5

IMPERIAL BREAKDOWN
1763–1774

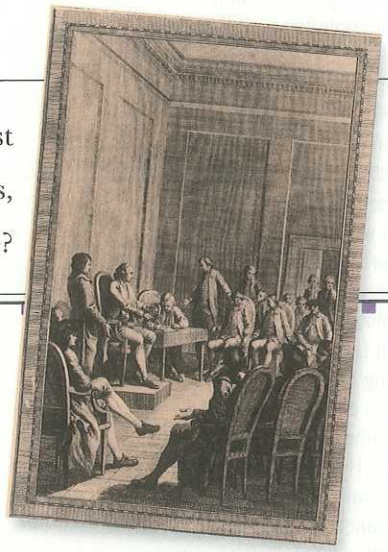
HOW DID Great Britain deal with its growing empire at the conclusion of the French and Indian War?

HOW DID conflicts such as the Cherokee War and Pontiac's Rebellion affect relations between Native Americans and colonists?

WHAT EFFECT did the Sugar and Stamp Acts have on colonists' views of Great Britain?

WHO WERE the Regulators, and what were the Regulator movements?

WHO MADE up the first Continental Congress, and what was its purpose?



Philadelphia,
January 1774

My Dear Jack,

Your Uncle wrote the 27 Dec. by Capt. Ayres who brought the Tea. His ship came within four miles of this City on Sunday the 26th where she was stopped, not being suffered to come any farther. . . . The inhabitants sent a Supply of fresh provisions & a Pilot on board [who put them on course for England]. I believe they were glad they came off so well, for at Boston they threw it all into the River, and it would have gone near to have shared the same fate here, but the Capt. had more prudence than to endeavour to force a landing by which means he prevented a great deal of Mischief & Confusion, for they were all determined to oppose it. They think now that the India Company will get the Act which imposes a duty of 3d per pound repealed and then send more over.

Kensington,
September 19, 1774

Dear Jack,

The Congress [The First Continental Congress] are now Setting here & have been a fortnight but nothing Transpires. All is kept a profound Secret. There was a [false] report the other day of the Town of Boston being Bombarded by the Men of War lying off the Town . . .which Occasioned a general consternation along the Continent, and in some parts of the Country they Armed and Marched to the Number of 15,000 & more were getting ready. . . . In Short the Provinces are determined one and all to stand by each other. What the Consequences will be we don't know. To be sure thy [they] may send Men of War and destroy the Towns on the sea shore but its Impossible to take the Country, and the damage they do in destroying the Towns will fall on the English in the end.

Kensington
Nov 1, 1774

My Dear Jack,

Our Congress are broke up and are come to a great Spirited Resolves . . . together with a petition to his Majestie. . . . It is to be published and they have bound themselves to abide by those resolves . . . and if Necessitated to repel force with force. All Importation ceases after the first of December next.

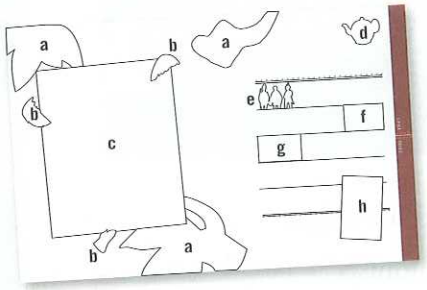
April 28, 1775

Dear Jackey,

The Provinces are all Arming themselves, and the men are almost all for inlisting as fast as they take them so am afraid we shall have Troublesome times. I heartily wish the Authors of all this Mischief may be brought to Justice.

IMAGE KEY

for pages 108–109



a. Green tea and dried tea leaves.
b. Flank and breast feathers.
c. TARRING & FEATHERING, 1773. A New Method of Macarony Making, as Practiced at Boston. American edition of an English mezzotint satire, 1774, on the treatment given to John Malcom, an unpopular customs official.
d. A "No Stamp Act" teapot.
e. Three Imrie/Risley by Wilson 1750s 77mm diorama figures, Rogers' Ranger with two soldiers, French and Indian War, on diorama base.
f. Powder horn with intricate scrimshaw to commemorate Grant Expedition in the Cherokee War.
g. American colonials force feed hot tea to an English tax collector after tarring and feathering the agent under a Liberty Tree in colonial Boston.
h. The first Continental Congress is held in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, to define American rights and organize a plan of resistance to the Coercive Acts imposed by the British Parliament as punishment for the Boston Tea Party.

Kensington
June 28, 1775

My Dear Jack,

All the Provinces [are] arming and Training in the same Manner, for they are all determined to die or be Free. It is not the low Idle Fellows that fight only for pay but Men of great property are Common Soldiers who say they are fighting for themselves and Posterity. . . . The People are getting in Manufactures of different sorts, particularly Salt Peter and Gunpowder. The Smiths are almost all turnd Gunsmiths and cannot work fast enough. God knows how it will end but I fear it will be very bad on both sides, and if your drivalish minestry and parliament dont make some concessions and Repeal the Acts, England will lose America for as I said before they are determined to be free.

—Eliza Farmar

Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 40 (1916): 199–207

ELIZA FARMAR and her family had recently moved to Kensington, a suburb of Philadelphia, when she wrote these letters, and her ties to relatives in England remained strong. Jack, the recipient of these letters, was her nephew and a clerk in the London office of the East India Company, whose shipment of tea precipitated the Boston Tea Party. Although she hoped that he might come to America, she minced no words in emphasizing the determination of Americans to resist British measures that appeared to infringe upon their freedoms. These letters accordingly chronicle a psychological counterpart to her move to Kensington. She began both journeys as an English subject; she ended them as an American citizen. Her initial reports of political developments, though sympathetic to the colonial point of view, were fairly objective, but by the eve of the Revolution she had disowned the British government by referring to "your minestry and parliament" as "drivalish," a slip of the pen that covered ineffective and devilish.

Like most colonists, she started out proud to be a British subject and part of Britain's powerful empire. Americans had fought the king's enemies as well as their own in a series of imperial wars and had gloried in British successes. But they had also developed a sense of their identity as Americans. Largely governing themselves through their own legislatures, they believed that they enjoyed all the rights of British subjects anywhere.

But after the French and Indian War, British authorities faced a burdensome debt and vastly increased territory to administer. In response, they attempted to change how they governed the colonies and, for the first time, imposed direct taxes on the colonists. Most Americans opposed these measures as violations of their rights, although they disagreed over how far to carry their resistance.

Imperial Reorganization

HOW DID Great Britain deal with its growing empire at the conclusion of the French and Indian War?

At the close of the French and Indian War, British officials adopted a new and ultimately disastrous course in dealing with America. Lacking experience, they panicked at the magnitude of the problems confronting them, and led by a young and somewhat naive monarch (George III, who ascended to the English throne in 1760), they tried to fix a relationship between England and the colonies that most Americans would have said was not broken. They did this by adopting measures that worked mostly to the disadvantage of the colonies. As one contemporary critic observed, "A great Empire and little minds go ill together."

British Problems

Britain's empire in 1763 was indeed a great one, and the problems its rulers faced were correspondingly large. Its territories in North America stretched from Hudson's Bay in the north to the Caribbean Sea in the south and from the Atlantic Ocean west to the Mississippi River. French territory on the North American mainland had been reduced to two tiny islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. But France would be eager for revenge, and French inhabitants in the recently acquired territories might prove disloyal.

Spain was less powerful militarily than France but a more significant presence on the North American mainland. In the territorial settlement at the end of the French and Indian War, it surrendered East and West Florida to Britain but got back its possessions in Cuba and the Philippines and acquired Louisiana from France. Shocked by their inability to defend Cuba and the Philippines, Spanish officials stepped up the pace of reforms that they had begun making earlier in the century. They appointed new officials—who were generally Spaniards rather than colonials—to ensure better tax collection. Spain also expelled the Jesuit order from its dominions because Jesuit priests were too independent of royal control to suit Spanish officials. Spain further strengthened its military forces in much of the empire and began to settle in California and Louisiana.

QUICK REVIEW

European Territories, 1763

- Britain: territories in North America from Hudson's Bay to the Caribbean, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi.
- France: territory on the mainland reduced to two small islands.
- Spain: Cuba, the Philippines, Louisiana, and California.

Protecting and controlling the old and new territories in North America as inexpensively as possible presented British officials with difficult questions. How should they administer the new territories? How should they deal with Indians likely to resist further encroachments on their lands? And perhaps most vexing, how could they rein in the seemingly out-of-control colonists in the old territories?

Permitting most of the new areas to have their own assemblies appeared inadvisable and, indeed, for quite some time British authorities had wanted to roll back the power of the old colonial assemblies. Britain had needed the cooperation of the assemblies during the years of war with France, but now, with France vanquished, imperial officials felt they could crack down on the local governments. Some British statesmen, however, realized that with France gone from the continent, Americans would be less dependent on Britain for protection and therefore more inclined to resist unpopular restrictions.

Resentment against American conduct during the war colored British thinking. Some of the colonies failed to enlist their quota of recruits, and for this the British blamed the local assemblies. Worse yet, some Americans continued to smuggle goods to and from the enemy in the French West Indies during the war. Smuggling was so common in New England that it cost Britain more to operate the customs service in America than it collected in duties.

England emerged from the war with what was then an immense national debt of approximately £130 million. Interest payments alone accounted for half the government's annual expenditures after the war. Alarmed by the unprecedented debt, many Britons concluded that Americans should bear more of the financial burden of running the empire. The colonists certainly appeared prosperous to British soldiers who had served in America. Compared to the English, who paid on average perhaps a third of their income in taxes, many Americans normally rendered no more than 5 percent.

Dealing with the New Territories

In 1763, the British government took several important steps to deal with the new territories, protect the old colonies, and maintain peace with the Indians. One was to keep a substantial body of troops stationed in America even in peacetime. Another, accomplished in the **Proclamation of 1763**, was to temporarily forbid white settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains. The purpose of the

Proclamation of 1763 Royal proclamation setting the boundary known as the Proclamation Line.

MAP EXPLORATION

To explore an interactive version of this map, go to
http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield2/map5.1

MAP 5–1

Colonial Settlement and the Proclamation Line of 1763 This map depicts the regions claimed and settled by the major groups competing for territory in eastern North America. With the Proclamation Line of 1763, positioned along the crest of the Appalachian Mountains, the British government tried to stop the westward migration of settlers under its jurisdiction and thereby limit conflict with the Indians. The result, however, was frustration and anger on the part of land-hungry settlers.

WHY DO you suppose the Proclamation Line of 1763 was positioned along the crest of the Appalachian Mountains?

Proclamation Line restricting white settlement was presumably twofold: to keep white settlers and Indians apart, preventing fighting between them, and to keep the colonists closer to the coast where they would be easier to control (see Map 5–1).

Neither the Proclamation Line nor the stationing of troops in America was particularly wise. The Proclamation Line provoked resentment because it threatened to deprive settlers and speculators in the rapidly developing colonies of the land they coveted, and it was often ignored. As for the troops, the British government further provoked American resentment with passage of **Quartering Acts** that required colonial assemblies to provide barracks and certain supplies for the troops.

Proclamation Line Boundary, decreed as part of the Proclamation of 1763, that limited British settlements to the eastern side of the Appalachian Mountains.

Quartering Acts Acts of Parliament requiring colonial legislatures to provide supplies and quarters for the troops stationed in America.

The presence of troops in peacetime alarmed Americans. Imbued with a traditionally English distrust of standing armies, they wondered whether the soldiers were there to coerce rather than to protect them. Given their wariness, Americans would doubtless have objected to the troops and the taxes necessary to support them even if the troops had done an exemplary job of protecting the frontiers. But conflicts with Indians cast doubt on their ability to do even that.

Indian Affairs

HOW DID conflicts such as the Cherokee War and Pontiac's Rebellion affect relations between Native Americans and colonists?

From a Native American standpoint, the problems Britain confronted in America were nothing compared to their own troubles in dealing with the British. Colonial settlers and livestock were displacing Indians from their ancient lands. Free-flowing rum and rampant cheating among traders were making the fur and deerskin trades increasingly violent. Regulation of the Indian traders by the colonists was uncoordinated and generally ineffective.

The British victory over the French and the westward expansion of British territory undermined the Indians' traditional strategies and alignments. British officials no longer found Native-American neutrality or military help as important as they once had. Increasingly superfluous as allies and unable to play the European powers off against each other, Native Americans lost much of their former ability to protect themselves by any means short of military resistance. The British took advantage of this increasing vulnerability: Traders exploited the Indians, and settlers encroached on their lands.

Two major Indian wars—one breaking out in the late 1750s during the closing years of the French and Indian War and the other erupting in its aftermath in the early 1760s—challenged British policy toward Native Americans. The first conflict, the **Cherokee War**, took place in the southern Appalachian highlands and resulted in a treaty in 1761 in which the Cherokees agreed to surrender land in the Carolinas and Virginia to the colonists. The second major conflict, **Pontiac's Rebellion**, represented a united effort to resist the British and revitalize Indian cultures. The spiritual catalyst for this movement was a Delaware leader named Neolin, also known as the Delaware Prophet, who began urging Native Americans to reject European goods and ways. The Pontiac Rebellion itself, named for an Ottawa chief who was one of its principal leaders, began when at least eight major groups joined in attacking British forces and American settlers from the Great Lakes to Virginia in 1763. Pontiac's Rebellion raged until 1766. The British eventually forced the Indians to give up portions of their territory in return for compensation and guarantees that traditional hunting grounds in the Ohio Valley would remain theirs.

At one point during the war, a British commander used germ warfare against the Indians, sending them blankets that smallpox victims had used. Settlers in Paxton township (near modern Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) were equally unrestrained. Angered by the Pennsylvania Assembly's lack of aggressive action against the Indians, the settlers lashed out at convenient targets, massacring their peaceful neighbors, the Conestogas. Facing arrest and trial for this outrage, the so-called *Paxton Boys* marched toward Philadelphia, threatening the Pennsylvania Assembly. Benjamin Franklin convinced them to disperse. Despite the government's efforts, the Paxton Boys were never effectively prosecuted.

Pontiac's Rebellion and the Cherokee War were costly for both sides, claiming the lives of hundreds of Indians and white settlers. Hoping to prevent such outbreaks, British officials began experimenting with centralized control of Indian affairs during the 1760s. Following the recommendations of the Albany Congress in 1754 (see Chapter 4), they had already created two districts,

WHERE TO LEARN MORE

Fort Michilimackinac National Historic Landmark, Mackinaw City, Michigan
www.mackinacparks.com/michilimackinainach/html

4–2
Declaration of the Injured Frontier Inhabitants [of Pennsylvania] (1764)

Cherokee War Conflict (1759–1761) on the southern frontier between the Cherokee Indians and colonists from Virginia southward.

Pontiac's Rebellion Indian uprising (1763–1766) led by Pontiac of the Ottawas and Neolin of the Delawares.

CHRONOLOGY

1759–1761	Cherokee War.
1760	George III becomes king.
1761–1762	Writs of Assistance case in Massachusetts.
1763	Peace of Paris ends French and Indian War. Spanish accelerate imperial reforms. British troops remain in America. Proclamation Line of 1763 limits western expansion of colonial settlement. Pontiac's Rebellion begins. Paxton Boys murder peaceful Indians. Virginia Court decides Parson's Cause.
1764	Sugar Act passed. Currency Act passed.
1765	Quartering Act passed. Stamp Act passed. Stamp Act Congress meets in New York.
1766	Stamp Act repealed; Declaratory Act passed. New York Assembly refuses to comply with the Quartering Act.
1767	Townshend duties imposed. Regulator movements in North and South Carolina.
1770	Boston Massacre. Tea duty retained, other Townshend duties repealed.
1771	North Carolina Regulator movement defeated.
1772	*Gaspee* burned. Committees of Correspondence formed.
1773	Boston Tea Party.
1774	Coercive Acts passed. Quebec Act passed. First Continental Congress meets and agrees to boycott British imports.

northern and southern, for the administration of Indian affairs, each with its own superintendent. The Proclamation of 1763, and the line it established restricting further white settlement, gave these superintendents increased responsibility for protecting the Indians against the encroachments of settlers. But they faced daunting obstacles in their efforts to mediate between Indians and colonists and in 1768 Britain returned supervision of the Indian traders to the individual colonies.

Curbing the Assemblies

As an episode in Virginia known as the **Parson's Cause** illustrates, British authorities took advantage of opportunities to curb the American legislatures as early as the 1750s. Anglican ministers in Virginia drew tax-supported salaries computed in pounds of tobacco. As a result, when a drought in the mid-1750s caused a sharp rise in tobacco prices, they expected a windfall. The Virginia House of Burgesses, however, restricted their payment to 2 pennies a pound, below the market value of the tobacco that backed their salaries. Lobbying by the clergy convinced the king to disallow the Two Penny Act, and some Virginia clergymen sued for the unpaid portion of their salaries.

In the most famous of these cases, the Virginia government was defended by Patrick Henry, a previously obscure young lawyer who looked like "a Presbyterian clergyman, used to haranguing the people." Henry gained instant notoriety when he declared that a king who vetoed beneficial acts became a tyrant and thereby forfeited "all right to his subjects' obedience." Given Henry's eloquence, the jury found in favor of the suing minister but awarded him only one penny in damages. This pittance reflected the hostility many Virginians of all denominations felt toward the pretensions of the Anglican clergy.

British authorities also sought to restrict the power of colonial legislatures to issue legal tender currency, paper notes that could be used to settle debts. These notes frequently depreciated to only a fraction of their face value in British money. Not surprisingly, British merchants who had to accept them felt cheated and complained.

Parson's Cause Series of developments (1758–1763) that began when the Virginia legislature modified the salaries of Anglican clergymen, who complained to the crown and sued to recover damages. British authorities responded by imposing additional restrictions on the legislature. Virginians, who saw this as a threat, reacted by strongly reasserting local autonomy.

Parliament had responded in 1751 by forbidding further issues of legal tender paper money in New England. In the **Currency Act** of 1764, Parliament extended this restriction to the rest of the colonies, prohibiting all of them from printing their own legal tender paper money. Because the new restrictions came when most colonies were in an economic recession, Americans considered this step an especially burdensome attempt to curtail the assemblies' powers. To deprive them of their paper money was, in the words of one American, "downright Robbery." Worse, however, was yet to come.

The Sugar and Stamp Acts

In 1764, the British Parliament, under Prime Minister George Grenville, passed the American Revenue Act, commonly known as the **Sugar Act**. The main purpose of this act, as stated in its preamble, was "for improving the revenue of this kingdom." To generate funds, the Sugar Act and its accompanying legislation combined new and revised duties on colonial imports with strict provisions for collecting those duties. To prevent trade with other countries the Sugar Act legislation also lengthened the list of enumerated products—goods that could be sent only to England or within the empire—and required that ships carry elaborate new documents certifying the legality of their cargoes. A ship's captain could have his entire cargo seized if any of the complicated documents were out of order.

To enforce these cumbersome regulations, the British government continued to use the Royal Navy to seize smugglers' ships, a practice begun during the French and Indian War. It also ordered colonial customs collectors to discharge their duties personally, rather than through the use of easily bribed deputies. Responsibility for trying violations would (three years later) eventually rest in vice-admiralty courts in Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston, which normally operated without a jury and were more likely to enforce trade restrictions.

Currency Act Law passed by Parliament in 1764 to prevent the colonies from issuing legal tender paper money.

Sugar Act Law passed in 1764 to raise revenue in the American colonies. It lowered the duty from 6 pence to 3 pence per gallon on foreign molasses imported into the colonies and increased the restrictions on colonial commerce.

Stamp Act Law passed by Parliament in 1765 to raise revenue in America by requiring taxed, stamped paper for legal documents, publications, and playing cards.

In the spring of 1765, Parliament enacted another tax on Americans, the **Stamp Act**. This required that all valid legal documents, as well as newspapers, playing cards, and various other papers, bear a government-issued stamp for which there was a charge. The Sugar Act, though intended to raise revenue, appeared to fall within Britain's accepted authority to regulate commerce; the Stamp Act, by contrast, was the first internal tax (as opposed to an external trade duty) that Parliament had imposed on the colonies. Grenville, a lawyer, realized that it raised a constitutional issue: Did Parliament have the right to impose direct taxes on Americans when Americans had no elected representatives in Parliament? Following the principle of virtual representation—that members of Parliament served the interests of the nation as a whole, not just the locality from which they came—Grenville maintained that it did. Americans, he would find, vigorously disagreed. Nor were they without at least some support in Parliament. Colonel Isaac Barré, a member who had served in the colonies, spoke out against the Stamp Act. In one speech he referred to Americans as "Sons of Liberty," a label Americans soon would adopt for themselves.

WHAT EFFECT did the Sugar and Stamp Acts have on colonists' views of Great Britain?

American Reactions

The measures Britain took to solve its financial and administrative problems first puzzled, then shocked, and eventually outraged Americans. The colonists had emerged from the French and Indian War believing that they had done their fair share and more toward making Great Britain ruler of the greatest empire in the world, and they expected to be respected for their efforts. They were certain that as British-Americans they shared in the glory and enjoyed all the rights of Englishmen in England. The new restrictions and taxes accordingly hit them like a slap in the face.

Constitutional Issues

To Americans, it was self-evident that the British measures were unfair. It was difficult to contend, however, that the British authorities had no right to impose them. Then as now, the **British Constitution** was not a single written document. It consisted, rather, of the accumulated body of English law and custom, including acts of Parliament. How, then, could the colonists claim that an act of Parliament was unconstitutional?

Constitutional conflict surfaced early in Massachusetts over the issue of **writs of assistance**. These general search warrants, which gave customs officials in America the power to inspect virtually any building suspected of holding smuggled goods, had to be formally renewed at the accession of a new monarch. When George III became king in 1760, Massachusetts merchants—perhaps out of a fondness for smuggling as well as for liberty—sought to block the reissuance of the writs. Their attorney, James Otis Jr., arguing before the Massachusetts superior court, called the writs "instruments of slavery." Parliament, he maintained, lacked the authority to empower colonial courts to issue them. Otis lost, but "then and there," a future president of the United States, John Adams, would later write, "the child independence was born."

Taxation and the Political Culture

The constitutional issue that most strained the bond between the colonies and the empire was taxation. British measures on other issues annoyed and disturbed Americans, but it was outrage over taxation—the most fundamental issue—that would be the midwife of American independence. Because Parliament had customarily refrained from taxing them, Americans assumed that it could not. To deprive them of the right to be taxed only by their own elected representatives was to deny them one of the most basic rights of Englishmen. If taxes were imposed "without our having a legal Representation where they are laid," one American asked, "are we not reduced from the Character of free Subjects to the miserable State of tributary Slaves?"

American views on taxation and the role of government reflected the influence of country ideology. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this opposition political philosophy emerged in England in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Country ideology held that government power, no matter how necessary or to whom entrusted, is inherently aggressive and expansive. According to the English political philosopher John Locke, rulers have the authority to enforce law "only for the public good." When government exceeds this proper function, the people have the right to change it. But only in the last resort does this right justify revolution.

Country ideology stressed that in the English system of government, it was the duty of Parliament, in particular the House of Commons (which represented the people as a whole), to check the executive power of the Crown. The House of Commons' control of taxation enabled it to curb tyrannical rulers. When the Crown did its job properly, the Commons appropriated the necessary funds; when rulers infringed on the liberty of the people, the Commons restrained them by withholding taxes.

Such important responsibilities required that the people's representatives be men of sufficient property and judgment to make independent decisions. A representative should be "virtuous" (meaning public-spirited), and avoid political partisanship. A representative of the appropriate social status who exhibited the proper behavior, many assumed, was more qualified to understand and manage public affairs than his constituents and should accordingly be followed. But if he did not measure up, the people should be able to vote him out.

QUICK REVIEW

British Taxation

- Taxation was the fundamental issue between Britain and the colonies.
- Americans assumed that Parliament could not tax them.
- American views on taxation reflected country ideology.

British Constitution The principles, procedures, and precedents that governed the operation of the British government.

Writs of assistance Documents issued by a court of law that gave British officials in America the power to search for smuggled goods whenever they wished.

Country ideology appealed to Americans for a number of reasons. In part, colonists were drawn to it as they were to other English fashions. The works of Alexander Pope, the most widely read English poet of the eighteenth century and a proponent of a version of country ideology, appeared in many colonial libraries. So also did the works of two readable and prolific country ideology publicists, John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, who collaborated in writing *Cato's Letters* (1720–1724) and the *Independent Whig* (1721). More important, country ideology's suspicion of those in power suited American politics on the local level, where rivalries and factionalism fostered distrust between those with and without power. And it emboldened the many Americans who feared they had no voice in the decisions of the government in London. Finally, with its insistence on the important political role of the propertied elite, country ideology appealed to America's local gentry. These ideas have had an enduring influence on American politics, surfacing even today in the suspicion of Washington and "big government," and they helped inspire the American Revolution.

Protesting the Taxes

Given this ideological background, the initial American response to the Sugar Act was surprisingly mild. This was because not every colonist was equally affected by it. The speaker of the legislature in one southern colony commented that it was "much divided" over the effects of the act and would probably not petition against it. In New England, in contrast, the Sugar Act threatened to cut into the profits of the lucrative smuggling trade with the French West Indies. As a result, people there and in other northern colonies were quicker to recognize the act's implications. The legislative body that imposed it—Parliament—and whose constituents in England stood to gain from it, was not accountable to the people on whom it was imposed, the colonists. As one alarmed colonist noted, if his fellow Americans submitted to any tax imposed by Parliament, they were dumb and docile donkeys.

The size of the burden was less important than the principle involved. To Americans steeped in country ideology, direct taxation by London threatened to undercut the elected representatives' power of the purse and thereby remove the traditional first line of defense against a tyrannical executive. Eventually all the assemblies passed resolutions flatly maintaining that any parliamentary tax on America, including the Sugar Act, was unconstitutional. By the end of 1764, New York merchants had joined the artisans and merchants of Boston in a **nonimportation movement**, an organized boycott of British manufactured goods.

Unlike the Sugar Act, the Stamp Act had an equal impact throughout the colonies, and the response to it was swift and vociferous. Newspapers and pamphlets were filled with denunciations of the supposedly unconstitutional measure, and in taverns everywhere outraged patrons roundly condemned it. "The minds of the freeholders," wrote one observer, "were inflamed . . . by many a hearty damn of the Stamp Act over bottles, bowls and glasses." Parliament, Americans were convinced, did not represent them. The colonial legislatures were also quick to condemn the new measure. Virginia's lower house was the first to act, approving Patrick Henry's strong resolutions against the Stamp Act.

Shared outrage at the Stamp Act inspired the colonies to join in unified political action. The **Sons of Liberty**, a collection of loosely organized protest groups, put pressure on stamp distributors and British authorities. In August 1765, a Boston crowd led by shoemaker Ebenezer MacIntosh demolished property belonging to a revenue agent, and another mob sacked Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson's house. Later demonstrations organized by the Sons of Liberty in other cities were kept more peaceful with tighter discipline.

QUICK REVIEW

Resistance

- Response to the Sugar Act divided.
- 1764: New York and Boston merchants launch nonimportation movement.
- Response to Stamp Act overwhelming and intense.

Nonimportation movement A tactical means of putting economic pressure on Britain by refusing to buy its exports to the colonies.

Sons of Liberty Secret organizations in the colonies formed to oppose the Stamp Act.

Members of the Sons of Liberty included people from all ranks of society. The leaders, however, among them Christopher Gadsden, came mostly from the middle and upper classes. Often pushed by more radical common people, some of them doubtless joined in the hope of protecting their own positions and interests. Indeed, in Charleston, slaves alarmed their masters and other white people when they paraded through the streets crying, "Liberty!"

Movement leaders were also concerned that disorderly behavior could discredit the American cause. Even the fiery Samuel Adams, one of the leading organizers of the protest in Boston, would later claim, "I am no friend to *Riots*." Still, he added, "when the People are oppressed," they will be "discontented, and they are not to be blamed."

Partly as a result of the growing unrest, leaders throughout the colonies determined to meet and agree on a unified response to Britain. As Gadsden observed at the time, "There ought to be no New England men, no New Yorker, etc. known on the Continent, but all of us Americans." Nine colonies eventually sent delegates to the **Stamp Act Congress**, which met in New York City in October 1765. A humorist in the South Carolina legislature, who had opposed sending anyone, observed that the gathering would produce a most unpalatable combination: New England would throw in fish and onions; the middle provinces, flax seed and flour; Virginia and Maryland, tobacco; North Carolina, pitch, turpentine, and tar; South Carolina, indigo and rice—and Georgia would sprinkle the whole with sawdust. "Such an absurd jumble will you make if you attempt to form [a] union among such discordant materials as the thirteen British provinces," he concluded. A quick-witted member of the assembly shot back that he would not choose his colleague for a cook but that the congress would prepare a dish fit for any king.

It did indeed. The congress adopted the **Declaration of Rights and Grievances**, which denied Parliament's right to tax the colonies, and petitioned unsuccessfully both king and Parliament to repeal the Stamp and Sugar acts. As protests spread, the stamp distributors got the message and resigned, "for the welfare of the people." In some areas, Americans went about their business as usual without using stamped paper. In other places, they avoided activities that required taxed items. They also stepped up the boycott of British goods that had begun in response to the Sugar Act. British merchants, hurt by this economic pressure, petitioned Parliament for repeal of the Stamp Act, and a new ministry obliged them by rescinding it in March 1766.

Stamp Act Congress October 1765 meeting of delegates sent by nine colonies, that adopted the Declaration of Rights and Grievances and petitioned against the Stamp Act.

Declaration of Rights and Grievances Asserts that the Stamp Act and other taxes imposed on the colonists without their consent were unconstitutional.

The Aftermath of the Stamp Act Crisis

At this point, Americans were in no mood to accept any tax imposed by Parliament, and they misunderstood the **Declaratory Act** that accompanied the repeal of the Stamp Act. Intended to make Parliament's retreat more acceptable to its members, this act stated that Parliament had the right to "legislate for the colonies in all cases whatsoever." Americans assumed the Declaratory Act was a mere face-saving gesture. Unfortunately, it was more than that. As one colonist later observed, it created a "platform for the Invincible Reasoning from the Mouths of four and twenty pounders [cannons]."

WHO WERE the Regulators, and what were the Regulator movements?

4–4
"Letters From a Farmer in Pennsylvania" (1767)

Declaratory Act Law passed in 1766 to accompany repeal of the Stamp Act that stated that Parliament had the authority to legislate for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever."

A Strained Relationship

The aftermath of the Stamp Crisis was growing strain between Parliament and the colonies. Most members of Parliament continued to believe that they represented everyone in the empire and that they could therefore tax people in the colonies as well as in England. Americans believed just as strongly that "in taxing ourselves and making Laws for our own internal government . . . we can by no means allow

A satirical British engraving from 1766 showing English politicians burying the Stamp Act, "born 1765 died 1766." The warehouses in the background symbolize the revival of trade with America.

The Granger Collection, N.Y.

our Provincial legislatures to be subordinate to any legislative power on earth."

An exchange between British merchants and their American correspondents in the wake of the Stamp Act's repeal illustrates how far apart Englishmen and Americans had become. The British merchants lectured the Americans, enjoining them "to express filial duty and gratitude to your parent country." To which one Virginia planter tartly replied, "We rarely see anything from your side of the water free from the authoritative style of a master to a schoolboy." This, he observed, was more than "a little ridiculous."

Events likewise testified to continuing tensions between the two sides. When British authorities required Massachusetts to compensate those who had suffered damage in the Stamp Act rioting, the legislature complied but pardoned the rioters. In 1767, an irritated Parliament then passed an act suspending the New York legislature because it had not complied with the Quartering Act of 1765. The New York legislature finally obeyed before the suspending act went into effect, and it remained in business.

Regulator Movements

Growing strain was also evident on the local level with the emergence in 1766 of vigilante groups calling themselves **Regulators** in response to official corruption in North Carolina and lawlessness in South Carolina. North Carolina's western farmers were oppressed by high taxes, court costs, and debt resulting from the limited supply of money in circulation after the Currency Act. In South Carolina, outlaws roamed the back country stealing livestock and raiding isolated houses. In neither colony did representation in the assemblies reflect the growing backcountry population and its pressing needs. As a result, the Regulators did by extralegal action what they couldn't do through legal channels—in North Carolina they closed courts and intimidated tax officials and in South Carolina they pursued outlaws and whipped people suspected of harboring them.

The activities of the Regulators brought them into conflict with the local elites in North and South Carolina, which were slow in redressing regulator grievances. British officials made matters worse by doing the opposite of what was required. Instead of encouraging the assemblies to increase their western representation, they tried to limit their power by forbidding them to increase their size. As for the shortage of currency, they callously dismissed "any possible local inconvenience" that might result.

Thanks to such help from London, as well as their own mistakes, a crisis confronted local authorities by 1767. In South Carolina, the assembly belatedly reapportioned itself, giving the backcountry some representation, and established courts for the area. But in North Carolina, peace returned only after fighting between the local militia and the Regulators killed twenty-nine men and wounded more than 150 on both sides. The rise of the Regulators demonstrated that while American leaders had to understand and respond to local conditions, British authorities remained inflexible.

QUICK REVIEW

Vigilante Justice

- 1766: Regulators form in response to corruption and lawlessness in North Carolina and South Carolina.
- Regulators conflict with local elites.
- Response to Regulators demonstrated inflexibility of British government.

Regulators Vigilante groups active in the 1760s and 1770s in the western parts of North and South Carolina. The South Carolina Regulators attempted to rid the area of outlaws; the North Carolina Regulators were more concerned with high taxes and court costs.

The Townshend Crisis

After an unsuccessful attempt by the British to introduce a new collection of taxes, the Townshend duties, in 1767, a relatively quiet period followed until Britain made yet another attempt to enforce compliance with the one duty still on the books, the duty on tea.

WHERE TO LEARN MORE W

Charleston, South Carolina
www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/charleston

Townshend's Plan

Charles Townshend became the leading figure in Britain's government in 1767. The **Townshend Duty Act** was based on Townshend's mistaken assumption that the colonists were willing to accept new duties or external taxes, but no direct, or internal, taxes like the Stamp Tax. The duties covered a number of items the colonists regularly imported—tea, paper, paint, lead, and glass. To make sure that the duties were collected, British authorities added a new board of customs commissioners for America and located its headquarters in Boston, the presumed home of many smugglers. To the alarm of the Americans, the new customs officials were far more diligent than their predecessors, going after wealthy Boston merchants like John Hancock, perhaps because he was so openly contemptuous of them. The officials seized Hancock's appropriately named vessel *Liberty* and accused him of smuggling. Hancock may indeed have violated the acts of trade at times, but in this case the accusations were apparently false. The incident sparked a riot in Boston during which a crowd on the waterfront roughed up members of the customs service. British authorities responded in 1768 by sending troops to Boston and maintaining them there for the next year and a half.

Townshend Duty Act Act of Parliament, passed in 1767, imposing duties on colonial tea, lead, paint, paper, and glass.

American Boycott

The Townshend duties, like the stamp tax, provoked resistance throughout the colonies. Rejecting the argument that duties were somehow different from taxes, John Dickinson, a wealthy lawyer who wrote under the pen name "A Farmer in Pennsylvania," asserted that a tax was a tax, whatever its form.

There was no equivalent to the Stamp Act Congress in response to the Townshend Act because British officials (acting through the colonial governors) barred the assemblies from sending delegates to such a meeting. Even so, Americans gradually organized an effective nonimportation movement. Many Americans signed subscription lists binding them, with the other signers, to buy only goods made in the colonies and nothing made in Great Britain. Handbills, like one urging "the Sons and Daughters of *LIBERTY*" to shun a particular Boston merchant, brought pressure to bear on uncooperative importers. To avoid imported English textiles, American women spun more thread and wove more cloth at home. Wearing homespun became a moral virtue, a sign of self-reliance, personal independence, and the rejection of "corrupting" English luxuries.

The nonimportation movement forged a sense of common purpose among all who participated in it—men and women, southern planters and northern artisans alike—giving them the sense of belonging to a larger community of fellow Americans (see American Views, "Social Status and the Enforcement of the Nonimportation Movement." p. 122). Although it was at this point more an imagined community than a political community, it was real enough and large enough to reduce imports from Britain by 40 percent after only one year.

By 1770, Britain was prepared to concede that the Townshend duties had been counterproductive because they interfered with

The Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770, in an engraving by Paul Revere. Copied from an earlier print, Revere's widely circulated version shows—somewhat inaccurately—well organized soldiers firing on helpless civilians; the names of the dead, including Crispus Attucks, appear below.

Courtesy of Library of Congress.

"The Bostonian's Paying the Excise-Man or Tarring & Feathering." This print, published in London in 1774, satirizes American resistance to British tax measures. Men representing a broad range of social classes pour tea down the throat of a tax collector while the Boston Tea Party takes place in the background.

trees for firewood. Thus when the *Gaspee* ran aground while chasing some American ships, Rhode Islanders got even. Led by John Brown, a local merchant, they boarded the vessel, shot its captain in the buttocks, putting him and his crew ashore, and burned the ship. The British government offered a reward for information about the incident but learned nothing. The British attempt to stamp out smuggling in the colonies was so heavy-handed that it offended the innocent more than it frightened the guilty.

Such incidents, and in particular the British threat to send Americans to England for trial, led American leaders to resolve to keep one another informed about British actions. Twelve colonies established **committees of correspondence** for this purpose, and Boston soon became the scene of a showdown between imperial authority and colonial resistance.

The Boston Tea Party

During the Quiet Period, Americans drank smuggled (and therefore untaxed) Dutch tea. Partly as a result, the British East India Company, which had the exclusive right to distribute tea in the British Empire, nearly went bankrupt. Lord North, the prime minister, tried to rescue it with the **Tea Act of 1773**. This act permitted the company to ship tea from its warehouses in Britain without paying the duty normally collected there. The idea was to make its tea more competitive in price with the Dutch product and thereby induce Americans to buy it and simultaneously pay the old Townshend duty.

The colonists' response surprised British officials. What outraged most Americans was the attempt to trick them into paying the tax on tea. Thousands decided not to touch the stuff. Newspapers discussed its dangers to the body as well as to the body politic and offered recipes for substitutes. Many women rejected the tea and put pressure on others to do likewise, while schoolboys collected and burned tea leaves.

Thomas Hutchinson, who had been lieutenant governor of Massachusetts during the Stamp Act riots, was now the colony's royal governor. In most other cities, threats from the Sons of Liberty had convinced the captains of the tea ships to return to England without landing their cargo. Hutchinson, however, was determined to have the tea landed in Boston, and he barred the tea ships there from leaving. As a result, violence once again erupted in the city.

When the Sons of Liberty realized they could not force the ships to leave, they decided on dramatic action. On December 16, 1773, Samuel Adams reportedly told a large gathering at Old South Meeting House that it "could do nothing more to preserve the liberties of America." This remark was apparently a prearranged signal for what came to be known as the **Boston Tea Party**. War whoops immediately answered him from the street outside, and a well-organized band of men disguised as Indians raced aboard the tea ship *Dartmouth*, broke open 342 chests of tea, and heaved the contents in the harbor.

The Intolerable Acts

The destruction of property in the Boston Tea Party shocked many Americans. British officials reacted even more strongly. The response in Parliament was to pass a series of repressive measures known as the **Coercive Acts**. The first of these, effective June 1, 1774, was the Boston Port Act, which closed the port of Boston to all incoming and outgoing traffic until the East India Company and the crown received payment for the dumped tea and its duties. The Administration of Justice Act, which followed, declared that an official who killed a colonist while performing his duties could be tried in England (where he would almost certainly receive sympathetic treatment) rather than in Massachusetts. The third measure, the Massachusetts Government Act, drastically modified that colony's charter of

Committees of correspondence Committees formed in the colonies to keep Americans informed about British measures that would affect them.

Tea Act of 1773 Act of Parliament that permitted the East India Company to sell through agents in America without paying the duty customarily collected in Britain, thus reducing the retail price.

Boston Tea Party Incident that occurred on December 16, 1773, in which Bostonians, disguised as Indians, destroyed £9,000 worth of tea belonging to the British East India Company in order to prevent payment of the duty on it.

Coercive Acts Legislation passed by Parliament in 1774; included the Boston Port Act, the Massachusetts Government Act, the Administration of Justice Act, and the Quartering Act of 1774.

1691, providing that the Crown would appoint members to the governor's council and limiting the number of town meetings that could be held without the governor's prior approval. A new Quartering Act declared that the troops under the governor's command could be lodged in virtually any uninhabited building.

On the same day that Parliament enacted these measures, it also passed the **Quebec Act**, which enlarged the boundaries of Quebec south to the Ohio River, provided for trial of civil cases without a jury, and recognized the Catholic Church, giving it the privileges it had enjoyed under the French. The colonists labeled the Quebec and Coercive Acts together as the **Intolerable Acts**.

Quebec Act Law passed by Parliament in 1774 that provided an appointed government for Canada, enlarged the boundaries of Quebec, and confirmed the privileges of the Catholic Church.

Intolerable Acts American term for the Coercive Acts and the Quebec Act.

The Road to Revolution

Americans considered the Intolerable Acts so threatening that they organized the **First Continental Congress** to respond to them. Congress renewed and took measures to enforce the nonimportation movement. These measures further divided those who supported British authorities and those who opposed them.

WHO MADE up the first Continental Congress, and what was its purpose?

American Response to the Intolerable Acts

Americans found the territorial, administrative, and religious provisions of the Quebec Act deeply disturbing. By giving Canada jurisdiction over lands north of the Ohio River that were claimed by Virginia, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, the Quebec Act deprived settlers of their hoped-for homesteads and speculators of their hoped-for profits, angering both. The religious provisions of the Quebec Act were ominous reminders of an attempt by Anglican clergymen during the 1760s to have a bishop appointed for America.

The Quebec Act accordingly "gave a General Alarm to all Protestants," whose ministers throughout the continent warned their congregations that they might be "bound by Popish chains."

The Boston Port Act arbitrarily punished innocent and guilty Bostonians alike. The Administration of Justice Act—which some with vivid imaginations dubbed the "Murder Act"—seemed to declare an open season on colonists, allowing crown officials to kill them without fear of punishment. The Massachusetts Government Act raised the more realistic fear that no colonial charter was safe. A Parliament that had stripped the Massachusetts legislature of an important power might equally decide to abolish the lower houses of all the colonies.

Nightmarish scenarios filled the colonial newspapers. One clergyman observed that the terms of the Coercive Acts were such that if someone were to "make water" on the door of the royal customs house, an entire colonial city "might be laid in Ashes." He undoubtedly knew that he exaggerated, but his words embodied real fear and anger. Trying to make an example of Boston, British authorities had taken steps that united Americans as nothing had ever done before (see the overview table "New Restraints and Burdens on Americans, 1759–1774" p. 126).

WHERE TO LEARN MORE

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
www.ushistory.org/tour/index.html

Boston, Massachusetts
www.thefreedomtrail.org/virtual_tour.html

The First Continental Congress

Leaders in most colonies wanted to organize a coordinated response and called for another meeting like the Stamp Act Congress. The colonies accordingly agreed to send delegates to a meeting in Philadelphia that came to be called the First Continental Congress, and in the end, all the colonies except Georgia were represented.

The First Continental Congress met at Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia from September 5 to October 26, 1774, with fifty-five delegates present at one time or another. All were leading figures in their home colonies, but only a few

First Continental Congress Meeting of delegates from most of the colonies held in 1774 in response to the Coercive Acts. The Congress endorsed the Suffolk Resolves, adopted the Declaration of Rights and Grievances, and agreed to establish the Continental Association.

OVERVIEW

NEW RESTRAINTS AND BURDENS ON AMERICANS, 1759–1774

	Restraints on Legislative Action	Restraints on Territorial Expansion	Restraints on Colonial Trade	Imposition of New Taxes
1759	Royal instructions restrict the ability of the Virginia assembly to pass timely legislation.			
1762			Writs of assistance issued.	
1763		Proclamation Line keeps white settlement east of the Appalachians.	Peacetime use of the navy and new customs officials to enforce Navigation Acts.	
1764	Currency Act limits the colonial legislatures' ability to issue paper money.		Vice-admiralty courts strengthened for Sugar Act.	Sugar Act imposes taxes for revenue (modified 1766).
1765				Quartering Act requires assemblies to provide facilities for royal troops. Stamp Act imposes internal taxes on legal documents, newspapers, and other items (repealed 1766).
1767	Royal instructions limit the size of colonial assemblies.		Vice-admiralty courts strengthened for Townshend duties. American Customs Service established in Boston.	Townshend duties imposed on some imported goods in order to pay colonial officials. (All but tax on tea repealed, 1770.)
1773				Tea Act reduces duty and prompts Boston Tea Party.
1774 (Intolerable Acts)	Massachusetts Government Act limits town meetings, changes legislature, and violates Massachusetts charter.	Quebec Act enlarges Quebec at expense of colonies with claims in the Ohio River Valley.	Boston Port Act closes harbor until East India Company's tea is paid for.	Quartering Act of 1774 declares that troops could be lodged in virtually any uninhabited building in Boston.

knew members from elsewhere. Each colony had one vote, irrespective of the size of its delegation. Those who favored strong measures—like Samuel Adams and his cousin John, Patrick Henry, and Christopher Gadsden—prevailed. They persuaded most of their colleagues to endorse the **Suffolk Resolves**, which had been passed at a meeting held in Suffolk County (the site of Boston). These strongly worded resolves denounced the Coercive Acts as unconstitutional, advised the people to arm, and called for general economic sanctions against Britain. Learning of them, one British official told an American, "If these Resolves of your people are to be depended on, they have declared War against us."

The Continental Association

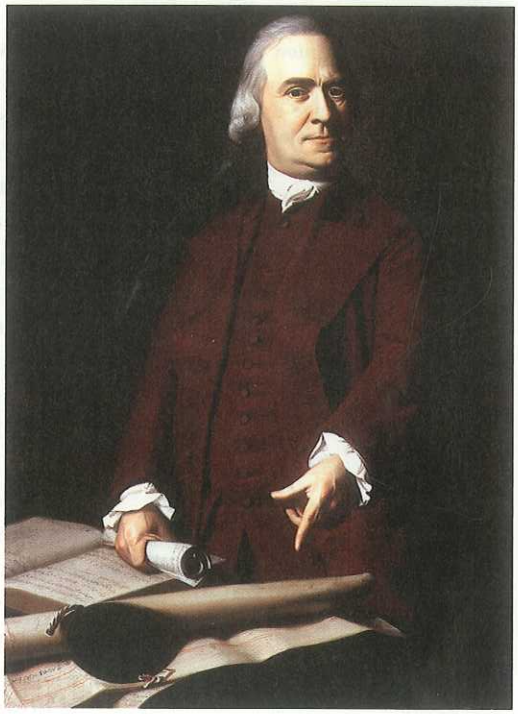
The Congress created the **Continental Association** to organize and enforce sanctions against the British. As a first step, the Association pledged Americans to cut off imports from Britain after December 1, 1774. If the dispute with Britain was not resolved by September 1775, the Association called for barring most exports to Britain and the West Indies. All who violated the terms of the association were to be considered "enemies of American liberty" and ostracized.

Congress also issued a declaration of rights and grievances summarizing its position. The declaration condemned most of the steps taken by British authorities since 1763 but "cheerfully" consented to trade regulations for the good of the whole empire. The Congress sent addresses to the people of America, to the inhabitants of Great Britain, and to the king. The address to the king asked him to use his "royal authority and interposition" to protect his loyal subjects in America.

The proceedings of the First Continental Congress revealed division as well as agreement among its delegates. All of the delegates believed that the Coercive Acts were unconstitutional, but they differed over how to resist them. Only a minority was prepared to take up arms against Britain. Most representatives tried to protect the interests of their own colonies. Some South Carolina delegates, in an early example of the sectional stubbornness that would culminate nearly a century later in the U.S. Civil War, threatened to walk out of the meeting unless the nonexportation agreement omitted rice, most of which went to northern Europe by way of Britain. To placate the Carolinians, northerners agreed to the exemption. But Gadsden was disgusted, feeling that these actions betrayed the spirit of united purpose that Patrick Henry had spoken of so stirringly earlier in the Congress: "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American."

Political Divisions

In the wake of the First Continental Congress, Americans were forced to take sides for and against the Continental Association. But even such well-known radicals as Adams and Gadsden were far from advocating independence for the colonies. Throughout the pre-Revolutionary period, most colonists hoped and expected that imperial authorities would change their policy toward America. English history, Americans believed, was full of instances in which the resolute opposition of a free people forced oppressive ministries and tyrannical kings to back down. They were confident that it could happen again.



Samuel Adams, the leader of the Boston radicals. In this famous picture, thought to be commissioned by John Hancock, Adams points to legal documents guaranteeing American rights.

Samuel Adams, about 1772, John Singleton Copley, American, 1738–1815, Oil on canvas, 125.73x100.33 cm (49 1/2 x 39 1/2 in.), Deposited by the City of Boston, L-R 30.76c.

QUICK REVIEW

Congressional Response to the Coercive Acts

- All agreed that Acts were unconstitutional.
- A minority prepared to go to war with Britain.
- Most delegates thought of the interests of their own colony first.

Suffolk Resolves Militant resolves adopted in 1774 in response to the Coercive Acts by representatives from the towns in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, including Boston.

Continental Association Agreement, adopted by the First Continental Congress in 1774 in response to the Coercive Acts, to cut off trade with Britain until the objectionable measures were repealed.

QUICK REVIEW

Shifting Public Opinion

- Increasing numbers of Americans willing to challenge Britain's control over the colonies.
- James Wilson's experience mirrors larger public shift.
- 1774-1775: public debate and division intensifies.

What Americans were divided over was the extent of Parliament's authority over them and the degree to which they could legitimately challenge its power. As British officials failed, with the passing of time, to accommodate American views of their rights, Americans began in increasing numbers to challenge London's control over them. The experience of James Wilson, a Pennsylvania lawyer, illustrates this shift. In *Considerations on the Nature and Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament* (published in 1774), Wilson writes that he set out to find a reasonable dividing line between those areas in which Parliament had legitimate authority over the colonies and those in which it did not. But the more he thought, the more he became convinced "that such a line does not exist" and that there can be "no medium between acknowledging and denying that power in all cases." Wilson therefore concluded that Parliament had no authority at all over the colonies.

During 1774 and early 1775, as the British-American confrontation grew more heated, lively debates raged in newspapers and pamphlets, and the colonists became increasingly polarized. In the last months before the outbreak of the American Revolution, the advocates of colonial rights began to call themselves **Whigs** and condemned their opponents as **Tories**. These traditional English party labels dated from the late seventeenth century, when the Tories had supported the accession of the Catholic King James II, and the Whigs had opposed it. By calling themselves Whigs and their opponents Tories (loyalist was a more accurate label), the advocates of colonial rights cast themselves as champions of liberty and their enemies as defenders of religious intolerance and royal absolutism.

Whigs The name used by advocates of colonial resistance to British measures during the 1760s and 1770s.

Tories A derisive term applied to Loyalists in America who supported the king and Parliament just before and during the American Revolution.

Conclusion

All Americans, Whigs and loyalists alike, had considered themselves good British subjects. But Americans were a more diverse and more democratic people than the English. A considerably larger percentage of them could participate in government, and for all practical purposes, had been governing themselves for a long time.

British officials recognized the different character of American society and feared it might lead Americans to reject British controls. But the steps they took to prevent this from happening had the opposite effect.

From Britain's perspective, the measures it took in the wake of the French and Indian War were a reasonable response to its administrative and financial problems in the colonies. Taken one by one from the colonists' perspective, however, they were a rain of blows that finally impelled them to rebel. No wonder that Americans, whose political ideology had already made them wary of governmental power, believed that they were the victims of a conspiracy in London to deprive them of their liberty. That Parliament should be a party to this presumed conspiracy particularly shocked and offended them.

Yet Americans probably should not have been surprised at Parliament's role. Indeed, both Parliament and the colonial assemblies were doing what similar bodies throughout Europe were also doing at roughly the same time—asserting their powers and defending their liberties against encroachments from above and below.

The attempts to protect their accustomed autonomy first brought the colonial assemblies into conflict with Parliament. Asserting their rights led the individual colonies to cooperate more among themselves. This in turn led to increasingly wide-

spread resistance, then to rebellion, and finally to revolution. Moving imperceptibly from one stage to the next, Americans grew conscious of their common interests and their differences from the English. They became aware, as Benjamin Franklin would later write, of the need to break "through the bounds, in which a dependent people had been accustomed to think, and act" so that they might "properly comprehend the character they had assumed."

SUMMARY

Imperial Reorganization At the close of the French and Indian War, British officials adopted a new and ultimately disastrous course in dealing with America. In 1763, the British government took several steps to deal with the new territories, protect the old colonies, and maintain peace with the Indians. Among these steps were the Proclamation of 1763 and the Quartering Acts. Relations with Native Americans were also on the minds of British leaders, as they dealt with both the Cherokee War and Pontiac's Rebellion within a span of three years. Finally, the culmination of the reorganization efforts saw the Sugar Act and Stamp Act passed by Parliament in an effort to collect more taxes from the colonists.

American Reactions The measures Britain took to solve its financial and administrative problems first puzzled, then shocked, and eventually outraged Americans. The constitutional issue that most strained the bond between the colonies and the empire was taxation. With their country ideology, colonists reacted quickly. Shared outrage at the Stamp Act inspired the colonies to join in unified political action. The Sons of Liberty, a collection of protest groups, put pressure on British authorities. Leaders throughout the colonies met and collectively adopted the Declaration of Rights and Grievances, which denied Parliament's right to tax the colonies.

The Aftermath of the Stamp Act Crisis The aftermath of the Stamp Crisis was growing strain between Parliament and the colonies. Growing strain was also evident on the local level with the emergence in 1766 of vigilante groups calling themselves Regulators in response to official corruption in North Carolina and lawlessness in South Carolina.

The Townshend Crisis The Townshend duties, like the stamp tax, provoked resistance throughout the colonies. And, by 1770, Britain was ready to concede that they had been counterproductive. However, in March 1770 British troops fired on American civilians in Boston. This incident, known as the Boston Massacre, resulted from months of increased friction between townspeople and British troops stationed in the city. During the so-called Quiet Period following the Boston Massacre, Americans drank smuggled Dutch tea. When British officials tried to correct this, colonists responded with the Boston Tea Party, during which they heaved 342 chests of tea into the Boston Harbor.

The Road to Revolution Americans found the territorial, religious and constitutional aspects of the Intolerable Acts disturbing. Leaders in most colonies wanted to organize a coordinated response. They agreed to meet in Philadelphia in what was to be called the First Continental Congress. They agreed to endorse the Suffolk Resolves, which strongly denounced the Coercive Acts as unconstitutional. In the wake of the Congress, Americans were forced to take sides for and against the Continental Association. During 1774, as the British-American confrontation grew more heated, the colonies became increasingly polarized.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What do Eliza Farmar's letters tell us about the crisis over dutied tea in 1773 and 1774? What makes her increasingly sympathetic to the colonial position?
2. How did the British victory in the French and Indian War affect the relations between Native Americans and white settlers? Between British authorities and Americans?
3. How did the expectations of American and British authorities differ in 1763? Why were new policies offensive to Americans?
4. How was stationing British troops in America related to British taxation of the colonists? Why did the colonists object to taxation by Parliament?
5. How did Americans oppose the new measures? Who participated in the various forms of resistance? How effective were the different kinds of resistance?
6. What led to the meeting of the First Continental Congress? What did the Congress achieve?

KEY TERMS

Boston Massacre (p. 122)
Boston Tea Party (p. 124)
British Constitution (p. 117)
Cherokee War (p. 114)
Coercive Acts (p. 125)
Committees of correspondence (p. 124)
Continental Association (p. 127)
Currency Act (p. 116)
Declaration of Rights and Grievances (p. 119)
Declaratory Act (p. 119)
First Continental Congress (p. 125)
Intolerable Acts (p. 125)
Nonimportation movement (p. 118)
Parson's Cause (p. 115)
Pontiac's Rebellion (p. 114)
Proclamation Line (p. 113)
Proclamation of 1763 (p. 112)
Quartering Acts (p. 113)
Quebec Act (p. 125)
Regulators (p. 120)
Sons of Liberty (p. 118)
Stamp Act (p. 116)
Stamp Act Congress (p. 119)
Sugar Act (p. 116)
Suffolk Resolves (p. 127)
Tea Act of 1773 (p. 124)
Tories (p. 128)
Townshend Duty Act (p. 121)
Whigs (p. 128)
Writs of assistance (p. 117)

WHERE TO LEARN MORE

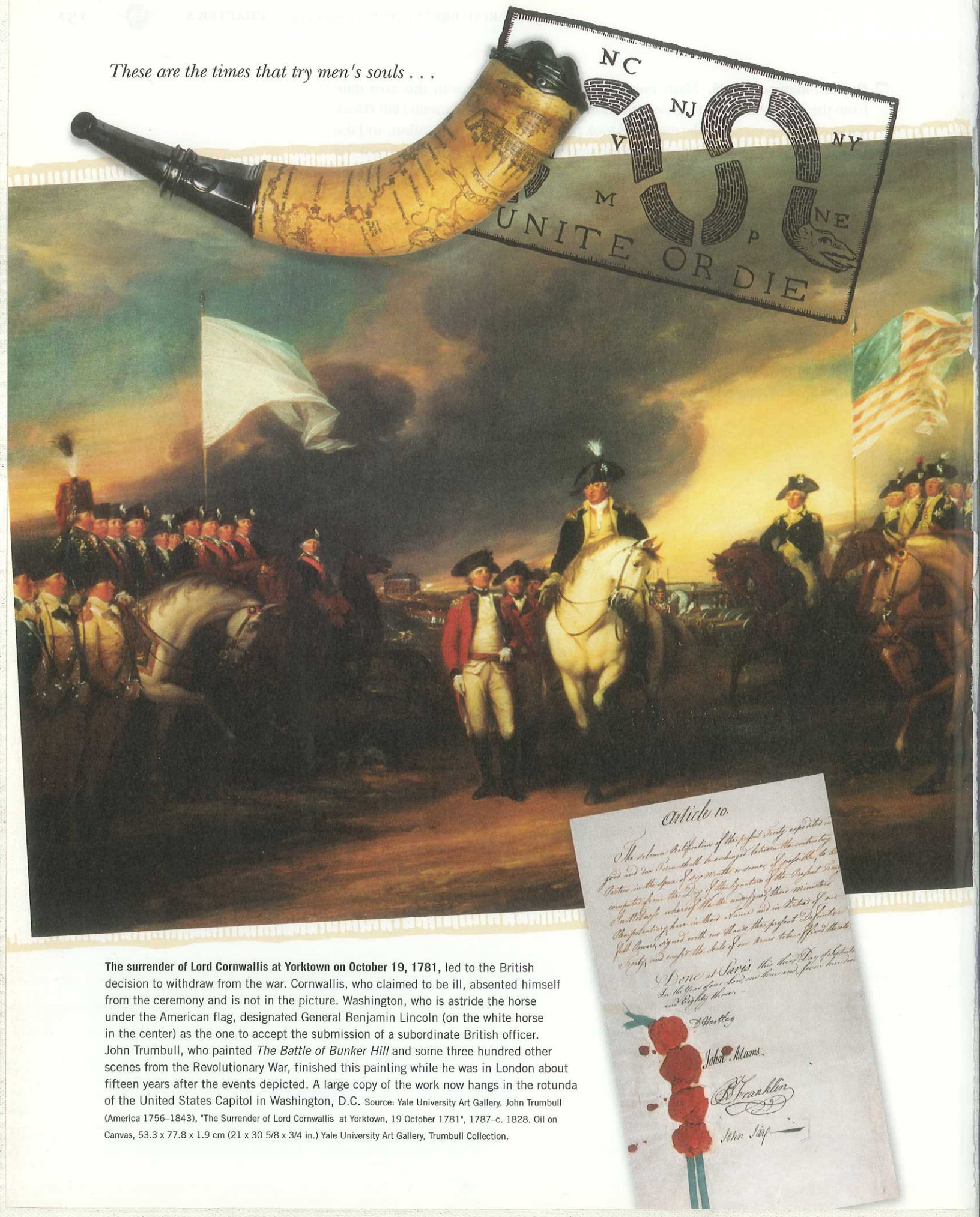
- **Charleston, South Carolina.** Many buildings date from the eighteenth century. Officials stored tea in one of them—the Exchange—to prevent a local version of the Boston Tea Party. The website for Historic Charleston, **http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/charleston**, provides a map, a list of buildings, and information about them.
- **Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.** Numerous buildings and sites date from the eighteenth century. Independence National Historical Park, between Second and Sixth streets on Walnut and Chestnut streets, contains Carpenter's Hall, where the First Continental Congress met, and the Pennsylvania State House (now known as Independence Hall), where the Declaration of Independence was adopted. Philadelphia's Historic Mile, **http://www.ushistory.org/tour/index.html**, provides a virtual tour of the great landmarks of the city, including Independence Hall.

- **Boston, Massachusetts.** Many important buildings and sites in this area date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They include Faneuil Hall (Dock Square), where many public meetings took place prior to the Revolution, and the Old State House (Washington and State streets), which overlooks the site of the Boston Massacre. The Freedom Trail, **http://www.thefreedomtrail.org/virtual_tour.html**, provides a well illustrated virtual tour of the historic sites.

- **Fort Michilimackinac National Historic Landmark, Mackinaw City, Michigan.** Near the south end of the Mackinac Bridge, the present structure is a modern restoration of the fort as it was when Pontiac's Rebellion took a heavy toll of its garrison. The Mackinac State Historic Parks website, **http://www.mackinacparks.com/michilimackinac/html**, provides a brief description and photographs of the reconstructed colonial village and fort.

For additional study resources for this chapter, go to:
www.prenhall.com/goldfield/chapter5

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



The surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown on October 19, 1781, led to the British decision to withdraw from the war. Cornwallis, who claimed to be ill, absented himself from the ceremony and is not in the picture. Washington, who is astride the horse under the American flag, designated General Benjamin Lincoln (on the white horse in the center) as the one to accept the submission of a subordinate British officer. John Trumbull, who painted *The Battle of Bunker Hill* and some three hundred other scenes from the Revolutionary War, finished this painting while he was in London about fifteen years after the events depicted. A large copy of the work now hangs in the rotunda of the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C. Source: Yale University Art Gallery. John Trumbull (America 1756–1843), "The Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, 19 October 1781", 1787–c. 1828. Oil on Canvas, 53.3 x 77.8 x 1.9 cm (21 x 30 5/8 x 3/4 in.) Yale University Art Gallery, Trumbull Collection.