

## A Pueblo Rebel in 1681 Explains the Reasons behind the Pueblo Revolt

*During the several years following the Pueblo Revolt, Governor Otermin struggled in vain to recapture New Mexico for the Spanish crown. Spanish forces captured Pedro Naranjo, a member of the Queres nation and a native of the San Felipe pueblo, during an attack on the La Isleta pueblo in 1681. The following is a record of the testimony given by Naranjo, who spoke Castilian, to the Spanish authorities in December of that year.*

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*SOURCE: Charles Wilson Hackett. *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Olermin's Attempted Reconquest 1680–1682*(Albuquerque, N.M.: 1942) pp. 245–49.*

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Asked whether he knows the reason or motives which the Indians of this kingdom had for rebelling, forsaking the law of God and obedience to his Majesty, and committing such grave and atrocious crimes, and who were the leaders and principal movers, and by whom and how it was ordered; and why they burned the images, temples, crosses, rosaries, and things of divine worship, committing such atrocities as killing priests, Spaniards, women, and children, and the rest that he might know touching the question, he said that since the government of Señor General Hernando Ugarte y la Concha they have planned to rebel on various occasions through conspiracies of the Indian sorcerers, and that although in some pueblos the messages were accepted, in other parts they would not agree to it; and that it is true that during the government of the said señor general seven or eight Indians were hanged for this same cause, whereupon the unrest subsided. Some time thereafter they [the conspirators] sent from the pueblo of Los Taos through the pueblos of the custodia two deerskins with some pictures on them signifying conspiracy after their manner, in order to convoke the people to a new rebellion, and the said deerskins passed to the province of Moqui, where they refused to accept them. The pact which they had been forming ceased for the time being, but they always kept in their hearts the desire to carry it out, so as to live as they are living to-day. Finally, in the past years, at the summons of an Indian named Popé who is said to have communication with the devil, it happened that in an estufa of the pueblo of Los Taos there appeared to the said Popé three figures of Indians who never came out of the estufa. They gave the said Popé to understand that they were going underground to the lake of Copala. He saw these figures emit fire from all the extremities of their bodies, and that one of them was called Caudi, another Tilini, and the other Tleume; and these three beings spoke to the said Popé, who was in hiding from the secretary, Francisco Xavier, who wished to punish him as a sorcerer. They told him to make a cord of maguey fiber and tie some knots in it which would signify the number of days that they must wait before the rebellion. He said that the cord was passed through all the pueblos of the kingdom so that the ones which agreed to it [the rebellion] might untie one knot in sign of obedience, and by the other knots they would know the days which were lacking; and this was to be done on pain of death to those who refused to agree to it. As a sign of agreement and notice of having concurred in the treason and perfidy they were to send up smoke signals to that effect in each one of the pueblos singly. The said cord was taken from pueblo to pueblo by the swiftest youths under the penalty of death if they revealed the secret. Everything being thus arranged, two days before the time set for its execution, because his lordship had learned of it and had imprisoned two Indian accomplices from the pueblo of Tesuque, it was carried out prematurely that night, because it seemed to them that they were now discovered; and they killed religious, Spaniards, women, and children. This being done, it was proclaimed in all the pueblos that everyone in common should obey the commands of their father whom they did not know, which would be given through El Caydi or El Popé. This was heard by Alonso Catití, who came to the pueblo of this declarant to say that everyone must unite to go to the villa to kill the governor and the Spaniards who had remained with him, and that he who did not obey would, on their return, be beheaded; and in fear of this they agreed to it. Finally the señor governor and those who were with him escaped from the siege, and later this declarant saw that as soon as the Spaniards had left the kingdom an order came from the said Indian, Popé, in which he commanded all the Indians to break the lands and enlarge their cultivated fields, saying that now they were as they had been in ancient times, free from the labor they had performed for the religious and the Spaniards, who could not now be alive. He said that this is the legitimate cause and the reason they had for rebelling, because they had always desired to live as they had

when they came out of the lake of Copala. Thus he replies to the question.

Asked for what reason they so blindly burned the images, temples, crosses, and other things of divine worship, he stated that the said Indian, Popé, came down in person, and with him El Saca and El Chato from the pueblo of Los Taos, and other captains and leaders and many people who were in his train, and he ordered in all the pueblos through which he passed that they instantly break up and burn the images of the holy Christ, the Virgin Mary and the other saints, the crosses, and everything pertaining to Christianity, and that they burn the temples, break up the bells, and separate from the wives whom God had given them in marriage and take those whom they desired. In order to take away their baptismal names, the water, and the holy oils, they were to plunge into the rivers and wash themselves with amole, which is a root native to the country, washing even their clothing, with the understanding that there would thus be taken from them the character of the holy sacraments. They did this, and also many other things which he does not recall, given to understand that this mandate had come from the Caydi and the other two who emitted fire from their extremities in the said estufa of Taos, and that they thereby returned to the state of their antiquity, as when they came from the lake of Copala; that this was the better life and the one they desired, because the God of the Spaniards was worth nothing and theirs was very strong, the Spaniard's God being rotten wood. These things were observed and obeyed by all except some who, moved by the zeal of Christians, opposed it, and such persons the said Popé caused to be killed immediately. He saw to it that they at once erected and rebuilt their houses of idolatry which they call estufas, and made very ugly masks in imitation of the devil in order to dance the dance of the cacina; and he said likewise that the devil had given them to understand that living thus in accordance with the law of their ancestors, they would harvest a great deal of maize, many beans, a great abundance of cotton, calabashes, and very large watermelons and cantaloupes; and that they could erect their houses and enjoy abundant health and leisure. As he has said, the people were very much pleased, living at their ease in this life of their antiquity, which was the chief cause of their falling into such laxity. Following what has already been stated, in order to terrorize them further and cause them to observe the diabolical commands, there came to them a pronouncement from the three demons already described, and from El Popé, to the effect that he who might still keep in his heart a regard for the priests, the governor, and the Spaniards would be known from his unclean face and clothes, and would be punished. And he stated that the said four persons stopped at nothing to have their commands obeyed. Thus he replies to the question.

Asked what arrangements and plans they had made for the contingency of the Spaniards' return, he said that what he knows concerning the question is that they were always saying they would have to fight to the death, for they do not wish to live in any other way than they are living at present; and the demons in the estufa of Taos had given them to understand that as soon as the Spaniards began to move toward this kingdom they would warn them so that they might unite, and none of them would be caught. He having been questioned further and repeatedly touching the case, he said that he has nothing more to say except that they should be always on the alert, because the said Indians were continually planning to follow the Spaniards and fight with them by night, in order to drive off the horses and catch them afoot, although they might have to follow them for many leagues. What he has said is the truth, and what happened, on the word of a Christian who confesses his guilt. He said that he has come to the pueblos through fear to lead in idolatrous dances, in which he greatly fears in his heart that he may have offended God, and that now having been absolved and returned to the fold of the church, he has spoken the truth in everything he has been asked.

1. *How much do the beliefs and prejudices of the author color this retelling of Naranjo's testimony? How much is Naranjo's testimony colored also by his desire to please his captors?*
2. *Why did Indians, many of whom were converts to the Catholic Church, make symbolic attacks on Christianity in their revolt against Spanish domination? Think about the role that religion and Spanish religious leaders played in the Spanish conquest of the region.*
3. *Based on the information provided in this passage, what were the principal causes of the Pueblo*

*Revolt? Did all of the participants in the uprising do so willingly?*

## **A Virginian Describes the Difference between Servants and Slaves in 1722**

*Robert Beverly, who wrote *The History and Present State of Virginia* in 1705, worked at various government positions in the early Virginia colony before being dismissed for criticizing several public events. Beverly published a revised version in 1722, from which the following passage is taken. Here he tries to distinguish between the role of servants and slaves and outlines some of the legal rights accorded servants, which, by omission, also illustrates the legal rights that were denied slaves.*

*SOURCE: Robert Beverly, *The History of Virginia in Four Parts*, (London, 1722).*

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Their servants they distinguish by the names of slaves for life, and servants for a time.

Slaves are the Negroes and their posterity, following the condition of the mother, according to the maxim, *partus sequitur ventrem*. They are called slaves, in respect of the time of their servitude, because it is for life.

Servants, are those which serve only for a few years, according to the time of their indenture, or the custom of the country. The custom of the country takes place upon such as have no indentures. The law in this case is, that if such servants be under nineteen years of age, they must be brought into court to have their age adjudged; and from the age they are judged to be of, they must serve until they reach four and twenty; but if they be adjudged upwards of nineteen, they are then only to be servants for the term of five years.

The male servants, and slaves of both sexes, are employed together in tilling and manuring the ground, in sowing and planting tobacco, corn, &c. Some distinction indeed is made between them in their clothes, and food; but the work of both is no other than what the overseers, the freemen, and the planters themselves do.

Sufficient distinction is also made between the female servants, and slaves; for a white woman is rarely or never put to work in the ground, if she be good for anything else; and to discourage all planters from using any women so, their law makes female servants working in the ground tithables, while it suffers all other white women to be absolutely exempted; whereas, on the other hand, it is a common thing to work a woman slave out of doors, nor does the law make any distinction in her taxes, whether her work be abroad or at home.

Because I have heard how strangely cruel and severe the service of this country is represented in some parts of England, I can't forbear affirming, that the work of their servants and slaves is no other than what every common freeman does; neither is any servant required to do more in a day than his overseer; and I can assure you, with great truth, that generally their slaves are not worked near so hard, nor so many hours in a day, as the husbandmen, and day laborers in England. An overseer is a man, that having served his time, has acquired the skill and character of an experienced planter, and is therefore entrusted with the direction of the servants and slaves.

But to complete this account of servants, I shall give you a short relation of the care their laws take, that they be used as tenderly as possible:

### **BY THE LAWS OF THEIR COUNTRY**

1. All servants whatsoever have their complaints heard without fee or reward; but if the master be found faulty, the charge of the complaint is cast upon him, otherwise the business is done *ex officio*.
2. Any justice of the peace may receive the complaint of a servant, and order everything relating thereto, till the next county court; where it will be finally determined.
3. All masters are under the correction and censure of the country courts, to provide for their servants good and wholesome diet, clothing and lodging.
4. They are always to appear upon the first notice given of the complaint of their servants, otherwise to forfeit the service of them until they do appear.
5. All servants' complaints are to be received at any time in court, without process, and shall not be delayed for want of form; but the merits of the complaint must be immediately enquired into by the justices; and if the master cause any delay therein, the court may remove such servants, if they see cause, until the master will come to trial.
6. If a master shall at any time disobey an order of court, made upon any complaint of a servant, the court is empowered to remove such servant forthwith to another master who will be kinder, giving to the former master the produce only, (after fees deducted,) of what such servants shall be sold for by public outcry.
7. If a master should be so cruel, as to use his servant ill, that is fallen sick or lame in his service, and thereby rendered unfit for labor, he must be removed by the church wardens out of the way of such cruelty, and boarded in some good planter's house, till the time of his freedom, the charge of which must be laid before the next county court, which has power to levy the same, from time to time, upon the goods and chattels of the master, after which, the charge of such boarding is to come upon the parish in general.
8. All hired servants are entitled to these privileges.
9. No master of a servant can make a new bargain for service, or other matter with his servant, without the privity and consent of the county court, to prevent the masters overreaching, or scaring such servant into an unreasonable

compliance.

10. The property of all money and goods sent over thither to servants, or carried in with them, is reserved to themselves, and remains entirely at their disposal.

11. Each servant at his freedom receives of his master ten bushels of corn, (which is sufficient for almost a year,) two new suits of clothes, both linen and woolen, and a gun, twenty shillings value, and then becomes as free in all respects, and as much entitled to the liberties and privileges of the country, as any of the inhabitants or natives are, if such servants were not aliens.

12. Each servant has then also a right to take up fifty acres of land, where he can find any unpatented. This is what the laws prescribe in favor of servants, by which you may find, that the cruelties and severities imputed to that country, are an unjust reflection. For no people more abhor the thoughts of such usage, than the Virginians, nor take more precaution to prevent it now, whatever it was in former days.

## Agreement Between the Settlers at New Plymouth (Mayflower Compact)

*The Pilgrims enjoy almost mythic status in American history. These brave refugees crossed the cold Atlantic in search of religious liberty, signed a democratic compact aboard the Mayflower, landed at Plymouth Rock, and gave us our Thanksgiving Day. As with most legends, this one contains only a core of truth. The Pilgrims were not crusaders who set out to change the world. Rather, they were humble English farmers.*

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IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. We, whose names are underwritten, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Having undertaken for the Glory of God, and Advancement of the Christian Faith, and the Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the first Colony in the northern Parts of Virginia; Do by these Presents, solemnly and mutually, in the Presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick, for our better Ordering and Preservation, and Furtherance of the Ends aforesaid: And by Virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions, and Officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general Good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due Submission and Obedience. IN WITNESS whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape-Cod the eleventh of November, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini; 1620.

Mr. John Carver,  
Mr. William Bradford,  
Mr Edward Winslow,  
Mr. William Brewster,  
Isaac Allerton,  
Myles Standish,  
John Alden,  
John Turner,  
Francis Eaton,  
James Chilton,  
John Craxton,  
John Billington,  
Joses Fletcher,  
John Goodman,  
Mr. Samuel Fuller,  
Mr. Christopher Martin,  
Mr. William Mullins,  
Mr. William White,  
Mr. Richard Warren,  
John Howland,  
Mr. Steven Hopkins,  
Digery Priest,  
Thomas Williams,  
Gilbert Winslow,  
Edmund Margesson,

Peter Brown,  
Richard Britteridge,  
George Soule,  
Edward Tilly,  
John Tilly,  
Francis Cooke,  
Thomas Rogers,  
Thomas Tinker,  
John Ridgdale,  
Edward Fuller,  
Richard Clark,  
Richard Gardiner,  
Mr. John Allerton,  
Thomas English,  
Edward Doten,  
Edward Liester.

*Source:*

*The Federal and State Constitutions Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America Compiled and Edited Under the Act of Congress of June 30, 1906 by Francis Newton Thorpe Washington, DC : Government Printing Office, 1909.*

## **An Indentured Servant Writes from Virginia in 1623**

*Richard Frethorn was a young Englishman who settled in the Jamestown colony as an indentured servant in 1623. The following is one of three letters Frethorn sent his parents that same year reporting dissatisfaction with his lot and begging them to free him of his indenture. The letter describes a bleak life in Jamestown marked by disease, near starvation, and the constant threat of annihilation by Indians.*

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*SOURCE:* Paul Lauter et. al. eds., *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1990).

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Loving and kind father and mother:

My most humble duty remembered to you, hoping in God of your good health, as I myself am at the making hereof. This is to let you understand that I your child am in a most heavy case by reason of the nature of the country, [which] is such that it causeth much sickness, as the scurvy and the bloody flux and diverse other diseases, which maketh the body very poor and weak. And when we are sick there is nothing to comfort us; for since I came out of the ship I never ate anything but peas, and loblollie (that is, water gruel). As for deer or venison I never saw any since I came into this land. There is indeed some fowl, but we are not allowed to go and get it, but must work hard both early and late for a mess of water gruel and a mouthful of bread and beef. A mouthful of bread for a penny loaf must serve for four men which is most pitiful... People cry out day and night—Oh! that they were in England without their limbs—and would not care to lose any limb to be England again, yea, though they beg from door to door. For we live in fear of the enemy every hour, yet we have had a combat with them on the Sunday before Shrovetide<sup>1</sup>, and we took two alive and made slaves of them. But it was by policy, for we are in great danger; for our plantation is very weak by reason

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<sup>1</sup>The three days before Ash Wednesday, formerly set aside as a period of confession and a time of festivity preceding Lent in Christian practice.

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of the death and sickness of our company. For we came but twenty for the merchants, and they are half dead just; and we look every hour when two more should go. Yet there came some four other men yet to live with us, of which there is but one alive; and our Lieutenant is dead, and his father and his brother. And there was some five or six of the last year's twenty, of which there is but three left, so that we are fain to get other men to plant with us; and yet we are but 32 to fight against 3000 if they should come. And the highest help that we have is ten miles of us, and when the rogues overcame this place last they slew 80 persons. How then shall we do, for we lie even in their teeth? They may easily take us, but that God is merciful and can save with few as well as with many, as he showed to Gilead<sup>2</sup>....

And I have nothing to comfort me, nor there is nothing to be gotten here but sickness and death, except that one had money to lay out in some things for profit. But I have nothing at all—no, not a shirt to my back but two rags (2), nor no clothes but one poor suit, nor but one pair of shoes, but one pair of stockings, but one cap, but two bands. My cloak is stolen by one of my own fellows, and to his dying hour [he] would not tell me what he did with it; but some of my fellows saw him have butter and beef out of a ship, which my cloak, I doubt [not], paid for. So that I have not a penny, nor a penny worth, to help me to either spice or sugar or strong waters, without the which one cannot live here. For as strong beer in England doth fatten and strengthen them, so water here doth wash and weaken these here [and] only keeps life and soul together. But I am not half a quarter so strong as I was in England, and all is for want of victuals; for I do protest unto you that I have eaten more in [one] day at home than I have allowed me here for a week. You have given more than my day's allowance to a beggar at the door; and if Mr. Jackson had not relieved me, I should be in a poor case. But he like a father and she like a loving mother doth still help me....

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<sup>2</sup>A region east of the Jordan River settled in Biblical times by, among others, Israelites who were successfully defended in battle against vastly superior numbers of invaders by Judas Maccabeus and his warriors.

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Goodman Jackson pitied me and made me a cabin to lie in always when I come up... which comforted me more than peas or water gruel. Oh, they be very godly folks, and love me very well, and will do anything for me. And he much marvelled that you would send me a servant to the Company; he saith I had been better knocked on the head. And indeed so I find it now, to my great grief and misery; and saith that if you love me you will redeem me suddenly, for which I do entreat and beg. And if you cannot get the merchants to redeem me for some little money, then for God's sake get a gathering or entreat some good folks to lay out some little sum of money in meal and cheese and butter and beef. Any eating meat will yield great profit. Oil and vinegar is very good; but, father, there is great loss in leaking. But for God's sake send beef and cheese and butter, or the more of one sort and none of another. But if you send cheese, it must be very old cheese; and at the cheese-monger's you may buy very good cheese for twopence farthing or halfpenny, that will be liked very well. But if you send cheese, you must have a care how you pack it in barrels; and you must put cooper's chips between every cheese, or else the heat of the hold will rot them. And look whatsoever you send me—be it never so much—look, what [ever] I make of it, I will deal truly with you. I will send it over and beg the profit to redeem me; and if I die before it come, I have entreated Goodman Jackson to send you the worth of it, who hath promised he will.... Good father, do not forget me, but have mercy and pity my miserable case. I know if you did but see me, you would weep to see me; for I have but one suit.... Wherefore, for God's sake, pity me. I pray you to remember my love to all my friends and kindred. I hope all my brothers and sisters are in good health, and as for my part I have set down my resolution that certainly will be; that is, that the answer of this letter will be life or death to me. Therefore, good father, send as soon as you can; and if you send me any thing let this be the mark.



Richard Frethorne,

Martin's Hundred

Moreover, on the third day of April we heard that after these rogues had gotten the pinnace and had taken all furnitures [such] as pieces, swords, armor, coats of mail, powder, shot and all the things that they had to trade withal, they killed the Captain and cut off his head. And rowing with the tail of the boat foremost, they set up a pole and put the Captain's head upon it, and so rowed home. Then the Devil set them on again, so that they furnished about 200 canoes with above 1000 Indians, and came, and thought to have taken the ship; but she was too quick for them—which thing was very much talked of, for they always feared a ship. But now the rogues grow very bold and can use pieces, some of them, as well or better than an Englishman; for an Indian did shoot with Mr. Charles, my master's kinsman, at a mark of white paper, and he hit it at the first, but Mr. Charles could not hit it. But see the envy of these slaves, for when they could not take the ship, then our men saw them threaten Accomack, that is the next plantation. And now there is no way but starving; . . . For they had no crop last year by reason of these rogues, so that we have no corn but as ships do relieve us, nor we shall hardly have any crop this year; and we are as like to perish first as any plantation. For we have but two hogsheads of meal left to serve us this two months. . . . that is but a halfpennyloaf a day for a man. Is it not strange to me, think you? But what will it be when we shall go a month or two and never see a bit of bread, as my master doth say we must do? And he said he is not able to keep us all. Then we shall be turned up to the land and eat barks of trees or molds of the ground; therefore with weeping tears I beg of you to help me. Oh, that you did see my daily and hourly sighs, groans, and tears, and thumps that I afford mine own breast, and rue and curse the time of my birth, with holy Job. I thought no head had been able to hold so much water as hath and doth daily flow from mine eyes.

But this is certain: I never felt the want of father and mother till now; but now, dear friends, full well I know and rue it, although it were too late before I knew it. . . .

Your loving son,

Richard Frethorne

Virginia, 3rd April, 1623

1. *What is Frethorn's view of Indians? How does his view compare with the view expressed by John Smith or Antonio de Otermin?*
2. *To what extent is Frethorn's misery the result of his being an indentured servant? Which of his complaints were probably common to all settlers of Virginia?*
3. *In the midst of his tale of woe, Frethorn describes in great detail the manner in which one might "lay out in some things for profit." What was the importance of profit to the early settlers of Virginia? What information does Frethorn's letter give about the difficulties involved in getting English goods to market in Jamestown?*

## James I of England, "A Counterblaste to Tobacco." (1604)

*Tobacco was first imported to Spain and Portugal in the early sixteenth century, and it immediately generated fierce controversy. Early proponents in England praised its medicinal benefits, but others condemned it as a "heathen fume." One of its most vocal critics was King James I, who reputedly became ill after his first attempt at smoking.*

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Have you not reason then to be ashamed and to forbear this filthy novelty, so basely grounded, so foolishly received and so grossly mistaken in the right use thereof. In your abuse thereof sinning against God harming yourselves both in person and goods, and raking also thereby the marks and notes of vanity upon you by the custom thereof making yourselves to be wondered at by all foreign civil nations and by all strangers that come among you to be scorned and held in contemp; a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black stinking fume thereof nearest resembling the horrible stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless.

## **Jonathan Edwards, "Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England" (1742)**

*During the 18th century, religion pervaded the lives of the American colonists. Choosing to deliver "Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England" in writing rather than as a sermon, prominent theologian and philosopher Jonathan Edwards assessed the impact of the Great Awakening occurring on American society at that time.*

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God has made as it were two worlds here below, the old and the new (according to the names they are now called by), two great habitable continents, far separated one from the other; the latter is but newly discovered, . . . it has been, until of late, wholly the possession of Satan, the church of God having never been in it, as it has been in the other continent, from the beginning of the world. This new world is probably now discovered, that the new and most glorious state of God's church on earth might commence there; that God might in it begin a new world in a spiritual respect, when he creates the new heavens and new earth. . . .

The old continent has been the source and original of mankind, in several respects. The first parents of mankind dwelt there; and there dwelt Noah and his sons; and there the second Adam was born, and was crucified and rose again; and it is probable that, in some measure to balance these things, the most glorious renovation of the world shall originate from the new continent, and the church of God in that respect be from hence. And so it is probable that that will come to pass in spirituals, that has in temporals, with respect to America; that whereas till of late, the world was supplied with its silver and gold and earthly treasures from the old continent, now it is supplied chiefly from the new, so the course of things in spiritual respects will be in like manner turned.

And it is worthy to be noted that America was discovered about the time of the reformation, or but little before: which reformation was the first thing that God did towards the glorious renovation of the world, after it had sunk into the depths of darkness and ruin, under the great antichristian apostasy. So that as soon as this new world is (as it were) created, and stands forth in view, God presently goes about doing some great thing to make way for the introduction of the church's latter day glory, that is to have its first seat in, and is to take its rise from that new world. . . .

I observed before, that when God is about to do some great work for his church, his manner is to begin at the lower end; so when he is about to renew the whole habitable earth, it is probable that he will begin in this utmost, meanest, youngest and weakest part of it, where the church of God has been planted last of all; and so the first shall be last, and the last first. . . .

## **John Smith, "The Starving Time" (1624)**

*Captain John Smith quickly rose to become the leader of the colonists in Virginia based on his proven skills as soldier and explorer. Later in his life, Smith endeavored to write a history of the Virginia colony, of which this document is an excerpt. Specifically, this document is from a section titled "The Starving Time," which recounts the period after Smith returned to England in 1609.*

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It might well be thought, a Countrie so faire (as Virginia is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this have bene quietly possessed to the satisfaction of the adventurers, & the eternizing of the memory of those that effected it. But because all the world doe see a defailement; this following Treatise shall give satisfaction to all indifferent Readers, how the businesse hath bin carried; where no doubt they will easily understand and answer to their question, how it came to passe there was no better speed and successe in those proceedings. . . .

The day before Captain Smith returned for England with the ships, Captain Davis arrived in a small Pinace, with some sixteene proper men more . . . for the Salvages no sooner understood Smith was gone, but they all revolted, and did spoile and murder all they incountered. Now wee were all constrained to live onely on that Smith had onely for his owne Companie, for the rest had consumed their proportions . . . Sicklemore upon the confidence of Powhatan, with about thirtie others as carelesse as himselfe, were all slaine, onely Jeffrey Shortridge escaped, and Pokahontas the Kings daughter saved a boy called Henry Spilman, that lived many yeeres after, by her meanes, amongst the Patawomekes...

Now we all found the losse of Captain Smith, yea his greatest maligners could now curse his losse: as for corne, provision and contribution from the Salvages, we had nothing but mortall wounds, with clubs and arrowes; as for our Hogs, Hens, Goats, Sheepe, Horse, or what lived, our commanders, officers & Salvages daily consumed them, some small proportions sometimes we tasted, till all was devoured; then swords, armes, pieces, or any thing, wee traded with the Salvages, whose cruell fingers were so oft imbrewed in our blouds, that what by their crueltie, our Governours indiscretion, and the losse of our ships, of five hundred within six moneths after Captain Smiths departure, there remained not past sixtie men, women and children, most miserable and poore creatures; and those were preserved for the most part, by roots, herbes, acornes, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fish: they that had starch in these extremities, made no small use of it; yea, even the very skinnes of our horses. Nay, so great was our famine, that a Salvage we slew, and buried, the poorer sort tooke him up againe and eat him, and so did divers one another boyled and stewed with roots and herbs: And one amongst the rest did kill his wife, powdered [salted] her, and had eaten part of her before it was knowne, for which hee was executed, as hee well deserved; now whether shee was better roasted, boyled or carbonado'd [grilled], I know not, but of such a dish as powdered wife I never heard of. This was that time, which still to this day we called the starving time; it were too vile to say, and scarce to be beleaved, what we endured.

## Letter by William Penn to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders, (1683)

**From Albert Cook Myers, ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware 1630–1707* (New York: Scribner, 1912), pp. 230–235.**

*William Penn received a charter for what would become the colony of Pennsylvania (named in honor of his father) in 1681. Penn was a Quaker, and he looked forward to establishing a colony that would be free of the religious persecution that his people had encountered in England. Therefore, when he traveled to the colony in 1682, one of his first priorities was to establish friendly relations with the Delaware people of the area, whom he respected. The excerpt below includes Penn's description of the physical characteristics and social customs of the Delaware.*

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XI. The *Natives* I shall consider in their Persons, Language, Manners, Religion and Government, with my sence of their Original. For their Persons, they are generally tall, streight, well-built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin: Of Complexion, Black, but by design, as the Gypsies in England: They grease themselves with Bears-fat clarified, and using no defence against Sun or Weather, their skins must needs be swarthy; Their Eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-look't Jew: The thick Lip and flat Nose, so frequent with East-Indians and Blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them of both, as on your side of the Sea; and truly an Italian Complexion hath not much more of the White, and the Noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

XIII. Of their Customs and Manners there is much to be said; I will begin with Children. So soon as they are born, they wash them in Water, and while very young, and in cold Weather to chuse, they Plunge them in the Rivers to harden and embolden them. Having wrapt them in a Clout [cloth], they lay them on a straight thin Board, a little more than the length and breadth of the Child, and swadle it fast upon the Board to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat Heads; and carry them at their Backs. The Children will go very young, at nine Moneths commonly; they wear only a small Clout round their Waste, till they are big; if Boys, they go a Fishing till ripe for the Woods, which is about Fifteen; then they Hunt, and after having given some Proofs of their Manhood, by a good return of

Skins, they may Marry, else it is a shame to think of a Wife. The Girls stay with their Mothers, and help to hoe the Ground, plant Corn and carry Burthens; and they do well to use them to that Young, they must do when they are Old; for the Wives are the true Servants of their Husbands: otherwise Men are very affectionate to them.

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### Document Analysis

1. What is the general tone of Penn's descriptions? Did he seem to respect the Native Americans?
2. In his description of physical appearance, did he compare the Native Americans favorably with Europeans? To which peoples specifically did he compare them?
3. How did Penn describe the division of labor between Native American males and females?

## Micmac Chief's Observations of the French (1691)

**Reported by Chrestien Le Clercq, in *New Relation of Gaspesia, with the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians* (1691), translated and edited by William F. Ganong (Toronto, 1910), pp. 103–106.**

*Chrestien Le Clercq was a French priest who traveled among the indigenous peoples near present-day Quebec. A primary purpose of interaction with native peoples was to convert them to Christianity and teach them the "civilized" ways of Europe. The excerpt below is the response of a Micmac (one of the Gaspesian Indians of the title) chief to European arguments of cultural superiority. This type of exchange allows us to glimpse Native American views concerning the Europeans.*

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I am greatly astonished that the French have so little cleverness, as they seem to exhibit in the matter of which thou hast just told me on their behalf, in the effort to persuade us to convert our poles, our barks, and our wigwams into those houses of stone and of wood which are tall and lofty, according to their account, as these trees. Very well! But why now do men of five to six feet in height need houses which are sixty to eighty?...hast thou as much ingenuity and cleverness as the Indians, who carry their houses and their wigwams with them so they may lodge wheresoever they please, independently of any seignior whatsoever?...Thou sayest of us also that we are the most miserable and most unhappy of all men, living without religion, without manners, without honour, without social order, and, in a word, without any rules, like the beasts in our woods and our forests, lacking bread, wine, and a thousand other comforts which thou hast in superfluity in Europe....I beg thee now to believe that, all miserable as we seem in thine eyes, we consider ourselves nevertheless much happier than thou in this, that we are very content with the little that we have; and believe also once for all, I pray, that thou deceivest thyself greatly if thou thinkest to persuade us that thy country is better than ours. For if France, as thou sayest, is a little terrestrial paradise, art thou sensible to leave it?...Now tell me this one thing, if thou hast any sense: Which of these two is the wisest and happiest—he who labours without ceasing and only obtains, and that with great trouble, enough to live on, or he who rests in comfort and finds all that he needs in the pleasure of hunting and fishing?

## Nathaniel Bacon's Declaration (July 30, 1676)

*Nathaniel Bacon was a tobacco farmer from the frontier in western Virginia. He was also a member of a group that appealed to Governor William Berkeley in Jamestown in 1676 to raise an expedition against the Susquehannock Indians, who had been periodically attacking the farmers. Berkeley denied the request and refused to hear the farmers' grievances.*

*In response Bacon led a group of 500 farmers first against the native populations in West Virginia and then against the government in Jamestown. Bacon's men were victorious over both targets, slaughtering numerous Indians and burning Jamestown before British troops could be called in to subdue the rebellion. Before the military could capture Bacon, however, he passed away from illness. This excerpt is from "Declaration of Nathaniel Bacon in the Name of the People of Virginia, July 30, 1676," a list of grievances to King Charles II on behalf of the frontier settlers.*

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1. For having, upon specious pretenses of public works, raised great unjust taxes upon the commonalty for the advancement of private favorites and other sinister ends, but no visible effects in any measure adequate; for not having, during this long time of his government, in any measure advanced this hopeful colony either by fortifications, towns, or trade.
  2. For having abused and rendered contemptible the magistrates of justice by advancing to places of judicature scandalous and ignorant favorites.
  3. For having wronged his Majesty's prerogative and interest by assuming monopoly of the beaver trade and for having in it unjust gain betrayed and sold his Majesty's country and the lives of his loyal subjects to the barbarous heathen.
  4. For having protected, favored, and emboldened the Indians against his Majesty's loyal subjects, never contriving, requiring, or appointing any due or proper means of satisfaction for their many invasions, robberies, and murders committed upon us.
  5. For having, when the army of English was just upon the track of those Indians, who now in all places burn, spoil, murder and when we might with ease have destroyed them who then were in open hostility, for then having expressly countermanded and sent back our army by passing his word for the peaceable demeanor of the said Indians, who immediately prosecuted their evil intentions, committing horrid murders and robberies in all places, being protected by the said engagement and word past of him the said Sir William Berkeley, having ruined and laid desolate a great part of his Majesty's country, and have now drawn themselves into such obscure and remote places and are by their success so emboldened and confirmed by their confederacy so strengthened that the cries of blood are in all places, and the terror and consternation of the people so great, are now become not only difficult but a very formidable enemy who might at first with ease have been destroyed.
  6. And lately, when, upon the loud outcries of blood, the assembly had, with all care, raised and framed an army for the preventing of further mischief and safeguard of this his Majesty's colony.
  7. For having, with only the privacy of some few favorites without acquainting the people, only by the alteration of a figure, forged a commission, by we know not what hand, not only without but even against the consent of the people, for the raising and effecting civil war and destruction, which being happily and without bloodshed prevented; for having the second time attempted the same, thereby calling down our forces from the defense of the frontiers and most weakly exposed places.
  8. For the prevention of civil mischief and ruin amongst ourselves while the barbarous enemy in all places did invade, murder, and spoil us, his Majesty's most faithful subjects.

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Of this and the aforesaid articles we accuse Sir William Berkeley as guilty of each and every one of the same, and as one who has traitorously attempted, violated, and injured his Majesty's interest here by a loss of a great part of this his colony and many of his faithful loyal subjects by him betrayed and in a barbarous and shameful manner exposed to the incursions and murder of the heathen. And we do further declare these the ensuing persons in this list to have been his wicked and pernicious councilors, confederates, aiders, and assisters against the commonalty in these our civil commotions.

Sir Henry Chichley	Richard Whitacre
Lt. Col. Christopher Wormeley	Nicholas Spencer
Phillip Ludwell	Joseph Bridger
Robt. Beverley	William Claiburne, Jr.
Ri. Lee	Thomas Hawkins

Thomas Ballard

William Sherwood

William Cole

John Page Clerke

John Clauffe Clerk

John West, Hubert Farrell, Thomas Reade, Math. Kempe

And we do further demand that the said Sir William Berkeley with all the persons in this list be forthwith delivered up or surrender themselves within four days after the notice hereof, or otherwise we declare as follows.

That in whatsoever place, house, or ship, any of the said persons shall reside, be hid, or protected, we declare the owners, masters, or inhabitants of the said places to be confederates and traitors to the people and the estates of them is also of all the aforesaid persons to be confiscated. And this we, the commons of Virginia, do declare, desiring a firm union amongst ourselves that we may jointly and with one accord defend ourselves against the common enemy. And let not the faults of the guilty be the reproach of the innocent, or the faults or crimes of the oppressors divide and separate us who have suffered by their oppressions.

These are, therefore, in his Majesty's name, to command you forthwith to seize the persons abovementioned as traitors to the King and country and them to bring to Middle Plantation and there to secure them until further order, and, in case of opposition, if you want any further assistance you are forthwith to demand it in the name of the people in all the counties of Virginia.

Nathaniel Bacon

General by Consent of the people.

William Sherwood

# When Historians Disagree

## What Really Happened in New Mexico, 1680-1692?

A natural question to ask about the New Mexico Pueblo Revolt of 1680 is "what happened during the twelve years that the Pueblos ruled their former homeland, free of Spanish influence?" The answer is that no one knows for sure. And yet few historians are content to leave it at that especially because there are tantalizing hints. The retreating Spanish forces collected what stories they could when they captured one of the Indians who had defeated them. But, as most historians note, these stories were most likely collected under torture and there is little reason to believe anything more than the most basic outline. More intriguing is the fact that even after the Spanish reconquest, oral tradition of what happened during those twelve years was passed down among the Pueblo people. Given the accuracy of other Native American oral traditions, there is much more reason to believe these sources. But even today, many of the pueblo people are reluctant to share their stories. Hints are everywhere but the full story is impossible to find. As a result some historians like Franklin Folsom have used bits of information to construct as complete a picture as they can. Others, like David Roberts distrust that picture and tell why they are not sure about any information. In the end, Roberts concludes, the information may be there, in the stories of a few elders, but they won't tell them to the outside world, even at a distance of well over three hundred years. The difficulty of discovering historical truth is always an issue; seldom is it as much of an issue as in the case of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

Franklin Folsom, *Indian Uprising on the Rio Grande: The Pueblo Revolt of 1680*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000, pp. 124-

David Roberts, *The Pueblo Revolt: The Secret Rebellion That Drove the Spaniards Out of the Southwest*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004, pp.

125.

Celebrations went on throughout the liberated land. Popé, Saca, Little Pot, Catiti, Flat Nose, and other leaders visited every village. They rode from one place to another instead of walking as they always had before the revolution. Popé mount was a big black mule...

Those who knew the Spanish language stopped using it. Those who had Spanish names gave them up and were known only by names which seemed right among their people. Every vestige of the Catholic religion was destroyed, or used in mockery.

In Dancing Place, Popé and the other leaders held a feast. As they sat at the large table around which the missionaries used to dine, the medicine men raised church chalices and proposed satiric toasts to one another.

"To your Paternal Reverence's health," Popé said according to an Indian who later reported to the Spaniards.

"Here is to your Lordship's health, Sir Governor," Catiti is supposed to have replied.

In Kewa the only songs heard in public for many years had been Catholic chants in Latin, which many Spaniards themselves did not understand. Now Kachinas once again raised their voices I songs, such as this one from the Keresan language:

I, Deer Boy, Leave the home of the Kachinas Early in the morning To take care of The earth and sky.

I, Deer Maiden, Leave the home of the Kachinas Early in the morning To take care of The common people.

Throughout the land villagers also sang other songs—chants they had learned from the missionaries. But these they sang in ways that made them burst out laughing.

It was a good time in Aztlan. This Native American revolution had done what it had set out to do. It had driven tyrants from the land.

142-157.

Meanwhile, what was going on in and around Santa Fe? Not a single eyewitness account of the immediate aftermath of the expulsion of the Europeans exists in the Spanish record. This has not kept romantic historians from trying to re-create the orgiastic scenes of liberation that must have ensued.

In *The Pueblo Revolt* (1970), for instance, Robert Silverberg paints a lurid picture of Popé becoming, as it were, more Spanish than the Spanish...

No source is cited for this vignette, which most likely spring full-blown from the author's overheated imagination, as, consistently throughout the book, he "dramatizes" history in quasi-novelistic fashion...

What, then, of Puebloan oral tradition? Long before I had gone to New Mexico to begin my search for an understanding of the Pueblo Revolt, I had known that by far the hardest part of my task would be penetrating that tradition. You did not simply walk into the visitor center or tribal headquarters of a pueblo and start asking questions about a matter as serious as the Revolt... I was aware that Jemez remained one of the most conservative of the pueblos: no casino, little tourism, and an absolute ban on non-Jemez living in the village—even those few outsiders who work for the tribe... The effect of all these intrusions on traditional life—on the part of Franciscan friars, prying ethnographers, and educational zealots ("Kill the Indian, save the man" was a slogan at the turn of the twentieth century)—has been to drive the Puebloans deeper into the refuge of secrecy. It has only been in the last three-decades that Puebloans have claimed a new dignity and begun to reassert their independence from mainstream America... Yet, ironically, this new empowerment has only turned the pueblos, at the spiritual and religious level, more xenophobic. Since Anglo-Americans first started flooding into the Southwest in the 1820s and 1830s, it has never been more difficult than it is today, in 2004, to attend a Puebloan dance, to visit an ancestral ruin, or to ask questions (as I had hoped to do at Jemez) about the past.