Letter to the Editor
As you read Unit 1, look for an issue that interests you, such as the effect of colonization on Native Americans or the rights of American colonists. Write a letter to the editor in which you explain your views. Your letter should include reasons and facts.

The Landing of the Pilgrims, by Samuel Bartolli (1825)
CHAPTER 4

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

The Sons of Liberty pull down a statue of George III on the Bowling Green, New York, July 9, 1776.
It is 1767, and your Boston printing shop may soon be forced to close. British import taxes have all but eliminated your profits. In response to petitions to repeal the tax, the king has instead stationed troops throughout the city. Some of your neighbors favor further petitions, but others urge stronger measures.

**How would you respond to unfair laws passed by a distant government?**

**Examine the Issues**
- Should American colonists obey every law passed in Britain?
- Are colonists entitled to the same rights as all other British subjects?

Visit the Chapter 4 links for more information about The War for Independence.
The Stirrings of Rebellion

**MAIN IDEA**
Conflict between Great Britain and the American colonies grew over issues of taxation, representation, and liberty.

**WHY IT MATTERS NOW**
The events that shaped the American Revolution are a turning point in humanity’s fight for freedom.

**Terms & Names**
- Stamp Act
- Samuel Adams
- Townshend Acts
- Boston Massacre
- committees of correspondence
- Boston Tea Party
- King George III
- Intolerable Acts
- martial law
- minutemen

---

On the cold, clear night of March 5, 1770, a mob gathered outside the Customs House in Boston. They heckled the British sentry on guard, calling him a “lobster-back” to mock his red uniform. More soldiers arrived, and the mob began hurling stones and snowballs at them. At that moment, Crispus Attucks, a sailor of African and Native American ancestry, arrived with a group of angry laborers.

**A PERSONAL VOICE**

JOHN ADAMS

“This Attucks ... appears to have undertaken to be the hero of the night; and to lead this army with banners ... up to King street with their clubs ... [T]his man with his party cried, ‘Do not be afraid of them....’

He had hardiness enough to fall in upon them, and with one hand took hold of a bayonet, and with the other knocked the man down.”

—quoted in The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution

Attucks’s action ignited the troops. Ignoring orders not to shoot, one soldier and then others fired on the crowd. Five people were killed; several were wounded. Crispus Attucks was, according to a newspaper account, the first to die.

---

The Colonies Organize to Resist Britain

The uprising at the Customs House illustrated the rising tensions between Britain and its American colonies. In order to finance debts from the French and Indian War, as well as from European wars, Parliament had turned hungry eyes on the colonies’ resources.

**THE STAMP ACT**
The seeds of increased tension were sown in March 1765 when Parliament, persuaded by Prime Minister George Grenville, passed the *Stamp Act*. The Stamp Act required colonists to purchase special stamped paper for every legal document, license, newspaper, pamphlet, and almanac, and imposed special “stamp duties” on packages of playing cards and dice. The tax reached into every colonial pocket. Colonists who disobeyed the law were to be tried in the vice-admiralty courts, where convictions were probable.
STAMP ACT PROTESTS When word of the Stamp Act reached the colonies in May of 1765, the colonists united in their defiance. Boston shopkeepers, artisans, and laborers organized a secret resistance group called the Sons of Liberty. One of its founders was Harvard-educated Samuel Adams, who, although unsuccessful in business and deeply in debt, proved himself to be a powerful and influential political activist.

By the end of the summer, the Sons of Liberty were harassing customs workers, stamp agents, and sometimes royal governors. Facing mob threats and demonstrations, stamp agents all over the colonies resigned. The Stamp Act was to become effective on November 1, 1765, but colonial protest prevented any stamps from being sold.

During 1765 and early 1766, the individual colonial assemblies confronted the Stamp Act measure. Virginia’s lower house adopted several resolutions put forth by a 29-year-old lawyer named Patrick Henry. These resolutions stated that Virginians could be taxed only by the Virginia assembly—that is, only by their own representatives. Other assemblies passed similar resolutions.

The colonial assemblies also made a strong collective protest. In October 1765, delegates from nine colonies met in New York City. This Stamp Act Congress issued a Declaration of Rights and Grievances, which stated that Parliament lacked the power to impose taxes on the colonies because the colonists were not represented in Parliament. More than 10 years earlier, the colonies had rejected Benjamin Franklin’s Albany Plan of Union, which called for a joint colonial council to address defense issues. Now, for the first time, the separate colonies began to act as one.

Merchants in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia agreed not to import goods manufactured in Britain until the Stamp Act was repealed. They expected that British merchants would force Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act. The widespread boycott worked. In March 1766, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act; but on the same day, to make its power clear, Parliament issued the Declaratory Act. This act asserted Parliament’s full right to make laws “to bind the colonies and people of America . . . in all cases whatsoever.”

THE TOWNSHEND ACTS Within a year after Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, Charles Townshend, the leading government minister at the time, impetuously decided on a new method of gaining revenue from the American colonies. His proposed revenue laws, passed by Parliament in 1767, became known as the Townshend Acts. Unlike the Stamp Act, which was a direct tax, these were indirect taxes, or duties levied on imported materials—glass, lead, paint, and paper—as they came into the colonies from Britain. The acts also imposed a three-penny tax on tea, the most popular drink in the colonies.

The colonists reacted with rage and well-organized resistance. Educated Americans spoke out against the Townshend Acts, protesting “taxation without representation.” Boston’s Samuel Adams called for another boycott of British goods, and American women of every rank in society became involved in the protest. Writer Mercy Otis Warren of Massachusetts urged women to lay their British “female ornaments aside,” foregoing “feathers, furs, rich satins and . . . capes.” Wealthy women stopped buying British luxuries and joined other women in spinning bees. These were public displays of spinning and weaving of colonial-made cloth designed to show colonists’ determination to boycott British-made cloth. Housewives also boycotted British tea and exchanged recipes for tea made from birch bark and sage.

Main Idea

Comparing

How would you compare reactions to the Townshend Acts with reactions to the Stamp Act?
Conflict intensified in June 1768. British agents in Boston seized the *Liberty*, a ship belonging to local merchant John Hancock. The customs inspector claimed that Hancock had smuggled in a shipment of wine from Madeira and had failed to pay the customs taxes. The seizure triggered riots against customs agents. In response, the British stationed 2,000 “redcoats,” or British soldiers—so named for the red jackets they wore—in Boston.

**Tension Mounts in Massachusetts**

The presence of British soldiers in Boston’s streets charged the air with hostility. The city soon erupted in clashes between British soldiers and colonists and later in a daring tea protest, all of which pushed the colonists and Britain closer to war.

**THE BOSTON MASSACRE** One sore point was the competition for jobs between colonists and poorly paid soldiers who looked for extra work in local shipyards during off-duty hours. On the cold afternoon of March 5, 1770, a fist-fight broke out over jobs. That evening a mob gathered in front of the Customs House and taunted the guards. When Crispus Attucks and several dockhands appeared on the scene, an armed clash erupted, leaving Attucks and four others dead in the snow. Instantly, Samuel Adams and other colonial agitators labeled this confrontation the *Boston Massacre*, thus presenting it as a British attack on defenseless citizens.

Despite strong feelings on both sides, the political atmosphere relaxed somewhat during the next two years until 1772, when a group of Rhode Island colonists attacked a British customs schooner that patrolled the coast for smugglers. After the ship accidentally ran aground near Providence, the colonists boarded the vessel and burned it to the waterline. In response, King George named a special commission to seek out the suspects and bring them to England for trial.

**History Through Art**

Paul Revere was not only a patriot, he was a silversmith and an engraver as well. One of the best-known of his engravings, depicting the Boston Massacre, is a masterful piece of anti-British propaganda. Widely circulated, Revere’s engraving played a key role in rallying revolutionary fervor.

- The sign above the redcoats reads “Butcher’s Hall.”
- The British commander, Captain Prescott (standing at the far right of the engraving) appears to be inciting the troops to fire, whereas in fact, he tried to calm the situation.
- At the center foreground is a small dog, a detail that gave credence to the rumor that, following the shootings, dogs licked the blood of the victims from the street.

**SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Visual Sources**

1. According to the details of the engraving, what advantages do the redcoats have that the colonists do not? What point does the artist make through this contrast?
2. How could this engraving have contributed to the growing support for the Patriots’ cause?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R23.
The plan to haul Americans to England for trial ignited widespread alarm. The assemblies of Massachusetts and Virginia set up committees of correspondence to communicate with other colonies about this and other threats to American liberties. By 1774, such committees formed a buzzing communication network linking leaders in nearly all the colonies.

**THE BOSTON TEA PARTY**

Early in 1773, Lord Frederick North, the British prime minister, faced a new problem. The British East India Company, which held an official monopoly on tea imports, had been hit hard by the colonial boycotts. With its warehouses bulging with 17 million pounds of tea, the company was nearing bankruptcy. To save it, North devised the Tea Act, which granted the company the right to sell tea to the colonies free of the taxes that colonial tea sellers had to pay. This action would cut colonial merchants out of the tea trade, because the East India Company could sell its tea directly to consumers for less. North hoped the American colonists would simply buy the cheaper tea; instead, they protested violently.

On the moonlit evening of December 16, 1773, a large group of Boston rebels disguised themselves as Native Americans and proceeded to take action against three British tea ships anchored in the harbor. John Andrews, an onlooker, wrote a letter on December 18, 1773, describing what happened.

**A PERSONAL VOICE**

JOHN ANDREWS

“They muster’d . . . to the number of about two hundred, and proceeded . . . to Griffin’s wharf, where [the three ships] lay, each with 114 chests of the ill fated article . . . and before nine o’clock in the evening, every chest from on board the three vessels was knock’d to pieces and flung over the sides.

They say the actors were Indians from Narragansett. Whether they were or not, . . . they appear’d as such, being cloth’d in Blankets with the heads muffled, and copper color’d countenances, being each arm’d with a hatchet or axe. . . .”

—quoted in 1776: Journals of American Independence

In this incident, later known as the Boston Tea Party, the “Indians” dumped 18,000 pounds of the East India Company's tea into the waters of Boston Harbor.

**THE INTOLERABLE ACTS**

King George III was infuriated by this organized destruction of British property, and he pressed Parliament to act. In 1774, Parliament responded by passing a series of measures that colonists called the Intolerable Acts. One law shut down Boston Harbor because the colonists had refused to pay for the damaged tea. Another, the Quartering Act, authorized British commanders to house soldiers in vacant private homes and other buildings. In addition to these measures, General Thomas Gage, commander in chief of British forces in North America, was appointed the new governor of Massachusetts. To keep the peace, he placed Boston under martial law, or rule imposed by military forces.

The committees of correspondence quickly moved into action and assembled the First Continental Congress. In September 1774, 56 delegates met in Philadelphia and drew up a declaration of colonial rights. They defended the colonies’ right to run their own affairs. They supported the protests in Massachusetts and stated that if the British used force against the colonies, the colonies should fight back. They also agreed to reconvene in May 1775 if their demands weren’t met.
After the First Continental Congress, colonists in many eastern New England towns stepped up military preparations. Minutemen, or civilian soldiers, began to quietly stockpile firearms and gunpowder. General Gage soon learned about these activities and prepared to strike back.

**TO CONCORD, BY THE LEXINGTON ROAD**  The spring of 1775 was a cold one in New England. Because of the long winter frosts, food was scarce. General Gage had been forced to put his army on strict rations, and British morale was low. Around the same time, Gage became concerned about reports brought to him concerning large amounts of arms and munitions hidden outside of Boston.

In March, Gage sent agents toward Concord, a town outside of Boston reported to be the site of one of the stockpiles. The agents returned with maps detailing where arms were rumored to be stored in barns, empty buildings, and private homes. The agents also told that John Hancock and Samuel Adams, perhaps the two most prominent leaders of resistance to British authority, were staying in Lexington, a smaller community about five miles east of Concord. As the snows melted and the roads cleared, Gage drew up orders for his men to march along the Lexington Road to Concord, where they would seize and destroy all munitions that they could find.

**“THE REGULARS ARE COMING!”**  As General Gage began to ready his troops quartered in Boston, minutemen were watching. Rumors were that a strike by British troops against resistance activities would come soon, although no one knew exactly when, nor did they know which towns would be targeted.

With Hancock and Adams in hiding, much of the leadership of resistance activity in Boston fell to a prominent young physician named Joseph Warren. Sometime during the afternoon of April 18, Doctor Warren consulted a confidential source close to the British high command. The source informed him that Gage intended to march on Concord by way of Lexington, seize Adams and Hancock, and destroy all hidden munitions. Warren immediately sent for Paul Revere, a member of the Sons of Liberty, and told him to warn Adams and Hancock as well as the townspeople along the way. Revere began to organize a network of riders who would spread the alarm.

On the night of April 18, Paul Revere, William Dawes, and Samuel Prescott rode out to spread word that 700 British Regulars, or army soldiers, were headed
The Battle of Lexington, as depicted in a mid-nineteenth-century painting.

for Concord. Before long, the darkened countryside rang with church bells and gunshots—prearranged signals to warn the population that the Regulars were coming.

Revere burst into the house where Adams and Hancock were staying and warned them to flee to the backwoods. He continued his ride until he, like Dawes, was detained by British troops. As Revere was being questioned, shots rang out and the British officer realized that the element of surprise had been lost. When more shots rang out, the officer ordered the prisoners released so that he could travel with greater speed to warn the other British troops marching toward Lexington that resistance awaited them there.
"A GLORIOUS DAY FOR AMERICA" By the morning of April 19, 1775, the king’s troops reached Lexington. As they neared the town, they saw 70 minutemen drawn up in lines on the village green. The British commander ordered the minutemen to leave, and the colonists began to move out without laying down their muskets. Then someone fired, and the British soldiers sent a volley of shots into the departing militia. Eight minutemen were killed and ten more were wounded, but only one British soldier was injured. The Battle of Lexington lasted only 15 minutes.

The British marched on to Concord, where they found an empty arsenal. After a brief skirmish with minutemen, the British soldiers lined up to march back to Boston, but the march quickly became a slaughter. Between 3,000 and 4,000 minutemen had assembled by now, and they fired on the marching troops from behind stone walls and trees. British soldiers fell by the dozen. Bloodied and humiliated, the remaining British soldiers made their way back to Boston.

While the battles were going on, Adams and Hancock were fleeing deeper into the New England countryside. At one point, they heard the sound of musketfire in the distance. Adams remarked that it was a fine day and Hancock, assuming that his companion was speaking of the weather said, “Very pleasant.” “I mean,” Adams corrected Hancock, “this is a glorious day for America.”

A View of the Town of Concord, painted by an unknown artist, shows British troops assembling on the village green.
Ideas Help Start a Revolution

William Franklin, son of the famous American writer, scientist, statesman, and diplomat Benjamin Franklin, was royal governor of New Jersey. Despite his father’s patriotic sympathies, William remained stubbornly loyal to King George. In a letter written on August 2, 1775, to Lord Dartmouth, he stated his position and that of others who resisted revolutionary views.

*A PERSONAL VOICE*  WILLIAM FRANKLIN

“There is indeed a dread in the minds of many here that some of the leaders of the people are aiming to establish a republic. Rather than submit . . . we have thousands who will risk the loss of their lives in defense of the old Constitution. [They] are ready to declare themselves whenever they see a chance of its being of any avail.”

—quoted in *A Little Revenge: Benjamin Franklin and His Son*

Because of William’s stand on colonial issues, communication between him and his father virtually ceased. The break between William Franklin and his father exemplified the chasm that now divided American from American.

The Colonies Hover Between Peace and War

In May of 1775, colonial leaders convened a second Continental Congress in Philadelphia to debate their next move. Beyond their meeting hall, however, events continued moving quickly, as minutemen and British soldiers clashed in a bloody battle outside Boston, and an increasingly furious King George readied his country for war.

**THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS** The loyalties that divided colonists sparked endless debates at the Second Continental Congress. John Adams of Massachusetts suggested a sweeping, radical plan—that each colony set up its own government and that the Congress declare the colonies independent.
Furthermore, he argued, the Congress should consider the militiamen besieging Boston to be the Continental Army and name a general to lead them. Moderate John Dickinson of Pennsylvania strongly disagreed with Adams's call for revolt. In private, he confronted Adams.

**PERSONAL VOICE  JOHN DICKINSON**

“What is the reason, Mr. Adams, that you New England men oppose our measures of reconciliation? . . . If you don’t concur with us in our pacific system, I and a number of us will break off from you in New England, and we will carry on the opposition by ourselves in our own way.”

—quoted in Patriots: The Men Who Started the American Revolution

The debates raged on into June, but one stubborn fact remained: colonial militiamen were still encamped around Boston. The Congress agreed to recognize them as the Continental Army and appointed as its commander a 43-year-old veteran of the French and Indian War, George Washington. The Congress, acting like an independent government, also authorized the printing of paper money to pay the troops and organized a committee to deal with foreign nations. These actions came just in time.

**THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL**  Cooped up in Boston, British General Thomas Gage decided to strike at militiamen who had dug in on Breed’s Hill, north of the city and near Bunker Hill. On the steamy summer morning of June 17, 1775, Gage sent out nearly 2,400 British troops. The British, sweating in wool uniforms and heavy packs, began marching up Breed’s Hill in their customary broad lines. The colonists held their fire until the last minute, then began to shoot down the advancing redcoats. The surviving British troops made a second attack, and then a third. The third assault succeeded, but only because the militiamen ran low on ammunition.

This painting shows “Bunker’s Hill” before the battle, as shells from Boston set nearby Charles Town ablaze. At the battle, the British demonstrated a maneuver they used throughout the war: they massed together, were visible for miles, and failed to take advantage of ground cover.
By the time the smoke cleared, the colonists had lost 450 men, while the British had suffered over 1,000 casualties. The misnamed Battle of Bunker Hill would prove to be the deadliest battle of the war.

**THE OLIVE BRANCH PETITION**  By July, the Second Continental Congress was readying the colonies for war while still hoping for peace. Most of the delegates, like most colonists, felt deep loyalty to George III and blamed the bloodshed on the king’s ministers. On July 8, 1775, the Congress sent the king the so-called Olive Branch Petition, urging a return to “the former harmony” between Britain and the colonies.  

King George flatly rejected the petition. Furthermore, he issued a proclamation stating that the colonies were in rebellion and urged Parliament to order a naval blockade of the American coast.

**The Patriots Declare Independence**  
In the months after the Olive Branch Petition, a thin document containing the powerful words of an angry citizen began to circulate and change public opinion.  

**COMMON SENSE**  In Common Sense, an anonymous 50-page pamphlet, the colonist Thomas Paine attacked King George III. Paine explained that his own revolt against the king had begun with Lexington and Concord.

> **A PERSONAL VOICE**  **THOMAS PAINE**
> 
> “No man was a warmer wisher for a reconciliation than myself, before the fatal nineteenth of April, 1775, but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, sullen tempered Pharaoh of England for ever . . . the wretch, that with the pretended title of Father of his people can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul.”

—Common Sense

Paine declared that the time had come for colonists to proclaim an independent republic. He argued that independence, which was the American “destiny,” would allow America to trade freely with other nations for guns and ammunition and win foreign aid from British enemies. Finally, Paine stated, independence would give Americans the chance to create a better society—one free from tyranny, with equal social and economic opportunities for all.  

Common Sense sold nearly 500,000 copies and was widely applauded. In April 1776, George Washington wrote, “I find Common Sense is working a powerful change in the minds of many men.”

**DECLARING INDEPENDENCE**  By early summer 1776, events pushed the wavering Continental Congress toward a decision. North Carolina had declared itself independent, and a majority of Virginians told their delegates that they favored independence. At last, the Congress urged each colony to form its own government. On June 7, Virginia delegate Richard Henry Lee moved that “these United Colonies are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent States.”

While talks on this fateful motion were under way, the Congress appointed a committee to prepare a formal declaration explaining the reasons for the colonies’ actions. Virginia lawyer Thomas Jefferson, known for his broad knowledge and skillfully crafted prose, was chosen to express the committee’s points.
Jefferson’s masterful Declaration of Independence drew on the concepts of the English philosopher John Locke, who maintained that people enjoy “natural rights” to life, liberty, and property. Jefferson described these rights as “Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”

In keeping with Locke’s ideas, Jefferson then declared that governments derive “their just powers from the consent of the governed”—that is, from the people. This right of consent gave the people the right “to alter or to abolish” any government that threatened their unalienable rights and to install a government that would uphold these principles. On the basis of this reasoning, the American colonies declared their independence from Britain, listing in the Declaration the numerous ways in which the British king had violated the “unalienable rights” of the Americans.

The Declaration states flatly that “all men are created equal.” When this phrase was written, it expressed the common belief that free citizens were political equals. It did not claim that all people had the same abilities or ought to have equal wealth. It was not meant to embrace women, Native Americans, and African-American slaves—a large number of Americans. However, Jefferson’s words presented ideals that would later help these groups challenge traditional attitudes.

In his first draft, Jefferson included an eloquent attack on the cruelty and injustice of the slave trade. However, South Carolina and Georgia, the two colonies most dependent on slavery, objected. In order to gain the votes of those two states, Jefferson dropped the offending passage.

On July 2, 1776, the delegates voted unanimously that the American colonies were free, and on July 4, 1776, they adopted the Declaration of Independence. While delegates created a formal copy of the Declaration, the document was read to a crowd in front of the Pennsylvania State House—now called Independence Hall. A rush of pride and anxiety ran through the Patriots—the supporters of independence—when they heard the closing vow: “We mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our Sacred Honor.”

Americans Choose Sides

Americans now faced a difficult, bitter choice: revolution or loyalty to the Crown. This issue divided communities, friends, and even families throughout the colonies.

LOYALISTS AND PATRIOTS The exact number of Loyalists—those who opposed independence and remained loyal to the Crown—is unknown. Many with Loyalist sympathies changed sides as the war progressed.

Some Loyalists felt a special tie to the king because they had served as judges, councilors, or governors. Most Loyalists, however, were ordinary people of modest means. They included some people who lived far from the cities and knew little of the events that turned other colonists into revolutionaries. Other people remained loyal because they thought that the British were going to win the war and they wanted to avoid being punished as rebels. Still others were Loyalists because they thought that the crown would protect their rights more effectively than the new colonial governments would.

Patriots drew their numbers from people who saw economic opportunity in an independent America. The Patriot cause embraced farmers, artisans, merchants,
Joseph Brant
Mohawk chief Joseph Brant fought for the British during the French and Indian War and remained loyal to the crown during the Revolutionary War.

“If we . . . [do] nothing for the British . . . there will be no peace for us. Our throats will be cut by the Red Coat man or by America . . . . We should go and join the father [Britain] . . . this is the only way for us.”

Charles Inglis
A clergyman of the Church of England, Charles Inglis was loyal to the king and argued against independence:

“By a reconciliation with Britain, [an end] would be put to the present calamitous war, by which many lives have been lost, and so many more must be lost, if it continues.”

Colonists Choose Sides
Loyalists and Patriots had much to gain and much to lose in the American colonies’ struggle for independence. Fortunes, family ties, and religious obligations as well as personal convictions were at stake. For many, the most important issue was that of national identity. Both sides believed that they were fighting for their country as well as being loyal to what was best for America.

Patriots

Nathanael Greene
A pacifist Quaker, Nathanael Greene nonetheless chose to fight against the British.

“I am determined to defend my rights and maintain my freedom or sell my life in the attempt.”

James Armistead
The state of Virginia paid tribute to devoted revolutionary James Armistead, who as a slave had been permitted to enlist:

“At the peril of his life [Armistead] found means to frequent the British camp, and thereby faithfully executed important commissions entrusted to him by the marquis.”

Mercy Otis Warren
Patriot Mercy Otis Warren wrote, “I see the inhabitants of our plundered cities quitting the elegancies of life, possessing nothing but their freedom, I behold faction & discord tearing up an Island we once held dear and a mighty Empire long the dread of distant nations, tottering to the very foundation.”

Loyalists

Charles Inglis
A clergyman of the Church of England, Charles Inglis was loyal to the king and argued against independence:

“By a reconciliation with Britain, [an end] would be put to the present calamitous war, by which many lives have been lost, and so many more must be lost, if it continues.”

Joseph Brant
Mohawk chief Joseph Brant fought for the British during the French and Indian War and remained loyal to the crown during the Revolutionary War.

“If we . . . [do] nothing for the British . . . there will be no peace for us. Our throats will be cut by the Red Coat man or by America . . . . We should go and join the father [Britain] . . . this is the only way for us.”

Isaac Wilkins
Isaac Wilkins had to leave his home after he opposed sending delegates to the Second Continental Congress.

“I leave America and every endearing connection because I will not raise my hand against my Sovereign, nor will I draw my sword against my country. When I can conscientiously draw it in her favor, my life shall be cheerfully devoted to her service.”

The War for Independence 107
landowners, and elected officials. German colonists in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia also joined the fight for independence. While Patriots made up nearly half the population, many Americans remained neutral.

**TAKING SIDES** The conflict presented dilemmas for other groups as well. The Quakers generally supported the Patriots but did not fight because they did not believe in war. Many African Americans fought on the side of the Patriots, while others joined the Loyalists since the British promised freedom to slaves who would fight for the crown. Most Native Americans supported the British because they viewed colonial settlers as a bigger threat to their lands.

Now the colonies were plunged into two wars—a war for independence and a civil war in which Americans found themselves on opposing sides. The price of choosing sides could be high. In declaring their independence, the Patriots had invited war with the mightiest empire on earth.

### ASSESSMENT

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- **Second Continental Congress**
- **Olive Branch Petition**
- **Common Sense**
- **Thomas Jefferson**
- **Declaration of Independence**
- **Patriots**
- **Loyalists**

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

Re-create the cluster diagram below on your paper. Fill it in with details presenting causes, ideas, and results related to the Declaration of Independence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of</th>
<th>Ideas in</th>
<th>Results of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. HYPOTHESIZING**

Imagine that King George had accepted the Olive Branch Petition and sought a diplomatic resolution with the Congress. Do you think colonists would still have pressed for independence? **Think About:**

- the attitudes of the king and Parliament toward the colonies
- the impact of fighting at Lexington, Concord, and Breed’s Hill
- the writings of Thomas Paine

**4. ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES**

Thomas Paine wrote in the introduction to *Common Sense*:

“The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind.”

Evaluate the significance of Paine’s statement. **Think About:**

- Locke’s ideas about natural rights
- Jefferson’s ideas about "unalienable rights"
The Declaration of Independence

Thomas Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence is one of the most important and influential legal documents of modern times. Although the text frequently refers to eighteenth-century events, its Enlightenment philosophy and politics have continuing relevance today. For more than 200 years the Declaration of Independence has inspired leaders of other independence movements and has remained a crucial document in the struggle for civil rights and human rights.

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled.

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

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness; that, to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

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

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

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

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

Jefferson begins the Declaration by attempting to legally and philosophically justify the revolution that was already underway. Here Jefferson is saying that, now that the colonists have begun to separate themselves from British rule, it is time to explain why the colonists have taken this course of action.

These passages reveal the influence of the English philosopher John Locke. In Two Treatises of Government (1690), Locke argued that if a government does not allow its citizens to enjoy certain rights and freedoms, the people have a right to replace that government.

The War for Independence 109

Here begins the section in which Jefferson condemns the behavior of King George, listing the king’s many tyrannical actions that have forced his American subjects to rebel.
He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;
For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States;
For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world;
For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent;
For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury;
For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses;
For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies;
For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments;
For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

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

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

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

This is a reference to the 10,000 troops that the British government stationed in North America after the French and Indian War. Although the British government saw the troops as protection for the colonists, the colonists themselves viewed the troops as a standing army that threatened their freedom.

Here Jefferson condemns both the king and Parliament for passing the Intolerable Acts. Most of these laws were intended to punish the people of Massachusetts for the Boston Tea Party. For example, the Quartering Act of 1765 forced colonists to provide lodging for British troops. Another act allowed British soldiers accused of murder to be sent back to England for trial. The Boston Port Bill closed the port of Boston, “cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world.”

Here Jefferson refers to the Quebec Act, which extended the boundaries of the province. He then refers to another act that changed the charter of Massachusetts and restricted town meetings.

The Declaration of Independence went through many revisions before the final draft. Jefferson, a slaveholder himself, regretted having to eliminate one passage in particular—a condemnation of slavery and the slave trade. However, in the face of opposition of delegates from Southern states, the anti-slavery passage was deleted.

Here Jefferson condemns both the king and Parliament for passing the Intolerable Acts. Most of these laws were intended to punish the people of Massachusetts for the Boston Tea Party. For example, the Quartering Act of 1765 forced colonists to provide lodging for British troops. Another act allowed British soldiers accused of murder to be sent back to England for trial. The Boston Port Bill closed the port of Boston, “cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world.”

Here Jefferson refers to the Quebec Act, which extended the boundaries of the province. He then refers to another act that changed the charter of Massachusetts and restricted town meetings.

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

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;
For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States;
For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world;
For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent;
For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury;
For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses;
For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies;
For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments;
For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

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

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

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.
He has constrained our fellow Citizens, taken Captive on the high Seas, to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

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

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

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

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do.
And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

[Signed by]

John Hancock [President of the Continental Congress]

[Georgia]  
Baton Gwinnett  
Lyman Hall  
George Walton

[Rhode Island]  
Stephen Hopkins  
William Ellery

[Connecticut]  
Roger Sherman  
Samuel Huntington  
William Williams  
Oliver Wolcott

[North Carolina]  
William Hooper  
Joseph Hewes  
John Penn

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

[Maryland]  
Samuel Chase  
William Paca  
Thomas Stone  
Charles Carroll

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

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

[Delaware]  
Caesar Rodney  
George Read  
Thomas McKean

[New York]  
William Floyd  
Philip Livingston  
Francis Lewis  
Lewis Morris

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

[New Hampshire]  
Josiah Bartlett  
William Whipple  
Matthew Thornton

[Massachusetts]  
Samuel Adams  
John Adams  
Robert Treat Paine  
Elbridge Gerry
Struggling Toward Saratoga

After a series of setbacks, American forces won at Saratoga and survived. Determination, resilience, and unity have become part of the American character.

Terms & Names
- Valley Forge
- Trenton
- Saratoga
- inflation
- profiteering

One American’s Story

After the colonists had declared independence, few people thought the rebellion would last. A divided colonial population of about two and a half million people faced a nation of 10 million that was backed by a worldwide empire.

Albigense Waldo worked as a surgeon at Valley Forge outside Philadelphia, which served as the site of the Continental Army’s camp during the winter of 1777–1778. While British troops occupied Philadelphia and found quarters inside warm homes, the underclothed and underfed Patriots huddled in makeshift huts in the freezing, snow-covered Pennsylvania woods. Waldo, who wrote of his stay at Valley Forge, reported on what was a common sight at the camp.

Albigense Waldo

“Here comes a bowl of beef soup full of dead leaves and dirt. There comes a soldier. His bare feet are seen through his worn-out shoes—his legs nearly naked from the tattered remains of an only pair of stockings—his Breeches [trousers] are not sufficient to cover his nakedness—his Shirt hanging in Strings—his hair disheveled—his face meager.”

—quoted in Valley Forge, the Making of an Army

The ordeal at Valley Forge marked a low point for General Washington’s troops, but even as it occurred, the Americans’ hopes of winning began to improve.
The War Moves to the Middle States

The British had previously retreated from Boston in March 1776, moving the theater of war to the Middle states. As part of a grand plan to stop the rebellion by isolating New England, the British decided to seize New York City.

DEFEAT IN NEW YORK Two brothers, General William Howe and Admiral Richard Howe, joined forces on Staten Island and sailed into New York harbor in the summer of 1776 with the largest British expeditionary force ever assembled—32,000 soldiers, including thousands of German mercenaries, or soldiers who fight solely for money. The Americans called these troops Hessians, because many of them came from the German region of Hesse.

Washington rallied 23,000 men to New York’s defense, but he was vastly outnumbered. Most of his troops were untrained recruits with poor equipment. The battle for New York ended in late August with an American retreat following heavy losses. Michael Graham, a Continental Army volunteer, described the chaotic withdrawal on August 27, 1776.

A PERSONAL VOICE MICHAEL GRAHAM

“It is impossible for me to describe the confusion and horror of the scene that ensued: the artillery flying . . . over the horses’ backs, our men running in almost every direction, . . . [a]nd the enemy huzzahing when they took prisoners. . . . At the time, I could not account for how it was that our troops were so completely surrounded but have since understood there was another road across the ridge several miles above Flatbush that was left unoccupied by our troops. Here the British passed and got betwixt them and Brooklyn unobserved. This accounts for the disaster of that day.’’

—quoted in The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence

By late fall, the British had pushed Washington’s army across the Delaware River into Pennsylvania. The vast majority of Washington’s men had either deserted or had been killed or captured. Fewer than 8,000 men remained under Washington’s command, and the terms of their enlistment were due to end on December 31. Washington desperately needed some kind of victory for his men to keep them from going home.

THE BATTLE OF TRENTON Washington resolved to risk everything on one bold stroke set for Christmas night, 1776. In the face of a fierce storm, he led 2,400 men in small rowboats across the ice-choked Delaware River.

By 8 o’clock the next morning, the men had marched nine miles through sleet and snow to the objective—Trenton, New Jersey, held by a garrison of Hessians. Lulled into confidence by the storm, most of the Hessians had drunk too much rum the night before and were still sleeping it off. In a surprise attack, the Americans killed 30 of the enemy and took 918 captives and six Hessian cannons. The Americans were rallied by another astonishing victory eight days later against 1,200 British stationed at Princeton. Encouraged by these victories, Washington marched his army into winter camp near Morristown, in northern New Jersey.

THE FIGHT FOR PHILADELPHIA As the muddy fields dried out in the spring of 1777, General Howe began his campaign to seize the American capital at Philadelphia. His troops sailed from New York to the head of Chesapeake Bay, and landed near the capital in late August. The Continental Congress fled the city while Washington’s troops unsuccessfully tried to block the redcoats at nearby Brandywine Creek. The British captured Philadelphia, and the pleasure-loving General Howe settled in to enjoy the hospitality of the city’s grateful Loyalists.
**VICTORY AT SARATOGA** Meanwhile, one of Howe’s fellow British generals, General John “Gentleman Johnny” Burgoyne, convinced the London high command to allow him to pursue a complex scheme. Burgoyne’s plan was to lead an army down a route of lakes from Canada to Albany, where he would meet Howe’s troops as they arrived from New York City. According to Burgoyne’s plan, the two generals would then join forces to isolate New England from the rest of the colonies.

Burgoyne set out with 4,000 redcoats, 3,000 mercenaries, and 1,000 Mohawk under his command. His army had to haul 30 wagons containing 138 pieces of artillery along with extra personal items, such as fine clothes and champagne. South of Lake Champlain, swamps and gullies, as well as thick underbrush, bogged down Burgoyne’s army. Food supplies ran low.

The Continental Congress had appointed General Horatio Gates to command the Northern Department of the Continental Army. Gates, a popular commander, gathered militiamen and soldiers from all over New York and New England. Burgoyne lost several hundred men every time his forces clashed with the Americans, such as when Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys attacked Burgoyne at Bennington, in what is now Vermont. Even worse, Burgoyne didn’t realize that Howe was preoccupied with conquering and occupying Philadelphia and wasn’t coming to meet him.

Massed American troops finally surrounded Burgoyne at Saratoga, where he surrendered his battered army to General Gates on October 17, 1777. The surrender at Saratoga dramatically changed Britain’s war strategy. From that time on, the British generally kept their troops along the coast, close to the big guns and supply bases of the British fleet.

---

**Revolutionary War, 1775–1778**

**GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER**

1. **Location** From which city did General Burgoyne march his troops to Saratoga?

2. **Place** What characteristics did many of the battle sites have in common? Why do you think this was so?
A TURNING POINT  Still bitter from their defeat by the British in the French and Indian War, the French had secretly sent weapons to the Patriots since early 1776. The Saratoga victory bolstered French trust in the American army, and France now agreed to support the Revolution. The French recognized American independence and signed an alliance, or treaty of cooperation, with the Americans in February 1778. According to the terms, France agreed not to make peace with Britain unless Britain also recognized American independence.

WINTER AT VALLEY FORGE  It would take months for French aid to arrive. In the meantime, the British controlled New York and parts of New England. While British troops wintered comfortably in Philadelphia, Washington and his meager Continental Army struggled to stay alive amidst bitter cold and primitive conditions at winter camp in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. Soldiers suffered from exposure and frostbite, and surgeons like Albigense Waldo worked constantly but often unsuccessfully to save arms and limbs from amputation. Washington's letters to the Congress and his friends were filled with reports of the suffering and endurance of his men.

A PERSONAL VOICE  GEORGE WASHINGTON

"To see men without Clothes to cover their nakedness, without Blankets to lay on, without Shoes, by which their Marches might be traced by the blood of their feet, and almost as often without Provision . . . is a mark of patience and obedience which in my opinion can scarcely be paralleled."

—quoted in Ordeal at Valley Forge

Of the 10,000 soldiers who braved wind, snow, and hunger at Valley Forge that winter, more than 2,000 died. Yet those who survived remained at their posts.

Colonial Life During the Revolution

The Revolutionary War touched the life of every American, not just the men on the battlefield.

FINANCING THE WAR  When the Congress ran out of hard currency—silver and gold—it borrowed money by selling bonds to American investors and foreign governments, especially France. It also printed paper money called Continentals. As Congress printed more and more money, its value plunged, causing rising prices, or inflation.

The Congress also struggled to equip the beleaguered army. With few munitions factories and the British navy blockading the coast, the Americans had to smuggle arms from Europe. Some government officials engaged in profiteering, selling scarce goods for a profit. Corrupt merchants either hoarded goods or sold defective merchandise like spoiled meat, cheap shoes, and defective weapons.

In 1781, the Congress appointed a rich Philadelphia merchant named Robert Morris as superintendent of finance. His associate was Haym Salomon, a Jewish political refugee from Poland. Morris and Salomon begged and borrowed on their personal credit to raise money to provide salaries for the Continental Army. They raised funds from many sources,
CIVILIANS AT WAR

The demands of war also affected civilians. When men marched off to fight, many wives had to manage farms, shops, and businesses as well as households and families. Some women, such as Benjamin Franklin’s daughter, Sarah Franklin Bache of Philadelphia, organized volunteers to mend clothing for the soldiers. Many women made ammunition from their household silver. And hundreds of women followed their husbands to the battlefield, where they washed, mended, and cooked for the troops.

Some women risked their lives in combat. At Fort Washington, New York, Margaret Corbin replaced a gunner who was shot and then was shot herself. Mary Ludwig Hays McCauly took her husband’s place at a cannon when he was wounded at the Battle of Monmouth. Known for carrying pitchers of water to the soldiers, McCauly won the nickname “Molly Pitcher.” Afterward, General Washington made her a noncommissioned officer for her brave deeds.

Thousands of African-American slaves escaped to freedom, some to the cities, where they passed as free people, others to the frontier, where they sometimes joined Native American tribes. About 5,000 African Americans served in the Continental Army, where their courage, loyalty, and talent impressed white Americans. Native Americans remained on the fringes of the Revolution. Some fought for the British but most remained apart from the conflict.

**MAIN IDEA**

In what ways did women contribute to the Revolutionary War?

**CRITICAL THINKING**

3. **HYPOTHESIZING**

Imagine that Burgoyne and the British had captured Saratoga in 1777. How might the course of the war have changed? **Think About:**

- the military strength of the British
- the fighting skills of the Americans
- French support of the colonists

4. **EVALUATING**

If you were a woman civilian during the beginning of the American Revolution, what problem caused by the war do you think would affect you the most? **Think About:**

- inflation and the scarcity of goods
- the separation of families
- the demands of the war effort

The War for Independence 117
Winning the War

MAIN IDEA
Strategic victories in the South and at Yorktown enabled the Americans to defeat the British.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW
The American defeat of the British established the United States as an independent Nation.

Terms & Names
• Yorktown
• Friedrich von Steuben
• Marquis de Lafayette
• Charles Cornwallis
• Treaty of Paris
• egalitarianism

One American’s Story

Colonel William Fontaine of the Virginia militia stood with the American and French armies lining a road near Yorktown, Virginia, on the afternoon of October 19, 1781, to witness the formal British surrender. The French were dressed in bright blue coats and white trousers, while the American troops, standing proudly behind their generals, wore rough hunting shirts and faded Continental uniforms. Colonel Fontaine later described the scene.

A PERSONAL VOICE  COLONEL WILLIAM FONTAINE
“I had the happiness to see that British army which so lately spread dismay and desolation through all our country, march forth . . . at 3 o’clock through our whole army, drawn up in two lines about 20 yards distance and return disrobed of all their terrors. . . . You could not have heard a whisper or seen the least motion throughout our whole line, but every countenance was erect and expressed a serene cheerfulness.”

—quoted in The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis, 1781

The American Revolution had finally ended, and the Americans had won—a fact that astonished the world. Several years before, in the depths of the Valley Forge winter of 1777–1778, few would have thought such an event possible.

European Allies Shift the Balance

In February 1778, in the midst of the frozen winter at Valley Forge, American troops began an amazing transformation. Friedrich von Steuben (vóm stoo’bэн), a Prussian captain and talented drillmaster, volunteered his services to General Washington and went to work “to make regular soldiers out of country bumpkins.” Von Steuben taught the colonial soldiers to stand at attention, execute field maneuvers, fire and reload quickly, and wield bayonets. With the help of such European military leaders, the raw Continental Army was becoming an effective fighting force.
LAFAYETTE AND THE FRENCH  Around the same time, another military leader, the Marquis de Lafayette (mär′kē də läf′ə-lē′), a brave, idealistic 20-year-old French aristocrat, offered his assistance. The young Lafayette joined Washington's staff and bore the misery of Valley Forge, lobbied for French reinforcements in France in 1779, and led a command in Virginia in the last years of the war.

The British Move South

After their devastating defeat at Saratoga, the British changed their military strategy; in the summer of 1778 they began to shift their operations to the South. There, the British hoped to rally Loyalist support, reclaim their former colonies in the region, and then slowly fight their way back north.

EARLY BRITISH SUCCESS IN THE SOUTH At the end of 1778, a British expedition easily took Savannah, Georgia, and by the spring of 1779, a royal governor once again commanded Georgia. In 1780, General Henry Clinton, who had replaced Howe in New York, along with the ambitious general Charles Cornwallis sailed south with 8,500 men. In their greatest victory of the war, the British captured Charles Town, South Carolina, in May 1780 and marched 5,500 American soldiers off as prisoners of war. Clinton then left for New York, leaving Cornwallis to command the British forces in the South and to conquer South and North Carolina.

For most of 1780, Cornwallis succeeded. As the redcoats advanced, they were joined by thousands of African Americans who had escaped from Patriot slave
owners to join the British and win their freedom. In August, Cornwallis's army smashed American forces at Camden, South Carolina, and within three months the British had established forts across the state. However, when Cornwallis and his forces advanced into North Carolina, Patriot bands attacked them and cut British communication lines. The continuous harassment forced the redcoats to retreat to South Carolina.

**BRITISH LOSSES IN 1781** Washington ordered Nathanael Greene, his ablest general, to march south and harass Cornwallis as he retreated. Greene divided his force into two groups, sending 600 soldiers under the command of General Daniel Morgan to South Carolina. Cornwallis in turn sent Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton and his troops to pursue Morgan’s soldiers.

Morgan and his men led the British on a grueling chase through rough countryside. When the forces met in January 1781 at Cowpens, South Carolina, the British expected the outnumbered Americans to flee; but the Continental Army fought back, and forced the redcoats to surrender.

Angered by the defeat at Cowpens, Cornwallis attacked Greene two months later at Guilford Court House, North Carolina. Cornwallis won the battle, but the victory cost him nearly a fourth of his troops—93 were killed, over 400 were wounded, and 26 were missing.

Greene had weakened the British, but he worried about the fight for the South. On April 3, 1781, he wrote a letter to Lafayette, asking for help.

**A PERSONAL VOICE  NATHANAEL GREENE**

“I wish you to March your force Southward by Alexandria & Fredricksburg to Richmond. . . . It is impossible for the Southern States with all the exertions they can make under the many disadvantages they labour to save themselves. Subsistence is very difficult to be got and therefore it is necessary that the best of troops should be employed. . . . Every exertion should be made for the salvation of the Southern States for on them depend the liberty of the Northern.”

—from *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, vol. VIII

Daniel Morgan’s colonial forces defeated a crack British regiment under Colonel Tarleton at the battle of Cowpens in 1781. More than 300 British soldiers were killed or wounded, and 600 were taken prisoner. This detail from *The Battle of Cowpens* by William Ranney shows that the Americans included both white and African-American soldiers.
After the exhausting battle in the Carolinas, Cornwallis chose to move the fight to Virginia, where he met up with reinforcements. First he tried to capture the divisions led by Lafayette and von Steuben. When that failed, Cornwallis made a fateful mistake: he led his army of 7,500 onto the peninsula between the James and York rivers and camped at Yorktown, a few miles from the original English settlement of Jamestown (see map, page 119). Cornwallis planned to fortify Yorktown, take Virginia, and then move north to join Clinton's forces.

The British Surrender at Yorktown

A combination of good luck and well-timed decisions now favored the American cause. In 1780, a French army of 6,000 had landed in Newport, Rhode Island, after the British left the city to focus on the South. The French had stationed one fleet there and were operating another in the West Indies. When news of Cornwallis's plans reached him, the Marquis de Lafayette suggested that the American and French armies join forces with the two French fleets and attack the British forces at Yorktown.

**VICTORY AT YORKTOWN** Following Lafayette's plan, the Americans and the French closed in on Cornwallis. A French naval force defeated a British fleet and then blocked the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay, thereby preventing a British rescue by sea. Meanwhile, about 17,000 French and American troops surrounded the British on the Yorktown peninsula and bombarded them day and night. The siege of Yorktown lasted about three weeks. On October 17, 1781, with his troops outnumbered by more than two to one and exhausted from constant shelling, Cornwallis finally raised the white flag of surrender.

On October 19, a triumphant Washington, the French generals, and their troops assembled to accept the British surrender. After General Charles O'Hara, representing Cornwallis, handed over his sword, the British troops laid down their arms. In his diary, Captain Johann Ewald, a German officer, tried to explain this astonishing turn of events.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** CAPTAIN JOHANN EWALD

"With what soldiers in the world could one do what was done by these men, who go about nearly naked and in the greatest privation? Deny the best-disciplined soldiers of Europe what is due them and they will run away in droves, and the general will soon be alone. But from this one can perceive what an enthusiasm—which these poor fellows call 'Liberty'—can do!"

—Diary of the American War

**SEEKING PEACE** Peace talks began in Paris in 1782. Representatives of four nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, and Spain—joined the negotiations, with each nation looking out for its own interests. Britain hoped to avoid giving America full independence. France supported American independence but feared America's becoming a major power. Spain was interested in acquiring the land between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River.
Many observers expected the savvy European diplomats to outwit the Americans at the bargaining table. But the Continental Congress chose an able team of negotiators—John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay of New York. Together the three demanded that Britain recognize American independence before any other negotiations began. Once Britain agreed to full independence, the talks officially opened.

In September 1783, the delegates signed the Treaty of Paris, which confirmed U.S. independence and set the boundaries of the new nation. The United States now stretched from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River and from Canada to the Florida border.

Some provisions of the treaty promised future trouble. The British made no attempt to protect the land interests of their Native American allies, and the treaty did not specify when the British would evacuate their American forts. On the other side, the Americans agreed that British creditors could collect debts owed them by Americans and promised to allow Loyalists to sue in state courts for recovery of their losses. The state governments, however, later failed to honor this agreement.

The War Becomes a Symbol of Liberty

With the signing of the Treaty of Paris, all European nations recognized the United States of America. Former British subjects now possessed a new identity as free Americans, loyal to a new ideal. The American Revolution would inspire the world as both a democratic revolution and a war for independence.

THE IMPACT ON AMERICAN SOCIETY

Revolutionary ideals set a new course for American society. During the war, class distinctions between rich and poor had begun to blur as the wealthy wore homespun clothing and military leaders showed respect for all of their men. These changes stimulated a rise of egalitarianism—a belief in the equality of all people—which fostered a new attitude: the idea that ability, effort, and virtue, not wealth or family, defined one’s worth.

The egalitarianism of the 1780s, however, applied only to white males. It did not bring any new political rights to women. A few states made it possible for women to divorce, but common law still dictated that a married woman’s property belonged to her husband.
Moreover, most African Americans were still enslaved, and even those who were free usually faced discrimination and poverty. However by 1804, many Northern states had taken steps to outlaw slavery.

The Southern states, where slavery was more entrenched, did not outlaw the practice, but most made it easier for slave owners to free their slaves. Planters in the upper South debated the morality of slavery, and some, like George Washington, freed their slaves. In Maryland and Virginia, the number of free blacks increased from about 4,000 to over 20,000 following the war. The slavery debate generally did not reach the Deep South, although some Southern slaveholders did have grave misgivings.

For Native Americans, the Revolution brought uncertainty. During both the French and Indian War and the Revolution, many Native American communities had either been destroyed or displaced, and the Native American population east of the Mississippi had declined by about 50 percent. Postwar developments further threatened Native American interests, as settlers from the United States moved west and began taking tribal lands left unprotected by the Treaty of Paris.

THE CHALLENGE OF CREATING A GOVERNMENT

In adopting the Declaration of Independence, Americans had rejected the British system of government, in which kings and nobles held power. In its place, they set out to build a stable republic, a government of the people. The Continental Congress had chosen a motto for the reverse side of the Great Seal of the United States: “a new order of the ages.” Creating this new order forced Americans to address complex questions: Who should participate in government? How should the government answer to the people? How could a government be set up so that opposing groups of citizens would all have a voice?

English potter Josiah Wedgwood designed this anti-slavery cameo and sent copies of it to Benjamin Franklin.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

What were the exceptions to the spirit of egalitarianism that arose after the Revolutionary War?

1. TERMS & NAMES

For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Yorktown
- Marquis de Lafayette
- Treaty of Paris
- Friedrich von Steuben
- Charles Cornwallis
- egalitarianism

2. SUMMARIZING

Choose five significant events described in this section. For each, write a newspaper headline that summarizes its significance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Headline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Choose one of the headlines and write the first paragraph of the article.

CRITICAL THINKING

3. ANALYZING CAUSES

Do you think the colonists could have won independence without aid from foreigners? Explain.

Think About:
- the military needs of the Americans and strengths of the French
- the Americans’ belief in their fight for independence
- von Steuben and de Lafayette

4. ANALYZING EFFECTS

What were the effects of the Revolutionary War on the American colonists? Think About:
- political effects
- economic effects
- social effects

5. EVALUATING

In your opinion, what was the single biggest challenge facing the new country?
Women and Political Power

In their families and in the workplace, in speeches and in print, countless American women have worked for justice for all citizens. Throughout the history of the United States, women have played whatever roles they felt were necessary to better this country. They also fought to expand their own political power, a power that throughout much of American history has been denied them.

1770s

PROTEST AGAINST BRITAIN

In the tense years leading up to the Revolution, American women found ways to participate in the protests against the British. Homemakers boycotted tea and British-made clothing. In the painting at right, Sarah Morris Mifflin, shown with her husband Thomas, spins her own thread rather than use British thread. Some businesswomen, such as printer Mary Goddard, who produced the official copies of the Declaration of Independence, took more active roles.

1848

SENeca falls

As America grew, women became acutely aware of their unequal status in society, particularly their lack of suffrage, or the right to vote.

In 1848, two women—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, shown above, and Lucretia Mott—launched the first woman suffrage movement in the United States at the Seneca Falls Convention in Seneca Falls, New York. During the convention, Stanton introduced her Declaration of Sentiments, in which she demanded greater rights for women, including the right to vote.

1920

THE RIGHT TO VOTE

More than a half-century after organizing for the right to vote, women finally won their struggle. In 1920, the United States adopted the Nineteenth Amendment, which granted women the right to vote.

Pictured to the right is one of the many suffrage demonstrations of the early 1900s that helped garner public support for the amendment.
1972–1982

THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT MOVEMENT

During the mid-1900s, as more women entered the workforce, many women recognized their continuing unequal status, including the lack of equal pay for equal work. By passing an Equal Rights Amendment, some women hoped to obtain the same social and economic rights as men.

Although millions supported the amendment, many men and women feared the measure would prompt unwanted change. The ERA ultimately failed to be ratified for the Constitution.

2001

WOMEN IN CONGRESS

In spite of the failure of the ERA, many women have achieved strong positions for themselves—politically as well as socially and economically.

In the 107th Congress, 62 women served in the House and 13 served in the Senate. Shown above are Washington’s senators Patty Murray (left) and Maria Cantwell in 2000.

THINKING CRITICALLY

CONNECT TO HISTORY
1. Synthesizing How did women’s political status change from 1770 to 2001?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R19.

CONNECT TO TODAY
2. Researching and Reporting Think of a woman who has played an important role in your community. What kinds of things did this woman do? What support did she receive in the community? What problems did she run into? Report your findings to the class.
**TERMS & NAMES**

For each term below, write a sentence explaining its connection to the American Revolution. For each person below, explain his role in the event.

1. **Stamp Act**
2. **Boston Massacre**
3. **committee of correspondence**
4. **Olive Branch Petition**
5. **Common Sense**
6. **Thomas Jefferson**
7. **Saratoga**
8. **Valley Forge**
9. **Marquis de Lafayette**
10. **Yorktown**

**MAIN IDEAS**

**The Stirrings of Rebellion** (pages 96–102)

11. What methods did colonists use to protest actions by Parliament between 1765 and 1775?
12. Describe the causes and the results of the Boston Tea Party.
13. What were the results of fighting at Lexington and Concord?

**Ideas Help Start a Revolution** (pages 103–108)

14. What did Jefferson mean, and not mean, by the phrase “all men are created equal”?
15. Why did many colonists not support independence?

**Struggling Toward Saratoga** (pages 113–117)

16. Why was the Battle of Trenton significant?
17. What British military plan did the colonial victory at Saratoga ruin?
18. Explain how civilians supported the war effort in the colonies.

**Winning the War** (pages 118–123)

19. How did France help the colonies during the American Revolution?
20. Describe three significant challenges facing the United States when the American Revolution ended.

**THINKING CRITICALLY**

1. **USING YOUR NOTES**  Create a dual-path chart showing how the colonies became independent. On one path, list four or more military events, such as battles and changes in command. On the other, list four or more political events, including protests, publication of documents, and legal actions.

2. **EVALUATING**  Review France’s role in helping the colonies rebel against Great Britain. Under what conditions, if any, do you think the United States should help other countries?