1689–1754

4 Creating the Culture of British North America

Listen on MyHistoryLab to Chapter 4

Raw materials, most of which were produced with slave labor from Britain's colonies in North America and the Caribbean, were bringing great wealth to the nation as illustrated in this picture of sailing ships from North America unloading at London's Old Custom House dock.

CHAPTER OBJECTIVE

Demonstrate an understanding of how local and global developments shaped the lives and thoughts of those residing in British North America from the Glorious Revolution to the beginnings of the American Revolution.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

ENGLAND'S GLORIOUS REVOLUTION AND "THE RIGHTS OF ENGLISHMEN," 1689

4.1 Analyze the impact of England's Glorious Revolution on the thinking and political organization of British colonists in North America.

THE PLANTATION WORLD: FROM A SOCIETY WITH SLAVES TO A SLAVE SOCIETY

4.2 Explain why and how slavery developed as it did in the late 1600s and early 1700s.

STABILITY AND INSTABILITY IN THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH WORLDS

4.3 Analyze the changes in the ideas and daily lives of the people in British North America in the 1700s as a result of events within and beyond the colonies.

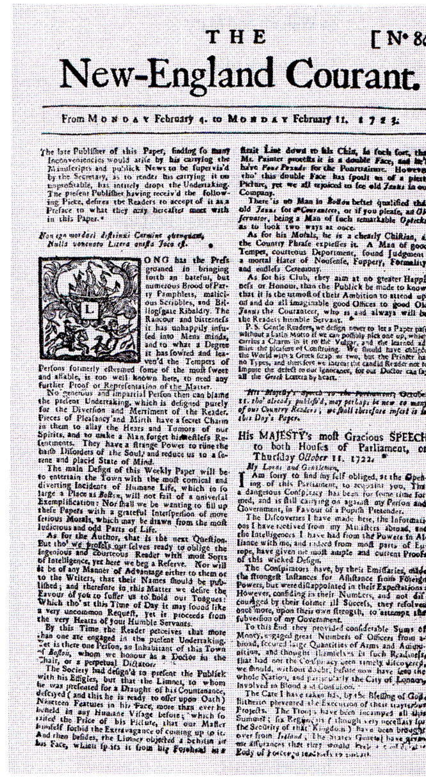
In 1733 a young apprentice, John Peter Zenger, was hired to start a new newspaper in New York, the *New York Weekly Journal*. Newspapers, though long popular in England, were still fairly new in British North America. The first regularly published colonial newspaper, *The Boston News-Letter*, began publication in 1704, but it was subsidized by the British government. Later newspapers, including James Franklin's *New England Courant* that began publication in 1722 were more independent. The *Journal*'s New York backers were part of a political faction in the colony that opposed Royal Governor William Cosby. Zenger quickly began printing stories about official corruption and government actions he considered to be dictatorial. Within a year, he was indicted for printing seditious libel. British law at the time made it a crime to print attacks on public officials that challenged their authority—whether the articles were false or true—and Zenger had clearly printed attacks on Governor Cosby. But Zenger and his backers fought back, defending themselves in court.

In a well-publicized trial that lasted into 1735, Zenger's attorney argued for rights of speech and the press that far exceeded what then existed in Britain. He asked the jury, "Shall the press be silenced that evil governors may have their way?" The trial, the attorney said, was not about Zenger but "every free man that lives under a British government on the main of America." The jury acquitted Zenger in spite of the law.

Zenger's acquittal has been celebrated ever since as a key victory for freedom of speech and freedom of the press. In part it *was* a victory. Zenger was free to keep up his critique, and other publishers were emboldened by the result. On the other hand, the laws against seditious libel were not repealed, and every editor of Zenger's day knew that there was a danger of arrest and trial before a jury that might not be as sympathetic as the one Zenger faced. Nevertheless, by the 1730s, there were more than 20 newspapers being printed in the North American colonies, and the majority included not only critiques of royal governors and colonial governments but also republished articles from the English press demanding freedom and calling attention to what they called "the rights of Englishmen." These newspapers also published news from other colonies and began to create a stronger sense of unity among Americans—a name that residents of the British colonies were starting to call themselves.

The defense of freedoms that Zenger and his attorneys considered basic to their rights as residents of the British colonies clearly reflects the views of a growing number of English inhabitants of North America at the time. The great divisions over religious and political authority, which had created turmoil and uprisings in England and in the colonies, were receding into the dim past. In spite of numerous new tensions, many who lived in America between 1690 and 1760 were feeling a strong sense of pride in being British—enjoying the prosperity that the British Empire was creating and appreciating an elected Parliament that was playing a dominant role in asserting individual liberties. However that pride in British institutions and British rights slowly changed as some colonists began to shift their loyalties. Over time, many came to distrust the British government as protector of their rights and began to talk of a way to separate from that government and protect their own rights as colonists. Understanding that shift is key to understanding the decades before the American Revolution.

Read on **MyHistorylab Document** John Peter Zenger, The Responsibility of the Press, 1734



THE [Nº 80

New-England Courant.

From MONDAY February 4. to MONDAY February 11. 1723.

The late Publisher of this Paper, finding so many Inconveniencies would arise by his carrying the Manuscripts and publick News to be supervis'd by the Secretary, as to render his carrying it on unprofitable, has intirely dropt the Undertaking. The present Publisher having receiv'd the following Piece, desires the Readers to accept of it as a Preface to what they may hereafter meet with in this Paper.*

Non ego mordaci distrinxi Carmine quenquam,
Nulla venenato Litera mista Joco est.

LONG has the Press groaned in bringing forth an hateful, but numerous Brood of Party Pamphlets, malicious Scribbles, and Billingsgate Ribaldry. The Rancour and bitterness it has unhappily infused into Mens minds, and to what a Degree it has sowred and leaven'd the Tempers of Persons formerly esteemed some of the most sweet and affable, is too well known here, to need any further Proof or Representation of the Matter.

No generous and impartial Person then can blame the present Undertaking, which is designed purely for the Diversion and Merriment of the Reader. Pieces of Pleasancy and Mirth have a secret Charm in them to allay the Heats and Tumors of our Spirits, and to make a Man forget his restless Resentments. They have a strange Power to tune the harsh Disorders of the Soul, and reduce us to a serene and placid State of Mind.

The main Design of this Weekly Paper will be to entertain the Town with the most comical and diverting Incidents of Humane Life, which in so large a Place as *Boston*, will not fail of a universal Exemplification: Nor shall we be wanting to fill up these Papers with a grateful Interspersion of more serious Morals, which may be drawn from the most ludicrous and odd Parts of Life.

As for the Author, that is the next Question. But tho' we profess our selves ready to oblige the ingenious and courteous Reader with most Sorts of Intelligence, yet here we beg a Reserve. Nor will it be of any Manner of Advantage either to them or to the Writers, that their Names should be published; and therefore in this Matter we desire the Favour of you to suffer us to hold our Tongues: Which tho' at this Time of Day it may sound like a very uncommon Request, yet it proceeds from the very Hearts of your Humble Servants.

By this Time the Reader perceives that more than one are engaged in the present Undertaking. Yet is there one Person, an Inhabitant of this Town of *Boston*, whom we honour as a Doctor in the Chair, or a perpetual Dictator.

The Society had design'd to present the Publick with his Effigies, but that the Limner, to whom he was presented for a Draught of his Countenance, descryed (and this he is ready to offer upon Oath) Nineteen Features in his Face, more than ever he beheld in any Humane Visage before; which so raised the Price of his Picture, that our Master himself forbid the Extravagance of coming up to it. And then besides, the Limner objected a Schism in his Face, which splits it from his Forehead in a strait Line down to his Chin, in such sort, that Mr. Painter protests it is a double Face, and he'll have *Four Pounds* for the Pourtraiture. However, tho' this double Face has spoilt us of a pretty Picture, yet we all rejoiced to see old *Janus* in our Company.

There is no Man in *Boston* better qualified than old *Janus* for a *Couranteer*, or if you please, an *Observator*, being a Man of such remarkable *Opticks*, as to look two ways at once.

As for his Morals, he is a [illegible] Christian, as the Country Phrase expresses it. A Man of good Temper, courteous Deportment, sound Judgment; a mortal Hater of Nonsense, Foppery, Formality, and endless Ceremony.

As for his Club, they aim at no greater Happiness or Honour, than the Publick be made to know, that it is the utmost of their Ambition to attend upon and do all imaginable good Offices to good Old *Janus* the Couranteer, who is and always will be the Readers humble Servant.

P. S. Gentle Readers, we design never to let a Paper pass without a Latin Motto if we can possibly pick one up, which carries a Charm in it to the Vulgar, and the learned admire the pleasure of Construing. We should have obliged the World with a Greek scrap or two, but the Printer has no Types, and therefore we intreat the candid Reader not to impute the defect to our Ignorance, for our Doctor can say all the *Greek* Letters by heart.

His Majesty's Speech to the Parliament, October 11. tho' already publish'd, may perhaps be new to many of our Country Readers; we shall therefore insert it in this Day's Paper.

His MAJESTY's most Gracious SPEECH to both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday *October* 11. 1722.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am sorry to find my self obliged, at the Opening of this Parliament, to acquaint you, That a dangerous Conspiracy has been for some time formed, and is still carrying on against my *Person* and Government, in Favour of a Popish Pretender.

The Discoveries I have made here, the Informations I have received from my Ministers abroad, and the Intelligences I have had from the Powers in Alliance with me, and indeed from most parts of Europe, have given me most ample and current Proofs of this wicked Design.

The Conspirators have, by their Emissaries, made the strongest Instances for Assistance from Foreign Powers, but were disappointed in their Expectations: However, confiding in their Numbers, and not discouraged by their former ill Success, they resolved once more, upon their own strength, to attempt the subversion of my Government.

To this End they provided considerable Sums of Money, engaged great Numbers of Officers from abroad, secured large Quantities of Arms and Ammunition, and thought themselves in such Readiness, that had not the Conspiracy been timely discovered, we should, without doubt, before now have seen the whole Nation, and particularly the City of *London*, involved in Blood and Confusion.

The Care I have taken has, by the Blessing of God, hitherto prevented the Execution of their trayterous Projects. The Troops have been incamped all this Summer; six Regiments (though very necessary for the Security of that Kingdom) have been brought over from *Ireland*; The States General have given me assurances that they would keep [illegible] Body of Forces [illegible]

The *New England Courant*, one of the early colonial newspapers, was published from 1722 to 1726, but both its publisher James Franklin and his younger brother Benjamin continued to publish newspapers in the 1720s and 1730s.

ENGLAND'S GLORIOUS REVOLUTION AND "THE RIGHTS OF ENGLISHMEN," 1689

4.1 Analyze the impact of England's Glorious Revolution on the thinking and political organization of British colonists in North America.

The 25 years between 1675 and 1700 were times of turmoil in England and its North American colonies. A little more than a decade after King Philip's War and Bacon's Rebellion convulsed the colonies, the English Parliament came to distrust King James II who they believed was centralizing too much authority and who they suspected of privately supporting Catholicism. They ousted him in 1689 in what was known as the **Glorious Revolution**. For many in England and its colonies, it was an exciting time, an assertion of "the rights of Englishmen" and the authority of elected assemblies to control their destiny. Initially, news of the overthrow of James II brought rebellions in many of the colonies. Royal governors were arrested, and popular assemblies demanded new authority, just as Parliament had done in London. Soon enough, a new English government asserted its authority in colonial matters. In the process, a new sense of rights had been created on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

Glorious Revolution
Bloodless revolt that occurred in England in 1688 when parliamentary leaders invited William of Orange, a Protestant, and his wife Mary, the daughter of King James II, to assume the English throne in place of James II.

Parliament's Decision to "Elect" a New King and Queen

King James II (r. 1685–1688), who came to the English throne at the death of his brother Charles II, was a Catholic, even though he was officially the head of the Protestant Church of England. As he expanded religious freedoms for Catholics and appointed some to high office, his moves aroused serious opposition in Britain's Protestant majority, many of whom associated Protestantism with British independence and Catholicism with foreign domination, especially by the Spanish and French.

4.1
4.2
4.3

Significant Dates

1662	Halfway Covenant in Massachusetts
1689	The Glorious Revolution, James II replaced by William and Mary
1692	Salem witch trials
1701–1713	Queen Anne's War
1704	Mohawk Indians destroy Deerfield, Massachusetts
	Esther Williams taken hostage
	First regular colonial newspaper begins publication in Boston
1707	Act of Union between England and Scotland
1715–1716	Yamasee War in South Carolina
1721	First smallpox inoculations advocated by Cotton Mather and administered in Boston
1730s	Jonathan Edwards leads religious revivals
1732	Georgia established
	Benjamin Franklin begins publication of *Poor Richard's Almanack*
1734	Beginning of First Great Awakening
1735	John Peter Zenger acquitted in trial for libel
1739	Stono slave rebellion in South Carolina
1739	War of Jenkins' Ear between England and Spain in the Caribbean
1741	Slave conspiracy in New York City
1744–1748	King George's War between Britain and France
1754	Albany Plan of Union advocates unifying the colonies for war with France

Read on MyHistoryLab Document James I on The Divine Right of Kings, 1598

divine right of kings
A belief that the king—or queen—was selected by God through birth in the royal family and that it was irreligious to question either a monarch's fitness to serve or a monarch's decisions. During the 1600s, England overthrew two monarchs, and afterwards, few still held such a belief.

natural rights
Political philosophy that maintains that individuals have an inherent right, found in nature and preceding any government or written law, to life and liberty.

James also wanted to assert royal authority, especially in England's increasingly independent colonies. He appointed a single royal governor, Sir Edmund Andros, over a newly designated Dominion of New England, which comprised Plymouth, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, as well as New York and New Jersey. He also abolished most of the local autonomy that the colonies had enjoyed.

The colonists resented the unwanted merger of their colonies as well as the new king and governor who were enforcing it, but they could do little about it. However, in England, Parliament turned against James II. Rather than risk losing his head like his father, James fled the country. Parliament invited James's Protestant daughter, Mary, and her husband Prince William of Orange, rulers of the Netherlands, to come to England as joint sovereigns. This move by Parliament was a dramatic change that would have far-reaching effects. The concept of the **divine right of kings**, by which the sovereign—good or bad—inherited the throne from the previous sovereign and ruled with unquestioned authority, was already in decline. But now, Parliament, had decided not only to limit royal authority but also to take some control over the choice of a king or queen themselves.

To justify the ouster of one king and the virtual election of new monarchs, English people had to rethink how they understood themselves and their system of government. Kings and queens retained power after 1689, but their supremacy was now bound by law. After 1689, it was clear that Parliament, as representative of the people, was a deciding force in England.

John Locke—Defending the Right to Revolution

The most famous English philosopher at the time of the Glorious Revolution, John Locke, justified the revolution by insisting that all government rested on the **natural rights** of the governed. This concept was a novel idea in 1689, but Locke, who was living in exile in Holland because of his opposition to James's rule, wrote that humans were born free in a state of nature and only agreed to a social compact when it suited their purposes. If the people no longer agreed, then monarchs had no right to continue to rule. The basic "rights of all Englishmen" to accept or reject their government came to be the dominant political ideology of the English nation—as it then existed on both sides of the Atlantic.

In his *Second Treatise on Government*, Locke described civil society as a social contract made by free people to live together, but one in which everyone retained "his natural freedom, without being subjected to the will or authority of any other man." Neither kings nor Parliament were supreme. The people were. Locke insisted, "There remains still in the people a supreme power to remove or alter the legislative [power] when they find the legislative act contrary to the trust reposed in them." Locke's revolutionary ideas helped justify the Glorious Revolution of 1689. A hundred years later, his ideas would be cited often in North America.

North American Responses

In England's American colonies, news of the Glorious Revolution brought rejoicing. In New England, the colonists arrested Governor Andros and sent him back to England, though he later returned as Governor of Virginia. The new monarchs, William and Mary, allowed the New England colonies to return to their former separate existences. However, when the king and queen reestablished the governments of Massachusetts and Connecticut, they included a clause in the royal charters granting "liberty of Conscience" to all Protestants—but not Catholics. Baptists, Anglicans, and others were now free to build their own churches and worship as they wished. Some Puritans protested against this "tolerance for error," as they called allowing other churches to conduct their own services, but the rules stuck in spite of their protests.

Other Protestants were free to build churches—at their own expense—and worship freely, but everyone paid taxes to support the Congregationalists, and Catholic worship was not allowed in New England.

In New York, news of the change in England brought a general uprising. Those on the bottom of the social order—merchants, dockworkers, and traders—seized power under the leadership of a German immigrant, Jacob Leisler. Leisler held power for 2 years, but when he was slow in ceding power to the new royal governor appointed by William and Mary, he was arrested and executed for treason. However, those loyal to Leisler remained a faction in New York politics for a generation to come.

In Maryland, there was also an uprising. The Catholic proprietor was driven from office and lost ownership of the colony. Maryland became a royal colony with a governor appointed by the king and queen, and the Anglican Church of England became the colony's official church. After the Glorious Revolution, Maryland, a colony that had been chartered in 1632 to protect Catholics, excluded Catholics from public office.

In the Americas, the Glorious Revolution produced winners and losers. After 1689, independent corporations like the Virginia Company and the Massachusetts Company as well as of colonial proprietors like Lord Baltimore or William Penn faced a decline in power. Catholics in England and Maryland lost hard-won political rights as the new monarchs asserted England's status as a Protestant nation. All Protestants gained rights, and Protestant men who had been excluded from the voting lists because they belonged to a dissenting religious group could now vote. Elected legislatures (elected by landowning white males) competed with royal governors to make the laws governing each colony. In all the colonies, changing one's social and economic status was becoming more difficult. An English colonial elite, supported by English military authority, now dominated colonial life. The British communities became larger, more secure, and wealthier.

4.1 **Quick Review** 1. How do the colonists' reactions to the Glorious Revolution reflect their sense of connection to ideas and events in England?
2. Based on what you read, for whom in the British colonies did the Glorious Revolution have a positive effect? A negative effect?

THE PLANTATION WORLD: FROM A SOCIETY WITH SLAVES TO A SLAVE SOCIETY

4.2 Explain why and how slavery developed as it did in the late 1600s and early 1700s.

Amid all the talk of "the rights of Englishmen," one group of North American residents lost rights after the 1680s—African slaves. All of the British colonies had slaves in the late 1600s, but the institution of slavery changed most dramatically in the southern colonies—Maryland, Virginia and, soon, also the Carolinas. Bacon's Rebellion brought great changes to Virginia and its neighbor Maryland after 1676. Once the planter elite had defeated Bacon's ragtag militia, they quickly consolidated their power. They did not want another rebellion like the one they had just lived through in which poor whites allied with Africans, slave and free. Having decided that slaves would make better and more dependable workers than indentured servants, this planter elite wrote new slave codes that more clearly made slavery an inherited and permanent status. They also imported many more African slaves and reduced the numbers of English indentured servants allowed into these colonies. Historian Ira Berlin described this shift: "A society with slaves gave way to a slave society." It was a significant change—from a society in which slavery existed to a society in which the institution of slavery dominated all aspects of society—particularly for those who were enslaved. Although this shift began in Virginia and Maryland, its effects would eventually extend to other southern colonies.

Seeking Stability by Creating a Slave Society

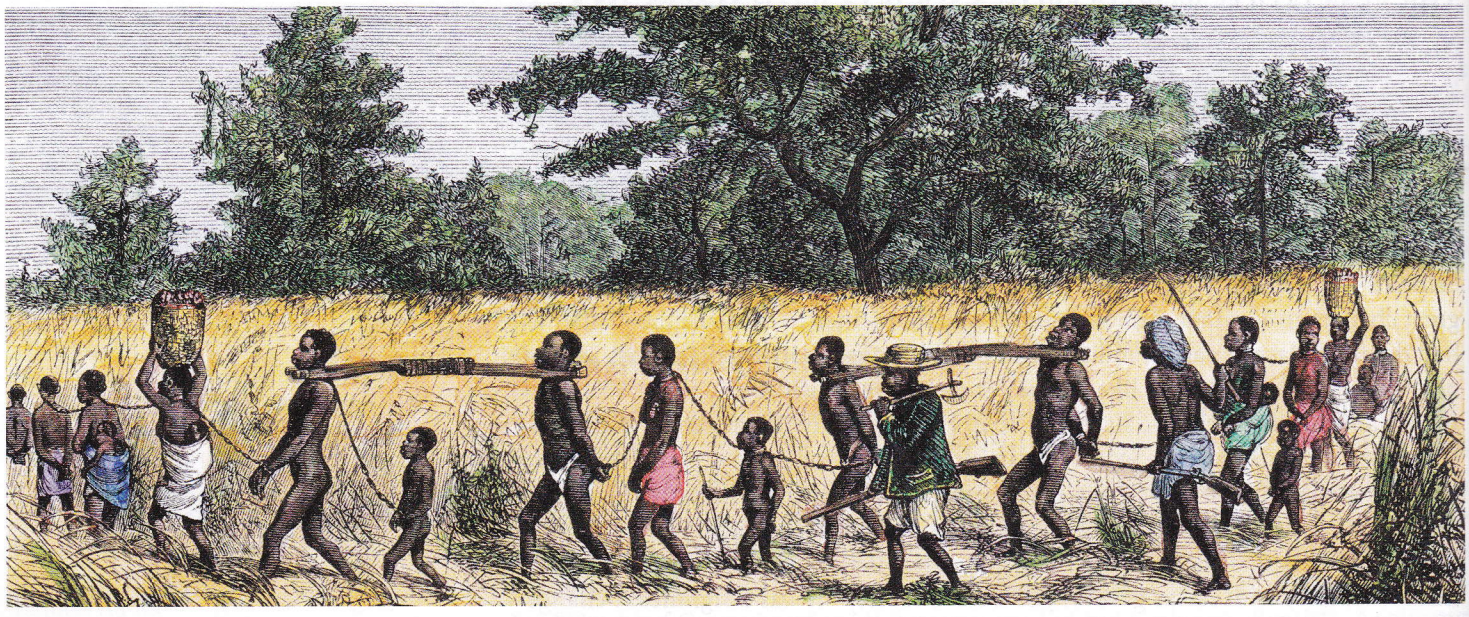
As the institution of slavery came to be more rigidly defined, it also came to be linked more closely to race. Africans were seen as slaves. Europeans—even the poorest Europeans—were seen as free. More and more Indians were simply excluded from the colonies. Those Africans who had already achieved their freedom, and those few who did so during the 1700s, lived in a dangerous world. While Anthony Johnson had moved from slavery to freedom and prosperity in the Virginia of the mid-1600s (see Chapter 3), his children and grandchildren fled from Virginia in the late 1600s to avoid the risks of slavery, some of them living with the Nanticoke Indians in a small community of African, European, and American Indian origin.

Children of mixed race were marginalized or simply declared to be African slaves. Any child born to a black woman was automatically considered to be African even if, as was often the case, the father was a European slave-owner. But mixed-race children born to white mothers were more problematic to marginalize or cast into slavery, so stringent efforts were made to prohibit sexual liaisons between white women and males of other races.

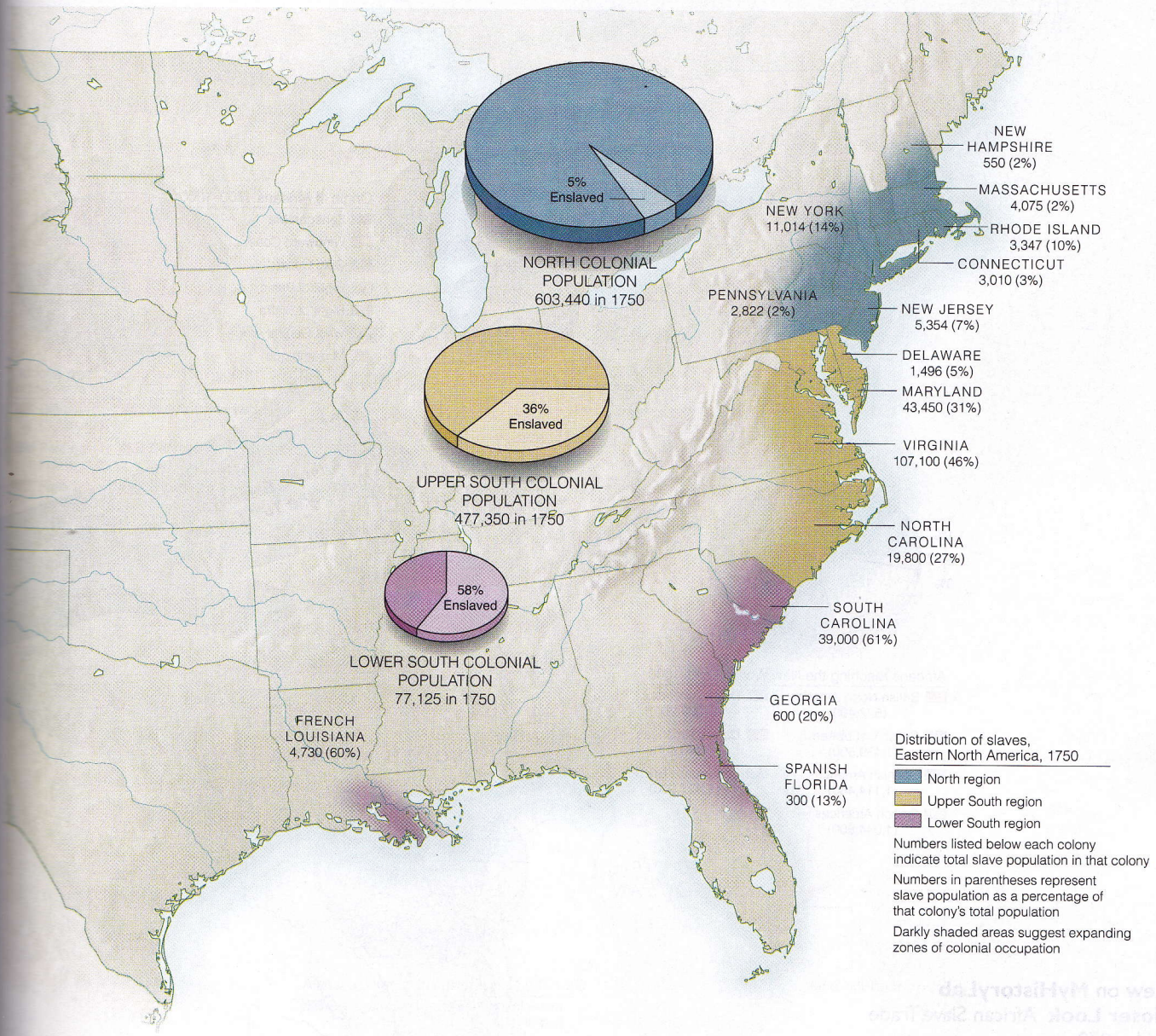
While there were slaves in all of England's North American colonies, as slavery became institutionalized, the numbers of African slaves in the southern colonies rose dramatically. In the 1680s, approximately 2,000 Africans were shipped to Virginia. Between 1700 and 1710, approximately 8,000 arrived. In 1668, white indentured servants outnumbered African slaves by five to one, and there were about equal numbers of Indian and African slaves. By 1700, nearly all tobacco and rice workers in Virginia and the Carolinas were African slaves (see Map 4-1).

The Atlantic Slave Trade, the Middle Passage, and the Nature of Colonial Slavery

North American slavery was always a relatively small part of the Atlantic slave trade. The sugar plantations of the Caribbean, Brazil, and New Spain needed many more slaves—and slaves there died much more quickly—so there was a constant flow of slaves to islands controlled by the English, French, Dutch, Danish, and Spanish and to the South American mainland. Some 10–15 million Africans were forced across the Atlantic between 1500 and 1900, but only a fraction came to the mainland British colonies (see Map 4-2).



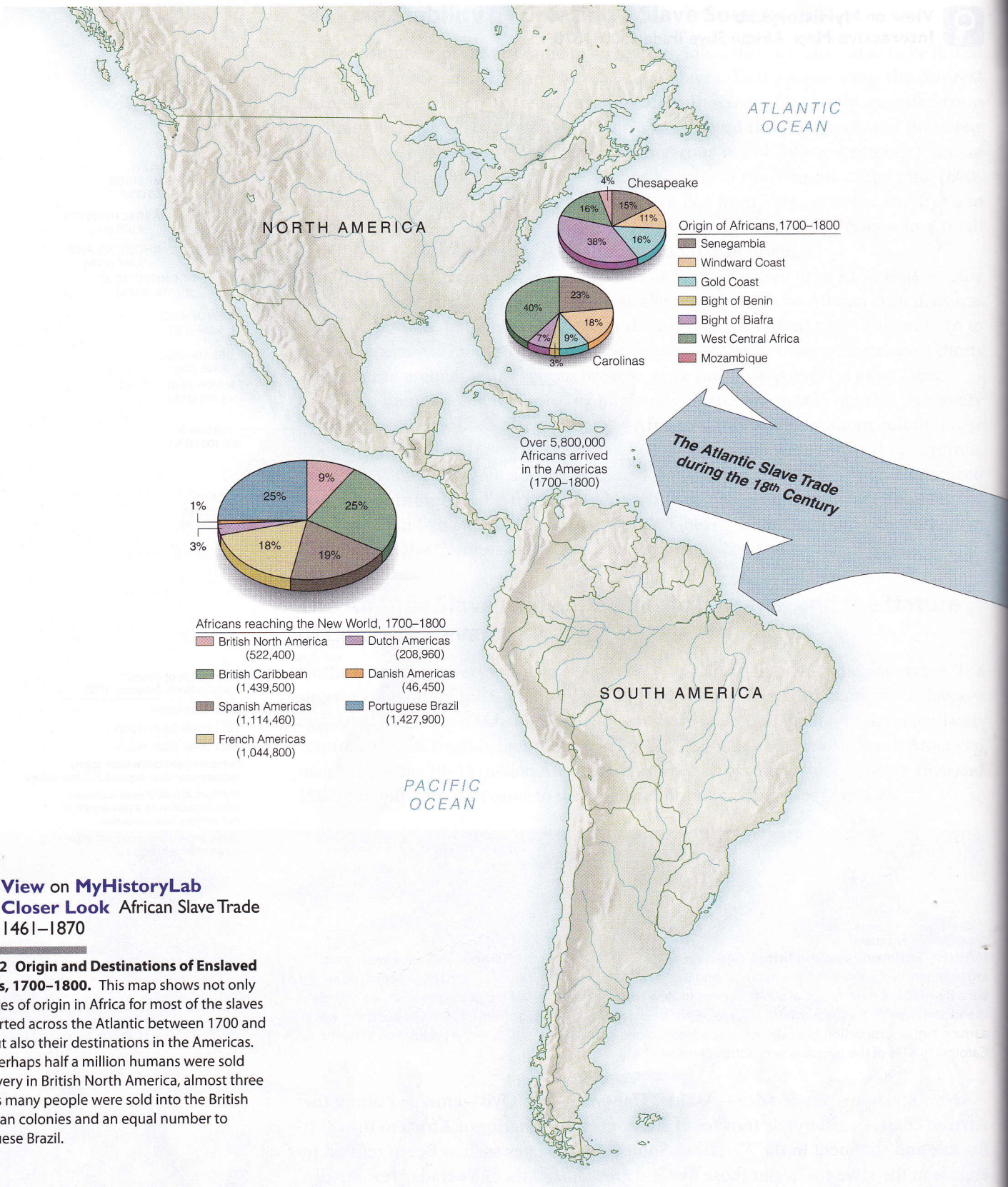
As economic developments in all of North and South America came to depend more and more on slavery, the hunt for slaves went deeper and deeper into the African continent, leading to slave coffles—as they were known—in which newly captured people were marched hundreds of miles to the coast for transport across the Atlantic in numbers never before seen.



MAP 4-1 Enslaved People in British North America in 1750. Between 1700 and 1750 there were growing numbers of slaves in all 13 of the mainland British colonies in North America but hardly in equal numbers. By 1750 the percentage of slaves in most of New England was 2–3% of the population, while in Rhode Island and New York—the northern colonies with the most slaves, they represented 10–14%. But there was a much higher proportion of slaves in the southern colonies ranging from 27% of the population of North Carolina to 61% of the population of South Carolina.

New states in West Africa—Asante, Dahomey, and Oyo—emerged along the African coast, fueled by the transfer of slaves from the interior of Africa to the coast for sale and shipment to the Americas. Some African states such as Benin refused to engage in the slave trade. But those that did grew rich as the slave trade grew rapidly. What had been a limited, if brutal, business now seemed to have no limit. For most West Africans, the huge growth of the African slave trade was a disaster. In addition to the warfare and fear among Africans that the slave trade inspired, the continent lost millions of people, which sapped its strength.

Once slaves arrived on the African coast, they were kept naked in cramped quarters in what were called slave factories. They were fed only bread and water. Those found to be fit were "marked on the breast, with a red-hot iron, imprinting the mark



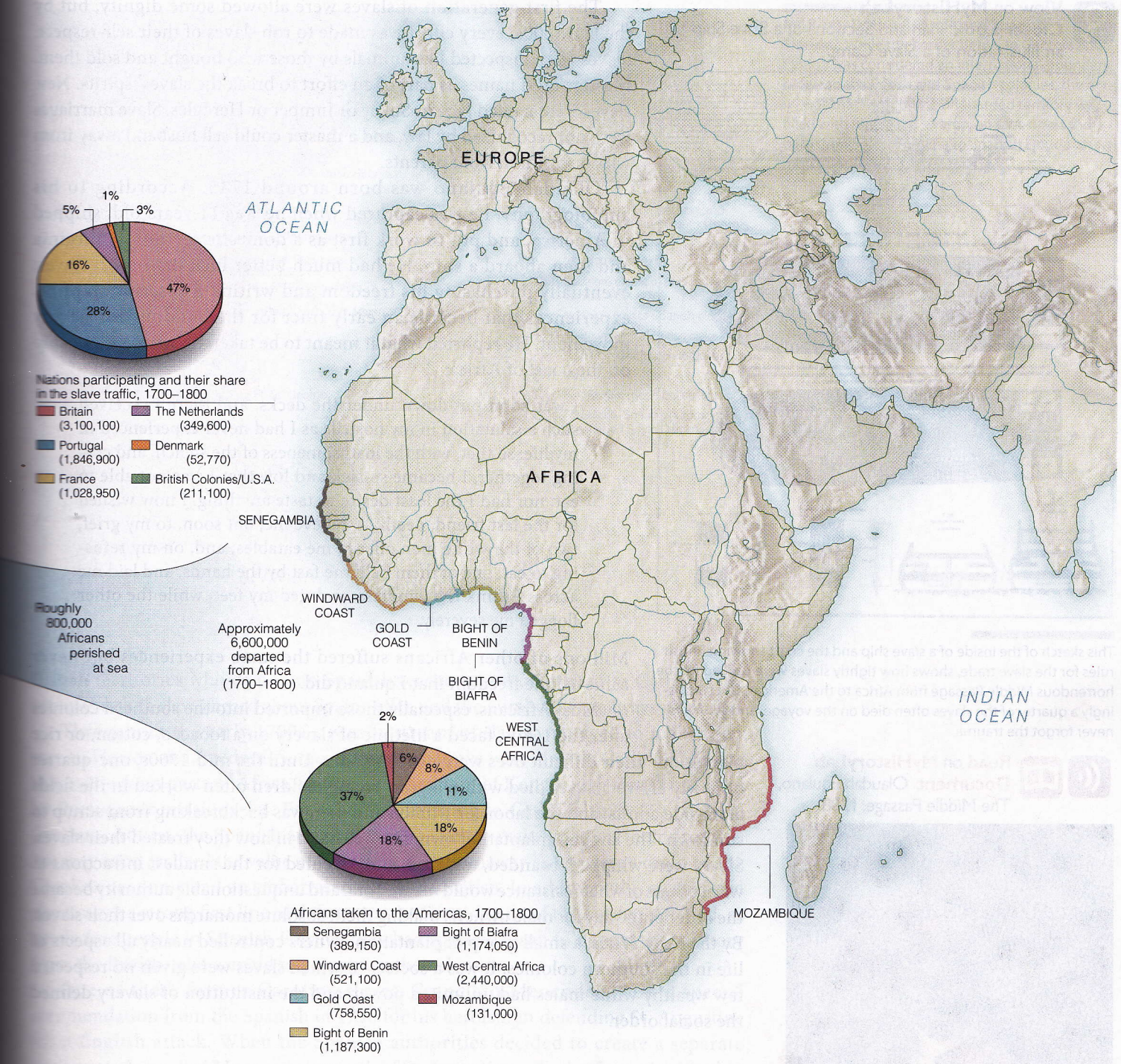
View on **MyHistoryLab**
Closer Look African Slave Trade 1461–1870

MAP 4-2 Origin and Destinations of Enslaved Africans, 1700–1800. This map shows not only the places of origin in Africa for most of the slaves transported across the Atlantic between 1700 and 1800 but also their destinations in the Americas. While perhaps half a million humans were sold into slavery in British North America, almost three times as many people were sold into the British Caribbean colonies and an equal number to Portuguese Brazil.

Middle Passage
The horrendous voyage in which slaves were taken from West Africa to slave colonies in the Americas during which as many as a quarter died.

of the French, English, or Dutch companies, that so each nation may distinguish their own." Sorted and branded, the slaves were held for sale to ship captains who would take them across the Atlantic.

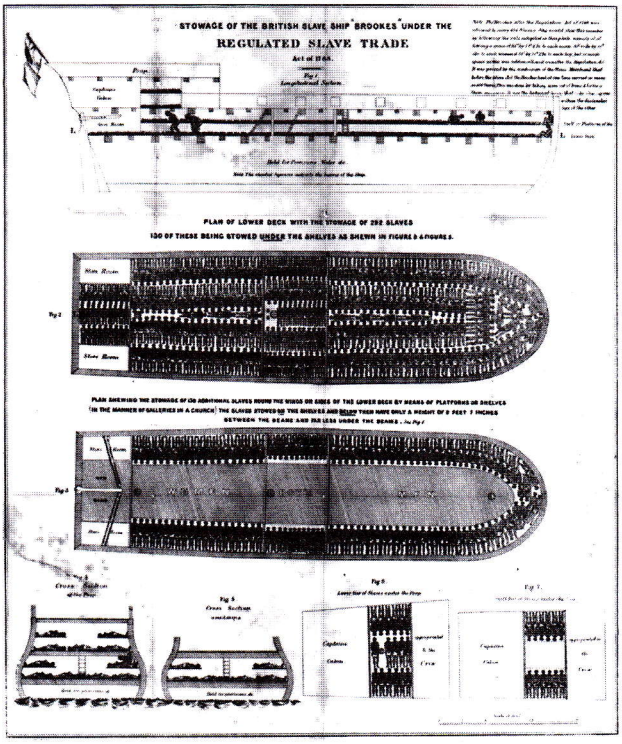
The **Middle Passage**—the transit of slaves from Africa to the Americas—was a horrifying experience. One slave ship captain said that slaves were packed "like books upon a shelf…so close that the shelf would not easily contain one more" up to 400 on a ship.



Men were chained shoulder to shoulder. Women were generally not chained but packed just as tightly for a voyage that took 7 weeks in a filthy ship's hold that stank of human waste. The rate of disease was high: 25 percent of slaves died on the voyage. Slaves were force fed to reduce the loss of valuable cargo to starvation. One slave trader noted the tendency of slaves "to revolt aboard ships." Slaves would, he said, "watch all opportunities to deliver themselves, by assaulting a ship's crew, and murdering them all." Slaving was a dangerous and dirty but profitable business.

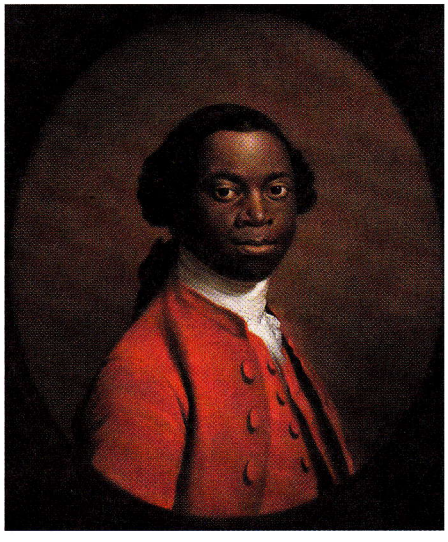
The first generation of slaves in North America, those arriving in the early 1600s, came from the coast of West Africa. They were familiar, at least in a general way, with each other and with European culture and languages since Europeans had been trading along the coast for more than 100 years. Those who arrived later often had been captured much further inland. They knew little about European ways or about each other.

View on **MyHistoryLab**
Closer Look Plan and Sections of a Slave Ship and an Illustration of a Slave Camp



This sketch of the inside of a slave ship and the chart showing British rules for the slave trade, shows how tightly slaves were packed for the horrendous Middle Passage from Africa to the Americas. Not surprisingly a quarter of the slaves often died on the voyage, and survivors never forgot the trauma.

Read on **MyHistoryLab**
Document Olaudah Equiano, The Middle Passage, 1788



According to his popular autobiography, Olaudah Equiano was captured in Nigeria in 1756 when he was 11 years old, sold into slavery, and unlike the vast majority of slaves of his generation, eventually was able to purchase his freedom and rise to prosperity. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, which he wrote, was published in 1789 and became an important antislavery tract that provided a firsthand account of the experience of slavery.

The first generation of slaves were allowed some dignity, but by the late 1600s, every effort was made to rob slaves of their self-respect. Slaves were inspected like animals by those who bought and sold them. Masters used names as part of an effort to break the slaves' spirits. New slaves were named Jack or Sukey or Jumper or Hercules. Slave marriages were not recognized by law, and a master could sell husband away from wife or children from parents.

Olaudah Equiano was born around 1745. According to his autobiography, he was captured when he was 11 years old, shipped to America, and put to work first as a domestic servant in Virginia and then aboard a ship. He had much better luck than most slaves, eventually purchasing his freedom and writing a description of his experiences that became an early tract for the budding antislavery movement. He reported what it meant to be taken onboard a slave ship on the coast of Africa:

> I was soon put down under the decks, and there I received such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life: so that, with the loathsomeness of the stench, and crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not able to eat, nor had I the least desire to taste anything. I now wished for the last friend, death, to relieve me; but soon, to my grief, two of the white men offered me eatables; and, on my refusing to eat, one of them held me fast by the hands, and laid me across I think the windlass, and tied my feet, while the other flogged me severely.

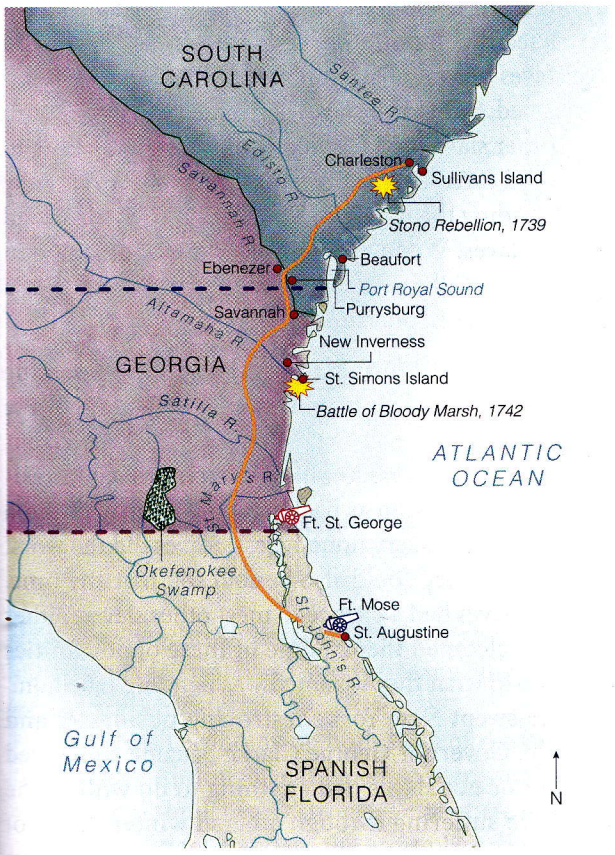
Millions of other Africans suffered the same experiences but never achieved the freedom that Equiano did.

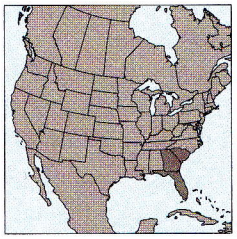
Most Africans, especially those imported into the southern colonies after the 1680s, faced a lifetime of slavery on a tobacco, cotton, or rice plantation. Their difficult lives were not long ones. Until the mid-1700s, one-quarter of newly arrived slaves died within a year. Young children often worked in the fields alongside adults, and the labor for women and men was backbreaking from sunup to sundown. The law gave plantation owners a free hand in how they treated their slaves. Slaves were whipped, branded, tortured, and executed for the smallest infractions to warn others of what resistance would mean. Total and unquestionable authority became the order of the day for male owners, making them absolute monarchs over their slaves. By the early 1700s, a small group of plantation owners controlled nearly all aspects of life in the southern colonies. It was a society in which slaves were given no respect, a few wealthy white males had unlimited power, and the institution of slavery defined the social order.

The Fear of Slave Revolts: South Carolina and New York

In the early 1700s, British landowners, especially in the southern colonies, imported more and more slaves from Africa. The production of tobacco, rice, and indigo was growing quickly. Charleston, South Carolina, became the largest slave trading center in mainland North America. But slaves did not accept their fate easily. They longed for and sometimes fought for their freedom. As more white colonists came to depend on slave labor for their growing prosperity, they also lived in constant fear of slave revolts, uprisings that were far from uncommon in all of the colonies. Two examples reflect the volatile conditions throughout the colonies.

THE STONO SLAVE REBELLION OF 1739 England and Spain were often at war, making the border between Spanish Florida and British South Carolina and Georgia a tense boundary (see Map 4-3). In 1693, Spain offered freedom to all fugitives from





English-Spanish competition and the expansion of slavery into Georgia

- Southern extent of British slavery regime before 1751
- Southern extent of British slavery regime, 1751–1763
- Northern limit of Spanish claim in 1670
- Southern limit of British claim in 1736
- Path from Charleston to St. Augustine
- Major battles
- Fort St. George, a British lookout post
- Fort Mose, Spanish outpost made up of escaped South Carolina slaves

MAP 4-3 British Georgia and Spanish Florida. While the border between Georgia and Florida was considered an international boundary between the British and Spanish colonies, the reality was that most of the unguarded territory was filled with forest and swamp, and for slaves the path from South Carolina to Spanish Florida was a path from slavery to freedom.

British territories who came into Spanish territory and converted to Catholicism. Many Carolina slaves heard about Spain's offer, and the number of runaways increased.

Throughout the early 1700s, a steady stream of slaves managed to make their way to Florida and freedom. Some of these runaways were already Catholic because they came from parts of Africa, such as the Kingdom of Kongo, long since converted by Portuguese missionaries. For others, converting to Catholicism was a route to freedom. At first, the Spanish authorities were slow to make good on their promise, but they soon realized the value of their policy. The runaway slaves were a drain on the Carolina economy and an embarrassment to the British. In addition, the newly freed slaves were a strong first line of defense on the Spanish side of the border. After all, as newly free people in Spanish Florida, they had special reason to defend the territory from the British, who wanted to perpetuate their slavery.

One of these former Carolina slaves, Francisco Menendez, won a special commendation from the Spanish in 1728 for his heroism in defending St. Augustine from English attack. When the Spanish authorities decided to create a separate settlement they called Mose—to the north of St. Augustine—as a buffer against further attacks, the Spanish governor placed Menendez in charge. Mose was more a fort than a town, but it was home to approximately 100 Africans who defended Florida and organized attacks on the British in South Carolina.

A large effort by Carolina slaves to gain freedom in Spanish Florida in 1739 came to be called the **Stono Rebellion**, the largest slave uprising in the colonies before the American Revolution. It terrified slave masters throughout the British colonies. The rebellion began when some 60 slaves from the South Carolina rice plantations, led by a slave named Cato, walked off their plantations, armed themselves, burned buildings of the slave owners, and killed whites who got in their way as they sought freedom in Spanish Florida. Fearful slave owners sent the South Carolina militia to stop them. In a battle at Stono, South Carolina, 50 miles from what was then the Florida border, many of the rebels and their white pursuers were killed. Other slaves were captured and returned to slavery. But some made it to freedom in Florida and

Read on MyHistoryLab Document James Oglethorpe, The Stono Rebellion, 1739

Stono Rebellion
Uprising in 1739 of South Carolina slaves against whites; inspired in part by Spanish officials' promise of freedom for American slaves who escaped to Florida.

joined the free black community there. In response, the white planter government of South Carolina temporarily restricted the importation of more African slaves and permanently curtailed the rights of slaves to assemble with one another.

After the Stono Rebellion was crushed, individual slaves continued to escape south across the border. Menendez, the former slave, had further adventures. Traveling to Spain, he was captured by the British and threatened with execution, but he eventually escaped and, by 1752, was again back leading the militia in Florida. By 1763, Mose had a population of 3,000, mostly escaped slaves. When Spain ceded Florida to Britain in that year, they moved the Mose Africans to Cuba, where they were given land, tools, a subsidy, and ironically, a slave for each leader in the community.

TENSIONS IN NEW YORK CITY, 1741 In the 1700s, slavery was not limited to the southern colonies. New York City and Providence, Rhode Island, had some of the largest concentrations of slaves in North America at that time. New York's African-American community included approximately 2,000 out of the city's 10,000 residents. Slave labor in New York might not have been as backbreaking as on a Virginia tobacco or Carolina rice plantation, but it was slavery nonetheless. Slaves did the worst jobs, got no pay, and had limited freedom. They could also be sold south at any time. Nevertheless, unlike rural slaves, urban slaves had a chance to meet other slaves, either at their work or in those taverns that welcomed them. Some of these opportunities frightened whites, leading them to react to what they assumed was pending rebellion.

In the early months of 1741, fires swept New York, destroying businesses and homes including the governor's house. Governor George Clarke became convinced that "The Negros are rising." Whether or not slaves had anything to do with it, the 1741 fires were real. New Yorkers were suffering through a harsh winter. News of South Carolina's Stono Slave Rebellion was in circulation, and memories of other slave revolts were fresh. There had been a slave revolt in the Caribbean in the 1730s. In 1712, New York slaves had killed nine whites and wounded six more. Fear spread easily.

A zealous prosecutor became convinced that there was a conspiracy to kill the city's whites, so he brought charges against targeted suspects, pitted accused against accused, and elicited confessions. Thirty Africans, most of them slaves, and four whites were executed, either hanged or burned at the stake. Eighty-four other suspects were transported to slavery in Jamaica. The degree to which New Yorkers experienced an actual revolt as opposed to being caught up in a fear-induced mass hysteria will never be known, but the trials illustrate the way those who enslaved others also feared the reality that they had created.

4.2 **Quick Review** What is the difference between a "society with slaves" and a "slave society," and how did part of North America become the latter?

STABILITY AND INSTABILITY IN THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH WORLDS

4.3 Analyze the changes in the ideas and daily lives of the people in British North America in the 1700s as a result of events within and beyond the colonies.

Act of Union
The 1707 vote by the Scottish and English Parliaments to become one nation of Great Britain.

In 1706–07, the English and Scottish Parliaments passed the **Act of Union**, formally uniting England and Scotland to create Great Britain. Although the two countries had been ruled by a single monarch since James I came to the throne in 1603, they were separate nations with separate Parliaments, and the American colonies were English colonies. After 1707, England and Scotland were one country, and the English colonies became British North America. The act extended the political stability of the Glorious Revolution. By 1707, third and fourth generations of people living in the American colonies had never seen Britain, even though they were of English and

As their dress and the picture's background illustrate, Charles and Anne Byrd Carter of Virginia were among the colonial elite when these pictures were painted in the 1730s.

occasionally Scottish descent. They were being joined by other Europeans, especially immigrants from Ireland and Germany along with increasing numbers of unwilling and unfree Africans.

The British economy on both sides of the Atlantic was changing, and people were prospering. Although many people were still poor, the desperate starving time in Virginia and similar early struggles elsewhere were far behind. In British cities on both sides of the Atlantic and on the great plantations developing in the southern colonies, a growing social and economic elite lived comfortable lives, largely made possible by the slave trade and the backbreaking work of African slaves. The wealthiest colonial residents were those who lived on the tobacco, rice, and indigo plantations of Virginia and the Carolinas, including people like Charles and Anne Byrd Carter, whose families owned thousands of acres as well as many slaves and produced some of the goods most in demand in Great Britain and Britain's other colonies around the world.

Nevertheless, colonial life was still full of uncertainty. The hysteria that led to the Salem witch trials in the 1690s reflected these deep-seated fears that were just under the surface of much of colonial society. Rural women were often isolated, and even urban women were confined to domestic worlds, which could be boring and lonely. Fears and uncertainties were often shaped by information about events that took place in another colony. The ever-present danger of Indian raids continued to threaten British colonies, just as raids by settlers were a constant danger for tribes living near the colonies. The wealthy elite, whose wealth depended on slaves, feared slave revolts. In addition, wars in Europe often led to battles in North America.

By the early 1700s, England was the world's dominant sea power, bringing great financial benefits to those who controlled the trade in goods and people across the Atlantic and bringing prosperity to those who lived in port cities on both sides of the ocean. As trade and prosperity grew, the quest for commercial success began to replace religious devotion as the prime focus of many people's lives.

The Salem Witch Trials of 1692

Underlying tensions in colonial life surfaced in Massachusetts during the harsh, unrelenting winter of 1691–92. The residents of Salem and the surrounding Massachusetts communities also lived in fear because New England was under siege from Indians allied with French Canada. In midwinter, Indians killed 50 residents of York, Maine, and took another hundred hostage. Residents of other Maine communities fled in terror and were living in or near Salem. Exiles from Maine may have been especially traumatized, but all of the residents feared further attacks. Moreover, other

Read on **MyHistoryLab** **Document** The Examination and Confession of Ann Foster at Salem, 1692

An illustration from the book *Full and Plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparitions*, published in London in 1681, represented beliefs on both sides of the Atlantic about the powers of those who made a pact with the devil.

Salem witch trials
The 1692–93 hysteria in Salem, Massachusetts, during which women and men were accused of being witches who had made a pact with the devil, some of whom were executed for the crime.

Read the **Document** When Historians Disagree: What Caused the Hysteria in Salem?

tensions were brewing in the port city of Salem. Many poorer residents resented their neighbors who formed a more prosperous commercial elite. In addition, women in Salem, like in all English colonies, lived, often unwillingly, within strict submissive gender roles; women who were unusually assertive, especially women who lived alone or were of non-English backgrounds, were not trusted.

As these tensions simmered, Salem fell into a kind of mass hysteria late that winter. Two young girls in the home of the Reverend Samuel Parris of Salem Village—his daughter Betty and her cousin Abigail—began to suffer fits. They seemed to be "bitten and pinched by invisible agents." The town doctor wondered if their disease might be a result of witchcraft. In March, the girls accused Tituba, the family's Indian slave, of bewitching them. Thus began the **Salem witch trials**, one of the best-known episodes of mass hysteria in the English colonies.

Soon other young women came forward with tales similar to those of Betty and Abigail. As a result, formal charges were brought, and court proceedings began. In time, some of those accused, including Tituba, "confessed" to being witches. Witnesses turned against one another, and convictions for witchcraft became common.

Between February 1692 and May 1693, legal action was taken against 144 people—106 women and 38 men. Six men and 14 women, including Tituba, were executed. That so many people in Salem believed their illnesses and troubles were the work of witches was not strange in the 1600s. Most people in Europe believed that there were witches—people who had made a compact with the devil and could appear as ghosts and make other people and animals sick. Hundreds of supposed witches were executed in England in that century, and many other accusations of witchcraft had surfaced in New England, although never on the scale of what happened in Salem. In Salem, the whole community became involved as the accusations spread quickly from one household to another. Virtually all of the accusers were young women under age 25, and most of the victims were also women—though often older.

The hysteria ended almost as quickly as it had begun. By the fall of 1692, Massachusetts authorities—clergy and political leaders—were starting to have doubts about the trials and executions. Most people in the colony probably still believed in witchcraft, but they were increasingly uneasy about what was happening in Salem. By spring 1693, it was all over. One of the judges, Samuel Sewall, publicly apologized for his role and asked God's pardon. Reverend Parris was forced to leave Salem, and the Massachusetts authorities voted compensation for victims and families. The Salem witch trials were one of the last times that people were executed for explicitly religious reasons in North America.

Women's Lives

By the middle of the 1700s, the white culture of British North America was generally divided between the public and private realms. Because women were generally relegated to the private realm, many of them lived cut off from society.

Urban women had much more opportunity for social contact with other women and men than those living in more isolated regions. In Williamsburg, Virginia, two women—Anne Shields and Jane Vobe—both ran their own taverns. Mary Channing ran a large store in Boston, and Lydia Hyde had her own shop in Philadelphia. While these women may have been the exception, city women did have many opportunities to interact.

However, more than 90 percent of the of the British residents of North America lived on farms, sometimes very isolated farms, and the lives of rural women could be frighteningly lonely. In more settled communities, especially in southern New England, women could often find limited contact with other women in ways that allowed them to build some friendships, such as gathering to trade soap, candles, cheese, and butter or attending church. Growing commercial prosperity also meant that some women were able to purchase imported goods including tea, china, and—for a few—even silk.

As the American population expanded, finding land often required moving to more isolated rural areas, which could make contact and community life more difficult, especially for women. While male farmers also lived very isolated lives, they traveled to town to sell goods and buy necessities more often than women. These trips provided men far more opportunity to meet neighbors and participate in the social and political discussions. In contrast, women were limited not only by assumptions that they should stick to household matters and leave political discussion and trade to their husbands but also by the physical demands of pregnancy, birth, nursing, and child rearing as well as by the daily chores of a farm—taking care of the animals, raising the vegetables, preserving food, preparing meals, spinning wool, weaving cloth, and making clothes.

Women's work also included playing the role of physician or pharmacist because most farm families did not have access to more formal medical care. Women had to be familiar with medical information and herbal medicines. Manuals such as *Aristotle's Complete Masterpiece: Displaying the Secrets of Nature in the Generation of Man* provided many women with detailed information on sexual matters, childbirth, and child rearing. In addition, the opportunities women had to share medical and child-rearing information, provide medical care, and support each other through medical emergencies and childbirth were extremely important to women's community life. Midwives and healers had special status, but any nearby farm wife might be summoned to attend a birth, and a woman in labor might well have six to 10 female attendants. The times surrounding a birth were an important social occasion as women had time to sew, tell stories, and catch up with each other.

At the bottom of the social hierarchy were enslaved women. For women living in slavery, the usual gender distinctions of white society had less meaning. On farms and plantations, male and female slaves all worked long hours in the fields. In urban areas, where there might be greater gender distinctions in specific forms of work, enslaved women were still afforded little of the protections that were expected—if not always enforced—for white women.

There were, of course, exceptions to the general isolation that women living outside of cities experienced. Eliza Lucas (1722–1793) was born to a wealthy English sugar-growing family on the island of Antigua in 1722. She was educated in London and then joined her family in South Carolina in 1738. She quickly became a popular member of Charleston's elite. However, in 1739, war between England and Spain required her father to return to Antigua. She was left in charge of three Carolina plantations at the age of 16. In 1744, Eliza married Charles Pinckney. He also traveled a great deal and left her in charge of the plantations. Like male plantation owners, Eliza Pinckney supervised a large labor force of slaves whose labor was the basis of her wealth and leisure. Her position gave her time and opportunity to develop her agricultural ideas and cultivate her intellect, which she did throughout her life. She experimented with new crops and crop rotations. She also helped develop cultivation of the indigo plant, which was used to create a blue dye that was popular in England and which soon rivaled rice as a source of wealth in South Carolina.

The Growth of Cities: Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Charleston

In 1700, British North America had a population of approximately 250,000, including both Europeans and Africans, but not Indians. Boston was the largest city in the colonies with 8,000 inhabitants, followed by New York City with 6,000. Philadelphia and Charleston were both under 3,000, but Philadelphia was growing fast. By contrast, the capital of New Spain, Mexico City, had 100,000 residents, and London had over 500,000 in 1700. With growing trade and prosperity, the British North American population would dramatically increase (see Table 4-1).

TABLE 4-1 Estimated Populations of the Four Largest Cities in British North America between 1700 And 1775

City	1700	1720	1750	1775
Boston	8,000	12,000	16,000	17,500
Philadelphia	2,000	10,000	15,000	31,000
New York	6,000	7,000	14,000	21,500
Charleston	2,000	3,500	6,500	11,000

By the 1770s, on the eve of the American Revolution, Philadelphia would have 30,000 residents, followed by New York with 25,000, Boston with 16,000, and Charleston with 12,000. The total colonial population would be 2.5 million, including 500,000 slaves of African origin.

Many colonists responded to the growing trade and prosperity with pride in being part of the British Empire. In the 1690s, Virginia moved its capital from Jamestown to Williamsburg, complete with a new capitol building that reflected this pride. The structure had two wings—one for the elected legislature, the House of Burgesses, and one for the royally appointed council—just as the Parliament that sat in London had places for the elected House of Commons and the hereditary House of Lords. The governor's elegant Williamsburg residence reflected the status of the crown's representative in the colony.

Although most people still lived on farms or in small towns, the port cities were becoming significant centers of trade and culture for the whole British Empire. Between 1701 and 1754, the cities of British North America moved from being rude outposts to cities that looked and felt very much like similar cities in Britain. They were important to the British Empire's commercial and maritime success, and residents were proud of their connection to the mother country.

In the early 1700s, New York City, Philadelphia, Boston, and Charleston all emerged as significant trading centers for the British world. The ocean-based commerce of these cities was based on their good harbors, Britain's growing dominance of the world's oceans, and industries that included Britain's naval building, the tea trade, and the slave trade. Ships based in North America carried food—cornmeal, pork, and beef—and naval stores—tar, pitch turpentine, lumber—to the great sugar plantations of the British West Indies. These prosperous plantations on Barbados, Jamaica, and other British-controlled islands were far richer than anything on the mainland of North America. They also had many more slaves than any plantation on the mainland. But they depended on outsiders, often colonists living on the vast mainland of North America, to supply their food and building supplies. The ships returned to North American ports with slaves, sugar, rum, molasses, cotton, and fruit from the Caribbean; manufactured goods from Great Britain; and letters of credit that expanded the cash in circulation in the colonies and in London.

Cities also became safer places to live after Boston clergyman Cotton Mather championed the first vaccinations against smallpox in 1721. While smallpox had been a major cause of death among Indians who had never developed immunity to the disease, many Europeans also died of it. Mather, a Puritan theologian and pastor, was also an acute scientific observer. He had read about a Turkish doctor who had produced light cases of smallpox by deliberately infecting healthy people with the disease, which produced immunity in them against more lethal strains.

When the smallpox epidemic of 1721 hit Boston, Mather advocated using that doctor's inoculation approach, and a physician, Zabdiel Boylston, tried it. Mather collected the statistics. Of some 300 people inoculated, only five or six died compared with 900 deaths among the 5,000 who were not inoculated. The statistics were compelling. Smallpox inoculations spread throughout the colonial world though it was another 30 years before smallpox inoculations were common in England.

American Voices

Benjamin Franklin, *The Way to Wealth*, 1757

Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) was born in modest circumstances in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1706. At age 12, after 2 years of schooling, Franklin became an apprentice—an indentured servant—to his older brother, James, a printer in Boston. In 1723, at the age of 17—and 4 years before his indenture expired—Benjamin took advantage of a loophole in the contract and left Boston for Philadelphia. By 1729, at the age of 23 he was sole owner of a printing business having bought out a partner. While he made money printing government documents and publications for private businesses, Franklin also produced Poor Richard's Almanack that predicted the weather for the coming year and shared friendly advice. By 1748, when he was 42 years old, Franklin, with his flourishing printing business, was one of the richest people in the northern colonies and decided that it was time to retire from work, live the life of a gentleman, and devote himself to public service. Public service had always been important to Franklin, and it was a measure of the status he sought. He had already helped launch the Library Company of Philadelphia. Soon after he retired, Franklin engaged in his famous experiment with a kite to prove that lighting was, indeed, electricity. In 1755 he helped found the College of Philadelphia that would become the University of Pennsylvania. In 1757, Franklin wrote a preface to the last edition of his almanac he had published for 30 years. He used a fictional Father Abraham to quote all of the best passages that he had written over the years. This preface was subsequently published as The Way to Wealth , one of Franklin's most enduring works, which reflected a growing emphasis on financial success. The advice from Poor Richard shed light on a changing colonial culture, one in which religious orthodoxy and national loyalties mattered less and individual commercial success mattered much more.

I stopped my horse lately where a great number of people were collected at a vendue [sale] of merchant goods. The hour of sale not being come, they were conversing on the badness of the times, and one of the company called to a plain, clean old man with white locks: "Pray, Father Abraham, what think you of the times? Won't these heavy taxes quite ruin the country? How shall we be ever able to pay them? What would you advise us to?…

"Friends," says he, "and neighbors, the taxes are indeed very heavy, and if those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commissioners cannot ease or deliver us by allowing an abatement. However, let us hearken to good advice, and something may be done for us; 'God helps them that help themselves,' as Poor Richard says in his almanac of 1733.…

"'If time be of all things the most precious, wasting time must be,' as Poor Richard says, 'the greatest prodigality'; since as he elsewhere tells us, 'Lost time is never found again'; …and 'Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise.'… Diligence is the mother of good luck,' as Poor Richard says…and 'By diligence and patience the mouse ate in two the cable'; and 'Little strokes fell great oaks,' as Poor Richard says in his almanac—the year I cannot just now remember…

"And now to conclude, 'Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other, and scarce in that'; for it is true, 'We may give advice, but we cannot give conduct,' as Poor Richard says…"

Thus the old gentleman ended his harangue. The people heard it and approved the doctrine, and immediately practiced the contrary, just as if it had been a common sermon.

Source: Benjamin Franklin, *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, with Notes and a Life of the Author by Jared Sparks. (London: Benjamin Franklin Stevens, 1882)

Thinking Critically

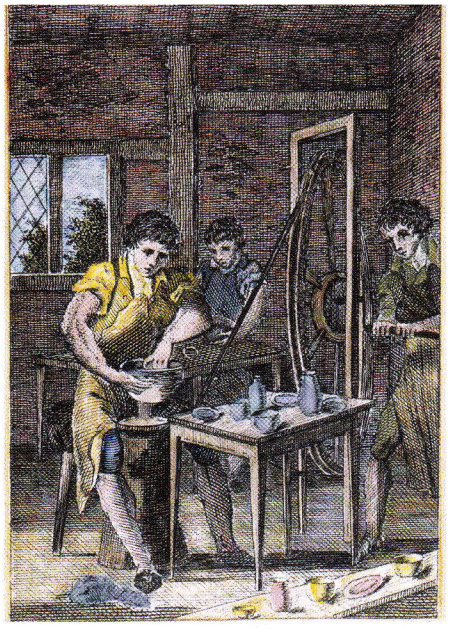
1. **Documentary Analysis**
   What values did Franklin endorse?
2. **Historical Interpretation**
   What groups in colonial society would have been most likely to see Franklin's values as their own? Why?

Commercial Attitudes, Commercial Success—Mercantilism and the New Trading Economy

The economy of Europe and Europe's American colonies changed drastically between 1689 and 1754. Since at least the time of Queen Elizabeth, the western world's economy, and certainly the economy of Britain and Britain's possessions, had been organized around an economic system known as **mercantilism**. But as trade developed in the colonies, the seeds of what would later be described in 1776 as **capitalism** were already taking hold. Advocates of mercantilism believed that economic transactions should be directed to increase the nation's wealth without regard for other participants in

mercantilism
Economic system whereby the government intervenes in the economy for the purpose of increasing national wealth.

capitalism
Economic system best described by Adam Smith in 1776 in which trade is seen as the source of wealth rather than as exchange of goods themselves; as a result, wealth can continually expand as trade expands.



As colonial life became more settled in British North America between the 1680s and the 1750s, economic patterns became more established. In the early 1700s a British study reported the kinds of trades practiced in the colonies, including this illustration of a male master and apprentice working in a shop.

those transactions, that the world's wealth was finite, and that for any nation to grow in wealth some other nation needed to be the loser. Using this mercantile approach, the British Empire closely guarded the colonies so that their wealth went exclusively to Britain and not to other European countries. Economists of the time believed that it was critical that the colonies be used only to produce raw materials that would enrich the European nation that claimed them and that colonies also consume manufactured products from their mother country. Any trade outside of this closed loop, they claimed, ran the risk of diluting the nation's wealth. As the later idea of capitalism emerged, advocates for that concept saw the economic world very differently. Economists who favored capitalism believed there was no limit to the world's wealth because it was trade, not the goods that were being traded, that was the ultimate key to wealth. Thus, trade between individuals and between nations allowed continuing growth for all parties.

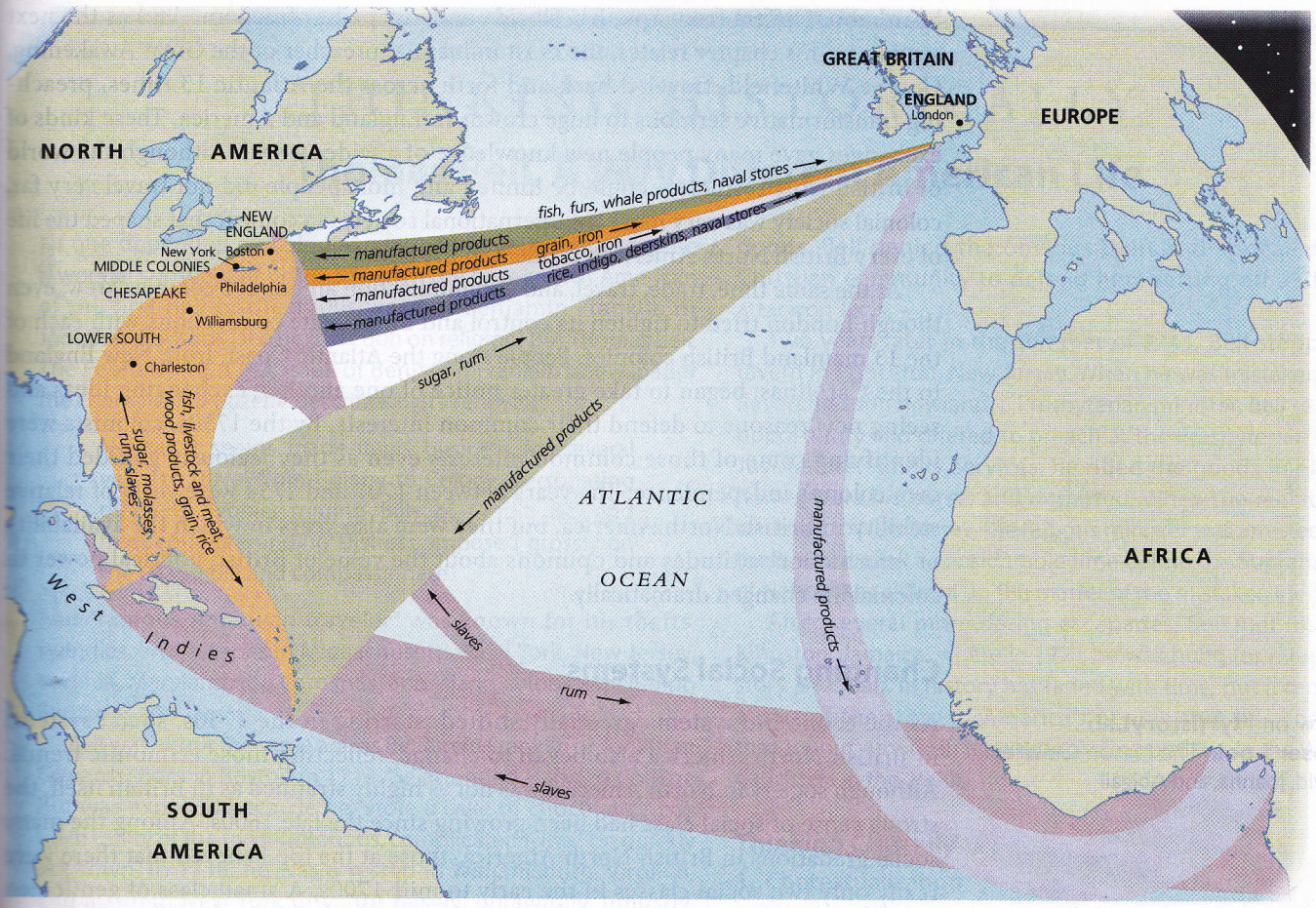
The prime example of mercantilism in the Americas were the British Navigation Acts of 1650 and 1660. The 1660 Navigation Act proclaimed that, "from thenceforward, no goods or commodities whatsoever shall be imported into or exported out of any lands, islands, plantations, or territories to his Majesty belonging or in his possession…but in such ships or vessels as do truly and without fraud belong only to the people of England or Ireland, dominion of Wales or town of Berwick upon Tweed." In other words, anything shipped *to* North America or to other British colonies had to be transported in English ships, and everything shipped *from* the colonies had to be transported in English ships bound for England. The goal was clear: the colonies would produce raw goods—as the act stipulated, "sugars, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigoes, ginger, fustic, or other dyeing wood"—and ship them only to England. England would produce manufactured goods, and the colonies would be limited to buying goods only from England. The arrangement was a closed economic system, and it was designed to ensure that wealth from the colonies flowed only to London, not back to the colonies and certainly not to any other country. Clearly, Britain had no interest in cultivating wealth within the colonies themselves.

The problem with mercantilism was that it focused too much on control of *things* and too little on the *trade* of things. The efforts on the part of Spain to maintain its wealth by controlling the world's supply of silver and gold are illustrative of that problem as was the effort of British pirates to steal the same gold. Many European wars of the era were fought over issues related to mercantilism as each European power sought to control the greatest amount of what they saw as the world's limited wealth. As the Navigation Acts made clear, for much of the 1700s, even as Britain itself was beginning to focus on developing an economy based on trade, its government attempted to use mercantile principles to control that trade with the American colonies.

Triangle Trade
A pattern of trade that developed in the 1700s in which slaves from Africa were sent to the West Indies and mainland North America while goods and other resources were shipped between the West Indies and North America and Britain.

The **Triangle Trade** that developed in response to British mercantile policies involved the shipment of slaves from Africa to the West Indies and North America in exchange for rum (see Map 4-4). Sugar and rum (made from sugar) were also shipped to Britain, and goods manufactured in Britain were shipped to Africa, the West Indies, and to the mainland of North America. But there was also significant trade directly between North America and Britain. Raw materials, including fur, grain, tobacco, rice, and indigo—the last three all produced by slave labor—were shipped directly to Britain in return for manufactured products that by law—though not always in reality—could be produced only in Great Britain.

For British colonists living in North America, the trade problems were more real life than theoretical. They hated mercantilism and the Navigation Acts, not because they opposed slavery or the introduction of slave labor into the colonies or because they thought capitalism was a better economic theory, but because the British policies were keeping them from getting rich. Molasses could be bought more cheaply from French colonies than from British. Slaves could sometimes be bought more cheaply



MAP 4-4 The Triangle Trade. As this map shows, the so-called triangular trade was not a perfect triangle. But for the British colonies the most significant trade focused on England from which manufactured products were shipped to the Americas and to Africa. In return African slaves were shipped to the Caribbean and to North America, Caribbean rum was shipped to Africa and to England, and raw materials—including fish, fur, grain, rice, indigo, and tobacco—were shipped directly from North America to England which, according to mercantile laws, was the only place where raw materials could be turned into finished manufactured goods.

Watch on MyHistoryLab
Video From Triangular Trade to an Atlantic System

from Dutch traders than from English. Similarly, goods produced in the colonies—tobacco, rice, food stuffs and ships stores—could often fetch higher prices elsewhere in the world than in Britain. Trading with a wider world, especially the rich colonies of the Caribbean, made more sense and produced greater profit than limiting trade to England alone.

Circumventing the Navigation Acts, either through finding legal loopholes or simply sailing off in a different direction than British laws allowed, became a major enterprise and source of wealth throughout all of the British colonies. The involvement of the colonies in worldwide trade—even when that trade was illegal—foreshadowed not only American independence but also a shift in economic systems from the closed world of mercantilism to a more open and elastic world in which trade and commerce, rather than simply ownership of things, was the key to wealth.

Trade was also increasing the exchange of information. Cotton Mather learned about smallpox inoculations from Turkish physicians through contacts in London. New York's traders interacted with merchants in Jamaica and Barbados as well as Africa and England. Jews whose forbearers had been exiled from Spain mingled on the streets of New York and Philadelphia with Africans captured from Kongo and servants fleeing poverty in London. News of attacks by Indians allied with France or Spain sparked uncertainty, even hysteria, among colonists. Slaves from the Carolinas

heard about offers from Spanish Florida and escaped to freedom. And as the next section in this chapter relates, the most influential preacher of the Great Awakening, George Whitefield, traveled back and forth across the Atlantic 13 times, preaching transformative sermons to huge crowds in England and America. These kinds of exchanges gave many people new knowledge of a wider world. Although the world of British North America could be limited and most people did not travel very far, colonial society was very much an international society—a context that shaped the life of every British North American resident in the mid-1700s.

At the same time, trade, travel, and communication among the colonies grew, even though London tried to tighten its control and its separate connections with each of the 13 mainland British colonies. People along the Atlantic Coast, from New England to the Carolinas, began to take greater notice of one another, exchanging ideas and seeing new reasons to defend their common interests. By the 1750s, colonists were identifying some of those common interests even as they jealously guarded their own colony's independence. The years between 1707 and 1754 were years of relative stability in British North America, but they were also years in which the availability of information, attitudes and opinions about the value of British political power in colonial life changed dramatically.

Changing Social Systems

View on **MyHistoryLab**
Closer Look The Mason Children: David, Joanna, and Abigail

As the economic systems gradually shifted, starting in the 1730s, social systems in British North America also began to change, reflecting those economic trends. Although society in North America was not as highly stratified as in Britain itself, the strong sense of social class had been growing since the late 1600s. Among the many social gradations in British North America, those at the top believed that there were really only two social classes in the early to mid-1700s. A small class of gentlemen and ladies, who did not have to work for a living, were on top. Gentlemen and ladies might engage in public service, and the gentlemen might sit in legislative assemblies or engage in certain professions, but they did so as a sign of their social status and not because they needed the money. Below that elite group, separated by a great gulf, were those who had to work for a living—farmers and tradespeople known as "mechanics" and, below them, the servants and slaves. However prosperous the mechanics and farmers might become, they were still stigmatized. They were expected to know their place and maintain proper deference to society's elite. At the very bottom were those in varying degrees of unfreedom—slaves, indentured servants, or simply desperately poor people. Members of this group were disregarded in terms of having any say or influence. People in these classes typically acknowledged duty to those above them and deference to those below. The notion of society as a hierarchy was commonplace.

By the 1720s, however, some of the mechanics and farmers were beginning to recognize a new social class: the "middling sorts." These prosperous working people earned their success through hard work and frugality, both of which the elite scorned. Over generations, this group would evolve into what we now call the middle class. The middling social class, including printers, most physicians, small farmers, and those who sailed on ships, differentiated themselves from working people in the less prosperous trades and the servants and slaves. A new perspective was taking shape. People began to question the notion of a society that expected deference to those of higher status. The assumption that one stayed in the class to which one was born was quickly disappearing. Benjamin Franklin, though much more successful than most, was far from the only resident of colonial America to move from one class to another. Of course, social movement was not the only in an upward direction. As class roles weakened, some also moved downward or moved outside of the class system altogether, such as the most famous outlaw of the mid-1700s, Thomas Bell.

THINKING HISTORICALLY

Thomas Bell, A Very Different American Life

If one depended on colonial newspapers rather than on the work of subsequent historians, then the best-known American of the first half of the 1700s was not Benjamin Franklin or Jonathan Edwards (see next section on religion) but Thomas Bell. The February 10, 1743, issue of Benjamin Franklin's newspaper the *Pennsylvania Gazette* describes Bell's renown:

> He has it seems made it his business for several years to travel from Colony to Colony, personating different People, forging Bills of Credit, &c. and frequently pretending Distress, imposed grossly on the charitable and compassionate.

This "famous American traveler" was known for his thefts, swindles, and escapes in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and island colonies including Barbados and Jamaica.

Bell was about the same age as Benjamin Franklin or Jonathan Edwards. Born in Boston in 1713, he attended Harvard College but was expelled because he "stole a cake of chocolate…has been guilty of the most notorious, complicated lying." He quickly left town. In 1738, he was arrested in Williamsburg, Virginia, and again in New York City, "for falsely, unlawfully, unjustly, knowingly, fraudulently, and deceitfully, composing, writing, and inventing a false, fictitious, Counterfeit, and invented Letter."

A year after his arrests in Williamsburg and New York, Bell sparked a riot between Jewish and Christian communities in Barbados when, pretending to be the son of the governor of Massachusetts, he got himself invited to a Jewish wedding. During the celebration, he was caught pilfering the family's goods. Bell denied the obvious theft and appealed to the Christian community to defend him, setting off a Christian attack on Jews.

Two years later in the summer of 1741, Bell stopped at a tavern in Princeton, New Jersey. When he was mistaken for the Reverend John Rowland, a Presbyterian minister, Bell sensed an opportunity and offered to preach at the Presbyterian Church. Just before Sunday services, he rifled the goods in his host's home, stole his horse, and departed. When the real Rowland returned to New Jersey, the famous minister was arrested for the theft, and it took a considerable time before the Supreme Court of New Jersey cleared up the matter of the mistaken identities.

After several more daring escapades, Bell met his end in Kingston, Jamaica, where in 1771 he was hung for piracy. Bell's story and mark in history has faded with time, but it represents a part of the story of America's people that has continued throughout American history, including outlaws in the West and gangsters in the 1900s.

Thinking Critically

1. **Contextualization**
   How would you explain Bell's fame during his own lifetime? Why might his successful acts of impersonation have captured the imagination of the colonial public?
2. **Historical Interpretation**
   What role did newspapers play in creating Bell's fame? What does his story tell us about the role of newspapers in colonial popular culture?

A Changing Religious Landscape—From the Halfway Covenant to the First Great Awakening

With the first settlement in British North America, there was a sense that somehow this new land was a divinely planned opportunity to begin the world again and make it right. In 1702, Cotton Mather, perhaps the best known minister in Boston at the time, published a highly romanticized religious history of New England that confirmed this sense. The book reflected a theme that would be repeated throughout American history, the belief that the country had a special divine mission to fulfill. Mather praised God that Europe had made contact with the Americas after the Protestant Reformation so British North America was being built by Protestants and not by Roman Catholics. At the same time, some Catholics saw their mission from the opposite side of the Reformation divide. Giovanni Botero wrote in 1595 that it was only divine providence that led the kings of France and England to reject overtures from Columbus so that his initial "discovery" could be made while sailing for Catholic Spain.

Not all Europeans accepted their mission as a special part of divine providence, however. Roger Williams, who led Rhode Island as a haven for religious tolerance, insisted that God did not choose special elect nations—not England and not New England. A group of settlers in northern New England reminded one missionary who spoke of their divine mission, "Sir,...our main end is to catch fish." Nevertheless, by the early 1700s, the notion that America was part of a divine drama of salvation was widespread.

By the early 1700s, however, the sense of being on a divine mission had declined among many colonists. The grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the original Puritan settlers were living increasingly comfortable lives in the commercially prosperous British Empire. Religious fervor and religious conversions were less and less common, and many were much more tolerant of the growing religious diversity in all of the colonies. This growth of religious toleration in the 1700s—something not imagined in the 1600s—prompted more Europeans to come to the British colonies in search of religious freedom that they could not find in their homelands.

Increasingly, more of those who already lived in the colonies began to consider alternatives to the religious dogmas of their parents and communities. The growth of new philosophical ideas in Europe led many intellectuals, and eventually more and more people in general, to look more to science and human reason than to faith in trying to understand their world. They called the time in which they were living the **Age of Enlightenment**. Some in this period rejected all religious teachings, while others simply placed less emphasis on matters of faith and more on reason. In the colonies as in Europe, some people began to take religion with a large grain of salt, being convinced by Enlightenment philosophies that most religious matters were mere superstitions that were, at best, unprovable by the scientific tools of the new age. Some simply turned their attentions to other matters.

The Age of Enlightenment
Major intellectual movement occurring in Europe beginning in the 1600s that led many to look more to scientific advances and the role of human reason in understanding the world than to religion.

Describing his travels in Pennsylvania between 1750 and 1754, the German Protestant minister Gottlieb Mittelberger described a scene not at all to his liking:

> We find there Lutherans, Reformed, Catholics, Quakers, Mennonists or Anabaptists, Herrnhuters or Moravian Brethren, Pietists, Seventh-Day Baptists, Dunkers, Presbyterians, Newborn, Freemasons, Separatists, Freethinkers, Jews, Mohammedans, Pagans, Negroes, and Indians....Many pray neither in the morning or in the evening, neither before nor after meals. No devotional book, not to speak of a Bible, will be found with such people.

Mittelberger may have been happy to leave Pennsylvania and return to his ministry in Germany. However, while many ministers expressed similar worries about a religious decline in the colonies in the early 1700s, especially New England, other preachers sought ways to release religious energy. Prompting some of these religious stirrings were the sermons of Solomon Stoddard, who served as the minister of the Congregational church in Northampton, Massachusetts, and who had been one of the authors of the Halfway Covenant. By the 1720s, Stoddard's sermons were leading to a resurgence of religion not only in Northampton but also in much of western Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Watch on MyHistoryLab
Video The Great Awakening

Stoddard's grandson and successor, Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), became famous for leading even larger religious revivals. Edward's sermons in western Massachusetts, like those of John Wesley in England, led many to report that their "hearts were strangely warmed" and that they were experiencing a new sense of divine presence. The **First Great Awakening**, a series of religious revivals that swept all of the North American colonies in the late 1730s had begun. Word of the awakening spread quickly across the colonies as well as Great Britain and the rest of Europe.

First Great Awakening
A significant religious revival in colonial America begun by the preaching of Solomon Stoddard and Jonathan Edwards in the 1720s and 1730s and expanded by the many tours of the English evangelical minister George Whitefield that began in the 1730s.

Edwards prided himself on preaching in a low voice and seeking to convert people solely by the power of the logic of his words. He rejected any anti-intellectual religion as "heat without light." Although the revivals led by Edwards and others of his day resulted in a significant emotional release for many, they were nothing like the revivals of later times. If there was music, it was not central, and sermons were

designed to be long rational arguments for the importance of changing one's life that depended less on the preacher's charisma than any ability to persuade. But by the 1730s, these logical sermons were creating their own dramatic results. Many in Edwards's congregation were undergoing deeply emotional conversion experiences while listening to his sermons, taking religion seriously in a way that they never had before. In a short period of time, 300 conversions were reported, increasing church membership considerably.

For Jonathan Edwards, the purpose of revival preaching was to convince individuals of their sinfulness and move them through an emotional catharsis of conversion to a new life and a new relationship to God. In perhaps his best known sermon, Edwards said, "The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider, or some loathsome insect, over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked; his wrath towards you burns like fire...yet it is nothing but his hand that holds you from falling into the fire every moment." Edwards was urgently pleading with his hearers to rethink the direction of their lives.

Later in the 1730s, George Whitefield (1714–1770) became the most powerful preacher of the Great Awakening. Whitefield lived in Britain but preached to huge audiences in both Britain and North America. His first trip to North America began in Georgia in 1738. In 1739 and 1740, he crossed the Atlantic again, making a preaching tour that started in Georgia, moved through the middle colonies (including Philadelphia, where his preaching deeply impressed Benjamin Franklin who became a lifelong friend if not a convert), and progressed to Boston where huge audiences attended a series of sermons, including one on Boston Common that drew a crowd of 30,000 listeners. Whitefield also visited Northampton and preached at Edwards's church to great acclaim.

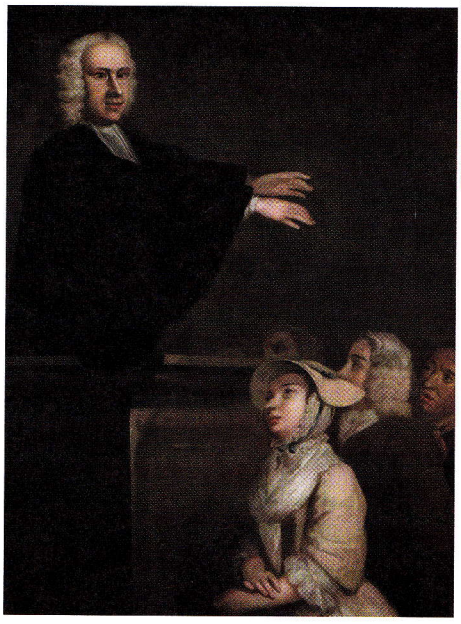
Whitefield had high regard for Edwards and Presbyterian ministers like Gilbert Tennent. He had a much lower opinion of the majority of preachers and said that, "the reason why congregations have been so dead, is because dead men preach to them." Timothy Cutler, an Episcopal priest in Boston, responded by describing Whitefield's sermons as "his beastly brayings."

Cutler was not the only minister to resist the emotionalism of Whitefield and Edwards. The leaders at Harvard and Yale did not like the revivalists whom they saw as emotional and divisive. Churches were split. The Presbyterian Church was split into New Light (pro-Awakening) and Old Light (anti-Awakening) bodies. Many Congregational churches were split, and towns that had supported one church for much of the past century now supported two, or three, or even four. In contrast, the Baptists, who generally sided with the Awakening, grew dramatically.

The Great Awakening changed American society. Many who had previously shown little interest in religion became converted. Many who thought of themselves as deeply religious now saw their faith in more emotional and ethical terms. The revivals of the Great Awakening cut across many of the traditional divides of class and race, even gender. While more women than men responded to the religious energy, some of the rules segregating classes and races seem to have been suspended for these revivals. Africans—slave and free—and American Indians were also converted and became enthusiastic members of religious bodies. Samson Occom, a Mohegan Indian from Connecticut, was a convert in the Awakening who went on to be a revival leader, preaching to white and Native American audiences.

The Awakening transformed American higher education, which at that time was closely connected to the churches. Harvard resisted the movement while Yale, first split by it, eventually moved into the Awakening camp. Prorevival ministers founded Dartmouth—initially meant to serve American Indians—and Princeton to support the revival cause and help prepare a new generation of revival-oriented ministers.

Read on **MyHistoryLab** **Document** Benjamin Franklin on George Whitehead



While a Massachusetts pastor, Jonathan Edwards was one of the first preachers to stir some of the religious fervor of the First Great Awakening. George Whitefield, an English preacher shown here, was its most prominent leader. Whitefield crossed the Atlantic13 times beginning in 1739 and was probably heard by more Americans than any other individual before the Revolution.

American Voices

Jonathan Edwards, *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*

In his book, A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections, published in 1746 after the Great Awakening had run its course, Edwards asked a fundamental question about any religious experience, "How does one judge if it is real or not?" He answered that the key was found in the way a person lived. Edwards believed that a person who did not live out what religious truths he or she claimed to believe surely signaled that his or her religious experience was not sincere.

What is the nature of true religion?...Gracious and holy affections have their exercise and fruit in Christian practice. I mean, they have that influence and power upon him who is the subject of 'em, that they cause that a practice, which is universally conformed to, and directed by Christian rules, should be the practice and business of his life....Slothfulness in the service of God, in his professed servants, is as damning, as open rebellion....Christ nowhere says, ye shall know the tree by its leaves or flowers, or ye shall know men by their talk, or ye shall know them by the good story they tell of their experiences, or ye shall know them by the manner and air of their speaking, and emphasis and pathos of expression, or by their speaking feelingly, or by making a very great show by abundance of talk, or by many tear and affectionate expressions, or by the affections ye feel in your heart towards them: but by their fruits you shall know them...."Let your light so shine before men, that others seeing your good works, may glorify your Father which is in heaven" (Matt. 5:16)....Hypocrites may much more easily be brought to talk like saints, than to act like saints....There may be several good evidences that a tree is a fig tree; but the highest and most proper evidence of it, is that it actually bears figs....[W]e should get into the way of appearing lively in religion, more by being lively in the service of God and our generation, than by the liveliness and forwardness of our tongues.

Source: Jonathan Edwards, *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (Boston: S. Kneeland and T. Green, 1746, reprinted and edited by John E. Smith, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959).

Thinking Critically

1. **Documentary Analysis**
   How did Edwards define "true religion"?
2. **Historical Interpretation**
   What does this passage tell us about Edwards's views on the state of contemporary colonial religious practice?

Ongoing Wars in Europe and British North America

Between 1689 and 1815, England and France were engaged in more or less continual war with each other for control of global empires. Spain was often allied with France in these wars. For those living in North America, each war involved not only international struggles but also local battles, especially with Indian tribes that were in their own shifting alliances with European powers. From Europe's perspective, the American Revolution itself could be seen as just one battle in that ongoing war. But long before the Revolution, colonial life in Britain's colonies, as well as in colonies claimed by France and Spain, was shaped by these wars.

France still claimed the St. Lawrence River Valley and the Mississippi Valley—an area spanning from what is now Minnesota to New Orleans. In 1724, Cadwallader Colden, a surveyor, reminded the governor of New York that, "the French plainly shew their intention of enclosing the British Settlements and cutting us off from all Commerce with the numerous Nations of Indians." Despite the larger population of the British colonies, many colonists shared his fear that Britain's colonies were encircled by French ones. They also worried because Spain controlled Florida, many Caribbean islands, and the rich lands of Central and South America, giving Spain great power and wealth in its confrontations with Britain on both sides of the Atlantic. In addition, Indian tribes, many allied with the French, were often the dominant power in territory from western New York through Pennsylvania and into the western portions of the Carolinas and Georgia (see Map 4-5).

It was not always clear who was winning and who was losing in the ongoing struggles, but war was a fact of daily life for much of the colonial era, sometimes devastatingly close to home and sometimes more generally reflected in concerns about who would control the future of North America. When William and Mary came to

MAP 4-5 French, English, and Spanish Claims, 1608. Although it did not have the European population of the British colonies, New France, which was settled along the St. Lawrence River to the north and the Mississippi River to the west, was much larger than the British colonies. The large areas of land claimed by France along with the area of Florida claimed by Spain preventing British colonies from growing further and created hostile tensions.

the throne in England in 1689, King Louis XIV of France objected to their elevation by Parliament. Louis, a Catholic, had already fought William, a Protestant, in Holland, and now he did so again in what the British colonists called King William's War. It lasted from 1689 to 1697. The war's outcome was inconclusive, but the battles had devastating consequences for towns in the northern British colonies as Indian tribes who were allied with France attacked English settlements. It was as part of these battles that York, Maine, was attacked, sending residents fleeing to Salem, Massachusetts, perhaps helping to provoke the Salem witch hysteria. European settlement of Maine was delayed for a generation.

Soon after that war ended, another war began in Europe, the War of the Spanish Succession, over rival claimants to the Spanish throne, one of whom was strongly backed by France, which sought to tighten its alliance with Spain. The other claimant was supported by Britain, in part, because Britain greatly feared a strong French-Spanish alliance. The war lasted from 1701 to 1713. The British colonists in North America called this war Queen Anne's War for the British monarch who ruled during this time. During this conflict, major battles took place between Spanish and British

forces in Florida and the Carolinas. In the same period, battles continued to erupt between French and British forces in Canada and New England, with various Indian tribes allied on all sides. In one attack, Indians who had allied with the French devastated the town of Deerfield, Massachusetts.

As Britain, France, and Spain fought their wars in the 1600s, the five nations of the Iroquois were firmly allied with the English against the French and France's Indian allies. In 1689, a leader of the Mohawks—one of the five Iroquois nations—said of his people that, "as they are one hand and soul with the English, they will take up the ax with pleasure against the French." By the beginning of Queen Anne's War, however, some Iroquois were beginning to believe that their alliance with the English meant that the Iroquois did all the fighting but received little in return. In 1701, Iroquois leaders signed a separate treaty of peace with the French that gave them new trading rights, especially at French-owned Detroit.

For the next several decades, most of the Iroquois tried to keep clear of the continuing British-French tensions. Some Mohawks had different ideas, however. Despite their long alliance with the English, a group of Mohawks settled near Montreal in French Canada and converted to Catholicism. Among these settlements were also settlements of refugees from non-Iroquois tribes who had been defeated in King Philip's War (1675–1676). These refugees harbored an intense dislike of the English, especially the English in Massachusetts. They and their Canadian-based Iroquois allies nurtured a desire to show their support for France and seek revenge on Massachusetts for the loss of Indian lives in King Philip's War.

In February 1704, Canadian-based Mohawks destroyed the town of Deerfield, Massachusetts, and a frontier outpost near the New York border. Fifty colonists were killed, and perhaps 70 more were taken captive. By the end of the day, the town was a burning ruin. Deerfield's Congregational minister, Reverend John Williams, as well as his wife and remaining children, were taken hostage after one of the children was killed in the attack. His wife died on the forced march to Canada where the captives were taken. Eventually, Massachusetts officials ransomed Williams and most of the captives. The minister wrote an account of the attack and his captivity that became a best seller at the time.

To the utter surprise of Rev. Williams and the Massachusetts officials, however, some of the Deerfield captives preferred to stay in Canada with the Mohawks. Among them was Eunice Williams, the minister's daughter. She married a Mohawk, changed her name to A'ongote Gannenstenhawi, converted to Catholicism, and was the mother of three children raised in the Mohawk community. She lived a long life among her adopted community and died there in 1785 at the age of 95.

Even when there were periods of relative peace among the European powers, Indian tribes fought their own battles with the colonists. As white settlement expanded in the Carolinas, the Tuscarora tribe began to resist. In 1711, the Tuscaroras captured a leader of Swiss and German immigrants, Christoph von Graffenried, and the Carolina surveyor-general, John Lawson. Graffenried was freed, but the Tuscarora executed Lawson. In response, the South Carolina authorities declared war on the Tuscarora and enlisted another tribe, the Yamasee, as their allies. Within 2 years, most Tuscarora villages were burned, and a thousand of its tribe were killed. The remaining Tuscaroras moved west to avoid white settlement and, seeking further protection, affiliated with the Iroquois in 1722, enlarging the Iroquois League to six nations rather than five.

After the war, the Yamasee expected to be rewarded by the Carolina authorities for supporting their efforts. When no rewards were forthcoming, and when whites continued taking Yamasee as slaves, the Yamasee, in alliance with the Creeks, attacked Carolina plantations, killing settlers and traders in one of the bloodiest wars in colonial history. For a time, it was unclear whether the Carolina colony would survive, but officials sought an alliance with the powerful Cherokees, who had become dependent on trade with the British for the clothes and rifles. The Cherokees quickly

defeated the Yamasees. Those Creeks and Yamasees who survived fled to Spanish Florida, leaving virtually no Yamasee or Creeks in the Carolinas. The British community also suffered significant loss of life in the Yamasee Wars, but it was clear they were the victors.

In 1739, after 25 years of peace between the major European powers that held claims in North America, Britain and Spain again went to war—the so-called War of Jenkins' Ear—when Spain claimed a right to search British ships in the Caribbean for contraband goods and Britain objected. (The odd nickname for the war referred to a British ship's captain, Robert Jenkins, whose ear was cut off by a Spanish boarding party.) The British defeated Spain in this war, which confirmed the dominance of British sea power in the Atlantic and Caribbean and made colonial trade with Britain and Britain's Caribbean colonies much easier.

Before the war of 1739 with Spain had ended, Britain and France were fighting again in the War of the Austrian Succession (referred to as King George's War in North America). Much of New York and New England was engulfed in that war. The result, again, was modest victories and land transfers, but with considerable loss of life to British and French colonists and to their Indian allies.

By 1754, another war erupted, known in Europe as the Seven Years' War and in British North America as the French and Indian War. Unlike the previous wars, the British would be decisively victorious at the end of the French and Indian War in 1763 (see Chapter 5). However, the consequences of expanding the British Empire in North America would be significant.

The many wars between 1689 and 1763 (see Table 4-2) disrupted life in North America. Colonial militias were called up. Colonial shipping was attacked. Settlements of colonists and Indians were damaged or ruined. Indian alliances shifted. Various tribes were either decimated or fled their homelands. Many colonists and Indians died, and for many of those who survived, life was far from secure.

The Unifying Effects of the Wars on British Colonies

During the many wars that took place in the 1700s, many English colonists developed a deep sense of patriotism to the British cause, often linked to an equally strong dislike of all things French and of the Indian nations allied with France. At the same

TABLE 4-2 Wars in British North America Between 1689 and 1763

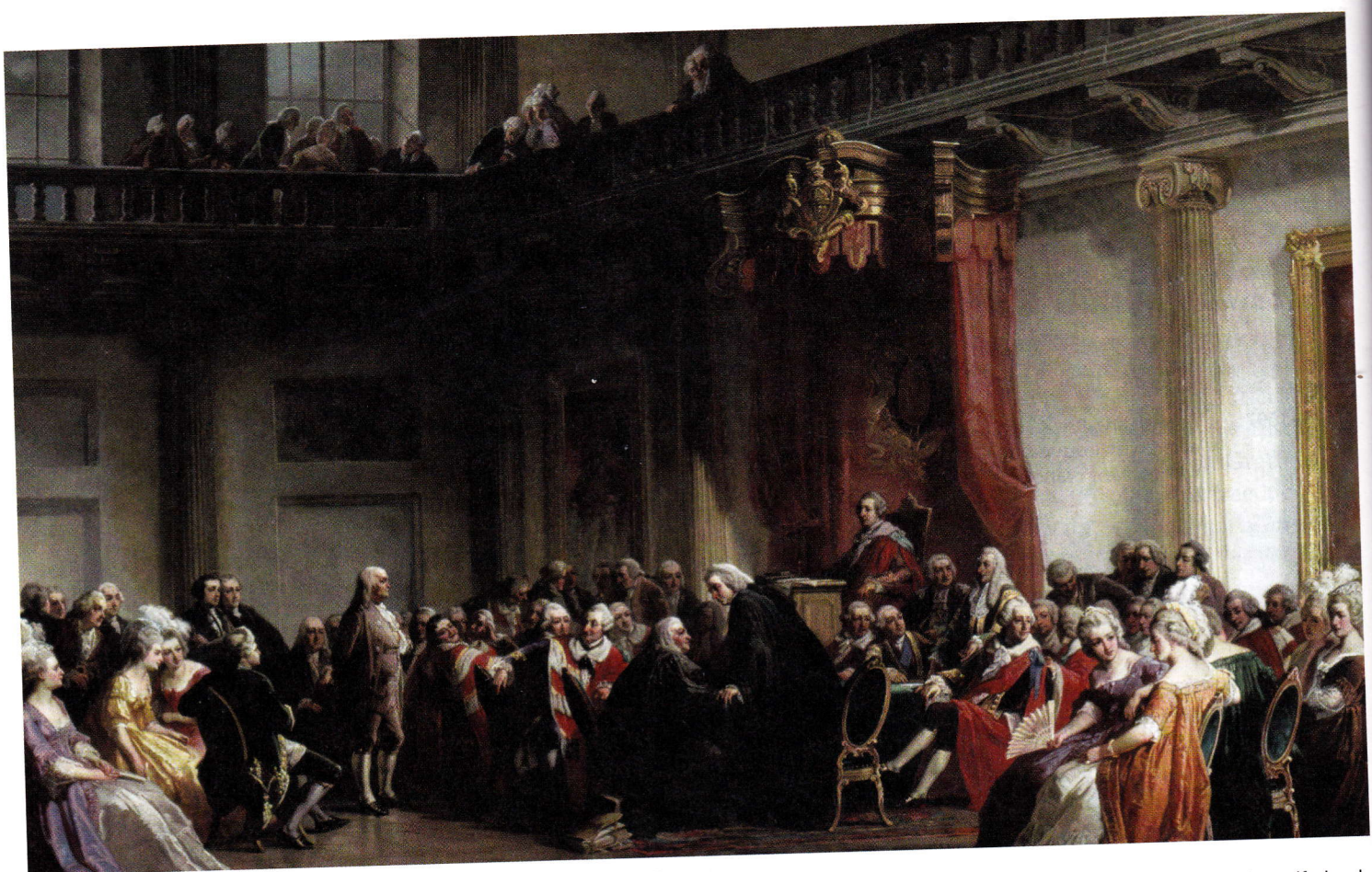
Dates	Who Fought	Name of War in North America	Name of War in Britain	Impact/Outcome
1689–1697	English and British colonies allied with Iroquois against France, New France, and Indian allies	King William's War	War of the League of Augsburg or War of the Grand Alliance	Considerable devastation, especially in Maine; no border changes as a result
1702–1713	Same as King William's War, with Spain joining as an ally of France	Queen Anne's War	War of Spanish Succession	Primarily fought in Europe, but also in New England (against French Canada) and the Carolinas (against Spanish Florida); France and Spain determine to create Gulf colonies—New Orleans and San Antonio.
1739–1742	Britain against Spain; France remained neutral	War of Jenkins' Ear		Fought mostly in the Caribbean, though Georgia-based forces attacked Saint Augustine in Spanish Florida.
1744–1748	Britain against France	King George's War	War of Austrian Succession	French forces attacked and destroyed communities in New York; significant loss of life in New York and New England.
1754–1763	Britain against France and Spain with important Indian allies	French and Indian War	Seven Years' War	Largest war; Britain wins control of all of French Canada.

time, they came to realize that the British army was sometimes far away when it was most needed and that they needed to develop their own militias to protect themselves. The British monarchs were distracted by these wars and were inclined to neglect the colonies in the intervening years. As a result, colonial governments grew stronger and more independent through the early decades of the 1700s.

For most of his life, Benjamin Franklin was a loyal subject of the British Empire. In 1754, Franklin wrote that his greatest desire was for the people of Great Britain and the people of Britain's American colonies to "learn to consider themselves, not as belonging to different Communities with different Interests, but to one Community with one Interest." In 1754 many colonists agreed with Franklin.

By the early 1750s, it was clear to many who were living in British North America that the tension between England and France, which was playing out on both sides of the Atlantic, would soon lead to another war. In the early summer of 1754, several of the North American colonial governments appointed commissioners to meet in Albany, New York, to negotiate stronger mutual defense treaties with the Six Nations of the Iroquois and to discuss the common defense of the British colonies. Benjamin Franklin, who was chosen as one of Pennsylvania's four commissioners, wanted far more. He arrived in Albany with a plan for "one general government [that] may be formed in America, including all the said colonies." The particulars of the **Albany Plan of Union**, as it came to be known, included a provision that each colony would retain its own government, but that the new united colonies would be led by a council of representatives from the 13 colonies and a single "president general" appointed by the Crown. The unified government would have authority to raise soldiers, build forts, and regulate trade with the Indians. It would help the 13 colonies realize Franklin's

Albany Plan of Union
Plan put forward in 1754 by Massachusetts governor William Shirley, Benjamin Franklin, and other colonial leaders, calling for an intercolonial union to manage defense and Indian affairs.



Even as late as 1774, Benjamin Franklin, shown here with members of Parliament, considered himself a loyal British subject, trying his best to reduce tensions between the colonies and the authorities in London.

dream of being "one community with one interest" in relation to each other as well as to Great Britain. Franklin could not understand why the colonists couldn't borrow an idea from the Six Nations of the Iroquois with whom they were negotiating. As Franklin said, if the Iroquois "should be capable of forming a Scheme for such an Union" he could not understand why "a like Union should be impracticable for ten or a Dozen English Colonies."

In fact, Franklin's proposed plan, though supported by the commissioners who met in June and July of 1754, was defeated resoundingly by the colonies. Every colonial legislature rejected the plan, fearing it meant giving up too much control to other colonies and especially to the crown, who would appoint the leader. At the same time, officials in London rejected the plan because they saw it giving too much power to the colonies. They preferred to have each colony accountable separately to London. Nevertheless, quite a few colonial leaders met each other for the first time at the Albany gathering, and the possibility of union had been mentioned and considered.

Tensions continued to grow between Britain and France and between Britain's Iroquois allies and the tribes allied with the French forces. As the British colonies saw the world moving toward a war between Great Britain and France—a war they knew would be fought in large part on the border between British North America and New France—colonial legislatures sought to raise taxes to provide for their defense. This need was especially urgent in Pennsylvania where Indians, allied with France, had defeated several western settlements and were within a day's distance of Philadelphia itself.

Even in this desperate situation, however, the Penn family, which still controlled the colony, refused to allow their own lands to be taxed. Although William Penn had founded the colony as a refuge for persecuted Quakers, his son Thomas saw it mostly as a source of income. By 1757, the Pennsylvania legislature decided to send a delegation to England to negotiate directly with Thomas Penn to get him to pay his fair share of the funds to protect his colony or, if that failed, to request the English government to give them a royal governor rather than one appointed by the Penn family. The obvious representative for Pennsylvania to send was Benjamin Franklin. The 51-year-old Franklin sailed for England that summer and, except for brief trips home, lived there until 1775. He did not get the funds from Penn but enjoyed London and, for many years, remained a very loyal British subject, even attending the coronation of King George III in 1760. However, beginning in the early 1760s, the pressure of war as well as issues of politics, trade, and taxes began to drive Britain and the colonists apart.

4.3 **Quick Review** How did European nations and the colonies' interaction with them affect life in British North America?

CONCLUSION

The Glorious Revolution of 1689 changed the balance of power in England's government. Although kings and queens were much more than figureheads, Parliament assumed greater control over the nation and its overseas territories. In 1707 England united with Scotland to become Great Britain and, with its colonies in North America and elsewhere around the world, became a true empire. The wars Britain conducted on the European mainland over the course of the 1700s with its old enemies France and Spain would lead to parallel conflicts between the North American colonies of these empires, conflicts that also involved Native American tribes allied with each one of them. Great Britain also exerted its economic control over the British colonies by enforcing mercantilism, a closed economic system that allowed for trade only between the colonies and the mother country. This system was designed to ensure the colonies supplied Great Britain with raw materials; in return, the colonies did not manufacture their own goods or buy them on a world market but, rather, purchased manufactured

goods only from Great Britain. Nevertheless, Britain's American colonies grew and prospered with thriving port cities and an emerging colonial elite who sometimes became quite good at evading the British government's regulations.

The social and economic life of the American colonists also changed after the 1680s. In response to the revolt of slaves, indentured servants, and poor white farmers in Bacon's Rebellion, a trend among the wealthy elite to use more slaves and fewer indentured servants led to deeper divisions along racial lines in Virginia. The southern colonies, where the greatest growth of the slave population was taking place, enacted laws that created a slave society in which African slaves could expect a lifetime of servitude. The slave trade of the notorious Middle Passage brought increased numbers of slaves to support a growing slave-plantation economy.

In addition, underlying tensions connected to Indian attacks were growing. This tension, along with long-standing tensions about the role of women in society and beliefs across European cultures about the active role of witches in society, led to the Salem witch trials that involved an entire community in hysterical accusations, legal actions, and 20 executions.

Women's roles were largely relegated to the private realm—raising children and working in the home. Rural women often led lonely lives with few opportunities to connect with other women. Helping other women through childbirth was an important way rural women connected. Urban women had more options to socialize, particularly in the trade of household necessities such as preserved foods, soap, and candles. Some women joined their husbands as part of the privileged social and economic elite of the colonies.

From the first settlement in British North America onward, colonists maintained a sense that somehow their new land was a divinely planned opportunity to begin the world again and make it right. Cotton Mather, a well-known minister in Boston, confirmed this sense in his writings. By the early 1700s, however, the sense of being on a divine mission had declined among many colonists, and tolerance for religious diversity was growing. Those in Europe and in the colonies who began to look more to science and human reason than to faith in trying to understand their world, called this time the Age of Enlightenment. Some in this period rejected all religious teachings while others simply emphasized reason over faith. Many ministers worried about a religious decline in the colonies, and some sought ways to release religious energy, spawning the First Great Awakening. Yet other colonists came to a growing regard for other forms of self-improvement and interest, like those championed by Benjamin Franklin in his *Poor Richard's Almanack*. Increasingly, in spite of philosophical differences, colonists came to regard themselves more and more as Americans and less and less as simply British subjects living on a different side of the Atlantic Ocean.

CHAPTER REVIEW How did events throughout the 1700s transition the North American colonies from separate entities into a colonies with more common pursuits?