

*Mr. Lawrence, Be pleased to send me  
a genteel sute of Cloaths made of superfine  
broad Cloth handsomely chosen . . .*



### CITY HALL AND GREAT DOCK.

New Amsterdam, 17th century. City Hall and Great Dock  
in the late 17th century.



# 4



## CONVERGENCE AND CONFLICT 1660s–1763

IN WHAT ways was trade regulated between Britain and the colonies?

HOW DID prominent colonists go about developing America's intellectual life?



WHEN DID the "Great Awakening" reach the colonies and what effect did it have there?

HOW DID the "Glorious Revolution" affect the colonists?

WHAT GEOGRAPHIC area made up the "backcountry" and who settled there?



HOW DID the French and Indian War affect the colonists?

1660 1763



Virginia

26th April 1763

Mr. Lawrence

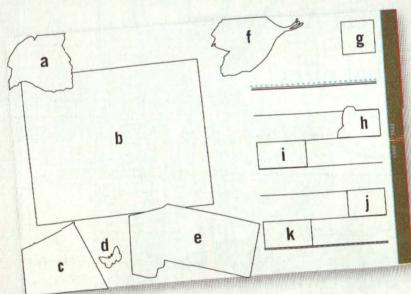
Be pleased to send me a genteel suite of Cloaths made of superfine broad Cloth handsomely chosen; I shou[l]d have Inclosed [for] you my measure but in a general way they are so badly taken here that I am convinced it wou[l]d be of very little service; I wou[l]d have you therefore take measure of a Gentleman who wears well made Cloaths of the following size—to wit—Six feet high & proportionably made; if any thing rather Slender than thick for a Person of that hight with pretty long arms & thighs—You will take care to make the Breeches longer than those you sent me last, & I wou[l]d have you keep the measure of the Cloaths you now make by you and if any alteration is required, in my next [letter] it shall be pointed out. Mr Cary will pay your Bill—& I am Sir Yr Very H[um]ble Serv[an]t . . .

—George Washington

W.W. Abbot and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Papers of George Washington*, Colonial Series, vol. 7 (Charlottesville, 1990).

## IMAGE KEY

for pages 80–81



- a. A brown patterned neckcloth.
- b. New Amsterdam City Hall and Great Dock in the late 17th century.
- c. A small pile of light muscovado sugar.
- d. A mounted moth.
- e. A half-loom width of oyster silk damask, 18th century.
- f. Dried tobacco leaves.
- g. A luxury merchant ship.
- h. Portrait of Ben Franklin by Robert Feke.
- i. George Whitefield extends his hands over kneeling worshippers while wearing black ministerial robes in a 1770 painting by John Wollaston.
- j. A hand-colored woodcut of a settlers' log cabin in the Blue Ridge Mountains (Appalachians).
- k. "The Death of General Wolfe" by American painter Benjamin West. Distraught soldiers huddle around the dying General James Wolfe at the Battle of Quebec.

**GEORGE WASHINGTON**, along with a few other privileged Virginians, had traveled to Williamsburg for a visit that mixed politics, business, and pleasure. These men had come to the capital to represent their respective counties in the House of Burgesses. When not engaged in government business, they attended to private affairs. They arranged to ship tobacco from their plantations to England, to pay debts, or to seek credit. Washington was surely not the only one to write to his London tailor and order fashionable clothing. He and his fellow burgesses donned their best coats and breeches to attend evening dinner parties and theater performances.

April 1763 marked the fourth time Washington had gone to Williamsburg to take his seat in the legislature. Just 31 years old in 1763, he had recently married Martha Custis, a wealthy widow, and inherited his older brother's plantation at Mount Vernon. He had served his king during the Seven Years' War; now he was eager to exchange his military uniform for the "genteel" broadcloth suits appropriate to his new station. With land and wealth to support his ambitions, he wanted to live, look, and behave like an English country gentleman, not merely like a Virginia planter.

But Washington could not be sure what an English gentleman wore. He had never been to England and trusted neither his own judgment nor Williamsburg tailors to know how a proper English gentleman should dress. So, while he instructed Mr. Lawrence about measurements and fabric quality, he had to trust his tailor to make him clothing as suitable for the drawing rooms of London as for the parlors of Williamsburg.

Throughout British America, colonists who had achieved wealth and power tried, like Washington, to imitate the English gentry. Prosperity and the demand of a growing population for English products tied the colonies ever more tightly into a trade network centered on the imperial metropolis, London. The flow of goods and information between England and America fueled the desires of Washington and other successful colonists for acceptance as transatlantic members of



the English elite. No longer a collection of rough outposts clinging to the Atlantic seaboard, British America was growing in size and sophistication.

These developments in Britain's American colonies brought them to the attention of European statesmen, who increasingly factored North America into their calculations. Parliament devised legislation that would channel tobacco and other colonial goods into England and away from its European competitors. Spain and France viewed the economic growth and expansion of British North America as a threat to their own possessions, and they responded by augmenting their territorial claims. With expansion came conflict and four imperial wars, which themselves became powerful engines of change in the New World.

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND IMPERIAL TRADE IN THE BRITISH COLONIES

**T**he greatest assets that Great Britain could call on in its competition with other European nations were a dynamic economy and a sophisticated financial system that put commerce at the service of the state. In the century after 1690, England became the most advanced economic power in Europe.

England's leaders came to see colonies as indispensable to the nation's economic welfare. Colonies supplied raw materials unavailable in the mother country, and settlers provided a healthy market for English manufactures. As the eighteenth century progressed, colonial economies grew in tandem with England's. Parliament knitted the colonies into an empire with commercial legislation, while British merchants traded with and extended credit to growing numbers of colonial merchants and planters.

### THE REGULATION OF TRADE

England, the Netherlands, and France competed vigorously in transatlantic trade. Between 1651 and 1733, Parliament passed laws that regulated trade to ensure that more wealth flowed into England's treasury than out of it (see the overview table "British Imperial Trade Regulations, 1651–1733" p. 84). This governmental intervention in the economy for the purpose of increasing national wealth—called **mercantilism**—aimed to draw the colonies into a mutually beneficial relationship with England.

Parliament enacted four types of mercantilist regulations. The first aimed at ending Dutch dominance in England's overseas trade. Beginning with the *Navigation Act of 1651*, all trade in the empire had to be conducted in English or colonial ships, with crews that were at least half Englishmen or colonists. The act stimulated rapid growth in both England's merchant marine and New England's shipping industry. Shipbuilding and earnings from what was called the "carrying trade" soon became the most profitable sector of New England's economy.

The second type of legislation channeled certain colonial goods, called "**enumerated products**," through England or another English colony. These raw materials initially included tobacco, sugar, indigo, and cotton; other products, such as rice, were added later. European goods also had to pass through England before they could be shipped to the colonies. When these goods entered English ports, they were taxed, which made them more expensive and encouraged colonists to buy English-made items.

With the third and fourth sorts of regulation Parliament subsidized certain goods, including linen, gunpowder, and silks, to allow manufacturers to undersell European competitors in the colonies. Other laws protected English manufacturers

IN WHAT ways was trade regulated between Britain and the colonies?

### QUICK REVIEW

#### British Trade Policy

- ◆ All trade in empire to be conducted in English or on colonial ships.
- ◆ Colonial trade to be channelled through England or another English colony.
- ◆ Subsidization of English goods offered for sale in the colonies.
- ◆ Colonists prohibited from large-scale manufacture of certain products.

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

**Enumerated products** Items produced in the colonies and enumerated in acts of Parliament that could be legally shipped from the colony of origin only to specified locations.



# OVERVIEW

## BRITISH IMPERIAL TRADE REGULATIONS, 1651–1733

Name of Act	Key Features
Navigation Act of 1651	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Aimed to eliminate Dutch competition in overseas trade</li> <li>Required most goods to be carried in English or colonial ships</li> <li>Required crews to be at least half English</li> </ul>
Navigation Act of 1660	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Required all colonial trade to be carried in English ships</li> <li>Required master and three-quarters of crew to be English</li> <li>Created list of enumerated goods, such as tobacco and sugar, that could be shipped only to England or another English colony</li> </ul>
Staple Act of 1663	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Required products from Europe, Asia, and Africa to be landed in England before being shipped to the colonies</li> </ul>
Plantation Duty Act of 1673	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Attempted to reduce smuggling</li> <li>Required captains of colonial ships to post bond that they would deliver enumerated goods to England or pay the “plantation duty” that would be owed in England</li> </ul>
Navigation Act of 1696	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Plugged loopholes in earlier laws</li> <li>Created vice-admiralty courts in colonies to enforce trade regulations</li> </ul>
Wolens Act of 1699	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Forbade export of woolen cloth made in the colonies, to prevent competition with English producers</li> </ul>
Hat Act of 1732	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prohibited export of colonial-made hats</li> </ul>
Molasses Act of 1733	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Placed high tax on French West Indian and other foreign molasses imported into colonies to encourage importation of British West Indian molasses</li> </ul>

from colonial competition by prohibiting colonists from manufacturing wool, felt hats, and iron on a large scale.

The colonies prospered under mercantilist legislation. Between 1650 and 1770, the colonial economy grew twice as fast as England’s did. Because the trade laws allowed colonial merchants to operate on equal terms with English traders, they could take full advantage of commercial opportunities within the empire.

### THE COLONIAL EXPORT TRADE AND THE SPIRIT OF ENTERPRISE

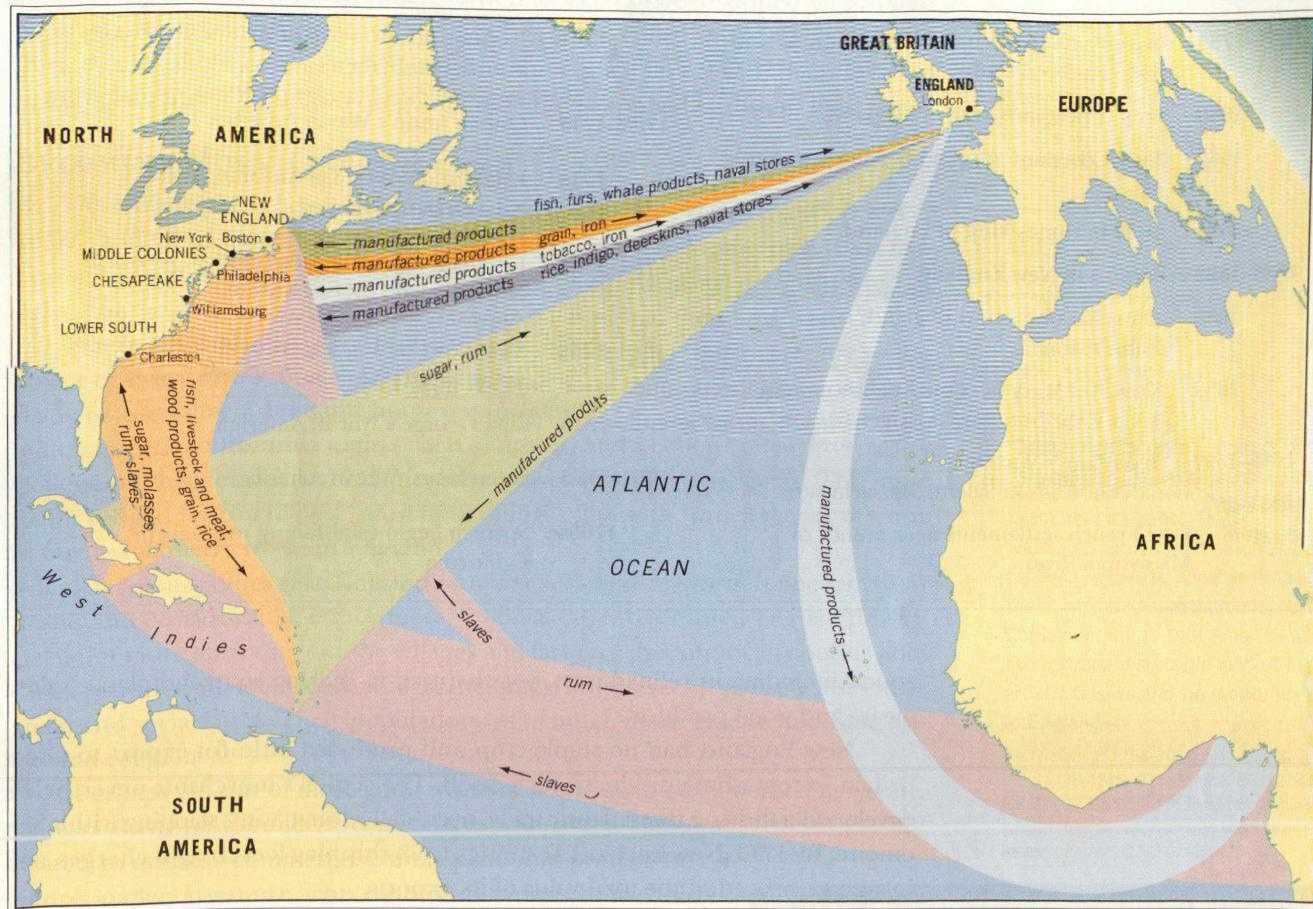
By the mid-eighteenth century, the Atlantic had become a busy thoroughfare of international commerce (see Map 4–1). Between 1700 and 1770, the number of British merchant ships nearly tripled, from 3,300 to 9,400. At the heart of Anglo-American trade lay the highly profitable commerce in staple crops, most of which were produced by slave labor.

West Indian sugar was the most important colonial product. By the late 1760s, the value of sugar and sugar by-product exports reached almost £4 million per year—nearly 50 percent more than the total value of exports from all the other British American colonies combined. Many West Indian planters joined with the English merchants who marketed their sugar to lobby Parliament for favorable treatment. The “sugar interest” convinced Parliament in 1733 to pass the Molasses Act, which taxed sugar products from foreign sources, especially the French West Indies. Parliament removed sugar from the list of enumerated items in 1739, allowing merchants to ship it directly from the islands to southern Europe.



## MAP EXPLORATION

To explore an interactive version of this map, go to <http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield2/map4.1>



### MAP 4-1

**Anglo-American Transatlantic Commerce** By the eighteenth century, Great Britain and its colonies were enmeshed in a complex web of trade. Britain exchanged manufactured goods for colonial raw materials, while Africa provided the enslaved laborers who produced the most valuable colonial crops.

ACCORDING TO this map, how did trading between Great Britain and its colonies benefit Great Britain? How did it benefit the colonies? Why was Africa's role so crucial to virtually every aspect of trading between Great Britain and its colonies?

Tobacco from the Chesapeake colonies was the second most valuable staple crop. Exports worth about £750,000 arrived each year in England during the late 1760s. Nearly 90 percent of the crop was later reexported to continental Europe. But persistent low prices led many tobacco planters, after 1750, to sow some of their land with wheat.

Exports of rice and indigo helped make South Carolina planters some of the richest mainland colonists. Most of the rice went to England and the West Indies. Parliament subsidized indigo production as well as colonial production of naval stores—such as tar, pitch, and turpentine—to reduce England's dependence on Swedish suppliers for materials essential to its navy. The export of these items made up a small but important part of the North and South Carolina economies.

Wheat exports from the Middle Colonies boomed after 1750, when a combination of poor harvests and warfare in Europe created strong overseas demand. Ships traveling from Philadelphia or New York to English ports also carried a variety of

### QUICK REVIEW

#### Colonial Exports

- ◆ Chesapeake colonies: tobacco
- ◆ South Carolina: rice and indigo
- ◆ Middle colonies: wheat



## CHRONOLOGY

<b>1651–1733</b>	Parliament passes series of Navigation Acts to regulate imperial trade.	<b>1701</b>	Iroquois adopt policy of neutrality toward France and Britain.
<b>1660</b>	Charles II becomes king of England.	<b>1702–1713</b>	Queen Anne's War in America.
<b>1662</b>	Halfway Covenant adopted by Massachusetts clergy.	<b>1718</b>	Establishment of San Antonio, Texas; New Orleans founded.
<b>1685</b>	James II becomes king of England.	<b>1734–1735</b>	Jonathan Edwards leads religious revival in Northampton, Massachusetts.
<b>1686–1689</b>	Dominion of New England.	<b>1739</b>	Great Awakening begins in Middle Colonies with George Whitefield's arrival.
<b>1688</b>	Glorious Revolution in England; James II loses the throne.	<b>1744–1748</b>	King George's War in America.
<b>1689</b>	William and Mary become English monarchs; Leisler's Rebellion begins in New York.	<b>1754–1763</b>	Seven Years' War in America.
<b>1689–1697</b>	King William's War in America.	<b>1760s</b>	Spanish begin establishing missions in California.
<b>1691–1692</b>	Witchcraft trials in Salem, Massachusetts.		
<b>1698</b>	First French settlements near mouth of Mississippi River.		

goods, including unrefined iron, potash (used in making soap and glass), salted meats, and wood products.

New England had no staple crop and produced little for export to Great Britain except whale products, such as oil. The region's merchants nevertheless developed a thriving transatlantic trade, eventually dominating shipping within the empire. By 1770, New England's earnings from shipping fees, freight charges, and insurance exceeded the total value of its exports.

New England merchants also strengthened trade links to the West Indies. By the mid-eighteenth century, more than half of all New England exports went to the islands: salted meat for planters' dinners, salted fish for slaves, wood for sugar barrels and other equipment. Merchants accepted molasses and other sugar by-products in payment, bringing them back to New England to be distilled into cheap rum. Enterprising traders then carried rum to Africa to exchange for slaves. Because New Englanders trafficked in slaves and provisioned the West Indies, their commercial economy depended on the institution of slavery, even though few slaves lived in the region.

## THE IMPORT TRADE AND TIES OF CREDIT

By the late 1760s, the colonists imported goods worth nearly £4 million each year, almost all of which came from Great Britain. Most imports consisted of manufactured goods, which could not be produced in America. Some of these goods—ironware, sugar, hats—were made of materials that had come from the colonies in the first place.

In terms of value, colonists in fact imported more goods than they exported. Earnings from shipping fees, as well as payments from the British government for colonial military expenses, made up most of the difference between imports and exports. The colonial economy may have run an annual deficit of £40,000 by the late 1760s, but that was only about 1 percent of a transatlantic trade worth over £4 million a year.

Great tobacco planters like Washington virtually lived on the easy credit that British merchants provided. These merchants marketed the planters' tobacco and supplied them with English goods, charging the costs of purchase and transportation against the profits they expected the next year's crop to bring.

## QUICK REVIEW

## Colonial Imports

- ◆ By late 1760s imports reached annual worth of £4 million.
- ◆ Value of imports exceeded exports.
- ◆ Overtime level of debt in the colonies increased.



Gradually, planters sank into debt. A Virginian noted that no planter would have dared run up a debt of £1,000 in the 1740s, but in the 1760s “Ten times that sum is . . . spoke of with Indifference.” When tobacco prices dropped or an international crisis made overseas trading risky, creditors called in the debts owed to them. At such times, colonial debtors realized how much they (like Indians involved in European trade) depended on goods and credit supplied by distant merchants.

## BECOMING MORE LIKE ENGLAND

By 1770, Philadelphia’s population had reached 30,000, New York’s 25,000, Boston’s 16,000, and Charleston’s 12,000. Baltimore was rapidly developing as the best harbor on Chesapeake Bay. Only about 5 percent of all mainland colonists lived in cities, but the influence of urban centers far out-weighed their size.

An English visitor declared in 1759 that Philadelphia “must certainly be the object of every one’s wonder and admiration.” Less than eighty years old, it already boasted three thousand houses, impressive public buildings, “handsomely built” streets, two libraries, eight or ten churches, and a college (chartered as the College of Philadelphia in 1755, now the University of Pennsylvania). This same visitor judged Boston to be a “most flourishing” place with “much the air of some of our best country towns in England.”

All colonial cities (like England’s major ones) were seaports. Indeed, in their bustle and cosmopolitan atmosphere, colonial cities resembled English provincial cities more than they did the villages and farms of the American countryside. Cities provided all sorts of amenities, including inns, taverns, coffeehouses, theaters, and social clubs. Their populations were much more diverse in ethnic origin and religion.

Perhaps two out of three adult white males living in cities worked at a craft. Many of them—shipbuilders, ropemakers, sailmakers—labored at trades directly related to overseas commerce. Others produced pottery, furniture, paper, glassware, iron tools, and various household items. Talented colonists such as the Boston silversmith Paul Revere and the Philadelphia furniture maker John Folwell fashioned goods that would have been prized possessions in any English gentleman’s home.

Colonial manufacturing took place in workshops often attached to artisans’ houses. Artisans managed a work force consisting of their wives and children, along with apprentices, usually teenage boys, who contracted to work for a master for four to seven years in order to learn the craft. Like indentured servants, they worked for food, clothing, shelter, and a small payment at the end of their service. Once an apprentice finished his training, he became a journeyman, working for a master but now earning wages and saving until he could afford to set up his own shop.

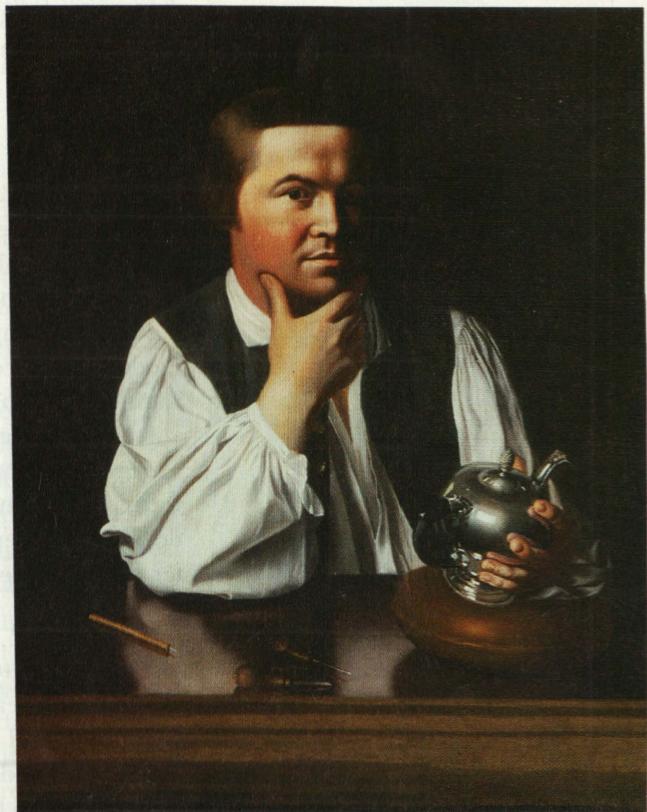
Many artisans flourished in colonial cities. Adino Paddock moved from the countryside to Boston in 1736 to learn how to make the light carriages known as chaises. By 1758, he had his own shop, and as his business prospered, Bostonians elected him to important local offices. As a gesture of public spirit, Paddock arranged for the transplanting of elm trees on Boston Common, to beautify the city where he had made his fortune, which by 1775 amounted to more than £3,000.

Craftwork also offered economic opportunities to city women that were generally unavailable to rural women. Mary

*Back Country*

John Singleton Copley’s portrait of the silversmith Paul Revere, painted about 1769, depicts one of Boston’s most prominent artisans. As colonists grew wealthier, some commissioned portraits for their homes to serve as emblems of their rising social aspirations. Even so, Copley despaired that America would ever provide a suitable market for his artistic talents and he eventually moved to England.

*Paul Revere*, c. 1768–70. Copley, John Singleton, U.S., 1738–1815. Oil on canvas, 35 1/2 × 28 1/2 in. (88.9 × 72.3 cm). Gift of Joseph W., William B., and Edward H. R. Revere. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.





Wallace and Clementia Ferguson stitched fashionable hats and dresses for New York customers. Nonetheless, even in cities, women's options were limited. Many employed women were widows striving to maintain a family business until sons grew old enough to take over.

Workers at less skilled crafts often earned only a bare living, and ordinary laborers faced seasonal unemployment. The gap between rich and poor widened during the eighteenth century. In 1687, the richest 10 percent of Boston residents owned 46 percent of the taxable property in the town; by 1771, the top tenth held 63 percent of taxable wealth. Similar changes occurred in Philadelphia, South Carolina, and the Chesapeake, wherever colonists engaged heavily in commerce. Over time, it became extremely difficult for newcomers to enter the ranks of the elite.

Most cities built workhouses and other shelters for people who could not take care of themselves. Towns collected funds for poor relief in greater amounts than ever before. Even so, poverty had not yet become an entrenched problem. Temporary downturns in the economy were more often than not the result of dislocations caused by war.

Even in the worst of times, no more than one out of ten white colonists (mainly city dwellers) depended on public assistance. As much as one-third of England's population regularly received relief, and the numbers swelled during hard times. As long as land was available—even if one had to move to the edges of settlement to get it—colonists could at least eke out a bare subsistence, and many did much better.

The growth of colonial cities mirrored British urban development. The widening gap between rich and poor convinced many colonists that their society had at last matured from its crude beginnings. Eighteenth-century Britons on both sides of the Atlantic believed that societies ought to be organized hierarchically, with people arranged in ranks from rich to poor according to their abilities and God's design. The more America resembled Britain, many colonists assumed, the more stable and prosperous it would be.

## THE TRANSFORMATION OF CULTURE

**D**espite the convergence of English and colonial society, many influential settlers worried that America remained culturally inferior to Great Britain. Just as Washington trusted a London tailor, not a Virginian, to make him a fashionable suit, other colonial gentlemen tended to see American architecture, fashion, manners, and intellectual life as poor imitations of British models. Some colonial gentlemen even reshaped their religious beliefs to reflect European notions that God played only an indirect role in human affairs.

Most colonists, however, had little interest in copying the manners of the English elite, and very few altered their spiritual beliefs to fit European patterns. Indeed, religion flourished in eighteenth-century America and, when a tremendous revival swept through the colonies beginning in the 1730s, it occupied center stage in American life.

## GOODS AND HOUSES

Eighteenth-century Americans imported more manufactures from England with every passing year. In the less secure economic climate of the seventeenth century, colonists had limited their purchases of goods, investing instead in land to pass on to their children. But by the eighteenth century, prosperous colonists felt secure enough to buy goods to make their lives more comfortable.

### QUICK REVIEW

#### Poverty in the Colonies

- ◆ Gap between rich and poor widened in the eighteenth century.
- ◆ Most cities had workhouses or shelters.
- ◆ Much smaller percentage of population depended on public assistance in the colonies than in England.

HOW DID prominent colonists go about developing America's intellectual life?



*Describe  
the 3 main  
areas of  
cultural  
development*

Benjamin Franklin described such changes in his own household. Accustomed to eating his breakfast of bread and milk with a pewter spoon from an earthenware bowl, he found it one morning “in a China Bowl with a Spoon of Silver” that had cost “the enormous Sum of three and twenty Shillings.” His wife, Deborah, justified the purchase by declaring “that she thought her Husband deserved a Silver Spoon & China Bowl as well as any of his Neighbors.” Many colonists likewise acquired such goods to advertise their refined style of life.

By the 1760s, nearly every item that George Washington ordered from his London agent could have been purchased in Philadelphia, but Washington and many other colonists wanted the latest English styles. One visitor to Maryland declared that he was “almost inclined to believe that a new fashion is adopted earlier by the polished and affluent American than by many opulent persons” in London.

Prosperous colonists built grand houses where they lived in greater comfort than ever before. In the seventeenth century, Virginia’s governor lived in a four-room dwelling. His eighteenth-century counterpart, however, resided in Williamsburg in the Governor’s Palace, an elegant two-storyed mansion designed after British architectural styles. Washington extensively remodeled Mount Vernon, adding a second story and extra wings. In the northern colonies, merchants built the most impressive houses, often following architectural pattern books imported from England.

These houses were different in design from the homes of less affluent colonists. Most settlers cooked, ate, and slept in the same chamber. But the owners of great houses could devote rooms to specialized uses. Cooking and other domestic work took place in back or in separate outbuildings. Private bedrooms were located upstairs. The most distinctive feature of these grand homes was the parlor, an elaborately decorated room used for receiving guests. Prosperous colonists built such homes to emulate the English gentry in their country estates and London townhouses.

## SHAPING MINDS AND MANNERS

Colonists knew that the manners of English gentlefolk set them apart from ordinary people. Many Americans imported “courtesy books,” which contained the rules of polite behavior. The young George Washington studied such books carefully. At age 13, he copied 110 rules from *Youth’s Behaviour; or Decency in Conversation Among Men*, including such advice as “In the Presence of Others Sing not to yourself with a humming Noise, nor Drum with your Fingers or Feet” and “In Company of those of Higher Quality than yourself Speak not till you are ask’d a Question then Stand upright put of [f] your Hat and Answer in few words.”

In Charleston, South Carolina, dozens of girls’ boarding schools advertised instruction in “the different branches of Polite Education.” Female pupils studied reading, writing, and arithmetic but also learned French, music, dancing, and fancy needlework. This curriculum prepared them for married lives as mistresses of great houses, mothers of future gentlemen and ladies, and hostesses of grand entertainments. Invitations to balls, musical performances, and tea parties circulated among well-bred neighbors. Such occasions excluded ordinary settlers and reinforced elite colonists’ sense of themselves as a separate—and better—class of people.

Prominent colonists, intent on developing America’s intellectual life, began to participate in a transatlantic world of ideas. Literacy rates among white colonists were quite high by eighteenth-century standards. In New England, where settlers placed great emphasis on Bible study, about 70 percent of men and 45 percent of women



During the eighteenth century, quantities of imported English manufactures began to appear in many colonial houses. This elegant mahogany clothespress, made in England in the 1740s, may have graced the Boston home of Charles Apthorp, once called “the greatest and most noble merchant” in America.

Clothespress, 1730–1740. England, London. Mahogany, glass. H 98 in. (249 cm); W 45 3/4 in. (116 cm). Gift of Albert Sack. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

WHERE TO LEARN MORE



Colonial Williamsburg,  
Williamsburg, Virginia  
[www.colonialwilliamsburg.com/history/index.cfm](http://www.colonialwilliamsburg.com/history/index.cfm)



WHERE TO LEARN MORE

Mount Vernon, Virginia  
[www.mountvernon.org](http://www.mountvernon.org)



3-8

Manners and Etiquette in the Eighteenth Century

**Age of Enlightenment** Major intellectual movement occurring in Western Europe in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

WHEN DID the “Great Awakening” reach the colonies and what effect did it have there?

could read and write. Farther south, literacy rates were lower, but still higher than in England, where only a third of all men and even fewer women could read and write.

Elite colonists, however, were more consumers of British and European ideas than producers of an American intellectual tradition. They imported thousands of books, subscribed to British journals, and established libraries in Philadelphia, Charleston, and New York where borrowing privileges could be purchased for a modest fee. Students at Harvard in Cambridge (founded in 1636) modeled their college newspaper on an English periodical, *The Spectator*. In Virginia, William Byrd—the son of an Indian trader who had risen to the rank of gentleman—composed verse in the style of contemporary English poets, and Thomas Jefferson copied out passages from the English novel *Tristram Shandy*. Benjamin Franklin honed his writing skills by rewriting essays from *The Spectator* and comparing his versions to the originals.

Educated colonists were especially interested in the new ideas that characterized what has been called the **Age of Enlightenment**. A group of European thinkers drew inspiration from recent advances in science—such as the English scientist Isaac Newton’s explanation of the laws of gravity—that suggested that the universe operated according to natural laws that human reason could discover. They also drew on the work of the English philosopher John Locke, who maintained that God did not dictate human knowledge but rather gave us the power to acquire knowledge through experience and understanding. The hallmark of Enlightenment thought was a belief in the power of human reason to improve the human condition.

Enlightenment thinkers rejected earlier ideas about God’s unknowable will and continued intervention in human and natural events. They instead assigned God a less active role as the creator of the universe, who had set the world running according to predictable laws, and then let nature—and human beings—shape events.

Colonial intellectuals sought membership in a growing international community of scholars. A few of them—the Reverend Cotton Mather of Massachusetts, William Byrd, Benjamin Franklin—gained election to the Royal Society of London, the most prestigious learned society in the empire. Most of their scholarly contributions were unimpressive, but Benjamin Franklin achieved genuine intellectual prominence. His experiments with a kite proved that lightning was electricity and gained him an international reputation. Franklin also invented the lightning rod (which prevented fires in wooden buildings by channeling the electrical charge of a lightning bolt into the ground), bifocal spectacles, the iron “Franklin stove” (in which wood burned more efficiently than in fireplaces), and the glass harmonica.

Very few prosperous and educated colonists could afford such intellectual pursuits. Only after retiring from business at age 42 could Franklin purchase the equipment for his electrical discoveries and begin his scientific work, devoting the “leisure during the rest of my life for philosophical studies and amusements.” Most colonists remained ignorant of scientific advances and Enlightenment ideas. They had little leisure to devote to literature and polite conversation.

## COLONIAL RELIGION AND THE GREAT AWAKENING

**C**hurch steeples dominated the skylines of colonial cities. Often the largest and finest buildings in town, they bore witness to the thriving—and diverse—condition of religion in America.

In all New England colonies except Rhode Island, the Puritan (or Congregationalist) faith was the established religion. The many Congregational churches in the region, headed by ministers trained at Harvard College and Yale (founded



1701), served the majority of the colonists and received financial support from their taxes. Ministers and believers adapted in important ways to changing social and religious conditions.

The principal adaptation consisted of a move away from strict requirements for church membership. New England's founders had required prospective members to give convincing evidence that they had experienced a spiritual conversion. Only members could receive communion and have their children baptized. By the 1660s, however, fewer colonists sought admission under such strict standards, which left them and their unbaptized children outside the church. In 1662 the clergy adopted the **Halfway Covenant**, which allowed adults who had been baptized (because their parents were church members), but who had not themselves experienced conversion, to have their own children baptized. By the 1680s, some ministers made church admission even easier, requiring members only to demonstrate knowledge of the Christian faith and to live godly lives.

The Congregational Church also had to accept a measure of religious toleration in New England. In 1691, Massachusetts received a royal charter granting "liberty of Conscience" to all Protestants, bringing the colony into line with England's religious policy. Anglicans and Baptists eventually won exemptions from paying taxes to support the Congregational Church. At the same time, some Congregationalist preachers began emphasizing personal piety and good works in their sermons, ideas usually associated with Anglicanism.

In the South, the established Church of England consolidated its authority in the early eighteenth century but never succeeded in exerting effective control over spiritual life. Parishes often lacked trained clergy, and those who did emigrate encountered unexpected obstacles.

Anglican clergymen in the southern colonies served parishes that were vast and sparsely settled. One South Carolina parish, for example, contained 10,400 square miles—and only seven hundred white residents. Aware that the planters' taxes paid their salaries, many ministers found it easiest simply to preach and behave in ways that offered the least offense. In frontier regions, dissenting religious groups, such as Presbyterians, Quakers, and Baptists, gained followers among people neglected by the Anglican establishment.

No established church dominated in the Middle Colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The region's ethnically diverse population and William Penn's policy of religious toleration guaranteed that a multitude of groups would compete for followers. By the mid-eighteenth century, the region had more congregations per capita than even New England.

Groups such as the Quakers and the Mennonites, who did not believe in having specially trained ministers, easily formed new congregations in response to local demand. Lutheran and German Reformed churches, however, required European-educated clergy, who were always scarce. So pious laymen held worship services in their homes. When more Lutheran and Reformed clergy arrived in the 1740s and 1750s, they sometimes discovered that laymen balked at relinquishing control of the churches. Because so many other religious alternatives were available, these ministers had to compete for their parishioners' allegiance.

Bewildering spiritual diversity, relentless religious competition, and a comparatively weak Anglican Church all distinguished the colonies from England. Yet in one important way, religious developments during the middle third of the eighteenth century drew the colonies closer to England. A transatlantic religious revival, the **Great Awakening**, originated in Scotland and England, and first touched the Middle Colonies in the 1730s.

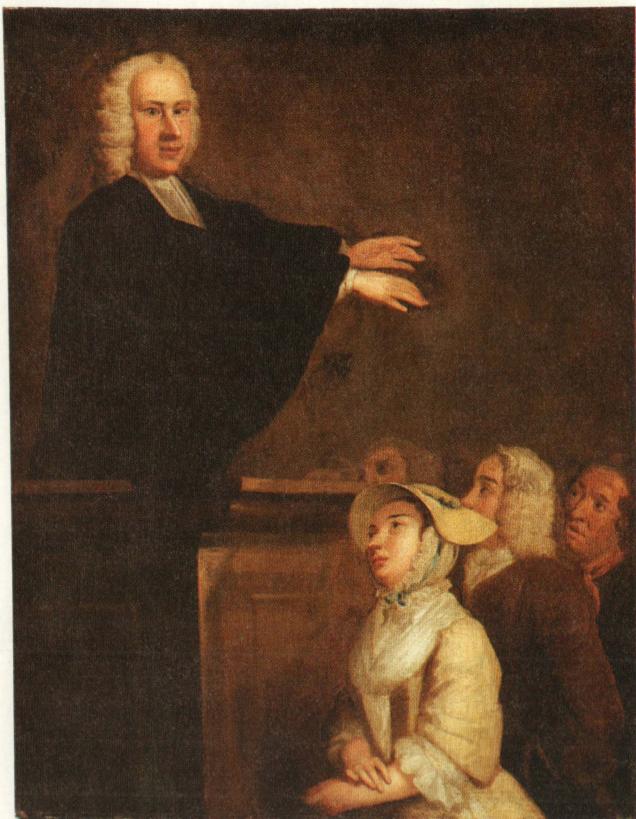
#### QUICK REVIEW

##### Church: Regional Variations

- ◆ New England: Congregational Church dominated.
- ◆ South: Church of England dominated.
- ◆ Middle colonies: no dominant church.

**Halfway Covenant** Plan adopted in 1662 by New England clergy to deal with the problem of declining church membership, allowing children of baptized parents to be baptized whether or not their parents had experienced conversion.

**Great Awakening** Tremendous religious revival in colonial America striking first in the Middle Colonies and New England in the 1740s and then spreading to the southern colonies.



**George Whitefield** (who, contemporaries noted, was cross-eyed) enjoyed a remarkable career as a powerful preacher on both sides of the Atlantic. This portrait shows him preaching indoors to a rapt audience. During his tour of the colonies, Whitefield reportedly had a similar effect on crowds of thousands who gathered outdoors to hear his sermons.

John Wollaston, "George Whitefield" ca. 1770. By courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

The Great Awakening was a religious movement occurring in North America in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It involved powerful emotional experiences and led to widespread religious conversions. It was particularly strong in New England and the Southern Colonies.

**New Lights** People who experienced conversion during the revivals of the Great Awakening.

By 1730, Presbyterians in Pennsylvania had split into factions. One group was led by an immigrant Scottish evangelist, William Tennent Sr., and his four sons. In the 1730s, Tennent set up the Log College in Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, to train his sons and other young men to be evangelical ministers. His challenge to the Presbyterian establishment gained momentum in late 1739, when one of the most charismatic evangelists of the century, George Whitefield, arrived in the colonies from England.

Whitefield, an Anglican priest, had experienced an intense religious conversion while he was still a university student. Famous in Britain as a preacher of great emotional intensity, he embarked on a tour of the colonies. In Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Whitefield's powerful preaching on the experience of conversion lent support to the Presbyterian faction led by the Tennents and sparked local revivals. Whitefield then moved on to New England, where some communities had already experienced small, local awakenings.

Whitefield exhorted his audiences to examine their souls for evidence of the "indwelling of Christ" that would indicate that they were saved. He criticized most ministers for emphasizing good works and "head-knowledge" instead of the emotional side of religion.

Whitefield's sermons scarcely resembled the colonists' structured church services. His sermons were highly dramatic performances. He preached outdoors to thousands of strangers, jostling in crowds that often outnumbered the populations of several villages put together.

In the wake of Whitefield's visits, Benjamin Franklin noted, "it seem'd as if all the World were growing Religious." Revivals and mass conversions often followed his appearances, to the happy astonishment of local clergy. But their approval evaporated when disputes between individuals converted in the revivals—called "New Lights"—and those who were not ("Old Lights") split churches. "Formerly the People could bear with each other in Charity when they differ'd in Opinion," lamented one colonist, "but they now break Fellowship and Communion with one another on that Account."

The Awakening came late to the southern colonies, but it was there, in the 1760s, that it produced perhaps its greatest controversy. Many southern converts became Baptists, combining their religious criticism of the Anglicans with a condemnation of the wealthy planters' way of life. Planters, in turn, viewed Baptists as dangerous people who could not "meet a man upon the road, but they must ram a text of Scripture down his throat." Most of all, they hated the Baptists for their willingness to preach to slaves.

The Great Awakening had a lasting impact on colonial society, forging new links between Great Britain and the colonies. Evangelical ministers on both sides of the Atlantic exchanged correspondence. Periodicals such as *The Christian History* informed British and American subscribers of advances in true religion throughout the empire.

In the colonies, the Awakening led to the founding of new colleges. Middle Colony evangelicals founded the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) in 1746. In the 1760s, New England Baptists established the College of Rhode Island (now Brown University). An evangelical wing of the Dutch Reformed Church founded Queens College (now Rutgers University) in 1766.



Everywhere, the New Light challenge to established ministers and churches undermined habits of deference to authority. Revivalists urged colonists to think for themselves in choosing which church to join and which minister to follow, not just conform to what the rest of the community did. As their churches fractured, Americans—particularly New Englanders—faced more choices than ever before in their religious lives.

The exercise of religious choice also influenced political behavior. Voters took note of whether candidates for office were New or Old Lights and cast their ballots for men on their own side. Tactics first used to mobilize religious groups—organizing committees, writing petitions and letters—proved useful for political activities as well.

## THE COLONIAL POLITICAL WORLD

The political legacy of the Great Awakening—particularly the emphasis on individual choice and resistance to authority—corresponded to developments in the colonial political world. For most of the seventeenth century, ties within the empire developed from trade rather than governance. But as America grew in wealth and population, king and Parliament sought to manage colonial affairs more directly than ever before.

### THE DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND AND THE LIMITS OF BRITISH CONTROL

When Charles II became king in 1660, he initially showed little interest in the colonies except as sources of land and government offices with which he could reward his supporters. With the passage of mercantile regulations governing colonial trade, for example, Parliament required customs officers to administer the imperial trading system and thus created a certain number of jobs.

Charles's brother James, the duke of York, envisioned a more tightly controlled empire. He encouraged Charles to appoint military officers, with strong ties of loyalty to him, as royal governors in America. In 1675, James convinced Charles to create the *Lords of Trade*, a committee of the Privy Council (the group of nobles who served as royal advisers), to oversee colonial affairs.

When James became king in 1685, the whole character of the empire abruptly changed. James set out to reorganize it along the lines of Spain's empire, combining the colonies into three or four large provinces. He appointed powerful governors to carry out policies that he himself would formulate.

James began in the north, creating the **Dominion of New England** out of eight previously separate colonies stretching from Maine (then part of Massachusetts) to New Jersey. He chose Sir Edmund Andros, a former army officer, to govern the vast region with an appointive council but no elective assembly. Andros moved to Boston and antagonized New Englanders by rigidly enforcing the Navigation Acts, limiting towns to just one annual meeting, remodeling the law courts, challenging property titles, and levying taxes without the colonists' consent. He even compelled Boston Puritans to share a meetinghouse with Anglicans.

Events in England ultimately sealed the fate of the Dominion. For years, English Protestants had worried about James's absolutist governing style and his conversion to Catholicism. Their fears increased in 1688 when the queen bore a son to carry on a Catholic line of succession. Parliament's leaders invited James's Protestant daughter, Mary, and her husband, William of Orange, the Stadtholder of the Netherlands, to take over the throne. In November 1688, William landed in

---

HOW DID the “Glorious Revolution” affect the colonists?

---

**Dominion of New England** James II's failed plan of 1686 to combine eight northern colonies into a single large province, to be governed by a royal appointee with no elective assembly.



England and gained the support of most of the English army. In December, James fled to France, ending a bloodless coup known as the **Glorious Revolution**.

Bostonians overthrew Andros the following April, even before they knew for sure that William was king. In 1691, Massachusetts received a new charter. Massachusetts now included within its borders what had formerly been Plymouth Colony as well as Maine. Its colonists no longer elected their governor, who would instead be appointed by the English monarch. Voters no longer had to be church members, and religious toleration was extended to all Protestants.

The new charter ended exclusive Puritan control in Massachusetts but also restored political stability. During the three years between Andros's overthrow and the arrival of a royal governor in 1692, the colony lacked a legally established government. In this atmosphere of uncertainty, a local outbreak of accusations of witchcraft in Salem grew to unprecedented proportions. In the winter of 1691–1692, when several young girls of Salem experienced fits and other strange behavior, hundreds of settlers were accused of witchcraft, and nineteen were hanged. Salem's crisis gathered momentum because the courts, which would normally have intervened to settle matters, were unable to function.

The impact of the Glorious Revolution in other colonies likewise reflected distinctive local conditions. In New York, Jacob Leisler, a rich merchant and militia captain, gained power and ruled in dictatorial fashion. Too slow in relinquishing command to the newly arrived royal governor in 1691, Leisler was arrested for treason and executed. In Maryland, Protestants used the occasion of William and Mary's accession to challenge the Catholic proprietorship. The Calvert family lost its governing powers but retained rights to vast quantities of land. The Anglican Church became the established faith, and Catholics were barred from public office.

The colonists' support of the Glorious Revolution largely reflected powerful anti-Catholic sentiment. William's firm Protestantism reassured them. But the Glorious Revolution in England and the demise of the Dominion had long-lasting effects that shaped political life in England and America for years to come.

## THE LEGACY OF THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

In England, the Glorious Revolution signaled a return to political stability after years of upheaval. In 1689, Parliament passed the Bill of Rights, which justified James's ouster and bound future monarchs to abide by the rule of law. They could not suspend parliamentary laws, collect taxes or engage in foreign wars without Parliament's consent, or maintain a standing army in peacetime. Parliamentary elections and meetings would follow a regular schedule without royal interference. In sum, Parliament claimed to be the crown's equal partner in governing England.

Colonists believed that their successful resistance to Andros confirmed that their membership in the empire was founded on voluntary allegiance and not forced submission to the mother country. Observing the similarity between Parliament and the colonial assemblies, they concluded that their own legislatures had a critical role in governance and in the protection of their rights. Parliament, however, claimed full authority over the colonies and did not recognize their assemblies as its equal.

William and his immediate successors lacked James's compulsion to control the colonies. In 1696, William replaced the Lords of Trade with the *Board of Trade*, which gathered information from the colonies and recommended policy changes but itself had no executive role. William also approved the *Navigation Act of 1696*, which closed loopholes in earlier laws and created vice-admiralty courts in the colonies similar to those of England. Admiralty judges settled maritime disputes and smuggling cases without using juries.

### QUICK REVIEW

#### Glorious Revolution

- ◆ 1688: James II forced from throne in bloodless coup.
- ◆ Massachusetts receives new charter.
- ◆ Broad support for Glorious Revolution throughout colonies.

**Glorious Revolution** Bloodless revolt that occurred in England in 1688 when parliamentary leaders invited William of Orange, a Protestant, to assume the English throne.



The mild imperial rule of the early eighteenth century, later called the era of “salutary neglect,” allowed the colonies to grow in wealth, population, and self-government. It also encouraged colonial self-confidence, leading colonists to assume equality with the English as members of the empire.

## DIVERGING POLITICS IN THE COLONIES AND GREAT BRITAIN

English people on both sides of the Atlantic believed that politics ought to reflect social organization. They often compared the state to a family. Just as fathers headed families, adult men led societies. In particular, adult male property holders, who enjoyed economic independence, claimed the right to vote and hold office. Women (who generally could not own property), propertyless men, and slaves had no political role because they, like children, were subordinate to the authority of others, which rendered them incapable of exercising freedom of choice.

English people believed that rulers ought to govern with the same fairness and benevolence that fathers presumably exercised within their families. When George II became king in 1727, he reassured Parliament of his “constant care” to “secure to All My subjects, the full Enjoyment of their religious and civil Rights.” In return for protection, the people owed their rulers the same obedience that children accorded their parents. The House of Commons responded to George II’s assurance of goodwill in 1727 with its own promise of “Duty, Zeal and Affection to Your Majesty’s Person and Government.” (See “American Views: Boston Celebrates a New King”)

Eighteenth-century people also believed that government should reflect society’s hierarchical organization. In England, the crown represented the interests of the royal family. Parliament represented society’s two main divisions: the aristocracy in the *House of Lords* and the common people in the *House of Commons*. Americans shared the view that government should mirror social hierarchies but found it much more difficult to put the idea into practice.

American social and political structure never fully mirrored that of England. One of the most obvious differences was that America lacked an aristocracy. In England, the members of this tiny privileged minority were easily recognizable by their great wealth, prestigious family lines, leisured lives, and official titles of nobility. British America had elites but no aristocracy.

In both England and America, land ownership was the prerequisite for political participation. By the mid-eighteenth century, only one-tenth of all English heads of households owned all the country’s land, and thus only a tiny portion of men could vote. In America, however, a large majority of white male farmers owned the land they tilled. In most colonies, 50 to 75 percent of white men were eligible to vote.

In England, electoral districts for Parliament often reflected their status in past centuries. Dunwich retained its right to elect a parliamentary representative long after the city itself had washed into the North Sea. Meanwhile, rapidly growing cities, such as Manchester, lacked any representative. Most of the English accepted the idea of **virtual representation**, which held that representatives served the interests of the nation as a whole, not just the locality from which they came. They assumed that since the colonists held interests in common with English people at home, they were virtually represented in Parliament—just like Manchester’s residents.

Since the founding of their colonies, however, Americans had experienced **actual representation** and believed that elected representatives should be directly responsive to local interests. They were accustomed to instructing their legis-

*Social org.  
hierarchical org.*

\*

**Virtual representation** The notion that parliamentary members represented the interests of the nation as a whole, not those of the particular district that elected them.

**Actual representation** The practice whereby elected representatives normally reside in their districts and are directly responsive to local interests.



## ♦ AMERICAN VIEWS ♦

### BOSTON CELEBRATES A NEW KING (AUGUST 1727)

**T**he first colonial newspaper, the Boston News-Letter, appeared in that city in 1704. By the 1720s, Bostonians could choose from three newspapers, and New York and Philadelphia each had one. Published weekly, these papers mainly reported on English and European affairs and often reprinted essays by English political writers. They carried little local news, though colonists could learn of this by word of mouth. But when extraordinary events occurred, such as the accession of a new British monarch, colonial newspapers reported on the local response. The following extract describes Bostonians' reaction to the accession of George II.

**HOW DID** Bostonians commemorate the new king's accession? What does this reveal about their attitudes toward George II and British government in general? Who was invited to the "splendid Entertainment," and what does this reveal about the structure of Boston society?

On Wednesday Morning by order of His Honour William Dummer, Esq., our Lieut. Governour & Commander in chief[,] three Regiments of the Militia and five Troops of horse were under arms in the great street before the State-house, making a very fine appearance. The number of Spectators exceeded the Men in Arms, covering the houses on

every side. As soon as the Herald had said his Amen to God Save the King, the loud and joyful Huzza's of so great a multitude rent the skies, the Regiments made a tripple discharge, the Castle Forts & Ships fir'd their cannon; and a splendid Entertainment follow'd for the Lieut. Governour and his Majesty's Council, Officers, Justices, and the Rev[eren]d Ministers present; with suitable provisions for the Regiments and Troops. The bells rung all the day, and in the Evening the Rejoycing was continued with Fire-works and Bonfires, and the whole Town illuminated in an extraordinary manner, the Windows of each story of the Houses in the principal streets having three or four rows of candles in them. The streets were fill'd all the Evening with the Gentry of both Sexes, who appear'd with much decency and gravity, and with gayety and chearfulness. At nine of the clock a welcome rain, after a time of much heat and drought, put an end to the Ceremony. . . . We pray God, by whom Kings reign, that the royal smiles of His Majesty King George the Second, and the happy influences of his wise and just Government, may ever be falling on all his Majesty's Dominions, and on this loyal and dutiful Province in particular.

Source: *New England Weekly Journal* (August 21, 1727).

tors about how to vote on important issues. Colonial representatives, unlike members of Parliament, resided in their districts. The Americans' experience with actual representation made them extremely skeptical of Parliament's claims to virtual representation.

The most direct political confrontations between England and the colonies focused on the role of colonial governors. In every colony except Connecticut and Rhode Island, either the king or proprietors appointed the governors. Their interests thus lay with their English patrons and not the colonies. Governors exercised greater powers over the colonial assemblies than the king (after the Glorious Revolution) did over Parliament. Governors could veto laws enacted by the assemblies and initiate legislation in consultation with councilors whom they appointed. They could delay legislative sessions, dissolve the assemblies at will, and nominate and dismiss colonial judges as they wished.

Several conditions hampered governors' efforts to exercise their legal authority. Many arrived with detailed instructions on how to govern, which limited their ability to negotiate with colonists over sensitive issues. Governors controlled few offices or other prizes with which to buy the allegiance of their opponents.



They struggled to dominate assemblies that grew in size as the colonial population expanded. And in several colonies, including Massachusetts and New York, governors relied on the assemblies to appropriate the money for their salaries—a financial dependence that restrained even the most autocratic executive.

In response to the perceived threat of powerful governors, colonial assemblies asserted themselves as never before. They sent agents (including such prominent figures as Benjamin Franklin) to England to lobby on behalf of colonial interests. Local factions fought for election to the increasingly important legislature, leading to some of the most contentious politics in the British Empire.

Decades of struggles with governors led colonists to exalt the assemblies' role as the guarantors of their liberties. Most colonists, however, believed that as long as Parliament treated the Americans as partners in empire and refrained from ruling by coercion, colonists could celebrate British government as "the most perfect combination of human powers in society . . . for the preservation of liberty and the production of happiness."

Describe how the Politics of Great Britain and the colonies diverged in the 18th century

## EXPANDING EMPIRES

**D**uring the first half of the eighteenth century, England, Spain, and France all enlarged their North American holdings. England's empire continued to expand as a result of the unrelenting growth of its colonial population. Spain and France still relied on missionaries, soldiers, and traders to stake their claims to American territory. In the eighteenth century as in the seventeenth, English settlement generally displaced native peoples. Newly established Spanish and French colonies, however, contained small numbers of Europeans amid much larger populations of Indians. Over time, these empires came into closer contact with one another, intensifying the competition for land, trade, resources, and Indian allies.

### BRITISH COLONISTS IN THE BACKCOUNTRY

Black and white settlers in the mainland colonies numbered 265,000 in 1700; by 1770, they had increased to 2.3 million. Benjamin Franklin predicted in 1750 that if the colonial population continued to grow at this rate, within two hundred years "the greatest Number of Englishmen will be on this Side" of the Atlantic Ocean.

Much of this growth stemmed from natural increase. White families, particularly in the northern colonies, often had between five and ten children, most of whom survived to produce many more offspring. When 80-year-old Judith Coffin, the matriarch of an unusually large Massachusetts family, died in 1705, she had a total of 177 children and grandchildren. By the mid-eighteenth century, even the slave population began to reproduce itself, although more slowly than the white population.

Immigration also boosted the population. Thousands of Scots-Irish and German settlers—and many involuntary African immigrants—increased the population of the Lower South at nearly twice the rate of New England, which attracted few immigrants (and therefore remained the most thoroughly English of all colonial regions). By 1770, Pennsylvania had 240,000 settlers—ten times the number it had in 1710. Indeed, extensive German immigration worried Pennsylvania leaders. Like Benjamin Franklin, they feared that the newcomers would "never adopt our Language or Customs" and would soon "be so numerous as to Germanize us."

Most of the coast from Maine to Georgia was settled by 1760, forcing many immigrants and descendants of earlier settlers to move inland. The most dramatic

WHAT GEOGRAPHIC area made up the "backcountry" and who settled there?



Painted at about the time Franklin retired from his printing business, this portrait depicts the one-time craftsman as an aspiring gentleman.

Robert Feke (1707–1752), Portrait of Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), c. 1746. Oil on canvas, 127 x 92 cm. Courtesy of the Harvard University Portrait Collection. Bequest of Dr. John Collins Warren, 1856.



## WHERE TO LEARN MORE

★ Berkeley and Westover Plantations,  
Charles City, Virginia  
[www.jamesriverplantations.org](http://www.jamesriverplantations.org)

expansion occurred in the foothills and valleys of the Appalachian Mountains from Pennsylvania to Georgia, a region known as the backcountry. Between 1730 and 1770, nearly a quarter of a million German, Scots-Irish, and English colonists entered the backcountry. They mainly raised crops and livestock for subsistence on small, isolated farms. Community life developed slowly, in part because backcountry settlers often moved frequently. In addition, a surplus of men among the first settlers delayed the formation of families.

Contemporary observers derided the crudeness of frontier life. William Byrd, a wealthy planter from Virginia's Tidewater, scornfully described one backcountry house as a “castle containing of one dirty room with a dragging door to it that will neither open or shut.” Charles Woodmason, an English-born Anglican missionary, was appalled by the sight of western Carolina settlers who “Live in Logg Cabbins like Hogs.” Genteel observers offered what they considered the most damaging insult by referring to such settlers as “white Indians.”

Yet many coastal planters—including William Byrd and George Washington—acquired vast tracts of western land with the intent to sell it to these “crude” settlers. During the 1740s and 1750s, scores of Virginia planters, northern merchants, and London investors formed companies whose purpose was to profit from this kind of land speculation. Their interests collided with those of settlers—squatters—who occupied the land without acquiring legal title in the hope that their labor in clearing farms would establish their property rights.

Backcountry settlers often complained that rich eastern planters, who dominated the colonial legislatures, ignored western demands for adequate representation. Many argued that the crudeness of frontier life was only temporary. Perhaps the best measure of their desire to resemble eastern planters was the spread of slaveholding. In one western Virginia county in 1750, only one-fifth of the household heads owned slaves. Just nineteen years later, more than half of them did.

Colonists who moved to the backcountry often displaced native groups. Indians moving to avoid friction with whites, however, frequently encroached on lands claimed by other tribes—particularly those of the Iroquois Confederacy—leading to conflict among native peoples.

Even where English settlers had not yet appeared, English and Scottish traders could often be found, aggressively pursuing trade with the Indians. Spanish and French observers feared this commercial expansion even more than the movement of settlers. Knowing that the Indians viewed trade as a counterpart to military alliance, the Spanish and French expanded their own territorial claims and tried to strengthen relations with Indian peoples.

## THE SPANISH IN TEXAS AND CALIFORNIA

Spanish Florida had become the target of English raiders from South Carolina. Years of religious persecution and forced labor under Spanish rule encouraged Florida’s Indians to oppose the Spanish, but the natives also liked English trade goods and guns. Spain held on to coastal bases at St. Augustine, San Marcos de Apalachee, and Pensacola, but by the mid-eighteenth century, control of Florida’s interior effectively passed to Indian bands allied with the English.

In 1700, Franciscan priests in New Mexico, fearful of sparking another native revolt, eased their labor demands and avoided outright religious persecution, allowing the Pueblos to retain many of their customs and religious practices. New Mexican officials worried about news brought by Apache hunters that Frenchmen who might contest Spanish control had been seen on the plains.

To create a buffer zone around their existing colonies, the Spanish moved into Texas and California. Franciscan priests established several missions in east Texas be-



## WHERE TO LEARN MORE

★ Mission Parkway,  
San Antonio, Texas  
<http://hotx.com/missions/>

tween 1690 and 1720. San Antonio, founded in 1718, served as a way station between the Rio Grande and east Texas missions; its fortified chapel, San Antonio de Valero, later became famous as the Alamo. The Spanish advance into Texas, however, met with resistance from the French (who also had outposts on the Gulf Coast) and from the Caddos and other Indians armed with French guns. With only 1,800 settlers there as late as 1742, Spain exerted a weak hold on Texas.

Largely through the efforts of two men—José de Gálvez, a royal official, and Junípero Serra, a Franciscan priest—the Spanish constructed a string of forts and missions in California from San Diego north to San Francisco between 1769 and 1776. They initially encountered little opposition from California's Indians, who lived in small, scattered villages and lacked experience with organized warfare. With no European rivals nearby to compete with them, the Spanish erected an extensive mission system designed to convert and educate Indians and set them to work. Thousands of native laborers farmed irrigated fields and tended horses, sheep, and cattle.

The Spanish worked the Indians hard and maintained them in overcrowded, unsanitary dwellings. Native women suffered from sexual exploitation by Spanish soldiers. Epidemics of European diseases reduced the Indian population from 300,000 in 1769 to about 200,000 fifty years later. Signs of native resistance met with quick and cruel punishment—including whipping, burning, and execution—so that the Indians would not (as one official later wrote) “come to know their power” over the vastly outnumbered Spanish. (As late as 1790, California had only 990 Spanish residents.) Despite the gruesome consequences, Indians staged several revolts during the eighteenth century, but Spanish soldiers usually suppressed them quickly.

Spain's empire grew, even as it weakened, during the eighteenth century. From the beginning, Spain's vision of empire had rested not on extensive settlement but on expansive territorial claims backed up by soldiers and missionaries who subjugated native peoples in order to control their labor for Spanish profit. After 1700, however, the Spanish simply could not compete with the vigorous commercial empires of France and England.

### THE FRENCH ALONG THE MISSISSIPPI AND IN LOUISIANA

French expansion followed major waterways—the St. Lawrence River, the Great Lakes, the Mississippi—into the heart of North America. Explorers reached the Mississippi Valley in the 1670s. Within twenty years, French outposts appeared along the Gulf Coast. New Orleans, the capital and main port of French Louisiana, was founded in 1718. Soon forts, trading posts, and villages sprang up in the continent's interior—a chain of way stations between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico. Defying official regulators, French colonists settled in six villages along the Mississippi in a place they called the *Pays des Illinois*.

The first Illinois settlers were independent fur traders (*courreurs de bois*, or “woods runners”) unwilling to return to Canada after the French government tried to prohibit their direct trade with Indians. Many found Christian Indian wives and began farming the rich lands along the river. The settlers and other Canadian emigrants, using the labor of their families and of black and Indian slaves, produced profitable surpluses of wheat, corn, and livestock to feed the growing population of New Orleans and the lower Mississippi Valley.

French Louisiana contained a diverse population of Indian peoples, French soldiers and settlers, German immigrants, and African slaves who, by the 1730s,



**This panel of** an eighteenth-century painting by an unknown Me artist is representative of a genre of arts illustrating the categories Sh colonists developed to describe the offspring of various kinds of marriage. This one, labeled “Spanish father, an Indian mother, and mestizo child. The scarcity of European women made mixed marriage common in Spanish colonies. Such unions were exceedingly rare in the English colonies, where cultural preferences—the relative abundance of European women—discouraged intermarriage.

Schalkwijk, Art Resource, N.Y.

Country (Best Whig) reading. Some thought (including some in the colonies) that personal liberty and the protection of property rights, best appearing in England, were the best way to live. But others, like George Washington, believed that the best way to live was to be a good farmer.

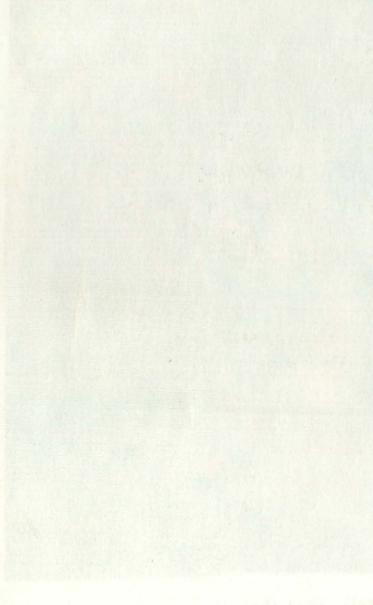
#### WHERE TO LEARN MORE

Ste. Genevieve Historic District,  
Ste. Genevieve, Missouri  
[www.stegenevieve.com/histsite.htm](http://www.stegenevieve.com/histsite.htm)

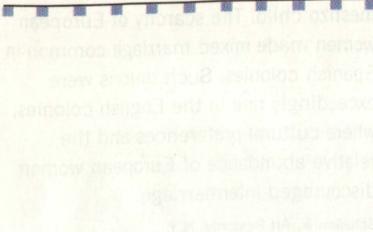


3-3

Early French Explorations of the Mississippi River (1673)



### HOW DID the French and Indian War affect the colonists?



**King William's War** The first Anglo-French conflict in North America (1689–1697), the American phase of Europe's War of the League of Augsburg.

**Queen Anne's War** American phase (1702–1713) of Europe's War of the Spanish Succession.

outnumbered European colonists. Louisiana's economy depended mainly on the combined efforts of Indians, settlers, and slaves, who farmed, herded, fished, and traded deerskins. Due to the lack of profits, however, substantial European emigration to Louisiana essentially ceased after the 1720s.

But the French approach to empire—in Louisiana as in Canada—had always depended more on Indian alliances than on settlement. Louisiana's principal allies, the Choctaws, and other Indians offered trade and military assistance in return for guns, trade goods, French help in fighting English raiders seeking Indian slaves, and occasional French mediation of Indian disputes.

French expansion along the Mississippi Valley drove a wedge between Florida and Spain's other mainland colonies; it also blocked the westward movement of English settlers. But France's enlarged empire was only as strong as the Indian alliances on which it rested. The fear of losing Indian favor preoccupied officials because France's empire in America consisted of two disconnected pieces: New France, centered in the St. Lawrence Valley and the Great Lakes basin, and Louisiana, stretching from New Orleans to the *Pays de Illinois*. Between them lay one thousand miles of wilderness through which only one thoroughfare passed—the Ohio River. For decades, communication between the two parts of France's North American empire posed no problem because Indians in the Ohio Valley allowed the French free passage through their lands. If that policy ended, however, France's New World empire would be dangerously divided.

## A CENTURY OF WARFARE

From the time of the Glorious Revolution, English foreign policy aimed at limiting the expansion of French influence. This resulted in a series of four wars, which increasingly involved their American colonies as well as Spain and its colonies. The conclusion of the final conflict signaled a dramatic shift in North American history (see the overview table “The Colonial Wars, 1689–1763”).

### IMPERIAL CONFLICT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AMERICAN BALANCE OF POWER, 1689–1738

When he became king of England in 1688, the Dutch Protestant William of Orange was already fighting the War of the League of Augsburg against France's Catholic king, Louis XIV. William brought England into the conflict. The war lasted until 1697 and ended—as most eighteenth-century European wars did—in a negotiated peace that reestablished the balance of power. Little territory changed hands, either in this war or in the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713), which followed it.

In America, these two wars—known to British colonists as **King William's War** and **Queen Anne's War**, after the monarchs on the throne at the time—ended with equal indecisiveness. New France's Indian allies attacked New England's northern frontier with devastating success. New Englanders struck back at the exposed settlements of Acadia, which ultimately entered the British Empire as Nova Scotia, and tried unsuccessfully to seize Quebec. Neither war caused more than marginal changes for the colonies in North America. Both had profound effects, however, on the English state and on the Iroquois League.

All European states of the eighteenth century financed their wars by borrowing. But the English were the first to realize that wartime debts did not necessarily have to be repaid during the following peace. The government instead created a funded debt. Having borrowed heavily from large joint-stock corporations, the government agreed to use tax revenues to pay interest on those loans but not to pay off the loans themselves. The corporations agreed because the interest payments amounted to a steady form of income that over the long run could



# OVERVIEW

## THE COLONIAL WARS, 1689–1763

Name in the Colonies	European Name and Dates	Dates in America	Results for Britain
King William's War	War of the League of Augsburg, 1688–1697	1689–1697	• Reestablished balance of power between England and France
Queen Anne's War	War of Spanish Succession, 1702–1714	1702–1713	• Britain acquired Nova Scotia
King George's War	War of Austrian Succession, 1739–1748	1744–1748	• Britain returned Louisbourg to France • British settlers began moving westward • Weakening of Iroquois neutrality
French and Indian War	Seven Years' War, 1756–1763	1754–1763	• Britain acquired Canada and all French territory east of Mississippi • Britain gained Florida from Spain

amount to more than the original loans. In this way, England became the first European country to harness its national economy efficiently to military ends.

As the debt grew larger, more taxes were necessary to pay interest on it and for a powerful navy and a standing army. When the treasury created a larger and more efficient bureaucracy to collect taxes, many Englishmen's anxiety emerged as a strain of thought known as **Country, or "Real Whig," ideology**, which stressed the threats that a standing army and a powerful state posed to personal liberty. It also emphasized the dangers of taxation to property rights and the need for property holders to retain their right to consent to taxation. Real Whig politicians publicized their fears but could not stop the growth of the state. In every successive war, the claims of national interest and patriotism—and the prospect of profit for parties rich enough to lend money to the government—overrode the objections of those who feared the expansion of state power.

In America, the first two imperial wars transformed the role of the Iroquois League. By 1700, the League had suffered such horrendous losses—perhaps a quarter of the population had died from causes related to King William's War—that its leaders created the **Grand Settlement of 1701**, a policy of neutrality with regard to the French and British Empires. Their goal was to refrain from alliances with either European power and instead maneuver between them. The Iroquois's strategic location between New France and the English colonies allowed them to serve as a geographical and diplomatic buffer between the two. This neutralist policy ensured that for nearly fifty years neither England nor France could gain ascendancy in North America.

Iroquois neutrality offered benefits to the Europeans as well as the Indians. To smooth relations with the English, the Iroquois sold them land formerly occupied by Delawares and Susquehannocks. This simultaneously helped satisfy the colonists' land hunger and enrich the Iroquois League. Meanwhile, a neutral Iroquois League claiming control over the Ohio Valley and blocking English access across the Appalachian Mountains helped the French protect the strategic corridor of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys that linked Canada and Louisiana.

If the English ever established a permanent presence on this strategic corridor, however, the Iroquois would cease to be of use to the French. The Iroquois remained reasonably effective at keeping the British out of the Ohio Valley until the late 1740s. The next European war, however, altered these circumstances.

**Country (Real Whig) ideology** Strain of thought (focusing on the threat to personal liberty and the taxation of property holders) first appearing in England in the late seventeenth century in response to the growth of governmental power and a national debt.

**Grand Settlement of 1701** Separate peace treaties negotiated by Iroquois diplomats at Montreal and Albany that marked the beginning of Iroquois neutrality in conflicts between the French and the British in North America.



## QUICK REVIEW

**War and Trade**

- ◆ British efforts to poach on Spanish trade spark war.
- ◆ New Englanders attack Canada.
- ◆ Merchants undermine military efforts by trading with enemy.



**This, the earliest** known portrait of George Washington, was painted by Charles Wilson Peale in 1772. It depicts him in his military uniform from the French and Indian War. Military service helped to strengthen Washington's ties with the British Empire.

Washington/Custis/Lee Collection, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, VA.

**King George's War** The third Anglo-French war in North America (1744–1748), part of the European conflict known as the War of the Austrian Succession.

**Treaty of Lancaster** Negotiation in 1744 whereby Iroquois chiefs sold Virginia land speculators the right to trade at the Forks of the Ohio.

**KING GEORGE'S WAR SHIFTS THE BALANCE, 1739–1754**

The third confrontation between Britain and France in Europe, the *War of the Austrian Succession* (**King George's War** to the British colonists) began as a small war between Britain and Spain in 1739. Its immediate cause was British attempts to poach on trade to Spain's Caribbean colonies. But in 1744, France joined in the war against Britain and conflict erupted in North America.

New Englanders tried once again to attack Canada. This time, their target was the great fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, a naval base that dominated the Gulf of St. Lawrence. An expedition from Massachusetts and Connecticut, supported by a squadron of Royal Navy warships, captured Louisbourg in 1745 and cut Canada off from French reinforcement and resupply. English forces should now have been able to conquer New France.

Instead, politically influential merchants in Albany, New York, continued to trade with the enemy via Lake Champlain, enabling Canada to hold out until the end of the war. When the peace treaty was signed in 1748, Britain, which had fared badly in the European fighting, returned Louisbourg to France. This diplomatic adjustment, routine by European standards, shocked New Englanders. New York's illegal trade with the enemy, unremarkable by previous colonial standards, appalled British administrators.

Even before the war's end, aggressive English traders from Pennsylvania began moving west to buy furs from Indians who had once traded with the French. The movements of these traders, along with the appearance of Virginians in the Ohio Valley after 1748, gravely concerned the French.

In 1749, the governor general of New France set out to assert direct control over the region by building a set of forts from Lake Erie to the Forks of the Ohio. This signaled the end of France's commitment to Iroquois neutrality. The chiefs of the Iroquois League now found themselves trapped between empires edging closer to confrontation in the Ohio Valley.

The appearance of English traders in the valley offering goods on better terms than the French or the Iroquois had ever provided also undermined Iroquois dominance. The Ohio Valley Indians increasingly ignored Iroquois claims of control and pursued their own independent course.

One spur to their disaffection from the Iroquois was the 1744 **Treaty of Lancaster**, by which Iroquois chiefs had sold a group of Virginia land speculators rights to trade at the Forks of the Ohio. The Virginians assumed that these trading rights included the right to acquire land for eventual sale to settlers. The Ohio Valley Indians found this intolerable, as did the French. When in 1754 the government of Virginia sent out a small body of soldiers under Lieutenant Colonel George Washington to protect Virginia's claims to the Forks of the Ohio, the French struck decisively to stop them.

**THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, 1754–1763: A DECISIVE VICTORY**

In April 1754, French soldiers overwhelmed a group of Virginians who had been building a small fort at the Forks of the Ohio. They then erected a much larger fort of their own on the spot, Fort Duquesne. The French intended to follow up by similarly ousting Washington's weak, untrained troops, who had encamped further up the Monongahela River. However, at the end of May, Washington's men killed or captured all but one of the members of a small French reconnaissance party. The French decided to teach the Virginians a lesson. On July 3, they attacked Washington at his encampment, Fort Necessity. The next day, with a quarter of his troops killed or wounded, Washington surrendered.

British imperial officials worried that the Iroquois might ally with the French. Britain ordered New York's governor to convene an intercolonial meeting in Albany—known as the *Albany Congress*—to discuss matters with the Iroquois. Several prominent colonists, including Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts and Benjamin



Franklin, took advantage of the occasion to put forward the **Albany Plan of Union**, which called for an intercolonial union to coordinate colonial defense, levy taxes, and regulate Indian affairs. But the colonies, too suspicious of one another to see their common interests, rejected the Albany Plan.

Meanwhile, the French expulsion of the Virginians left the Indians of the region, Delawares and Shawnees, with no choice but to ally with the French in what came to be called the **French and Indian War**. Soon French and Indian attacks fell like hammer blows on backcountry settlements from Pennsylvania to the Carolinas. Iroquois neutrality no longer mattered. Europeans were at last contending directly for control of the Ohio Country.

The French and Indian War blazed in America for two years before it erupted as a fourth Anglo-French war in Europe in 1756. Known in Europe as the *Seven Years' War* (1756–1763), it involved fighting in the Caribbean, Africa, India, and the Philippine Islands as well as in Europe and North America. It was unlike any other eighteenth-century conflict not only in its immense scope and expense but also in its decisive outcome.

During the first phase of the war, the French enjoyed a string of successes as they followed what had been a proven strategy in previous conflicts, guerrilla war. Relying on Indian allies and Canadian soldiers, the French raided English frontier settlements, killing and capturing hundreds of civilians and forcing tens of thousands more to flee. Then they attacked fortified outposts whenever the opportunity appeared. This style of warfare allowed the Canadians' Indian allies—who came from all over the Northeast and the upper Midwest—to act independently in choosing targets and tactics.

In 1755, Britain dispatched troops to attack Fort Duquesne. Major General Edward Braddock marched to within ten miles of Fort Duquesne, only to have his 1,450-man force surrounded and destroyed by Indians and Canadian militiamen. Braddock's defeat set the tone for virtually every military engagement of the next three years and opened a period of demoralization and internal conflict in the British colonies.

Britain responded by sending a new commander in chief, Lord Loudoun, to set colonial military affairs on a professional footing. He insisted on managing every aspect of the war effort, not only directing the campaigns but also dictating the amount of support, in men and money, that each colony would provide. The colonists grew increasingly stubborn in response to Loudoun's high-handed style. Colonial soldiers objected to Loudoun's command and colonial assemblies refused to cooperate.

Britain's aim had been to "rationalize" the war by making it conform to European professional military standards. This approach to warfare required soldiers to advance in formation in the face of massed musket fire without breaking rank. Such iron discipline was enforced—as in the British army—by savage punishments, including hundreds of lashes at the whipping post. Few colonial volunteers met professional standards, and few colonists thought them necessary. British officers assumed that colonial soldiers were simply lazy cowards. Colonial volunteers, appalled to see men lashed "till the blood came out at the knee" of their breeches, saw British officers as brutal task-masters. They resisted all efforts to impose such discipline on their own units, even to the point of desertion and mutiny.

In 1756, the marquis de Montcalm, a strong proponent of European professional standards of military conduct, assumed command of French forces. In his first battle, the successful siege of Fort Oswego, New York, Montcalm was horrified by the behavior of his Indian allies, which included killing wounded prisoners, taking personal captives, and collecting scalps as trophies. He came to regard the Indians—so essential to the defense of New France—as mere savages.

Following his next victory, the capture of Fort William Henry, New York, Montcalm conformed to European practice by allowing the defeated garrison to go home in return for the promise not to fight again. Montcalm's Indian allies—a thousand or more strong—were not to take prisoners, trophies, or plunder.

## WHERE TO LEARN MORE



Johnson Hall, Johnstown, New York  
[www.johnstown.com/city/johnsn.html](http://www.johnstown.com/city/johnsn.html)



3-9

"The Storm Arising in the West," George Washington Delivers a Warning to the French (1753)

**Albany Plan of Union** Plan put forward in 1754 calling for an intercolonial union to manage defense and Indian affairs. The plan was rejected by participants at the Albany Congress.

**French and Indian War** The last of the Anglo-French colonial wars (1754–1763) and the first in which fighting began in North America. The war ended with France's defeat.



The tragic result came to be known as the Massacre of Fort William Henry. Feeling betrayed by their French allies, the Indians took captives and trophies anyway, killing as many as 185 defenders and taking about 300 captive. Ironically, Montcalm's efforts to limit the war's violence alienated his Indian allies and helped the British army and its colonial auxiliaries to win an unlimited victory.

At the same time that the Europeanization of the war was weakening the French, the British moderated their policies and reached accommodation with the colonists. William Pitt, who as secretary of state directed the British war effort from late 1757 through 1761, realized that friction between the colonists and the commander in chief arose from the colonists' sense that they were bearing all the financial burdens of the war without having any say in how the war was fought. Pitt's ingenious solutions were to promise reimbursements to the colonies in proportion to their contribution to the war effort, to deemphasize the power of the commander in chief, and to replace the arrogant Loudoun with a less objectionable officer.

Pitt's money and measures restored colonial morale. He sent thousands of British soldiers to America to fight alongside tens of thousands of colonial troops. The Anglo-American forces operated more successfully, seizing Louisbourg again in 1758. Once more, Canada experienced crippling shortages of supplies, weapons, and trade goods. British emissaries persuaded the Delawares and Shawnees to abandon their French alliance, and late in 1758, an Anglo-American force again marched on Fort Duquesne. In command of its lead battalion was Colonel George Washington. The French defenders, abandoned by their native allies and confronted by overwhelming force, blew up the fort and retreated to the Great Lakes.

From this point on, the Anglo-Americans suffered no setbacks and the French won no victories. Montcalm, forced back to Quebec, decided to risk everything in a European-style, open-field battle against a British force led by General James Wolfe. At the Battle of Quebec (September 13, 1759), Montcalm lost the gamble—and his life (as did the victorious General Wolfe).

What finally decided the outcome of the war in America was the Battle of Quiberon Bay in France (November 20, 1759), which cost the French navy its ability to operate on the Atlantic, preventing it from carrying reinforcements and supplies to Canada. The Iroquois decision to enter the war on the side of the Anglo-Americans tipped the balance irrevocably against the French. The last ragged, hungry defenders of Canada, surrounded at Montreal by a vastly superior Anglo-American-Iroquoian force, surrendered on September 8, 1760.

## THE TRIUMPH OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1763

The war pitting Britain against France and Spain (which had entered the fighting as a French ally in 1762) concluded with an uninterrupted series of British victories. In the Caribbean, every valuable sugar island the French owned came under British control. Britain's capture of the Philippine capital of Manila on October 5 literally carried British power around the world.

Hostilities ended formally on February 10, 1763, with the conclusion of the **Treaty of Paris**. France regained its West Indian sugar islands—its most valuable colonial possessions—but lost the rest of its North American empire. France ceded to Britain all its claims to lands east of the Mississippi River (except the city of New Orleans) and compensated Spain for the losses it had sustained as an ally by handing over all claims to the Trans-Mississippi West and the port of New Orleans (see Map 4–2). Britain returned Cuba and the Philippines to Spain and in compensation received Florida. Now Great Britain owned everything east of the Mississippi, from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson's Bay. With France and Spain both humbled and on the verge of financial collapse, Britain seemed pre-eminent in Europe and ready to dominate in the New World. Never before had Americans felt more pride in being British.

This, the earliest known portrait of George Washington, was painted by Charles Wilson Peale in 1772. It depicts him in his military uniform from the French and Indian War. Military service helped to strengthen Washington's ties with the British Empire.

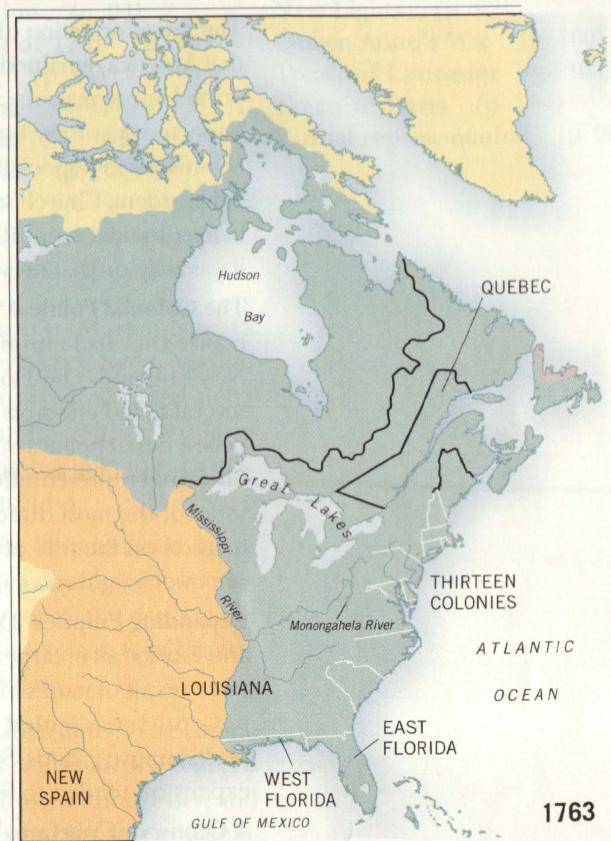
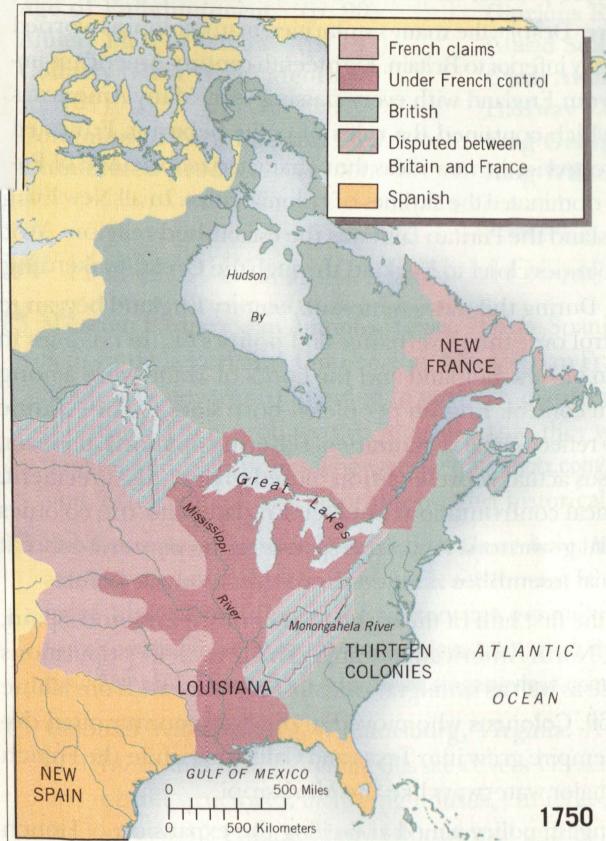
*Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*

**Treaty of Paris** The formal end to British hostilities against France and Spain in February 1763.



## MAP EXPLORATION

To explore an interactive version of this map, go to <http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield2/map4.2>



**MAP 4-2**

**European Empires in North America, 1750–1763** Great Britain's victory in the French and Indian War transformed the map of North America. France lost its mainland colonies, England claimed all lands east of the Mississippi, and Spain gained nominal control over the Trans-Mississippi West.

USING THIS map and Map 4-1, explain why Great Britain's victory in the French and Indian War was so crucial to its continued dominance of the Western world.

## CONCLUSION

The George Washington who ordered a suit in 1763 was not a revolutionary; on the contrary, he was a man who longed to be part of the elite of the great British Empire. For Washington, as for virtually all other colonial leaders, 1763 was a moment of great promise and patriotic devotion to the British Empire. It was a time to rejoice in the fundamental British identity and liberty and rights that seemed to ensure that life in the colonies would be better and more prosperous than ever.

## SUMMARY

**Economic Development and Imperial Trade in the British Colonies** England, the Netherlands, and France competed vigorously in transatlantic trade. Between 1651 and 1733, Parliament passed laws that regulated trade to ensure that more wealth flowed into England's treasury than out of it. By the late 1760s, the colonists imported goods worth nearly £4 million each year, almost all of which came from Great Britain. Nearly two out of every three adult white males living in cities worked





at a craft that directly related to overseas commerce. The growth of colonial cities mirrored British urban development, and many colonists assumed the more America resembled Britain, the more prosperous it would be.

**The Transformation of Culture** Despite the many similarities, many colonists worried that America remained culturally inferior to Britain. Eighteenth-century Americans imported more manufactures from England with every passing year. Many Americans imported “courtesy books,” which contained the rules of polite behavior. Educated colonists were especially interested in the new ideas that characterized the Age of Enlightenment. Church steeples dominated the skylines of colonial cities. In all New England colonies except Rhode Island the Puritan faith was the established religion. And it was religion that drew the colonies closer to England through the Great Awakening.

**The Colonial Political World** During the mid-seventeenth century England began to realize they had limited control over the governance and politics of the colonies in New England. The Dominion of New England and the Lords of Trade were among several failed attempts to gain control. English people on both sides of the Atlantic believed that politics ought to reflect social organization. Differing opinions, however, on virtual representation versus actual representation caused greater disagreement. Indeed, the most direct political confrontations between England and the colonies focused on the role of colonial governors. And, in response to the perceived threat of powerful governors, colonial assemblies asserted themselves as never before.

**Expanding Empires** During the first half of the eighteenth century, England, Spain, and France all enlarged their North American holdings. The growth in populations was a result of natural increase as well as immigration. Most of the coast from Maine to Georgia was settled by 1760. Colonists who moved to the backcountry often displaced native groups. Spain’s empire grew into Texas and California while the French expansion tended to follow major waterways like the Mississippi.

**A Century of Warfare** The English policy aimed at limiting the expansion of French influence resulted in four wars (King William’s War, Queen Anne’s War, King George’s War, and the French and Indian War) between 1689 and 1763. The conclusion of the final war (the French and Indian War) signaled a dramatic shift in North American history as England would now claim all lands east of the Mississippi, Spain would nominally control the Trans-Mississippi West, and France would lose all of its mainland colonies.

## REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Why did George Washington prefer to order a suit from London rather than trust a Virginia tailor to make him one? How does this attitude reflect elite colonists attitudes about American society and culture in the eighteenth century?
2. How did economic ties between Britain and the colonies grow closer in the century after 1660?
3. What was the Great Awakening, and what impact did it have? How did it affect different groups in colonial society?
4. How were colonial and British political ideas and practices similar? How were they different?
5. Why did England, Spain, and France renew their competition for North America in the eighteenth century?
6. What role did warfare play in North America in the eighteenth century? What role did the Iroquois play?



## KEY TERMS

**Actual representation** (p. 96)  
**Age of Enlightenment** (p. 90)  
**Albany Plan of Union** (p. 103)  
**Country (Real Whig) ideology** (p. 101)  
**Dominion of New England** (p. 93)  
**Enumerated products** (p. 83)

**French and Indian War** (p. 103)  
**Glorious Revolution** (p. 94)  
**Grand Settlement of 1701** (p. 101)  
**Great Awakening** (p. 91)  
**Halfway Covenant** (p. 91)  
**King George's War** (p. 102)  
**King William's War** (p. 100)

**Mercantilism** (p. 83)  
**New Lights** (p. 92)  
**Queen Anne's War** (p. 100)  
**Treaty of Lancaster** (p. 102)  
**Treaty of Paris** (p. 104)  
**Virtual representation** (p. 96)

## WHERE TO LEARN MORE

**Mission Parkway, San Antonio, Texas.** Three Spanish missions (Mission Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción, Mission San Francisco de la Espada, Mission San Juan Capistrano) founded in the early eighteenth century are located along this road. Their architecture indicates that they were intended to be fortifications as well as churches. The website <http://hotx.com/missions/> has links to each mission, offering pictures, descriptions, and historical background.

**Ste. Genevieve Historic District, Ste. Genevieve, Missouri.** This restored site of an early eighteenth-century French settlement in the pays des Illinois contains many historic buildings open for tours. A general description of the site is at the website <http://rosecity.net/rhr/stegenevieve.html>. Descriptions and pictures of historic houses can be found at: <http://www.stegenevieve.com/histsite.htm>

**Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia.** A reconstruction of the capital of eighteenth-century Virginia, this site covers 173 acres and contains many restored and rebuilt structures, including houses, churches, the House of Burgesses, and the Governor's Palace. Many educational and cultural programs are available. Historical interpreters, dressed in period costume, provide information about eighteenth-century Chesapeake life. The website [www.colonialwilliamsburg.com/history/index.cfm](http://www.colonialwilliamsburg.com/history/index.cfm) has a variety of links that include biographical information on eighteenth-century residents of Williamsburg, aspects of colonial life, and material culture. The link to "Electronic Field Trips" has information on how to arrange for an interactive television program and special Internet activities.

**Mount Vernon, Virginia.** Site of George Washington's much refurbished home. There is also a reconstructed gristmill and barn, as well as various outbuildings. Exhibits include information on Washington's agricultural experiments. The website [www.mountvernon.org](http://www.mountvernon.org) offers virtual tours of the house and grounds, as well as information on "George Washington, Pioneer Farmer."

**Johnson Hall, Johnstown, New York.** Eighteenth-century home of William Johnson, who served as Superintendent of Indian Affairs and directed much of Britain's diplomacy with the Iroquois. Biographical information and pictures can be found at the website: [www.johnstown.com/city/johnson.html](http://www.johnstown.com/city/johnson.html)

**Berkeley and Westover Plantations, Charles City, Virginia.** These two eighteenth-century James River plantations suggest the elegance of elite planters' lives. The house and grounds at Berkeley are open to the public, the grounds only at Westover, the home of William Byrd. Pictures, descriptions of the sites, and background on their owners can be found at [www.jamesriverplantations.org](http://www.jamesriverplantations.org), which has links to each plantation.

For additional study resources for this chapter, go to:  
[www.prenhall.com/goldfield/chapter4](http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield/chapter4)