CHAPTER 5

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: FROM ELITE PROTEST TO POPULAR REVOLT, 1763–1783

SUMMARY

Between 1763 and 1783, Americans increasingly rebelled against English rule, declared independence, and finally won the military struggle against the British, establishing the United States of America.

Structure of Colonial Society

At the end of the Seven Years' War, American society, on the whole, was young, optimistic and prosperous, and Americans looked to the future with considerable political and economic expectation. They did not expect revolution or look forward to national independence.

Breakdown of Political Trust

Through the mounting conflict that culminated in 1776, King George III, his ministers, and Parliament based their stance on inaccurate information from the colonies while stubbornly defending Parliament's "sovereign supreme power over every part of the dominions of state." It was clear that the colonists and individuals in England did not understand each other or the stakes at hand, and soon compromise became difficult.

No Taxation Without Representation: The American Perspective

The political conflict that emerged after the Seven Years' War forced the Americans to refine their views on the powers of colonial assemblies, the meaning of representative government, and the freedom from England's revenue taxation.

Ideas About Power and Virtue

Although many of the political ideals of the American colonists were based on the traditions and theories of John Locke and the Commonwealthmen, their ideology also included a heavy emphasis on religious and moral components that most likely emanated from the Great Awakening. American political ideology found power dangerous unless countered by virtue; to believers political error resulted from corruption and sin.

Eroding the Bonds of Empire

After the war with the French, the British maintained a large military presence in the colonies, which Americans opposed for two reasons: British troops failed to protect the thousands of Americans who died during uprisings by the Native Americans of the backcountry; and after the Proclamation of 1763 was issued, British troops obstructed western settlement.

Paying Off the National Debt

When Grenville insisted that Americans help pay for these British troops with new taxes and restrictions on trade, well-to-do Americans involved in commerce quickly protested it as a scheme that deprived the colonies' of their right to assess their own taxes.

Popular Protest

The protests of gentlemen grew to a mass movement with opposition to Britain's Stamp Act. Americans resisted in colonial assemblies, in an intercolonial "congress," in the streets, and in an import boycott effected by the Sons of Liberty and by newly mobilized colonial women.

Failed Attempts to Save the Empire

A new English government repealed the offensive Stamp Act while maintaining the principle of "parliamentary supremacy," including the right to revenue taxation, but the crisis had reduced American respect and loyalty for Britain's imperial officeholders.

Fueling the Crisis

Townshend's new ministry tried new taxes on American imports and new enforcement mechanisms, including customs commissioners supported by admiralty courts. Americans resisted with a boycott, "rituals of non-consumption," and a circular letter suggesting ways to thwart the acts.

Fatal Show of Force

A British transfer of troops to Boston heightened tensions ever more, and the colonists again resisted. One confrontation with British troops resulted in the "Boston Massacre," which became an effective propaganda tool for the American resistance. Parliament, now led by Lord North, tried to stem the tide of colonial agitation by dropping all of the Townshend duties except that on tea, which was left as a symbol of Parliament's sovereignty.

Last Days of the Old Order, 1770-1773

A brief period of calm and apparent reconciliation followed the Boston Massacre. But the actions of corrupt imperial officials and the continued agitation of radicals through the establishment of "Committees of Correspondence" brought about a renewal of tensions.

The Final Provocation: The Boston Tea Party

The Boston Tea Party, a colonial response to new English regulations known as the Tea Act, led to the Coercive Acts and American rebellion.

Steps Toward Independence

With the fighting begun, fifty-five American delegates from twelve of the colonies met in a Continental Congress, which Adams soon led into a radical stance which included forcible resistance to the Coercive Acts and a boycott of British imports.

Shots Heard Around the World

Before the Continental Congress reconvened, the first blows of the American Revolution fell at Lexington and Concord.

Beginning "The World Over Again"

The fighting in Massachusetts led to a Second Continental Congress that slowly took control of the American war effort. Though some delegates expressed indecision regarding independence, British action in the passage of the Prohibitory Act and the emergence of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* pushed them to a formal declaration.

Fighting for Independence

English military and economic power might have prevailed had it not been for the logistical problems Britain faced in putting down the colonial rebellion and the degree of American commitment to independence.

Building a Professional Army

The Americans maintained a regular army to symbolize the new country's independence and to attract foreign support. At the same time, a colonial militia controlled large areas of the country and compelled support for the patriots' war effort. While many supported the patriots, thousands of African-American colonists, most of them slaves, took up arms for the British, hoping in either case to gain "unalienable rights" for their services.

Testing the American Will

Washington's army suffered several serious defeats in New York and New Jersey and was "on the run" by late 1776 with contemporaries predicting defeat.

"Times That Try Men's Souls"

In 1776, the Americans lost a series of battles in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent Howe from reaching Philadelphia.

Victory in a Year of Defeat

In 1777 the Americans captured Burgoyne's army at Saratoga, but they lost again at Germantown before digging in for the winter at Valley Forge.

The French Alliance

Exploiting the protracted hostility between the British and the French, American diplomacy, led brilliantly by Benjamin Franklin, turned the American rebellion into a much wider war by persuading the French to offer an alliance founded on their desire for revenge against the British.

The Final Campaign

The final British "southern strategy" let loose a fury. Americans, more determined than ever, dug in and won a final victory at Yorktown.

The Loyalist Dilemma

Many Americans remained loyal to the Crown, often because they feared independence would bring social disorder, which would threaten the very liberties for which their

American patriot opponents fought. American hatred and British distrust forced almost one hundred thousand loyalists into bitter flight from their homeland.

Winning the Peace

A highly talented American peace delegation that included Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay, negotiated a very successful treaty with the British, gaining not only independence but also very favorable boundaries and important fishing rights.

Conclusion: Preserving Independence

Having won the war for independence, the Americans still faced many difficulties in shaping a new republican government, having closed "but the first act of the great drama."

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After mastering this chapter, you should be able to:

- 1. Explain why both the American gentry and the common folk supported the American Revolution.
- 2. Describe the "expectant" nature of American society in the 1760s.
- 3. Assess the role women played in the events that led to the American Revolution.
- 4. Assess and explain the responsibility of George III and Parliament for the loss of their American colonies.
- 5. Describe each of the fundamental principles and the "politics of virtue" of the American perspective on imperial politics.
- 6. Analyze both the motivation for Grenville's regulations and the popular mass movement that formed in resistance to them.
- 7. Trace the Townshend duties from their origins through the American resistance to their repeal.
- 8. Trace the growing conflict between the colonists and the North ministry from the Tea Act through the fighting at Lexington and Concord.
- 9. Analyze the American decision to declare independence from the convening of the Second Continental Congress to the Declaration of Independence.
- 10. Compare and contrast the military assets and liabilities of both the British and American forces in the Revolutionary War.
- 11. Describe the role of African Americans in the fighting of the American Revolution.

- 12. Describe both the British and American victories in New York and New Jersey through the winter of 1776–1777.
- 13. Explain the significance of the American victory at Saratoga in 1777.
- 14. Trace the American diplomacy that led to the treaties with the French in February 1778.
- 15. Analyze the British "southern strategy" from their victory at Charlestown to Cornwallis's defeat at Yorktown.
- 16. Explain how American Loyalists were the greatest losers in the American Revolution.
- 17. Analyze the role of diplomacy in the success of the American Revolution.
- 18. Describe and explain the role of colonial religious values in promoting the revolutionary ferment and patriotism of the common folk in the American Revolution.

GLOSSARY

To build your social science vocabulary, familiarize yourself with the following terms:

- 1. **Whigs** an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century major British political party of liberal principles. "Whigs had set policy ..."
- 2. **patronage** the power to grant government positions and favors. "Whigs had ... controlled patronage ..."
- 3. **sovereignty** the final supreme authority to rule. "The notion of dividing or sharing sovereignty simply made no sense ..."
- 4. **virtual representation** the ideal that members of a governmental body vote with the best interest of everybody at heart, regardless of where they are from. "The colonists ridiculed this notion of virtual representation."
- 5. **chancellor of the exchequer** the British official in charge of the treasury. "... chancellor of the exchequer who replaced Bute in 1763 ..."
- 6. **vice-admiralty courts** British naval courts. "The new act expanded the jurisdiction of vice-admiralty courts over commerce ..."
- 7. **committees of correspondence** area patriot committees organized to communicate issues, positions, and events throughout the colonies. "Adams suggested the formation of a committee of correspondence to communicate grievances ..."

- 8. **logistics** the procurement, maintenance, and movement of military supply and equipment. "The British had to transport supplies across the Atlantic, a logistic challenge of unprecedented complexity."
- 9. **strategy** a military commander's overall plan of large military operations. "This thinking shaped Washington's wartime strategy ..."
- 10. **militia** a fighting body of citizens, as opposed to professional soldiers. "... he failed to comprehend the importance of the militia."
- 11. **republican** characterizing a government where sovereignty rests in an electorate (a body of voters) that chooses representatives to govern. "Not so much because the French monarchy favored the republican cause …"
- 12. **guerrilla** a type of warfare carried out by small, irregular, independent bands of soldiers. "The southern strategy turned the war into a bitter guerrilla conflict."
- 13. **banditti** bandits or outlaws. "The British had unleashed a horde of banditti across South Carolina."
- 14. **morality play** medieval drama that illustrated morality with personification of virtues and vices. "For ordinary men and women, the American Revolution may have seemed a kind of morality play."

IDENTIFICATION

Brie	Briefly identify the meaning and significance of the following terms:				
1.	George III				
2.	Earl of Bute				
3.	Pontiae_				
4.	Loyalists				
5.	Committees of Correspondence				
6.	Samuel Adams				
7.	Nonimportation				
8.	Parliamentary Sovereignty				
9.	First Continental Congress (1774)				
10.	Second Continental Congress (1775)				

MATCHING

A. M	latch the following battles with t	he a	ppropriate description:
	1. Trenton	a.	Clinton and Cornwallis tried to take the South with the capture of this city and six thousand American troops
	2. Saratoga	b.	Washington surprised sleeping Hessians at a British outpost
	3. Charleston	c.	American backwoodsmen defeated British regulars and Loyalist raiders
	4. King's Mountain	d.	Washington defeated Cornwallis in the last major battle of the Revolution
	5. Yorktown	e.	Washington's inexperienced troops lost a major battle to Howe's British forces
		f.	American victory convinced the French of the patriots' power and resolve

В.	Matc	h the following acts of Parlia	men	t with the appropriate description.	
	_ 1.	Revenue Act of 1764	a.	second of Grenville's revenue measures; it led to the Virginia Resolves and a inter-colonial congress	
	_ 2.	Stamp Act	b.	duties on paper, glass, paint, and tea; it hurt English manufacturers as well as American consumers	
	_ 3.	Declaratory Act	c.	North's attempt to punish Americans for the "Tea Party"; it closed the Boston port	
	_ 4.	Townshend Revenue Act	d.	not a revenue act; it permitted an English company to sell a product in America through its own agents	
	_ 5.	Coercive Acts	e.	known as the Sugar Act; it changed the Navigation Acts and redefined the colonial relationship	
			f.	a defense of Parliament's sovereignty over the colonies; it was passed to compensate for the repeal of the Stamp Act	
CC	MP	LETION			
		the question or complete the words.	state	ement by filling in the blanks with the correct	
1.	1. In the period preceding the American Revolution, colonial women assisted the resistance to the British by helping to enforce				
2.	Samuel Adams hoped to create in America a, an ideal commonwealth of virtuous citizens.				
3.	Patrick Henry introduced the, which held that Virginians could be taxed only by their own representatives in the colonial assembly.				
4.	In 1772, Rhode Islanders destroyed a British customs vessel, the				
5.	Parliament passed the Tea Act to save the				
6.	Theestablished a civil government for a Canadian province that included land as far south as the Ohio River.				

7.	The	first blows of the American Revolution came at	and
8.		British march on Concord led to the mobilization of special Massaces called	chusetts militia
9.		December 1775, Parliament passed theerican trade.	to cut off all
10.	The and	American Congress sent,, to negotiate peace with Britain.	,
TR	UE/	FALSE	
Ma	rk th	e following statements either T (True) or F (False):	
	1.	George III's indifference to colonial and other governmental affair American subjects.	rs angered his
	2.	The imperial crisis that followed the French and Indian War forced define and develop their principles of representative government.	d Americans to
	3.	Americans accepted the expense of the British army because it profrom the Indians.	tected them
	4.	After street violence flared in response to the Stamp Act, colonial giving the lower classes any role in the struggle against the British	
	5.	Many colonial leaders believed that only virtue could protect libert and that Americans were more virtuous than the English.	y from power,
	6.	Customs commissioners appointed by Townshend taxed common permitted wealthy colonials to escape payment of duties.	Americans, but
	7.	The Second Continental Congress insisted on a Declaration of Incibefore assuming control of the American war effort.	lependence
	8.	The British underestimated American commitment to political idea	ls.

9.	The colonists won most early battles because their "minutemen" militia was w trained and disciplined.	ell
10	D.By the end of the revolutionary fighting, the Americans had adopted, implemented, and exercised their republican form of government.	

MULTIPLE CHOICE

Circle the one alternative that *best* completes the statement or answers the question.

- 1. After the gentry initiated the American rebellion, the common folk
 - a. followed the lead of their "betters."
 - b. lost rights gained during the colonial period.
 - c. took for themselves a greater role in public affairs.
 - d. fought a social-economic revolution against all gentry.
- 2. In disputes with the colonies, the Parliament demonstrated
 - a. a willingness to compromise.
 - b. a consistent and creative policy.
 - c. ignorance and misunderstanding of American conditions.
 - d. unwillingness to defend its right to govern the Americans.
- 3. The American religious perspective on government originated in
 - a. existing British political practices.
 - b. the Great Awakening.
 - c. the political theory of the Earl of Bute.
 - d. the political theory of the Commonwealthmen.
- 4. When the British left troops in America following the Seven Years' War, colonists
 - a. supported the redcoats as protection against the French.
 - b. supported the redcoats as protection against the Indians.
 - c. opposed the redcoats for enforcing all of the old Navigation Acts.
 - d. opposed the redcoats for obstructing economic development.
- 5. The Sugar Act differed from earlier regulations, such as the Navigation Acts, in which of the following ways?
 - a. It forced the colonists to trade in sugar only with England.
 - b. It taxed sugar far more than any other product had ever been taxed.
 - c. It taxed sugar for the specific benefit of the East India Company.
 - d. It taxed for the purpose of collecting revenue from the Americans.

- 6. Which of the following did not occur as part of the Stamp Act crisis?
 - a. Patrick Henry denounced British taxation with his Virginia Resolves.
 - b. A Stamp Act Congress drew together colonial leaders from different regions.
 - c. Resistance drew many into political action, including street violence.
 - d. Massachusetts reacted so bitterly that the British imposed the Coercive Acts.
- 7. While repealing the Townshend duties, the North ministry retained a tax on tea to
 - a. regulate trade in that commodity.
 - b. punish American tea smugglers.
 - c. punish John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and the Sons of Liberty.
 - d. symbolize Parliament's power to tax Americans.
- 8. Which list places events in a correct chronological order?
 - a. Townshend duties, Boston Tea Party, Boston Massacre, Coercive Acts
 - b. Townshend duties, Boston Massacre, Boston Tea Party, Coercive Acts
 - c. Boston Tea Party, Coercive Acts, Boston Massacre, Townshend duties
 - d. Coercive Acts, Boston Tea Party, Boston Massacre, Townshend duties
- 9. The Continental Congress called in response to the Coercive Acts established the Association to
 - a. cut off all trade with Great Britain.
 - b. begin the formation of an intercolonial government.
 - c. begin training an American army.
 - d. improve communication among the colonies.
- 10. With *Common Sense*, Thomas Paine persuaded many Americans to
 - a. avoid a final break with England.
 - b. seek above all else a peaceful resolution to their dispute with the "parent country."
 - c. end their ties with the British.
 - d. denounce Parliament while maintaining ties to the king.
- 11. Which was *not* an important military problem for the British?
 - a. poorly disciplined and inadequately trained troops
 - b. distance for transport of troops and supplies
 - c. the vast size of America
 - d. American determination and commitment
- 12. Washington's wartime strategy was shaped by his decision to
 - a. maintain a regular, well-trained army.
 - b. emphasize the use of guerrilla bands.
 - c. win an early, spectacular victory to sap the British will to fight.
 - d. emphasize the role of militia units in direct combat with British armies.

- 13. The British southern strategy set off a ferocious conflict between
 - a. the British and French navies.
 - b. American troops and Tory raiders.
 - c. American and Hessian troops.
 - d. American and British regulars.
- 14. Many of the American loyalists fled their homeland to settle in London where
 - a. they were treated as second-class citizens.
 - b. they were all denied any monetary compensation for their sacrifices.
 - c. they were treated the same as the native-born English.
 - d. many of their leaders became important members of the ruling ministry.
- 15. In negotiating the Treaty of Paris (1783) the American delegation
 - a. proved ineffective and gained independence only with strong support of both the French and the Spanish.
 - b. proved effective, but gained nothing except independence.
 - c. proved ineffective, but won independence because of Spain's fear of Britain's American ambitions.
 - d. proved effective, and gained much more than independence.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

To check your understanding of the key issues of this period, solve the following problems:

- 1. How revolutionary was the American war for independence? Did it bring enough change to warrant the name "Revolution"?
- 2. Did Americans' political principles and behavior justify their assumption of public virtue?
- 3. Would republicanism have developed as quickly and thoroughly if the Americans had not fought for independence?
- 4. To what extent does the American Revolution resemble a modern war? Was it the first "people's war"? An early "world war"?
- 5. Why did American patriots revolt? Was their cause justified?
- 6. How did the Revolution appear to a Loyalist and a law-abiding, tax-paying Londoner?

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISES

Using the material in Chapter 5 and the primary sources listed below, please answer the questions following the reading selections.

Benjamin Franklin, "Testimony Against the Stamp Act" Phillis Wheatley, "Our Modern Egyptians"

Benjamin Franklin, "Testimony Against the Stamp Act" (1766)

- Q. What is your name, and place of abode?
- A. Franklin, of Philadelphia.
- Q. Do the Americans pay any considerable taxes among themselves?
- A. Certainly many, and very heavy taxes.
- Q. What are the present taxes in Pennsylvania, laid by the laws of the colony?
- A. There are taxes on all estates, real and personal; a poll tax; a tax on all offices, professions, trades, and businesses, according to their profits; an excise on all wine, rum, and other spirit; and a duty of ten pounds per head on all Negroes imported, with some other duties.
- Q. For what purposes are those taxes laid?
- A. For the support of the civil and military establishments of the country, and to discharge the heavy debt contracted in the last [Seven Years'] war....
- Q. Are not all the people very able to pay those taxes?
- A. No. The frontier counties, all along the continent, have been frequently ravaged by the enemy and greatly impoverished, are able to pay very little tax....
- Q. Are not the colonies, from their circumstances, very able to pay the stamp duty?
- A. In my opinion there is not gold and silver 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?
- 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. Where 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....
- Q. Do you think the people of America would submit to pay the stamp duty, if it was moderated?
- A. No, never, unless compelled by force of arms....
- Q. What was the temper of America towards Great Britain before the year 1763?

- A. The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the Crown, and paid, in all their courts, obedience to acts of Parliament....
- Q. What is your opinion of a future tax, imposed on the same principle with that of the Stamp Act? How would the Americans receive it?
- A. Just as they do this. They would not pay it.
- Q. Have not you heard of the resolutions of this House, and of the House of Lords, asserting the right of Parliament relating to America, including a power to tax the people there?
- A. Yes, I have heard of such resolutions.
- O. What will be the opinion of the Americans on those resolutions?
- A. They will think them unconstitutional and unjust.
- Q. Was it an opinion in America before 1763 that the Parliament had no right to lay taxes and duties there?
- A. I never heard any objection to the right of laying duties to regulate commerce; but a right to lay internal taxes was never supposed to be in Parliament, as we are not represented there....
- Q. Did the Americans ever dispute the controlling power of Parliament to regulate the commerce?
- A. No.
- Q. Can anything less than a military force carry the Stamp Act into execution?
- A. I do not see how a military force can be applied to that purpose.
- Q. Why may it not?
- A. Suppose a military force sent into America; they will find nobody in arms; what are they then to do? They cannot force a man to take stamps who chooses to do without them. They will not find a rebellion; they may indeed make one.
- Q. If the act is not repealed, what do you think will be the consequences?
- A. A total loss of the respect and affection the people of America bear to this country, and of all the commerce that depends on that respect and affection.
- O. How can the commerce be affected?
- A. You will find that, if the act is not repealed, they will take very little of your manufactures in a short time.
- Q. Is it in their power to do without them?
- A. I think they may very well do without them.
- Q. Is it their interest not to take them?
- A. The goods they take from Britain are either necessaries, mere conveniences, or superfluities. The first, as cloth, etc., with a little industry they can make at home; the second they can do without till they are able to provide them among themselves; and the last, which are mere articles of fashion, purchased and consumed because the fashion in a respected country; but will now be detested and rejected. The people have already struck off, by general agreement, the use of all goods fashionable in mourning....
- Q. If the Stamp Act should be repealed, would it induce the assemblies of America to acknowledge the right of Parliament to tax them, and would they erase their resolutions [against the Stamp Act]?
- A. No, never.
- Q. Is there no means of obliging them to erase those resolutions?

- A. None that I know of; they will never do it, unless compelled by force of arms.
- Q. Is there a power on earth that can force them to erase them?
- A. No power, how great soever, can force men to change their opinions....
- Q. What used to be the pride of the Americans?
- A. To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain.
- Q. What is now their pride?
- A. To wear their old clothes over again, till they can make new ones.

Phillis Wheatley, "Our Modern Egyptians"

February 11, 1774

Rev'd and honor'd Sir,

I have this Day received your obliging kind Epistle, and am greatly satisfied with your Reasons respecting the Negroes, and think highly reasonable what you offer in Vindication of their natural Rights. Those that invade them cannot be insensible that the divine Light is chasing away the thick Darkness which broods over the Land of Africa; and the Chaos which has reign'd so long, is converting into beautiful Order, and reveals more and more clearly, the glorious Dispensation of civil and religious Liberty, which are so inseparably united, that there is little or no Enjoyment of one without the other. Otherwise, perhaps, the Israelites had been less solicitous for their Freedom from Egyptian Slavery; I don't say they would have been contented without it. By no Means, for in every human Breast, God has implanted a Principle, which we call Love of Freedom; it is impatient of Oppression, and pants for Deliverance. And by the leave of our modern Egyptians, I will assert that the same principle lives in us. God grant Deliverance in his own Way and Time, and get him honor upon all those whose Avarice impels them to countenance and help forward the Calamities of their fellow Creatures. This I desire not for their Hurt, but to convince them of the strange Absurdity of their Conduct whose Words and Actions are so diametrically opposite. How well the cry for Liberty, and the reverse Disposition for the exercise of oppressive Power over others agree, I humbly think it does not require the Penetration of a Philosopher to determine.

Phillis Wheatley

- 1. Is Franklin's description of colonial opposition to the Stamp Act consistent with your text's emphasis on gentry protest to popular revolt?
- 2. What was Washington's principal military contribution to the success of that revolt?
- 3. What was the principal contribution of the colonial militaries?
- 4. Was the American ideology of resistance and revolt consistent with Phillis Wheatley's view of the revolution?
- 5. How would an American planter have responded to Wheatley's argument? How would he have reconciled his argument with revolutionary rhetoric?