

UNIT

2

Creating a Nation

1754–1816

Why It Matters

The British colonies grew to dominate the American coastline, especially after defeating their major rivals—the French—in the French and Indian War. As Britain’s position in America became secure, however, the colonists challenged the authority of a distant British government. Discontent grew to rebellion, and the United States of America emerged from the Revolutionary War with unique visions of government. Understanding the events of the early history of the United States will help you understand the government’s design and the nation’s ideals. The following resources offer more information about this period in American history.

Primary Sources Library

See pages 1048–1049 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 2.

 Use the **American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM** to find additional primary sources about the early history of the United States.



Bible used to swear in President Washington

Washington’s Inauguration at Independence Hall, 1793
by Jean Leon Gérôme Ferris





“The country shall be independent, and we will be satisfied with nothing short of it.”

— Samuel Adams, 1774



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The American Revolution 1754–1783

Why It Matters

In the early colonial period, the colonies grew accustomed to running their own affairs. When Britain tried to reestablish control, tensions mounted over taxes and basic rights. In 1775 these tensions led to battle, and in 1776 the colonists declared their independence from Britain. With the help of France and Spain, the colonists defeated the British in 1781. The Treaty of Paris in 1783 formally ended the war.

The Impact Today

The Revolutionary War experience had important results.

- Common political traditions of our nation were born under the pressures of war.
- Americans value and protect local liberties and the right to representation in government.



The American Vision Video The Chapter 4 video, “Women of the Revolution,” chronicles the lives of women during the Revolutionary era.



1754
• French and Indian War begins

1765
• Parliament passes the Stamp Act, triggering protests throughout the colonies

1745

1755

1765



1748
• Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws* published

1751
• Chinese invade Tibet and control succession to the throne

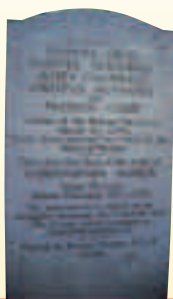
1755
• Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* published



Washington Crossing the Delaware by Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze, 1851

1770

- British troops fire on colonists in Boston Massacre



1775

- First shots of the Revolutionary War fired at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts

1781

- Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown, marking the end of the Revolutionary War



1783

- Treaty of Paris signed to officially end Revolutionary War and recognize the independence of the United States

1776

- Declaration of Independence signed



1780

- Empress Maria Theresa of Austria-Hungary dies

1770s

- Catherine the Great's effort to abolish Russian serfdom fails

1769

- Steam engine patented by James Watt

1776

- Adam Smith's treatise on mercantilism, *Wealth of Nations*, published

HISTORY
Online

Chapter Overview
Visit the *American Vision* Web site at tav.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 4** to preview chapter information.

CLICK HERE

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The Colonies Fight for Their Rights

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

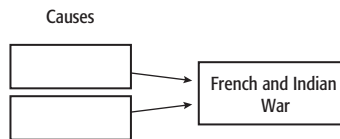
Tensions between Britain and its American colonies grew as British leaders sought greater control over their North American empire.

Key Terms and Names

Albany Plan of Union, French and Indian War, Treaty of Paris, customs duty, inflation, Quartering Act, nonimportation agreement, writ of assistance

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about the growing tensions between Britain and the American colonies, complete a graphic organizer like the one below by listing the causes of the French and Indian War.



Reading Objectives

- **Summarize** events that fueled colonial discontent.
- **Explain** how the Stamp Act affected the relationship between Britain and the colonies.

Section Theme

Civic Rights and Responsibilities The colonies used economic protest to fight Parliamentary power.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



British revenue stamp

At first, Pennsylvania colonist John Hughes was delighted when his friend Ben Franklin helped him to get the position of stamp tax collector. By September 1765, however, he feared his job might cost him his life. Anti-tax protests had grown so strong that Hughes barricaded himself inside his house to avoid being attacked. He wrote frantically to Franklin in London:

“You are now from Letter to Letter to suppose each may be the last you will receive from your old Friend, as the Spirit of . . . Rebellion is to a high Pitch. . . . Madness has got hold of the people. . . . I fancy some Lives will be lost before this Fire is put out. . . .”

Just a few years earlier, British soldiers and American colonists had fought side by side in a successful war against France. After the war ended, tensions between Britain and its colonies grew. Britain wanted the colonies to help pay for the war, while the colonists questioned Britain’s authority to make them do so. Misunderstanding and distrust slowly turned many colonists against the British, creating situations that would eventually lead to revolution.

—adapted from *What They Didn’t Teach You About the American Revolution*

The French and Indian War

The French and English had been vying for dominance in Europe since the late 1600s, fighting three major wars between 1689 and 1748. Although most of the fighting took place in Europe, the conflict eventually spilled over into America. Whenever



France and England were at war, their colonies went to war as well. In 1754 a fourth struggle began.

The First Skirmish In the 1740s, the British and French both became interested in the Ohio River valley. The French had discovered that they could cross from Lake Ontario to the Ohio River in western Pennsylvania and follow the river south to the Mississippi. This allowed the French to travel from New France to Louisiana easily. At the same time, British fur traders entered the region, and land speculators—people who bought empty land hoping to sell it to settlers for a profit—became interested in the Ohio River valley.

To block British claims in the region, New France's governor, the Marquis Duquesne, ordered a chain of French forts to be built from Lake Ontario to the Ohio River. Duquesne's actions prompted Robert Dinwiddie, the governor of Virginia, to order a British fort built in western Pennsylvania. Before the British fort was completed, the French seized it and built Fort Duquesne at the site. Dinwiddie then asked George Washington, a young officer in the Virginia militia, to raise a force and expel the French.

As Washington's troops marched toward the Ohio River in the spring of 1754, they encountered a small French force near Great Meadows. After a brief battle, Washington retreated and built a stockade named Fort Necessity. A little over a month later, a large French force arrived and forced Washington to surrender. After being released, Washington returned to Virginia, leaving the French in control of the Ohio River valley. As the fighting between France and Britain expanded into a world war, the 22-year-old Washington became a hero in the colonies for his courageous attempt to resist the French.

The Albany Conference Even before fighting started in the Ohio River valley, the British government urged its colonies to work together to prepare for the coming war. The government also suggested that the colonies negotiate an alliance with the Iroquois. The Iroquois controlled western New York—territory the French had to pass through to reach the Ohio River. In response, 7 colonies sent representatives to meet with 150 Iroquois leaders at Albany, New York, in June 1754. This meeting became known as the Albany Conference.

The Albany Conference achieved several things. Although the Iroquois refused an alliance with the British, they did agree to

remain neutral. The colonies also agreed that Britain should appoint one supreme commander of all British troops in the colonies. Finally, the conference issued the **Albany Plan of Union**, a scheme developed by a committee led by Benjamin Franklin. The Plan of Union proposed that the colonies unite to form a federal government. Although the colonies rejected the Plan of Union, the effort showed that many colonial leaders had begun to think about joining their colonies together for their common defense.

The British Triumph In 1755 the new British commander in chief, General Edward Braddock, arrived in Virginia with 1,400 British troops. He linked up with 450 local militia troops and appointed Lieutenant Colonel George Washington to serve as his aide. Braddock then headed west intending to attack Fort Duquesne. The general was not worried about being ambushed by the Native American allies of the French. "These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia," he told Benjamin Franklin. "Upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, it is impossible they should make any impression."

Seven miles from Fort Duquesne, French and Native American forces did ambush Braddock's troops. Braddock was shot and later died. His inexperienced troops panicked. Only George Washington's leadership saved the British from disaster. As shots whizzed past him—four holes were later found in his



Analyzing *Political Cartoons*

Appeal for Unity In 1754, as French and Native American forces were threatening the colonies, Ben Franklin drew this cartoon urging colonists to stand together. A popular legend at the time said a snake could put itself back together and live if it did so before sunset. **Why did Franklin's use of the serpent legend make his appeal for unity seem urgent?**

hat and clothes—Washington rallied the troops and organized a retreat. The ambush had further consequences. Having seen that the British could be beaten, the Delaware people of western Pennsylvania began attacking British settlers in their territory.

For the next two years, the **French and Indian War** raged along the frontier, as both sides raided each other's territory. Then, in 1756, the fighting between Britain and France spread to Europe, where it later became known as the Seven Years' War. While Britain's allies fought the French in Europe, British Prime Minister William Pitt decided to send most of Britain's troops and fleet to North America and India to attack the French and seize their empire.

The British fleet quickly cut off the flow of supplies and reinforcements France had been sending to North America. In the meantime, the Iroquois, realizing the tide had turned in favor of the British, pressured the Delaware to end their attacks. With their Native American allies giving up the battle, the French found themselves badly outnumbered.

In 1758 General John Forbes, the new British commander in the colonies, sent troops to attack Fort

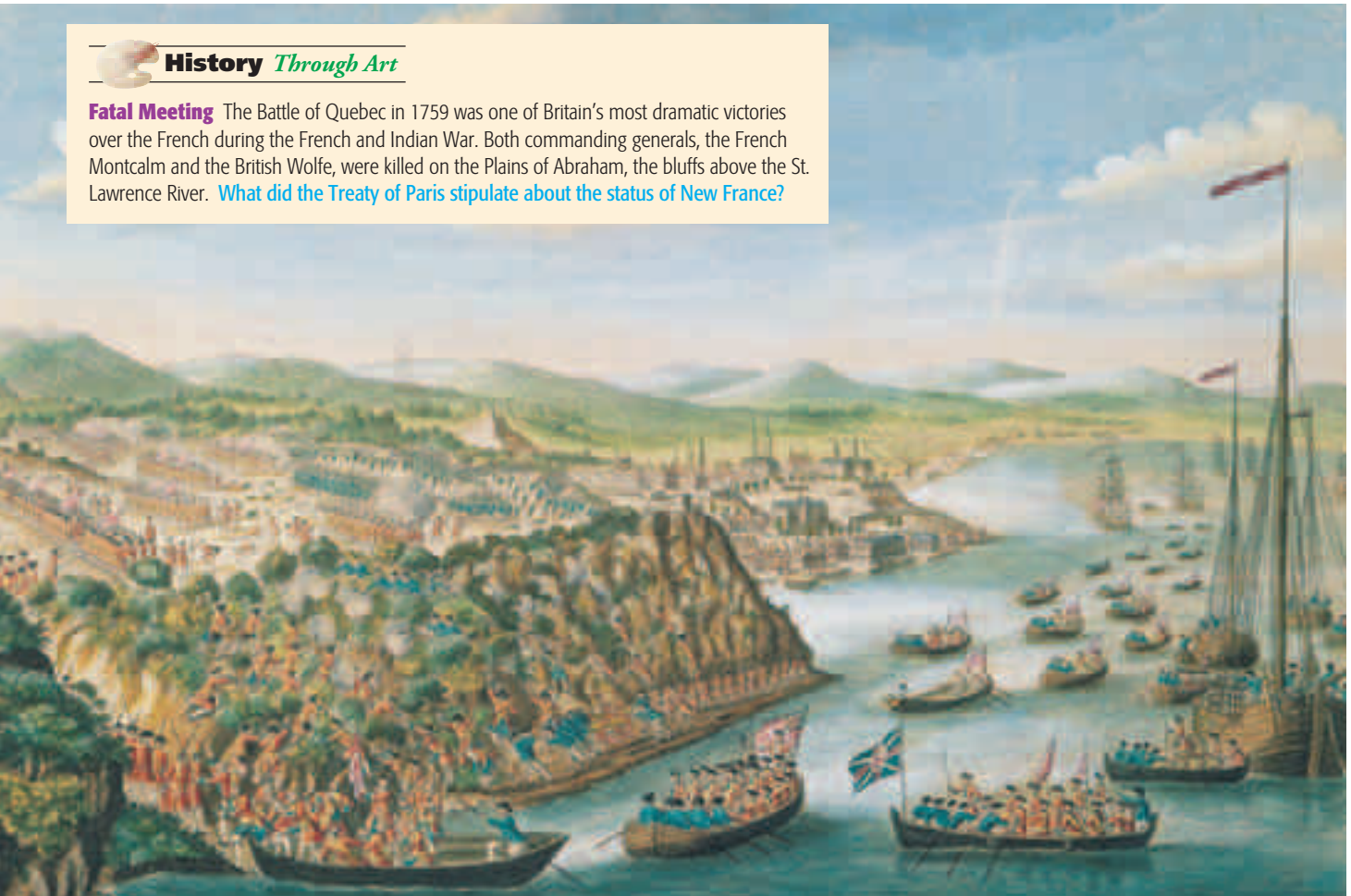
Duquesne. Realizing they were outnumbered, the French burned the fort and retreated. The British built Fort Pitt, named after the prime minister, on the same site. Fort Pitt eventually became the city of Pittsburgh.

In 1759 a British fleet commanded by General James Wolfe sailed up the St. Lawrence River to Quebec City. Wolfe discovered a path from the river up the steep cliffs that protected the city. On September 12, 1759, as his troops marched onto the Plains of Abraham near the city, the French under General Louis Joseph Montcalm attacked. Both Wolfe and Montcalm were killed, and the British won the battle. Fighting continued elsewhere in the world until 1763, but the British victory at Quebec was the turning point in North America.

After Spain entered the war in 1761 on the side of France, Britain seized Spain's colonies in Cuba and the Philippines. The **Treaty of Paris** finally ended the war in 1763. Except for a few offshore islands, the treaty eliminated French power in North America. New France became part of the British Empire, as did all of Louisiana east of the Mississippi except for

History Through Art

Fatal Meeting The Battle of Quebec in 1759 was one of Britain's most dramatic victories over the French during the French and Indian War. Both commanding generals, the French Montcalm and the British Wolfe, were killed on the Plains of Abraham, the bluffs above the St. Lawrence River. [What did the Treaty of Paris stipulate about the status of New France?](#)



New Orleans. To get Cuba and the Philippines back, Spain gave Florida to Britain. To compensate Spain for its losses, the French signed a separate treaty giving Spain control of New Orleans and all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi.

Reading Check **Examining** Why were the French and the British interested in the Ohio River valley?

The Colonies Grow Discontented

To achieve its victory in 1763, the British government had borrowed an enormous amount of money to pay for the war and was now deeply in debt. Many British officials thought that the colonies should pay for part of the war, especially the cost of stationing British troops in the colonies. The policies Britain adopted to solve its financial problems angered the colonists and set the two sides on a course to confrontation.

The Proclamation Act of 1763 In the spring of 1763, a Native American religious leader known as the Delaware Prophet convinced **Pontiac**, chief of the Ottawa people, to go to war against the British. After uniting several Native American groups, including the Ottawa, Delaware, Shawnee, and Seneca peoples, Pontiac's forces attacked forts along the frontier and burned down several towns before British troops stopped them.

Pontiac's war did not surprise British officials. They had been expecting trouble since 1758, when reports first indicated that settlers were moving into western Pennsylvania in defiance of the colony's treaty with the region's Native Americans. British officials did not want to bear the cost of another war. Many officials also owned shares in fur trading companies operating in the region and did not want to disrupt the fur trade. They decided that the best solution was to limit western settlement until new treaties could be negotiated.

In early October, King George issued the **Royal Proclamation of 1763**. The Proclamation drew a line from north to south along the Appalachian Mountains and declared that colonists could not settle west of the line without the British government's permission. This enraged many farmers and land speculators, who wanted access to the land.

Customs Reform At the same time the Royal Proclamation Act was angering western farmers, new British tax policies were disturbing eastern merchants. In 1763 **George Grenville** became prime minister and



- Interpreting Maps** What physical barrier follows the approximate boundary set by the Proclamation of 1763?
- Applying Geography Skills** Why do you think colonists wanted to move west of the boundary line?

first lord of the Treasury. Grenville had to find a way to reduce Britain's debt and pay for the 10,000 British troops now stationed in North America. New tax policies emerged from his efforts.

Grenville discovered that British customs agents in America were collecting very little money. Obviously, merchants were smuggling goods into and out of the colonies without paying **customs duties**—taxes on imports and exports. Grenville convinced Parliament to pass a law allowing customs agents to send smugglers to a new vice-admiralty court in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Unlike colonial courts, where the juries were often sympathetic to smugglers, vice-admiralty courts were run by naval officers. These courts had no juries and did not follow British common law, a violation of the traditional English right to a jury of one's peers. Transporting colonists to distant Nova Scotia also violated their right to a speedy trial.

Causes and Effects of Tensions With Britain

Causes

- 1764, Sugar Act
- 1765, Stamp Act
- 1767, Townshend Acts
- 1773, Tea Act
- 1774, Coercive Acts

Effects

- Colonists protest that their rights have been violated.
- Nine colonies hold Stamp Act Congress.
- Colonists boycott British goods.
- Sons and Daughters of Liberty formed.
- Tea dumped into Boston Harbor during the “Boston Tea Party.”
- Twelve colonies attend the Continental Congress.



Graphic Organizer Skills

Parliament's efforts to tax the colonists led to growing protests in the colonies.

Analyzing Information If you had been a colonist, how would you have reacted to these taxes? Why?

Among those arrested for smuggling and tried by the vice-admiralty court was **John Hancock**. Hancock had made a fortune in the sugar trade, smuggling molasses from French colonies in the Caribbean. Defending Hancock was a young lawyer named **John Adams**. Adams argued that the use of vice-admiralty courts denied colonists their rights as British citizens:

“Here is the contrast that stares us in the face. The Parliament in one clause guarding the people of the realm, and securing to them the benefit of trial by the law of the land, and by the next clause depriving all Americans of that privilege. . . . Is there not in this clause a brand of infamy, or degradation or disgrace, fixed upon every American?”

—quoted in *America's History*

The Sugar Act In addition to strictly enforcing customs duties, Grenville also introduced the American Revenue Act of 1764, better known as the **Sugar Act**.

The act changed the tax rates levied on raw sugar and molasses imported from foreign colonies. It also placed new taxes on silk, wine, coffee, pimento, and indigo.

Merchants throughout the colonies complained to Parliament that the Sugar Act hurt trade. Many were also furious that the act violated several traditional English rights. The act specified that merchants accused of smuggling were presumed guilty until proven innocent. The Sugar Act also allowed British officials to seize goods without **due process**, or proper court procedures, in some circumstances, and prevented lawsuits by merchants whose goods had been improperly seized. Parliament, however, ignored the protests of the merchants.

In many colonial cities, pamphlets soon circulated condemning the Sugar Act. One pamphlet, written by **James Otis**, argued that because the colonists had no representatives in Parliament, they could not be taxed for the purpose of raising money. Parliament had the right to control trade, but taxing Americans to pay for British programs was different. Otis's arguments gave rise to the popular expression, “No taxation without representation.”

Despite the protests, the Sugar Act remained in force, and Grenville pressed ahead with other new policies. To slow **inflation**, which happens when money loses its value over time, Parliament passed the **Currency Act of 1764**. This act banned the use of paper money in the colonies, because it tended to lose its value very quickly. The act angered colonial farmers and artisans. They liked paper money precisely because it lost value quickly. They could use paper money to pay back loans, and since the money was not worth as much as when they borrowed it, the loans were easier to pay back.

Reading Check Summarizing How did the British government hope to solve its financial problems caused by the cost of the French and Indian War?

The Stamp Act Crisis

Although the Sugar Act began to bring in money for Britain, Grenville did not believe it would raise enough to pay all of the government's expenses in America. To raise more money, he asked Parliament to introduce a stamp tax in the American colonies. The **Stamp Act** passed Parliament in March 1765.

The Stamp Act required stamps to be placed on most printed materials, including newspapers, pamphlets, posters, wills, mortgages, deeds, licenses, and even diplomas, dice, and playing cards. The

stamp tax was different from other taxes the colonies had paid to Britain. Parliament had imposed many taxes on trade, but the stamp tax was the first direct tax Britain had ever placed on the colonists.

With the Stamp Act set to take effect on November 1, 1765, Parliament passed one more law. The **Quartering Act** forced the colonies to pay more for their own defense. If the colonies did not provide barracks for British troops, the act stated that troops could stay in taverns, inns, vacant buildings, and barns, and the colonies had to pay the rent.

As word of the Stamp Act spread through the colonies in the spring of 1765, a huge debate began. A flood of editorials, pamphlets, speeches, and resolutions against the tax swept through the colonies. In Virginia, the House of Burgesses passed a series of resolutions declaring that Virginians were entitled to the rights of British people and could only be taxed by their own representatives. Other colonial assemblies passed similar statements.

By the summer of 1765, huge mass meetings and demonstrations were taking place. In Connecticut, a merchant named Isaac Sears organized a group called the **Sons of Liberty**. The organization grew quickly throughout the colonies. The Sons of Liberty organized outdoor meetings and demonstrations. They also intimidated stamp distributors. In August 1765, for example, a Boston mob hung an effigy of the city's new stamp distributor from a tree, then pulled his house apart and burned the wood. In Newport, Rhode Island, the wife of a pro-British merchant described a similar protest:

“In the morning . . . a mob assembled and erected a gallows near the town house and then dispers'd, and about ten a clock reassembled and took the effigy's of [several] men and the Stamp Master . . . to said gallows where they was hung up by the neck. . . . And about five a clock in the afternoon they made a fire under the gallows which consumed the effigy's, gallows and all. . . . About dusk they all muster'd out again, and . . . broke every window in his house, frames and all, likewise chairs, tables, pictures and everything they cou'd come across.”

—quoted in *Eyewitness Accounts of the American Revolution*

In October 1765, representatives from nine colonies met for what became known as the **Stamp Act Congress**. Together they issued the Declaration of Rights and Grievances. Drafted by a wealthy farmer from Pennsylvania named John Dickinson,

the declaration argued that only the colonists' political representatives and not Parliament had the right to tax them. The congress then sent a petition to King George asking for relief and to the British Parliament asking for the repeal of the Stamp Act.

On November 1 the Stamp Act took effect, but the colonists ignored it. Throughout the colonies, a movement began to boycott all British goods. People substituted sage and sassafras for imported tea. They stopped buying British cloth. In New York, 200 merchants signed a **nonimportation agreement**, pledging not to buy any British goods until Parliament repealed the Stamp Act.

The boycott had a very powerful effect on Britain. Thousands of workers lost their jobs as orders from the colonies were cancelled. British merchants could not collect money the colonies owed them. “The avenues of trade are all shut up,” complained one merchant. “We have no remittances and are at our wits end for want of money. . . .”

Linking Past & Present

Popular Protest

Past: Colonial Protests

In the 1770s, colonial women entered into the spirit of protest, too. They stopped drinking British tea and substituted chocolate or coffee. Sometimes they even gave up buying the ribbons they used to trim their bonnets. The British cartoon above made fun of women protesters in Edenton, North Carolina.



Present: World Trade

In late 1999, protesters gathered in Seattle, Washington, to protest the World Trade Organization meeting. Established in 1995, the WTO handles trade disputes and enforces agreements on international trade. Protesters objected that large corporations had too much influence in the WTO. They also objected to WTO meetings being held in closed session. Farmers, environmentalists, and labor groups were among the protesters.



Profiles IN HISTORY

Sam Adams

1722–1803

A passionate defender of colonial rights, Boston's Sam Adams was either a saint or a scoundrel—depending on who was describing him. His second cousin, John Adams, who would become the nation's second president, portrayed Sam as a “plain, simple, decent citizen of middling stature, dress, and manners.” Sam's enemies, however, saw him quite differently. The royal governor of the colony called him “the most dangerous man in Massachusetts.” Adams enjoyed his reputation as a fiery agitator. “Where there is a spark of patriotic fire,” he once declared, “we will enkindle it.”

Born in Boston, Adams graduated from Harvard College in 1740. He briefly studied law, worked as a clerk and merchant, and managed a brewery before being elected tax collector for Boston. As tensions with Great Britain increased, Adams, who had a passion for political issues, discovered his true talents: speaking out against British tax laws and organizing resistance against them. He helped organize the Boston



chapter of the Sons of Liberty and wrote several political pamphlets that encouraged Americans to rebel against the British.

Adams showed particular skill in uniting Bostonians of different social classes. He forged an anti-British alliance of merchants, lawyers, and other members of the social elite with artisans, shopkeepers, and common laborers, all of whom worked together to protest British tax policies.

With protests against the Stamp Act mounting in both Britain and America, British lawmakers repealed the act in 1766. To demonstrate its authority over the colonies, however, Parliament also passed the **Declaratory Act**. This act asserted that Parliament had the power to make laws for the colonies.

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** How was the Stamp Act different from other taxes Britain imposed on the colonies?

The Townshend Acts

During the Stamp Act crisis, the financial problems facing the British government had worsened. Protests in Britain had forced Parliament to lower property taxes there, which caused a further drop in revenue. As a result, **Charles Townshend**, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced a series of new regulations and taxes in 1767. These came to be called the **Townshend Acts**.

One of the Townshend Acts was the **Revenue Act of 1767**. This act put new customs duties on glass, lead,

paper, paint, and tea imported into the colonies. Violators of the Revenue Act had to face trial in vice-admiralty courts, where they were presumed guilty unless they could prove their innocence. The Townshend Acts, like the Sugar Act, allowed officials to seize private property under certain circumstances without following due process.

To assist customs officers in arresting smugglers, the Revenue Act legalized the use of **writs of assistance**. The writs were general search warrants that enabled customs officers to enter any location to look for evidence of smuggling. Writs had been used before, but in 1760 James Otis had argued in court that they were “instruments of slavery” that violated people's rights. The issue remained unresolved until the Revenue Act of 1767 declared writs of assistance to be legal.

Action and Reaction Not surprisingly, the Townshend Acts infuriated many colonists. During the winter of 1767 and 1768, John Dickinson published a series of essays entitled *Letters From a Pennsylvania Farmer*. In these essays, Dickinson reasserted that only

assemblies elected by the colonists had the right to tax them. In addition, he called on the colonies to become “firmly bound together” to “form one body politic” to resist the Townshend Acts.

Less than a month after Dickinson's first letter appeared, the Massachusetts assembly began organizing resistance against Britain. Among the leaders of this resistance was **Sam Adams**, cousin of John Adams. In February 1768, Sam Adams, with the help of James Otis, drafted a “circular letter” for the Massachusetts assembly to pass and circulate to other colonies. In the letter, the men pointed out that Townshend's taxes would be used to pay the salaries of government officials, a power the colonial assemblies then held. By taking this power away, the Townshend Acts would weaken the assemblies, which the colonists elected to control officials appointed by the king.

British officials ordered the Massachusetts assembly to withdraw the letter. The assembly refused. Furious, the British government ordered the Massachusetts assembly dissolved. In August 1768, the merchants of Boston and New York responded by signing nonimportation agreements, promising not to

import any goods from Britain. Philadelphia’s merchants joined the boycott in March 1769.

In May 1769, Virginia’s House of Burgesses passed the **Virginia Resolves**, stating that only the House had the right to tax Virginians. Under orders from Britain, Virginia’s governor dissolved the House of Burgesses. In response, the leaders of the House of Burgesses—including George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson—immediately called the members to a convention. This convention then passed a nonimportation law, blocking the sale of British goods in Virginia.

As the boycott spread through the colonies, Americans again stopped drinking British tea or buying British cloth. Women’s groups, calling themselves the **Daughters of Liberty**, began spinning their own rough cloth, called “homespun.” Wearing homespun became a sign of patriotism. Throughout the colonies, the Sons of Liberty encouraged people to support the boycotts. In 1769 colonial imports from Britain declined sharply from what they had been in 1768.

The Boston Massacre In the fall of 1768, as violence against customs officers in Boston increased, Britain dispatched roughly 1,000 troops to the city to maintain order. Bostonians referred to the British troops stationed there as “lobster backs” due to the red coats they wore. Crowds constantly heckled and harassed the troops. On March 5, 1770, a crowd of colonists began taunting and throwing snowballs at a British soldier guarding a customs house. His call for help brought Captain Thomas Preston and a squad of soldiers.

In the midst of the tumult, the troops began firing into the crowd. According to accounts, the first colonist to die was a man of African and Native



History Through Art

American Mockery In this cartoon, a funeral procession mourns the repeal of the Stamp Act. Third in line is “Mr. George Stamp, full of grief and despair,” carrying a coffin of his “favorite child, Miss America Stamp,” who “died hard in 1766.” **Who do you think George Stamp is supposed to represent?**

American descent known as both Michael Johnson and Crispus Attucks. When the smoke cleared, three people lay dead, two more would die later, and six others were wounded. The shootings became known as the **Boston Massacre**. Colonial newspapers portrayed the British as tyrants who were willing to kill people who stood up for their rights.

News of the Boston Massacre raced like lightning across the colonies. It might have set off a revolution then and there, but only a few weeks later, news arrived that the British had repealed almost all of the Townshend Acts. Parliament kept one tax—a tax on tea—to uphold its right to tax the colonies. The repeal of the Townshend Acts again brought peace and stability to the colonies, but only temporarily.

Reading Check Examining What was stated in the Virginia Resolves passed by Virginia’s House of Burgesses?

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** *customs duty, inflation, nonimportation agreement, writ of assistance.*
- Identify:** Albany Plan of Union, French and Indian War, Treaty of Paris, Quartering Act.

Reviewing Themes

- Civic Rights and Responsibilities**
What argument did the Stamp Act Congress make in protest against the British taxes?

Critical Thinking

- Evaluating** Why do you think the British were so willing to pass new taxes in the face of colonial opposition?
- Classifying** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the acts passed by the British Parliament and the colonists’ reactions to the acts.

Act	Colonists’ Reactions
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Art** Study the painting of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham on page 118. How were the British able to move their troops up the steep cliffs near the city?

Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Imagine that you are a member of the Sons of Liberty or the Daughters of Liberty. Write a pamphlet explaining what your group does and urging colonists to join.

You're *the* Historian



The Bloody Massacre,
engraving by Paul Revere, 1770

Comparing Accounts of the Boston Massacre

On the night of March 5, 1770, Captain Thomas Preston sent British troops to protect the Customs House in Boston from a group of colonists who had gathered nearby. Twenty minutes later, the troops had killed or wounded 11 people. The tragedy became known as the Boston Massacre. What happened that night? You're the historian.

Read the two accounts of the Boston Massacre below. One is Captain Preston's report of the event. The other is a colonist's account that quotes eyewitness Samuel Drowne. After reading the accounts, answer the questions and complete the activities that follow.

From Captain Thomas Preston's account

On Monday night . . . about 9 some of the guards came to and informed me the town inhabitants were assembling to attack the troops. . . . In a few minutes after I reached the guard, about 100 people passed it and went towards the custom house where the king's money is lodged. They immediately surrounded the sentry posted there, and with clubs and other weapons threatened to execute their vengeance on him. . . .

I immediately sent a noncommissioned officer and 12 men to protect both the sentry and the king's money, and very soon followed myself to prevent, if possible, all disorder, fearing lest the officer and soldiers, by the insults and provocations of the rioters, should be thrown off their guard and commit some rash act. . . .

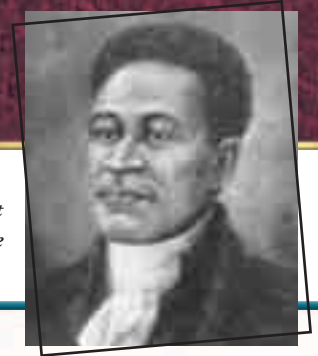
Nay, so far was I from intending the death of any person that I suffered the troops to go . . . without any loading in their [guns]; nor did I ever give orders for loading them. . . .

The mob still increased and were more outrageous, striking their clubs or bludgeons one against another, and calling out come on you rascals, you bloody backs, you lobster scoundrels, fire if you dare. . . .

At this time I was between the soldiers and the mob . . . endeavoring all in my power to persuade them to retire peaceably, but to no purpose. They advanced to the points of the bayonets, [and] struck some of them. . . . A general attack was made on the men by a great number of heavy clubs and snowballs being thrown at them, by which

all our lives were in imminent danger, some persons at the same time from behind calling out, damn you bloods—why don't you fire. Instantly three or four of the soldiers fired, one after another, and directly after three more in the same confusion and hurry. . . .

The whole of the melancholy affair was transacted in almost twenty minutes. On my asking the soldiers why they fired without orders, they said that they heard the word fire and supposed it came from me. This might be the case as many of the mob called out fire, fire, but I assured the men that I gave no such order; that my words were, don't fire, stop your firing. In short, it was scarcely possible for the soldiers to know who said fire, or don't fire, or stop your firing.



Crispus Attucks, the first colonist to die in the Boston Massacre

From the colonist's account

Samuel Drowne [a witness] declares that, about nine o'clock of the evening of the fifth of March current, standing at his own door in Cornhill, he saw about fourteen or fifteen soldiers. . . . [The soldiers] came upon the inhabitants of the town, then standing or walking in Cornhill, and abused some, and violently assaulted others as they met them; most of them were without so much of a stick in their hand to defend themselves, as he clearly could discern, it being moonlight, and himself being one of the assaulted persons.

All or most of the said soldiers he saw go into King Street (some of them through Royal Exchange

Land), and there followed them, and soon discovered them to be quarreling and fighting with the people whom they saw there, which he thinks were not more than a dozen. . . .

The outrageous behavior and the threats of the said party occasioned the ringing of the meeting house bell . . . which bell . . . presently brought out a number of the inhabitants, who . . . were naturally led to King Street, where [the British] had made a stop but a little while before, and where their stopping had drawn together a number of boys, round the sentry at the Custom House. . . .

There was much foul language between them, and some of them, in consequence of his pushing at them with his bayonet, threw snowballs at him, which occasioned him to knock hastily at the door of the Custom House. . . .

The officer on guard was Captain Preston, who with seven or eight soldiers, with firearms and charged bayonets, issued from the guardhouse, and in great haste posted himself and his soldiers in front of the Custom House, near the corner aforesaid. In passing to this station the soldiers pushed several persons

with their bayonets, driving through the people in . . . disturbance. This occasioned some snowballs to be thrown at them, which seems to be the only provocation that was given. . . .

Captain Preston is said to have ordered them to fire, and to have repeated the order. One gun was fired first; then others in succession, and with deliberation, till ten or a dozen guns were fired; or till that number of discharges were made from the guns that were fired. By which means eleven persons were killed and wounded.



The site of the Boston Massacre in present-day Boston

Understanding the Issue

1. On what events of the night of March 5, 1770, do the two accounts excerpted here agree?
2. On what descriptions of the events do the two accounts differ?
3. As the historian, how do you assess the credibility of the two accounts?

Activities

1. **Investigate** What happened to Captain Preston after the events of March 5? What were the immediate results of the Boston Massacre? Check other sources, including those available on the Internet.
2. **Mock Trial** Assign class members roles in a mock trial of the Boston Massacre. Include other witnesses, a prosecutor, a defense attorney, a judge, and a jury.

SECTION 2 The Revolution Begins

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

After years of escalating tensions and outbreaks of fighting, the colonists declared their independence from Britain on July 4, 1776.

Key Terms and Names

committee of correspondence, Boston Tea Party, Intolerable Acts, minuteman, Loyalist, Patriot, Battle of Bunker Hill, Declaration of Independence

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes As you read about the rising tensions between the colonies and Britain, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

The Revolution Begins
I. Massachusetts Defies Britain
A.
B.
C.
D.
II.

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** ways in which Massachusetts continued to defy Britain after the repeal of the Townshend Acts.
- **Summarize** the first battles between Britain and the colonies.

Section Theme

Government and Democracy The First Continental Congress acted as a government during the Revolutionary crisis.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



Tea chest

On the night of December 17, 1773, a group of men secretly assembled along a Boston dock to strike a blow against Britain. One of the men was George Hewes, a struggling Boston shoemaker, who had grown to despise the British. Initially, Hewes had taken offense when British soldiers stopped and questioned him on the street and when they refused to pay him for shoes. After the Boston Massacre, which Hewes witnessed, his hatred grew deeper and more political.

So, after he “daubed his face and hands with coal dust, in the shop of a blacksmith,” he gladly joined the other volunteers on that cold December night as they prepared to sneak aboard several British ships anchored in Boston Harbor and destroy the tea stored on board:

“When we arrived at the wharf . . . they divided us into three parties for the purpose of boarding the three ships which contained the tea. . . . We then were ordered by our commander to open the hatches and take out all the chests of tea and throw them overboard, and we immediately proceeded to execute his orders, first cutting and splitting the chests with our tomahawks, so as thoroughly to expose them to the effects of the water. . . . In about three hours . . . we had thus broken and thrown over board every tea chest . . . in the ship.”

—quoted in *The Spirit of 'Seventy-Six*

Massachusetts Defies Britain

Despite the tragedy of the Boston Massacre, the British decision to repeal the Townshend Acts had ended another crisis in colonial relations. For more than two years the situation remained calm. Then, in the spring of 1772, a new crisis began. Britain

introduced several new policies that again ignited the flames of rebellion in the American colonies.

The Gaspee Affair To intercept smugglers, the British sent customs ships to patrol North American waters. One such ship was the *Gaspee*, stationed off the coast of Rhode Island. Many Rhode Islanders hated the commander of the *Gaspee* because he often searched ships without a warrant and sent his crew ashore to seize food without paying for it. In June 1772, when the *Gaspee* ran aground, some 150 colonists seized and burned the ship.

This incident outraged the British. They sent a commission to investigate and gave it authority to take suspects to England for trial. This angered the colonists, who believed it violated their right to a trial by a jury of their peers. Rhode Island's assembly then sent a letter to the other colonies asking for help.

In March 1773, Thomas Jefferson suggested that each colony create a **committee of correspondence** to communicate with the other colonies about British activities. The committees of correspondence helped unify the colonies and shape public opinion. They also helped colonial leaders coordinate their plans for resisting the British.

The Boston Tea Party With tensions simmering in the colonies, England's new prime minister, Lord North, made a serious mistake. In May 1773, he decided to help the **British East India Company**, which was almost bankrupt. Corrupt management and costly wars in India had put the company deeply in debt, while British taxes on tea had encouraged colonial merchants to smuggle in cheaper Dutch tea. As a result, the company had over 17 million pounds of tea in its warehouses.

To help the company sell its tea, Parliament passed the **Tea Act** of 1773. The Tea Act refunded four-fifths of the taxes the company had to pay to ship tea to the colonies, leaving only the Townshend tax. East India Company tea could now be sold at lower prices than smuggled Dutch tea. The act also allowed the East India Company to sell directly to shopkeepers, bypassing American merchants who normally distributed the tea. The Tea Act enraged the colonial merchants, who feared it was the first step by the British to squeeze them out of business.

In October 1773, the East India Company shipped 1,253 chests of tea to Boston, New York, Charles Town, and Philadelphia. The committees of correspondence rapidly alerted the colonies that the tea was on the way. The committees decided that the tea must not be allowed to land. When the first shipments arrived in

New York and Philadelphia, the colonists forced the agents for the East India Company to return home with the tea. In Charles Town, customs officers seized the tea and stored it in a local warehouse.

The most dramatic showdown occurred in December 1773, when the tea ships arrived in Boston Harbor. On the night before customs officials planned to bring the tea ashore, approximately 150 men boarded the ships. Several thousand people on shore cheered as the men dumped 342 chests of tea into the harbor. The raid came to be called the **Boston Tea Party**.

The Coercive Acts The Boston Tea Party was the last straw for the British. King George III informed Lord North that "concessions have made matters worse.

Picturing History

Tea Tantrum In December 1773, colonists in Boston took matters into their own hands and dumped hated imported tea into Boston Harbor. [Why did Boston tea merchants hate the Tea Act so much?](#)





Analyzing Political Cartoons

Paying the Tea Tax This cartoon by a British artist shows Bostonians forcing tea down the throat of a tarred and feathered customs official. In the background, colonists dump tea in Boston Harbor. **Why do you think the words “Stamp Act” are hung upside down on the Liberty Tree?**

The time has come for compulsion.” In the spring of 1774, Parliament passed four new laws that came to be known as the **Coercive Acts**. These laws were intended to punish Massachusetts and end colonial challenges to British authority.

The first act shut down Boston’s port until the city paid for the tea that had been destroyed. The second act required all council members, judges, and sheriffs in Massachusetts to be appointed by the governor instead of being elected. This act also banned most town meetings. The third act allowed the governor to transfer trials of British soldiers and officials to England to protect them from American juries. The final act required local officials to provide lodging for British soldiers at the scene of a disturbance, in private homes if necessary. To enforce the acts, the British moved 2,000 troops to New England and appointed General Thomas Gage as the new governor of Massachusetts.

Taken together, the Coercive Acts violated several traditional English rights, including the right to trial by a jury of one’s peers and the right not to have troops quartered in one’s home. The king was also not supposed to maintain a standing army in peacetime

without the consent of Parliament. Although the British Parliament had authorized the troops, colonists believed their own local assemblies should have had to give their consent as well.

In July 1774, a month after the last Coercive Act had become law, the British introduced the **Quebec Act**. This law had nothing to do with events in the American colonies, but it angered the colonists nonetheless. The Quebec Act stated that a governor and council appointed by the king would run Quebec. The act also gave more territory to Quebec, including much of what is today Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin. If colonists moved west, they would have to live in territory where they had no elected assembly.

The Quebec Act, coming so soon after the Coercive Acts, seemed to imply that the British were trying to seize control of the colonial governments. In the colonies, the Coercive Acts and the Quebec Act together became known as the **Intolerable Acts**.

The First Continental Congress In May 1774, the Virginia House of Burgesses declared the arrival of British troops in Boston a “military invasion” and called for colonists to observe a day of fasting and prayer. When Virginia’s governor dissolved the House of Burgesses for its actions, its members adjourned to a nearby tavern and issued a resolution urging all colonies to suspend trade with Britain. They also called on the colonies to send delegates to a colonial congress to discuss what to do next.

In New York and Rhode Island, similar calls for a congress had already been made. The committees of correspondence rapidly coordinated the different proposals, and on September 5, 1774, the **First Continental Congress** met in Philadelphia.

The 55 delegates to the Congress represented 12 of Britain’s North American colonies. Florida, Georgia, Nova Scotia, and Quebec did not attend. They also represented a wide range of opinion. Although opposed to the Intolerable Acts, moderate delegates believed a compromise was possible. Other more radical delegates believed the time had come to fight.

Shortly after the Congress began, the moderates, led by Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania, put forward a compromise to end the crisis. Galloway’s plan proposed a federal government for the colonies similar to the one outlined in the Albany Plan of Union. After the radicals argued that Galloway’s plan would not protect American rights, the colonies voted to put off consideration of the plan.

When the Congress learned that the British had suspended the Massachusetts assembly, they responded

with the **Declaration of Rights and Grievances**. The declaration expressed loyalty to the king but condemned the Coercive Acts. It also announced that the colonies were forming a nonimportation association. Several days later, the delegates approved the Continental Association, a plan for every county and town to form committees to enforce a boycott of British goods. The delegates then agreed to hold a second Continental Congress in May 1775 if the crisis had not been resolved.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** How did the British react to the Boston Tea Party?

The Revolution Begins

In October 1774, while the Continental Congress was still meeting, the Massachusetts assembly defied General Gage and organized the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. They then formed the Committee of Safety and chose John Hancock to lead it, giving him the power to call up the militia. In effect, the Provincial Congress had made Hancock a rival governor to General Gage.

A full-scale rebellion was now underway. Militias began to drill and practice shooting. The town of Concord created a special unit of men trained and ready to “stand at a minute’s warning in case of alarm.” These were the famous **minute-men**. All through the summer and fall of 1774, British control of the colonies weakened as colonists created provincial congresses and militias raided military depots for ammunition and gunpowder. These rebellious acts infuriated British officials.

Loyalists and Patriots British officials were not alone in their anger. Although many colonists did not agree with Parliament’s policies, some still felt a strong sense of loyalty to the king and believed British law should be upheld. Americans who backed Britain came to be known as **Loyalists**, or Tories.

Loyalists came from all parts of American society. Many were government officials or Anglican ministers. Others were prominent merchants and landowners. Quite a few backcountry farmers on the frontier remained loyal as well, because they regarded the king as their protector against the planters and merchants who controlled the local governments.

On the other side were those who believed the British had become tyrants. These people were known as **Patriots**, or Whigs. Patriots also represented a wide cross section of society. They were artisans, farmers, merchants, planters, lawyers, and urban workers.

The Patriots were strong in New England and Virginia, while most of the Loyalists lived in Georgia, the Carolinas, and New York. Political differences divided communities and even split families. The American Revolution was not simply a war between the Americans and the British. It was also a civil war between Patriots and Loyalists.

Even before the Revolution, Patriot groups brutally enforced the boycott of British goods. They tarred and feathered Loyalists, and broke up Loyalist gatherings. Loyalists fought back, but they were outnumbered and not as well organized. Caught between the two groups were many Americans, possibly a majority, who did not favor either side and would support whomever won.

Causes and Effects of the American Revolution

Causes

- ¥ Colonists’ tradition of self-government
- ¥ Americans’ sense of a separate identity from Britain
- ¥ Proclamation of 1763
- ¥ British policies toward the colonies after 1763

Effects

- ¥ United States declares independence
- ¥ A long war with Great Britain
- ¥ World recognition of American independence

Graphic Organizer → Skills

The conflict between Britain and America grew worse after the passage of the Intolerable Acts of 1774.

Analyzing Information Why do you think the tradition of self-government played a role in the colonists’ decision to declare independence?



Lexington and Concord In April 1775, the British government ordered General Gage to arrest the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, even if it meant risking armed conflict. Gage did not know where the Congress was located, so he decided to seize the militia's supply depot at Concord instead. On April 18, about 700 British troops set out for Concord on a road that took them past the town of Lexington.

Patriot leaders heard about the plan and sent **Paul Revere** and **William Dawes** to spread the alarm. Revere reached Lexington by midnight and warned the people there that the British were coming. He and Dawes and a third man, **Dr. Samuel Prescott**, then set out for Concord. A British patrol stopped Revere and Dawes, but Prescott got through in time to warn Concord.

On April 19, British troops arrived in Lexington and spotted some 70 minutemen lined up on the village green. The British marched onto the field and ordered them to disperse. The minutemen had begun to back away when a shot was fired; no one is sure by whom. The British soldiers, already nervous, fired at the minutemen, killing 8 and wounding 10.

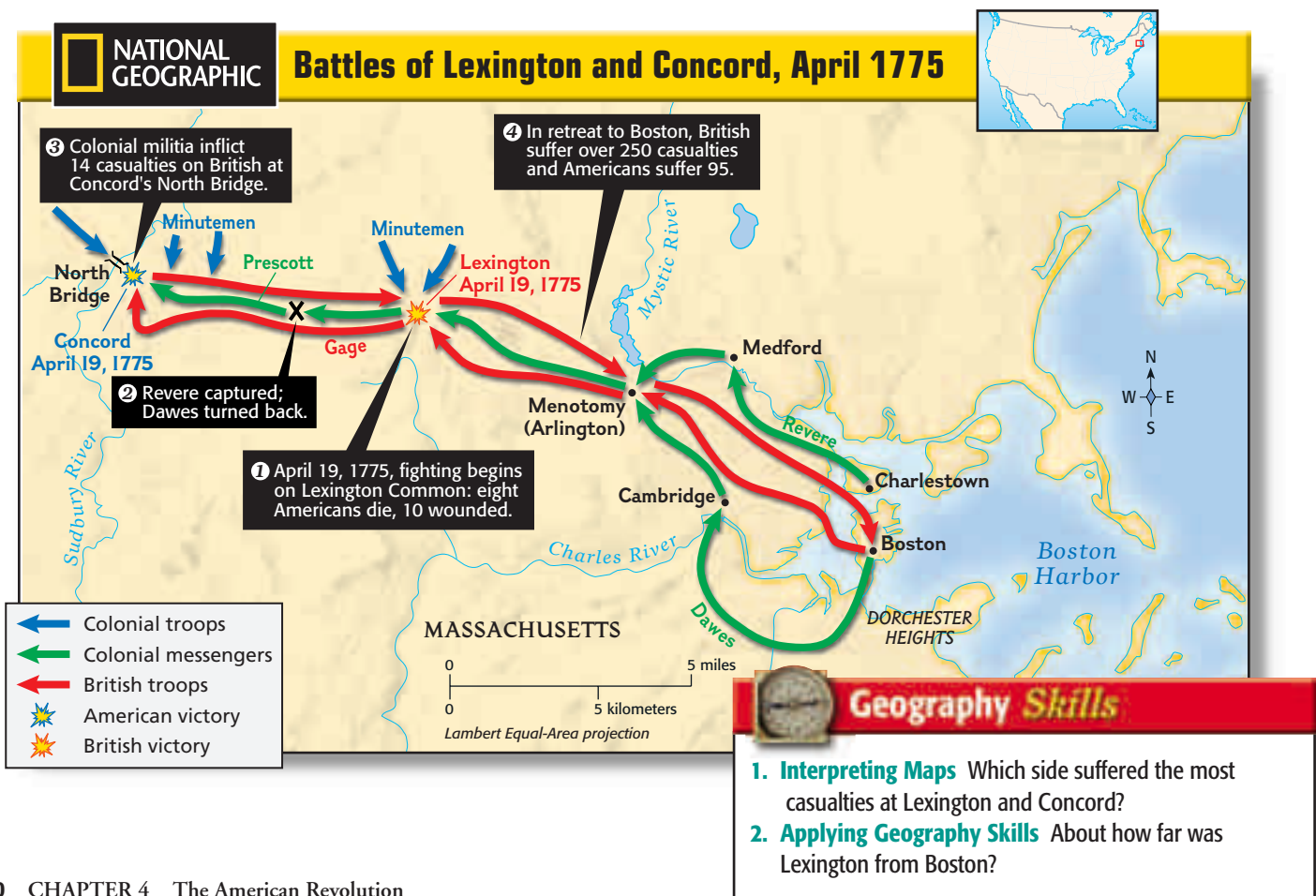
The British then headed to Concord, but when they arrived, they found that most of the military

supplies had been removed. When they tried to cross the North Bridge on the far side of town, they ran into some 400 colonial militia. A fight broke out, forcing the British to retreat.

Having completed their mission, the British decided to return to Boston. Along the way, militia and farmers fired at them from behind trees, stone walls, barns, and houses. By the time the British reached Boston, they had lost 99 men, and another 174 were wounded. The colonial forces had lost 49 militia, and another 46 were wounded.

News of the fighting spread across the colonies. Militia from all over New England raced to the area to help fight the British. By May 1775, militia troops had surrounded Boston, trapping the British inside.

The Second Continental Congress Three weeks after the battles at Lexington and Concord, the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia. The first issue was defense. The Congress voted to "adopt" the militia army surrounding Boston, and they named it the Continental Army. On June 15, 1775, the Congress appointed George Washington as general and commander in chief of the new army.



Before Washington could get to his new command, however, the British landed reinforcements in Boston. Determined to gain control of the area, the British decided to seize the hills north of the city. Warned in advance, the militia acted first. On June 16, 1775, they dug in on Breed's Hill near Bunker Hill and began building a fort at the top.

The following day, General Gage sent 2,200 of his troops to take the hill. His soldiers, wearing heavy packs and woolen uniforms, launched an uphill, frontal attack in blistering heat. According to legend, an American commander named William Prescott told his troops, "Don't fire until you see the whites of their eyes." When the British closed to within 50 yards, the Americans took aim and fired. They turned back two British advances and were forced to retreat only after running out of ammunition.

The **Battle of Bunker Hill**, as it came to be called, helped to build American confidence. It showed that the colonial militia could stand up to one of the world's most feared armies. The British suffered more than 1,000 casualties in the fighting. Shortly afterward, General Gage resigned and was replaced by General William Howe. The situation then returned to a stalemate, with the British trapped in Boston surrounded by militia.

 **Reading Check** **Interpreting** Why was the Battle of Bunker Hill important to the Americans?

The Decision for Independence

Despite the onset of fighting, many colonists in the summer of 1775 were not prepared to break away from Great Britain. Most members of the Second Continental Congress wanted the right to govern themselves, but they did not want to break with the British Empire. By 1776, however, opinion had changed. Frustrated by Britain's refusal to compromise, many Patriot leaders began to call for independence.

Efforts at Peace In July 1775, as the siege of Boston continued, the Continental Congress sent a document known as the **Olive Branch Petition** to the king. John Dickinson wrote the petition. It stated that the colonies were still loyal to the king and asked George III to call off hostilities until the situation could be worked out peacefully.

In the meantime, the radical delegates of the Congress convinced the body to order an attack on the British troops based in Quebec. They hoped the attack would convince the French in Quebec to rebel



History Through Art

Colonial Confidence Alonzo Chappel painted *The Battle of Bunker Hill*. The battle showed the colonists they could win against the British. [How does the artist portray the colonists' courage?](#)

and join the Americans in fighting the British. The American forces captured the city of Montreal, but the French did not rebel.

The attack on Quebec convinced British officials that there was no hope of reconciliation. When the Olive Branch Petition arrived in England, King George refused to look at it. On August 22, 1775, he issued the Proclamation for Suppressing Rebellion and Sedition, stating that the colonies were now "open and avowed enemies."

With no compromise likely, the Continental Congress increasingly began to act like an independent government. It sent people to negotiate with the Native Americans, and it established a postal system and a Continental Navy and Marine Corps. It also authorized privateering. By March 1776, the Continental Navy had raided the Bahamas and begun seizing British merchant ships.

The Fighting Spreads As the revolution began, Governor Dunmore of Virginia organized two Loyalist armies to assist the British troops in

What If...

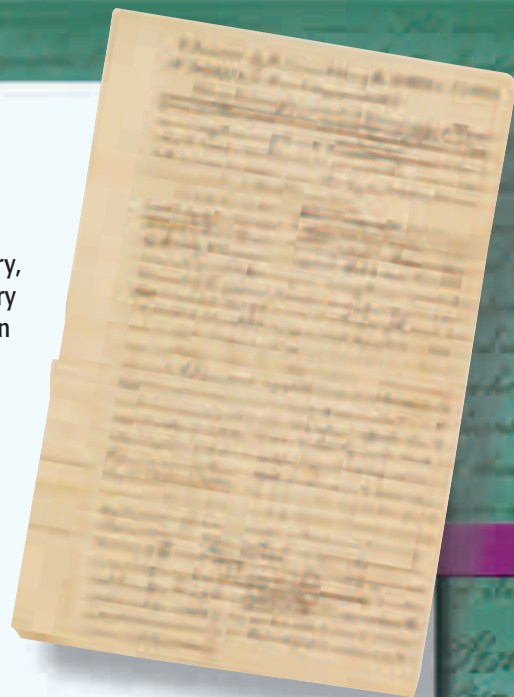
The Declaration of Independence Had Condemned Slavery?

In 1776 the Continental Congress chose a committee to draft the Declaration of Independence. The committee included Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Franklin, and Robert Livingston. Jefferson later recalled the following in his memoirs: “[The committee members] unanimously pressed on myself alone to undertake the draught. I consented; I drew it; but before I reported it to the committee I communicated it separately to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams requesting their corrections. . . .”

Franklin and Adams urged Jefferson to delete his condemnation of King George’s support of slavery. The two realized that the revolution needed support from all the colonies to succeed, and condemning slavery would certainly alienate pro-slavery colonists and force them to support the king. Jefferson modified the draft accordingly. If the Declaration of Independence had included

Jefferson’s condemnation of slavery, which is excerpted below, the history of the United States might have been very different.

“He [King George] has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. . . . He has [stopped] every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce determining to keep open a market where [people] should be bought and sold. . . .”



Virginia, one composed of white Loyalists, the other of enslaved Africans. Dunmore proclaimed that Africans enslaved by rebels would be freed if they fought for the Loyalists. The announcement convinced many Southern planters to support independence. Otherwise, they might lose their lands and labor force. They also increased their efforts to raise a large Patriot army. In December 1775, the Patriot troops attacked and defeated Dunmore’s

forces near Norfolk, Virginia. The British then pulled their soldiers out of Virginia, leaving the Patriots in control.

In North Carolina, Patriot troops dispersed Loyalists at the Battle of Moore’s Creek in February 1776. The British then decided to seize Charles Town, South Carolina, but the Charles Town militia thwarted the British plans.

While fighting raged in the South, Washington ordered his troops to capture the hills south of Boston. He intended to place cannons on the hills to bombard the British. After the Americans seized the hills, however, the British Navy evacuated the British troops from Boston, leaving the Patriots in control.

Despite their defeats, it was clear that the British were not backing down. In December 1775, the king issued the Prohibitory Act, shutting down trade with the colonies and ordering a naval blockade. The British also began expanding their army by recruiting mercenaries, or soldiers for hire, from Germany. By the spring of 1776, the British had hired 30,000 German mercenaries, mostly Hessians from the region of Hesse.

Common Sense and Independence As the war dragged on, more and more Patriots began to think the time had come to declare independence, although they feared that most colonists were still loyal to the king. In January 1776, however, public opinion began to change when Thomas Paine published a lively and persuasive pamphlet called

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HISTORY
Online



Student Web Activity

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at tav.glencoe.com and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 4** for an activity on the American Revolution.



What might have happened?

1. Why do you think Thomas Jefferson, who was a slaveholder, wanted to include this paragraph?
2. Would the course of American history have changed significantly if the Declaration of Independence had included Jefferson's statement? If so, how? If not, why not?

Common Sense. Until *Common Sense* appeared, nearly everyone viewed Parliament as the enemy, not the king. In *Common Sense*, Paine attacked King George III. Parliament, he wrote, did nothing without the

king's support. Paine argued that monarchies had been set up by seizing power from the people. George III was a tyrant, and it was time to declare independence:

“Everything that is right or reasonable pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'Tis Time To Part. . . . Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe . . . [and] England hath given her warning to depart. Oh! Receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.”

—from *Common Sense*

Within three months, *Common Sense* had sold 100,000 copies. George Washington wrote, “*Common Sense* is working a powerful change in the minds of men.” Increasingly, many colonists were ready to declare independence. One by one the provincial congresses and assemblies told their representatives at the Continental Congress to vote for independence.

In early July a committee composed of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, and Thomas Jefferson submitted a document Jefferson had drafted on independence. On July 4, 1776, the Continental Congress issued this **Declaration of Independence**, declaring themselves the United States of America. The American Revolution had begun.

✓ Reading Check Analyzing How did Thomas Paine help persuade colonists to declare independence?

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

1. **Define:** committee of correspondence, minuteman, Loyalist, Patriot.
2. **Identify:** Boston Tea Party, Intolerable Acts, Second Continental Congress, Battle of Bunker Hill, Declaration of Independence.

Reviewing Themes

3. **Government and Democracy** After King George III refused to consider the Olive Branch Petition, in what ways did the Continental Congress begin to act like an independent government?

Critical Thinking

4. **Synthesizing** What role did the committees of correspondence play in the colonists' move toward independence?
5. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to indicate ways in which colonists defied Britain after the repeal of the Townshend Acts.



Analyzing Visuals

6. **Examining Maps** Study the map on page 130. Why do you think Paul Revere and William Dawes took different routes on the first leg of their journey?

Writing About History

7. **Descriptive Writing** Imagine that you were a participant in the Boston Tea Party. Write a diary entry describing the event.

The Declaration of Independence

What It Means

The Preamble The Declaration of Independence has four parts. The Preamble explains why the Continental Congress drew up the Declaration.

impel *force*

What It Means

Natural Rights The second part, the Declaration of Natural Rights, states that people have certain basic rights and that government should protect those rights. John Locke's ideas strongly influenced this part. In 1690 Locke wrote that government was based on the consent of the people and that people had the right to rebel if the government did not uphold their right to life, liberty, and property.

endowed *provided*

despotism *unlimited power*

What It Means

List of Grievances The third part of the Declaration lists the colonists' complaints against the British government. Notice that King George III is singled out for blame.

usurpations *unjust uses of power*

In Congress, July 4, 1776. The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

[Preamble]

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which **impel** them to the separation.

[Declaration of Natural Rights]

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are **endowed** by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,

That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute **Despotism**, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

[List of Grievances]

Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and **usurpations**, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would **relinquish** the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right **inestimable** to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of **Annihilation**, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and **convulsions** within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for **Naturalization of Foreigners**; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the **tenure** of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

relinquish *give up*
inestimable *priceless*

annihilation *destruction*

convulsions *violent disturbances*

Naturalization of Foreigners *process by which foreign-born persons become citizens*

tenure *term*



quartermen *lodging*

render *make*

abdicated *given up*

perfidy *violation of trust*

insurrections *rebellions*

petitioned for redress *asked formally for a correction of wrongs*

unwarrantable jurisdiction *unjustified authority*

consanguinity *originating from the same ancestor*

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For **quartermen** large bodies of troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to **render** it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislature, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has **abdicated** Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & **perfidy** scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic **insurrections** amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have **Petitioned for Redress** in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an **unwarrantable jurisdiction** over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of **consanguinity**. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

[Resolution of Independence by the United States]

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the **rectitude** of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do.

And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

John Hancock
President from
Massachusetts

Georgia
Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
George Walton

North Carolina
William Hooper
Joseph Hewes
John Penn

South Carolina
Edward Rutledge
Thomas Heyward, Jr.
Thomas Lynch, Jr.
Arthur Middleton

Maryland
Samuel Chase
William Paca
Thomas Stone
Charles Carroll
of Carrollton

Virginia
George Wythe
Richard Henry Lee
Thomas Jefferson
Benjamin Harrison
Thomas Nelson, Jr.
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton

Pennsylvania
Robert Morris
Benjamin Rush
Benjamin Franklin
John Morton
George Clymer
James Smith
George Taylor
James Wilson
George Ross

Delaware
Caesar Rodney
George Read
Thomas McKean

New York
William Floyd
Philip Livingston
Francis Lewis
Lewis Morris

New Jersey
Richard Stockton
John Witherspoon
Francis Hopkinson
John Hart
Abraham Clark

New Hampshire
Josiah Bartlett
William Whipple
Matthew Thornton

Massachusetts
Samuel Adams
John Adams
Robert Treat Paine
Elbridge Gerry

Rhode Island
Stephen Hopkins
William Ellery

Connecticut
Samuel Huntington
William Williams
Oliver Wolcott
Roger Sherman

What It Means

Resolution of Independence
The Final section declares that the colonies are "Free and Independent States" with the full power to make war, to form alliances, and to trade with other countries.

rectitude *rightness*

What It Means

Signers of the Declaration
The signers, as representatives of the American people, declared the colonies independent from Great Britain. Most members signed the document on August 2, 1776.



John Hancock

The War for Independence

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

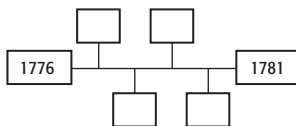
After a war lasting several years, the colonists finally won their independence from Great Britain.

Key Terms and Names

William Howe, guerrilla warfare, Nathan Hale, Valley Forge, Marquis de Lafayette, Saratoga, letters of marque, John Paul Jones, Charles Cornwallis, Battle of Kings Mountain

Reading Strategy

Sequencing As you read about the war for independence, complete a time line similar to the one below to record the major battles and their outcomes.



Reading Objectives

- **Describe** the strategies behind the Northern Campaign.
- **Summarize** the scope of the war at sea.

Section Theme

Global Connections Hostility between the French and British caused France to support the colonies.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



Troops at Valley Forge

Colonel Henry Beckman Livingston could only watch helplessly the suffering around him. A veteran of several military campaigns, Livingston huddled with the rest of George Washington's army at its winter quarters at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. The winter of 1777 to 1778 was brutally cold, and the army lacked food, clothing, and other supplies. Huddled in small huts, soldiers wrapped themselves in blankets and survived on the smallest of rations. Livingston described the army's plight in a letter to his brother, Robert:

“Our troops are in general almost naked and very often in a starveing condition. All my men except 18 are unfit for duty for want of shoes, stockings, and shirts. . . . Poor Jack has been necessitated to make up his blanket into a vest and breeches. If I did not fear starveing with cold I should be tempted to do the same.”

—adapted from *A Salute to Courage*

The Opposing Sides

The struggle at Valley Forge was one of the darkest hours in the war for independence. No one knew if the patriots were strong enough to defeat the powerful British Empire. On the same day that the Continental Congress voted for independence, the British began landing troops in New York. By mid-August, they had assembled an estimated 32,000 men under the command of General **William Howe**. British officials did not expect the rebellion to last very long. The British troops were disciplined, well trained, and well equipped.

Compared to the British troops, the Continental Army was inexperienced and poorly equipped. Throughout the war, it struggled to keep its recruits and pay their wages. Although over 230,000 men served in the Continental Army, they rarely numbered more than 20,000 at any one time. Many soldiers deserted or refused to reenlist when their term was up. Others left their posts and returned to their farms at planting or harvest time.

Paying for the war was equally difficult. Lacking the power to tax, the Continental Congress issued paper money. These “Continental” were not backed by gold or silver and became almost worthless very quickly. Fortunately **Robert Morris**, a wealthy Pennsylvania merchant and banker, personally pledged large amounts of money for the war effort. Morris also set up an efficient method of buying rations and uniforms, arranged for foreign loans, and convinced the Congress to create the Bank of North America to finance the military.

The Continental Army was not the only force the British had to worry about. They also had to fight the local militias. The militias were poorly trained, but they fought differently. They did not always line up for battle. They hid among trees and behind walls and ambushed British troops and supply wagons, then disappeared. This kind of fighting is called **guerrilla warfare**, and it is very difficult to defeat.

Another problem for the British was that they were not united at home. Many merchants and members of Parliament opposed the war. The British had to win quickly and cheaply; otherwise, opinions in Parliament would shift against the war. The United States did not have to defeat Britain—it simply had to survive until the British became tired of paying for the war.

The European balance of power also hampered the British. The French, Dutch, and Spanish were all eager to exploit Britain’s problems. As a result, Britain had to station much of its military elsewhere in the world to defend its empire. The European balance of power also meant that the Patriots might be able to find allies against the British.

 **Reading Check Identifying** What three major disadvantages did the British face in the American Revolution?

The Northern Campaign

The British knew that to end the war quickly, they not only had to win several battles but also had to convince the American people that their cause was hopeless. At the same time, the British had to make it safe to surrender. If the Patriots thought they would be hanged for treason, they would never surrender.

General Howe’s strategy had two parts. The first part was military. He began a massive buildup in New York, hoping to intimidate the Americans and capture New York City. This would separate New



Colonial hat

The Opposing Sides

Colonial Advantages	British Advantages
Fighting on home ground	Well-trained, well-supplied army and navy
Good decisions by generals	Wealth of resources
Fighting for their rights and freedoms	Strong central government
French alliance: loans, navy, troops	
Colonial Disadvantages	British Disadvantages
Untrained soldiers; small army	Fighting in unfamiliar, hostile territory
Food and ammunition shortages	Fighting far away from Britain and resources
Weak and divided central government	Troops indifferent; halfhearted support at home



Colonial rifle

Chart Skills

- Interpreting Charts** Why was fighting for their rights and freedoms an advantage for the colonists?
- Analyzing** In what ways would a weak government be a disadvantage in war time?



Geography Skills

- Interpreting Maps** Name two sites of colonial victories in New Jersey.
- Applying Geography Skills** What was the role of the British Navy in the war?

Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge. Howe told them that anyone who put down their arms and swore loyalty to the king would be pardoned. The Americans quickly realized that Howe had no authority to negotiate a compromise and was only interested in talking them into surrendering. They refused to talk further, and the stage was set for the first major battle.

Opening Moves Despite the size of the British forces preparing to seize New York City, the Continental Congress asked Washington to defend the city. Congressional leaders feared that if New York fell without a fight, it would hurt American morale. Washington agreed with this assessment, and he moved much of his army to Long Island and Manhattan Island.

The inexperience of Washington’s troops became obvious when British troops landed on Long Island in the summer of 1776. Many American soldiers fled, and another 1,500 became casualties. Fortunately, the British did not move quickly after their victory, and the surviving American troops escaped to Manhattan Island where they joined the remainder of Washington’s army defending New York City.

Using their ships, the British could have landed troops north of New York City and surrounded the American positions, but again, they moved too slowly. Washington abandoned the city and headed to the northern end of Manhattan. The British then captured New York and used it as their headquarters for the rest of the war.

About this time, Washington sent Captain **Nathan Hale** to spy on the British. Although Hale was disguised as a Dutch schoolteacher, he was caught by the British and hanged. Brave until the end, Hale’s last words were: “I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.” Shortly afterward, Washington moved most of his troops from Manhattan to White Plains, New York, where the British once again engaged the Americans in battle.

Crossing the Delaware At the Battle of White Plains in October 1776, the British forced Washington to retreat again. Then they surprised him. Instead of coming after the Continental Army, the British troops headed toward Philadelphia, where the Continental Congress was meeting. Washington’s troops received word of this new plan. They had to move fast, but they managed to get there ahead of the British.

While this march was taking place, Thomas Paine wrote another pamphlet to help boost American morale. In *The American Crisis*, he

England from the Southern states and demonstrate to Americans that they could not win.

The second part of Howe’s strategy was diplomatic. He invited delegates from the Continental Congress to a peace conference. The Congress sent

reminded his fellow Americans that “the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph”:

“These are the times that try men’s souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman.”

—from *The American Crisis*

By the time Washington reached Pennsylvania, winter had begun. The British stopped their advance and dispersed into winter quarters in New Jersey. In the 1700s, armies did not usually fight in the winter because of the weather and scarce food supplies.

At this point, Washington tried something daring and unexpected—a winter attack. On December 25, 1776, he led approximately 2,400 men across the icy Delaware River. The army then attacked a group of Hessians at Trenton in the middle of a sleet storm. They killed or captured almost 1,000 men. Several days later, at Princeton, Washington’s forces scattered three British regiments. Having achieved two small victories, Washington headed into the hills of northern New Jersey for the winter.

Philadelphia Falls In March 1777, King George III approved a plan developed by General John Burgoyne to isolate New England from the other American states. Burgoyne proposed a three-pronged attack on New York. He would take a large force south into New York from Montreal. Another force would move from Montreal up the St. Lawrence River to Lake Ontario then head east into New York. A third force, led by General Howe, would march north from New York City up the Hudson River valley. The three forces would meet near Albany, then march east into New England.

Unfortunately for the British, they did not coordinate the plan. By spring 1777, General Howe had made his own plans. He loaded about 13,000 men onto ships and moved them to Maryland. From there he attacked Philadelphia and the Continental Congress would cripple the Revolution.

Howe’s operation was a military success but a political failure. On September 11, 1777, he defeated Washington at the Battle of Brandywine Creek and captured Philadelphia. To Howe’s frustration, however, the Continental Congress escaped. Howe failed to destroy the Continental Army, which soon took up winter quarters at **Valley Forge**. There, the bitter cold and food shortages killed nearly 2,500 men.

Even amidst the harsh conditions of Valley Forge, Washington managed to secure training for his army. Joining him at Valley Forge were two European military officers, the **Marquis de Lafayette** from France and Baron Friedrich von Steuben from Prussia. These officers helped Washington improve discipline and boost morale among the weary troops.

France Enters the War General Burgoyne did not know Howe had gone south to attack Philadelphia. In June 1777, he and an estimated 8,000 troops marched south from Quebec into New York. From the eastern end of Lake Ontario, another 900 troops and over 1,000 Iroquois warriors headed east toward Albany. The Iroquois had allied with the British hoping to keep American settlers off Iroquois lands.

Despite some early victories, Burgoyne’s forces were not able to defeat the Americans defending upper New York. The British troops and Iroquois marching east from Lake Ontario were ambushed by militia and then driven back by American troops under General **Benedict Arnold**. Meanwhile, Burgoyne’s own troops could not drive off the militia. With his supplies dwindling, Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, New York. The American victory at **Saratoga** was a turning point



 **History Through Art**

A Savage Winter William B.T. Trego painted *The March to Valley Forge*, depicting the difficult conditions soldiers faced during the winter of 1777 to 1778. [What hardships did the troops face at Valley Forge?](#)

in the war. It improved American morale and also convinced France to commit troops to the American cause.

Both Spain and France had been secretly sending arms and supplies to the United States well before Saratoga. The Congress appreciated the supplies but wanted the French to send troops too. In September 1776, the Congress sent Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane to France to ask for troops. The French, however, were not willing to risk war until they believed the Americans could win, and the victory at Saratoga assured them. Shortly afterward, they began negotiations with the United States to create an alliance against Britain.

On February 6, 1778, the United States signed its first two treaties. In the first treaty, France became the first country to recognize the United States as an independent nation. The second treaty was an alliance between the United States and France. By June 1778, Britain and France were at war. In 1779 the Spanish entered the war as well, as an ally of France but not of the United States.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** What was General Howe's two-part strategy for winning the war?

The War in the West

Not all of the fighting in the Revolutionary War took place in the East. In 1778, Patriot **George Rogers Clark** took 175 troops down the Ohio River and captured several towns. By February 1779, the British had surrendered, giving the Americans control of the region.

While Clark fought the British in the West, Chief Joseph Brant, also known as Thayendanegea, convinced four Iroquois nations to join the British. In July 1778, British troops and Iroquois warriors attacked western Pennsylvania, burning towns and killing over 200 militia. The following summer, American troops defeated the British and Iroquois in western New York. These battles destroyed the power of the Iroquois people.

Farther south, the Cherokee people suffered a similar fate. After the Revolution began, a delegation of Shawnee, Delaware, and Mohawk convinced the Cherokee that the time had come to drive American settlers off Cherokee lands. The Cherokee attacked settlers in Virginia and North Carolina, but the American militia units were too strong. By 1780 militia units had burned down hundreds of Cherokee towns.

 **Reading Check** **Describing** What was the effect of the war on the western frontier of the United States?

The War at Sea

Americans fought the British at sea as well as on land. Instead of attacking the British fleet directly, American warships attacked British merchant ships. To further disrupt British trade, the Congress began issuing **letters of marque**, or licenses, to private ship owners, authorizing them to attack British merchant ships. By the end of the war, millions of dollars of cargo had been seized, seriously harming Britain's trade and economy.

Perhaps the most famous naval battle of the war involved the American naval officer, **John Paul Jones**.

The Turning Point: Saratoga

General John Burgoyne's plan to capture upper New York and seal off New England from the rest of the United States began well. His troops easily seized Fort Ticonderoga with its large store of gunpowder and supplies. In response, the Continental Congress sent in a new commander, General Horatio Gates.

After this early victory, Burgoyne's march slowed to a crawl. The Americans felled trees in front of his army and removed crops and cattle from the region to deprive his troops of food. Militia forces staged ambushes and hit-and-run raids. These tactics exasperated Burgoyne. In desperation, he retreated to Saratoga. An American army nearly three times the size of his own quickly surrounded his troops. On October 17, 1777, Burgoyne surrendered to General Gates.

Jones commanded a ship named the *Bonhomme Richard*. While sailing near Britain in September 1779, Jones encountered a group of British merchant ships protected by the warships *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*. Jones attacked the *Serapis*, but the heavier guns of the British ship nearly sank the *Bonhomme Richard*. With the American ship in distress, the British commander called on Jones to surrender. Jones replied, "I have not yet begun to fight." He lashed his ship to the *Serapis* so it could not sink, then boarded the British ship. The battle lasted more than three hours before the British surrendered.

Reading Check Summarizing

What was the American strategy for attacking the British at sea?

The Southern Campaign

After the British defeat at Saratoga, General Howe resigned and was replaced by Sir Henry Clinton. British officials told Clinton to begin a campaign in the southern states where the British believed they had the strongest Loyalist support. The southern states were also valuable because they produced tobacco and rice. The British hoped they could keep the South, even if they lost the northern states.

The Fall of Savannah and Charles Town In December 1778, 3,500 British troops captured Savannah, Georgia. They seized control of Georgia's backcountry and returned the British royal governor to power.

After defeating the American and French troops trying to take Savannah, General Clinton attacked Charles Town, South Carolina. Nearly 14,000 British troops surrounded the city, trapping the American forces. On May 12, 1780, the Americans surrendered. Nearly 5,500 American troops were taken prisoner, the greatest American defeat in the war. Clinton returned to New York, leaving General **Charles Cornwallis** in command. The Continental Congress then sent General Horatio Gates, the hero of Saratoga, to defend the South Carolina backcountry. Gates attempted to destroy a British supply base at Camden, South Carolina, but failed.

Profiles IN HISTORY

Bernardo de Gálvez

1746–1786

Bernardo de Gálvez was born in Málaga, Spain, in 1746. Following family tradition, he joined the military, and at age 18 he traveled to America with his uncle, who had been sent by the government to inspect New Spain. In 1769 Gálvez was placed in command of Spanish forces on New Spain's northern frontier. During the next two years, he led his forces in battle against the Apache people in what is today west Texas. In 1777 he was appointed governor of Louisiana.

Even before Spain entered the Revolutionary War, Gálvez took steps to aid the United States. He exchanged letters with Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, and he used his authority as governor to secure the Mississippi against the British, while allowing French, Spanish, and American ships to use the river to smuggle arms to the



American forces. When Spain declared war on Britain, Gálvez raised an army, fought British troops near Baton Rouge and Natchez, and captured the British forts at Mobile and Pensacola. His campaigns were important to the U.S. victory because they tied down British troops that might otherwise have been used against the Americans farther north. The city of Galveston, Texas, is named in his honor.

TURNING POINT

The Patriots Rally After the battle of Camden, the British began subduing the Carolina backcountry. At first, everything went well for them. Many of the settlers were Loyalists and agreed to fight for Britain. Two British cavalry officers, Banastre Tarleton and Patrick Ferguson, led many of the Loyalist forces in the region. These troops became known for their brutality.

Ferguson finally went too far when he tried to subdue the people living in the Appalachian Mountains. Enraged at his tactics, the "overmountain" men, as they were known, put together a militia force. They intercepted Ferguson at Kings Mountain on October 7, 1780, and destroyed his army. The **Battle of Kings Mountain** was a turning point in the South. Southern farmers, furious with British treatment, began organizing their own forces.

The new American commander in the region, General Nathaniel Greene, hoped to wear down the British in battle while militia destroyed their supplies. Greene organized the militia into small units to carry out hit-and-run raids against British camps and supply wagons. **Francis Marion**, who was known as the "Swamp Fox," led the most famous of these units. Greene's strategy worked. By late 1781, the British



Geography Skills

- 1. Interpreting Maps** How did the French help American forces?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** Where did the final battle of the war occur?

controlled very little territory in the South except for Savannah, Charles Town, and Wilmington.

Reading Check Explaining Why was the Battle of Kings Mountain a turning point of the war in the South?

The War Is Won

In the spring of 1781, General Cornwallis decided to invade Virginia. As long as the Americans controlled Virginia, he believed, new troops and supplies could keep coming south. With more French troops on the way to America, the British knew they had very little time left to win the war. They had to secure Virginia.

The Battle of Yorktown In late April 1781, Cornwallis marched into Virginia, where he linked up with forces under the command of Benedict Arnold. Arnold had been an American commander early in the war but had later sold military information to the British. When his treason was discovered, Arnold fled to British-controlled New York City. There he was given command of British troops and ordered to begin raiding American positions in Virginia.



After Arnold's forces joined those of Cornwallis, the British began to conquer Virginia. Their combined forces encountered very little resistance until June 1781, when a large American force led by General **Anthony Wayne** arrived in Virginia. Outnumbered and too far inland, Cornwallis retreated to the coastal town of Yorktown to protect his supplies and to maintain communications by sea.

Cornwallis's retreat created an opportunity for the Americans and their French allies. The previous year, 6,000 French troops had arrived in New England. With this support, Washington decided to march on New York City. As the troops headed to New York, the French general Rochambeau learned that a French fleet commanded by Admiral Francois de Grasse was on its way north from the Caribbean.

When he learned of the French fleet, Washington canceled the attack on New York. Instead, he and Rochambeau led their forces to Yorktown. As the American and French troops raced south, Admiral de Grasse moved into Chesapeake Bay near Yorktown. With the French fleet nearby, Cornwallis could not escape by sea or receive supplies.

On September 28, 1781, American and French forces surrounded Yorktown and began to bombard it. On October 14, Washington's aide, Alexander Hamilton, led an attack that captured key British defenses. Three days later, Cornwallis began negotiations to surrender, and on October 19, 1781, approximately 8,000 British troops marched out of Yorktown and laid down their weapons. During the surrender, a British military band played a popular nursery tune, "The World Turn'd Upside Down."

Fact

Fiction

Folklore

America's Flags On June 14, 1777, the Continental Congress declared the first Stars and Stripes the official flag. The Congress determined that "the Flag of the United States be 13 stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be 13 stars, white in a blue field representing a new constellation." For Americans past and present, the color red symbolizes courage; white, purity of ideals; and blue, strength and unity of the states.



The Treaty of Paris When Lord North, the British prime minister, learned of the surrender at Yorktown, he knew the war was over. In March 1782, Parliament voted to begin peace negotiations. John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay conducted most of the negotiations for the United States.

The final settlement, known as the **Treaty of Paris**, was signed on September 3, 1783. In this treaty, Britain recognized the United States of America as a new nation with the Mississippi River as its western border. Britain also gave Florida back to Spain. France received colonies in Africa and the Caribbean that the British had seized from them in 1763. On November 24, 1783, the last British troops left New York City. The Revolutionary War was over. The creation of a new nation was about to begin.

Reading Check **Describing** How was the war won at Yorktown?

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

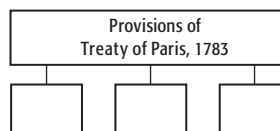
- Define:** guerrilla warfare, letters of marque.
- Identify:** William Howe, Nathan Hale, Valley Forge, Marquis de Lafayette, Saratoga, John Paul Jones, Charles Cornwallis, Battle of Kings Mountain.

Reviewing Themes

- Global Connections** Why were the French at first reluctant to sign an alliance with the colonies?

Critical Thinking

- Evaluating** How did European countries aid the Americans in the war for independence?
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the provisions of the Treaty of Paris.



Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Art** Study the painting on page 141. How has the artist portrayed the condition of Washington's army?

Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Imagine that you are a colonist during the Revolutionary War. Write a letter to convince European nations to support the Americans in the war.

Critical Thinking SKILLBUILDER

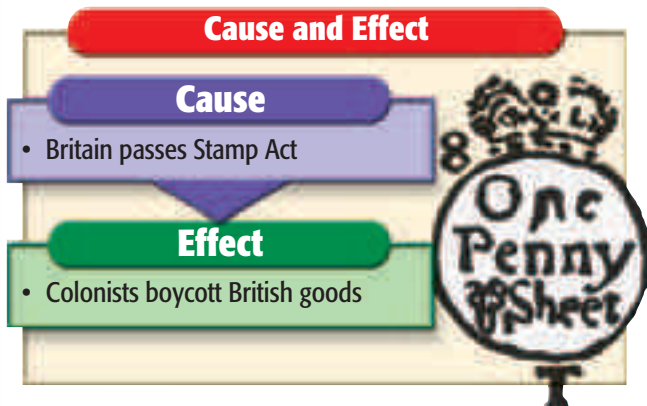
Understanding Cause and Effect

Why Learn This Skill?

To understand past events, you should look for why or how an event or a chain of events took place. This process is using the skill of understanding causes and effects.

Learning the Skill

The French and Indian War left Britain in debt. To raise money Britain introduced a stamp tax in the American colonies. The war was the *cause* that led to Britain's need for more money. The tax on the colonies was the *effect*, or result. The chart below shows how one event—the *cause*—led to another—the *effect*.



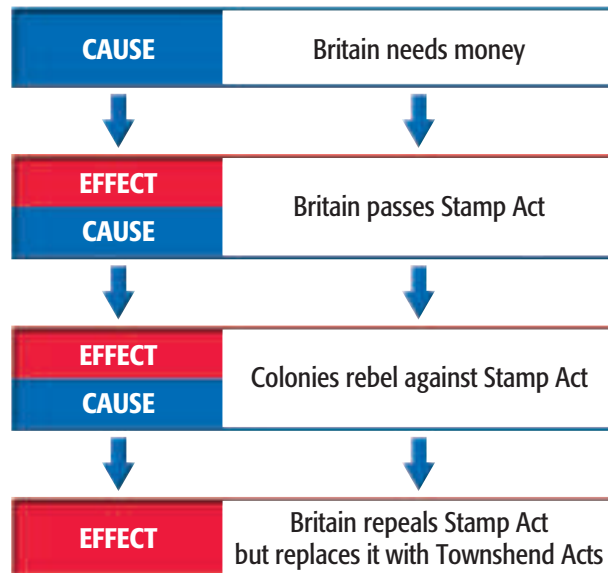
You can often identify cause-and-effect relationships in sentences from clue words such as the following:

because	therefore	produced
due to	thus	in order to
so that	led to	as a result

In a chain of events, an effect often becomes the cause of other events. The next chart shows the chain of events in the colonial rebellion.

Practicing the Skill

Make a chart showing which events are causes and which are effects in the sentences listed in column 2.



- 1 The Treaty of Paris, which ended the French and Indian War in 1763, eliminated French power in North America.
- 2 Thousands of British workers lost their jobs after the colonies cancelled orders for British goods.
- 3 The British failure to listen to colonial grievances led to armed conflict.
- 4 The French decided to send aid to the Americans after Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga.

Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 155 and the Chapter 4 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

Applying the Skill

Understanding Cause and Effect Read an account of a recent event in your community in a local newspaper. Determine at least one cause and one effect of that event. Show the chain of events in a chart.



Glencoe's **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2**, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

The War Changes American Society

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

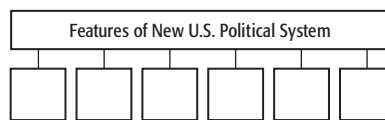
The American Revolution changed American society in a variety of ways.

Key Terms and Names

republic, Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, Molly Pitcher, emancipation, manumission, John Trumbull, Charles Willson Peale

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about changes in American society after the American Revolution, complete a graphic organizer like the one below by listing the features of the U.S. political system set up after the war.



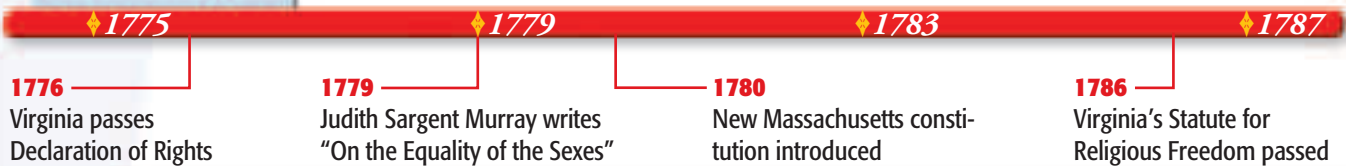
Reading Objectives

- **Describe** the features of the political system of the United States set up after the Revolutionary War.
- **Explain** the position of women and African Americans in the new political system.

Section Theme

Culture and Traditions A uniquely American culture arose as the Revolutionary War ended.

Preview of Events



Wooden statue of an African American breaking his chains

★ An American Story ★

In 1781 an enslaved Massachusetts man named Quock Walker took an extraordinary step: He took legal action against a white man who had assaulted him. Given the times, this was a bold step, but Walker believed he had the law on his side. Massachusetts's new constitution referred to the "inherent liberty" of all men. The judge, William Cushing, agreed:

“Our Constitution [of Massachusetts] sets out with declaring that all men are born free and equal—and that every subject is entitled to liberty, and to have guarded by the laws, as well as life and property—and in short is totally repugnant to the idea of being born slaves. This being the case, I think the idea of slavery is inconsistent with our own conduct and Constitution.”

While the Quock Walker case did not abolish slavery, it demonstrated that the Massachusetts courts would not support the institution. As a result of this ruling and various antislavery efforts, slavery ceased to exist in Massachusetts by 1790.

—adapted from *Founding the Republic*

New Political Ideas

When American leaders declared independence and founded the United States of America, they were very much aware that they were creating something new. By severing their ties to the king, they had established a republic. A **republic** is a form of government

where power resides with a body of citizens entitled to vote. Elected representatives who are responsible to the citizens and who must govern according to laws or a constitution exercise power.

While many Europeans viewed a republic as radical and dangerous, Americans believed that a republican society could be better than other societies. In an ideal republic, all citizens are equal under the law, regardless of their wealth or social class. Americans also believed that in a republic, the government derives its authority from the people.

Such ideas conflicted with many traditional beliefs, including ideas about slavery, the idea that women should not be allowed to vote or own property, and the idea that wealthy people were “better” than others. Despite these contradictions, republican ideas helped to change American society and government in the years following the war.

New State Constitutions Events before the Revolution led many Americans to believe that each state’s constitution should be written down and that it should limit the government’s power over the people. The Revolutionary War and new republican ideas convinced Americans that the best form of government was a constitutional republic.

At the same time, many American leaders, including John Adams, worried that democracy could endanger a republican government. Adams argued that government needed “checks and balances” to prevent any group in society from becoming strong enough to take away the rights of the minority.

A true democracy, Adams argued, would lead to a tyranny by the majority. Minority groups would not have their rights protected. For example, the poor might vote to take everything away from the rich and undermine the right to property. Instead, Adams argued, the best government was a “mixed government” with a separation of powers. The executive, legislative, and judicial branches should be separate.

Adams also argued that the legislature should have two houses: a senate to represent people of property and an assembly to protect the rights of the common people. Adams’s ideas influenced several state constitutions. Virginia’s constitution of 1776 and Massachusetts’s constitution of 1780 established an elected governor, senate, and assembly. By the 1790s, most of the other states had created similar constitutions.

In addition to writing new constitutions, many new states began to attach a list of rights to their constitutions. This began in 1776, when George Mason drafted Virginia’s Declaration of Rights. These rights guaranteed to all Virginians freedom of speech, freedom of religion, the right to bear arms, and the right to trial by jury. The declaration also proclaimed that the state could not search someone’s home without a warrant, nor could it take away property without proper court proceedings. Other states followed Virginia’s example and incorporated a bill of rights into their constitutions as well.

Voting Rights Expand The Revolution not only increased support for constitutional government, it also led to an expansion of voting rights. The experience of fighting side by side with people from every social class and region increased people’s belief in equality, especially for white men. Everyone was fighting for the same cause and risking death for the same ideas. If everyone was equal, then everyone deserved the right to vote.

The war also weakened feelings of deference toward people in the upper classes. The Revolution had showed many farmers and artisans that they were equal to the rich planters and merchants they fought beside. While sitting in a tavern with farmers who were spitting and pulling off their muddy boots, one wealthy Virginian noted: “Every one who bore arms esteems himself upon an equal footing with his neighbors. . . . Each of these men considers himself, in every respect, my equal.”

The Revolution enabled the lower classes to demand a greater role in choosing their leaders. In almost every state, the new constitutions made it easier to gain the right to vote. Many states allowed any

World Geography Connection



The Spread of American Democracy

While the Revolutionary War certainly transformed North America, it had a great impact on other parts of the world as well. American ideals of democracy inspired independence movements around the globe—especially in the colonies of Latin America, which overthrew their European rulers one after the other throughout the early 1800s. In Venezuela, for example, colonists developed their own “declaration of independence,” in which they, like the Americans, listed their grievances with their colonial rulers, declared their desire to live free, and pledged their lives to the effort. **What may have happened to American ideals of democracy if the colonists had lost the war?**

white male who paid taxes to vote, whether or not he owned property.

Although voting rights expanded, people still had to own a certain amount of property to hold elective office, although usually much less than before the Revolution. The practice of paying veterans with land grants for their services during the war also increased the number of people eligible to hold office. In the North, before the Revolution, over 80 percent of the people elected were from the upper class. Ten years after the war, only a little over one-third of officeholders were wealthy. In the South, higher property qualifications kept the wealthy planters in power. Before the Revolution, almost 90 percent of people elected to office were wealthy. Afterward, the figure dropped by about 20 percent, indicating small farmers had gained some ground.

Freedom of Religion The new concern with rights led to changes in the relationship between the church and the state. Many of the Revolution's leaders opposed "ecclesiastical tyranny"—the power of a church, backed by the government, to make people worship in a certain way. After the war, the idea that government should not aid churches became more accepted.

The new push to end state funding of churches began in Virginia, where Baptists led a movement to abolish taxes collected to support the Anglican Church. In 1786 Governor Thomas Jefferson pushed the legislature to pass the **Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom**. The statute declared that Virginia no longer had an official church and that the state could not collect taxes for churches. Written by Jefferson, the statute declared:

“[O]ur civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; . . . therefore . . . proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence . . . unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow citizens he has a natural right.”

Profiles IN HISTORY

Elizabeth Freeman (Mumbet) c. 1742–1829

Elizabeth Freeman was born about 1742 to enslaved African American parents. At the age of six months she was acquired, along with her sister, by John Ashley, a wealthy Massachusetts slaveholder. She became known as “Mumbet” or “Mum Bett.”

For nearly 40 years Mumbet served the Ashley family. One day, Ashley's wife tried to strike Mumbet's sister with a shovel. Mumbet intervened and took the blow instead. Furious, she stormed out of the house and refused to come back. When the Ashleys tried to make her return, Mumbet contacted a lawyer, Theodore Sedgewick. With his help, Mumbet sued for her freedom.

While serving the Ashleys, Mumbet had listened to many discussions of the new Massachusetts constitution. If the constitution said that all people were free and equal, then she thought it should apply to her. A jury agreed, and Mumbet won her freedom—the first enslaved person in Massachusetts to do so under the new constitution.

Oddly enough, after the trial, the Ashleys asked Mumbet to come back



and work for them as a paid employee. She declined and instead went to work for Sedgewick. Mumbet died in 1829, but her legacy lived on in her many descendants. One of her great-grandchildren was W.E.B. DuBois, one of the founders of the NAACP, and a prominent writer and spokesperson for African American civil rights in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

Mumbet's tombstone still stands in the Massachusetts cemetery where she was buried. It reads, in part: “She was born a slave and remained a slave for nearly thirty years. She could neither read nor write, yet in her own sphere she had no superior or equal.”

The idea of denying tax support to churches spread slowly throughout the newly independent nation. Massachusetts permitted Quakers and Baptists to assign their tax money to their church instead of to the congregational churches—the successors to the Puritan churches—but it did not abolish religious taxes entirely until 1833. (See page 1065 for the text of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom.)

Reading Check **Examining** Which freedoms did Virginia's constitution guarantee in its bill of rights?

The War and American Society

The postwar notions of greater equality and liberty, as noble as they were, applied mainly to white men. For most women and African Americans, these ideals were still out of reach. Both groups participated in the Revolutionary War, and the Revolution's ideals led to some changes in the



Geography Skills

- Interpreting Maps** Which state was the last to pass emancipation?
- Applying Geography Skills** Within five years after the war ended, some states passed emancipation. How many did so, and why did they do so at this time?

status of both women and African Americans in the years following the end of the conflict.

Women at War Women played a vital role in the Revolutionary War, contributing on both the home front and the battlefield. With their husbands and sons at war, some women took over running the family farm. Others traveled with the army—cooking, washing, and nursing the wounded. Women also served as spies and couriers, and a few even joined the fighting. Mary Ludwig Hays, known as **Molly Pitcher**, carried water to Patriot gunners during the Battle of Monmouth. Margaret Corbin accompanied her husband to battle, and after his death she took his place at his cannon and held the position until the battle ended.

After the war, as Americans began to think about what their revolutionary ideals implied, women made some advances. They could more easily obtain a divorce, and they gained greater access to education. In 1779 Judith Sargent Murray wrote an essay entitled “On the Equality of the Sexes.” The essay argued that women were as intelligent as men but lacked the education needed to achieve more in life. After the Revolution, many schools for girls were founded, and the number of women able to read increased.

African Americans Thousands of enslaved African Americans obtained their freedom during the Revolution. In an effort to undermine the colonial economy and hurt the rebellion in the South, the British Army freed thousands of enslaved people. British officials, however, also seized thousands of African Americans and shipped them to British plantations in the Caribbean.

Many planters promised to free their slaves if the slaves fought against the British. General Washington, in order to counter the British offer to free enslaved people who joined the British, permitted African Americans to join the Continental Army. He also urged state militias to admit African Americans and to offer freedom to all who served. About 5,000 African Americans fought in the militias and the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War.

After the Revolution, more enslaved Africans gained their freedom. Many American leaders realized that enslaving people did not fit in with the new language of liberty and equality. Opposition to slavery had been growing steadily even before the Revolution, especially in the northern and middle states.

After the war began, **emancipation**, or freedom from enslavement, became a major issue. Many Northern states took steps to end slavery. Vermont banned slavery in 1777. In 1780 Pennsylvania freed all children born enslaved when they reached age 28. Rhode Island decreed in 1784 that enslaved men born thereafter would be free when they turned 21 and women when they turned 18. In 1799 New York freed enslaved men born that year or later when they reached age 28 and women when they reached age 25. The ending of slavery in the North was thus a gradual process that took several decades.

Discrimination did not disappear with the increase in African American freedom. While enslaved, some African Americans worked in skilled positions, such as blacksmithing. Northern whites did not want free African Americans taking these

jobs from them. African Americans often were unable to get more than menial jobs—digging, carrying, loading, or sweeping. Free African Americans also faced voting restrictions, segregation, and possible kidnapping and transportation into the South, where they would again be enslaved.

Despite the hardships, freedom offered choices. Once free, African Americans typically moved to the cities to find employment. Some found opportunities in previously barred occupations, such as artists or ministers. Often, they discarded their former names or worked for several years to purchase the freedom of friends or family members.


A small group of African Americans achieved some wealth and social status. The discrimination of Northern whites encouraged them to focus on building their own distinct culture. Religion was a strong element of that emerging culture. Now free to enter the ministry, African Americans created their own style of worship. In 1816 African American church leaders formed the first independent African American denomination, the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church.

The story was quite different in the South. The South relied heavily on enslaved labor to sustain its agricultural economy. As a result, Southern leaders—most of whom were slaveholders themselves—showed little interest in abolishing slavery. Only Virginia took steps toward ending the institution. In 1782 the state passed a law encouraging **manumission**, or the voluntary freeing of enslaved persons, especially for those who had fought in the Revolution. Through this law, about 10,000 slaves obtained their freedom, but the vast majority remained in bondage.

The Loyalists Flee Many women and African Americans found their lives little changed as a result of the Revolution, but for many Loyalists, the end of the war changed everything. Because of their support for the British, Loyalists often found themselves shunned by former friends, and state governments sometimes seized their property.

Unwilling to live under the new government and often afraid for their lives, approximately 100,000 Loyalists fled the United States after the war. Some went to England or the British West Indies, but most moved to British North America, particularly to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the region near Niagara Falls. This region was part of Quebec at the time, but in 1791, Britain made it a separate colony called Upper Canada. Today it is the province of Ontario.

Americans grappled with what to do with the property and assets of Loyalists. In North Carolina, Patriots confiscated Loyalist lands outright. Officials in New York also seized Loyalist lands and goods, claiming the “sovereignty of the people of this state in respect to all property.” Other public officials opposed such actions. The Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, for example, extended the rights of “life, liberty, and property” to Loyalists, and gave much of the land seized from departing Loyalists to their agents or relatives who had remained behind.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** How did life change for women, African Americans, and Loyalists after the Revolutionary War?

An American Culture Emerges

In the United States, victory over the British united Americans and created powerful nationalist feelings. The Revolutionary War helped this process in two ways. First, Americans in all of the states had a common enemy. Soldiers from all over the country fought side by side in each other’s states. Second, the

History Through Art

Joseph Brant Gilbert Stuart painted this portrait of Joseph Brant, leader of the Mohawks, who sided with the Loyalists during the Revolution. After the Treaty of Paris, Brant led a large group of Iroquois north into British Canada. [Why did Brant and other Loyalists leave the United States?](#)





battles and important events in the Revolution. Peale fought at Trenton and Princeton and survived the winter at Valley Forge. He is best known for his portraits of Washington and other Patriot leaders.

Changes in Education As they started a new nation, American leaders considered an educated public to be critical to the republic's success. Jefferson called it the "keystone of our arch of government." Several state constitutions provided for government-funded universities. In 1795 the University of North Carolina became the first state university in the nation. At the same time, elementary education

History Through Art

Family Scene Charles Willson Peale painted *The Peale Family*, showing his own family in an everyday pose. American artists favored informal scenes over the more formal European styles. **What aspects of daily life does the artist show?**

Revolution gave rise to many patriotic symbols and a common folklore. Stories of the Revolution and its heroes helped Americans to think of themselves as all belonging to the same group.

American Painters The Revolution sparked the creativity of American painters, including **John Trumbull** and **Charles Willson Peale**. Their work and that of other artists helped to build an American identity. Both men portrayed the heroic deeds and leaders of the Revolution. Trumbull served in the Continental Army as an aide to Washington. He is best known for his depiction of

began to institute an American-centered style of teaching. Tossing out British textbooks, schools taught republican ideas and the history of the struggle for independence.

As the American people began to build a national identity, leaders of the United States turned their attention to the creation of a government that could hold the new nation together and promote the ideals and beliefs that the colonists had fought so hard to secure.

Reading Check Identifying In what ways did the Revolutionary War help create powerful nationalist feelings in the United States?

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** republic, emancipation, manumission.
- Identify:** Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, Molly Pitcher, John Trumbull, Charles Willson Peale.
- List** three features of the political system of the United States set up after the Revolutionary War.

Reviewing Themes

- Culture and Traditions** What new aspects of American culture emerged after the Revolutionary War?

Critical Thinking

- Synthesizing** Why did nationalist feelings emerge in the United States after the American Revolution?
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the position of women, African Americans, and Loyalists in American society after the Revolution.

	Position in American Society
Women	
African Americans	
Loyalists	

Analyzing Visuals

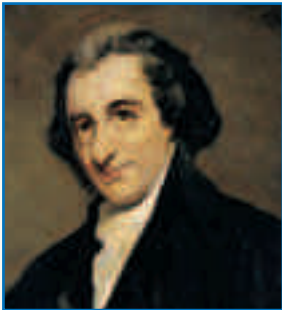
- Examining Art** Study the painting by Charles Willson Peale shown above. How does this painting reveal the republican ideas of the time?

Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Imagine you are on a committee to write a new state constitution. List the freedoms you want attached to your state's constitution, and explain why you feel it is important to guarantee these rights.



American LITERATURE



The call to arms during the Revolution was heard not only on the fields of battle but off, echoed by the leading writers of the day. Some of the most inspiring words that rang out against British tyranny were those of **Thomas Paine**, a sometime teacher, sailor, and grocer who became a journalist in his late thirties. The first essay from Paine's collection *The American Crisis*, issued in December 1776, was read by General George Washington to boost the spirits of his beleaguered troops.

Read to Discover

What language does Paine use to encourage support for the American revolutionary cause?

Reader's Dictionary

tyranny: absolute power wielded unjustly

consolation: comfort

esteem: value

impious: not respectful

from *The American Crisis*, Number 1

by Thomas Paine

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it NOW deserves the love and

thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly; 'tis dearness only that gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods and it would be strange indeed, if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared that she has a right (*not only to TAX*) but "to BIND *us in ALL CASES WHATSOEVER*," and if being *bound in that manner*, is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious, for so unlimited a power can belong only to God. . . .

. . . Let it be told to the future world that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, that the city and the

country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet and to repulse it. . . . I love the man that

can smile in trouble, that can gather strength from distress, and grow brave by reflection. It is the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Analyzing Literature

- 1. Recall and Interpret** What does Paine mean by the phrase "the summer soldier and the sunshine patriot"?
- 2. Evaluate and Connect** What purpose do you think essays such as this one serve in times of war and crisis?

Interdisciplinary Activity

Language Arts The language in Paine's essay may seem outdated now, but the emotions and ideas he expresses are still common. Rewrite the first paragraph of the essay, using words that a modern politician might use in a speech. Try to think of current phrases that would make sense—for example, what might we say today instead of "the summer soldier"?

Reviewing Key Terms

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. customs duty | 7. Loyalist |
| 2. inflation | 8. Patriot |
| 3. nonimportation agreement | 9. guerrilla warfare |
| 4. writ of assistance | 10. letters of marque |
| 5. committee of correspondence | 11. republic |
| 6. minuteman | 12. emancipation |
| | 13. manumission |

Reviewing Key Facts

- Identify:** French and Indian War, Boston Tea Party, Intolerable Acts, Battle of Bunker Hill, Declaration of Independence.
- Why did King George III issue the Proclamation of 1763?
- What were the effects of the Boston Tea Party?
- Why was the Battle of Saratoga a turning point in the Revolutionary War?
- What were the terms of the Treaty of Paris?
- Why did a new American culture emerge after the war?

Critical Thinking

- Analyzing Themes: Civic Rights and Responsibilities** What rights did the colonists want from Britain?
- Evaluating** During the war, how did *The American Crisis, No. 1*, by Thomas Paine influence the morale of Washington's troops?
- Comparing and Contrasting** After the American Revolution, a new culture emerged in the United States. Compare and contrast American culture before and after the war in these areas: government, society, the arts, and education.
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the events that led to the American Revolution.

Events That Led to the American Revolution

- Interpreting Primary Sources** In 1766 Benjamin Franklin testified before Parliament about the colonists' reactions to the Stamp Act. Read the excerpt from his testimony and answer the questions that follow.

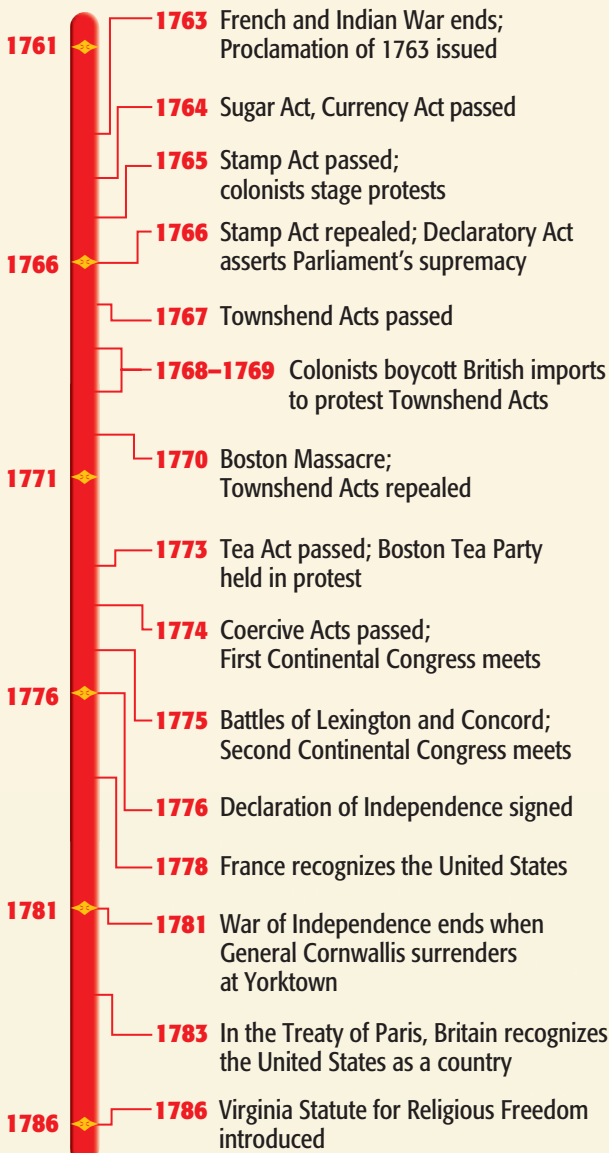
Q. What is your name, and place of abode?
A. Franklin, of Philadelphia.

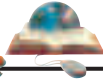
Q. Are not the colonies . . . very able to pay the stamp [tax]?
A. In my opinion there is not enough in the colonies to pay the stamp duty for one year.

Q. Don't you know that the money arising from the stamps was all to be laid out in America?
A. I know it is appropriated by the act to the American service; but it will be spent in the conquered colonies where the soldiers are, not in the colonies that pay it. . . .

Q. Do you think it right that America should be protected by this country and pay no part of the expense?

Chapter Summary





Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at tav.glencoe.com and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 4** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

- A. That is not the case. The colonies raised, clothed, and paid, during the last war, near 25,000 men and spent many millions.
- Q. Were you not reimbursed by Parliament?
- A. We were only reimbursed what, in your opinion, we had advanced beyond our proportion, or beyond what might reasonably be expected from us; and it was a very small part of what we spent. Pennsylvania, in particular, disbursed about 500,000 pounds, and the reimbursements, in the whole, did not exceed 60,000 pounds. . . .
 - a. Where does Franklin say that the British will spend the money they collect from the stamp tax?
 - b. Why does Franklin say that the stamp taxes are unfair?

Practicing Skills

- 25. **Examining Cause and Effect** Study the chart on page 129. Then answer the questions below.
 - a. What are the four causes of the colonies' declaring independence?
 - b. On page 146, the Skillbuilder lists clue words that often appear in cause-and-effect discussions. Using those clue words, write three sentences about the effects of the colonial rebellion.

Chapter Activities

- 26. **Research Project** Research some popular American painters after the Revolutionary War, such as John Trumbull and Charles Willson Peale. Write a report that explains how the themes of their paintings helped build an American identity.
- 27. **American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM** Read "On Liberty" by John Adams. Assuming the role of a Patriot or a Loyalist, write a letter to the editor of the *Boston Gazette* in reaction to the article.

Writing Activity

- 28. **Descriptive Writing** Imagine that you are a resident of Charles Town in 1780. The city has had to surrender, and you must face British troops wherever you go. Then you hear about Francis Marion, the "Swamp Fox," who is making hit-and-run attacks on the British. Write to a friend in New York City describing your experiences and your hopes for victory over the British.



Geography and History

- 29. The map above shows the land claims in North America as a result of the 1783 Treaty of Paris. Study the map and answer the questions below.
 - a. **Interpreting Maps** After the Revolutionary War, what were the borders for the United States on the north? On the south? On the west?
 - b. **Applying Geography Skills** Which countries shared a border with the United States?



Standardized Test Practice

Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.

The colonists complained about having to pay British taxes while not being allowed to vote for members of the British Parliament. Which of the following quotations best expresses their complaint?

- A "Give me liberty or give me death."
- B "Taxation without representation is tyranny."
- C "These are the times that try men's souls."
- D "Don't fire until you see the whites of their eyes."

Test-Taking Tip: Use the process of elimination to rule out any answers that you know are wrong. For example, two of the answers suggest that the colonists and the British may already be at war, while only one answer mentions the main issue.