Part Instructional Objectives

After you have taught Part Two, your students should be able to answer the following questions:

1. Why did the British North American colonies revolt against Great Britain?
2. How did the United States defeat Great Britain during the American Revolution?
3. How and why did Americans craft a new government founded on republican ideals and institutions? In what ways did the ideals of government conflict with the reality of social conditions throughout the United States?
4. How did European political events of the 1790s influence the political development of the United States?
5. Why did the War of 1812 take place? How did it impact Europe and the United States?
6. How did the contest for power between the Federalist and Republican parties affect the newly constituted federal government?
"The American war is over," Philadelphia Patriot Benjamin Rush declared in 1787, "but this is far from being the case with the American Revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed. It remains yet to establish and perfect our new forms of government." As we will suggest in Part Two, the job was even greater than Rush imagined. The republican revolution that began with the Patriot resistance movement of 1765 and took shape with the Declaration of Inde-
pendence in 1776 reached far beyond politics. It challenged almost all the values and institutions of the colonial social order and forced Americans to consider fundamental changes in their economic, religious, and cultural practices. Here, in summary, are the main themes of our discussion of America’s new political and social order.

**Government**

Once Americans had repudiated their allegiance to Britain and the monarchy, they faced the task of creating a new system of government. In 1776, no one knew how the states should go about setting up republican institutions. Nor did Patriot leaders know if there should be a permanent central authority along the lines of the Continental Congresses that led the resistance movement and the war. It would take time and experience to find out. It would take even longer to assimilate a new institution—the political party—into the workings of government. However, by 1820, years of difficult political compromise and constitutional revision had resulted in republican national and state governments that commanded the allegiance of their citizens.

**Diplomacy**

To create and preserve their new republic, Americans of European descent had to fight two wars against Great Britain, an undeclared war against France, and many battles with Indian peoples. The wars against Britain divided the country into bitter factions—Patriots against Loyalists in the War of Independence, and prowar Republicans against antiwar Federalists in the War of 1812—and expended much blood and treasure. The extension of American sovereignty and settlements into the trans-Appalachian west was a cultural disaster for many Indian peoples, who were brutally driven from their lands by white farmers. Despite these external and internal wars, by 1820, the United States had emerged as a strong independent state. Freed from a half-century of entanglement in the wars and diplomacy of Europe, its people began to exploit the riches of the continent.

**Economy**

By the 1760s, the expansion of markets and commerce had established the foundations for a vigorous national economy. Beginning in the 1780s, northern merchants financed a banking system and organized a rural outwork system. Simultaneously, state governments used charters and special privileges to help businesses and to improve roads, bridges, and waterways. African American slaves remained vital to the southern economy as planters began to export a new staple crop—cotton—to markets in the North and Europe. Many yeomen farm families migrated westward to grow grain; while those in the East turned to the production of raw materials—leather and wool, for example—for burgeoning manufacturing enterprises, and augmented their income with sales of shoes, textiles, tinware, and other handicrafts. By 1820, the young American republic was on the verge of achieving economic as well as political independence.

**Society**

As Americans undertook to create a republican society, they divided along lines of gender, race, religion, and class. In particular, they disagreed over fundamental issues like legal equality for women, the status of slavery, the meaning of free speech and religious liberty, and the extent of public responsibility for social inequality. As we shall see, political leaders managed to resolve some of these disputes. Legislatures abolished slavery in the North, broadened religious liberty by allowing freedom of conscience, and, except in New England, ended the system of established churches. However, Americans continued to argue over social equality, in part because their republican creed placed authority in the family and in society into the hands of men of property. This arrangement denied power not only to slaves but also to free blacks, women, and poor white men.

**Culture**

The diversity of peoples and regions that characterized the British colonies in North America complicated efforts after the Revolution to define a distinct American culture and identity. Native Americans still lived in their own clans and nations; and black Americans, one-fifth of the enumerated population, were developing a new, African American culture. Although white Americans were bound by vigorous regional cultures and their ancestral heritage—English, Scottish, Scots-Irish, German, or Dutch—in time, their political institutions began to unite them, as did their increasing participation in the market economy and in Evangelical Protestant churches. By 1820, to be an American meant, for many members of the dominant white population, to be a republican, a Protestant, and an enterprising individual in a capitalist-run market system.
Chapter 5

Toward Independence: Years of Decision
1763–1776

Teaching Resources

Chapter Instructional Objectives

After you have taught this chapter, your students should be able to answer the following questions:

1. How did the Great War for Empire change Britain’s relationship with its colonies?

2. What were the intellectual, political, and economic rationales colonists offered for their dissatisfaction with British rule between 1763 and 1776?

3. How did tension and disagreement between colonists and British officials become outright resistance and rebellion by 1776?

4. Why did the colonies and Britain fail to achieve a compromise to avert hostilities?

Chapter Annotated Outline

I. Imperial Reform, 1763–1765

A. The Legacy of War

1. The Great War for Empire fundamentally changed the relationship between Britain and its American colonies.

2. The war exposed the weak authority of British royal governors and officials.

3. To assert their authority, the British began a strict enforcement of the Navigation Acts, Parliament passed a Revenue Act in 1762 that curbed corruption in the customs service, and the Royal Navy was instructed to seize vessels that were carrying goods between the mainland colonies and the French islands.

4. The British victory over the French resulted in a shift in imperial military policy; in 1763 the ministry deployed a peacetime army in North America, indicating its willingness to use force in order to preserve its authority over the colonies.

5. As Britain’s national debt soared, higher import duties were imposed at home on tobacco and sugar, and excise levies (a kind of sales tax) were increased; the increases were passed on to British consumers.

6. American colonists paid only about one-fifth the amount of annual imperial taxes as did British taxpayers.

7. To collect the taxes, the government doubled the size of the British bureaucracy and increased its powers; smugglers were arrested and cargo was seized.

8. The price of empire had turned out to be debt and a more intrusive government. To reverse the growth of government power, British opposition parties (the Country Party and the Radical Whigs) demanded Parliament be made more representative of the property-owning classes. Radicals like John Wilkes called for an end to rotten boroughs, tiny electoral districts whose voters were controlled by wealthy aristocrats and merchants.

B. George Grenville: Imperial Reformer

1. In 1763, Britain’s empire in America had expanded, but the war left Britain in debt; British taxpayers paid five times as much in taxes as Americans, motivating British leaders to increase taxation on America.

2. Prime Minister George Grenville won approval of a Currency Act (1764) that banned the use of paper money as legal tender, thereby protecting the British merchants from colonial currency that was not worth its face value.
3. Grenville then proposed the Sugar Act of 1764 (a new navigation act) to replace the widely evaded Molasses Act of 1733.

4. Americans argued that the Sugar Act would not only wipe out trade with the French islands, but was contrary to their constitution, since it established a tax and “all taxes ought to originate with the people.”

5. The Sugar Act closed a Navigation Act loophole by extending the jurisdiction of vice-admiralty courts to all customs offenses, many of which had previously been tried before local common-law courts.

6. After living under a policy of salutary neglect, Americans felt that the new British policies were discriminatory and challenged the existing constitutional practices and understandings.

7. British officials insisted on the supremacy of Parliamentary laws and denied that colonists were entitled to even the traditional legal rights of Englishmen, claiming that the right of no taxation without representation was confined to inhabitants of Great Britain only; the Americans, as colonists, were seen as second-class subjects of the king.

C. An Open Challenge: The Stamp Act

1. Taxation sparked the first great imperial crisis; Grenville followed the Sugar Act of 1764 with a proposal for a Stamp Act in 1765.

2. The Stamp Act would require small, printed markings on all court documents, land titles, and various other documents and served as revenue to keep British troops in America.

3. Grenville vowed to impose a stamp tax in 1765 unless the colonists would lay taxes for their own defense.

4. Benjamin Franklin proposed American representation in Parliament, but British officials rejected the idea, arguing that Americans received virtual representation in Parliament.

5. Grenville introduced the Stamp Act in Parliament with the goals being to not only raise revenue but assert the right of Parliament to lay an internal tax on the colonies.

6. Parliament also passed, at the request of General Gage, a Quartering Act directing colonial governments to provide barracks and food for the British troops stationed in the colonies. Parliament also approved Grenville’s proposal that violations of the Stamp Act be tried in vice-admiralty courts.

7. Using the doctrine of Parliamentary supremacy, Grenville’s attempt to fashion an imperial system in America provoked a constitutional confrontation with the colonies on taxation, jury trials, quartering of the military, and the question of representative self-government.

II. The Dynamics of Rebellion, 1765–1770

A. Politicians Protest, and the Crowd Rebels

1. Patriots—defenders of American rights—organized protests, rioted, and articulated an ideology of resistance.

2. Nine colonies sent delegates to the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, and issued a set of Resolves challenging the constitutionality of the Stamp and Sugar Acts, declaring that only the colonists’ elected representatives could tax them, and speaking against the loss of American “rights and liberties,” especially trial by jury.

3. Most delegates were moderate men who sought compromise, not confrontation; they concluded the Resolves by requesting a repeal of the Stamp Act.

4. Popular resentment was not easily contained as angry colonial mobs, led by men who called themselves the Sons of Liberty, intimidated royal officials throughout the colonies.

5. The leaders of the Sons of Liberty tried to direct the raw energy of the crowd against new tax measures, but some followers had other reasons for protesting—resentment of cheap British imports that threatened their livelihoods, religious passions that ignited resentment of the arrogance and corruption of royal bureaucrats, and some simply for the excitement of it.

6. Popular resistance throughout the colonies nullified the Stamp Act; royal officials could no longer count on the popular support that had ensured the empire’s stability for three generations.

B. The Ideological Roots of Resistance

1. The first American protests focused on particular economic and political matters.

2. Initially, the American resistance movement had no acknowledged leaders, no organization, and no clear goals.
3. Patriot lawyers and publicists provided the resistance movement with an intellectual rationale, a political agenda, and a visible cadre of leaders.
4. Patriot publicists drew on three intellectual traditions: English common law, the rationalist thought of the Enlightenment, and an ideological agenda based on the republican and Whig strands of the English political tradition.
5. Writings espousing these traditions turned a series of riots and tax protests into a coherent political movement.

C. Parliament Compromises, 1766
1. In Parliament, different political factions advocated radically different responses to the American challenge.
2. Hard-liners were outraged and wanted to send British soldiers to suppress the riots and force Americans to submit to the supremacy of Parliament.
3. Old Whigs felt that America was more important for its trade than its taxes and advocated repeal of the Stamp Act.
4. British merchants favored repeal because American boycotts of British goods had caused decreased sales.
5. Former prime minister William Pitt saw the act as a “failed policy” and demanded that it be repealed.
6. Lord Rockingham mollified colonists by repealing the Stamp Act and modifying the Sugar Act, but pacified hard-liners with the Declaratory Act of 1766, which reaffirmed Parliament’s authority to make laws that were binding for American colonists.
7. The Stamp Act crisis ended in compromise, which allowed hope that an imperial relationship could be forged that was acceptable to both British officials and American colonists.

D. Charles Townshend Steps In
1. Charles Townshend was convinced of the necessity of imperial reform and eager to reduce the English land tax. To achieve both, he strongly favored restrictions on colonial assemblies and promised to find a new source of English tax revenue in America.
2. To secure revenue for the salaries of imperial officials in the colonies, the Townshend Act of 1767 imposed duties on paper, paint, glass, and tea imported to America.
3. The Revenue Act of 1767 created the Board of American Customs Commissioners and vice-admiralty courts.
4. By using Parliamentary-imposed tax revenues to finance administrative and judicial innovations, Townshend directly threatened the autonomy and authority of American political institutions.
5. The New York assembly was the first to oppose Townshend’s policies when it refused to comply with the Quartering Act of 1765.
6. Though the British Secretary of State threatened the appointment of a military governor to enforce the Quartering Act, instead the Restraining Act of 1767 was implemented, suspending the assembly until it submitted to the Quartering Act.
7. The Restraining Act raised the stakes of the conflict between Britain and its colonies in that it declared American governmental institutions completely dependent on Parliamentary favor.

E. America Debates and Resists Again
1. Colonists saw the Townshend duties as taxes that were imposed without their consent, which reinvigorated the American resistance movement.
2. Townshend’s measures turned American resistance into an organized movement.
3. Public support for nonimportation of British goods emerged, influencing colonial women—such as the Daughters of Liberty—as well as men and triggered a surge in domestic production through the increase of *homespuns*.
4. The boycott mobilized Americans into organized political action, but American resistance only increased British determination.
5. By 1768, American resistance had prompted a plan for military coercion, with 4,000 British regulars encamped in Boston, Massachusetts.
6. In 1765 American resistance to taxation had provoked a Parliamentary debate; in 1768 it produced a plan for military coercion.

F. Lord North Compromises, 1770
1. As food shortages mounted in Scotland and northern England, riots spread across the English countryside. Riots in Ireland over the growing military budget there added to the ministry’s difficulties.
2. The American trade boycott also began to have a major impact on the British econ-
omy. The rising trade deficit with the Americans convinced some British ministers that the Townshend duties were a mistake and the king no longer supported the use of potential military force in Massachusetts.

3. In 1770, Lord North persuaded Parliament to accept a compromise plan that repealed the duties on manufactured items, but retained the tax on tea as a symbol of Parliament's supremacy. In response, colonists called off their boycott.

4. Even violence in New York and the Boston Massacre did not rupture the compromise.

5. By 1770 the most outspoken Patriots had repudiated Parliamentary supremacy, claiming equality for the American assemblies within the empire.

6. Some Americans were prepared to resist by force if Parliament or the king insisted on exercising Britain's claim to sovereign power.

III. The Road to Independence, 1771–1776

A. A Compromise Ignored

1. Samuel Adams established a Committee of Correspondence and formed a communication network between Massachusetts towns that stressed colonial rights. The burning of the Gaspée roused other states such as Virginia, Connecticut, South Carolina, and New Hampshire to set up their own Committees of Correspondence that would communicate with other colonies.

2. The committees sprang into action after the passage of the Tea Act, which relieved the British East India Company of paying taxes on tea it imported to Britain or exported to the colonies.

3. The Tea Act made the East India Company's tea less expensive than Dutch tea, which encouraged Americans to pay the Townshend duty.

4. Radical Patriots accused the ministry of bribing Americans to give up their principled opposition to British taxation.

5. The Patriots effectively nullified the Tea Act by forcing the East India Company's ships to return tea to Britain or to store it in public warehouses.

6. A scheme to land a shipment of tea and collect the tax led to a group of Patriots throwing the tea into Boston Harbor.

7. In 1774, Parliament rejected a proposal to repeal the Tea Act and instead enacted four Coercive Acts to force Massachusetts into submission.

8. The four Coercive Acts included a Port Bill, a Government Act, a new Quartering Act, and a Justice Act. Patriot leaders branded these acts the “Intolerable Acts.”

9. The activities of the Committees of Correspondence created a sense of unity among Patriots.

10. Many colonial leaders saw the Quebec Act (1774) as another demonstration of Parliament's power to intervene in American domestic affairs, since it extended Quebec into territory claimed by American colonies and recognized Roman Catholicism.

B. The Continental Congress Responds

1. Delegates of the Continental Congress, a new colonial assembly, met in Philadelphia in September 1774 to address a set of controversial and divisive issues.

2. Under Pennsylvanian Joseph Galloway’s proposal, America would have a president-general appointed by the king and a legislative council selected by the colonial assemblies.

3. Even though the council would have veto power over Parliamentary legislation that affected America, the plan was rejected and seen as being too conciliatory.

4. Instead, the First Continental Congress passed a Declaration of Rights and Grievances that condemned and demanded the repeal of the Coercive Acts and repudiated the Declaratory Act.

5. The Congress began a program of economic retaliation, beginning with a non-importation agreement that went into effect in December 1774.

6. The British ministry branded the Continental Congress an illegal assembly and refused to send commissioners to America to negotiate.

7. The ministry declared that Americans had to pay for their own defense and administration and acknowledge Parliament's authority to tax them; they also imposed a blockade on American trade with foreign nations and ordered General Gage to suppress dissent in Massachusetts.

C. The Countryside Rises Up

1. Ultimately, the success of the urban-led Patriot movement would depend on the actions of the large rural population.

2. At first, most farmers had little interest in imperial issues, but the French and Indian
War, which had taken their sons for military duty and pre- and post-war taxes, changed their attitudes.

3. The urban-led boycotts of 1765 and 1769 had also raised the political consciousness of many rural Americans.

4. Patriots also appealed to the yeoman tradition of agricultural independence, as many northern yeomen felt personally threatened by British imperial policy.

5. Despite their higher standard of living, southern slave owners had fears similar to those of the yeomen.

D. Loyal Americans

1. Many prominent Americans worried that resistance to Britain would destroy respect for all political institutions, ending in mob rule.

2. Other social groups, such as tenant farmers, the Regulators, and some enslaved blacks, refused to support the resistance movement.

3. Some prominent Americans of “loyal principles” denounced the Patriot movement and formed a small, ineffective pro-British party, but Americans who favored resistance to British rule commanded the allegiance—or at least the acquiescence—of the majority of white Americans.

E. Compromise Fails

1. When the Continental Congress met in 1774, New England was already in open defiance of British authority.

2. In September, General Gage ordered British troops to seize Patriot armories and storehouses at Charleston and Cambridge.

3. In response, 20,000 colonial militiamen mobilized to safeguard supply depots, the most famous regiment being the "Minute-men" of Concord.

4. On April 18, 1775, Gage dispatched soldiers to capture colonial leaders and supplies at Concord.

5. Forewarned by Paul Revere and others, the local militiamen met the British first at Lexington and then at Concord.

6. As the British retreated, militiamen ambushed them from neighboring towns with both sides suffering losses.

7. Twelve years of economic conflict and constitutional debate ended in civil war.

F. The Second Continental Congress Organizes for War


2. Moderates led by John Dickinson of Pennsylvania passed a petition that expressed loyalty to the king and requested the repeal of oppressive parliamentary legislation.

3. Zealous Patriots such as John Adams and Patrick Henry won passage of a Declaration of the Causes and Necessities of Taking Up Arms.

4. The king refused the moderates’ petition and issued a Proclamation for Suppressing Rebellion and Sedition in August 1775.

5. Hoping to add a fourteenth colony to the rebellion, the Patriot forces invaded Canada and took Montreal in September but later failed to capture Quebec.

6. American merchants cut off all exports to Britain and its West Indian sugar islands, and Parliament retaliated with a Prohibitory Act, banning trade with the rebellious colonies.

7. Lord Dunmore of Virginia organized two military forces—one white, one black—and offered freedom to slaves and indentured servants who joined the Loyalist cause.

8. Faced with black unrest and pressed by yeomen and tenant farmers demanding independence, Patriot planters called for a break with Britain.

9. By April of 1776, Radical Patriots had, through military conflict, transformed the North Carolina assembly into an independent Provincial Congress, which instructed its representatives to support independence. By May 1776, Virginia Patriots had followed suit.

G. Thomas Paine’s Common Sense

1. Many colonists retained a deep loyalty to the crown, as to do otherwise might threaten all paternal authority and disrupt the hierarchical social order.

2. By 1775 the Patriot cause was gaining greater support among artisans and laborers.

3. Many Scots-Irish in Philadelphia became Patriots for religious reasons, and some well-educated persons questioned the idea of monarchy altogether.

5. *Common Sense* aroused the general public and quickly turned thousands of Americans against British rule.

6. Paine’s message was not only popular but also clear—reject the arbitrary powers of king and Parliament and create independent republican states.

H. Independence Declared

1. On July 4, 1776, the Congress approved a Declaration of Independence.

2. Thomas Jefferson, the main author of the Declaration, justified the revolt by blaming the rupture on George III rather than on Parliament.

3. Jefferson proclaimed that “all men are created equal”; they possess the rights of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”; and that government derives its power from the “consent of the governed.”

4. By linking these doctrines of individual liberty, popular sovereignty, and republican government with independence, Jefferson established them as defining values of the new nation.

5. Colonists celebrated the Declaration by burning George III in effigy and toppling statues of the king; these acts helped to break the ties to the monarch and to establish the legitimacy of republican state governments.

Key Terms

**rotten boroughs** Tiny electoral districts for Parliament whose voters were controlled by wealthy aristocrats or merchants. In the 1760s, Radical Whig John Wilkes called for the elimination of rotten boroughs to make Parliament more representative of the property-owning classes. (140)

**vice-admiralty court** A tribunal presided over by a judge, with no jury. The Sugar Act of 1764 required that offenders be tried in a vice-admiralty court rather than a common-law tribunal, where a jury decides guilt or innocence. This provision of the act provoked protests from merchant-smugglers accustomed to acquittal by sympathetic local juries. (142)

**virtual representation** The claim made by British politicians that the interests of the American colonists were adequately represented in Parliament by merchants who traded with the colonies and by absentee landlords (mostly sugar planters) who owned estates in the West Indies. (143)

**Sons of Liberty** Colonists—primarily middling merchants and artisans—who banded together to protest the Stamp Act and other imperial reforms of the 1760s. The group originated in Boston in 1765 but soon spread to all the colonies. (145)

**homespun** Cloth spun and woven by American women and traditionally worn by poorer colonists. During the boycotts of British goods in the 1760s, wearing homespun clothes took on a political meaning, and even those who could easily afford finer clothing began wearing clothes made of homespun fabrics. Their work making such fabrics allowed women to contribute directly to the Patriot movement. (148)

**Minutemen** Colonial militiamen who stood ready to mobilize on short notice during the imperial crisis of the 1770s. These volunteers formed the core of the citizens’ army that met British troops at Lexington and Concord in April 1775. (160)

**popular sovereignty** The republican principle that ultimate power resides in the hands of the electorate. Popular sovereignty dictates that voters directly or indirectly (through their elected representatives) ratify the constitutions of their state and national governments as well as amendments to those fundamental laws. During the 1850s, the U.S. Congress applied the principle to western lands by enacting legislation that gave residents there the authority to determine the status of slavery in their own territories. (166)

Lecture Strategies

1. Write a lecture that explains how the colonists over time fashioned a complex resistance movement against the British monarchy. The main points of the lecture would include (1) the intellectual debate in Parliament and the colonies, which raised important constitutional issues over the rights of the colonies within the British empire; (2) the political argument offered by the Americans, which articulated new American rights through the Virginia Resolves of 1765, the Stamp Act Congress Resolves, the Massachusetts House of Representatives Resolves of 1768, the illegal Middlesex County (Massachusetts) Convention, and the Declaration of Rights and Grievances of the Continental Congress; and (3) the popular grassroots movement involving the Sons of Liberty, the nonimportation movement, the establishment of Committees of Correspondence, and the formation of Minutemen companies at the local and regional levels. Be sure to explain the role
played by key individuals within the movement, including John Adams, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Franklin, and James Otis.

2. Write a lecture that explores the role of minorities—women, blacks, and Indians—during the independence movement. Relate to students the opportunities and challenges facing non-white males during the late eighteenth century. Focus on key people such as Abigail Adams, the wife of John Adams, who persuaded her husband to “remember the ladies” during the revolution. Trace how minority groups overcame limitations to fight for and against the American attempt to break free of English control. Many native tribes, for example, sided with the British, as did some black slaves promised freedom by the British to fight against their former masters. Be sure to comment on the economic, social, and political contributions of subaltern groups to the creation of the meaning of “freedom” within the independence movement.

3. Write a lecture that helps students understand the complexities of the ideological and economic causes of the American Revolution. How did the colonists move toward rebellion against their mother country? The role of taxation and Parliamentary measures, ideological and political issues surrounding the English constitution, the factor of slavery, and the impact of the Enlightenment and Great Awakening combined to propel the colonists to claim a greater political role. Be sure to include key events within the framework of your lecture, such as the Boston Massacre, Boston Tea Party, and the formation of the Continental Congress.

Reviewing the Text

These questions are from the textbook and follow each main section of the narrative. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

Imperial Reform, 1763–1765 (pp. 138–143)

1. How did the Great War for Empire change the relationship between England and its American colonies?
   • It revealed sharp cultural differences between American colonists and British people.
   • Parliament required colonies to provide more taxes to pay for defense of the empire.
   • Parliament increased government intrusion in colonies to ensure adherence to new fiscal policies.

2. What were the goals of British imperial reformers?
   • Increase tax revenues to pay for defense of empire
   • Expand tax and military bureaucracy
   • Increase flow of trade from colonies to England to provide raw materials for industrial revolution and a market for British manufactured goods

3. Why did the colonists object to the new taxes in 1764 and again in 1765? What arguments did they use?
   • Colonists claimed that the Sugar Act would wipe out trade with French islands.
   • They claimed that new taxes violated constitutional liberties of British people in the form of trial without juries and taxation without representation.
   • They also claimed that Britain was making slaves of Americans through new fiscal polices.
   • Colonists lacked direct representation in Parliament, so should not be taxed without their consent.

4. Why did these conflicts over specific policies turn into a constitutional crisis?
   • Colonists and Parliament failed to agree on the central constitutional question of virtual vs. direct representation and the use of vice-admiralty courts within the British Empire.
   • The political allies of British merchants who traded with the colonies raised constitutional objections to new taxes created by Parliament.

The Dynamics of Rebellion, 1765–1770 (pp. 143–151)

1. What were the core constitutional principles over which the colonists and the ministers in Parliament disagreed?
   • Direct vs. virtual representation
   • Imperial vs. local control by representative colonial assemblies
   • Popular sovereignty and the common law rights of Englishmen to live under a government of their own choosing vs. arbitrary imperial control

2. If Grenville’s and Townshend’s initiatives had been successful, how would the character of the British imperial system have changed?
   • Tighter fiscal control by Parliament over colonies
• Increase of tax revenues sent from colonies to England
• Increase of British manufactured goods purchased by colonists
• Increase of arbitrary government rule by Parliament, reducing local control by colonists
• Increase of cultural uniformity through shared legal system

3. Weigh the importance of economic and ideological motives in creating and sustaining the colonial resistance movement. Which was more important? Why?
• Economic motives were more important than ideological reasons for resistance.
• The increase of taxation (Stamp Act, Sugar Act) impacted a larger portion of American colonists than did more abstract political ideas about popular sovereignty and virtual representation.
• A broad-based movement of resistance was maintained primarily through the effectiveness of boycott and non-importation movements.

The Road to Independence, 1771–1776 (pp. 151–166)

1. Why did the Patriot movement wane in the early 1770s? Why did the Tea Act reignite colonial resistance?
• Repeal of the Townshend duties in 1770 restored harmony based on the notion that Parliament would resume salutary neglect policies.
• The Tea Act offended colonists and reignited colonial resistance based on simmering anger against the increase of taxation by Parliament.
• Merchants joined the protest because the Tea Act reduced their profits.
• Committees of Correspondence were already in place when the Tea Act was passed, providing the institutional framework for increase in colonial resistance.

2. Why did the leaders of the mainland colonies and Britain fail to reach a political compromise to save the empire?
• Fundamental disagreements over taxation and government ideology created intense passions, fueled by writers like Thomas Paine and his influential pamphlet Common Sense.
• The use of military governors and the increase of British troops quartered in colonies shocked and alarmed Americans.
• The Battle of Lexington and Concord in the North and military skirmishes in the South led to many casualties in 1775, preventing either side from reaching a compromise.

Chapter Writing Assignments

These questions appear at the end of Chapter 5 in the textbook. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

1. Trace the key events in both Britain and America from 1763 to 1776 that forged the Patriot movement. Why did those in Parliament believe that the arguments of the rebellious colonists were not justified? How did the Patriots gain the widespread support of the colonists?
• Parliament believed that all British colonies existed to provide raw materials and to purchase manufactured goods from England for the general benefit of the British Empire. The colonies had no independent existence from which to argue for more local control.
• Parliament believed that the colonists enjoyed virtual representation and did not require a direct representative system.
• Patriots used a two-pronged argument to elicit support: fiscal and ideological. Parliament was violating the traditional rights of Englishmen to live under a just government that adheres to the will of the people. Americans were becoming slaves in the process.
• Parliament was also economically oppressing the colonists through unfair taxation measures.
• Organizational systems, such as the Sons and Daughters of Liberty, the use of public street protests, newspapers and pamphlets, boycotts, and non-importation agreements helped the Patriots to galvanize the population in support of resistance.

2. The narrative suggests that the war for American independence was not inevitable, that the British empire could have been saved. Do you agree? Was there a point during the imperial crisis at which peaceful compromise was possible?
• If Parliamentary leaders in the mid-1760s had granted colonial requests for a direct system of representation, more local control over the function of government bodies, and less internal taxation, the colonists would have remained British subjects and agreed to increase their economic share of paying for the costs of empire.
• American colonists were still culturally “British” and viewed themselves as part of the British Empire, making political separation difficult.
• Before the bloody battles of late 1775 that began the American Revolution, a peaceful solution was possible, but after the fighting began, separation became inevitable due to heated passions.

Class Discussion Starters

1. What factors triggered the deterioration in relations between Great Britain and its American colonies?

   Possible answers
   
   a. The Americans, benefiting from their participation in the colonial system, had evolved into a self-confident, prosperous people. Many of the colonies imagined themselves as independent countries even before the question was raised later in the crisis. Many Americans were predisposed to view themselves as independent from British rule.
   
   b. The long period of salutary neglect unintentionally gave the colonists de facto home rule. As a result, any subsequent British effort to regain control seemed onerous and insulting.
   
   c. The uncomfortable relations between the British and the Americans during the French and Indian War convinced many British policymakers that the Americans had to pay their share of the financial burdens of defending the empire.
   
   d. Whig ideology among Americans, the strength of their assemblies, and the arbitrary power of outside-appointed governors led Americans to interpret any British actions in an exaggerated way.
   
   e. The British administration, which was under a new king was in transition. Therefore, personal conflicts interacted with the need to assert British authority, perhaps increasing the speed and scale of the new attempts to impose a stronger colonial policy.
   
   f. The British were divided on the subject of America, a division reflected in the pendulum swings from one prime minister to the next.

2. Why were the British so surprised by the American reaction to the Stamp Act?

   Possible answers
   
   a. The Sugar Act had been passed with only minimal reaction from the Americans, creating the impression that most Americans would not respond negatively to the new, more assertive British policy.
   
   b. Benjamin Franklin, while in London, assured the British ministers that most Americans would not object to such a tax provided they were fully represented in Parliament.
   
   c. The British assumed that the colonists would not object because the power of royal government was behind these policies. They believed that most colonists would obey the laws of Parliament.
   
   d. The British had little or no idea of the developing ideological and political undercurrents in American life.
   
   e. Britain’s recent victories in multinational wars made them feel that no one would dare resist them.
   
   f. The British war debt was so enormous that it made them willing to provoke the colonists to obtain needed funds.

3. How did the actions of each side contribute to military confrontation at Lexington and Concord?

   Possible answers
   
   a. The British had deployed a large army on American soil. The mere presence of so many troops made military force a credible option.
   
   b. Britain had a history of mob uprisings going back for centuries, but organized resistance had been successfully put down by force even within living memory. The Americans, for their part, had been living in a contentious political atmosphere and were accustomed to independent action to address grievances.
   
   c. American radicals who formed the Sons of Liberty began a movement of civil disobedience and resistance aimed at independence or at least some kind of home rule. Their efforts inflamed each crisis.
   
   d. By putting troops in Boston at the center of Patriot agitation, the British significantly increased the chance of a violent confrontation that would require a military response.
   
   e. The Committees of Correspondence, colonial assemblies, and county militias prepared the people in the countryside to respond to British military action.
4. Which side was responsible for pushing events toward a military confrontation?

Possible answers

a. The British were responsible because they refused to back off and kept pushing the Americans to respond.
b. The Americans were responsible because they formed a radical group that disseminated revolutionary ideology among a broad part of the population, which was already imbued with Whig ideology, and escalated events even when the political climate seemed calm.
c. Each side bore equal responsibility. The Americans did not, after all, pay as much tax as did people in Britain. The British did not have to stand so steadfastly for the policy of taxation. They could have come up with a system of representation for Americans in the House of Commons or established a colonial parliament and averted the crisis. But they chose not to, preferring to treat the Americans as second-class citizens. The Americans chose to interpret British actions in the most extreme manner, exaggerating their intent.

d. The rebellion also gained broad-based support from yeomen farmers, rural laborers, and small-town artisans, merchants, and professionals.
e. Religious women from both rural and urban areas also supported the Revolution, as Daughters of Liberty, in organizing and sustaining the nonimportation boycotts and producing homespun cloth in place of British cloth.

5. Which political groups among the American colonists played important roles in pushing events toward war?

Possible answers

a. The more radical politicians from various assemblies who resisted the Sugar Act, attended the Stamp Act Congress, opposed martial law, and called for a Continental Congress played an important role in leading America to war.
b. The moderate politicians, who went along with these actions by agreeing in principle with the radicals’ grievances, also played a role.
c. The Sons of Liberty and their supporters, who took to the streets, joined Committees of Correspondence, formed militia companies, and provided the movement with a popular base were also responsible.

d. The rebellion also gained broad-based support from yeomen farmers, rural laborers, and small-town artisans, merchants, and professionals.
e. Religious women from both rural and urban areas also supported the Revolution, as Daughters of Liberty, in organizing and sustaining the nonimportation boycotts and producing homespun cloth in place of British cloth.

Classroom Activities

1. Divide the class into two sides: Parliament vs. Colonists. Then write a glossary term from the textbook chapter on the board. Now ask the class how the concept relates to the American independence movement. Students should answer the question or address the concept through the perspective of their particular group. After a student from one side has offered his or her perspective of the term, allow a representative from the other side of the room to offer a reply. You may wish to ask the students to keep a list of the responses made by the other students in the class in order to promote a deeper understanding of the complexity of the American independence movement.

2. Create an assignment in which you ask the students to physically re-create a scene from the independence movement, such as a famous event, speech, or confrontation. You may need to divide the class into four groups or more to complete the task. Students will need to write a script outlining the major aspects of their concept. They would then act out the scene to the best of their ability.

3. Separate the class into two sides: Loyalists vs. Patriots. Ask each side to make a list of the most important reasons why they either rebelled against or remained loyal to Great Britain during the American independence movement. This assignment should result in a spirited debate over the motivations for the behavior of British Americans during the 1770s. Allow students time for statements and rebuttals, and keep track of major statements on the board.
Oral History Exercise

- Ask students the following question to generate a discussion of the importance of oral history in the American past: In what ways were oral forms of communication important for shaping the development of the American independence movement? How might oral forms of historical evidence add to our understanding of this early period of U.S. history?

Working with Documents

COMPARING AMERICAN VOICES

The Debate over Representation and Sovereignty (p. 158)

1. According to Ingersoll, what were the main arguments of those in Parliament who opposed the Stamp Act? Did they agree with the act’s supporters that Parliament had the right to tax the colonies?

   - England has supreme power over the colonies, and has the right to tax the colonies, but it cannot pass internal taxes since the colonies only have virtual representation and do not choose any representatives because of the long distance from England.

2. How did Galloway’s plan solve the problem of colonial representation in Parliament? How do you think ministers who advocated parliamentary supremacy would have reacted to the plan?

   - Galloway wanted to extend the right of Americans to participate in Parliament by uniting them more closely with Parliament through a new constitution.
   - The new form of government would possess a grand council like the House of Commons (with a President-General who served at the pleasure of the king), administer the colonies, and occupy an inferior branch of the British legislature. Both Parliament and the Grand Council would have to agree to validate acts passed by Parliament.
   - Ministers in favor of parliamentary supremacy would have found the document problematic for its elevation of colonial governmental powers, though still inferior to Parliament.

3. The framers of the U.S. Constitution addressed the problem of dividing authority between state governments and the national government by allowing the state governments to retain legal authority over most matters and delegating only limited powers to the national government (see Chapter 6). Do you think this type of solution cold have been implemented in the British empire? Why or why not?

   - The British policy of salutary neglect could have mirrored a more institutionalized governmental system that gave the colonies much more local control over their own affairs while maintaining a cultural connection to Britain and supreme political allegiance to Parliament and the king. A Commonwealth system was later developed for Australia and Canada, a path the British colonies may also have followed.

VOICES FROM ABROAD

Thomas Paine: *Common Sense* (p. 164)

1. On what grounds does Paine argue for American independence? Where do you see the influence of Enlightenment thinking in his argument?

   - Paine promotes American cultural separation, and argues that (1) British self-interest rather than familial connection to America motivates Parliament, (2) commercial independence is the future of America, (3) a continent should not and cannot be governed by an island, and (4) American independence will ensure peace in North America and not civil wars.
   - Enlightenment principles can be seen in his faith in the laws of nature and society and the belief in scientific principles of geography, as well as his argument for the natural right of independence and freedom that all nations and men occupy.

2. Given that all European nations pursued mercantilist policies, was Paine correct in thinking they would welcome America as “a free port”? How were Europe’s monarchies likely to respond to American independence?

   - Paine overlooked the fact that other European nations like France and Spain practiced mercantilism and coveted the American colonies for the raw materials and markets they possessed.
   - European monarchies, while profiting from the collapse of the British empire as reflected in the Revolutionary War, nevertheless looked to control the new American nation.

3. How could Paine celebrate America as a land of freedom and “an asylum for mankind” given the importance of slavery and indentured servitude to
the economy there? What sort of liberty was Paine championing?

• Paine overlooked the suffering of white indentured servants, African American people under slavery, and Native American people. Paine championed the liberty of freeholders, white European men who were not bound to any form of servile labor and had a direct role to play in American society as free wage workers.

4. Why do you think _Common Sense_ struck such a chord with Americans throughout the colonies?

• _Common Sense_ strongly condemned England, called for creating representative democracy, provided direct argument written with simple prose distributed in pamphlet form in newspapers and on the urban streets, celebrated values of urban free wage workers, and praised the emerging American economy and its need to develop free of European control.

**Electronic Media**

**Web Sites**

• [Liberty! The American Revolution](http://www.pbs.org/ktca/liberty/)
  The Web site that accompanies the PBS film series _Liberty! The American Revolution_

• [Continental Congress Broadside Collection at the Library of Congress](http://www.memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/continental/)
  This site provides facsimiles of early documents of the Revolutionary period.

• [National Gallery of Art](http://www.nga.gov)
  The gallery’s Web site provides the most influential paintings of the American Revolutionary era.

• [The Continental Congress](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lawhome.html)
  This site provides information on the formation of the Continental Congress and events since 1774 contained in the American memory series of the Library of Congress.

**Films**

• _Liberty! The American Revolution_ (2004, PBS documentary, 6 hours)
  This PBS film series is a lengthy and dramatic rendering of the key events of the American Revolution.
• *The Patriot* (2000, Columbia Pictures, 165 minutes)
  Directed by Roland Emmerich and starring Mel Gibson, the film portrays the internal struggles of one family divided over Revolutionary sympathies.

**Literature**

• John Dickinson, *Letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies* (Boston: John Mein, 1768)
  A primary collection of the letters in the form of a pamphlet written by Dickinson against British economic policies that stirred many colonists to begin organizing for rebellion.

  This primary source collection of the letters between husband and wife reveals the role and impact of women on the key male leaders of the Revolution, as well as the thinking of the great statesman John Adams.

• Phyllis Wheatley: *Complete Writings* (New York: Penguin, 2001)
  The preeminent writer of the Revolutionary era offers an African American and female perspective on the meaning of freedom through several of her most important and influential poems.

**Additional Bedford/St. Martin’s Resources for Chapter 5**

**FOR INSTRUCTORS**

**Transparencies**

The following maps and images from Chapter 5 are available as full-color acetates:

• British Troops Occupy Concord
• Map 5.1 The Eurasian Trade System and European Colonies, c. 1770
• Map 5.2 Britain’s American Empire in 1763
• Map 5.3 British Troop Deployments, 1763 and 1772
• “An Attempt to Land a Bishop in America,” 1768
• “The Bostonians in Distress,” 1774
• Map 5.4 British Western Policy, 1763–1774

**Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM**

The following maps, figures, and images from Chapter 5, as well as a chapter outline, are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

• Map 5.1 The Eurasian Trade System and European Colonies, c. 1770
• Map 5.2 Britain’s American Empire in 1763
• Map 5.3 British Troop Deployments, 1763 and 1772
• Map 5.4 British Western Policy, 1763–1774
• Figure 5.1 The Growing Power of the British State, 1690–1780
• Figure 5.2 Trade as a Political Weapon, 1763–1776
• British Troops Occupy Concord, 1775
• Patriot Propaganda
• The Boston “Tea Party”
• “An Attempt to Land a Bishop in America,” 1768
• “The Bostonians in Distress,” 1774
• Political Propaganda: The Empire Strikes Back

**Using the Bedford Series with America’s History, Sixth Edition**

Available online at bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries, this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture into the U.S. History Survey. Relevant titles for Chapter 5 include

• *Common Sense and Related Writings* by Thomas Paine, Edited with an Introduction by Thomas P. Slaughter, *University of Notre Dame*

**FOR STUDENTS**

**Documents to Accompany America’s History**

The following documents and illustrations are available in Chapter 5 of the companion reader by Melvin Yazawa, *University of New Mexico*:

1. James Otis Jr., Rights of the Colonies Asserted and Proved (1764)
3. Thomas Whately, Virtual Representation (1765)
4. Daniel Dulany, Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes (1765)
5. Declaration of the Stamp Act Congress (1765)
6. Francis Bernard, The Stamp Act Riot (1765)
7. John Dickinson, Letter VII from a Farmer (1768)
8. The Boycott Agreements of Women in Boston (1770)
9. Peter Oliver, Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion (1780s)
10. Captain Thomas Preston, An Account of the Boston Massacre (1770)
12. Philip Dawe, A British View of Rebellion in Boston (1774)
13. The Edenton, North Carolina, Boycott Agreement (1774)
14. Thomas Jefferson, Summary View of the Rights of British America (1774)
16. The Continental Congress Creates the Association (1774)
17. Joseph Galloway, A Plan of Union (1774)

**Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/henretta**

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the text as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and documents activities are available for Chapter 5:

**Map Activity**

- Map 5.4 British Western Policy, 1763–1774

**Visual Activity**

- Reading American Pictures: How Did the British View the Crisis in the Colonies?

**Reading Historical Documents Activities**

- Comparing American Voices: The Debate Over Representation and Sovereignty
- Voices From Abroad: Thomas Paine: Common Sense