

African Gardener Culture (see *European colonial expansion*)
Colonial expansion (see *European colonial expansion*)

Dates for population movements

from Britain, the US, and the Caribbean:

Great Britain

experienced internal expansion as English-speaking people took control over former and continuing Celtic-speaking areas. Eventually, people from England and Scotland settled in Ireland and starting at about the same time emigrated to the Caribbean and to North America. After American independence (1776/1783) new currents were directed to Australia, then to South Africa, and later to New Zealand. Few settlers, but a whole corps of colonial administrators brought English as a language of administration to various parts of Africa, Asia, and Oceania. The following lists are geared to the eleven arrows in **Figure 7.1**:

From	To
Southwest England	Southeastern Ireland (from 1556 to well into the seventeenth century)
Scotland + England	Ulster (from 1606 to the 1690s)
England + Scotland	North America (from 1607)
Britain + Ireland	the Caribbean (esp. Barbados) (from 1627)
Britain + Ireland	Australia (from 1788)
England	South Africa (from 1820)
Britain + Australia	New Zealand (from 1820)
Britain (exploration, trade, colonial administration)	West Africa: Gambia (1661, 1816); Sierra Leone (1787); Ghana (1824; 1850); Nigeria (1851, 1861); Cameroon (1914) East Africa: Uganda (1860s); Malawi (1878); Kenya (1886); Tanzania (1880s)
	Southern Africa: South Africa (1795); Botswana (nineteenth century); Namibia (1878); Zambia (1888); Zimbabwe (1890); Swaziland (1894)
	South Asia: India (1600); Bangla Desh (1690); Sri Lanka (1796); Pakistan(1857)
	Southeast Asia: Malaysia (1786); Singapore (1819); Hong Kong (1841)

The United States

was the goal of massive movements of people who were mostly but not exclusively English-speaking from the beginning of settlement history in 1607 until the end of the *frontier*, which is conventionally set at 1890. Movement also extends to territorial expansion beyond the North America: Hawaii and other Pacific Islands, the Philippines, Puerto Rico and the American Virgin Islands, and Liberia. The following list gives only the major movements and the times at which they took place and reflects both *Figure 7.2* and *Map 7.2*.

From	To
Southern England	Eastern New England, the coastal South (from early seventeenth century)
The Caribbean	Virginia and the plantation South (from early seventeenth century)
Northern England, Scotland, Ulster	Southeast Pennsylvania, the Piedmont, and the Appalachian South (all from late seventeenth century)
Germany	Pennsylvania (from late seventeenth century)
The 13 colonies	Upper Canada, the Maritimes (late eighteenth century)
Haiti	Louisiana (late eighteenth century)
New England	Northwest Territory (from early nineteenth century)
Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas	Ohio Valley and Southern Appalachians (from late eighteenth century)
Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia	Lower South and southern Mississippi Valley (from early nineteenth century)
US (freed slaves)	Liberia (from 1822)
Upper Canada	Prairie and Mountain provinces; British Columbia (nineteenth century)
Midwest	Oregon Territory, California, and Mountain West (nineteenth century)
New England	Hawaii (late nineteenth century)
Far West	Alaska (late nineteenth century)
US (colonial administration)	Philippines (from 1898–1946)

Jamaica

stands here for population movements of English or English creole speakers throughout the Caribbean and including Bermuda. The following list expands on the simplified movements shown in *Figure 7.3* and has been adapted from Holm (1986: 18f). See *Map 9.1* as well as the whole article by Holm for more detail and a bibliography.

Seventeenth century movements

From	To
Britain	Bermuda (1609); Providence Island (1631); Cayman Islands (1670)
Ireland	St. Kitts (1624); Barbados (1627); Nevis, Barbuda (1628)
Africa	Bermuda (1609)
Bermuda	Providence (1631); Bahamas (1648); Jamaica (1655); Turks + Caicos (1678)
New England	Providence (1631)
St. Kitts	Nevis, Barbuda (1628); Antigua (1632); Montserrat (1633)
The Leeward Islands	Anguilla (1650); Jamaica (1655); St. Thomas (1672)
Barbados	Suriname (1651); Jamaica (1655)
Suriname	Jamaica (1655)
Jamaica	Cayman Islands (1670)
St. Thomas	St. John (1684)

Eighteenth century movements

From	To
Belize	Moskito Coast (1730)
Jamaica	Moskito Coast (1730)
Leewards	St. Croix (1733); Guyana (1740s); St. Vincent, Grenada (1763)
St. Thomas	St. Croix (1733)
Barbados	Guyana (1740s); St. Vincent, Grenada (1763), Trinidad (1797)
American South	Bahamas (1780ff)
Moskito Coast	Belize, Andros, Bahamas (1786)
Windwards	Trinidad (1797)

Nineteenth century

From	To
US (freed slaves)	Samaná (Dominican Republic) (1824)
San Andrés	Cocas del Toro (Panama) (1827)
Cayman Islands	Bay Islands (Honduras) (1830s)
Jamaica	Puerto Limón (Costa Rica) (1871)
US	Puerto Rico (1898)

Twentieth century

From	To
Jamaica	Panama (1904–1914)
US	American Virgin Islands (1917)

Holm, J. (1986) “The Spread of English in the Caribbean Area,” in: M. Görlach and J.A. Holm (eds.) *Focus on the Caribbean*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1–22.

Education

Education in Britain

was not a matter of the state until late in the nineteenth century with the exception of Scotland, which implemented a system of public education in the Education Act of 1496. There were grammar schools and public schools in England that taught Latin and the classical curriculum, but for most people training took place in the form of apprenticeships. The three Rs were typically taught in the *dame schools*. The grammar schools were recognized by Edward VI (reigned 1547–1553) and theoretically open to all (though practically only to the more affluent). Public schools (aka Independent or Private Schools) have existed for almost a millennium and a half: King’s School, Canterbury was founded in 597. Obviously, many of the early schools were monastery schools; and the Church remained dominant in non-vocational education until the state system was established with the **Elementary School Act of 1870**. This churchly engagement was by the Church of England, but after the **Restoration**, numerous dissenting academies were founded. Even after 1870, the private boarding schools (“public schools”) retained their influence as it was there that the ruling class was educated. And it was there that the accent referred to today as **Received Pronunciation (RP)** developed (cf. Abercrombie 1965).

Abercrombie, D. (1965) “R.P. and Local Accent,” in: *Studies in Phonetics and Linguistics*. London: OUP, 10–15.

Dame schools

were the bread-and-butter of elementary education in Britain, America, and Australia until supplanted by states schools in the second half of the nineteenth century. As suggested by their name, these schools were taught by women, often widowed and living off the proceeds of the schools. Some of the teachers were themselves poorly educated, but many did the necessary jobs of teaching the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic (aka the three Rs).

The Elementary School Act of 1870 (aka Forster Act)

introduced compulsory elementary education to England and Wales even though it was not until a second act in 1880 that this became more or less a reality. Since then, the scope of state involvement in education has expanded steadily, if also often very controversially. The role of private schools remained substantial with about one in fourteen children attending a private school in the UK.

Formal education in America

expanded more quickly than in Britain. This was due, on the one hand, to the general consensus on the need for literacy among the **Puritans** and, on the other, to the greater local autonomy that prevailed in the American colonies. Massachusetts Bay Puritans instituted common schools in 1642 and legally mandated them in 1647 (see Text 7.3; see also **New England Primer**). Even before that Harvard College was founded in 1636. The schools were to guarantee the literacy needed to read the Bible, and Harvard was founded to

educate the ministers required by the increasing number of Puritan congregations. Harvard was the first but not the only colonial institution of higher education. Others like it were almost all religious in their orientation, cf.

<i>Institution</i>	<i>Founding date</i>	<i>Religious affiliation</i>
William and Mary	1693	Anglican
Yale	1701	Congregational
College of N.J. = Princeton	1746	Presbyterian
Academy of Philadelphia	1740	
= University of Pennsylvania	1751, 1755	non-denominational
King's College = Columbia	1754	Anglican (= Presbyterian)
College of Rhode Island = Brown	1764	Baptist
Queen's College = Rutgers	1766, 1771	Dutch Reformed
Dartmouth	1769	Congregational

Harvard granted its first degrees in 1642; was chartered in 1650. In the 1770s it had about 180 students – at a time when all the colleges in the colonies had about 750 students all told. Tuition in the seventeenth century cost approximately four hogs a year. Medicine was first established in 1765 at the University of Pennsylvania.

Note that England had only two universities until the establishment of London in 1827 (but there were academies and the public schools). It would, however, be a mistake to assume that the level and quality of learning at the new American colleges was comparable to that of Oxford and Cambridge.

The Puritans were also heirs of medieval scholasticism and of the humanistic *Renaissance*, besides being apostles of the Reformation. Harvard's curriculum of 1642 had four traditions:

1. the liberal arts tradition of medieval learning (cf. the cathedral schools and universities);
2. the thirteenth century philosophical renaissance of Aristotelianism;
3. the classical-humanist "revival of letters" of the Renaissance;
4. the Reformation conviction of the necessity to promote Christian faith and practice in all human enterprise (Herberg: 14).

Today public schooling in the US is universal, but the level of educational training has been frequently criticized and a variety of remedies suggested, such as proficiency testing, charter schools, and vouchers systems. The latter potentially opens private schooling including religious schools to public financing, thus contravening the long-standing principle of the strict separation of church and state.

The New England Primer

was the first elementary reading book written and published in the American colonies (Boston, c. 1690). It testifies to the close relation between religion and literacy promoted by the *Puritans* (see color plate 11.1 *New England Primer*). It inculcated Puritan-Protestant values by using religious maxims and sayings such as the text used to introduce the letter "A": "In Adam's Fall We Sinned all." It was eventually replaced by Webster's American Spelling Book (aka Blue Back Speller, see color plate no. 12.3 *The American Spelling Book*) after 1790. See also *spelling reform*.

Literacy, education, and urbanization

in the last two hundred years, particularly in the traditional ENL countries of Britain and Ireland, the United States and Canada, and Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa has brought about a mass reading public on a scale unheard of before in the nineteenth century. The expanding publishing market was geared to cheap books and newspapers with high entertainment value. Technological improvements such as cheap pulpwood paper and the rotation press contributed to a reduction in printing costs; and rapid rail transportation lowered the costs of distribution.

As a result, more and more people came into contact with the kind of written English that is widely associated with StE even though it was the less learned English of the popular press that most people consumed. Urbanization led to higher rates of literacy, so that by the 1840s the majority of the population could probably read and write. Furthermore, increasing urbanization brought people with varying linguistic and cultural backgrounds together. As a result, both ENL speakers of often very different regional varieties as well as indigenous and immigrant people from non-English-language backgrounds came into contact. Wherever the immigrants went there was a different mix, and this has resulted in a number of different but closely related standards.

With the spread of elementary and then secondary education a process of marginalization of the traditional dialects set in. They were, namely, increasingly associated with poor education and lack of sophistication while, in contrast, the schools and the language standard they promoted were seen as a route to greater vocational opportunity. As a result, StE – clearly established within the tradition of writing and as the social institution of symbolic power – gained in overt prestige. Yet, the traditional dialects were not about to go away as they continued to be a mainstay of local and regional identity and a symbol of solidarity. Consequently, the non-standard forms that the local dialects transmitted carried considerable covert prestige.

Significant developments in the area of language were the movements for political devolution and/or independence in Scotland and Wales with, so far, little effect on the English language. There is, for example, no broad movement to raise Scots to a national language in Scotland. More relevant to linguistic change has been the significant increase in immigration. English remains the default language in public encounters in both the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, where it coexists with officially recognized Gaelic and Welsh, but also shares private space with a long list of immigrant languages whose numerical leaders are Polish, Punjabi, Bengali, Saraiki, Urdu, Sylheti, Cantonese, Greek, Italian, Black British English/Creole, Gujarati, and Kashmiri.

Development of North American English after American independence: Overall, the same effects of education and the schools, development of the reading public, and effects of urbanization that we have seen in connection with Great Britain were also present in North America. The degree and tempo of the various developments may have differed, but the effect on the standard language was similar. Learning and education were of central importance in New England (see *Formal education in America*), where the first and foremost purpose of education was to prepare people for their further life by ensuring that they had the necessary knowledge and proper attitudes. This was achieved chiefly in the family, where a trade or homemaking was learned. For the Puritans, education was the major element of culture and society beyond religion itself. Indeed, the main motivation for establishing schools was to provide people with access to reading and writing and hence to the Word of God (see color plate no. 11.1 *New England Primer*). The Puritan population was, consequently, extraordinarily well educated. Practically all the ministers of the Puritan (later: Congregational) church in the colonial period were college-educated. One out of 200 in the first years was a graduate of Cambridge, which is one for every forty households. Furthermore, common schools were instituted in 1642 (in Boston already in 1635) and legally mandated in 1647 as seen in Text 7.3. As a result the literacy rate in Massachusetts was high: 89–95% of (propertied) men; 42% of

women (62% by century end). 60% of the households contained books in Middlesex, where Boston is located (and lending was widespread).

The effects of learning and education on the language were twofold. First of all, where the level of education was high, as it was in Massachusetts, there was clearly a greater orientation toward the written language. This meant that the *relative* uniformity of English in early America was more a matter of grammar and vocabulary and less of pronunciation, and this is still today the essence of what is meant by the StE, which shows a great deal of uniformity in its written form but a great deal of variation in its pronunciation. However, this also meant that the orientation toward learning was more likely to be observed in New England than in the American South. The second consequence of the early emphasis on education was the establishment of attitudes of correctness among the educated (or semi-educated), a perspective that continues very strongly in the twenty-first century, where people apologize for what they consider to be “bad grammar” (despite the fact that they, of course, use it).

Exercise on Text 7.1 (see *all texts and exercises*)

European colonial expansion

The concept of the frontier

Frederick Jackson Turner developed a very American concept of the frontier as an area rather than a line lying between civilization and the wilderness. Walter Prescott Webb further developed this as a way of explaining the massive movement of Europeans into the rest of the world and not just the future US in the period from 1500 to 1900 or even 1950. In this view, people were leaving the civilized world in the sense of Western Civilization and advancing into a wilderness, an unsettled area, or one sparsely populated by “a few primitive inhabitants, whose rights need and will not be respected” (Webb 1964: 12). This described the situation of Euro-Canadians and Americans in North America, the movement of the Boers in South Africa, and the English in Australia (ibid.: 3). In that sense the frontier was geographically scattered, but shared common characteristics and exerted a unity of force on Europe (ibid.: 11). The opportunities this advance offered to European settlers set the framework for democratic government, boisterous politics, exploitative agriculture, mobility of population, disregard for conventions, rude manners, and unbridled optimism (ibid.: 5). The overall effect was a European boom: The enormous influx of wealth caused a tremendous business boom (unique in size and nature) that was the basis for Europe’s present superstructure of economic, political, and social institutions. And what caused it was a unique change in the fundamental relationship between the three economic factors of land, labor, and capital. Europe supplied the people, and the frontier supplied the land and the capital (ibid.: 14–16). This was coupled with the acquisitive instinct so highly developed in Europe at that time and the necessary technology (ibid.: 21). The mistaken feeling among Europeans was that the boom could only be attributed to the idea of Europeans as “an endowed people” (ibid.: 15).

Billington’s comparison of frontiers remarks that the frontier produced “men with an unusual degree of ambition and physical conditions uniquely suitable to that ambition’s fulfillment” (Billington 1964: 83) and concedes that this was eased by:

- cheap land
- a fluid social order
- disdain for authority
- individualism
- the desire for individual self-betterment (= selfishness) (ibid.: 86–91).

- Billington, R.A. (1968) "Frontiers," In: C.V. Woodward (ed.) *A Comparative Approach to American History*. n.p.: Voice of America Forum Lectures, 81–96.
- Turner, F.J. (1893) The Significance of the Frontier in American History [A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, 12 July 1893, during the World Columbian Exposition] *Report of the American Historical Association for 1893*, 199–227.
- Webb, W.P. (1964) "The Frontier Factor in Modern History" (Chapter 1), In: *The Great Frontier*. Austin: University of Texas, 1–28.

Territorial expansion

is traced out in chapter seven. Britain enlarged its colonial empire from the seventeenth century on. This accounts for the presence of English in the Caribbean, North America, the Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand, West and East Africa, South and Southeast Asia, and the Pacific. For more detail see ***Colonial expansion (into West Africa and beyond)*** as well as ***Dates for population movements***.

In the US expansion was chiefly "internal" as the doctrine of "Manifest Destiny" was used to justify the take-over of the trans-Mississippi territories, the war with Mexico and acquisition of the Southwest and California, the war with Spain and American domination in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines. See the following list:

1. The original extent of the US according to the Treaty of Paris at the end of the War of Independence in 1783 extended to the Mississippi River
2. In 1803 the Louisiana Purchase, the territory ceded to the US by Napoleon for \$15 million doubled the territory of the US, which now reached the Rocky Mountains.
3. First West Florida (1810 and 1813) and then East Florida (1819) were taken from Spain by invasion and the payment of \$5 million.
4. Texas, once a Mexican state, then an independent republic run by American settlers since 1836, was annexed by the US in 1845.
5. The Northwest Territory (Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia), claimed by Britain and the US as well as Spain and Russia, was peaceably divided between the former two in 1846.
6. In the Mexican-American War (1846–1848) vast conquered areas in the west (California) and southwest (New Mexico, Arizona) were annexed. The US indemnified Mexico with \$15 million. Many speakers of Native American languages and Spanish became US citizens.
7. Further Mexican territory (the Gadsden Purchase, 1853) was acquired for \$10 million to ease the building of a rail line to California.
8. The US bought Alaska from Russia for \$7.2 million in 1867 ("Seward's Folly"). The original Inuit peoples are today a distinct minority.
9. The kingdom of Hawaii (formerly known as the Sandwich Islands) became a republic after a coup by Americans living there in 1893. It was annexed in 1898. Today the Hawaiian language is making something of a comeback within a context of a society dominated by StE and Hawaiian Creole English.
10. The Spanish-American War ended with the US taking over numerous territories, some such as Cuba only temporarily, others longer. Today Puerto Rico is a commonwealth, Spanish-language American territory and Guam in the Pacific, a bilingual territory. The Philippines, for which the US paid Spain \$20 million, remained an American colony until 1946. Pilipino is the national language in this very multilingual country, and English is a widely used an L2.

Emigration from Britain

Already in the EModE period America took in large numbers of indentured servants. All in all, 69% of the natural population increase of England between the beginning of the English Civil War and the close of the century emigrated and went to America. The movement of people leaving Britain, mostly for North America and later including transported prisoners, continued on into the eighteenth century. Estimates put the figure of emigrants at 20% of natural increase (Bailyn: 40). The movement of so many people first to London and then on to other parts of the world offers a partial explanation for the relative uniformity of GenE throughout the world. It can reasonably be conjectured that these people, who were the more mobile and perhaps more ambitious part of the population, were ready to give up the more parochial features of their traditional dialect in favor of the one or the other form of London English as they began to identify more strongly with London groups.

This helps to explain some of the similarities in the pronunciation of Australian and New Zealand English with that of London. After all, the major goal of prisoners transported was soon to be not the now independent United States, but Australia, where penal colonies were established from the beginning of settlement in and after 1788. Later migration from Australia gave NZE a distinctly Australian character. The South African settlers of 1820 were largely rural people from the southeast of England, though with a notable number from the southwest. While population movement of this sort served to alleviate social and economic pressure on the homeland, the effects on the indigenous peoples of the territories invaded were overall devastating as native populations were driven off the best lands and decimated by disease, hunger, war, and enslavement.

Colonial expansion (into West Africa and beyond)

began in its second phase in the nineteenth century. The most northerly of the Anglophone West African countries, **Gambia**, was the location of a British fortress, Fort James, acquired during the first phase of European expansion, in 1661. Britain competed bitterly with France on the River Gambia, and this ended with French control of Senegal, which completely surrounds British-held Gambia. Their hold was cemented with the establishment of Bathurst (now Banjul) in 1816. The colony of Gambia was established in 1894 and ended with independence in 1965. **Sierra Leone** was at the focus of British anti-slavery interests with the establishment of a settlement for freed slaves in 1787. In 1808, after the legal end of the British slave trade in 1807, the British government took over responsibility for the colony, where as many as 50,000 freed slaves were settled at Freetown over the next several decades. However, it was not until late in the century, in the European race to divide Africa up, that the consolidated colony was established, which lasted until independence in 1961. Settlement of freed American slaves initiated by the American Colonization Society began in **Liberia** in 1822. By 1847 there were enough settlers for a republic to be established and widely recognized. **Ghana**, once called the Gold Coast because trade in gold was once very important there, resisted British inroads by defeating the British forces in 1824 and again in 1874. However, in between times the British bought Fort Christiansborg at Accra from the Danish in 1850. In 1874 the colony of Gold Coast was formally established in the south even though the Ashanti kingdom to the north remained independent another 30 years. Ghana was the first of the West African British colonies and also the first to win independence – in 1957. In **Nigeria** colonization began with exploratory ventures into the interior in the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s and then military assaults beginning with the capture of Lagos in 1851. This culminated in the annexation of Lagos as a British colony in 1861. By the end of the nineteenth century the Niger Coast Protectorate had been created and trade was conducted by the Royal Niger Company. Then from 1900 till 1960 both the coast and the inland areas were reorganized as a single colony – formally the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria (1914). **Cameroon** came under British rule after being removed

from German possession in 1916 during the First World War, when it was divided between Britain and France. Independence from France came in 1958 and from Britain in 1960.

The slave trade and European expansion

were two closely related phenomena. Wherever European sailors and traders went they established beach-heads in which they set the rules and used their economic power and their technological advantages to control raw materials and labor, production, and markets. One of the most effective ways of guaranteeing a work force was to enslave indigenous populations and transport them to production sites such as the New World plantations where sugar, tobacco, cotton, and other staples were cultivated. Later this was changed to a system of contract labor and was also expanded to include the exploitation of mineral goods.

The African slave trade itself began before the voyages of Columbus to the New World. From the mid-fifteenth century on the Portuguese began sailing down the Atlantic coast of Africa, eventually rounding the Cape and continuing into the Indian Ocean. In the course of this venture the first slaves were transported to Portugal as early as 1441. Slavery had been practiced in Europe right into the Middle Ages, but African slavery took on a new dimension: While slavery had once been justified if the enslaved were not Christian, the new slavery would be largely based on race and European ideas of the inferiority of non-Europeans – be they Africans, American Indians, or other aboriginal groups. Perpetual slavery was reinforced by skin color as a marker and safe-guarded European slavers from any moral qualms which might have damaged their profits.

The major European slave-trading powers

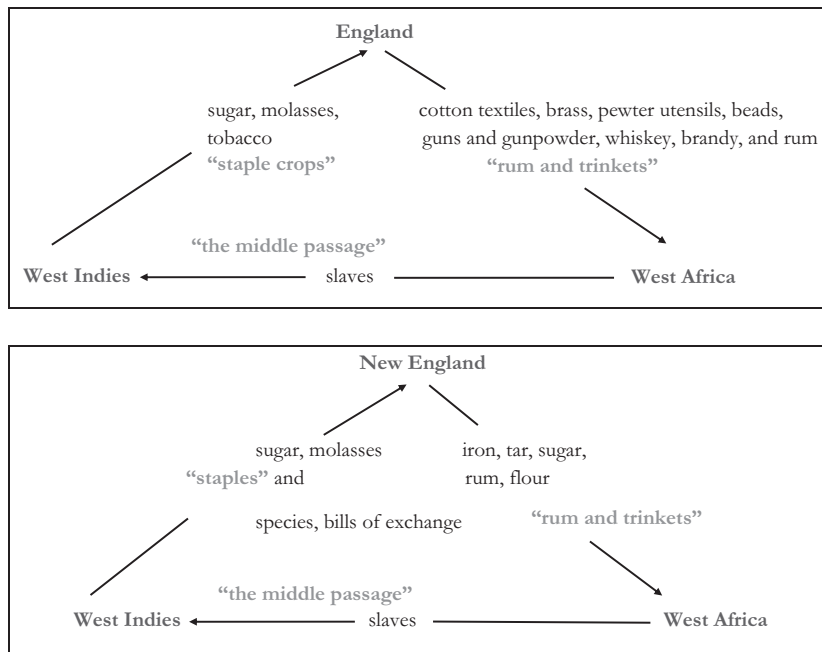
all left their linguistic mark on the people involved. The first to engage in this were, as indicated, the Portuguese. And it is the Portuguese language that first showed up as a pidgin along the coast of Africa and which has sometimes been seen as the precursor of Spanish, French, Dutch, and English pidgins and creoles (§9.4.1). All five European powers ended up with New World empires and all five of them left a linguistic legacy in the territories they controlled. Spanish (South America except for Brazil and the three Guianas, Central America, Mexico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico), Portuguese (Brazil), French (Guyana, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Haiti, Quebec), Dutch (Suriname, Aruba, and the Netherlands Antilles), and English are, of course, national languages in their standard forms. **Creole** forms of Spanish (Papiamentu; sometimes seen as having Portuguese roots) and French (Haitian CF, Louisiana CF, Antillean CF, French Guiana CF) and Dutch (e.g. Berbice Creole, but no longer spoken) developed as was the case for English (Chapter 9).

The African Gardener Culture

The slave trade had incalculably detrimental effects on traditional West African society, which was largely geared to subsistence agriculture. The highly differentiated social and vocational societies of West Africa were not egalitarian, for they, too, practiced slavery; but their slaves were integrated into village life and not exploited as they were to be on New World plantations.

The Middle Passage and the mechanics of the slave trade

were based on economic profit on all sides in the triangular trade, Europeans, Africans, and Americans. The carriers of the trade were, in our case, British shipping entrepreneurs. Most were based in England, especially Liverpool, but American colonial shippers were also involved, thus changing the shape of the triangle somewhat (see following diagrams).



The Triangular Trade

The merchant shippers were capitalized in England, where they stocked up on the goods needed for the trip to Africa: cotton textiles; brass, pewter utensils; ivory boxes of beads of all sizes and shapes; guns, gunpowder; whiskey, brandy, rum; and a variety of foodstuffs. In the ports of call in West Africa the Europeans operated in well-guarded posts, where they negotiated with slave traders or factors (hence slave "factories"). Once the ships had a sufficient supply of slaves and the foodstuffs needed, e.g. corn, pepper, kidney beans, yams, fruits, coconuts, and plantains, they set out on the second or **Middle Passage**. Accounts of the tortuous trip over reveal the inhumanity and unfeeling treatment of the "goods" on board. This whole process is very graphically described in chapters 34–39 of Alex Haley's novel *Roots* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976). See §9.1 (all sections).

Slave revolts and Coromanti leadership in the West Indies

Throughout the slave period there was resistance on the part of the slaves. In the larger territories such as Suriname or Guyana, and on the larger islands, such as Jamaica, many managed to escape and establish their own settlements far from plantation areas. As a result, groups speaking Boni or Saramaccan developed in Suriname; and Maroon ("runaways" < Spanish maron "wild") communities were able to develop and survive in hard-to-reach mountainous area in Jamaica.

The Coromanti (or Coromantee) were slaves who stemmed from the Ghana area and spoke varieties of Akan such as Twi. They seem to have had greater opportunities of communication in their own language and to have been more often at the center of slave revolts (see the list at: <http://caribbean-guide.info/past.and.present/history/slave.rebellion/>).

Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, The

is a major project to record and study the regional dialects of English in North America. It was initiated with field studies in New England between 1931 and 1933 whose results were published between 1939 and 1943 (Kurath et al. *Linguistic Atlas of New England*, 3 vols. Providence, 1939–1941). Further studies concentrated on the Middle Atlantic states (New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland) and on the Old South (Virginia, West Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia). Especially important was Kurath's *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (Ann Arbor, 1949) and Atwood's *A Survey of Verb-Forms in the Eastern United States* (Ann Arbor, 1953), and Kurath and McDavid's *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* (Ann Arbor, 1961). In the meantime, a large number of further regional studies have appeared, including ones on the Old Northwest, the northern Middle West; Colorado; California and Nevada; Texas; the Lower South (aka the **Old Southwest**, viz. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Tennessee); and the Gulf states.

Major slave-trading powers (see *European colonial expansion*)

Middle passage (see *European colonial expansion*)

Numbers

Table 7.2 Anglophone Southern African countries¹

Country	Significant UK contact	Beginning of colonial status	Independence	Total population	English speakers	
					Percentage	Total number
<i>Botswana</i>	19th century	1885	1966	1,640,000	~ 38%	630,000
<i>Lesotho</i>		protectorate	1966	1,800,000	~ 28%	500,000
<i>Namibia</i>	1878	1920 (S.Afr.)	1990	1,800,000	~ 17%	> 300,000
<i>South Africa</i>	1795	1795	1910	47,850,000	> 28%	13,700,000
<i>Swaziland</i>	1894	1902 (UK)	1968	1,140,000	~ 4.4%	50,000
<i>Zambia</i>	1888	1924	1953, 1964	13,000,000	~ 15%	~ 2,000,000
<i>Zimbabwe</i>	1890	1923	1953, 1980	13,300,000	~ 42%	5,550,000

¹ The figures in Tables 7.2–7.6 are only approximate. Probably the best source is the website of Ethnologue, cf. Gordon, R.G., Jr. (ed.) (2005). “English” Ethnologue: Languages of the World 15th ed. Dallas: SIL International. [xhttp://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=eng](http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=eng).

Table 7.3 Anglophone West African countries

Country	Significant UK/USA contact	Colonial status	Independence	Total population	English speakers	
					Percentage	Total number
<i>Cameroon</i>	1914	1916	1960	18,500,000	~ 42%	7,700,000
<i>Gambia</i>	1661, 1816	1894	1965	1,700,000	~ 2.3%	40,000
<i>Ghana (formerly Gold Coast)</i>	1824, 1850	1874, 1902	1957	23,480,000	~ 6%	1,400,000
<i>Liberia</i>	1822	none	1847	3,750,000	~ 83%	3,100,000
<i>Nigeria</i>	1851	1884, 1900	1960	148,000,000	~ 53%	79,000,000
<i>Sierra Leone</i>	1787	1808	1961	5,800,000	~ 83%	4,900,000

In the neighboring countries of Sudan, Somaliland, Rwanda, and Madagascar, not included in Table 7.4, English has official status, but fewer roots in the colonial past.

Table 7.4 Anglophone East African countries

Country	Significant UK contact	Colonial status	Independence	Total population	English speakers	
					Percentage	Total number
<i>Kenya</i>	1886	1895, 1920	1963	39,000,000	~ 7%	2,700,000
<i>Malawi</i>	1878	1891	1964	13,000,000	~ 4%	540,000
<i>Tanzania</i>	1880s	1890, 1920	1961	42,000,000	~ 10%	4,000,000
<i>Uganda</i>	1860s	1888, 1890	1962	31,000,000	~ 8%	2,500,000

Table 7.5 Anglophone South Asian countries

Country	Significant UK contact	Colonial status	Independence	Total population	English speakers	
					Percentage	Total number
<i>Bangladesh</i>	1690	1858	1947	162,000,000	~ 2%	3,500,000
<i>India</i>	1600	1858	1947	~ 1.2 billion	> 20%	> 230,000,000
<i>Nepal</i>		none		25,000,000	> 25%	7,000,000
<i>Pakistan</i>	1857	1858	1947	164,000,000	~ 11%	18,000,000
<i>Sri Lanka</i>	1796	1802	1948	20,000,000	~ 10%	2,000,000

Table 7.6 Anglophone Southeast Asian countries

Country	Significant UK/USA contact	Colonial status	Independence	Total population	English speakers	
					Percentage	Total number
Singapore	1819	1867	1965	5,000,000	~ 80%	~ 4,000,000
Hong Kong	1841	1842	1997	6,900,000	~ 36%	2,500,000
Philippines	USA 1898	1	1946	97,000,000	> 50%	50,000,000
Malaysia	1786	1795	1957, 1963	27,000,000	~ 27%	7,400,000

US religious and civilizing mission, The

began – effectively no different than in Britain – to take form as contact with non-European peoples increased, and they were frequently condescending if not downright negative. The idea of a mission can easily be distilled from the sermon given by John Winthrop while still aboard the *Arbella* just before landing at Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630 (Text 6.18). In the excerpt repeated here we see the idea of God's commission to His own people, whom He will bless. These people are to be an example for all the world.

Now the onely way to avoyde this shipwracke and to provide for our posterity is to followe the Counsell of Micah, to doe Justly, to love mercy, to walke humbly with our God, for this end, wee must be knitt together in this worke as one man, ... allwayes haueing before our eyes our Commission and Community in the worke, our Community as members of the same body, soe shall wee keepe the vnitie of the spirit in the bond of peace, the Lord will be our God and delight to dwell among vs, as his owne people and will commaund a blessing vpon vs in all our wayes, soe that wee shall see much more of his wisdom power goodnes and truthe then formerly wee haue beene acquainted with, wee shall finde that the God of Israell is among vs, when tenn of vs shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies, when hee shall make vs a prayse and glory, that men shall say of succeeding plantacions: the lord make it like that of New England: for wee must Consider that wee shall be as a Citty vpon a Hill, the eies of all people are vppon vs; soe that if wee shall deale falsely with our god in this worke wee haue vndertaken and soe cause him to withdrawe his present help from vs, wee shall be made a story and a by-word through the world, wee shall open the mouthes of enemies to speake euill of the wayes of god and all professours for Gods sake; wee shall shame the faces of many of gods worthy seruants, and cause theire prayers to be turned into Curses vpon vs till wee be consumed out of the good land whether wee are goeing

However it was conceived, the commission of God was often repeated, and the enormous improvements in social and economic conditions that were associated with European expansion led many to see this “progress” as due to some supposed superiority of European civilization (cf. World War I as making the world safe for democracy), the Christian religion (as opposed to atheistic Communism), and the Anglo-Saxon “race” (as illustrated by Senator Beveridge’s address to the US Senate in 1900; see text 7.10)

Text 7.10: Sen. Beveridge to the US Senate (1900) (see texts and exercises)

Renaissance, The

is the high point of the re-birth of learning in the West which began with scholasticism. But in contrast to scholasticism the Renaissance was a much broader movement effecting not only intellectual life, but also literature, art, and architecture. Furthermore, it stands for a paradigmatic change in the way in which, first, intellectuals and, later, the well-educated looked at the world. The role of religion was to lose its primacy and the individual to become more central. In scientific thought empirical work became increasingly central, which led to a weakening of much traditional thought and authority.

The Renaissance spread north- and westward from Italy, where it had in beginnings in the fifteenth century or even earlier. As it moved beyond Italy to Northern Europe it contributed to the Reformation. In England the Renaissance is widely associated with the Tudor dynasty as is the Reformation in England. In this *History of English* the Renaissance is largely parallel to the Early Modern Period. Printing and the use of English for *translations of the Bible* as well as empirical scientific work as seen in Text 6.5 by Isaac Newton were a part of this.

Restoration, The (see Chapter 6, *The English Civil War*)

Slave trade (see *European colonial expansion*)

United Empire Loyalists

were North American colonists who left what was to be the US during the war with Great Britain (1775–1781) and resettled in Upper Canada (Ontario) or in the Maritimes.