

JACK P. GREENE'S "GIFTS OF PEACE": THE GREAT WAR FOR THE EMPIRE AND COLONIAL AMERICAN GROWTH

I. 1689-97, King William's War [War of the League of Augsburg]

II. 1702-1713, Queen Anne's War [War of Spanish Succession] Treaty of Utrecht (1713)

- A. First two wars in America.
- B. British colonials fought against the French and their Indian allies. Both France and England at this stage did not consider America worth the commitment of regular troops, so primitive guerrilla warfare prevailed.
- C. French-inspired Indians ravaged the British colonial frontiers in New York and Massachusetts.
- D. Spain, eventually allied with France.
- E. For their part the English colonials failed in attempts to capture Quebec and Montreal but did temporarily seize the stronghold of Port Royal in Acadia (present-day Nova Scotia).
- F. Results of first two wars:
 - 1. Drop in population growth of people of European extraction in British North America
 - a. 1670-1690 80.3%
 - b. 1690-1710 48.1%
 - 2. Decline in overseas trade
 - 3. Decline in black population growth, which may mean decline in slave trade
- G. Treaty of Utrecht (1713)
 - 1. England was rewarded with French-populated Acadia (which the English renamed Nova Scotia, or New Scotland), Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay.
 - 2. British won limited trading rights in Spanish America (closed colonial system)

III. Peace, 1713-1739

- A. Triple Alliance between France, Britain, and Netherlands to maintain status quo and prevent warfare
- B. Walpole Ministry 1721-1742
 - 1. Wanted internal stability
 - a. New kings George I (1714-1727); George II (1727-1760)
 - b. Threat from James III (son of James II), who led Jacobite rebellions in an attempt to regain power
 - c. Political turmoil about Walpoles use of patronage and public funds to secure support for his government

2. Wanted to promote British commerce

a. Economic growth = trade

b. In Treaty of Utrecht British had gotten land in new land (St. Christophers) in W.I. and Acadia, Newfoundland, and Hudson' Bay, which would all increase trade, while lessening tension with France.

c. Also, Britain had received Asiento right for South Sea Company to trade in Spanish Empire: slaves, or "annual ship" for other goods

3. As a result of Britain's good position in NA and the BWI after Utrecht, and because of Walpole's dedication to promoting the economic well-being of the nation, to which the colonies were making an increasing contribution, the metropolitan authorities repeatedly sacrificed long-standing goals for bring the colonies under closer supervision to immediate economic and political advantage whenever it seemed necessary and expedient to do so.

IV. Growth in British North America during the Peace, 1713-1739

A. Population spread from coastal centers huddled around Chesapeake Bay, the coast of NE, and Philadelphia and New York, until there was "one long continuum of settlement stretching from Pamlico Sound in North Carolina north to Southern Maine and reaching 100 to 150 miles in from the coast.

B. Rapid population growth:

1. 1711 to 1740, the number of white inhabitants in the continental colonies increased over 160%, from 289,162 to 753,721.

2. Estimated immigration from 1711 to 1740: 123,835 (1/4 of total population growth)

3. Immigrants and natural growth:

a. Scots from low and highlands (After Act of Union in 1707); 1707- 1740 around 10,000.

b. German immigration, 1710 to 1740 around 29,000 mostly to Pennsylvania, Delaware, then to Maryland and Virginia

c. Decendants of seventeenth century Scottish immigrants to Northern Ireland, 1718-1740 around 35,000 mostly to Pennsylvania, Delaware, then to Maryland and Virginia

d. English immigrants, estimated at 49,835 (all other groups total 74,000)

e. Altogether, immigrants from the British Isles – Englishmen, Scots, Ulster Scots – accounted for over 75% of immigration.

f. So most population growth was due to reproduction - this growth of 469,916 was greatly in advance of England, why

1) Factor in age of marriage (which doesn't seem but about 2 years earlier than in England) and you still don't have an answer.

2) Also, maybe low death rate because of diet, rural nature of colonies, and low disease rate, and death rate

g. Black population growth, rose almost 235% from 44,866 in 1710 to 150,024 in 1740.

h. Black population mostly slave - 98 or 99% - so growth greatest in southern colonies, where the black population grew from 36,000 in 1710 to 125,000 in 1740.

i. Black population growth not limited to southern colonies. By 1740, still only about 24,000 blacks north of Maryland, but this figure represented an increase of 172.5%, up from 8,803 blacks in 1710.

j. Unlike the white population, most black population increase from immigration. 70,814 slaves were imported between 1711-1740.

k. Most slave immigration directly from Africa: 86% in Virginia and 96% in South Carolina

l. African-American natural population growth between 1711 and 1740: 34,344, considerably higher than in most slave societies.

C. Growth in Agricultural Production

1. Greene's argument based solely on export figures for tobacco (old crop, slow growth) and rice (new crop, rapid growth), from which he extrapolates

2. It is probable that the average decennial growth rate in the production of all agricultural commodities for export and internal consumption between 1710-1740, was between 30 and 40%.

D. Growth in Overseas Trade

1. Exports to Great Britain (which represent half of all exports) increased from £265,480 in 1701-1710 to £667,135 in 1731-40.

2. Imports from Great Britain increased from annual average of £267,302 in 1701-1710 to £646,192 in 1731-40. Overall increase of 140%

E. Urban Growth

1. Five major towns: Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Newport, and Charleston.

2. Increase in urban growth slower than growth of population as a whole

3. In 1710, no town had as many as 10,000 people, and only Boston, Philadelphia, and New York had over 5,000. By 1740, Boston had 15,000, Philadelphia and New York both had over 10,000 and Charleston and Newport had over 5,000.

4. These five cities were hubs for trade overseas.

5. Also, there was a growing group of small cities as well: Annapolis, Newcastle, Hartford, Providence, New Haven, Salem, Portsmouth.

F. So, between 1713 and 1740, the colonies were transformed from relatively slowly growing units with midly promising social and economic futures into dynamic entities, with a solid economic bases and possibilities for growth, expansion, and development.

V. New Series of Wars and New Objectives

The long interlude of relative peace and expansion gave way in 1739-40 to another extended period of war and uncertainty. In contrast to the earlier wars of 1689-1713, the conflicts of 1739-63 were, to a significant extent, the product of rivalries in America. Indeed, the prominence of the colonies and colonial considerations in these later wars provided powerful testimony to the extent to which colonial growth and the expansive energies that growth represented had both evoked metropolitan concern for their safety and exacerbated fears of Britain's growing commercial power among rival European imperial nations. Directly traceable to the one-sided settlement at Utrecht and to the dramatic shift in the balance of colonial power to Britain made possible by that settlement, these wars were rooted in the growing fear among the Spanish and French of British aggrandizement in America and an increasing appetite among the British for an ever greater share of the riches that were being extracted from the New World. (Jack Greene, "The Gift of Peace," *Negotiated Authorities*, 114).

VI. 1739-1748, King George's War [War of Austrian Succession] Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748)

- A. War between Spain and England over trading rights in the Spanish Empire given under the Treaty of Utrecht.
- B. **War of Jenkins' Ear:** Friction over smuggling in the Caribbean. The English Captain Jenkins, encountered Spanish revenue authorities and had one ear sliced off by a sword for smuggling.
- C. The early war (1739-1744), was confined to the Caribbean Sea and to Georgia, an area claimed by both Spain and England, where England established a colony in 1733.
- D. When the Austrian Emperor died in 1740, throwing all of Europe into the large-scale **War of Austrian Succession**, the Spanish and English scuffle in the New World soon merged with the Old World war.
- E. In 1744, France entered the war against Britain on the side of the Spanish.
- F. The evolution of the War of Jenkins Ear and the War of Austrian Succession became known as King George's War as it spread throughout the colonies of North America.
- G. Events of King George's War:
 - 1. France said it would help Spain destroy Georgia.
 - 2. Spain said it would help France on the European continent.
 - 3. New Englanders with the help of a British fleet, captured a reputedly impregnable French fortress, Louisbourg, which commanded the approaches to the St. Lawrence River.
- H. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748):
 - 1. Status quo ante bellum
 - 2. France gave up promise to help Spain destroy Georgia.
 - 3. Britain returned Louisbourg

VII. Five Years of Colonial Peace: 1749-1754

A. The next five years constituted a brief interlude of peace in which the French and the British endeavored to strengthen their positions in North America.

1. Alarmed by the penetration of Pennsylvania fur traders into the Ohio country, to which they had long laid claim, the French erected a series of forts from the western end of Lake Ontario down to the Forks of the Ohio River at the present site of Pittsburgh, with the intention of eventually occupying the whole Ohio River valley and blocking British expansion into that area.

2. For their part, the British concentrated upon strengthening their precarious hold on Nova Scotia by establishing, at considerable public expense, a military base at Halifax in 1749 and, for the first time since they had acquired clear title to the colony in 1713, actively encouraging English and New England immigrants to settle in the colony.

3. The activities of the French clearly revealed their determination not to permit the British to tip the balance of power in America any further in their favor, while the willingness of Parliament to vote such large sums of money for Nova Scotia was a clear indication of the growing importance attached by the British to its continental settlements in North America.

B. At the same time that they were moving to shore up colonial defenses, British officials in London were also seeking to establish much tighter control over the colonies.

1. Alarmed by reports of massive political disturbances in some colonies and by an increasing chorus of laments from royal governors about their declining power in the face of the aggressive political tactics of local interests operating through the elected lower houses of assembly, they were obviously worried lest the crown should lose its hold over such valuable possessions as the colonies over the previous four decades had increasingly shown themselves to be.

2. In 1748 they began to reverse the traditional laissez-faire policy of Walpole and thereafter attempted to administer the colonies with a degree of rigor and attention unknown since the earlier decades of the century.

3. Under the vigorous direction of George Dunk, earl of Halifax, who became its president in 1748, the Board of Trade, the London agency principally concerned with the colonies, embarked upon an intensive campaign to enforce traditional ideals of British colonial policy as they had been worked out during the half century following the Restoration and, more particularly, to reduce the authority and influence of the colonial lower houses.

4. Lack of cooperation by the ministry and opposition from the colonial legislatures combined to thwart most of the board's efforts, and the outbreak of war in the colonies in 1754 forced the board to suspend its activities in the interest of securing colonial cooperation against the French.

VIII. 1754-1763, French and Indian War [Seven Years War, 1756-63] Treaty of Paris (1763)

A. Origins of the French and Indian War

1. The last of the eighteenth-century intercolonial wars, unlike earlier ones, began not in Europe or in the Caribbean but in the wilderness of the Ohio country.

2. Virginia land speculators had been interested in the region ever since 1748, when a group of them had banded together to form the Ohio Company, which in turn had acquired a huge grant of land in the upper Ohio River valley.
3. Rumors of French activities in the area spurred Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia, himself an investor in the Ohio Company, to dispatch young George Washington in late 1753 to protest the French occupation.
4. When Washington returned and reported that the French had refused to abandon the region, Dinwiddie sent him with a small force to build a fort at the Forks of the Ohio.
5. Upon his arrival in May 1754, however, he discovered that the French had already constructed Fort Duquesne on that spot.
6. Following a successful skirmish with a small French force which had been sent to intercept him, Washington and his men sought to erect a crude fort to give the Virginians a foothold in the area, but a large French force attacked him, forced him to capitulate, and sent him back across the Alleghenies to Williamsburg, leaving the French in undisputed possession of the Ohio country.
7. This remote encounter was the beginning of the **French and Indian War**, an undeclared colonial war in North America which broadened in 1756 into a worldwide conflict, with Britain and Prussia opposing France and Austria in what has since come to be known as the Seven Years' War.

B. Course of the French and Indian War

1. The only intercolonial conflict in which a significant portion of the fighting took place on the North American continent, the war went extremely badly for Britain and its colonies for the first four years.
2. In 1755 a group of French and Indians surprised and routed a numerically superior British force under Edward Braddock which was on its way to destroy Fort Duquesne, thus opening the whole of the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontier to incursions by the Indians for the next three years.
3. Two separate and smaller British forces did capture Fort Beause'Jour in Acadia and defeat a French force on Lake St. George.
4. But after a lull in the conflict in America in 1756, these small gains were more than offset by a series of French successes in 1757 and 1758.
 - a. The French seized British posts on Lake Ontario and along the Lake Champlain-Lake George water route from Montreal to Albany.
 - b. The French also repulsed a large British assault on Fort Ticonderoga, which commanded the narrow neck of land that separated Lake George and Lake Champlain.
 - c. For their part the British seemed unable even to launch a major campaign.
5. Under the vigorous war leadership of William Pitt, who came into power in June 1757 and began to pour large sums of money into the war effort, the tide of the war in America finally began to turn.
 - a. In the summer Of 1758 the British captured Louisbourg, Fort Frontenac at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, and Fort Duquesne.

- b. 1759 the British won several strategic victories; in the Caribbean, they captured the important sugar island of Guadeloupe, and on the continent they seized not only most of the important French forts along the route from Albany to Montreal and on the southern shores of Lake Ontario but also the great Canadian citadel and capital of Quebec.
- c. 1760 the British captured Montreal, the one remaining French stronghold in Canada, and Detroit, from which they proceeded to take control of all French outposts on the Great Lakes.
6. When Spain tried to help France end the war with Britain by entering as a negotiator, Britain declared war on Spain in January 1762.
7. Over the next nine months, they proceeded to capture the West Indian islands of Martinique, St. Lucia, and Grenada from the French and the city of Havana from the Spanish.
8. These triumphs forced the French and Spanish to negotiate. In a position of overwhelming strength at the peace table, Britain won a settlement which far exceeded that gained at Utrecht.
9. The Treaty of Paris of February 1763 was a measure of rising British power in America.
- a. French power was thrown completely off the continent of North America
 - b. The French were allowed to retain several small but valuable sugar islands in the West Indies.
 - c. A final blow came when the French, to compensate their Spanish ally for its losses, ceded to Spain all trans-Mississippi Louisiana, plus the outlet of New Orleans.
 - d. Spain, for its part, turned Florida over to England in return for Cuba, where Havana had fallen to British arms.
 - e. Great Britain thus emerged as the dominant power in North America, while taking its place as the leading naval power of the world.
10. The Treaty of Paris was a harbinger of still greater power and prosperity in the future-power and prosperity in which the colonists on the continent and in the West Indies could be expected to share.

IX. Colonial Growth 1741-1770

- A. Colonial expansion did stop in war areas (western New England and north and western New York), but continued where there was no war there were people moving.
- 1. Virginia had 20 new counties founded in the 1740s and 50s.
 - 2. North Carolina had 12 new counties founded in the 1740s and 50s.
 - 3. People were moving from the coastal areas deeper into the interior - witness the cause of the French and Indian war.

B. Growth of population

1. White population growth continued to be steady. Between 1741 and 1770 the white population increased from 753,721 to 1,689,583.
2. Immigration continued, with 206,515 immigrants entering the colonies between 1741 and 1770.
 - a. Over the three decades 49,815 Germans came through Philadelphia alone, with perhaps as many as 12,000 coming in at other ports.
 - b. Dutch, French, and other continental immigrants also came to the British colonies in North America.
 - c. Greatest white immigration from British Isles:
 - 1) Scots from Highland and Lowlands constituted around 21,000 immigrants between 1741 and 1770. North and South Carolina and New York major destinations.
 - 2) Ulster Scots (Scots from Northern Ireland) around 40,000 immigrants between 1741-1770.
 - 3) English and Welsh immigrants could have totaled as many as 82,000 between 1741-1770.
3. Natural population growth between 1741-1770 represented 80% of growth (had only been 75% between 1711-1740). That is 727,822 of 932,822.
4. Black population growth continued as well. From 150,024 in 1740 to 455,721 in 1770.
 - a. Black population in states from Maryland south increased from 125,000 in 1740 to 403,000 by 1770 - that is an increase of 278,000 in only 30 years.
 - b. Black population in north grew steadily: from 24,000 in 1740 to 57,721 in 1770.
 - c. However, in absolute numbers, the black population in the northern colonies was small, and the proportion of the total black population of the colonies north of Maryland was declining continuously.
 - d. The southern colonies contained 80.4% of black inhabitants in 1710; 83.3% of black inhabitants in 1740; and 88.3% of black inhabitants in 1770.
 - e. Slave immigration accounted for much of the black population growth. 176,997 slaves (57% of growth) were imported between 1741 and 1770.

C. Imports and colonial buying power

1. £646,192 average annual value of imports between 1731 and 1740; £1,797,922 average annual value of imports between 1761-1770.
2. More wealth in the colonies and more credit from Britain

D. The growth rate of agricultural products

1. The growth rate in the volume of agricultural products traded on the international market decelerated (upward momentum slowed) between 1741 and 1770 because of war.
2. However, because of a growing internal market within the colonies as a whole and probably with the West Indies as well, it is doubtful that it fell much below the rate of increase for the total population, which, white and black together, averaged about 33.5% per decade.

E. Colonial Exports

1. Average annual value of exports £1,270,717 between 1731-1740
2. Average annual value of exports £1,350,333 between 1741-1750
3. Average annual value of exports £1,543,137 between 1751-1760
4. Average annual value of exports £2,085,238 between 1761-1770
5. 150% growth between 1711 and 1740, average decade 36%
6. 64% growth between 1741 and 1770, average decade 18.5%

F. Urban Growth

1. Boston declined from 17,000 in 1740 to 15,520 in 1770
2. However, Philadelphia grew by 32% and New York by 26%.
3. Several small cities also grew up: New Haven (8000), Norwich and Norfolk (6000), Salem and Baltimore (5000), New London, Lancaster, Harford, Middletown, Portsmouth, Marblehead, and Providence (4000).

X. Conclusions

A. The rapid increase in the volume of imports from Britain; the heavy importation of slaves; the deceleration in the rates of growth of the white population, of the volume of agricultural production, and of the size of the export sector of the economy; and the extent and character of urbanization during the years 1741-1770 – all suggest that a subtle change was taking place in the orientation of colonial life.

B. During the previous thirty years, extraordinarily rapid extensive economic and demographic growth had easily been the single most important and most visible characteristic of colonial development.

C. This growth continued to be impressive during the next three decades. To a far greater extent than during the earlier period, however, it was accompanied by a growing tendency toward intensive social and economic differentiation and development, especially in older settled areas. In retrospect, that tendency seems to stand out as perhaps the most important distinguishing feature of colonial British-American history during the years 1741-70.

D. This shift in emphasis was visible in many areas of colonial life. It was especially evident in the growing diversity of colonial society.

1. The large influx of non-English immigrants and African slaves made the population increasingly heterogeneous
2. The variety of religious beliefs among the new arrivals and the religious divisions arising out of the several spiritual upheavals that rent the colonies during the 1730s and 1740s resulted in a growing religious multiformity.
3. At the same time, urbanization created an alternative style of living which diverged sharply from the character of life in the rural settlements in which a still rising share of the colonists continued to live.
4. This growing gap between town and country was matched by an ever-widening gulf between the very wealthy and the least prosperous elements in colonial society, a concomitant of the greater social differentiation that had accompanied the accumulation of wealth-and status-by the most successful planters, merchants, and lawyers.
5. Similarly, the dramatic expansion of slavery through all of the southern colonies created significant differences in socioeconomic configuration between them and the provinces to the north that depended largely on free or indentured labor.
6. The reorientation in colonial development was evident as well in the growing complexity of colonial society. This complexity, most pronounced in the towns but also observable in older settled rural areas, was manifest in an increasing specialization in overall occupational structure as well as in business, trades, the professions, and perhaps even commercial farming.

E. But colonial society was becoming not only more diverse and more complex but also more coherent.

1. For one of the most important elements in this process of intensive social differentiation and development was a movement toward social consolidation spearheaded by those emergent economic elites. At midcentury, those elites everywhere were seeking, with considerable success, to establish their political, social, and cultural predominance over the societies of the colonies. As improving communications, more extensive economic ties, and, especially during the last two intercolonial wars, greater military and political cooperation drew them ever more closely into the ambit of British culture, they more and more aspired to reproduce in the colonies the society and culture of Britain. To this end, they proceeded through legislation, voluntary associations, and personal actions to try to superimpose upon the colonies many of the institutions, cultural forms, traditions, and values of the mother country.
2. To the very large extent that these efforts were successful, the societies of the colonies became more integrated in both their structures and their values, as non-elite elements sought to assimilate to the social ideals and patterns of behavior the elites admired.

F. The inevitable products of earlier and continuing material gains within the colonies, these tendencies toward diversity, complexity, and consolidation had their origins much earlier in the colonial period, but they came to fruition during the middle decades of the eighteenth century and especially during the three decades beginning in 1741. Extensive economic and demographic growth and intensive social and economic development were conjoint processes that were manifest throughout the era from 1713 to 1763. Extensive growth defined the first half of the period, while intensive development characterized the second. Not politics per se, then, but these two broader processes offer the most promising framework for a coherent history of colonial British America during these years.