

Those Husbands are much to blame, who dont carry it  
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if he has not such abilities, riches, honours, as some others  
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## The Middle Atlantic: Toward a New Society, 1720–1765

Unlike New England, the middle colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania had a mixture of peoples with diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds (Document 4-6). Quakers were the dominant group in Pennsylvania and also were highly influential in New Jersey. In the eighteenth century they were followed by three waves of Germans and large numbers of Scots-Irish (Document 4-5).

The middle colonies prospered because of a growing demand for wheat in Western Europe; however, by midcentury this prosperity had turned a system offering early equality into one with increasing social divisions. Tensions continued and could sometimes be traumatic, but many ethnic and religious groups developed self-governing churches and created an increasingly open and competitive political system. This religious, ethnic, and political pluralism was a distinctively American phenomenon (Document 4-3).

sciences, vigour, and industry which began long since in the east; they will finish the great circle. The Americans will once scattered all over Europe; here they are collected into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared, and which will hereafter be the basis of the power of the different nations. It is therefore not surprising that wherein the Americans are more successful than the Europeans, towards the improvement of the human mind, it is in his labour, in his industry, in his frugality, in his economy, in his interest; and in his attachment to his family and children, who

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...s "American"? Are his observations

all.

ence reflected in his description of an American?

his assuming the title "American Farmer"? What myths

...Americans was he repeating?

Is Melville's American a product of a distinctive American environment? Does he place more importance on the physical environment or the cultural? Explain.

#### 4-4 A Description of Philadelphia (1748)

Peter Kalm

Probably the most striking features of the British middle colonies of North America were their prosperity, diverse ethnic makeup, and multiplicity of religious forms. The following selection consists of the observations of Peter Kalm, a Swedish naturalist who toured the colonies from 1748 to 1751. During his visit to Philadelphia in 1748, Kalm noted the town's prosperity and its religious and ethnic diversity.

Source: Peter Kalm, *Travels in North America*, trans. John Reinhold Forester (London, 1770), 1:36–43, 58–60.

The town is now quite filled with inhabitants, which in regard to their country, religion, and trade, are very different from each other. You meet with excellent masters in all trades, and many things are made here full as well as in England. Yet no manufactures, especially for making fine cloth, are established. Perhaps the reason is, that it can be got with so little difficulty from England, and that the breed of sheep which is brought over, degenerates in process of time, and affords but a coarse wool.

Here is great plenty of provisions, and their prices are very moderate. There are no examples of an extraordinary dearth. Every one who acknowledges God to be the Creator, preserver, and ruler of all things, and teaches or undertakes nothing against the state, or against the common peace, is at liberty to settle, stay, and carry on his trade here,

be his religious principles ever so strange. No one is here molested on account of the erroneous principles of the doctrine which he follows, if he does not exceed the above-mentioned bounds. And he is so well secured by the laws in his person and property, and enjoys such liberties, that a citizen of Philadelphia may in a manner be said to live in his house like a king.

On a careful consideration of what I have already said, it will be easy to conceive how this city should rise so suddenly from nothing, into such grandeur and perfection, without supposing any powerful monarch's contributing to it, either by punishing the wicked, or by giving great supplies in money. And yet its fine appearance, good regulations, agreeable situation, natural advantages, trade, riches and power, are by no means inferior to those of any, even of the most

ancient towns in Europe. It has not been necessary to force people to come and settle here; on the contrary, foreigners of different languages have left their country, houses, property, and relations, and ventured over wide and stormy seas, in order to come hither. Other countries, which have been peopled for a long space of time, complain of the small

number of their inhabitants. But Pennsylvania, which was no better than a desert in the year 1681, and hardly contained five hundred people, now vies with several kingdoms in Europe in number of inhabitants. It has received numbers of people, which other countries, to their infinite loss, have either neglected or expelled.

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### Questions

1. What factors does Kalm believe were the most significant in accounting for Philadelphia's rapid rise to prominence?
  2. What is Kalm's perception of the religious environment in Philadelphia?
  3. In Kalm's view, has the immigration to Philadelphia of people neglected in or expelled from other colonies and countries had a positive effect? Why or why not?
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## 4-5 Letter from a Scots-Irish Immigrant (1767)

### Job Johnson

In the eighteenth century the character of colonial immigration shifted. As New England became increasingly crowded, and as slave plantations came to dominate the southern colonies, the relatively open middle colonies became the destination of choice for European newcomers to America. Furthermore, a large proportion of the new migrants were non-English. Germans fled from increased crowding and religious persecution, but the greatest immigrant stream now came from the "Celtic fringe" of the British Isles, especially the Presbyterian inhabitants of Scotland and Ulster (Northern Ireland). The latter group, the Scots-Irish, had been recruited to colonize Ulster in the seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century, however, that land was overpopulated, English landlords were raising rents, taxes were rising, and Ulster manufactures were being shut out of English markets. Accordingly, the Scots-Irish began a massive exodus to the New World. Settling at first in Pennsylvania, they soon came to dominate that colony's western frontier and from there spread southward into the backcountry of the southern colonies.

The letter excerpted below was written by Job Johnson, an Ulster immigrant, who arrived in the 1760s and settled near the Susquehanna River to the west of Philadelphia.

*Source:* From "As Good a Country as Any Man Needs to Dwell In: Letters from a Scotch-Irish Immigrant in Pennsylvania, 1766–1767, and 1785," in *Pennsylvania History* 50 (October 1983), 318–321. Reprinted with the permission of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

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Oxford Township, November 27th 1767.

My Very dear Brethern,  
Not being willing to neglect any opportunity that I have in my power to writ unto you, I have thought proper to address myself to you all in a few lines hoping that they may find you all in good Health, as thanks be to God they Leave Me. . . . I wrote seven letters home last year . . . but I do not know whether or not you have Got them, and I have Got No answer therefore I have nothing further to writ; only knowing that it is common [ ] at home to expect something Concerning this Country its property and Quality, there-

fore this is Really my Judgement of it, that it is as Good as Country as any Man needs to Dwell in; and it is Much better than I expected it to be in every way I assure you, and I really likes it so well and it is so pleasant to me that it would be a good Estate in Ireland that would Make Me Stay there, and indeed many times when I have been by myself and think of the Lord's Good Dealings unto Me, I cannot but admire him for his Mercies that ever he turned My face hitherward; and Give Me strength and Confidence in himself and boldness by faith, to oppose all Gainsayers, though never so strong, although I cannot say that then, it seemed

so Clear for Me to leave the land of My Nativity. Yet Now to Me it is a Certainty that My Removal was right and in what I Did I had peace, and in all My exercises by sea and Land, I never felt the Least in Me, as to Desire I had not come forward, but rather rejoiced (Turn over) in the Midst of them all. My Brother was not so clear in these things untill he had Been a year in the Country, Which indeed is Mostly the Case, with all the first year after they Come here: but Blessed be God all is well to our content. And if one heard every objection that lay in the way of Coming here, it would be work enough. But My resolutions were, and my sayings to several opposers, that I would come, if God hindered me not no Man should. And I do not know one that has come here that Desires to be in Ireland again, for to Live there and I have often wondered at our Countryfolk that was hard of belief in regard of what was said of their Country, and would rather live in Slavery, and work all the year round, and not be threepence the better at the years end than stir out of the Chimney Corner and transport themselves to a place where with the like pains, in two or three years, they might know better things. The only encouragement that I had to Come away was because Many Go to America worth nothing yet some of them servants and to hear or see them Come back again, in two or three years worth more than they would have been by staying at home while they lived and yet they would Not Content themselves at home, but went back again which was sufficient to Convince any one that the Country was Good. But there are Many in Ireland that Desire to hear ill of this place, because they would keep

their friends there with them, in Bondage and Slavery, rather than let them come here, and they think we never writ enough of the Bad properties of this Country and the Vermin in it. Now this I must say in report that there are Bears, Wolves & Foxes, Rattles snakes, and several other such creatures, but Not in this part as ever I seen, as I have Travelled Many Miles to & fro. But I suppose the fear of those Creatures in Ireland is far worse to Some there, than the hurt of them is here. But I believe that this Province of Pennsylvania by all I have see and heard of it, is a Good a one as any in America. I have seen in all places I have travelled, Orchards Laden with fruit to admiration, their very Limbs torn to pieces with the weight, and Most Delicious to the Taste I have seen a Barrel of Curious Cyder from an apple tree; and peaches in Great plenty. I could Not but at first smile at the Conceit of them, they are a very Delicate fruit, and hang almost like our onions that are tied on a rope. . . . And indeed this is a Brave Country, although no place will please all. And some may be ready to say I writ of Conveniences; but not of Inconveniences; My answer to those I honestly Declare there is some barren Land; as, I suppose there is in Most places of the World; and Land in this part is very high, selling Commonly at six and seven pounds per acre. Neither will such land Produce Corn without something to buy them. Not Bread will not be got with Idleness else it would be a Brave Country indeed, and I Question not, but all them would give it a Good word. For my part I never would had the Least thought of returning home only through regard of seeing you all again.

### Questions

1. According to Job Johnson, what are the attractions of Pennsylvania? What did Pennsylvania have to offer the Scots-Irish immigrant that was worth his breaking his ties to the land of his birth?
2. What special concerns does Johnson feel the need to address? What rumors about America does he attempt to dispel?
3. How do you think Johnson's letter was received back home in Ulster?

## 4-6 An Abolitionist in Pennsylvania in the 1730s

Almost from its inception Pennsylvania acquired a reputation, not undeserved, for being the "best poor man's country in the world." Thousands of Western European immigrants were drawn to the colony on the promise of toleration and an unimpeded pursuit of prosperity. What is less well known is that Pennsylvania was also a slave-owning colony. Even some Quakers, despite their egalitarian principles, owned slaves and condoned the practice of slave owning until the 1750s. A few dissenters, among them the uncompromising Benjamin Lay, challenged slavery in Pennsylvania in the 1730s. Lay, an immigrant from England who arrived in Philadelphia in 1731, believed that slavery contradicted the principles of Christianity and condemned it as a "notorious sin." He took to living in a



cave and making his own clothes in order to avoid materials grown by slaves. He even once kidnapped a Quaker child to make a point about the suffering African parents had to endure. Such extreme measures alienated the Society of Friends, and they disowned Lay in 1738.

Source: Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.



Anonymous, "Benjamin Lay"

### Questions

1. In the 1730s his fellow Quakers viewed Lay as an eccentric whose sanity was questionable. How is this conveyed in this depiction of him? Why might it have been important to depict Lay as slightly insane?
2. Given Lay's fate among the Quakers, what can be said about slavery in Pennsylvania before the American Revolution?

## The Enlightenment and the Great Awakening, 1740–1765

As the societies of British North America were transformed from relatively simple frontier communities to complex but distinctive extensions of Europe, they began to participate in the religious and intellectual movements of the larger European world. Two powerful continental movements in particular transformed the cultural and intellectual life of the colonies. The Enlightenment emphasized the power of human reason and had its roots in the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century. If any single individual epitomized the American Enlightenment, it was Benjamin Franklin (Document 4-7); if any single place was its center, it was Franklin's Philadelphia.

The second movement was more spiritual. As some Americans were abandoning, or at least revising, an older religious worldview, many more were embracing a new one. Pietism, which came to America from Europe with German immigrants in the 1720s, led to religious revivals throughout the colonies. Little concerned with formal theology, it emphasized moral behavior and a mystical union with God. Charismatic preachers such as Theodore Jacob Freylinghuysen, William and Gilbert Tennant, and Jonathan Edwards played key roles in the revivals. From 1739 to 1741, the powerful British evangelist George Whitefield preached to huge audiences throughout the colonies, knitting local revivals together into a single movement subsequently known as the Great Awakening.

The Great Awakening was a social upheaval that created controversy and divided churches, leading to the creation of new congregations. It also inspired its adherents to question the need for religious taxes, the idea of an established church, the authority of ministers, and the morality of economic competition (Documents 4-8 and 4-9).

## 4-7 On Education During the American Enlightenment (1749)

### Benjamin Franklin

Benjamin Franklin was one of colonial America's outstanding examples of the influence of Enlightenment ideas (see text pp. 116–117). In the document that follows, Franklin proposes methods for the education of colonial youth that departed dramatically from the founding generations' more modest attention to training in the "domestic arts" or a trade. Franklin's proposal resulted in the creation of an academy in Philadelphia in 1751.

Source: Benjamin Franklin, *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania, Philadelphia* (1749; facsimile reprint, edited by William Pepper, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1931).

"Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania, Philadelphia," 1749.

It has long been regretted as a Misfortune to the Youth of this Province, that we have no Academy, in which they might receive the Accomplishments of a regular Education . . . the Sentiments and Advice of Men of Learning, Understanding, and Experience. . . .

The good Education of Youth has been esteemed by wise Men in all Ages, as the surest Foundation of the Happiness both of private Families and of Commonwealths. Almost all Governments have therefore made it a principal Object of their Attention, to establish and endow with proper Revenues, such Seminaries of Learning, as might supply the succeeding Age with Men qualified to serve the Publick with Honour to themselves, and to their Country. . . .

It is propos'd

That some Persons of Leisure and publick Spirit apply for a Charter, by which they may be incorporated, with Power to erect an Academy for the Education of Youth, to govern the same, provide Masters, make Rules, receive Donations, purchase Lands, etc., and to add to their Number, from Time to Time such other Persons as they shall judge suitable.

That the Members of the Corporation make it their Pleasure and in some Degree their Business, to visit the Academy often, . . . advance the Usefulness and Reputation of the Design; that they look on the Students as in some Sort their Children, treat them with Familiarity and Affection. . . .

That a House be provided for the Academy, if not in the Town, not many Miles from it . . . having a Garden, Orchard, Meadow, and a Field or two.

That the House be furnished with a Library . . . with Maps of all Countries, Globes, some mathematical Instruments, an Apparatus for experiments in Natural Philosophy, and for Mechanics; Prints, of all Kinds, Prospects, Buildings, Machines, etc.

That the Rector be a Man of good Understanding, good Morals, diligent and patient, learn'd in the Languages and Sciences, and a correct Speaker and Writer of the English Tongue; to have such Tutors under him as shall be necessary. . . .

As to their Studies, it would be well if they could be taught every Thing that is useful, and every Thing that is ornamental: But Art is long, and their Time is short. It is therefore propos'd that they learn those Things that are likely to be most useful and most ornamental. . . . All should be taught to write a fair Hand, and swift . . . Drawing . . . Arithmetick, Accounts . . . Geometry and Astronomy.

The English Language might be taught by Grammar; in which some of our best Writers, as Tillotson, Addison, Pope, Algernon Sidney, Cato's Letters, etc. should be Classics. . . .

Antient Customs, religious and civil . . . Morality, be descending and making continual Observations on the Causes of the Rise or Fall of any Man's Character, Fortune, Power etc. . . . the Advantages of Temperance, Order, Frugality, Industry, Perseverance etc. . . .

While they are reading Natural History, might not a little Gardening, Planting, Grafting, inoculating, etc., be taught and practised; and now and then Excursions made to the neighbouring Plantations of the best Farmers. . . . The History of Commerce, of the Invention of Arts, Rise of Manufactures, Progress of Trade, Change of its Seats . . . will be useful to all. And this, with the Accounts in other History of . . . Engines and Machines used in War, will naturally introduce a Desire to be instructed in Mechanicks, and to be inform'd of the Principles of that Art by which weak Men perform such Wonders, Labour is sav'd, Manufactures expedited, etc. . . .

With the whole should be constantly inculcated and cultivated, that Benignity of Mind, which shows itself in . . . Good Breeding; highly useful to the Possessor, and most agreeable to all.

### Questions

1. According to Franklin, why should young colonial men attend school when there are many practical reasons not to?
2. What are the things young Pennsylvanians should be learning?
3. How does Franklin reconcile public service, the benefits of classical learning, and the necessity of practical training for young people in the colony?

## 4-8 An Evangelical Preacher's Trials (1760s)

### The Reverend James Ireland

James Ireland brought the evangelical gospel into the southern colonies, and gave the fullest account of his conversion, labors, and sufferings. He was a Presbyterian and educated as a lawyer, and a minister of the gospel. At first Ireland cut a very different figure from the more common well known preachers of the time. He understood the message, he understood the sharpness of the

throughout the Virginia established Church of England at Culpeper Court as the local parson. The though, he contrasted with the elements of the Shenandoah is moving southwestward and is bringing a new sensibility into the

southern

Source: *The Life of the Rev. James Ireland*, 181–185.

(1819), 82–86, 130–135, 157–160,





4. That there shall be a new election of the members of the Grand Council every three years; and, on the death or resignation of any member, his place should be supplied by a new choice at the next sitting of the Assembly of the Colony he represented.

5. That after the first three years, when the proportion of money arising out of each Colony to the general treasury can be known, the number of members to be chosen for each Colony shall, from time to time, in all ensuing elections, be regulated by that proportion, yet so as that the number to be chosen by any one Province be not more than seven, nor less than two.

6. That the Grand Council shall meet once in every year, and oftener if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the President-General on any emergency; he having first obtained in writing the consent of seven of the members to such call, and sent duly and timely notice to the whole.

7. That the Grand Council have power to choose their speaker; and shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting longer than six weeks at one time, without their own consent or the special command of the crown.

8. That the members of the Grand Council shall be allowed for their service ten shillings sterling per diem, during their session and journey to and from the place of meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.

9. That the assent of the President-General be requisite to all acts of the Grand Council, and that it be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

10. That the President-General, with the advice of the Grand Council, hold or direct all Indian treaties, in which the general interest of the Colonies may be concerned; and make peace or declare war with Indian nations.

11. That they make such laws as they judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade.

12. That they make all purchases from Indians, for the crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular Colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds when some of them are reduced to more convenient dimensions.

13. That they make new settlements on such purchases, by granting lands in the King's name, reserving a quitrent to the crown for the use of the general treasury.

14. That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, till the crown shall think fit to form them into particular governments.

15. That they raise and pay soldiers and build forts for the defence of any of the Colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts and protect the trade on the ocean, lakes, or great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any Colony, without the consent of the Legislature.

16. That for these purposes they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imposts, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several Colonies), and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the

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people; rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary burdens.

17. That they may appoint a General Treasurer and Particular Treasurer in each government when necessary; and, from time to time, may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury; or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient.

18. Yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the President-General and Grand Council; except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the President-General is previously empowered by an act to draw such sums.

19. That the general accounts shall be yearly settled and reported to the several Assemblies.

20. That a quorum of the Grand Council, empowered to act with the President-General, do consist of twenty-five members; among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the Colonies.

21. That the laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid shall not be repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the King in Council for approbation, as soon as may be after their passing; and if not disapproved within three years after presentation, to remain in force.

22. That, in case of the death of the President-General, the Speaker of the Grand Council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authorities, to continue till the King's pleasure be known.

23. That all military commission officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the President-General; but the approbation of the Grand Council is to be obtained, before they receive their commissions. And all civil officers are to be nominated by the Grand Council, and to receive the President-General's approbation before they officiate.

24. But, in case of vacancy by death or removal of any officer, civil or military, under this constitution, the Governor of the Province in which such vacancy happens may appoint, till the pleasure of the President-General and Grand Council can be known.

25. That the particular military as well as civil establishments in each Colony remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding; and that on sudden emergencies any Colony may defend itself, and lay the accounts of expense thence arising before the President-General and General Council, who may allow and order payment of the same, as far as they judge such accounts just and reasonable.

#### READING AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are the key elements in Franklin's plan of union? How does he envision the colonies working together?
2. What need was the plan of union designed to meet?
3. Why do you think the plan failed to garner enough support to bring it into effect?

#### 4-5 | Colonists the French State of America

As we saw in Chapter 3, the French were strained throughout the war, not least of all by the encroachment, but many of the French, when doing so suited them, played the key role that native people played in the French and Indian War before the war were formalized, an anecdote

#### The Necessity of Union

The next preliminary step was on account, as well as on the colonies against the attacks.

Their way of making war was different. They do not draw into the woods, which gave them the advantage of being dextrous both at attacking and pursuing. They do not draw into the woods, which gave them the advantage of being dextrous both at attacking and pursuing.

Therefore, in case of an attack, we must make our own way. Regular making war can be done by fort, or to support Indians from walls, they score out of their own road, that the nature of the war that way of going to is safest.

The French of Canada therefore never understood the art of war. They were taught them the art of war at Quebec, having learned the art of war by design to surprise them. They were surprised themselves: who starting the war shout, and consternation, that the

State of the British and French

#### 4-5 | Colonists Argue for an Alliance with Indians Against the French

##### *State of the British and French Colonies in North America* (1755)

As we saw in Chapter 3, relations between British colonists and Native Americans were strained throughout the eighteenth century. Native American peoples resented colonial encroachment, but many also realized the futility of prolonged resistance and forged alliances when doing so suited their interests. For their part, the American colonists quickly recognized the key role that native peoples could play in defending themselves from French assaults as the French and Indian War began in 1756. In this source, published just before hostilities with France were formalized, an anonymous author argues for the necessity of befriending native peoples.

#### The Necessity of Using Indians in War, and of Gaining Their Friendship

The next preliminary point to be effected, is to secure the Indians in our interest; on account, as well of recovering and extending our trade, as of securing our colonies against the attack either of French or Indians.

Their way of making war and fighting is quite different from the European. They do not draw into the open field but shoot from behind trees; and are exceedingly dextrous both at hitting their mark and sheltering themselves from the enemies fire or pursuit: for, there is no room for horse in countries overgrown with woods, which gave occasion to this way of fighting; and there is no overtaking them on foot they run so swiftly.

Therefore, in case of any war, either with Indians alone, or where they are auxiliaries, we must have Indians to oppose Indians. They must be fought with their own way. Regular forces being wholly unacquainted with their way of making war can be of no service against them: they are only of use to defend a fort, or to support Indian forces against regular troops. Besides, being used to fire from walls, they scorn to shoot from behind trees; and would rather die than go out of their own road to practise such a low kind of military art. Not considering that the nature of the country, which is, as it were, one continued wood, requires that way of going to war, and that of all the methods of fighting that is best which is safest.

The French of Canada know the importance of Indians on this account, and therefore never undertake any expedition without them. A memorable deliverance taught them this caution. In 1687 the marquis de Nonville, governor of Quebec, having landed 2100 men at Tierondoquot, 300 of them Indians, with design to surprize the chief village of the Sennekas, whom he intended to destroy; was surprized himself in the woods, within a mile of the place, by 500 of that nation: who starting suddenly from the ground where they had lain flat, raised the war shout, and discharged their musquets. This put his troops into such a consternation, that they began to run on every side; and in the confusion fired on

one another, while the Sennekas fell on pell-mell. So that had not the French Indians, acquainted with their way of fighting, come up, all must have been destroyed; and the French, very likely, driven out of Canada, for the whole force of it was employed in this expedition.

The French, since that time, make use of Indians more than ever: and since they make use of them, there is still the more reason why we should; unless we had men enough of our own trained to their manner of making war.

Besides; the advantage of having the Indians our friends, may be inferred from the mischiefs they have done ourselves as well as the French; and the danger they have put the colonies in, both from within and without, when our enemies. Altho' the English, by dint of numbers, were able to support the wrongs which they did the Indians, and either destroyed or subdued them within the colonies; yet it cost them much blood and labour before they effected it, particularly in Virginia and New England; especially this last colony: where made such vigorous efforts at several times, and continued the war with so much obstinacy, even tho' much reduced by them; that the English, notwithstanding their great superiority in numbers, were scarce able to withstand them, and but for certain lucky incidents, might have been driven out of all their settlements. Those who left the country, preserve to this day their ancient animosities; and being joined by the other eastern tribes, continue to harrass the borders of the English, and do them all the mischief they can. They are now the more able to take revenge with more safety to themselves; as, having a large country to retreat in, they cannot be so easily surrounded by the English, and oppressed by numbers as they were when inclosed within the colonies, where it would have been better to have kept them by good usage. . . .

In 1687, the English Indians, to revenge some ill usage, by the instigation of the French, invaded the frontiers of New England, and commenced a war, which all the powers of the country could not extinguish in ten years.

I shall produce but one instance more to shew what mischief the Indians may be able to do us, when our enemies. In the war, carried on about 1718, by the Spanish Indians against Carolina (the two provinces then being in one) this colony unable to defend itself against them, either by their own force, or that of the other colonies joined with them, were obliged at last to crave assistance from England, before they could do any good against them, as hath been mentioned before. Does not this confirm what has been already suggested of the danger the colonies would be in for want of Indians, should the French at any time invade them with their confederate Indian nations? In short, an Indian war has always been dreaded, as it has always been fatal to the colonies.

All the colony writers recommend the gaining the Indian friendship, as a matter of great importance to them. One of Carolina says, that the province is much strengthened by them; and that if trained to fire arms they would be very useful to that province, not only in case of an invasion to repel the enemy, but also by drawing other Indians to the English interest, or else destroying those who were not to be gained.

It must be confessed that the French are expert in the motions of an enemy, and know where to find the very small parties, and the opportunity to strike them.

"Every Indian," says Mr. Kennedy, is just the same as their plined soldier. Soldier Indian war [or when Indian is of little use in these making use of Indian trained in that fort of m

The French, indeed, Bois, as expert in the I been taken notice of b altho' they make use o not; for, altho' in the expert in the Indian wa under no kind of discipl traders, their masters; lick force or real strer rounded with hostile In necessity has produce could be no dealing wi bourhood of the five na with the Indians, by s before that illicit traffic since which time the y only way of breeding Altho' rangers are so r the Indians, yet they n themselves, but seek th near. On the contrary, t for they have not only e countries now possess

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Kennedy: *Archit the Friendship of Indians to th*



It must be confessed, that they are of great use, in either defending or invading a country. They are extremely skilful in the art of surprizing, and watching the motions of an enemy: they always know where to find you; but you never know where to find them: they disperse themselves thro' a country singly, or in very small parties, and lie on the lurch, to pick up stragglers, or procure intelligence: in which they act with an astonishing patience and indefatigableness, beyond any thing which an European could undergo; remaining in one place, and often in one posture, for whole days and weeks together, till they find an opportunity to strike their stroke, or compass their design, whatever it may be.

"Every Indian," says Mr. Kennedy,<sup>1</sup> "is a hunter; and as their manner of making war, by skulking, surprizing, and killing particular persons and families, is just the same as their hunting, only changing the object, every Indian is a disciplined soldier. Soldiers of this kind are always wanted in the colonies in an Indian war [or when Indians are employed] for the European military discipline is of little use in these woods." There is, therefore, an indispensable necessity of making use of Indians in our wars, unless we had men enough of our own trained in that fort of military exercise.

The French, indeed, have a great number of such people called *Courieurs de Bois*, as expert in the Indian way of fighting as the Indians themselves, as hath been taken notice of before; and therefore might be able to do without Indians, altho' they make use of them. But this is an advantage which the colonies have not; for, altho' in the southern provinces there may be a good many men, as expert in the Indian way of fighting, as the French *Courieurs de Bois*, yet they are under no kind of discipline or command, except those of the considerable Indian traders, their masters; and therefore cannot properly be considered as any public force or real strength. In the northern colonies New England being surrounded with hostile Indians, and having still some within itself of the same race, necessity has produced rangers among the inhabitants, without whom there could be no dealing with such enemies. But New York depending on the neighbourhood of the five nations for its security, and making the French their factors with the Indians, by selling their goods to them, had few or no rangers at all before that illicit traffic at Albany was prohibited, and the trade laid open in 1720; since which time the young men being encouraged to go among the Indians, the only way of breeding rangers, that province begins to be furnished with them. Altho' rangers are so numerous among the French, that they might do without the Indians, yet they not only cherish those who live in the country inhabited by themselves, but seek the friendship of all the nations round about them, far and near. On the contrary, the English do neither, especially in the northern colonies: for they have not only exterminated all Indian nations who formerly dwelt in the countries now possessed by them, but instead of making friends of those who

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Kennedy: Archibald Kennedy, the author of *The Importance of Gaining and Preserving the Friendship of Indians to the British Interest Considered* (1752).

live in the neighbourhood of the colonies, are at variance with them all, excepting the six nations and their allies, whom yet they seem industrious rather to disoblige than keep in their interest; altho' they have been all along the chief, and to New York the only defence against the French, and their numerous tribes of Indians.

### READING AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What advantage does the author suggest the native peoples bring to the colonial cause?
2. What difference in war-making does the author see between European and Native American warriors?
3. What does this source suggest about the changing relationship between colonial Americans and the native peoples they encountered?

## 4-6 | The North Carolina Regulators Protest British Control

### *Petition from the Inhabitants of Orange County, North Carolina (1770)*

New tensions arose in the years immediately following the British and American victory during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). To pay their large war debt, the British Parliament began imposing more taxes and regulations on the colonies, inciting colonial resistance. At the same time, in the western regions of colonies such as North and South Carolina, debt-laden farmers protested political, judicial, and economic policies disadvantageous to their interests. Disciplined mobs formed in these western regions to protest the use of British forces to defeat them and the prejudicial court actions that, in many cases, deprived them of their farms. This Regulator movement, though ultimately unsuccessful, revealed the class conflicts that divided colonists and pitted British subjects in America against royal representatives and their colonial dependents. While Regulators destroyed property, refused to pay taxes, and disrupted government, they also issued petitions and drew on the language of rights to plead their case.

The Humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Orange County humbly sheweth,

That as it is a Maxim in our Laws that no Law Statute or Custom which are against Gods Law or principalls of nature can be of any validity but are all null.

If therefore Laws themselves when against Reason and Justice are null and void much more the practice used by men in the Law which is contrary to the Law as well as Reason Justice and Equity ought to be condemned and surely it is against Justice Reason and Equity to exact Taxes and extort Fees that are unlawful from the poor industrious Farmers—Yet these are but a few of a great many more evils of that nature which has been of a long time our sad case and

*The Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol. VIII, 1769 to 1771, ed. William L. Saunders (Raleigh, NC: Josephus Daniels, Printer to the State, 1890), 231–234.*

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condition and to such a degree general among so many of the men of the Law that we quite despaired of any redress being to be had that way. But as you the Governor Kings Attorney Generall and other Gentlemen of the Law pledged to us your words your honours your oaths that we could and should be redressed by the Law it would be tedious as well as unnecessary to recite the world of fatigue expence and Trouble that we have been at to obtain redress in that way but in vain—for though so many of the Officers as has been convicted yet we can obtain none of our money back—but instead of refunding they still continue to take the same Fees James Watson and John Butler excepted—And notwithstanding the wheels in this work run so heavy we have so many of the Court Party against us yet we might nevertheless [have gained] our point could we have obtained Jurors of unprejudiced Men—for though the Law impowers the Justices of the Inferior Courts to appoint the Jurys yet it was to the end they might be chosen of unprejudiced Men, this was the spirit end and design of the Law—But it has so happened that too many of our Justices are partys concerned some of them being insolvent high Sheriffs themselves and others insolvent Sheriffs securities, yet under all this disadvantage as we labored against this very unfair dealing the goodness of our course and the uprightness of our Intentions gained ground with such Justices as was not parties concerned and for some Courts past a few of the Jurors was unprejudiced Men, but at our last Inferior Court Tyree Harris and Thomas Lloyd took a most notorious and bare faced advantage of choosing the Judges [juries] on the first day of the Court contrary to the known and usual custom and have made up the Jury mostly of Men well known to be prejudiced in favor of extortionate Officers and of such Officers themselves. Tyree Harris at whose instance we suppose it was done was high Sheriff for the years 1766 & 1767, whose accounts are yet unsettled, and likely we may be sued by the Treasurer as well as the Vestry to the Court besides almost may we believe every under Sheriff he had is inditable for their Extortions and exactions of Tax[es] and most of them have already been found guilty and though they attempt to make you believe the charge against them for exacting 4d 0d & a shilling extraordinary from ignorant Men Women and in remote neighbourhoods to be a false charge yet it is not only notoriously known to be the truth by hundreds of people from whom and among whom they exacted it, but at the same time they exacted 4d more from every man in the County in the very same Tax and though this was what we had some Item of from the very beginning yet we could never come at the certainty thereof till now, we think it can be proved beyond all doubt and this is a very particular matter of great weight and moment as it was one immediate cause of the rise of the mob and for which reason we suppose the most strenuous methods has been used to hinder it from coming to light. In the next place Thomas Lloyd may also be said to be a party concerned as he is one of the insolvent Sheriffs Securities and likewise the Justice who committed H. Husband without a Warrant proof of any crime and without a Mittimus, besides all this he has been Vestry Man and Church Warden frequently these Ten years past and more during which time the Vestry accounts are unsettled and irregularly kept and large Ballances behind. Thomas Hart being the only Sheriff

that ever settled which was for 1762, the particulars of whose accounts is also kept from the eyes of the public, all which is contrary to Law and for which neglect the Church Wardens and Clerks are indictable.

Mr Chief Justice you at our last Court seemed to be somewhat prejudiced against us in a speech that you made in which you signified your Jealousie that we acted through Malice, Ambition &c: But concluding if what we did was from motives to promote Justice detect Extortion &c: for the publick good that you wished us all the success imaginable and heartily concurred with us in our undertaking. Oh that you might be sincere and could but a known our hearts. However be that as it will your Speech could not but afford us consolation and encouragement to persevere for we could lay our hands on our hearts and call God to witness in ourselves that this was our whole sole end and purpose and that too out of pure necessity to keep ourselves and innocent helpless Neighbors from utter ruin our whole properties having become quite insecure as well as our characters—As the two persons who was indicted last Court for perjury by reason they had indicted and witnessed against Extortions are two honest innocent men—Yea we need say no more but that we know these two men are honest men of good characters and innocent of that charge, whereas on the contrary to pick the whole country there cannot be found men of much worse characters than many or most of those who have sworn against them. As for the objection that some pretend to make (to wit) that it is hard to find Jurymen but what is prejudiced to one side or t' other this objection has not the least foundation in Truth or Reason Absolutely no more than if a gang of horse thieves had been numerous and formidable enough to have engaged the same attention and concern of the publick—for those Extortioners and Exactors of Tax are certainly more dangerous than those Thieves and in the next place they and all who espouse their cause knowingly are as to numbers inconsiderably small, only that they have the handling the Law chiefly in their own hands—our late Elections help to prove this Diversion; we carried our Elections for Vestrymen twenty five to one—The consequence of not trying these men subject to Law is wooden shoes and uncombed hair—What sense or reason is there in saying any are prejudiced to our side for what is it we have done—we have labored honestly for our Bread and studied to defraud no man nor live on the spoils of other mens labors nor snatched the Bread out of other mens hands. Our only crime with which they can charge us is vertue in the very highest degree namely to risque our all to save our Country from Rapine and Slavery in our detecting of practices which the Law itself allows to be worse than open Robbery—It is not one in a hundred or a thousand of us who have broke one Law in this our struggle for only common Justice which it is even a shame for any Government or any set of Men in the Law once to have denied us off—Whereas them as has acted the most legally are the most torn to pieces by the Law through malicious prosecutions carried against them.

To sum up the whole matter of our Petition in a few words it is namely these that we may obtain unprejudiced Jurys, That all extortionate Officers Lawyers and Clerks may be brought to fair Tryals—That the Collectors of publick money

may be called to years 1764, 1765, small part of the satisfaction occas may have some s cers, we can see p and to what extre ourselves, we hav a legal and lawful respects the whole ments on particula of reasoning yet e him as well as the

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may be called to proper settlements of their accounts, namely the Sheriffs for the years 1764, 1765, 1766 & 1767 to which time the taxes was generally collected (a small part of the last year excepted) the refusing to settle for which or give us any satisfaction occasioned the past disturbances — If We cannot obtain this that we may have some security for our properties more than the bare humour of officers, we can see plainly that we shall not be able to live under such oppressions and to what extremities this must drive us you can as well judge of as we can ourselves, we having no other determination but to be redressed and that to be in a legal and lawful way — As we are serious and in good earnest and the Cause respects the whole Body of the people it would be loss of time to enter into arguments on particular points for though there is a few men who have the gift or art of reasoning yet every man has a feeling and knows when he has justice done him as well as the most learned.

Therefore that Justice which every man will be ashamed to own that ever he denied us of when in his power to grant is the prayer of our Petition and your Petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Signed by 174 Subscribers.

#### READING AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Identify the specific grievances that Regulators in Orange County have against the royal government of North Carolina.
2. How do the Regulators frame their argument in this petition? Who was the audience for the petition?
3. What does the Regulator movement reveal about colonial politics on the eve of the Revolution?

