

CHAPTER 4

SLAVERY, FREEDOM, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE TO 1763

Videos:

Slavery (Colonists and Slaves – America’s Immigration History (Part 2) [4:25]

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sEUzkoEzAV8>

The History of Slavery in America – [9:54] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jc1RbUxQv4E>

Atlantic Trade

The greatest contradiction of the eighteenth century was the simultaneous expansion of the British empire, celebrated by Britons for its unique commitment to liberty, and slavery.

SLAVE POPULATION (18th Century – 1700's)

- Transatlantic slave trade flourished
- Slaves to the New World
- 1492 – 1820 → 7.7 million Africans transported to the New World
- 1700 – 1800 → over half arrived at this time (18th Century)

BRITAIN DOMINATES SLAVE TRADE

Treaty of Utrecht (1713) - Spain gives rights of asiento to British instead of Dutch, British gain commercial power

asiento - right to provide slaves from Africa to Spain's colonies; England is sub-contracted rather than the Dutch

Atlantic Trade

Slave Plantations contributed to British economic development

- ◎ 1st mass consumer goods in international trade
 - sugar, rice, coffee, and tobacco, were produced by slaves and stimulated the growth of the slave trade.
- ◎ Caribbean continued to be the British empire's commercial center and the crown's major revenue producer, slave-grown products from the mainland increased as a share of Atlantic trade.

Atlantic Trade

Web of Trade in the Atlantic

European Merchants → West Africa Traders → New World American Planters:

- British manufactured goods → Africa and the colonies
- Colonial products including tobacco, indigo, sugar, and rice → Europe
- New England/Middle Colonies fish, grain, livestock, lumber → Caribbean
- African Slaves → Colonies (Caribbean, New York, Charleston, Savannah) →
1720 NY: ½ of all ships ship to/from Caribbean
- Even merchants from New York, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island participated in and profited from the slave trade → shipping slaves to Caribbean or southern colonies
- In Britain, the slave trade also stimulated the rise of port cities like Liverpool and Bristol, fostered the growth of banking, shipbuilding, insurance, and helped finance the early industrial revolution.



Map 4.1 Atlantic Trading Routes

Slavery and Empire

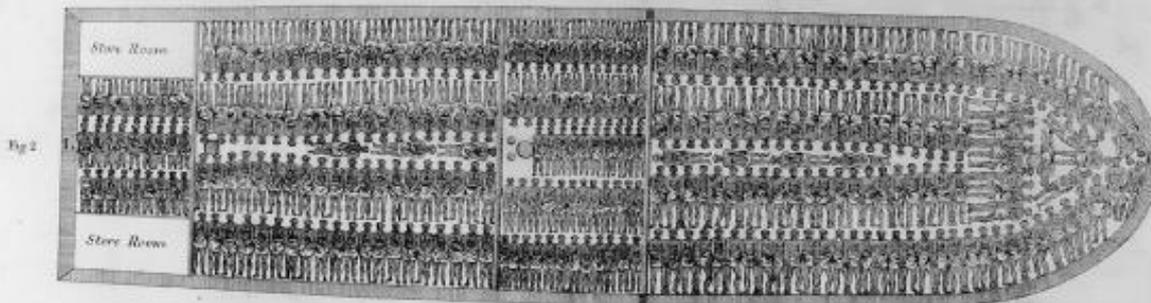
Africa and the Slave Trade

- 18th century, slavery in West African societies shifted from being a minor to a central institution
- Most African rulers participated in the slave trade, although often in ways most beneficial to them
- _European goods (textiles and guns) → Africa

Impact on Slavery on Africa:

- European Trade disrupted relations within and among African societies – encouraged the growth of the slave trade & intensified conflict among African societies competing for power, goods, and access to slaves.
- Led to the rise of militarized states in West Africa – large armies preyed upon their neighbors in order to capture slaves
- Loss of tens of thousands of men and women to the slave trade weakened and distorted West Africa's economy and society.

PLAN OF LOWER DECK WITH THE STOWAGE OF 202 SLAVES
 100 OF THESE BEING STOWED UNDER THE SHELVES AS SHEWN IN FIGURE 6 & FIGURE 7.



PLAN SHEWING THE STOWAGE OF 100 ADDITIONAL SLAVES ROUND THE WINGS OR SIDES OF THE LOWER DECK BY MEANS OF PLATFORMS OR SHELVES
 (IN THE MANNER OF GALLERIES IN A CHURCH) THE SLAVES STOWED ON THE SHELVES AND BELOW THEM HAVE ONLY A HEIGHT OF 2 FEET 7 INCHES
 BETWEEN THE BEAMS AND FAR LESS UNDER THE BEAMS. See Fig 4.

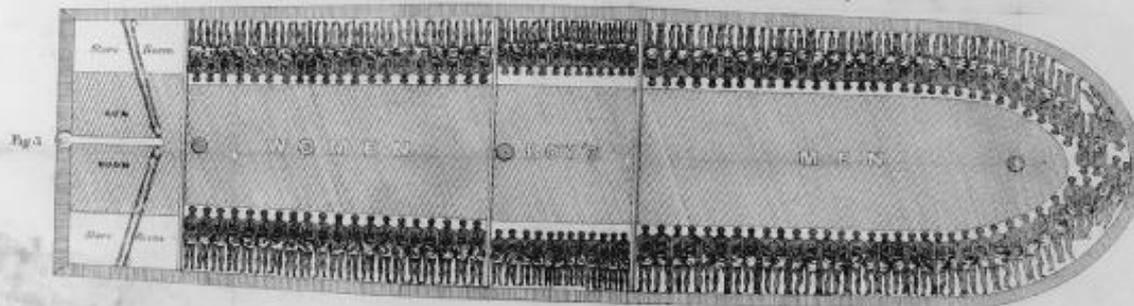


Fig 4
 Cross Section
 at the Deck.



Fig 5
 Cross Section
 under the Deck.

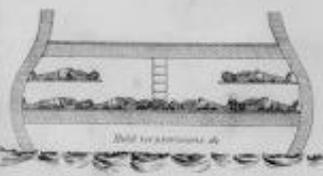


Fig 6

Lower tier of Slaves under the Deck.

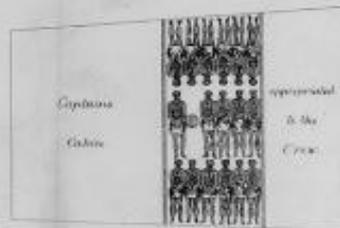


Fig 7

Upper tier of Slaves under the Deck.

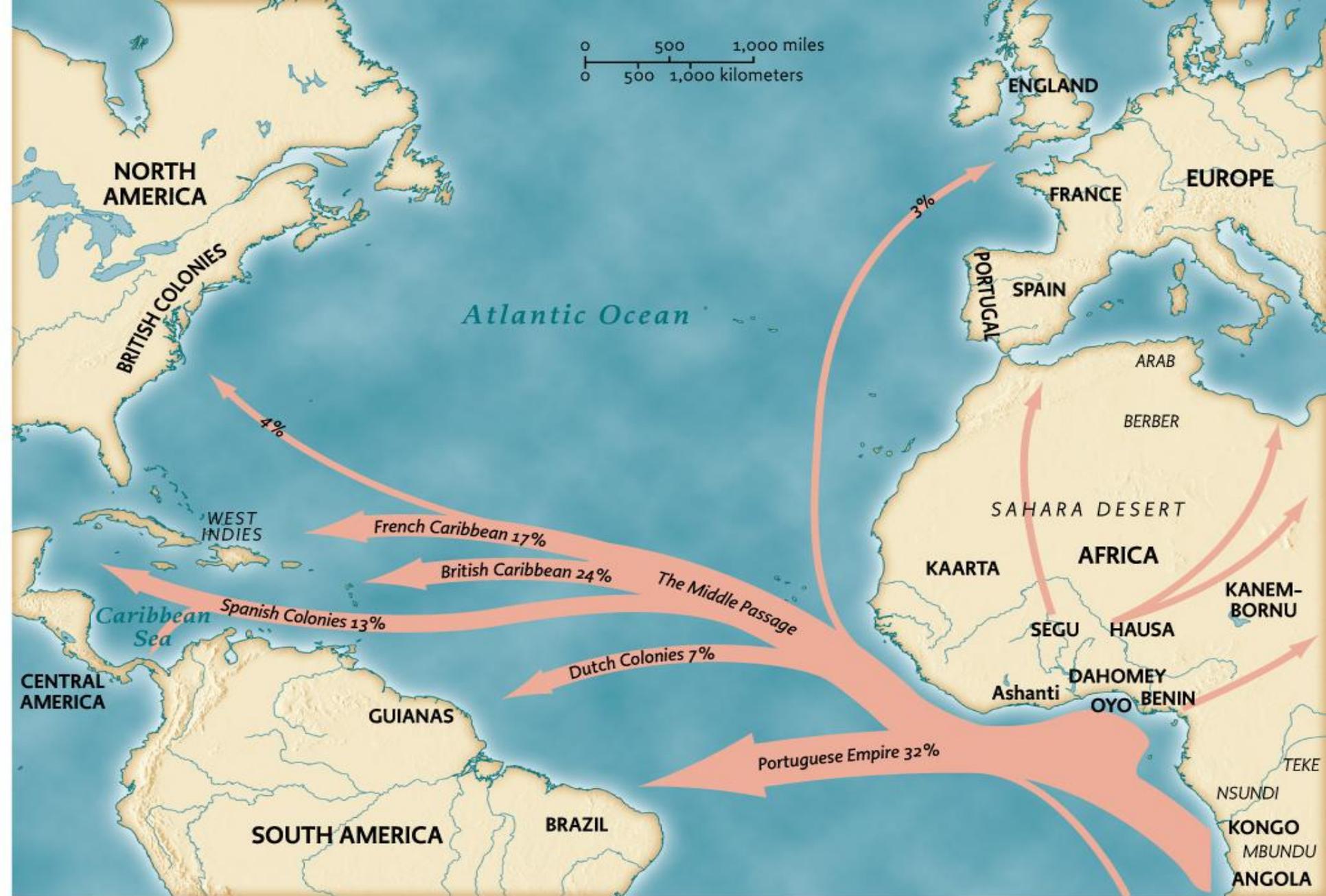


The Middle Passage

- The voyage across the Atlantic
Africa → New World (5% headed to North America)
- Profit - Slaves sold in America for 20 or 30 times their price in Africa
High Death Rate – disease and environment very harsh
- Slave traders crammed slaves as tightly on ships as possible
- Awful conditions- spread of disease, about 1 in 5 slaves died before the ships reached the Americas
- North American colonies had a lower death rate than colonies in West Indies & Brazil (where slave plantation conditions and work were more brutal)
- British colonies of North America imported between 400,000 and 600,000 slave

1700: 20,000 African slaves → British Colonies

By 1770, due to slaves' natural reproduction, one-fifth of the 2.3 million people in the English colonies (not including Indians) were Africans and their descendants.



Map 4.2 The Slave Trade in The Atlantic World, 1460–1770

Slavery and Empire

Freedom and Slavery in the Chesapeake

- By the mid-eighteenth century, there were three distinct slave systems in British North America:
 - 1- tobacco-based plantation slavery - Chesapeake
 - 2- rice-based plantation slavery - South Carolina and Georgia
 - 3- non-plantation slavery - New England and the Middle Colonies.

Tobacco plantations of the Chesapeake:

- 1770 - Nearly half of the region's population were slaves, was the largest and oldest of the three.
- Slavery in Virginia existed on large plantations and many small farms
- Slavery created the Chesapeake elite - a landed gentry who dominated the region's society and politics in conjunction with merchants in the tobacco trade and lawyers defending the interests of slaveholders.
- Chesapeake society an elaborate hierarchy of degrees of freedom:
 - 1- large planters (top)
 - 2- lesser planters and landowning yeomen
 - 3- large population of indentured servants, tenant farmers, convicts, and slaves.

Slave Laws & Restrictions on Free Blacks:

- ◉ Planters made more laws enhancing the power of masters over their slave property
- ◉ Violence (whipping) was at the center of the institution and its perpetuation
- ◉ As slavery became entrenched, race became a more significant line of social division
- ◉ Whites more and more saw free blacks as dangerous and unwanted and restricted the rights given earlier to free blacks, such as gun ownership and the vote (for free, landowning black men).
- ◉ Virginia law required freed slaves to leave the colony, free blacks were a very small part of the population.

LABOR → slaves under constant supervision

Slavery and Empire

Indian Slavery in Early Carolina

- The rice plantation system of slavery that developed in South Carolina and Georgia first relied on Indian slaves, some of whom the colony exported, along with deerskins and furs.
- Some tribes (Creeks) first participated in the Indian slave trade, starting wars with other tribes just to secure captives for the trade.
- Creeks and other Indian tribes, fearing enslavement and other English abuses, rebelled, and this encouraged Carolina colonists to turn elsewhere for their labor force. (1715 Yamasee Uprising)

Slavery and Empire

The Rice Kingdom

Staple Crops: SC – Rice
1730's)

NC – indigo (separate colony by

Rice cultivation :

- in the low country of South Carolina prompted the importation of African slaves there, and led to a growing racial divide between whites and blacks
- Land – drain swamps, irrigation, uses lots of land → demand Labor
- South Carolina was the first colony to have a black majority → more slaves than VA
- Disease – malaria (Africans resistant), Overseers & Slaves manage work in fields
- Africans, familiar with the crop at home, taught the colonists how to grow rice

Task System:

- As opposed to the Chesapeake, where slaves worked constantly in gangs, slaves on the rice plantations worked in the “task” system, assigned daily jobs which, once completed, gave them time for leisure or crops of their own.

Slavery and Empire

The Georgia Experiment

- Georgia - Rice - founded in 1733 by philanthropists led by James Oglethorpe:
 - 1- a wealthy reformer who favored the *abolition of slavery*
 - 2- wanted to create a colony so “worthy poor” of England could find economic opportunity
 - 3- British government wanted colony as a *defensive barrier* against the Spanish and their Indian allies in Florida
 - 4- *initially banned liquor and slaves*, But many settlers wanted both - By 1740s, colonists appealed for the English liberty of self-government in order to have slaves
 - 5- 1751, Georgia’s proprietors surrendered the colony to the crown, which *repealed the ban on slavery and liquor*
 - 6- Georgia quickly came to resemble South Carolina (large rice plantations supporting a wealthy planter class that dominated the colony)

Slavery and Empire

Slavery in the North

- New England & Middle Colonies → mostly small farms - slavery wasn't central
- Slaves were a small % of the population, wealthy families rarely owned more than one slave
- RI & CT → develop tobacco / livestock farms → slave labor
- Slaves worked as farm labor, in artisan shops, on the docks, and as personal servants
- Often more legal rights than their southern counterparts:
Example - New England, slaves could not be severely physically punished, slaves could bring suits in court, and slave marriages were recognized, own property
- Significant number of slaves were present in New York and Philadelphia, although many employers of slave labor turned to wage labor in the years before the American Revolution.

**Table 4.1 SLAVE POPULATION
AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
POPULATION OF ORIGINAL
THIRTEEN COLONIES, 1770**

<i>Colony</i>	<i>Slave Population</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
New Hampshire	654	1%
Massachusetts	4,754	2
Connecticut	5,698	3
Rhode Island	3,761	6
New York	19,062	12
New Jersey	8,220	7
Pennsylvania	5,561	2
Delaware	1,836	5
Maryland	63,818	32
Virginia	187,600	42
North Carolina	69,600	35
South Carolina	75,168	61
Georgia	15,000	45

**Table 4.1 Slave population as percentage of total population
of original thirteen colonies, 1770**

Give Me Liberty!: An American history, 3rd Edition
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Slave Culture and Slave Resistance

Becoming African-American

- 18th century, 300,000 Africans brought to the mainland colonies = very diverse (coming from different African cultures, with different languages and religions)
- Most of 18th century, majority of American slaves were born in Africa
- A truly "African-American" people with a cohesive culture shaped by African, European, and American influences emerged only very gradually, through the common experience of slavery & desire for freedom

African-American Cultures

- 3 slave systems in British North America produced distinct African-American cultures
- 1- Chesapeake (tobacco) –
 - healthy climate → natural reproduction of the slave population
 - balanced gender ratio → family-centered slave communities
 - exposed to white culture → slaves learned English & were influenced by religious revivalism.
 - 2- South Carolina and Georgia (rice) –
 - harsh rice plantations → Low birthrate → rely on slave imports
 - seldom encountered whites → more autonomy than those on other kinds of plantations, they were able to create a more African culture (African-style houses, African names, Gullah)
 - Charleston & Savannah → different: servants/skilled workers assimilate into surrounding culture (free mulattos)
 - 3- Northern colonies – slaves were a small part of the population and dispersed as individuals or small groups throughout the white population, a distinctive African-American culture developed slowly, less stable family life/community

Slave Culture and Slave Resistance

Resistance to Slavery

- ◉ Despite differences between African-American cultures, all were linked by the experience of slavery and hopes for freedom.
- ◉ Most common form of slave resistance was to run away, and in some colonies fugitive slaves found it easy to assume the identity of a free black individual. Much less common were slave uprisings.

Slave Uprisings:

- ◉ The first occurred in New York in 1712 - a group of slaves burned buildings, killed whites who arrived, and were later executed, some being tortured and burned alive as a warning to the city's slave population.
- ◉ Imperial wars in the 1730s and 1740s opened the door for slave resistance in Louisiana and the West Indies.

The Crisis of 1739–1741

- ◉ In 1739, the War of Jenkins' Ear, between England and Spain, prompted a group of South Carolina slaves to seize arms at Stono. They marched toward the safety of Spanish Florida, which offered security to escaped British slaves, killing whites and shouting "Liberty!" as they went. The Stono Rebellion was crushed by colonial militia, and led to the tightening of South Carolina's slave laws.
- ◉ In 1741, in New York City, a panic induced by a series of fires led to rumors that slaves were planning to mount a rebellion with white allies and turn the city over to the Spanish. More than 150 blacks and a few whites were arrested, and 34 people, including four whites, were executed.

An Empire of Freedom

British Patriotism

- Although slavery was vital to the British Empire, the British people in the eighteenth century believed theirs was the most free and advanced nation in the world. Great Britain was the world's greatest commercial and naval power, and had a complex government with a powerful Parliament representing the interests of a landed aristocracy and merchant class. London, the political, cultural, and economic capital of the empire, was the largest city in Europe, with nearly 1 million residents. The empire enjoyed a common law, common language and, despite small numbers of Catholics, Jews, and Africans, a common devotion to Protestantism. Britain often found itself at war with France, which replaced Spain as its European Catholic rival. This stimulated a large military establishment, high taxes, and a Bank of England to help finance its wars in Europe and the empire. These wars helped develop a sense of national identity forged against common foes. In contrast to France, Britain was celebrated by its people as a nation of widespread prosperity and individual liberty, ruled by laws and Protestantism.

The British Constitution

- Liberty was embodied in what came to be called the British Constitution, was central to this emerging British identity. Britons believed that the legacy of the English Civil War and the Glorious Revolution had bestowed upon them a unique and ideal political order of institutions which guaranteed their freedoms: the rule of law, legislation consented to by representatives, restraints on arbitrary authority, and individual rights like trial by jury, enshrined in the common law. Writers in mainland Europe looked to England as a model government, and thinkers such as French political philosopher Baron Montesquieu praised Britain for its “balanced constitution,” in which the House of Commons, the House of Lords and the King checked each other's power. In Great Britain, no man, not even the king, was above the law, and Britons believed their political system prevented the tyranny, “popery,” and barbarism which they believed “enslaved” others elsewhere in Europe and the world. But slavery and other negations of freedom made liberty far from universal in the British empire.

An Empire of Freedom

The Language of Liberty

- ⦿ Ideas of British liberty expanded beyond the “political nation” – those who voted, held office, and engaged in structured political debate – to all members of British society, including laborers, sailors, artisans, and even slaves.
- ⦿ Liberty came to mean more than just privileges derived from membership in a distinct social class.
- ⦿ Defined as a general right to resist arbitrary government, and ordinary people invoked liberty and critiqued tyranny in collective actions, sometimes against merchants charging above a “just price,” or officers of the Royal Navy engaged in “impressment” – kidnapping poor men in public for service on the Navy’s ships.

An Empire of Freedom

Republican Liberty

- Liberty was central to two sets of political ideas in the Anglo-American world. Today they are called “republicanism” and “liberalism” by scholars, but were not used in this way at the time.
- Republicanism - participation in public life by economically independent citizens as the basis of liberty.
- Republicans believed that only citizens who owned property had “virtue,” defined as the willingness to subordinate self-interest to a common public good.
- In Britain, republicanism was most associated with men who criticized corruption in politics, calling, for example, for fewer members of the House of Commons to be appointed by, and thus dependent on, the crown. These republicans believed that a corrupt Britain was in danger of succumbing to luxury and manipulation, which would result in the loss of virtue and thus, of liberty. Their writings were far more influential in the colonies than in Britain itself.

An Empire of Freedom

Liberal Freedom

- Liberalism in the eighteenth-century British Empire meant something quite different from “liberalism” as it is defined today.
- While **republicanism** had a public and social quality, **liberalism** was individual and private.
- John Locke was liberalism’s leading philosopher, and his *Two Treatises of Government*, written in 1680, were very influential in the 1700s. Locke argued that governments were constituted through a “social contract” mutually agreed to by equals (here male heads of households), in which these individuals surrendered part of their right to govern themselves in order to enjoy benefits of the rule of law: security of life, liberty and property.
- Protecting these spheres required limiting the interference of the state in religious, family, and economic life.
- **Lockean ideas** of individual rights, the consent of the governed, and the right to rebel against unjust or oppressive government became familiar in Britain and its colonies.
- Locke’s idea of liberty as a universal right seemed to exclude many from its benefits, as its imagined free individual was in theory and practice the propertied white man.
- While distinct bodies of thought, republicanism and liberalism overlapped and reinforced each other, and both came to influence and inspire Americans, who came to resist the rule of the British empire.

The Public Sphere

The Right to Vote

- ◉ In some ways, politics in eighteenth-century colonial America seemed more democratic than in Britain.
- ◉ Property ownership was the qualification for voting, ensuring that men with an economic stake in society and the independence of judgment that came with property determined government policies.
- ◉ “Dependents” who lacked their own will, such as slaves, servants, adult sons living in their parents’ homes, the poor, and women, were all ineligible to vote.
- ◉ Wide distribution of land ownership in America meant that a far higher percentage of the population had the right to vote compared to Europe. In some colonies free blacks with property could vote. Some colonies also denied the vote to religious minorities such as Jews, Catholics, and dissenting Protestants, while everywhere Indians were generally prohibited from voting.

Political Cultures

- ◉ In colonial America, “the people” existed only on Election Day. Competitive elections were rare, and usually voters deferred to their social betters in their community, who expected voters to support them because of their patronage, reputation, or social status.
- ◉ Real power resided in officials who were appointed, not elected. Governors and councils were appointed by the crown or proprietors everywhere except Rhode Island and Connecticut, where they were elected. In some colonies, such as South Carolina, the property qualification for office holding was far higher than that for the franchise, ensuring that only the wealthy could be elected. Few ordinary Americans pursued elective office or were active in public affairs.

Colonial Government

- Concerned with events in Europe and imperial rivalries, British governments in the first half of the 18th century followed a policy of “salutary neglect,” allowing the American colonies to mostly govern themselves.
- Self Government in the Colonies - This in effect gave large landowners, merchants, and lawyers more power to control local colonial politics, while elected representatives in colonial assemblies believed they represented the popular will, and used their power over colonial finance and taxes to influence policy and appointed officials.

The Rise of the Assemblies

- 18th century, as economic development increased the power of American elites, colonial assemblies became more assertive, and they insisted that they controlled local affairs in the colonies as much as the House of Commons did in Britain.
- The most successful governors accommodated the ascendant assemblies and used patronage, such as land grants, to win support. Eliminating the governor’s council, Pennsylvania’s legislature was most powerful, but New York, Virginia, South Carolina, and especially Massachusetts had powerful assemblies.
- Colonial representatives invoked liberal and republican notions of liberty in making their claims on colonial and imperial officials.

The Public Sphere

Politics in Public

- This language gradually reached beyond the “political nation,” dominated by a wealthy and educated American gentry. Particularly in colonial towns and cities, the “public sphere” expanded.
- Public Sphere - the space in which political organization and debate independent of the government took place, in which an informed citizenry openly discussed questions previously addressed only by officials.
- In Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, clubs emerged which debated literary, philosophical, scientific, and political issues.
- The best known was the “Junto,” founded by Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia in 1727, a club which later became the American Philosophical Society.

The Colonial Press

- Compared to other European colonies in the western Hemisphere, British North America had a very literate population and a vibrant press.
- Newspapers and circulating libraries were especially important in spreading information and ideas and expanding the public sphere, and by the 1730s, political commentary was prevalent in American newspapers.
- The best-edited newspaper was probably Benjamin Franklin’s *Pennsylvania Gazette*, founded in 1728 and having a readership of 2,000 at its peak.

The Public Sphere

Freedom of Expression and Its Limits

- But if America had a vibrant press, free expression and free speech were not the norm in America, and not a traditional right for ordinary Britons.
- Freedom of speech had developed in Britain in the 1500s as a right for legislators in Parliament, as a means for facilitating representation; outside of Parliament free speech had no legal protection.
- Governments in Britain and the colonies viewed freedom of the press as quite dangerous.
- Only in 1695 was it possible to print a newspaper, book, or pamphlet without government permission; after this the government could censor print matter only after it had been published. Editors of colonial newspapers that criticized officials or legislators were frequently punished, leading some Americans to call for a freedom of the press which was not very often observed.

The Trial of Zenger

- The most famous court case in the colonies regarding freedom of the press showed that most colonists opposed prosecutions for criticizing public officials.
- In 1735, the German-born printer John Peter Zenger, who accused New York's governor of corruption, was arrested for seditious libel.
- His lawyer, Alexander Hamilton, asked the jury to judge the accuracy of Zenger's statements, not whether he printed them, and he was found not guilty.
- While libel remained a crime, the trial's outcome spread in the colonies the belief that newspapers should be allowed to print the truth without fear of punishment, and helped popularize the idea of free expression.



Enlightenment

Great Awakening



◎ **WHEN:** Early 1700's

◎ **WHAT:**

Revolutions in both Religious + Nonreligious thought transformed world

**European movements affected
Life in the Colonies**

European Enlightenment

1600's – SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

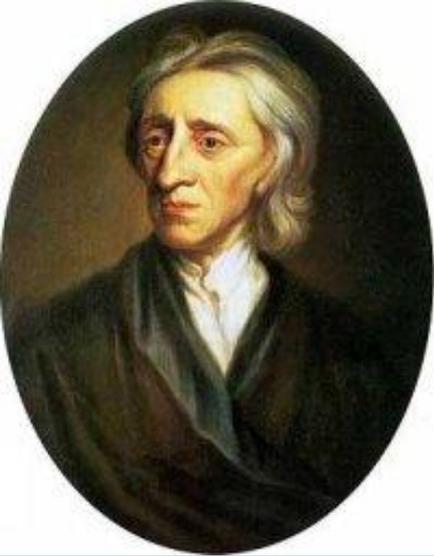
triggered by European scientists began to better understand the basic laws that govern nature

- 1675 Anton van Leeuwenhoek:
1st to observe microorganisms through a microscope
- 1665 Isaac Newton:
discovered laws of gravity / motion and invented calculus

1700's – ENLIGHTENMENT (AGE OF REASON)

- Philosophical movement in Europe that led to the application of the scientific method to political & social life
- Extension of the Scientific Revolution
- **Applied Reason to the Role and Purpose of Government**

IMPACT: Reason & Logic used to view the world

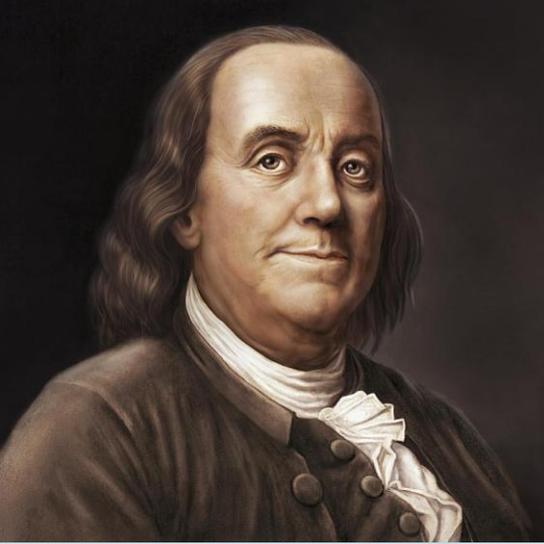


European ENLIGHTENMENT THINKERS



Use Reason & Logic as a measurement to judge every human institution, authority, and tradition

- **John Locke**: Two Treatises of Government (book) expressed that men have
 - Natural Rights (Life, Liberty, and Property)
 - Purpose of government existed to protect these rights
 - Revolution could occur if government was abusive
- **Thomas Hobbes**: Leviathan (book) expressed that chaos would ensue if government were absent; a Social Contract existed between the people and government (exchange some freedom for security & order)
- **Voltaire**: (French) promoted the right to freedom of speech
- **Baron de Montesquieu**: (French) The Spirit of the Laws (1748, book) expressed the division of power into the Judicial, Legislative, and Executive branches; Checks and Balances; Separation of Powers
- **Jean Jacques Rousseau**: The Social Contract (book) expressed majority rule and that social issues like social and economic inequality were the elements that caused people to not be good



American Enlightenment

Benjamin Franklin: established a newspaper, debating club, library, published *Poor Richard's Almanack*, was a diplomat, and conducted experiments that showed lightning is electricity. He embodied the spirit of enlightenment.

DOB: 1706, Boston Moved to Philadelphia at 17 yrs old

- Junto (American Philosophical Society): founded by Ben Franklin, 1727, debate club that discussed political and economic issues (shows expanding of Public Sphere)
- Pennsylvania Gazette: newspaper
- Poor Richard's Almanack: contained weather predictions, poems, puzzles, quotes/sayings . . . ; published between 1732-1758; very popular in the colonies <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-colonial/4211>
- *Fish and Visitors stink after three days.*
- *How few there are who have courage enough to own their Faults, or resolution enough to mend them!*
- *A country man between two lawyers, is like a fish between two cats.*



American Enlightenment

- Criticized established churches
- Reason not religious enthusiasm would rule human affairs

DEISM

- Belief that God withdrew from the world after creating it
- World functions according to “natural” or scientific laws
- No divine intervention
- Best form of religious devotion was to study nature
- Did Not worship in organized churches
- Prominent American Deists in the late colonial era included Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson

- Remember in the 1600s, the English scientist Isaac Newton had discovered that natural laws governed the universe. Many Protestants affirmed Newton’s findings, arguing it was evidence of God’s work

The Great Awakening 1730's – 1740's

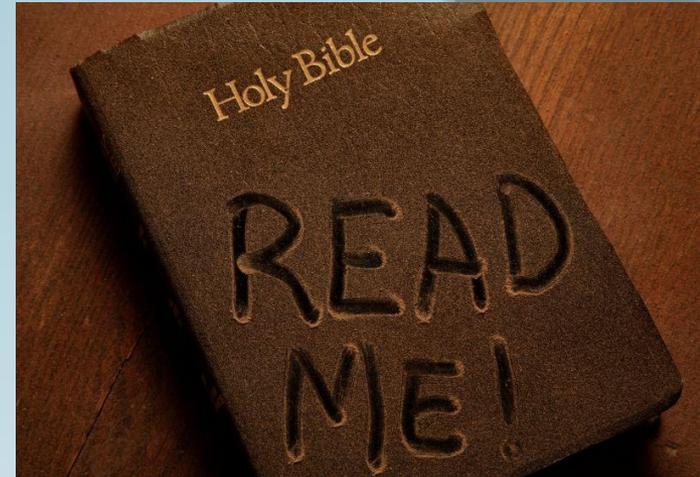


1st major inter-colonial event in North America

- ⊙ **Protestant Revivalism**
- ⊙ Swept through British colonies
- ⊙ **Evangelical ministers traveled the countryside** instead of having a traditional church and congregation
- ⊙ **Response to Enlightenment** or the Age of Reason

The Great Awakening

1730's – 1740's



WHY:

- ◎ Religion central to colonial life
- ◎ Bible most printed book
- ◎ Religion undermined by commercialism and Enlightenment
- ◎ Rejected what appeared to be sterile, formal modes of worship in favor of a vigorous emotional religion
- ◎ A Welcome message for those who had felt excluded by traditional Protestantism

[Academy](#)

Khan

(women, the young, and people at the lower end of the social spectrum)

The Great Awakening 1730's – 1740's

Old Lights

- **Elite or Traditional ministers in British North America**
- **Felt that new revivalism was chaos and a threat to traditional religion**



The Great Awakening 1730's – 1740's

New Lights



- ◎ **Evangelical ministers spread a message of more personal faith that rivaled traditional ways**
- ◎ Individuals could bring about their own salvation by accepting Christ
- ◎ **Emotion & Personal Salvation** part of the experience in contrast to the rigid format of traditional churches

The Great Awakening 1730's – 1740's

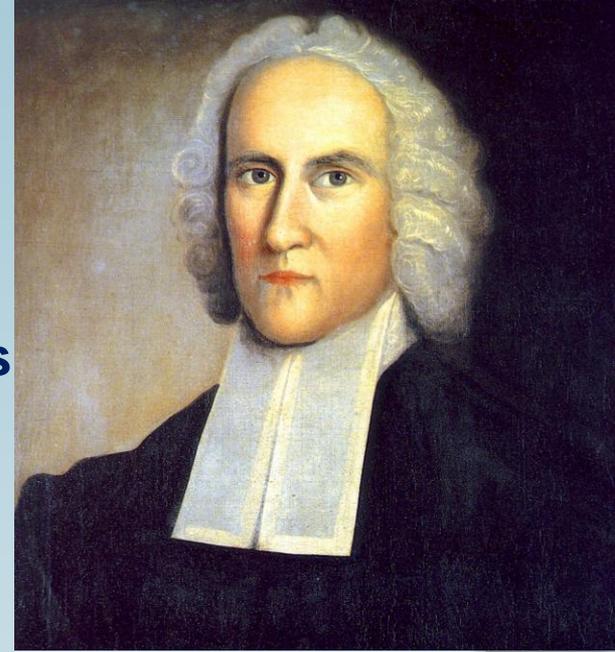
JONATHAN EDWARDS

WHO: Puritan Minister (Massachusetts)

WHAT: fiery sermons evoked emotional responses

- Held sermons that caused people to cry out
 - Pioneered an emotional form of preaching
- “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God” sermon**

- **Viewed man as a sinner** on the verge of being condemned to damnation at any moment
- **Only by experiencing a “new birth” could one be saved**
- Used **powerful imagery** to describe the terrors of hell and the possibilities of avoiding damnation by personal conversion.
- His revival spread along the Connecticut River Valley, and news of the event spread rapidly through the frequent reprinting of his famous sermon



The wrath of God burns against them [sinners], their damnation don't slumber, the pit is prepared, the fire is made ready, the furnace is now hot, ready to receive them, the flames do now rage and glow. The glittering sword is whet, and held over them, and the pit hath opened her mouth under them.”

S I N N E R S

In the Hands of an

Angry GOD.

A S E R M O N

Preached at *Enfield*, July 8th 1741.

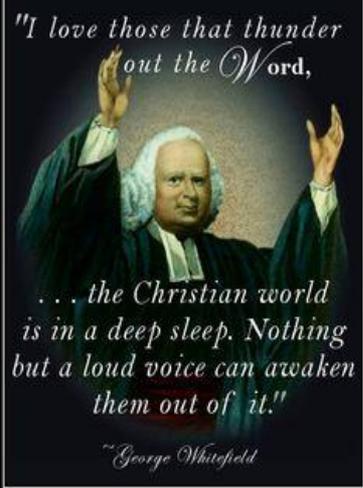
At a Time of great Awakenings; and attended with remarkable Impressions on many of the Hearers.

By *Jonathan Edwards*, A.M.

Pastor of the Church of CHRIST in *Northampton*.

Amos ix. 2, 3. *Though they dig into Hell, thence shall mine Hand take them; though they climb up to Heaven, thence will I bring them down. And though they hide themselves in the Top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence; and though they be hid from my Sight in the Bottom of the Sea, thence I will command the Serpent, and he shall bite them.*

B O S T O N: Printed and Sold by S. KNEELAND
and T. GREEN. in Queen-Street over against the
Prison. 1741.



George Whitefield - Great Awakening

- **Most Famous English revivalist minister**
- Spread the Great Awakening through the colonies
- **2 year Tour of Colonies (1739 -1740)**
- Newspapers promoted his tour
- **tens of thousands flocked to hear him**





The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, 1793

Franklin was a good friend of Whitefield, but he did not agree with his religious



I happened to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I realized he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently decided he should get nothing from me, I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pieces of gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the coppers. Another stroke of his oratory mad me ashamed of that, and I decided to give the silver; and he finished so admirably, that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all.

Nathan Cole was a farmer from Middletown Connecticut, who heard George Whitefield preach in 1741. The experience convinced Cole to find salvation and become born-again. The excerpt is from his personal account.

When I heard that Mr. Whitefield was coming to preach in Middletown, I was in my field at work. I **dropped my tool** and ran home to my **wife** and **told her to hurry**. My wife and I **rode my horse as fast as I thought the horse could bear . . .**

When neared Middletown, I heard a noise like a **low rumbling thunder** and soon saw it was the **noise of horses feet**. As I came closer it seemed like a **steady stream of horses and their riders**, all of a **lather and foam with sweat**, their **breath rolling out of their nostrils** with every jump; every horse seemed to go with all his might to carry his rider to hear **news from heaven for the saving of souls**, it made me **tremble** to see the sight, how the world was in a struggle.

When we got to the meeting house there were **3 or 4000 people assembled**. I turned and looked back and **the land and banks of the river looked black with people** and horses all along the 12 miles.

When I saw **Mr. Whitfield** he looked almost **angelic**; a young, slim, slender, youth. And hearing how God was with him everywhere put me into a trembling fear. I saw that my righteousness would not save me . . .

The Awakening's Impact

- Transformed the religious life of America
 - **splitting the old churches**
 - **creating new churches**
(Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians)
- **Criticized by Traditional Churches**
- Supported by the poor and disenfranchised
- It caused some to **question other authorities** and institutions in colonial America.

Great Awakening

“Old Lights”

Members of the established churches criticized the revivalists for their lack of theological training, excess emotionalism, and the disorder they caused.

July 15, 1745 – Boston Evening-Post Letter to George Whitefield

From Nathanael HENCHMAN, Massachusetts Minister

You have sown the harmful seeds of separation and disorder among us. By supporting the new churches, by claiming that our Ministers are unacquainted with Christ, you have stopped the spread of the Gospel, and hurt the Peace and good Order. You have hurt the very being of our Churches.

I ask you not to preach in this parish . . .

I do not expect that you will pay attention to what I have written, but I still choose to declare that you are a dangerous man, harmful to the religion of Jesus Christ.

Imperial Rivalries

Spanish North America

- Imperial rivalries over North America intensified as Britain's North American colonies grew (GROWTH AND CONFLICT)
- Colonies of France and Spain were territorially very large, but much smaller in population and less economically developed
- The Spanish empire stretched from the Pacific coast to New Mexico and the Great Plains, Texas, and Florida, and after 1763 included Louisiana, but its presence consisted of only a few small outposts.

The Spanish in California (mission frontier)

- Spanish efforts to reinvigorate its older colonies in the early 1700s floundered →
1800: Los Angeles population 300 (largest town) 1821: 3,200 Californios total
- Fearing Russian settlement (forts and trading posts in Alaska), Spain successfully colonized with missions and presidios (fortified settlements) much of the coast of California. But the diseases they introduced and resettlement of Indians resulted in the near total devastation of California's native population.
- Father Junipero Serra – ran many missions in CA that converted many American Indians to Catholicism (Christianity), founded San Diego (1769, 1st CA mission)
Controversial: currently considered for sainthood in the Catholic Church, forced labor/disease killed many American Indians in his missions <http://www.sfmuseum.net/bio/jserra.html>
- Mission Frontier – outposts served as religious, government, and labor centers to assimilate the local native population into Spanish life
- Farming – forced labor: grain, orchards, vineyards, tend cattle



Map 4.3 European Empires in North America, ca. 1750

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Imperial Rivalries

The French Empire

- French were a far greater threat to British power in North America
- 18th century, the French population and economy of Canada expanded, while French traders pushed south from the Great Lakes and North from Mobile and New Orleans. St. Lawrence River valley developed prosperous farming communities
- By 1750, 10,000 French colonists and slaves lived in Louisiana, mostly working around sugar plantations. Although much smaller in population and economic power than the British colonies, the French colonies, especially in their alliances with powerful Native American tribes, posed a real threat to British Americans.

Battle for the Continent

The Middle Ground

- The western frontier of British America, particularly the Ohio Valley, was a battleground that saw nearly constant conflict between France, Britain, and their Indian allies, mostly tribes that had been pushed their by European settlement (Shawnees/Delawares from PA, Cherokees/Chickasaws from southern colonies, Iroquois seeking control of fur trade)
- “middle ground” between European empires and Indian sovereignty, Indians from various tribes lived together, alongside European traders and missionaries.
- Indians of the Ohio Valley saw threat and opportunity in dealing with the French & British:
Alliances with one group made your tribe the enemy of the other European power
Land was claimed by either British or French, uncertainty in ownership for Amer. Indians

LAND & CONFLICT:

1749: Virginia awards Ohio company half million acres in Ohio Valley (members: VA royal governor Robert Dinwiddie, VA elites – Lees, Carters, George Washington)

Land Grant Sparks Hostilities:

1. Regions Indians feel threatened
2. PA land speculators already have claims in the same area
3. French also claim area

**Ohio Company demands French recognition of land claims → Seven Years' War or French and Indian War

Britain emerges as a world leader:

- ◎ Before the 18th Century, Britain a marginal power
 - Spain's empire more extensive
 - France more power in Europe
 - Dutch dominate trade/finance
- ◎ During the 18th Century, Britain emerged as world's leading empire, center of trade/banking
 - overseas wars won by Britain brought them to the top

Britain's reach is global. Warfare among their rivals abroad often affected their colonies and created conflict in North America

Battle for the Continent

The Seven Years' War

How it started:

- In 1749, as white settlers began moving into the Ohio Valley, Virginia awarded an immense grant of land there to the Ohio Company, who could sell the land to settlers.
- The grant threatened the Valley's Indians and caused the French to reinforce their presence.
- The Ohio Company's demand for French recognition of its land claims inaugurated the Seven Years' War (known in the colonies as the French and Indian War).
- **French and Indian War 1754 – 1763**
- **Seven Year's War 1756 - 1763**

The Seven Years' War

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j0qbzNHmfW0&safe=active>

- Debt & Taxes - The British had fought its rivals France and Spain in three inconclusive wars earlier in the eighteenth century, and to finance these wars Britain's public expenditures, taxes, and national debt had greatly increased, inspiring discontent at home and in the colonies.
- Seven Years' War saw fighting among these global empires across the entire globe, in what was truly a first world war.

WAR: <http://www.feldmeth.net/US/fandiwar.html>

1754, May **Battle of Fort Necessity (Pittsburgh):** Commander George Washington:

- It started in 1754 with British efforts to dislodge the French from forts in western Pennsylvania guarding the Ohio Valley. When a small force of soldiers led by George Washington entered the area, conflict ensued. The French had a bigger force (including Amer. Indians), Washington lost 1/3 of his men. Washington Surrendered

Background: <http://www.nps.gov/fone/battle.htm>

<http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/lieutenant-colonel-george-washington-builds-fort-necessity>

- **1755: General Edward Braddock** (commander-in-chief of British forces in North America) attempts to defeat the French at Fort Necessity. He fails, 2/3 of soldiers die and he dies. The ambush by the American Indians was a tactic that would continue to plague British forces.

Background: <http://www.nps.gov/fone/braddock.htm>

Braddock's March: <http://www.fortedwards.org/braddock/braddock.htm>

For the first two years of the war, French and Indian forces successfully attacked the frontiers of the British colonies in North America.

Battle for the Continent

WAR: <http://www.feldmeth.net/US/fandiwar.html>

- 1757 Tide Turns in Favor of British:
under Prime Minister William Pitt's leadership, did the British government turn the tide. Britain funded Prussia and Austria's campaigns against France and its ally Spain in Europe, while the British struck back in the colonies.
- 1759 – colonial & Indian soldiers capture French outposts
 - Forts Duquesne Pittsburgh: <http://explorepahistory.com/hmarker.php?markerId=1-A-82>
 - Ticonderoga New York: <http://www.adirondack.net/history/french.asp>
 - Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, Canada (St. Lawrence River)
<http://www.fortressoflouisbourg.ca/Overview/mid/12>
 - Plains of Abraham (near Quebec) <http://www.ccbn-nbc.gc.ca/en/>
- 1760 –
- By 1760, Montreal surrendered, British forces had captured the major outposts of New France, seized French possessions in the Caribbean, and established control of India.

Peace of Paris in 1763

Britain acquires all land east of the Mississippi (including Canada)

- France ceded Canada to Britain, and received in return the sugar islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique.
- Spain ceded Florida to Britain in return for the Philippines and Cuba, which the British had seized during the war.
- Spain also acquired Louisiana from the French.
- France's empire in North America was finished.

War costs were extreme for all involved:

- Attempts to pay for the costs of the war led to events that precipitated the French and the American revolutions.
- British would tax colonists more to pay for the war debt

Conflict between the British Colonists & American Indians soon began



Battle for the Continent

Pontiac's Rebellion



British Victory in French & Indian War (1754-1763) = Threat to American Indians

- French defeat upset the balance-of-power diplomacy that had enabled Indian groups like the Iroquois to maintain a degree of autonomy
- French had a better relationship with the American Indians because they did not threaten their lifestyle or encroach on their land significantly

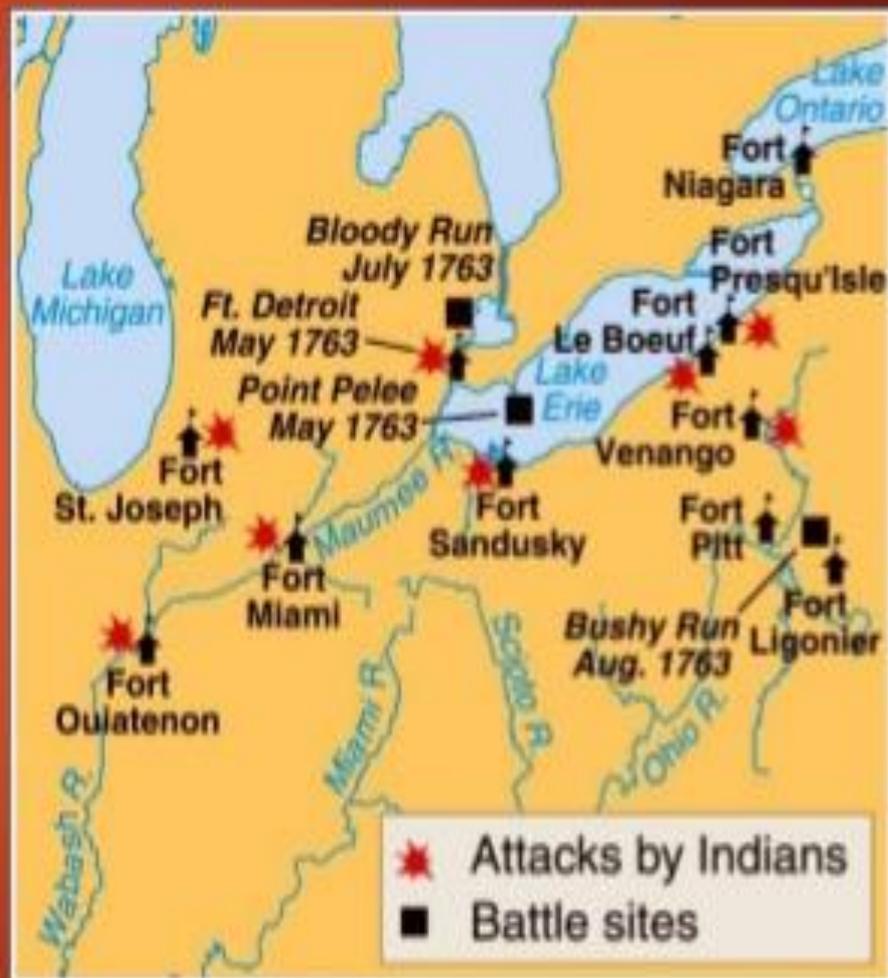
Issue: Treaty of Paris (1763) promises

- The French gave Amer. Indian land to the British, without their consent,
- Confusion over land claims, control of fur trade, and tribal relations
- Treaty of Easton: not honored as Fort Pitt was built up post war (Oc. 1758) the British and the Iroquois (including the Shawnee and Lenape) met in Easton, PA.

American Indians were promised that British would prohibit settlement on all lands west of the Allegheny Mountains after the war; regulate rum trade and eliminate forts on Indian lands. Iroquois who had remained fairly neutral, sided with the British.

Pontiac's Rebellion

- ▶ The British sent reinforcements to Fort Detroit, but Pontiac defeated them in July 1763.
- ▶ Pontiac gave up his siege of Fort Detroit in the fall of 1763 when he realized the French were not coming to help.
- ▶ Other Indians inspired by Pontiac attacked British forts throughout the territory.
- ▶ A total of 8 British forts were captured by various Indian tribes.
- ▶ Fort Pitt became the next target.



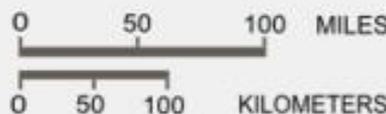
Pontiac's War, 1763



-  = British fort taken by Indians
-  = British fort attacked but not taken
-  = British fort abandoned
-  = French fort

-  = Battle site
-  = Point of interest
-  = Colonial town

Shaded areas indicate settlements targeted in American Indian raids

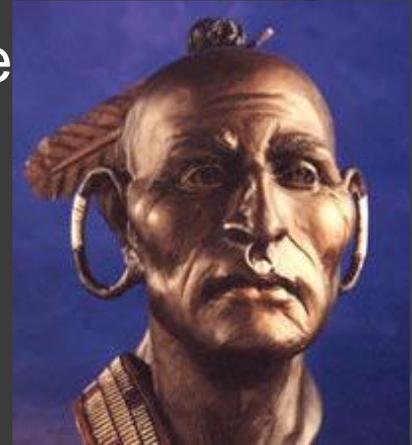


0 50 100 MILES
0 50 100 KILOMETERS

TRIBAL REGION / EUROPEAN COLONY

Pontiac's Rebellion - 1763

- ◉ Indians in the Ohio Valley & Great Lakes regions rebelled against British.
- ◉ Named after an Ottawa warrior
- ◉ Inspired by Neolin, a Delaware religious prophet, Vision: Master of Life instructed ...
 1. Reject European technologies, commercial re alcohol
 2. Return to Tradition
 3. Expel the British from their lands
- ◉ Impact: Pan-Indian Identity
 - collective identity
 - cooperation would bring about their independence
 - Common experience of dispossession



Battle for the Continent

The Proclamation Line

Inspired by:

Amer. Indian (Ottawas, Hurons...) attack on Detroit, (British military outpost) 9 other forts seized, killed hundreds of colonists intruding on their land

Rules:

- 1- prohibit further colonial settlement in the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains, which were reserved for Indians
- 2- ban sale of Indian lands to private individuals (arranged by colonial government)

Purpose:

- ⦿ quiet tensions between white settlers in the colonies and Indians

Impact:

- ⦿ enraged settlers and speculators
(George Washington ignored the policy and purchased land illegally)
- ⦿ Not solving the issue of westward expansion
- ⦿ exacerbated settler-Indian relations.



Battle for the Continent

Pennsylvania and the Indians

- The Seven Years' War changed Pennsylvania a colony hostile to Amer. Indians
- War shattered the rule of the old Quaker elite (who had a policy of accommodating the Indians) → Quakers resigned their assembly seats when the majority demanded war, a militia and Indian scalps (during the French & Indian war)
- War created a conflict between colonial farmers and Amer. Indians & indiscriminate assaults on Indian communities → Paxton Boys

Paxton Boys

(50 Scotch-Irish farmers, from Paxton, PA)

- Accused colonial authorities of being too lenient with Indians
- During Pontiac's Rebellion Paxton Boys
 - Attacked Indian village of Conestoga (6 men, women, children), Lancaster (14 killed), Philadelphia (intended to attack Moravian Indians, But...)
- Governor order expulsion of most of the Indian population
- End of the 1760s, Penn's "holy experiment" and his quest for peace between Europeans and Indians was over.

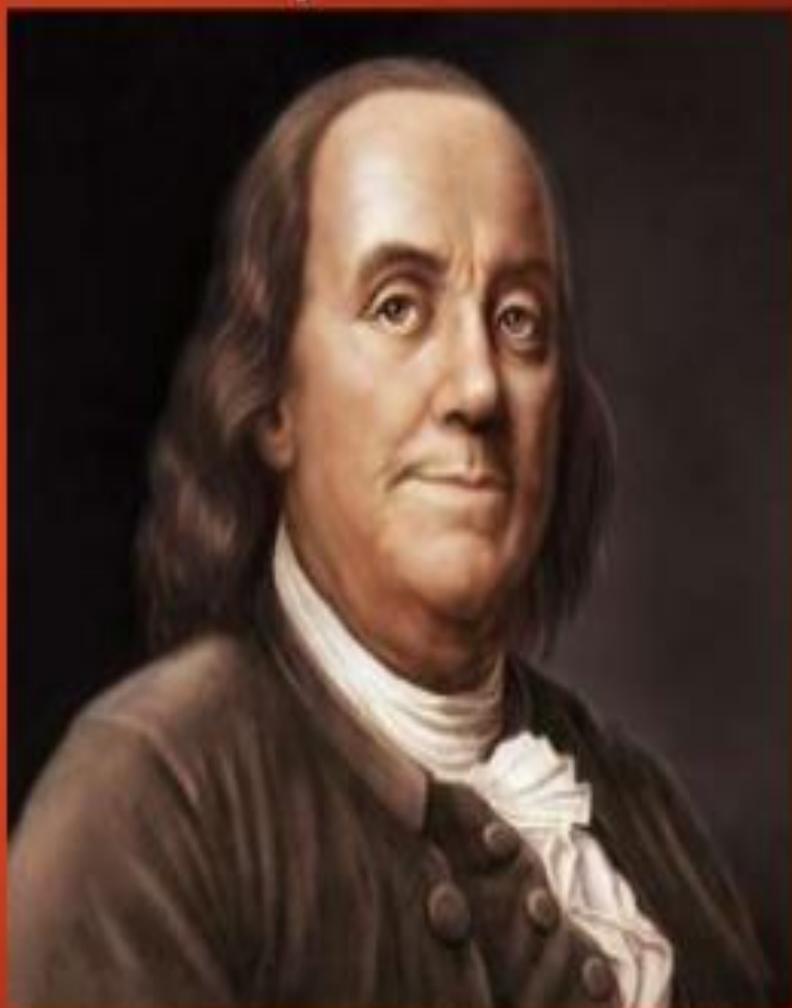


EVENTS OF INDIAN HISTORY.

Massacre of the Indians at Lancaster by the Tories, Sept. 1763.

The Paxton Boys

- ▶ Several Indians fled to Philadelphia to seek protection from the Paxton Boys.
- ▶ Several hundred Paxton Boys marched towards Philadelphia in January 1764.
- ▶ They were angered that the government would protect Indians and not citizens.
- ▶ An attack on Philadelphia was avoided when the government agreed to meet with the Paxton Boys regarding their concerns.
- ▶ The agreement was negotiated by Benjamin Franklin.



Battle for the Continent

Colonial Identities

- Colonists also emerged from the war with a greater sense of collective identity.
- Before the war the colonies had been isolated from one another (more travel to England than colony to colony)

Albany Plan of Union 1754

- drafted by Benjamin Franklin
- would have created a inter-colonial legislature
 - 1- Grand Council (delegates from each colony)
 - 2- Levy taxes
 - 3- Conduct diplomacy with Indian tribes
- Failed to create a Union → rejected by the colonial assemblies



Benjamin Franklin produced this famous cartoon in 1754, calling on Britain's North American colonies to unite against the French. (Published in the Philadelphia Gazette – Franklin's newspaper)

Colonial Identities

IMPACT of French & Indian War on Colonists:

- The war intensified their sense of themselves as Britons → Pride in being British
despite conflicts in war between soldiers & undisciplined militias, a bond formed by sharing war
- Triumph in the war was a victory for “Protestant freedom” against “Popish slavery” → conquest of Canada
- France’s defeat reinforced the conflation of British identity with Protestantism and freedom.

British Empire in 1763 → diverse (French Catholics, India) / heterogeneous

- Soon American colonists would come to believe that the British Empire threatened their colonial liberty

Additional Art for Chapter 4



The Old Plantation, a late-eighteenth-century *Give Me Liberty!: An American history, 3rd Edition*
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Olaudah Equiano:
or
GUSTAVUS VASSA,
the African?

Printed at London, March 1794 by G. G. & Co.

THE
INTERESTING NARRATIVE
OF
THE LIFE
OF
OLAUDAH EQUIANO,
OR
GUSTAVUS VASSA,
THE AFRICAN.
WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

*Behold, God is my salvation; I will trust, and not be afraid, for the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song; he also is become my salvation.
And in that day shall ye say, Praise the Lord, call upon his name, declare his doings among the people. Isa. xlii. 2. 4.*

EIGHTH EDITION ENLARGED.

NORWICH:

PRINTED FOR, AND SOLD BY THE AUTHOR.

1794.

PRICE FOUR SHILLINGS.

Formerly sold for 7s.

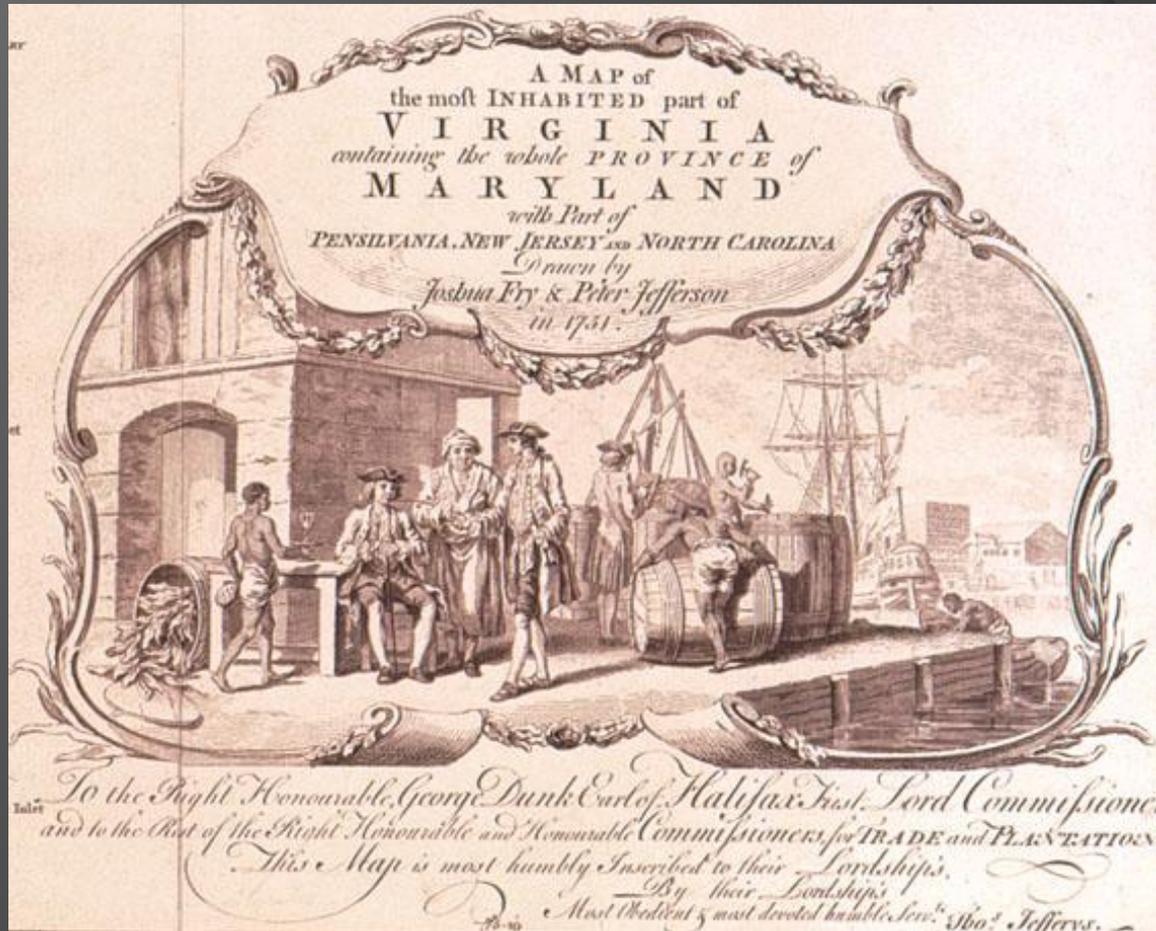
[Entered at Stationers' Hall.]



A mid-eighteenth-century image of a
Woman going to church in Lima



Benjamin Latrobe's water color



**A detail from a 1768 map of Virginia and Maryland
Illustrates a tobacco wharf.**



Henry Darnall III

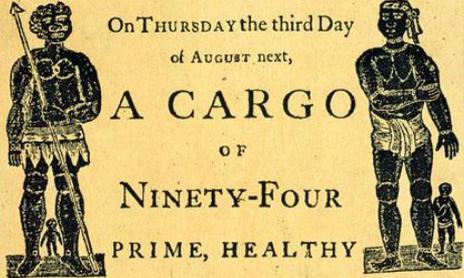
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Charlestown, July 24th, 1769.

TO BE SOLD,

On THURSDAY the third Day
of August next,

A CARGO
OF
NINETY-FOUR
PRIME, HEALTHY



NEGROES,

CONSISTING OF
Thirty-nine MEN, Fifteen BOYS,
Twenty-four WOMEN, and
Sixteen GIRLS.

JUST ARRIVED,
In the Brigantine DEMBIA, *Francis Bare*, Master, from SIERRA-
LEON, by
DAVID & JOHN DEAS.



**Slavery existed in the eighteenth century
in all the colonies**

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10 s. per Gallon, Bitters at 40 s. per Quart.



Run away on the 13th of *March* last, a Mustee Fellow named *Cyrus*, who lately belonged to Messrs. *Mulryne* and *Williams* of *Port-Royal*. Whoever secures, or brings the said Fellow to me, or to Mr. *David Brown* of *Charles-Town* Shipwright, shall have **TWENTY POUNDS** Reward, and the Charges allow'd by Law. And whoever gives me Information of his being employed by any Person, so that he may be convicted thereof, shall, upon such Conviction, have **THIRTY POUNDS** current Money paid him, by *David Linn.*

A bay stray Horse, about 13 Hands and an half

An advertisement seeking the return of a run away slave from Port Royal



**Even though less than 5 percent of the
British population enjoyed the right to vote**

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A 1770 engraving from the Boston



**The Polling, by the renowned eighteenth-century
British artist William Hogarth**

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TWO
TREATISES
OF

Government:

In the former,
The false Principles, and Foundation
OF

Sir **ROBERT FILMER,**

And his FOLLOWERS,

ARE

Detected and Overthrown.

The latter is an

ESSAY

CONCERNING THE

True Original, Extent, and End

OF

Civil Government.

LONDON,

Printed for *Awnsham Churchill*, at the *Black Swan* in *Ave-Mary-Lane*, by *Amen-Corner*, 1690.

The title page of John Locke's

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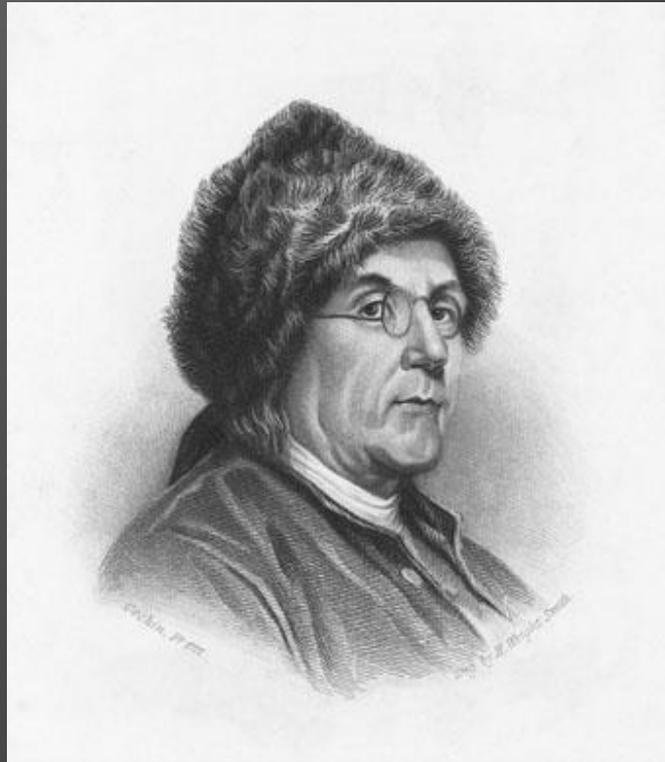
The British political philosopher John Locke

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Temperance.
Eat not to Dulness.
Drink not to Elevation.

	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
T							
S	✓	✓			✓	✓	
O	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
R			✓			✓	
F		✓			✓		
I			✓				
S							
J							
M							
C							
T							
©							
H							



**A portrait of Benjamin Franklin in
fur hat and spectacles**

A Vote of Council of November 2, 1734 ordered
this Paper to be bound by the hands of the common hangman,
near the Pillory.

NOV. VII.

THE

New-York Weekly JOURNAL

Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign, and Domestick.

MUNDAY December 17, 1733.

Mr. Zenger,

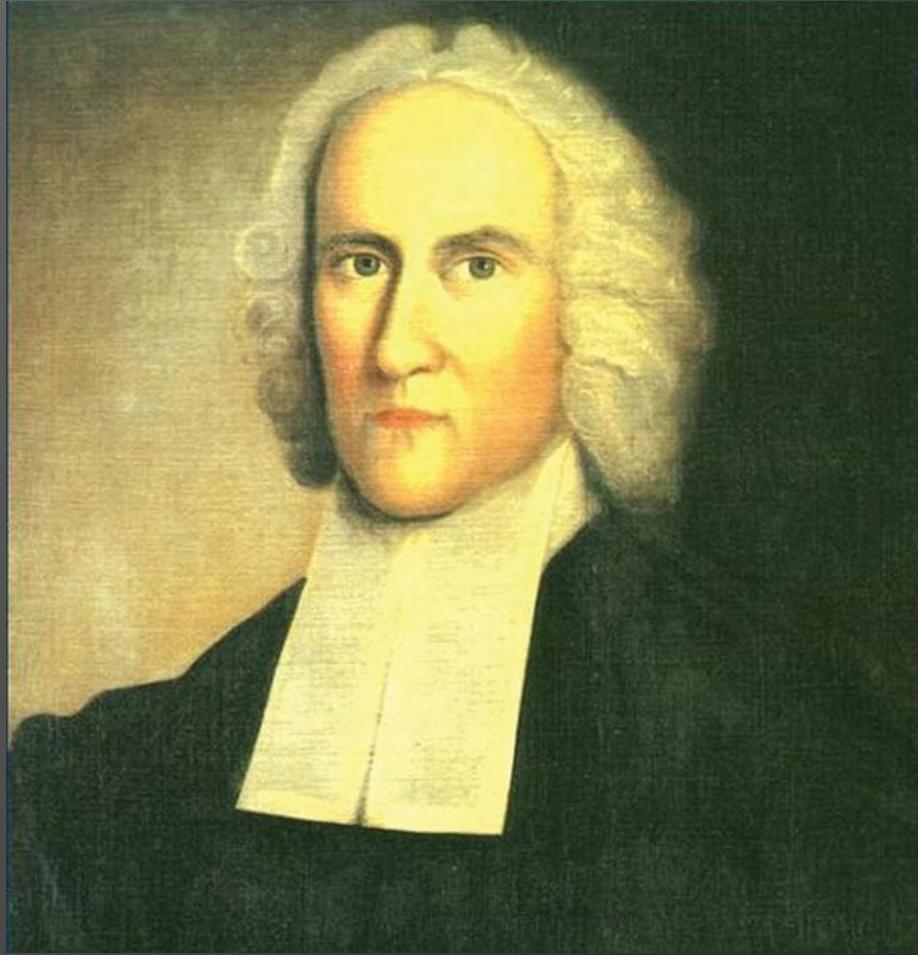
AM told your Encouragement has so far exceeded your Expectation, that you have sold off almost three Editions of some of your Papers.

In all publick Papers great Regard is to be had to Truth; but your No. V. Article New-York, Dec. 3d. where it is said, That the Inhabitants of Cape Brittain were destitute of Provisions, and that to supply the Want of them the Sloop Le Cesar was sent thither, did not meet with entire Credit, because it was supposed to be taken from the New-York Gazette, N. 422. which, if I am rightly informed, is a Paper known to be under the Direction of the Government; in which the Printer of it is not suffered to insert any Thing but what his Superiors approve of, under the Penalty of losing 50 L. per annum Salary, and the Title of The King's Printer for the Province of New-York. I wont pretend to give the Reasons why that Paragraph was put into the New-York Gazette leaving that to those who directed it: But if Credit may be given to the following Affidavits, that Paragraph is far from true. I have been favoured with the following Depositions: which I send you with this to make publick, which I believe will be kindly received by your Readers. I have concealed the Name of the Magistrate before whom they were taken, because, it being common to take Affidavits without reading them, he might be ignorant of their Contents.

B.

WILLIAM LIGGETT late of Boston, Master, aged about 22 Years, being duly sworn on the holy Evangelists, on his Oath deposes, That some Time in September last he fell from Boston, to Cape Brittain in the Sloop Five Brothers, and arrived about the 6th of October at Cape Brittain, where M. Jersey was then Master of the Sloop, who sold the said Sloop to Charles Boy, says that all the Time he was at Cape Brittain, he heard of no Scarcity of Provisions, tho' he was ashore at Louisburgh every Day, until the Time they were coming away, and then they heard it only from the Gentlemen and People that came along with them in the Vessel, which Vessel is the said Sloop Five Brothers, by the Name of Le Cesar, that failed this Day from New-York: Says, he verily believes there was no Scarcity of Provisions there, not only because he heard nothing of it in Louisburgh; but also while he was there, there came a Ship and a Brigantine from Canada, and a Schooner from Piscataway, with Provisions, and as they were coming out they spoke with a Sloop and a Brigantine from Piscataway going into Louisburgh, which he verily believes were carrying Provisions, because he saw live Stock on the Deck of the Sloop, and particularly a large Quantity of Sheep. And as to the Brigantine, she being deep Watered, he saw not what was on the Deck, but saw Hay on the Quarter-Deck. Says, that he heard Louisburgh has been strongly fortified by three Forts to hinder the coming in of Vessels. Says, the first of these Forts they came within twenty Yards of both in going in and coming out, and has heard that Vessels must come within less than one Hundred Yards of it, and thinks that Fort is able to sink any Vessel that can attempt to go in. The three Forts he heard were completed, and a Wall is now building across the Neck of Land on which Louisburgh stands, and that it wanted about One Hundred Yards in Length of being finished. Says, That during the Voyage from Cape Brittain hither, a Gentleman, who he heard was called Laros, was very busy with a Chart, or Map, and says, that they made the Land about Piscataway in coming hither, and that the Land was kept going from about Ten Leagues from the Land till they came up to the City of New-York. Says, That there was one Jaudin, was Pilot and Linguist from Cape Brittain on Board, who returned

11



**Jonathan Edwards, one of the most prominent
Preachers of the Great Awakening.**

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George Whitefield

S.W.P. X

THE
DANGER
OF
An Unconverted
MINISTRY,

Considered in a

SERMON

On MARK VI. 34.

Preached at Nottingham, in Pennsylvania,
March 8. ANNO 1739,40.

By GILBERT TENNENT, A. M.
And Minister of the Gospel in New-Brunswick,
New-Jersey.

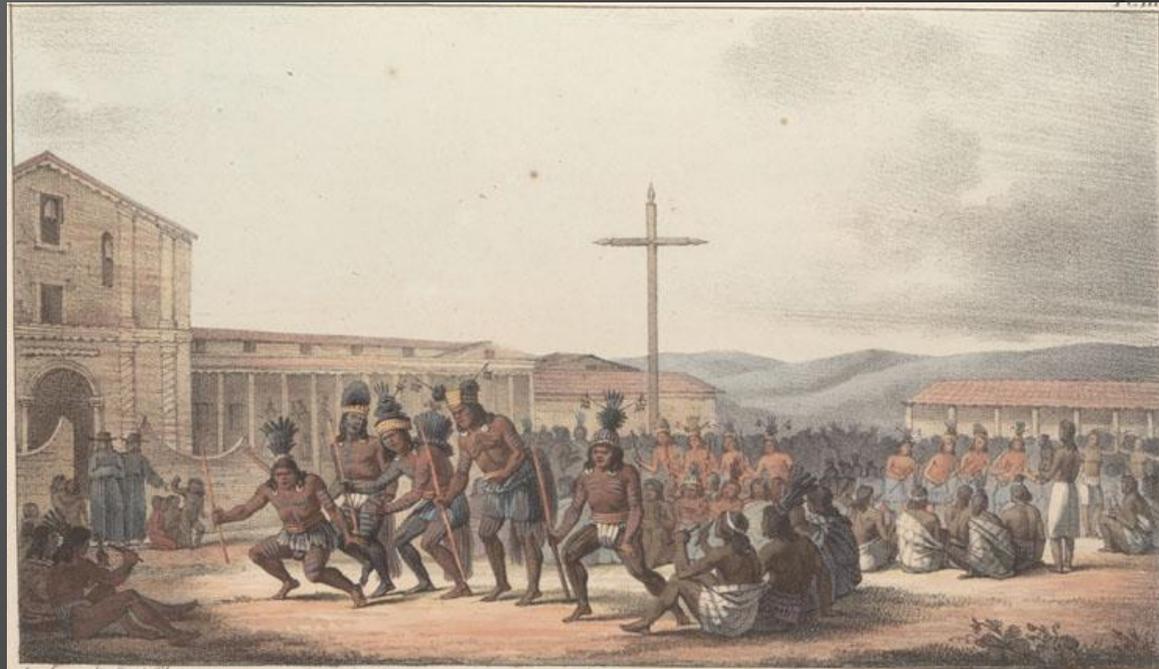
Jerem. V. 30, 31. *A wonderful and horrible Thing
is committed in the Land: The Prophets prophesy
falsely, and the Priests bear Rule by their Means,
and my People love to have it so; and what will
they do in the End thereof?*

PHILADELPHIA:

Printed by BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
In Market-Street, 1740.

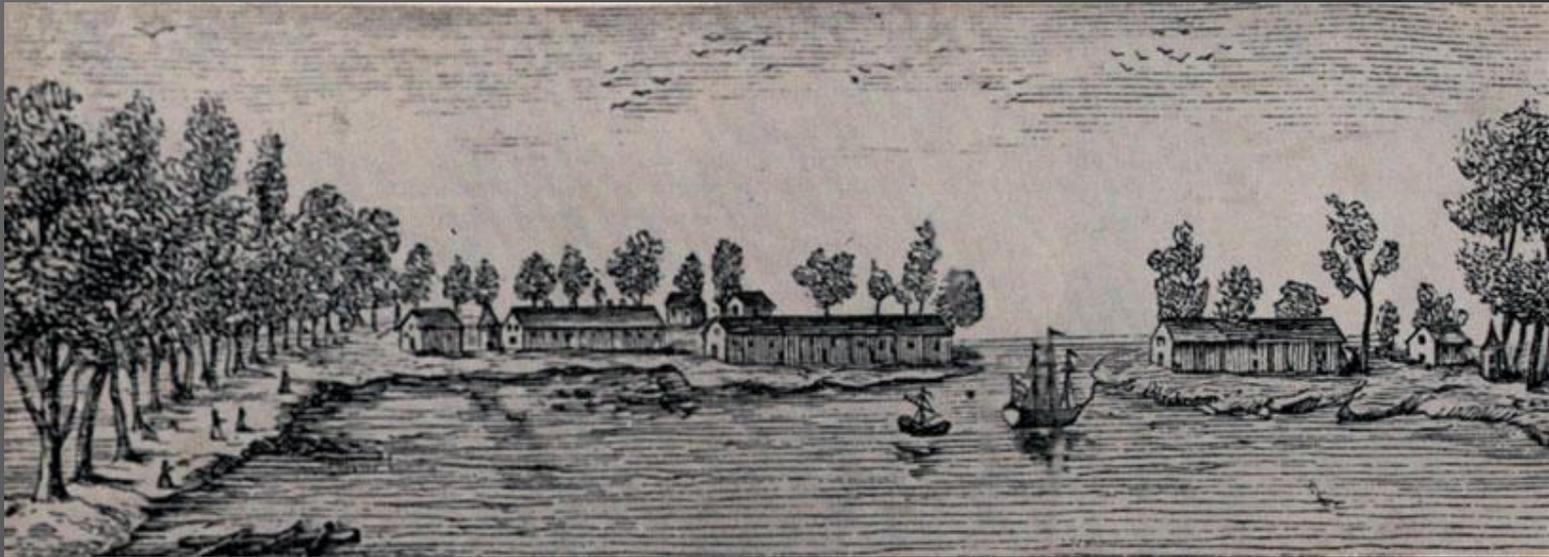
This 1740 pamphlet by Gilbert Tennent,

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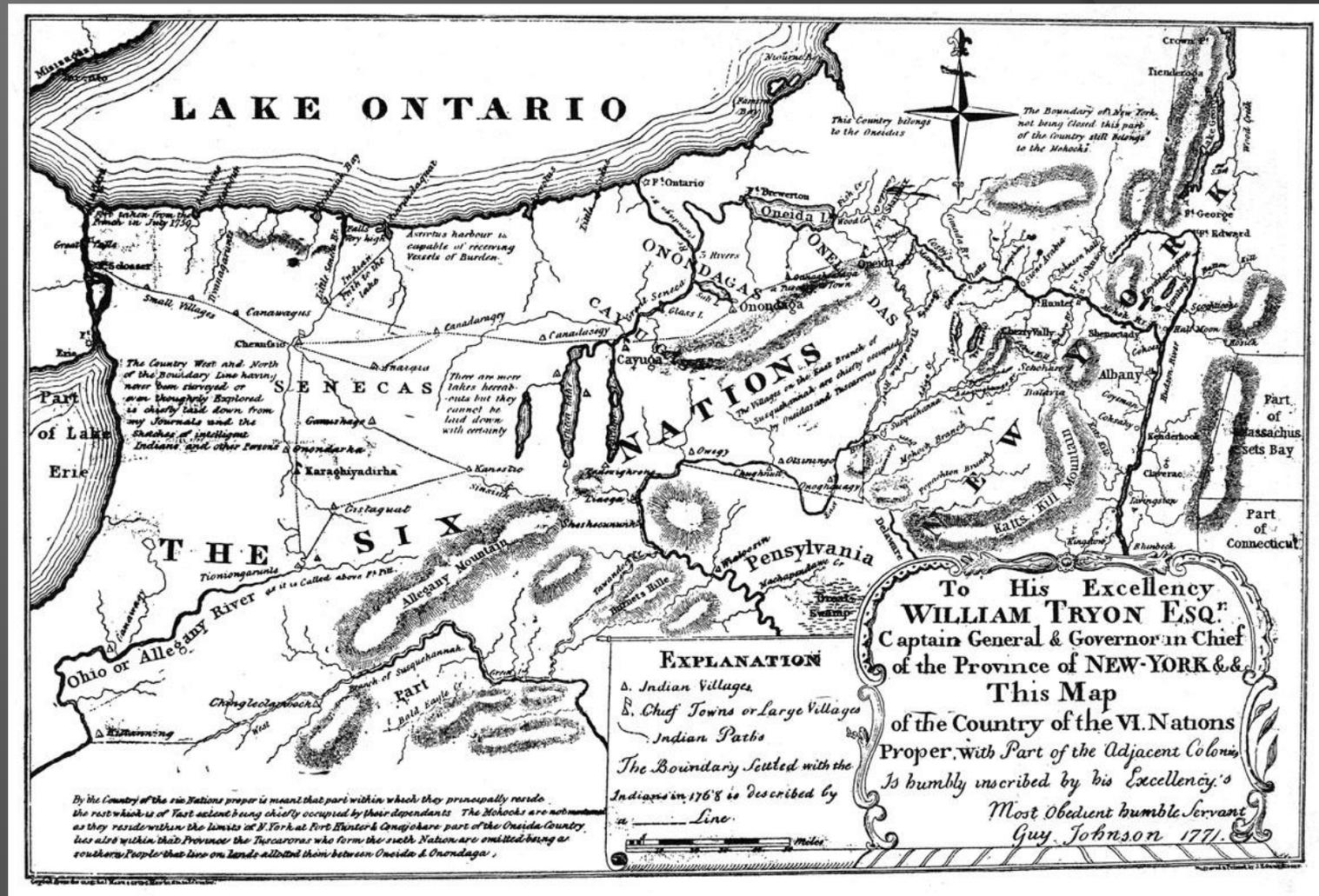
**In this lithograph from 1816, Indians perform
a dance at Mission**

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A sketch of New Orleans as it appeared in 1720.

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What was the impact of the Seven Years' War on imperial and Indian-white relations?

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AND
MONTHLY CHRONICLE for the *BRITISH* Colonies.

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II. PHILOSOPHICAL MISCELLANY. AMERICA.
III. MONTHLY ESSAYS. VI. MONTHLY CHRONICLE
IV. POETICAL ESSAYS.

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By a SOCIETY of Gentlemen.

Veritatis cultores, Fraudis inimici.

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in *Frost* and *Market-Streets*.

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This concludes the Norton Lecture Slides
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by
Eric Foner