CHAPTER 4: THE BONDS OF EMPIRE, 1660-1750

Rebellion and War, 1660-1713
- Before 1660 England made little effort to make its colonies into a coherent empire.

Royal Centralization, 1660-1688
- The Restoration monarchs did not like representative government.
- This extended to the colonies.
- New Englanders proved most stubborn in defending self-government and resisting crown policies.
- Despite resistance, royal centralization accelerated after James II ascended to the throne.

The Glorious Revolution in England and America, 1688-1689
- The English tolerated James Catholicism because his heirs, Mary and Anne, remained Anglican.
- James then had a son and the people feared he would also rule as a Catholic.
- Some of England’s political and religious leaders asked Mary and her husband, William of Orange, to intervene.
- They led a small Dutch Protestant army to England in Nov. 1688, most royal troops defected to them, and James II fled to France.
- This was bloodless and called the Glorious Revolution, created a “limited monarchy” as defined by England’s Bill of Rights of 1689.
- They promised to summon Parliament annually, sign all its bills, and respect traditional civil liberties.
- William and Mary got rid of the Dominion of New England; they retained royal authority in Massachusetts.
- The new charter said the crown would choose the governor in Mass. Also, property ownership, not church membership, became the criterion for voting. Finally, the colony had to tolerate other Protestants. For Puritans already demoralized by the demise of the “New England Way” this was hard to take.
- The revolutionary events of 1688-89 changed the colonies’ political climate by reestablishing legislative government and ensuring religious freedom for Protestants.
- By dismantling the Dominion of New England and directing governors to call annual assemblies, William and Mary allowed colonial elites to reassert control over local affairs.
- A foundation was laid for an empire based on voluntary allegiance rather than submission to raw power imposed from faraway London.

A Generation of War, 1689-1713
- The Glorious Revolution led to war because France supported James II right to the throne. England joined a European coalition against Louis XIV. This was the first struggle to involve colonists and Native Americans in European rivalries. This was called King William’s War.
- New Yorkers and New Englanders attacked New France in 1690. They attacked Montreal and Quebec. They both failed and border raids ensued.
• The Iroquois suffered the most losses in this war.
• Although King William’s War ended in 1697, the Five Nations staggered until 1700 under invasions by pro-French Indians. The Iroquois population declined by 20% over 12 years.
• Grand Settlement of 1701 – the Five Nations made peace with France and its Indian allies in exchange for access to western furs, while redefining their British alliance to exclude military cooperation. This allowed them to keep control of their lands, rebuild their decimated population, and gain recognition as a key to the balance of power in the Northeast.
• 1702 – war erupted again in the War of the Spanish Succession, called Queen Anne’s War by England’s American colonists (England fought France and Spain).
• This let white Americans know their own military weakness

The most important consequence of the imperial wars for Anglo-Americans was political, not military. The clashes with France reinforced their identity with post-1689 England as a bastion of Protestantism and political liberty.
They recognized their own military weakness and how the Royal Navy protected their shipping. They knew they were dependent on the newly formed United Kingdom (1707).
War intensified their loyalty to the crown and reinforced their identity as Britons.

**Colonial Economies and Societies, 1660-1750**

• 1713 – France, Spain, and G.B. were at peace and focused on competing economically rather than militarily.
• England and France sought to establish their American colonies as single colonies. Spain tried to pursue a similar course but it was limited in its ability to control developments north of Mexico and the Caribbean.

**Mercantilist Empires in America**

- **MERCANTILISM**—this refers to policies aimed at guaranteeing prosperity by making a nation as economically self-sufficient as possible by eliminating dependence on foreign suppliers, damaging foreign competitors’ commercial interests, and increasing its net stock of gold and silver by selling more abroad than buying.
- Britain’s mercantilist policies were articulated above all in a series of Navigation acts governing commerce between England and its colonies. The first was enacted in 1651.
- These acts affected the British colonial economy in 4 major ways:
  1. They limited all imperial trade to British-owned ships whose crews were at least three-quarters British. The acts classified all colonists, including slaves, as British. This helped Britain become the biggest shipping nation but laid the foundation of an American shipbuilding industry. The swift growth of the merchant marine diversified the northern colonial economy and made it more commercial. It also hastened urbanization by creating a need for centralized docks, warehouses, and repair shops in the colonies.
  2. They also affected the colonies by barring certain “enumerated goods” to foreign nations unless these items first passed through England or Scotland.
The colonies main “enumerated” exports were tobacco, rice, furs, indigo, and naval stores (masts, hemp, tar, and turpentine). It helped to reduce the burden on tobacco and rice growers. First, it gave tobacco growers a monopoly over the British market by excluding foreign tobacco, even though this hurt British consumers. Rice planters enjoyed a natural monopoly because there were no competitors. Second, it minimized the added cost of landing tobacco and rice in Britain and refunding customs duties when those products were later shipped to other countries. With about 85% of all American tobacco and rice eventually being sold outside the British Empire, planter’s profits were reduced by less than 3%.

3. It tried to encourage economic diversification. Parliament used British tax revenues to pay modest bounties to Americans producing items like silk, iron, dyes, hemp, and lumber, which Britain would otherwise have to import from other countries. It raised the price of commercial rivals’ imports by imposing protective tariffs on them.

4. It made the colonies a protected market for low-priced consumer goods and other exports from Britain. Cheap imported goods enabled middle-class colonists to emulate the lifestyles of their British counterparts. Tea was very important as a social occasion.

- France did not fare as well as the British. They actually lost money keeping their Indian allies happy.
- Spain did not fare much better; they did most of their trading internally with British and French colonies.
- In France and Spain the monarchy, the nobility, and the Catholic Church controlled most wealth.
- England had become a mercantile-commercial economy, and a significant portion of the nation’s wealth was in the form of capital held by merchants who reinvested it in commercial and shipping enterprises.

**Immigration, Population Growth, and Diversity**

- Britain had a clear population advantage over the other two colonial countries.
- France and Spain’s colonies did not have that much to offer and they both only wanted Catholics.
- English colonies accepted most European Protestants and even some small Jewish communities rose.

Spain saw their American colonies more as a buffer between their more valuable colonies to the South.

- The British colonies also outpaced the population growth of Britain.
- Conditions aboard slave ships were appalling.
- Slave importation also increased rapidly.
- After 1713, many more immigrants from nations other than Britain began showing up.

- Scots-Irish came to flee rising farm rent prices. Catholic Irish immigrants (mostly men) came as indentured servants and often married Protestant wives. Germans came fleeing terrible economic conditions in the Rhine Valley. Most financed their voyage by indenturing themselves.
Most 18\textsuperscript{th} c. immigrants were poor. Most had contracts from 1-4 years and many were given freedom dues to help them obtain land or to marry. Philadelphia became immigrants’ primary port of entry. The least free of white immigrants were convict laborers. England had deported some convicts to America (about 30,000 between 1718-1783). Most were thieves, they were sold as servants on arrival and most did not commit crimes in America. Many white Anglicans did not like the influx of outside immigrants.

**Rural White Men and Women**
- Because most white families owned just enough acreage for a working farm, they could not provide all their children with land of their own when they married.
- Men would have to rent property to farm. Therefore, many made their livings on the frontier, the port cities, or the high seas.
- Many tried to supplement their income.
- Only by their late fifties did colonial parents free themselves from debt.
- Wives were expected to produce goods that the family would otherwise have to purchase – preserved food, boiled soap, made clothing, tended the garden, dairy, orchard, poultry house, and pigsty. They sold dairy products, spun yarn into cloth for tailors, knitted garments for sale, and even sold their own hair for wigs.
- Legally, white women were constrained. Widows did control between 8-10% of all property in 18\textsuperscript{th} c. Anglo-America.

**Colonial Farmers and the Environment**
- East of the Appalachians many farmers cleared forests to establish their farms.
- In removing the trees, farmers drove away bears, panthers, wild turkeys, and other forest animals while attracting grass and seed-eating rabbits, mice, and possum.
- Deforestation also brought warmer summers and colder winters, which increased the demand for firewood.
- By hastening the runoff of spring waters, it led to heavier flooding and drier streambeds, which led to less fish.
- Deforestation dried and hardened the soil, and they refused to rotate crops like the Natives did.
- Europe’s well-to-do farmers were turning their attention to conservation and “scientific” farming. But the colonist did not, either because they thought the land could support them indefinitely or they didn’t care and wanted to make money.

**The Urban Paradox**
- Philadelphia, New York, and Boston had many poor. High population density and poor sanitation in urban locales allowed contagious diseases to run rampant.
- Urban poverty became a major problem. By 1730 Boston could no longer house its poor. The proportion of residents considered too poor to pay taxes climbed even as the total population leveled.
- Wealth remained highly concentrated.
- Middle-class women in cities managed complex households.
- Less affluent wives and widows had the fewest opportunities of all.
**Slavery's Wages**
- To maintain slaves, masters normally spent just 40% of the amount paid for the upkeep of indentured servants.
- Blacks worked for a far longer portion of their lives than whites. They began full time work between 11-14.
- Most worked until they died. Many tried to maximize opportunities like getting tipped for shining shoes or getting gifts on holidays.
- As the slaves increased in numbers, the colonists enacted more rules/laws to keep them suppressed.
- South Carolina was rocked in 1739 by a powerful slave uprising, the Stono Rebellion. 20 blacks seized guns and ammo from a store at the Stono River Bridge, outside Charleston. They headed towards Florida, along the way they burned 7 plantations and killed 20 whites, but spared a Scottish innkeeper who was known to be good to his slaves. They were hunted by the militia trapped and beheaded.
- After this, whites enacted a new slave code, essentially in force until the Civil War, which kept South Carolina slaves under constant surveillance. It also threatened masters for not disciplining slaves and required legislative approval for manumission (freeing of individual slaves). This rebellion reinforced South Carolina’s emergence as a rigid, racist, and fear-ridden society.
- Slaves made up 20% of New York City’s population and formed a majority in Charles Town and Savannah.
- Northern slaves usually lived in rented apartments next to free blacks.

**The Rise of Colonial Elites**
- Before 1700 the colonies’ class structure was not readily apparent because elites spent their limited resources buying land, servants, and slaves instead of on luxuries.
- As British mercantilist trade flourished, higher incomes enabled elite colonists to display their wealth more openly, particularly in housing.
- They also displayed their wealth in clothing, drove carriages instead of wagons, bought expensive items.

**Competing for a Continent, 1713-1750**

**France and Native Americans**
- France focused on Louisiana.
- Life was dismal in Louisiana for whites and blacks. Most were self-sufficient hoping to gain an advantage.
- They depended on trade with Natives.
- Illinois was good at exporting wheat but many colonists did not want to live there because of its remoteness. They also had to depend on Natives for protection.
- The French sought to counter growing British influence in the Ohio River Valley.
- The French had a vast domain but most of it rested with the cooperation with Native Americans.

**Native Americans and British Expansion**
- British colonial expansion was made possible by the depopulation and dislocation of Native Americans.
Diseases, environmental changes, war, and political pressures on Indians to cede land and to emigrate all combined to make new lands available to white immigrants.

- The Iroquois and several colonies forged a series of treaties called the COVENANT CHAIN – under these treaties the confederacy helped the colonies subjugate Indians whose lands the English wanted.
- The Iroquois controlled a center of Native American power that was distinct from, but cooperative with, the British. They also created buffers against potential English expansion to their own lands.
- This also helped the British to gain lands in Pennsylvania.

**British Expansion in the South: Georgia**

- 1732 – OGLETHORPE purchased the land for Georgia from Creek Indians, ignoring Spain’s claim to the land.
- It was the only province besides Nova Scotia to be directly subsidized by the British government.
- Oglethorpe founded the port city of Savannah and 2,800 colonists had arrived and most were non-British.
- He was against slavery. He wanted to settle poor whites there and slaves would undermine this.
- Parliament made Georgia the only colony where slavery was outlawed.
- Landholdings could be no larger than 500 acres.
- This did not work. Few debtors arrives because Parliament put stringent conditions on their release from prison, the limits on slavery and landholding discouraged settlement, raising exotic export crops was impractical. Oglethorpe tried for a decade and then gave up. By 1750, restrictions were lifted and Georgia became a booming plantation colony.

**Spain’s Tenacity**

- Spain spread most of its language and culture over the southwest where they wanted to repopulate New Mexico.
- They had livestock raising ranchos that they established.
- Most Pueblos cooperated with the Spanish.
- Spain had established Texas in order to counter growing French influence among the Comanche’s and other Natives.
- Spain did not have a clear control of Florida either.

**The Return of War, 1739-1748**

- The British launched a war against the Spanish because it is said that the Spanish cut off the ear of a British smuggler named Jenkins. The British called it the War of Jenkins’ Ear.
- In 1740, James Oglethorpe led an assault on Florida. The Spanish fought back.
- The Anglo-Spanish War quickly merged with the War of the Austrian Succession, called King George’s War in British America (1740-1748). The battles were usually small and targeted New Englanders in isolated towns. Most prisoners of war were returned after the war.
This war produced one major battle – the British captured the French bastion of Louisburg, which guarded the entrance to the St. Lawrence River.
- Britain signed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, exchanging Louisbourg for a British outpost in India that the French had taken over.

Public Life in British America, 1689-1750
- England’s new Bill of Rights was the foundation of government and politics in the colonies.
- This was during the time of the Enlightenment.

Colonial Politics
- The most significant political result of the Glorious Revolution was the rise of colonial legislatures, or assemblies, as a major political force.
- Colonial leaders argued that their legislatures should exercise the same rights as those won by Parliament. Assemblymen insisted that their governors’ powers were limited.
- “Power of the Purse” – governors were paid by local assemblies, so sometimes they passed laws that the crown was against. Therefore, the lower houses asserted their prestige and authority by refusing outside meddling in their proceedings.
- Colonies became self-governing in most respects except for trade regulation, restrictions on printing money, and declaring war. Representative government in the colonies originated and was nurtured within the protective environment of the British Empire.
- Elite planters, merchants, and attorneys who monopolized colonial wealth also dominated politics.
- Outside New England, property requirements and low pay made it so that only the very wealthy could afford to hold political office.
- By 18th c. standards the voting requirements were pretty lax. However, women and people of color could not vote. About 60% of white men could vote. Most could vote by the time they were 40.
- Rural turnout for voting was less. Sometimes elections would be held on very short notice. It was hard for them to travel and sometimes they had to orally give their vote, which would intimidate some people.
- Given all these factors, many rural colonists were indifferent about voting.
- In time, they would exercise their right to vote more forcefully.
- A truly competitive political life developed in the northern seaports.
- In New York and elsewhere, the Zenger verdict encouraged the broadening of political discussion and participation beyond a small circle of elites. His attorney, Andrew Hamilton, effectively seized on the growing colonial practice of allowing attorneys to speak directly to juries on behalf of defendants.
- By empowering non-elites as voters, readers, and jurors, the Morris-Casby rivalry and the Zenger trial encouraged their participation in New York’s public life.

The Enlightenment
- Literacy and education permitted Anglo-Americans to participate in the trans-Atlantic world of ideas and beliefs.
- Enlightenment ideals combined confidence in human reason with skepticism toward beliefs not founded on science or strict logic.

- **BENJAMIN FRANKLIN** – moved to Philadelphia at 17 and was an Enlightenment thinker. By age 42, he had earned enough money to retire and devoted himself to science and community service.

- He believed that all true science would be useful, in the sense of making everyone’s life more comfortable. He demonstrated that lightning was electricity.

- The Enlightenment’s primary centers in America were cities. Franklin organized the American Philosophical Society in 1743 to encourage “all philosophical experiments that let light into the nature of things, tend to increase the power of man over matter, and multiply the conveniences and pleasures of life.” The Enlightenment initially strengthened ties between colonial and British elites.

- The Enlightenments’ followers envisioned progress as gradual and proceeding from the top down.

- **JOHN LOCKE** – in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* he led many to embrace “reasonable” and “rational” religion. To most Enlightenment thinkers, the best argument for the existence of God was the harmony and order of nature, which pointed to a rational Creator. Some said that were the Bible conflicted with reason, the reader should go with reason. Also, they thought that God created a perfect universe and he left it alone to be ruled by natural laws.

- Most Enlightenment thinkers describe themselves as Christians but they feared those who persecuted others in religion’s name and by those who exercised emotion rather than reason.

- Franklin thought that religion’s value lay in its encouragement of virtue and morality rather than in theological hairsplitting.

**The Great Awakening**

- 1737-1738 – an epidemic of diphtheria (a contagious throat disease) killed every tenth child from New Hampshire to Pennsylvania. This reminded colonists of the fragility of life on earth and turned their thoughts to religion.

- 1739 – “GREAT AWAKENING” – a revival of religion – they represented an unleashing of anxiety and longing among ordinary people – anxiety about sin, and longing for assurances of salvation. The answers they received were from charismatic ministers who appealed to their audiences’ emotions.

- They roused their audiences into outbursts of religious fervor by depicting the emptiness of material comfort, the utter corruption of human nature, the fury of divine wrath, and the need for immediate repentance.

- **JONATHON EDWARDS** was a famous revivalist.

- 1739 – The arrival of **GEORGE WHITFIELD** was when the movement really took off because of his great oratory skills.

- His American tour inspired thousands to seek salvation.

- Revivalists were known as New Lights and the rationalist clergy were known as Old Lights. By sowing the seeds of doubt about individual ministers, Tennant undermined one of the foundations of social order. If the people couldn’t trust their own ministers, who could they trust?
The Great Awakening opened unprecedented splits in American Protestantism. In 1741 New and Old Light Presbyterians formed rival branches that did not reunite until 1758.

The Great Awakening peaked in 1742. Its long term effects exceeded its immediate impact:

First, the revival marked a decline in the influence of Quakers (who were not significantly affected by revivalism), Anglicans, and Congregationalists. In undermining them, the Great Awakening contributed to the weakening of officially established denominations. As these churches’ waned, the number of Presbyterians and Baptists increased.

It also stimulated the founding of new colleges and both Old and New Lights sought institutions free of one another’s influence.

- They spread beyond the ranks of white society. It marked the beginning of black Protestantism after New Lights reached out to slaves. Yet, they still faced considerable religious discrimination, even among New Lights.
- It also added to white women’s religious prominence. Some New Light churches granted women the right to speak and vote in church meetings.
- Finally, they had the unintentional effect of blurring denominational differences among Protestants. They emphasized common experiences and promoted the coexistence of denominations.

By empowering ordinary people to assert and act openly on beliefs that countered those in authority, the revivals laid some of the groundwork for political revolutionaries a generation later.

Conclusion

- Mercantilist policies bound the colonies to the rising prosperity of the British Empire.
- Population growth happened rapidly.
- After the Glorious Revolution, it laid the groundwork for representative government.
- Intellectuals took part in the Enlightenment.
- Neither France nor Spain produced colonies that enriched the home country.
- There was a rebellious spirit amongst whites who were not as well off, especially because of the disparity between rich and poor.
- The Enlightenment and the Great Awakening showed deep-seated divisions amongst people.
- Slave resistance and Anglo-Indian warfare demonstrated the depths of racial antagonisms.
1660 - Restoration
Charles II tried to rule as absolute monarch, but didn't support Parliament.

1686-1689 - Dominion of New England
- Created American monarchy
- Charles II's son, James II, replaced by Parliament
- William & Mary

1688-1689 - Glorious Revolution
- Overthrown Catholic James II, replaced by Parliament's will
- William & Mary
- England vs. France (War of League of Augsburg)
- France backed Habsburgs (Spanish succession)

1702-1713 - Queen Anne's War
- War of Spanish Succession
- England vs. France
- Hawk's Nest

1739 - Great Awakening Begins

1739-1744 - Anglo-Spanish War
- James Oglethorpe

1744-1748 - King George's War
- War of Austrian Succession
- England vs. France

After Restoration, England expanded overseas trade
- and forgot wars w/ trade rivals
- tried to subordinate its colonies to English economic interests and political authority
- Navigation Acts of 1660 & 1663
- Parliament of N. England 1688-9
- carved N. Hampshire out of Mass. in 1679 because Mass. wouldn't follow Navigation Acts
- declared Mass. a royal colony in 1684