

CHAPTER

6

The Road to Revolution 1763–1776

Section 1 **Tighter British Control**

Section 2 **Colonial Resistance Grows**

Section 3 **The Road to Lexington and Concord**

Section 4 **Declaring Independence**



Angry colonists watch the arrival of British troops in Boston.

Interact *with* History

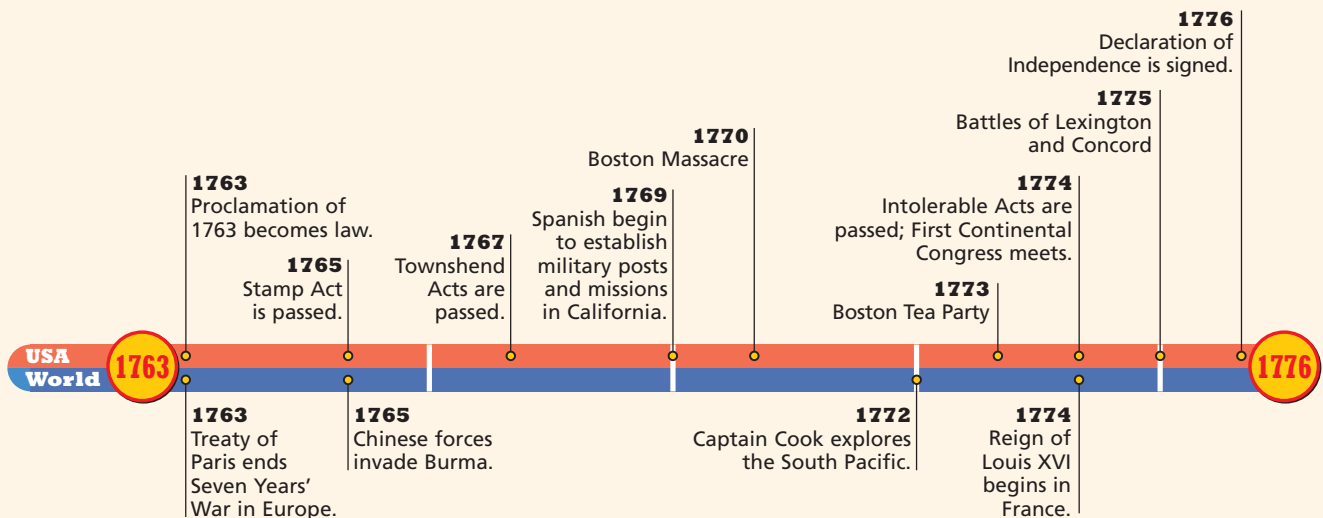


The year is 1765. Your neighbors are enraged by Britain's attempt to tax them without their consent. Britain has never done this before. Everyone will be affected by the tax. There are protests in many cities. You have to decide what you would do.

What Do You Think?

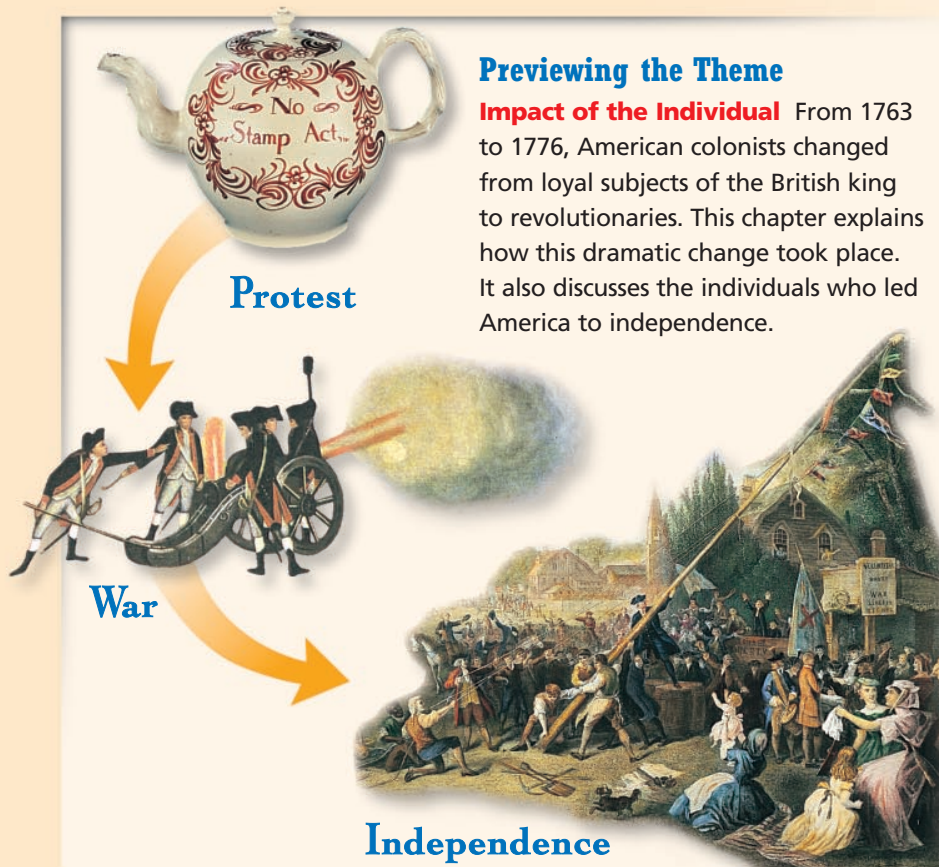
- What is the best way to show opposition to policies you consider unjust?
- Is there anything to be gained by protesting? Anything to be lost?
- Does government have the right to tax without consent of the people? Why or why not?

Would you join the protest?



Chapter 6 SETTING THE STAGE

BEFORE YOU READ



Previewing the Theme

Impact of the Individual From 1763 to 1776, American colonists changed from loyal subjects of the British king to revolutionaries. This chapter explains how this dramatic change took place. It also discusses the individuals who led America to independence.

What Do You Know?

What do you already know about the time before the Revolution? What were the issues that caused the colonists to choose independence?

THINK ABOUT

- what you have learned about this period from movies, television, or historical fiction
- reasons people in history have chosen to fight for freedom from oppression

What Do You Want to Know?

What questions do you have about the issues and events that pushed the American colonists toward rebellion? Record them in your notebook before you read the chapter.

READ AND TAKE NOTES

Reading Strategy: Sequencing Events

Sequencing means putting events in the order in which they happen in time. In learning about how the American colonies moved toward independence, it would be helpful to list the important events.

Place them in the order in which they occurred. You might record the event and its date in a graphic organizer such as the one below. Copy this organizer in your notebook. Fill it in as you read the chapter.

See Skillbuilder Handbook, page R4.

Proclamation of 1763	→		→		→	
	←		←		←	
	→		→		→	Declaration of Independence, 1776

1 Tighter British Control

TERMS & NAMES

King George III
Quartering Act
revenue
Sugar Act
Stamp Act
Patrick Henry
boycott
Sons of Liberty

MAIN IDEA

Americans saw British efforts to tax them and to increase control over the colonies as violations of their rights.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Colonial protests were the first steps on the road to American independence.

ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

James Otis, Jr., a young Massachusetts lawyer, stormed through the streets of Boston one day in 1760. He was furious. His father had just been denied the post of chief justice of the Massachusetts colony by the royal governor. To Otis, this was one more example of Britain's lack of respect for colonial rights. Another example was its use of search warrants that allowed customs officers to enter any home or business to look for smuggled goods. Otis believed these searches were illegal.

Otis took up a case against the government that involved these search warrants. In court in February 1761, Otis spoke with great emotion for five hours about the search warrant and its use.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

It appears to me the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law, that was ever found in an English law-book.

James Otis, Jr., quoted in *James Otis: The Pre-Revolutionist* by J. C. Ridpath

Spectators listened in amazement. One of them, a young lawyer named John Adams, later wrote of Otis's performance: "Then and there, in the old Council Chamber, the child Independence was born."

In making the first public speech demanding English liberties for the colonists, James Otis planted a seed of freedom. In this section, you will read more about the early protests against Britain's policies in America.



James Otis, Jr., argues in court against illegal search warrants in 1761.

The Colonies and Britain Grow Apart

During the French and Indian War, Britain and the colonies fought side by side. Americans took great pride in being partners in the victory over the French. However, when the war ended, problems arose. Britain wanted to govern its 13 original colonies and the territories gained in the war in a uniform way. So the British Parliament in London imposed new laws and restrictions. Previously, the colonies had been allowed to develop largely on their own. Now they felt that their freedom was being limited.

The first of Parliament's laws was the Proclamation of 1763. (See Chapter 5.) It said that colonists could not settle west of the Appalachian Mountains. Britain wanted this land to remain in the hands of its Native American allies to prevent another revolt like Pontiac's Rebellion.

The proclamation angered colonists who had hoped to move to the fertile Ohio Valley. Many of these colonists had no land of their own. It also upset colonists who had bought land as an investment. As a result, many ignored the law.

ReadingHistory

A. Summarizing
Who was upset by the Proclamation of 1763?

British Troops and Taxes

King George III, the British monarch, wanted to enforce the proclamation and also keep peace with Britain's Native American allies. To do this, he decided to keep 10,000 soldiers in the colonies. In 1765, Parliament passed the **Quartering Act**. This was a cost-saving measure that required the colonies to quarter, or house, British soldiers and provide them with supplies. General Thomas Gage, commander of these forces, put most of the troops in New York.

Britain owed a large debt from the French and Indian War. Keeping troops in the colonies would raise that debt even higher. Britain needed more **revenue**, or income, to meet its expenses. So it attempted to have the colonies pay part of the war debt. It also wanted them to contribute toward the costs of frontier defense and colonial government.

In the past, the king had asked the colonial assemblies to pass taxes to support military actions that took place in the colonies. This time, however, Parliament voted to tax the Americans directly.

In 1764, Parliament passed the **Sugar Act**. This law placed a tax on sugar, molasses, and other products shipped to the colonies. It also called for strict enforcement of the act and harsh punishment of smugglers.

Colonial merchants, who often traded in smuggled goods, reacted with anger.

Colonial leaders such as James Otis claimed that Parliament had no right to tax the colonies, since the colonists were not represented in Parliament. As Otis exclaimed, "Taxation without representation is tyranny!" British finance minister George Grenville disagreed. The colonists were subjects of Britain, he said, and enjoyed the protection of its laws. For that reason, they were subject to taxation.

Vocabulary

tyranny:
absolute power in the hands of a single ruler



The colonial view of the hated stamp tax is shown by the skull and crossbones on this emblem (above); a royal stamp is pictured at right.



Britain Passes the Stamp Act

The Sugar Act was just the first in a series of acts that increased tension between the mother country and the colonies. In 1765, Parliament passed the **Stamp Act**. This law required all legal and commercial documents to carry an official stamp showing that a tax had been paid. All diplomas, contracts, and wills had to carry a stamp.

Even published materials such as newspapers had to be written on special stamped paper.

The Stamp Act was a new kind of tax for the colonies. The Sugar Act had been a tax on imported goods. It mainly affected merchants. In contrast, the Stamp Act was a tax applied within the colonies. It fell directly on all colonists. Even more, the colonists had to pay for stamps in silver coin—a scarce item in the colonies.

Colonial leaders vigorously protested. For them, the issue was clear. They were being taxed without their consent by a Parliament in which they had no voice. If Britain could pass the Stamp Act, what other taxes might it pass in the future? Samuel Adams, a leader in the Massachusetts legislature, asked, “Why not our lands? Why not the produce of our lands and, in short, everything we possess and make use of?” **Patrick Henry**, a member of Virginia’s House of Burgesses, called for resistance to the tax. When another member shouted that resistance was treason, Henry replied, “If this be treason, make the most of it!”

The Colonies Protest the Stamp Act

Colonial assemblies and newspapers took up the cry—“No taxation without representation!” In October 1765, nine colonies sent delegates to the Stamp Act Congress in New York City. This was the first time the colonies met to consider acting together in protest. Delegates drew up a petition to the king protesting the Stamp Act. The petition declared that the right to tax the colonies belonged to the colonial assemblies, not to Parliament. Later, colonial merchants organized a **boycott** of British goods. A boycott is a refusal to buy.

Meanwhile, some colonists formed secret societies to oppose British policies. The most famous of these groups was the **Sons of Liberty**. Many Sons of Liberty were lawyers, merchants, and craftspeople—the colonists most affected by the Stamp Act. These groups staged protests against the act.

Not all of their protests were peaceful. The Sons of Liberty burned the stamped paper whenever they could find it. They also attacked customs officials, whom they covered with hot tar and feathers and paraded in public. Fearing for their safety, many customs officials quit their jobs.

The protests in the colonies had an effect in Britain. Merchants thought that their trade with America would be hurt. Some British political leaders, including

ReadingHistory

B. Making Inferences Why did the colonists boycott goods?

Background

To voice their protests, the Sons of Liberty in Boston met under a huge, 120-year-old elm tree that they called the Liberty Tree.

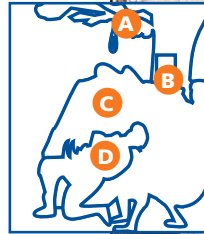
Colonists protest the Stamp Act.



Bostonians Paying the Taxman

In this British political cartoon, Americans are depicted as barbarians who would tar and feather a customs official, or tax collector, and pour hot tea down his throat.

- A** Liberty Tree as a gallows
- B** Stamp Act posted upside down
- C** Protesters in Boston
- D** Customs official tarred and feathered



the popular parliamentary leader William Pitt, agreed with American thinking about taxing the colonies. Pitt spoke out against the Stamp Act.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and [good] temper. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have [caused]? . . . My opinion . . . is that the Stamp Act be repealed absolutely, totally and immediately.

William Pitt, quoted in *Patriots* by A. J. Langguth

Parliament finally saw that the Stamp Act was a mistake and repealed it in 1766. But at the same time, Parliament passed another law—the Declaratory Act. This law said that Parliament had supreme authority to govern the colonies. The Americans celebrated the repeal of the Stamp Act and tried to ignore the Declaratory Act. A great tug of war between Parliament and the colonies had begun. The central issue was control of the colonies, as you will learn in the next section.

ReadingHistory

C. Drawing Conclusions Why was it important for Parliament to pass the Declaratory Act?

Section 1 Assessment

1. Terms & Names

Explain the significance of:

- King George III
- Quartering Act
- revenue
- Sugar Act
- Stamp Act
- Patrick Henry
- boycott
- Sons of Liberty

2. Taking Notes

Use a cluster diagram like the one below to review points of conflict between Britain and the colonies.



Which do you think was the most serious? Explain.

3. Main Ideas

- a.** Why did the Proclamation of 1763 anger colonists?
- b.** How did colonists react to the Stamp Act?
- c.** What was the goal of secret societies such as the Sons of Liberty?

4. Critical Thinking

Analyzing Points of View What were the two sides in the debate over British taxation of the colonies?

THINK ABOUT

- how Parliament viewed the colonies
- what concerned the colonists about taxes

ACTIVITY OPTIONS

ART
MUSIC

Imagine that you are a colonial leader who wants to get your fellow colonists to protest British policy. Design a **poster** or write a **song of protest**.

2 Colonial Resistance Grows

TERMS & NAMES

Crispus Attucks
Townshend Acts
writs of assistance
Samuel Adams
Boston Massacre
John Adams
committee of correspondence
Boston Tea Party

MAIN IDEA

Many Americans began to organize to oppose British policies.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Americans continue to protest what they view as wrongs and injustices.

ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

Crispus Attucks knew about the struggle for freedom. The son of an African-American father and a Native American mother, Attucks was born into slavery in Framingham, Massachusetts, around 1723. As a young man, Attucks escaped by running away to sea. He spent the next 20 years as a sailor, working on whaling boats. To avoid recapture, he used a false name, calling himself Michael Johnson.

In March 1770, Attucks found himself in Boston, where feelings against British rule were reaching a fever pitch. The words *freedom* and *liberty* seemed to be on everyone's lips. One night Attucks heard about a disturbance involving colonists and British troops and decided to investigate. He had no idea that he was about to play a key role in American history—losing his life to a British bullet in a protest that came to be known as the Boston Massacre. In this section, you will read how the tension between Britain and its colonies led to violence.



Crispus Attucks, a sailor of African-American and Native American ancestry, was an early hero of America's struggle for freedom.

The Townshend Acts Are Passed

After the uproar over the Stamp Act, Britain hoped to avoid further conflict. Even so, it still needed to raise money to pay for troops and other expenses in America. The Quartering Act was not working. Most of the British army was in New York, and New York saw that as an unfair burden. Its assembly refused to pay to house the troops.

The king's finance minister, Charles Townshend, told Parliament that he had a way to raise revenue in the colonies. So in 1767, Parliament passed his plan, known as the **Townshend Acts**.

The first of the Townshend Acts suspended New York's assembly until New Yorkers agreed to provide housing for the troops. The other acts placed duties, or import taxes, on various goods brought into the colonies, such as glass, paper, paint, lead, and tea. Townshend thought that duties, which were collected before the goods entered the colonies, would anger the colonists less than the direct taxes of the Stamp Act. The money raised would be used to pay the salaries of British governors and other officials in the colonies. To enforce the acts, British officers

would use **writs of assistance**, or search warrants, to enter homes or businesses to search for smuggled goods.

The Reasons for Protest

Protests immediately broke out at news of the Townshend Acts. New Yorkers were angry that their elected assembly had been suspended. People throughout the colonies were upset that Britain was placing new taxes on them. “The issue,” said John Dickinson, an important Pennsylvania lawyer, was “whether Parliament can legally take money out of our pockets without our consent.” He explained his opposition to the Townshend Acts in essays called *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, published in 1767.

daily life

WOMEN AND PROTEST

Women were not allowed to participate in political life in the colonies. So their role in protesting British actions was not as prominent as that of men. However, women made their beliefs known by taking part in demonstrations.

Also, some women formed the Daughters of Liberty. This was a patriotic organization that joined in the boycott of British tea and other goods. The refusal of these colonial women to use British imports caused them personal hardship. They were forced to make many of the boycotted items, such as clothing, themselves.



A VOICE FROM THE PAST

Let these truths be . . . impressed on our minds—that we cannot be happy without being free—that we cannot be free without being secure in our property—that we cannot be secure in our property if without our consent others may . . . take it away—that taxes imposed on us by Parliament do thus take it away—that duties laid for the sole purpose of raising money are taxes—that attempts to lay such duties should be instantly and firmly opposed.

John Dickinson, quoted in *A New Age Now Begins* by Page Smith

ReadingHistory

A. Making Inferences Why does Dickinson believe that taxes interfere with happiness?

The colonists were also angry about the writs of assistance. Many believed, as James Otis had argued (see page 143), that the writs went against their natural rights. These rights had been described by English philosopher John Locke during the Enlightenment. The law of nature, said Locke, teaches that “no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions.” The colonists felt that the Townshend Acts were a serious threat to their rights and freedoms.

Tools of Protest

To protest the Townshend Acts, colonists in Boston announced another boycott of British goods in October 1767. The driving force behind this protest was **Samuel Adams**, a leader of the Boston Sons of Liberty. Adams urged colonists to continue to resist British controls.

The boycott spread throughout the colonies. The Sons of Liberty pressured shopkeepers not to sell imported goods. The Daughters of Liberty called on colonists to weave their own cloth and use American products. As a result, trade with Britain fell sharply.

Colonial leaders asked for peaceful protests. Articles in the *Boston Gazette* asked the people to remain calm—



This engraving, *The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street* by Boston silversmith Paul Revere, appeared in the *Boston Gazette*.

“no mobs. . . . Constitutional methods are best.” However, tempers were running high. When customs officers in Boston tried to seize the American merchant ship *Liberty*, which was carrying smuggled wine, a riot broke out. The rioters forced the customs officers to flee.

Fearing a loss of control, officials called for more British troops. A defiant Samuel Adams replied, “We will destroy every soldier that dares put his foot on shore. . . . I look upon them as foreign enemies.”



The Boston Massacre

In the fall of 1768, 1,000 British soldiers (known as redcoats for their bright red jackets) arrived in Boston under the command of General Thomas Gage. With their arrival, tension filled the streets of Boston.

Since the soldiers were poorly paid, they hired themselves out as workers, usually at rates lower than those of American workers. Resentment against the redcoats grew. Soldiers and street youths often yelled insults at each other. “Lobsters for sale!” the youths would yell, referring to the soldiers’ red coats. “Yankees!” the soldiers jeered. *Yankee* was supposed to be an insult, but the colonists soon took pride in the name.

On March 5, 1770, tensions finally exploded into violence. A group of youths and dockworkers—among them Crispus Attucks—started trading insults in front of the Custom House. A fight broke out, and the soldiers began firing. Attucks and four laborers were killed.

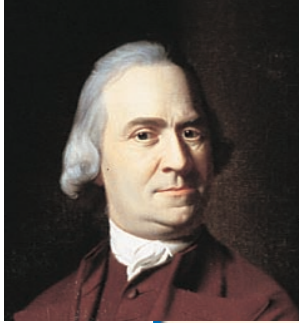
The Sons of Liberty called the shooting the **Boston Massacre**. They said that Attucks and the four others had given their lives for freedom. The incident became a tool for anti-British propaganda in newspaper articles, pamphlets, and posters. The people of Boston were outraged.

Meanwhile, the redcoats who had fired the shots were arrested for murder. **John Adams**, a lawyer and cousin of Samuel Adams, defended them in court. Adams was criticized for taking the case. He replied that the law should be “deaf . . . to the clamors of the populace.” He supported

ReadingHistory

B. Recognizing Propaganda How did the use of the word *massacre* show an anti-British view?

AMERICA'S HISTORY MAKERS



SAMUEL ADAMS

1722–1803

Samuel Adams was a Harvard graduate. But unlike his cousin John, also a Harvard graduate, he showed little skill for the law. Later, when he took control of the family business, he lost his father's fortune. Yet he succeeded in one impor-

tant undertaking—moving America toward independence.

Adams's true talent lay in rousing people to action in support of a cause. A fiery orator and a master of propaganda, he used words as a weapon. One British official said that "every dip of his pen stings."

How did the cousins John and Samuel Adams differ in the way they protested British actions?

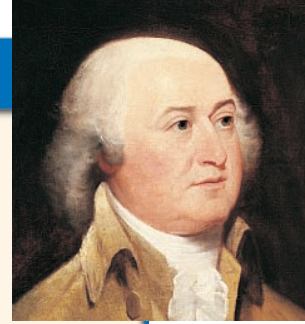
JOHN ADAMS

1735–1826

John Adams, unlike Samuel, was considered a moderate in the struggle against Britain. He was an important voice of reason and at first opposed resisting by force.

Adams believed in the rule of law. He called his defense of the soldiers in the Boston Massacre "one of the best pieces of service I ever rendered my country."

Eventually, Adams became convinced that only outright resistance would gain liberty for America. He said, "Britain has at last driven America, to the last Step, a compleat Separation from her."



the colonial cause but wanted to show that the colonists followed the rule of law. Adams argued that the soldiers had acted in self-defense. The jury agreed. To many colonists, however, the Boston Massacre would stand as a symbol of British tyranny.

The Tea Act

The colonists were unaware that on the day of the Boston Massacre, Parliament proposed the repeal of the Townshend Acts. One month later, all the acts except the tax on tea were repealed. The colonial boycott had been effective—British trade had been hurt. But Parliament kept the tea tax to show that it still had the right to tax the colonists. For most Americans, the crisis was over.

Samuel Adams, however, wanted to make sure people did not forget the cause of liberty. He started a drive to form **committees of correspondence** in various towns in Massachusetts. These groups exchanged letters on colonial affairs. Before long, committees throughout Massachusetts were corresponding with one another and with committees in other colonies.

Then, in 1773, Parliament opened up old wounds when it passed the Tea Act. Tea was very popular in the colonies, but much of it was smuggled in from Holland. The Tea Act gave the British East India Company control over the American tea trade. The tea would arrive in the colonies only in the trading company's ships and be sold there by its merchants. Colonists who had not been paying any tax on smuggled tea would now have to pay a tax on this regulated tea. This enraged colonial shippers and merchants. The colonists wondered what Parliament would do next.

ReadingHistory

C. Drawing Conclusions

Why did Samuel Adams think that the colonists might forget the cause of liberty?

The Boston Tea Party

Protests against the Tea Act took place all over the colonies. In Charleston, South Carolina, colonists unloaded tea and let it rot on the docks. In New York City and Philadelphia, colonists blocked tea ships from landing. In Boston, the Sons of Liberty organized what came to be known as the **Boston Tea Party**.



Colonists dumped hundreds of chests of tea into Boston Harbor in 1773 to protest the Tea Act.

ReadingHistory

D. Reading a Map Find Boston Harbor on the map on page 156.

On the evening of December 16, 1773, a group of men disguised as Native Americans boarded three tea ships docked in Boston Harbor. One of the men, George Hewes, a Boston shoemaker, later recalled the events.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

We then were ordered by our commander to open the hatches and take out all the chests of tea and throw them overboard. . . . In about three hours from the time we went on board, we had thus broken and thrown overboard every tea chest to be found on the ship, while those in the other ships were disposing of the tea in the same way, at the same time.

George Hewes, quoted in *A Retrospect of the Boston Tea-Party*

That night, Hewes and the others destroyed 342 chests of tea. Many colonists rejoiced at the news. They believed that Britain would now see how strongly colonists opposed taxation without representation.

Others doubted that destroying property was the best way to settle the tax debate. Some colonial leaders offered to pay for the tea if Parliament would repeal the Tea Act. Britain rejected the offer. It not only wanted repayment, but it also wanted the men who destroyed the tea to be brought to trial. The British reaction to the Boston Tea Party would fan the flames of rebellion in the 13 colonies, as you will read in the next section.

ReadingHistory

E. Recognizing Effects How did Britain react to the Tea Party?

Section 2 Assessment

1. Terms & Names

Explain the significance of:

- Crispus Attucks
- Townshend Acts
- writs of assistance
- Samuel Adams
- Boston Massacre
- John Adams
- committee of correspondence
- Boston Tea Party

2. Taking Notes

Create a time line like the one below to show the significant people and events described in this section.



Which event do you think was the most important? Explain.

3. Main Ideas

- a.** Why did colonists oppose the Townshend Acts?
- b.** Why were British troops sent to Boston?
- c.** What prompted the Boston Tea Party?

4. Critical Thinking

Drawing Conclusions

Do you think colonial outrage over the Boston Massacre was justified? Explain.

THINK ABOUT

- how the British troops were taunted
- whether troops have the right to fire on citizens

ACTIVITY OPTIONS

SPEECH
TECHNOLOGY

Read more about the Boston Massacre or the Boston Tea Party. Present an oral report or plan a multimedia presentation about the event.

Fight for Representative Government!

You are a colonist living in Boston on the eve of the American Revolution. Nearly a decade of protest against British policies has failed to secure American rights. Redcoats continue to be quartered in the city. The Tea Act still stands. Now the dumping of tea in Boston Harbor by some Patriots has charged the atmosphere with tension. Trouble lies ahead, but you are determined to fight for a government that will protect your rights.

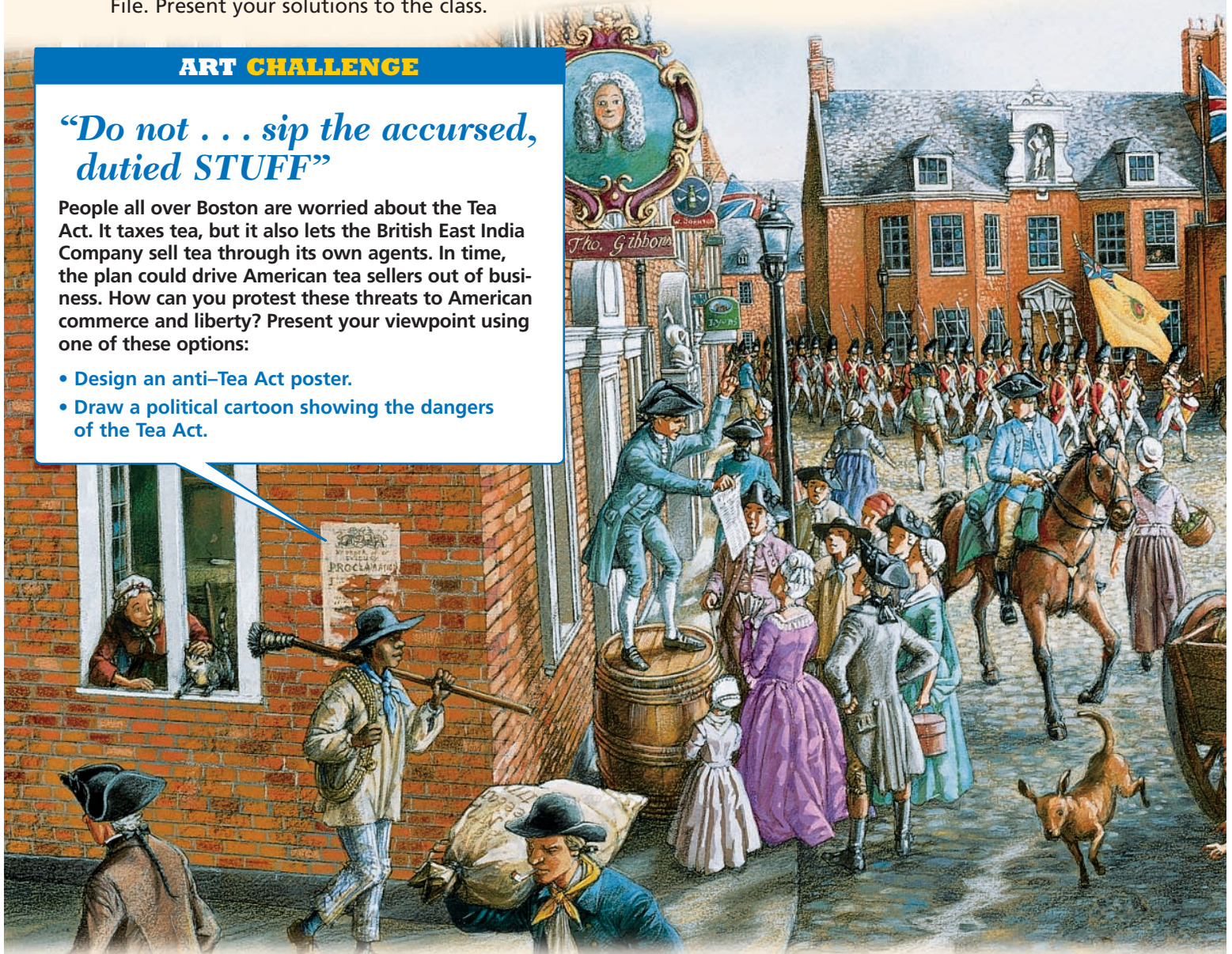
COOPERATIVE LEARNING On this page are two challenges that you face as the conflict with Britain unfolds. Working with a small group, decide how to deal with each challenge. Choose an option, assign a task to each group member, and do the activity. You will find useful information in the Data File. Present your solutions to the class.

ART CHALLENGE

“Do not . . . sip the accursed, dutied STUFF”

People all over Boston are worried about the Tea Act. It taxes tea, but it also lets the British East India Company sell tea through its own agents. In time, the plan could drive American tea sellers out of business. How can you protest these threats to American commerce and liberty? Present your viewpoint using one of these options:

- Design an anti-Tea Act poster.
- Draw a political cartoon showing the dangers of the Tea Act.





DATA FILE

MATH CHALLENGE

“Wear none but your own country linen”

Years of struggle have taken their toll on Boston. People are tired of soldiers and of boycotting British goods, such as clothing. But the Tea Act presents a huge threat. The Boston Tea Party took care of only one shipment. How can you help encourage the boycott of other British goods, such as clothing? Look at the Data File for help. Present your appeal using one of these options:

- Make a graph showing the effect of colonial boycotts on imports of British goods to America.
- Write an editorial using statistics to show how American boycotts have hurt the British.

Population in 1774–1775

Britain: 7,860,000

London: 700,000

The 13 colonies: 2,350,000

Philadelphia: 33,000

New York: 22,000

Boston: 16,000

North American Imports from Britain

(in millions of pounds sterling)

1763	1.6	1770	1.9
1764	2.3	1771	4.2
1765	1.9	1772	3.0
1766	1.8	1773	2.1
1767	1.9	1774	2.6
1768	2.2	1775	0.2
1769	1.3	1776	0.1

North American Exports to Britain

(in millions of pounds sterling)

1763	1.1	1770	1.0
1764	1.1	1771	1.3
1765	1.2	1772	1.3
1766	1.0	1773	1.4
1767	1.1	1774	1.4
1768	1.3	1775	1.9
1769	1.1	1776	0.1

Key Boycott Dates

- 1764 Boycott after passage of Sugar Act
- 1765 Boycott after passage of Stamp Act
- 1766 Boycott relaxed after Stamp Act repealed
- 1767 Boycott after passage of Townshend Acts
- 1770 Townshend Acts repealed
- 1774 Boycott after passage of Intolerable Acts

Sales and Consumption of Tea at the Time of the Boston Tea Party

British sales: fourth most important product shipped to America
American consumption:

1.2 million pounds per year

For more on Revolutionary America . . .



RESEARCH LINKS
CLASSZONE.COM

ACTIVITY WRAP-UP

Present to the Class Meet as a group to review your responses to British attacks on American liberty. Pick the most creative solution for each challenge and present these solutions to the class.

