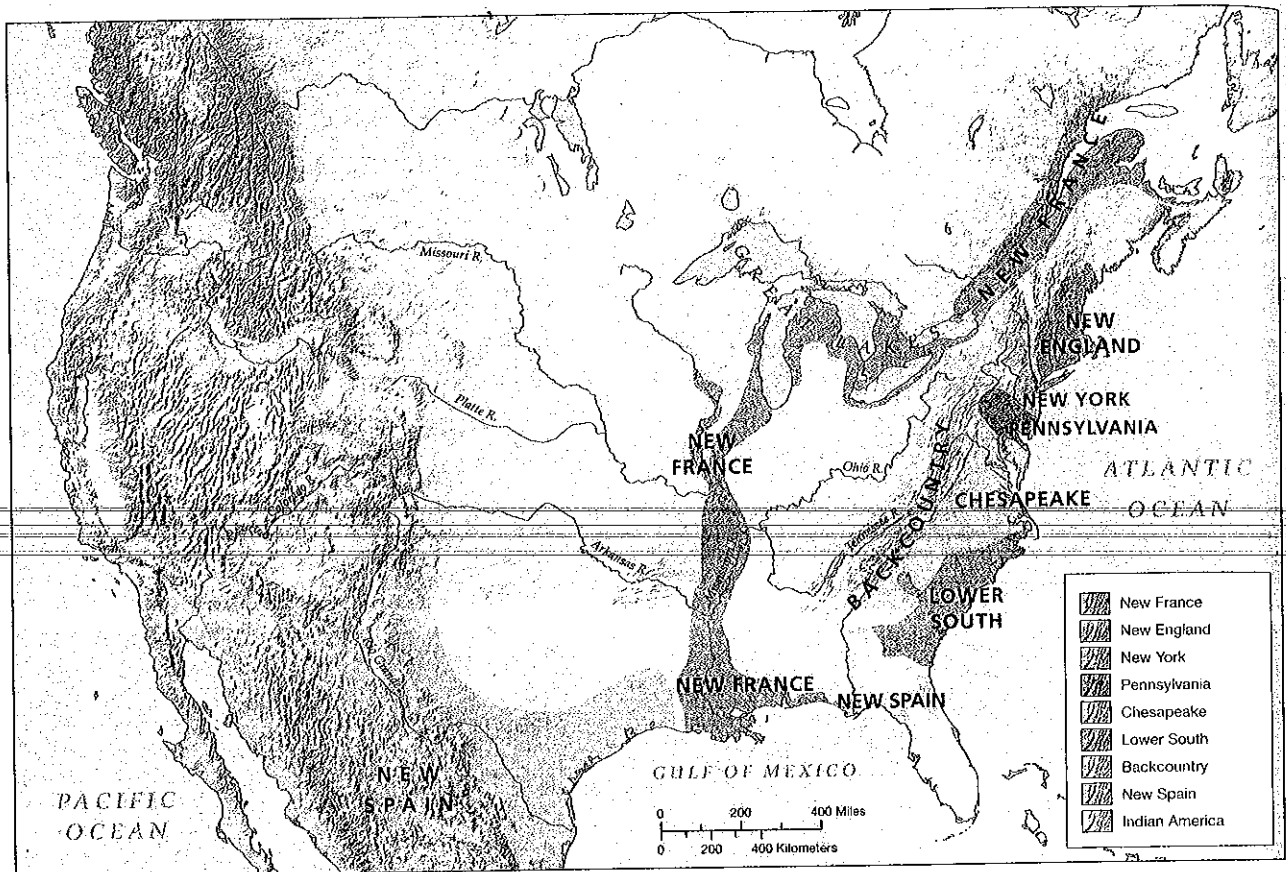
Growing Use of the Horse by Plains Indians In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Spanish settlers introduced horses into their New Mexican colony. Through trading and raiding, horses spread northward in streams both west and east of the Rocky Mountains. The horse, whose genetic ancestor had been native to the American continent in pre-Archaic times, offered the Indian peoples of the Great Plains the opportunity to create a distinctive hunting and warrior culture.

HOW DID the introduction of horses help shape the life of Native American culture on the Great Plains?

innovations of the eighteenth century. The mounted Plains Indian, so often used as a symbol of native America, was actually a product of the colonial era.

THE SPANISH BORDERLANDS

In the mid-eighteenth century, what is today the Sunbelt of the United States formed the periphery of the largest and most prosperous European colony on the North American continent—the viceroyalty of New Spain, which included approximately 1 million Spanish colonists and mestizos and at least 2 million Indians. Mexico City, the administrative capital of New Spain, was the most sophisticated city in the Western



MAP 5-2

Regions in Eighteenth-Century North America By the middle of the eighteenth century, European colonists had established a number of distinctive colonial regions in North America. The northern periphery of New Spain, the oldest and most prosperous European colony, stretched from Baja California to eastern Texas, then jumped to the settlements on the northern end of the Florida peninsula; cattle ranching was the dominant way of life in this thinly populated region. New France was like a great crescent, extending from the plantation communities along the Mississippi near New Orleans to the French colonial communities along the St. Lawrence; in between were isolated settlements and forts, connected only by the extensive French trading network.

Hemisphere, the site of one of the world's great universities, with broad avenues and spectacular architecture. New Spain's northern provinces of Florida, Texas, New Mexico, and California, however, were far removed from this sophistication. Officials of the viceroyalty of New Spain, who oversaw these colonies, thought of them as buffer zones, protecting New Spain from the expanding empires of Spain's New World rivals. Compared to the dynamic changes going on in the English colonies, society in the Spanish borderland was relatively static.

In Florida, the oldest of the European colonies in North America, fierce fighting among Spanish, British, and Indians had reduced the colonial presence to little more than the forts of St. Augustine on the Atlantic and Pensacola on the Gulf of Mexico, each surrounded by small colonized territories populated with the families of Spanish troops. In their weakened condition, the Spanish had no choice but to establish cooperative relations with the Creek and Seminole Indians who dominated the region, as well as hundreds of African American runaways who fled to Florida. Eighteenth-century Florida included a growing mestizo population and a considerable number of free African Americans and Hispanicized Indians from the old missions.

Nearly 2,000 miles to the west, New Mexico was similarly isolated from the mainstream of New Spain. At midcentury, New Mexico included some 20,000 Pueblo Indians and perhaps 10,000 mestizo colonists. The prosperity of these colonists, who supported themselves with subsistence agriculture, was severely limited by a restrictive colonial economic policy that required them to exchange their wool, pottery, and buffalo hides for imported goods at unfavorable rates. But unlike the population of Florida, that of colonial New Mexico was gradually expanding, settlers leaving the original colonial outposts along the upper Rio Grande to follow the valleys and streams leading north and east.

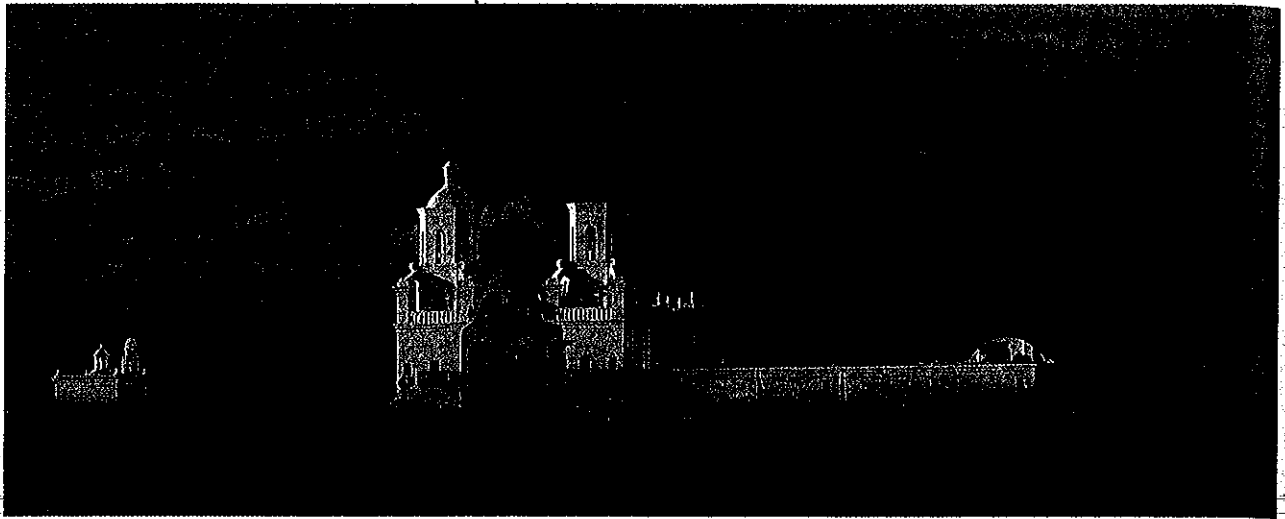
Concerned about the expansion of other colonial empires, the Spanish founded new northern outposts in the eighteenth century. French activity in the Mississippi Valley prompted viceregal authorities to establish a number of military posts or *presidios* on the fringes of Louisiana, and in 1716, they began the construction of a string of Franciscan missions among the Indian peoples of Texas. By 1750, the settlement of San Antonio had become the center of a developing frontier province. New colonial outposts were also founded west of New Mexico, in what is today southern Arizona. In the 1690s, Jesuit missionaries, led by Father Eusebio Kino, built missions among the desert Indians of the lower Colorado River and Gila River Valleys and introduced cattle herding, which remained the dominant economic activity for the next two centuries.

In the early eighteenth century, the Spanish also established missions in arid Baja (lower) California. The more temperate northern coastline remained in native possession. In 1769, however, acting on rumors of Russian expansion in the north Pacific (see discussion of Russian America in Chapter 9), officials in Mexico City ordered the governor of Baja, Gaspar de Portolá, and the president of the Franciscan

A mounted *Soldado de Cuera* (Leather-Coated Soldier), a watercolor by Ramón de Murillo, c. 1803. Thick leather coats offered protection from indian arrows for the cavalry posted to the northern frontiers of eighteenth-century New Spain.

Laurie Platt Wintrey, Inc.





The Church of San Xavier del Bac, constructed in the late eighteenth century, is located a few miles south of the city of Tucson, where Jesuit Father Eusebio Kino founded a mission among the Pima Indians in 1700. Known as the White Dove of the Desert, it is acclaimed as the most striking example of Spanish colonial architecture in the United States.

Photograph by Jack W. Dykinga.

AP* Guideline 2.6

missions there, Junípero Serra, to extend the Spanish presence northward. Supported by some two hundred soldiers and settlers, the two men founded a presidio and mission at San Diego and the next year established their headquarters at Monterey Bay on the central coast. Two years later, the officer Juan Bautista de Anza and a small party of soldiers blazed an overland route across the deserts connecting Arizona and California, and in 1776, he led a colonizing expedition that founded the pueblo of San Francisco. Over the next fifty years, the number of California settlements grew to include twenty-one missions and a half-dozen presidios and towns, including Los Angeles, founded in 1781 by a group of mestizo pioneers.

But over the next several decades, relatively few settlers came to California. Instead, the plan called for converting the natives to Catholicism, subjecting them to the rule of the crown, and putting them to work at the missions raising the subsistence necessary for the small civil and military establishment that was to hold the province against rival empires. The first contacts between the Franciscans and the natives were not encouraging. “What is it you seek here,” a chief and his entourage of warriors shouted at the missionaries. “Get out of our country!” But numerous native families were attracted to the missions by offerings of food and clothing, by new tools and crafts that promised improvements in the standard of living, and by their fascination with the spiritual power of the newcomers. Gradually, there developed a flourishing local economy of irrigated farming and stock raising. San Gabriel, near the pueblo of Los Angeles, was one of the most prosperous missions, with large vineyards and orchards that produced fine wines and brandies. Indian workers also constructed the adobe and stone churches, built on Spanish and Moorish patterns, whose ruins later came to symbolize California’s colonial society.

Indians were not forced to join the missions, but once they did, they were not allowed to change their minds. The Franciscan missionaries resorted to cruel and sometimes violent means of controlling their Indian subjects: shackles, solitary confinement, and whipping posts. Resistance developed early. In 1775, the villagers at San Diego rose up and killed several priests, and over the years many missions experienced revolts. But the arms and organization of Spanish soldiers were usually sufficient to suppress the uprisings. Another form of protest was flight. Spanish soldiers hunted the runaways down and brought many back. Aggressive tribes in the hills and deserts, however, often proved even more threatening than the Spanish, so many mission Indians remained despite the harsh discipline.

QUICK REVIEW

Spanish Colonies

- › Mexico City was the capital of New Spain.
- › Conflict with Indians and the British reduced the Spanish presence in Florida.
- › New Mexico was isolated from the mainstream of New Spain.

Foreign observers noted the despondency of the mission Indians. “I have never seen any of them laugh,” one wrote. “I have never seen a single one look anyone in the face. They have the air of taking no interest in anything.” Overwork, inadequate nutrition, overcrowding, poor sanitation, and epidemic disease contributed to death rates that exceeded birthrates. During the period of the mission system, the native population of coastal California fell by 74 percent.

As the prominence of mission settlements in Florida, New Mexico, Texas, and California suggests, the Catholic Church played a dominant role in the community life of the borderlands. In the eighteenth century, religion was no private affair. It was a deadly serious business dividing nations into warring camps, and the Spanish considered themselves the special protectors of the traditions of Rome. The object of colonization, one colonial promoter wrote in 1584, was “enlarging the glorious gospel of Christ, and leading the infinite multitudes of these simple people that are in error into the right and perfect way of salvation.” Although these were the words of the English imperialist Richard Hakluyt, they could as easily have come from the Spanish padres Kino or Serra or the Jesuit missionaries at Kahnawake. There was no tradition of religious dissent. Certain of the truth of their “right and perfect way,” the Spanish could see no reason for tolerating the errors of others.

THE FRENCH CRESCENT

In France, as in Spain, church and state were closely interwoven. During the seventeenth century, the French prime ministers, Cardinal Richelieu and Cardinal Mazarin, laid out a fundamentally Catholic imperial policy, and under their guidance, colonists constructed a second Catholic empire in North America. In 1674, church and state collaborated in establishing the bishopric of Québec, which founded local seminaries, oversaw the appointment and review of priests, and laid the foundation of the resolutely Catholic culture of New France. Meanwhile, Jesuit missionaries continued to carry Catholicism deep into the continent.

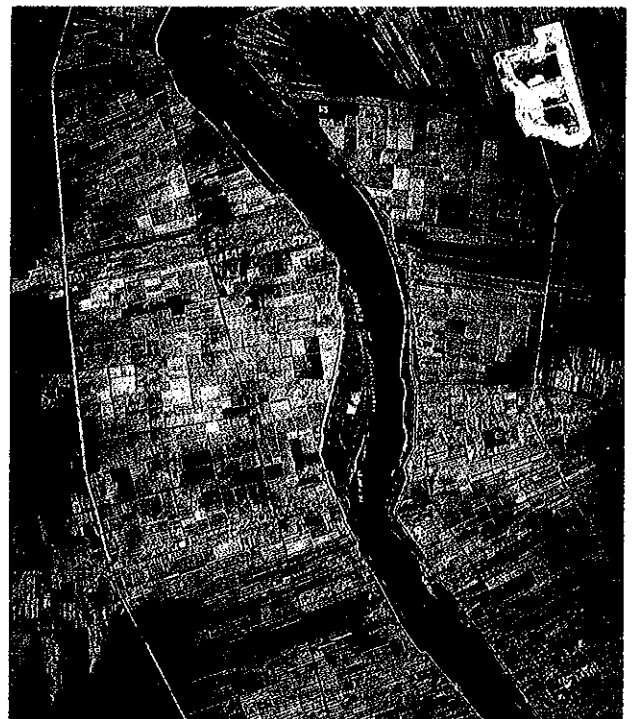
The French sent few colonists to New France in the eighteenth century, but by natural increase the population rose from fewer than 15,000 in 1700 to more than 70,000 at midcentury. The French used their trade and alliance network to establish a great crescent of colonies, military posts, and settlements that extended from the mouth of the St. Lawrence River southwest through the Great Lakes, then down the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico. After the loss in 1713 of the maritime colony of Acadia to the British (see Chapter 4), French authorities constructed the great port and fortress of Louisbourg on Ile Royale (Cape Breton Island) to guard the northern approach to New France. The southern approach was protected by French troops at the port of New Orleans in Louisiana. Between these two points, the French laid a thin colonial veneer, the beginning of what they planned as a great commercial empire that would confine the Protestant British to a narrow strip of Atlantic coastline (see Map 5-3). By the middle of the century, the French were moving into trans-Mississippi country, ascending the Missouri and Arkansas rivers and planting traders in Indian communities on the fringe of the Great Plains.

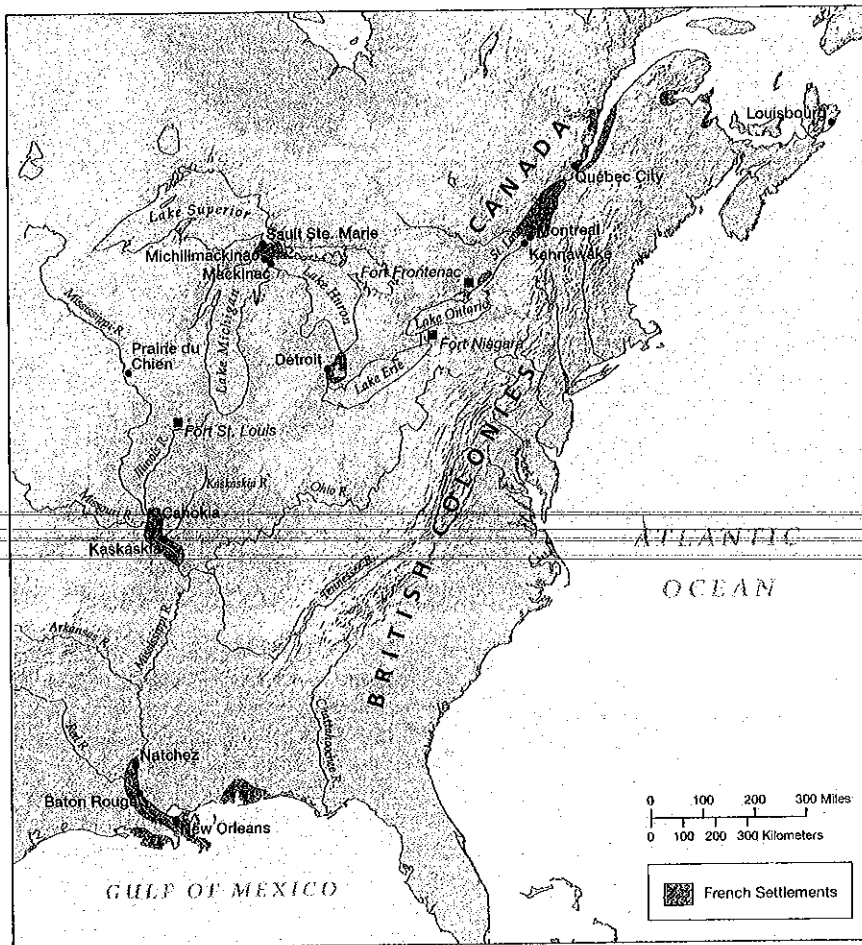
At the heart of the French empire in North America were the communities of farmers or *habitants* that stretched along the banks of the St. Lawrence between the provincial capital of Québec and the fur trade center of Montreal. There were also farming communities in the Illinois country, supplying wheat to the booming sugar plantations in Louisiana. By the mid-eighteenth century, those plantations, extending along the

AP* Guideline 2.3

The persistence of French colonial long lots in the pattern of modern landholding is clear in this enhanced satellite photograph of the Mississippi River near New Orleans. Long lots, the characteristic form of property holding in New France, were designed to offer as many settlers as possible a share of good bottomland as well as a frontage on the waterways, which served as the basic transportation network.

EROS Data Center, U.S. Geological Survey.





MAP 5-3

The French Crescent The French empire in North America was based on a series of alliances and trade relations with Indian nations linking a great crescent of colonies, settlements, and outposts that extended from the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, through the Great Lakes, and down the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico. In 1713, Acadia was ceded to the British, but the French established the fortress of Louisbourg to anchor the eastern end of the crescent.

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Guidelines 2.4 and 2.6

Mississippi from Natchez and Baton Rouge to New Orleans, had become the most profitable French enterprise in North America.

Among the most distinctive French stamps on the North American landscape were the “long lots” that stretched back from the rivers, providing each family a share of good bottomland to farm and frontage on the waterways, the “interstate highway system” of the French Crescent. Long lots were laid out along the lower Mississippi River in Louisiana and at sites on the upper Mississippi such as Kaskaskia and Prairie du Chien, as well as at the strategic passages of the Great Lakes. Detroit, the most important of those, was a stockaded town with a military garrison, a small administrative center, several stores, a Catholic Church, and 100 households of *métis* (French for mestizo) families. Farmers worked the land along the Detroit River, not far from communities inhabited by thousands of Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Huron Indians.

Communities of this sort, combining both European and native American elements, were in the tradition of the inclusive frontier. Detroit looked like “an old French village,” said one observer, except that its houses were “mostly covered with bark,” in Indian style. “It is not uncommon to see a Frenchman with Indian shoes and stockings, without breeches, wearing a strip of woolen cloth to cover what decency requires him to conceal,” wrote another. “Yet at the same time he wears a fine ruffled shirt and a laced waistcoat, with a fine handkerchief on his head.” Detroit had much of the character of the mixed community of Kahnawake on the St. Lawrence River.

NEW ENGLAND

Just as New Spain and New France had their official church, so did the people of New England: local communities in all the New England colonies but Rhode Island were governed by Puritan congregations (thus the term Congregational). Under the plan established in Massachusetts, the local church of a community was free to run its own affairs under the guidance of the General Court (the governor and the representatives selected by the towns). The Puritan colonies allotted each congregation a tract of communal land. Church members divided this land among themselves on the basis of status and seniority, laying out central villages such as Deerfield, and building churches (called meetinghouses) that were maintained through taxation. Adult male church members constituted the freemen of the town, and thus there was very little distinction between religious and secular authority. At the town meeting, the freemen chose their minister, voted on his salary and support, and elected local men to offices ranging from town clerk to fence viewer.

The Puritan tradition was a curious mix of freedom and repression. Although local communities had considerable autonomy, they were tightly bound by the restrictions