

# AP U.S. History

## UNIT 2 Materials



*The American  
Revolution*



**UNITED STATES HISTORY  
TERMS LIST**

**UNIT 2  
The American Revolution**

<p><b>Parliament Taxes the Colonies</b></p> <p>New France Ohio River Valley The Braddock Expedition George Washington Battle of Quebec Pontiac’s Rebellion <b>Proclamation of 1763</b> <b>Sugar Act</b> <b>Stamp Act</b></p>	<p><b><i>The Americans, 85-99</i></b></p> <p>Samuel Adams / Sons of Liberty <b>Townshend Acts</b> <b>Boston Massacre</b> John Adams (Role in Boston Massacre Trial) <b>Tea Act</b> <b>Boston Tea Party</b> King George III <b>Coercive (a.k.a., Intolerable) Acts</b> Martial Law</p>
<p><b>The British Are Coming...</b></p> <p><b>(100-105)</b></p> <p>Minutemen Arsenal Paul Revere <b>Battles of Lexington and Concord</b> Second Continental Congress Ethan Allen / Green Mountain Boys Fort Ticonderoga <b>Battle of Bunker Hill</b> Olive Branch Petition <b>Prohibitory Act</b> George Washington Continental Army Siege of Boston</p>	<p><b>Declaring Independence</b></p> <p><b>(105-112)</b></p> <p>Thomas Paine <i>Common Sense</i> Thomas Jefferson</p> <p><b><i>Declaration of Independence</i></b> (and the principles embodied therein) [Full text is printed on pp. <b>109-112</b>]</p> <p>Loyalists (aka “Tories”) Patriots</p>
<p><b>The Times That Try Men’s Souls...</b></p> <p><b>Chapters 4.3 and 4.4 (113-127)</b></p> <p>Gen. William Howe Defeat in New York (Battle of Long Island) [114] <i>The Crisis</i> Battle of Trenton Valley Forge Baron von Steuben Marquis de Lafayette Inflation Continental / Specie “Not Worth a Continental”</p>	<p><b>The World Turned Upside Down?</b></p> <p><b>Chapters 4.3 and 4.4 (113-127)</b></p> <p>Gen. John Burgoyne Gen. Horatio Gates Gen. Benedict Arnold <b>Battle of Saratoga</b> French Treaty</p> <p>Gen. Charles Cornwallis “Southern Strategy” “Partisan” (aka, Guerrilla) Warfare Francis Marion Siege of Yorktown Treaty of Paris, 1783</p> <p>Egalitarianism (Limited) Impact on Women and African Americans Emancipation Laws (Northern States)</p>

# Unit Plan

## and Pacing Guide

# Unit 2

## The American Revolution

	AP	HONORS/CP
<b>DAY ONE</b> <i>Parliament Taxes the Colonies</i>	AMSCO, 69-75 <b>Document 2.1</b> (Declaration of Independence) <b>Document 2.2</b> (PA Resolves) <b>Graphic Organizer 2.1</b> (Long Train)	<i>The Americans</i> , 85-99 <b>Document 2.1</b> (Declaration) <b>Graphic Organizer 2.1</b> (Long Train)
<b>DAY TWO</b> <i>Intolerable Acts</i>	AMSCO, 74-78, 85 <b>Document 2.3</b> (Patrick Henry Speech)	<i>The Americans</i> , 85-99
<b>DAY THREE</b> <i>Don't Tread on Me</i>	AMSCO, 85-87 <b>Document 2.4</b> (Gage Orders) <b>Document 2.5</b> (Dickinson) <b>Document 2.6</b> (Declaration of Causes) <b>Point/CounterPoint 2.1</b> (Violence)	<i>The Americans</i> , 100-105 <b>Point/CounterPoint 2.1</b> (Violence)
<b>DAY FOUR</b> <i>The Times that Try Men's Souls</i>	AMSCO, 87-90 <a href="#">Maier, American Scripture</a> (Excerpt) <b>Document 2.7</b> (Dunmore's Proclamation) <b>Document 2.8</b> ( <i>Common Sense</i> ) <b>Point/CounterPoint 2.2</b> (Government) <b>Document 2.9</b> ( <i>The Crisis</i> )	<i>The Americans</i> , 105-114 <b>Document 2.8</b> ( <i>Common Sense</i> ) <b>Document 2.9</b> ( <i>The Crisis</i> )
<p><b>A DBQ will be assigned at this point, which will give you time to work on your U.S. News Article Summaries, which will be due the following class meeting.</b></p>		
<b>DAY FIVE</b> <i>The World Turned Upside Down?</i>	AMSCO, 91-96 <a href="#">U.S. News Article Summaries Due</a> <b>Document 2.10</b> (Adams Correspondence) <b>Document 2.11</b> (Virginia Statute) <b>Document 2.12</b> (Northern Emancipation)	<i>The Americans</i> , 115-127 <b>Document 2.10</b> (Adams Correspondence) <b>Document 2.11</b> (Virginia Statute)
<b>ASSESSMENT</b>	<b>MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST</b> <b>DBQ</b>	<b>MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST</b>

# Document 2.1

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

## The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America

**W**hen 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...

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...

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...

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us...

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 benefit of Trial by Jury...

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province [Quebec], 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... 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.

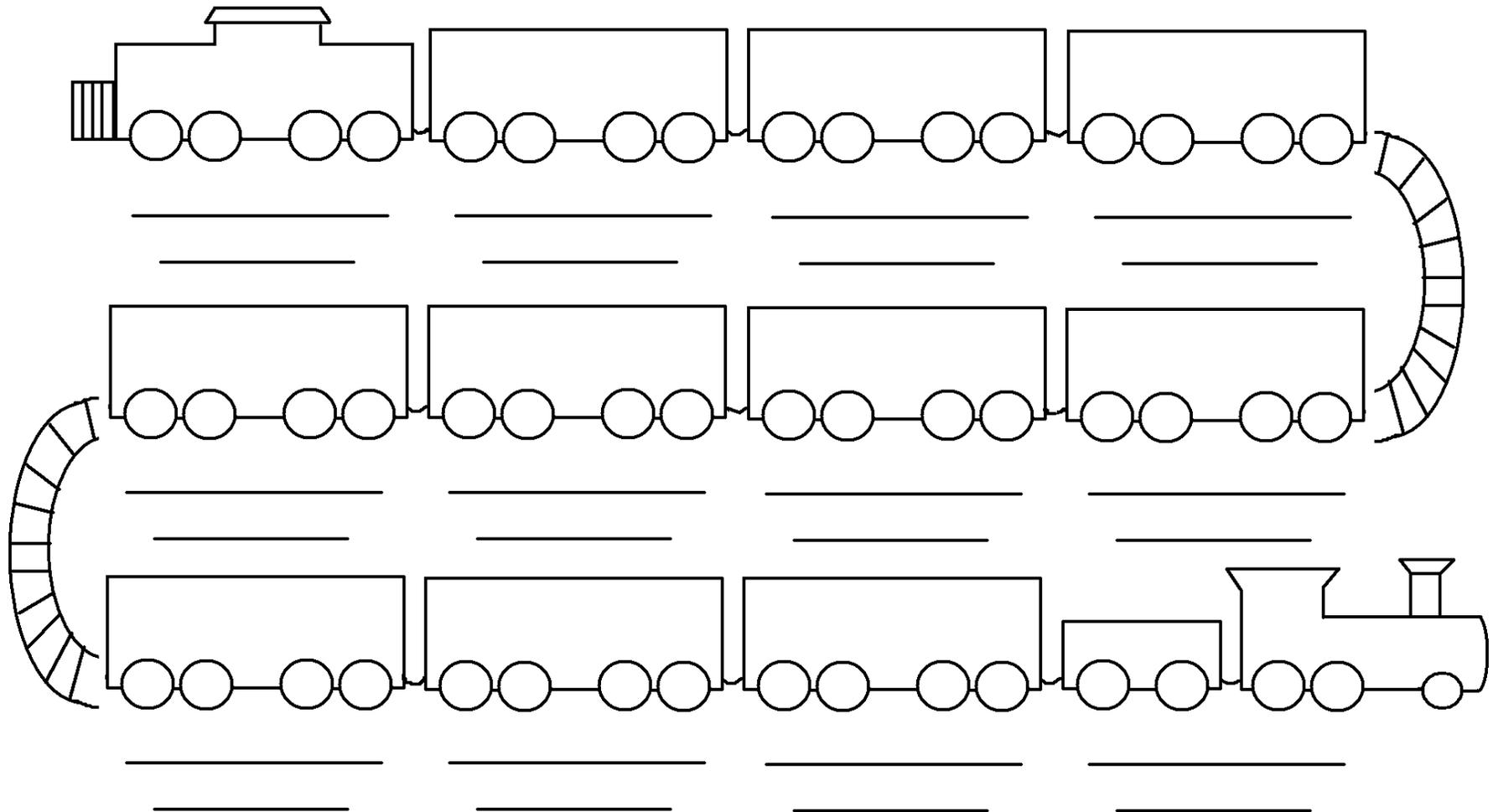
In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

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 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 to 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.

# Graphic Organizer 2.1

## A Long Train of Abuses and Usurpations



*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... 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.*

-- Thomas Jefferson, *Declaration of Independence* (1776)

Proclamation of 1763  
Tea Act

Sugar Act  
Coercive Acts

Stamp Act  
Lexington and Concord

Townshend Acts  
Bunker Hill

Boston Massacre  
Prohibitory Act

# Document 2.2

## Resolves of the Pennsylvania Assembly on the Stamp Act

September 21, 1765

America's Homepage: [http://ahp.gatech.edu/penn\\_stamp\\_act\\_1765.html](http://ahp.gatech.edu/penn_stamp_act_1765.html)

The House taking into Consideration, that an Act of Parliament has lately passed in England, for imposing certain Stamp Duties, and other Duties, on his Majesty's Subjects in America, whereby they conceive some of their most essential and valuable Rights, as British Subjects, to be deeply affected, think it a Duty they owe to themselves, and their Posterity, to come to the following Resolutions, viz.

**Resolved**, That the Assemblies of this Province have, from Time to Time, whenever Requisitions have been made by his Majesty, for carrying on military Operations, for the Defence of America, most cheerfully and liberally contributed their full Proportion of Men and Money for those Services.

**Resolved**, That whenever his Majesty's Service shall, for the future, require the Aids of the Inhabitants of this Province, and they shall be called upon for that Purpose in a constitutional Way, it will be their indispensable Duty most cheerfully and liberally to grant to his Majesty their Proportion of Men and Money for the Defence, Security, and other public Services of the British American Colonies.

**Resolved**, That the inhabitants of this Province are entitled to all the Liberties, Rights and Privileges of his Majesty's Subjects in Great-Britain, or elsewhere, and that the Constitution of Government in this Province is founded on the natural Rights of Mankind, and the noble Principles of English Liberty, and therefore is, or ought to be, perfectly free.

**Resolved**, That it is the inherent Birth-right, and indubitable Privilege, of every British Subject, to be taxed only by his own Consent, or that of his legal Representatives, in Conjunction with his Majesty...

**Resolved**, That the only legal Representatives of the Inhabitants of this Province are the Persons they annually elect to serve as Members of Assembly.

**Resolved**, therefore, That the Taxation of the People of this Province by any other Persons whatsoever than such their Representatives in Assembly, is unconstitutional, and subversive of their most valuable Rights.

**Resolved**, That the laying Taxes upon the Inhabitants of this Province in any other Manner, being manifestly subversive of public Liberty, must, of necessary Consequence, be utterly destructive of public Happiness.

**Resolved**, That the vesting and Authority in the Courts of Admiralty to decide in Suits relating to the Stamp Duty, and other Matters, foreign to their proper Jurisdiction, is highly dangerous to the Liberties of his Majesty's American Subjects, contrary to Magna Charta, the great Charter and Fountain of English Liberty, and destructive of one of their most darling and acknowledged Rights, that of Trials by Juries.

**Resolved**, That it is the Opinion of this House, that the Restraints imposed by several late Acts of Parliament on the Trade of this Province, at a Time when the People labour under an enormous Load of Debt, must of Necessity be attended with the most fatal Consequences, not only to this Province, but to the Trade of our Mother Country.

**Resolved**, That this House think it their Duty thus firmly to assert, with Modesty and Decency, their inherent Rights, that their Posterity may learn and know, that it was not with their Consent and Acquiescence, that any Taxes should be levied on them by any Persons but their own Representatives; and are desirous... to preserve their inestimable Rights, which, as Englishmen, they have possessed ever since this Province was settled, and to transmit them to their latest Posterity.

# Document 2.3

## Speech by Patrick Henry

March 23, 1775

History Place: <http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/henry.htm>

No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope that it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen, if, entertaining as I do opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve.

This is no time for ceremony. The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offense, I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of an act of disloyalty towards the majesty of heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation?

For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth -- to know the worst and to provide for it. I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years, to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House?

Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with these warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation -- the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motives for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies?

No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer on the subject? Nothing.

We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer.

Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament.

Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope.

If we wish to be free -- if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending -- if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained, we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak -- unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance, by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of the means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us.

The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable -- and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come!

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, "Peace! Peace!" -- but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

# Document 2.4

## British Military Records Concerning the Battles of Lexington and Concord April, 1775

### Orders from General Thomas Gage to Lieut. Colonel Smith, 10th Regiment 'Foot

Teaching American History: <http://www.TeachingAmericanHistory.org/library/index.asp?documentprint=864>

April 18, 1775

Boston, Massachusetts

Lieut. Colonel Smith, 10th Regiment 'Foot,

Sir,

Having received intelligence, that a quantity of Ammunition, Provisions, Artillery, Tents and small Arms, have been collected at Concord, for the Avowed Purpose of raising and supporting a Rebellion against His Majesty, you will March with a Corps of Grenadiers and Light Infantry, put under your Command, with the utmost expedition and Secrecy to Concord, where you will seize and destroy all Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, Tents, Small Arms, and all Military Stores whatever. But you will take care that the Soldiers do not plunder the Inhabitants, or hurt private property.

You have a Draught of Concord, on which is marked the Houses, Barns, &c, which contain the above military Stores. You will order a trunnion<sup>1</sup> to be knocked off each Gun, but if its found impracticable on any, they must be spiked, and the Carriages destroyed. The Powder and flower must be shook out of the Barrels into the River, the Tents burnt, Pork or Beef destroyed in the best way you can devise. And the Men may put Balls of lead in their pockets, throwing them by degrees into Ponds, Ditches &c., but no Quantity together, so that they may be recovered afterwards...

A small party of Horseback is ordered out to stop all advice of your March getting to Concord before you, and a small number of Artillery go out in Chaises to wait for you on the road, with Sledge Hammers, Spikes, &c.

You will open your business and return with the Troops, as soon as possible, with I must leave to your own Judgment and Discretion.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant

Thos. Gage.

### Excerpt of a Report to General Gage on the Battles of Lexington and Concord

<http://www.TeachingAmericanHistory.org/library/index.asp?documentprint=868>

*Lieutenant Colonel Smith*

April 22, 1775

In the obedience to your Excellency's commands, I marched on the evening of the 18th inst. with the corps of grenadiers and light infantry for Concord, to execute your Excellency's orders with respect to destroying all ammunition, artillery, tents, &c, collected there.

I think it proper to observe, that when I had got some miles on the march from Boston, I detached six light infantry companies to march with all expedition to seize the two bridges on different roads beyond Concord. On these companies' arrival at Lexington, I understand, from the report of Major Pitcairn, who was with them, and from many officers, that they found on a green close to the road a body of the country people drawn up in military order, with arms and accoutrement, and, as appeared after, loaded.

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<sup>1</sup> Allows a cannon to be attached to a carriage for mobility

# Document 2.5

## *John Dickinson* [of Pennsylvania], Letter to Arthur Lee

April 29, 1775

Teaching American History: <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=869>

Dear Sir, — The '*immedicabile vulnus*' (irreparable injury) is at length struck. The rescript to our petition is written in blood. The impious war of tyranny against innocence has commenced in the neighborhood of Boston.

We have not yet received any authentic accounts, but I will briefly mention the most material parts of the relations that have reached us.

Gen. [Thomas] Gage<sup>2</sup> having lately received dispatches from England, gave orders on Saturday the 15th of this month, that the grenadiers and light-infantry should be excused from duty until further orders. Some of the inhabitants of the town being alarmed by this circumstance, observed between 10 and 11 o'clock on Tuesday night following, those bodies to be moving with great silence towards that water which is usually crossed in going to Cambridge. Notice of this movement was immediately conveyed into the country. The troops mentioned embarked in boats, and landed at Cambridge about four or five miles from Boston. From thence they marched on Wednesday the 19th in the morning, to Lexington, about twelve miles from Boston. At this place they found some provincials exercising. **The commander of the party ordered them to disperse. They did not. One of them said he was on his own ground; that they injured no person, and could not hurt anyone, for they had no ammunition with them.** The word was given, and the brave Britons, emulated no doubt the glorious achievements of their ancestors, gallantly gave fire upon those who were exercising, killed some, and put the rest to flight. This victory was gained by the [British]... though their numbers it is said did not exceed a thousand, and the provincials amounted to at least, as it is reported, twenty-five or thirty men!

From Lexington the victors pursued their march to Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, where they destroyed a small magazine, and set fire to the court house. By this time two or three hundred of the inhabitants were collected, and an engagement began. The troops soon retreated, and lost two pieces of cannon which they had seized....

In the retreat of this one mile, it is said the regulars lost twelve officers and 200 privates. The provincials, afraid of the shipping's firing on Charlestown, and of hurting the town's people, stopped the pursuit....

I cannot say I am convinced of the truth of all the particulars... though some of them are supported by many probabilities. But these facts I believe you may depend on,—That this most unnatural and inexpressibly cruel war began with the butchery of the unarmed Americans at Lexington; that the provincials, incredible as it may be at St. James or St. Stephens, fought bravely; that the regulars have been defeated with considerable slaughter, though they behaved resolutely; that a tory<sup>3</sup> dare not open his mouth against the cause of America, even at New York; that **the continent is preparing most assiduously for a vigorous resistance; and that freedom or an honorable death are the only objects on which their souls are at present employed.**

What human policy can divine the prudence of precipitating us into these shocking scenes? Why have we rashly been declared rebels? Why have directions been sent to disarm us? Why orders to commence hostilities? Why was not Gen. Gage at least restrained from hostilities until the sense of

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<sup>2</sup> Commander of the British troops at Boston

<sup>3</sup> A loyalist

another congress could be collected? It was the determined resolution of some, already appointed delegates for it, to have strained every nerve at that meeting to attempt bringing the unhappy dispute to terms of accommodation, safe for the colonies, and honorable and advantageous for our mother country, in whose prosperity and glory our hearts take as large a share as any minister's of state...

**... While we revere and love our mother country, her sword is opening our veins...**

All the ministerial intelligence concerning us is false. We are a united, resolved people, are, or quickly shall be, well armed and disciplined; our smith's and powder-mills are at work day and night; our supplies from foreign parts continually arriving. Good officers, that is, well-experienced ones, we shall soon have, and the navy of Great Britain cannot stop our whole trade. **Our towns are but brick and stone, and mortar and wood. They, perhaps, may be destroyed. They are only the hairs of our heads. If sheared ever so close, they will grow again. We compare them not with our rights and liberties.** We worship as our fathers worshipped, not idols which our hands have made.

I am, dear sir, your sincerely affectionate friend,

John Dickinson

## QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER:

What do you make of Dickinson's account of the confrontation between the Minutemen and the British at Lexington? How does it compare with the British account of the battles?

What was Dickinson's assessment of the relationship between Great Britain and the colonies in April of 1775?

What were Dickinson's hopes for the future? Did he seem to think that it is likely that his hopes would be realized?

If you could condense Dickinson's letter to a single thesis statement, what would it be?

# Document 2.6

## Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms

July 6, 1775

Source: <http://www.nationalcenter.org/1775DeclarationofArms.html>

*This document was prepared by the Second Continental Congress to explain to the world why the British colonies had taken up arms against Great Britain. It is a combination of the work of Thomas Jefferson and Colonel John Dickinson (well-known for his series "Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer."). Jefferson completed the first draft, but it was perceived by the Continental Congress as too harsh and militant; Dickinson prepared the second. The final document combined the work of the two.*

A declaration by the representatives of the united colonies of North America, now met in Congress at Philadelphia, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms.

If it was possible for men, who exercise their reason to believe, that the divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the parliament of Great-Britain some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them, has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end.

The legislature of Great-Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desparate of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms....

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. -- We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favor towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength... With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored... We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great-Britain, and establishing independent states...

In our own native land, in defense of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it -- for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our fore-fathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With [a] humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the Universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.



2.1

## The Ballot or the Bullet by Malcolm X

April 3, 1964

Source: [http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/speeches/malcolm\\_x\\_ballot.html](http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/speeches/malcolm_x_ballot.html)

Mr. Moderator, Brother Lomax, brothers and sisters, friends and enemies: I just can't believe everyone in here is a friend, and I don't want to leave anybody out. The question tonight, as I understand it, is "The Negro Revolt, and Where Do We Go From Here?" or "What Next?" In my little humble way of understanding it, it points toward either the ballot or the bullet....

... All of us have suffered here, in this country, political oppression at the hands of the white man, economic exploitation at the hands of the white man, and social degradation at the hands of the white man.

Now in speaking like this, it doesn't mean that we're anti-white, but it does mean we're anti-exploitation, we're anti-degradation, we're anti-oppression. And if the white man doesn't want us to be anti-him, let him stop oppressing and exploiting and degrading us....

If we don't do something real soon, I think you'll have to agree that we're going to be forced either to use the ballot or the bullet... It isn't that time is running out -- time has run out! ....

Well, I am one who doesn't believe in deluding myself. I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate....

Now, who is it that opposes you in carrying out the law? The police department itself. With police dogs and clubs. Whenever you demonstrate against segregation, whether it is segregated education, segregated housing, or anything else, the law is on your side, and anyone who stands in the way is not the law any longer. They are breaking the law; they are not representatives of the law. Any time you demonstrate against segregation and a man has the audacity to put a police dog on you, kill that dog, kill him, I'm telling you, kill that dog. I say it, if they put me in jail tomorrow, kill that dog....

If you don't take this kind of stand, your little children will grow up and look at you and think "shame." If you don't take an uncompromising stand, I don't mean go out and get violent; but at the same time you should never be nonviolent unless you run into some nonviolence. I'm nonviolent with those who are nonviolent with me. But when you drop that violence on me, then you've made me go insane, and I'm not responsible for what I do. And that's the way every Negro should get. Any time you know you're within the law, within your legal rights, within your moral rights, in accord with justice, then die for what you believe in. But don't die alone. Let your dying be reciprocal. This is what is meant by equality. What's good for the goose is good for the gander....

When you expand the civil-rights struggle to the level of human rights, you can then take the case of the black man in this country before the nations in the UN... But the only level you can do it on is the level of human rights. Civil rights keeps you under his restrictions, under his jurisdiction. Civil rights keeps you in his pocket. Civil rights means you're asking Uncle Sam to treat you right. Human rights are something you were born with. Human rights are your God-given rights....

**Uncle Sam's hands are dripping with blood**, dripping with the blood of the black man in this country. He's the earth's number-one hypocrite....

**Let the world know how bloody his hands are.** Let the world know the hypocrisy that's practiced over here. Let it be the ballot or the bullet. Let him know that it must be the ballot or the bullet....

... If it's necessary to form a black nationalist army, we'll form a black nationalist army. It'll be the ballot or the bullet. It'll be liberty or it'll be death....

... In 1964, it's the ballot or the bullet.

Thank you.

# Nonviolence: The Only Road to Freedom

## by Martin Luther King, Jr.



May 4, 1966

Source: <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?documentprint=1426>

The year 1966 brought with it the first public challenge to the philosophy and strategy of nonviolence from within the ranks of the civil rights movement. Resolutions of self-defense and Black Power sounded forth from our friends and brothers. At the same time riots erupted in several major cities...

The nation's press heralded these incidents as an end of the Negro's reliance on nonviolence as a means of achieving freedom....

I am convinced that for practical as well as moral reasons, nonviolence offers the only road to freedom for my people. In violent warfare, one must be prepared to face ruthlessly the fact that there will be casualties by the thousands. In Vietnam, the United States has evidently decided that it is willing to slaughter millions, sacrifice some two hundred thousand men and twenty billion dollars a year to secure the freedom of some fourteen million Vietnamese. This is to fight a war on Asian soil, where Asians are in the majority. Anyone leading a violent conflict must be willing to make a similar assessment regarding the possible casualties to a minority population confronting a well-armed, wealthy majority with a fanatical right wing that is capable of exterminating the entire black population and which would not hesitate such an attempt if the survival of the white Western materialism were at stake....

Our record of achievement through nonviolent action is already remarkable. The dramatic social changes which have been made across the South are unmatched in the annals of history... Even more remarkable is the fact that this progress occurred with a minimum of human sacrifice and loss of life.

Not a single person has been killed in a nonviolent demonstration....

Violence, even in self-defense, creates more problems than it solves. Only a refusal to hate or kill can put an end to the chain of violence in the world and lead us toward a community where men can live together without fear....

The American racial revolution has been a revolution to "get in" rather than to overthrow. We want to share in the American economy, the housing market, the educational system and the social opportunities. The goal itself indicates that a social change in America must be nonviolent.

If one is in search of a better job, it does not help to burn down the factory. If one needs more adequate education, shooting the principal will not help, or if housing is the goal, only building and construction will produce that end. To destroy anything, person or property, can't bring us closer to the goal that we seek.

The nonviolent strategy has been to dramatize the evils of our society in such a way that pressure is brought to bear against those evils by the forces of good will in the community and change is produced.

Marches must continue in the future, and they must be the kind of marches that bring about the desired result. But the march is not a "one shot" victory-producing method. One march is seldom successful... Along with the march as a weapon for change in our nonviolent arsenal must be listed the boycott. Basic to the philosophy of nonviolence is the refusal to cooperate with evil. There is nothing quite so effective as a refusal to cooperate economically with the forces and institutions which perpetuate evil in our communities....

There is no easy way to create a world where men and women can live together, where each has his own job and house where all children receive as much education as their minds can absorb. But if such a world is created in our lifetime, it will be done in the United States by Negroes and white people of good will. It will be accomplished by persons who have the courage to put an end to suffering by willingly suffering themselves rather than inflict suffering upon others. It will be done by rejecting the racism, materialism and violence that has characterized Western civilization and especially by working toward a world of brotherhood, cooperation and peace.

# Document 2.7

## Dunmore's Proclamation and the Response of the Virginians

Source: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part2/2h42t.html>

### A PROCLAMATION.

*By His Excellency the Right Honorable JOHN Earl of DUNMORE, His MAJESTY'S Lieutenant and Governor General of the Colony and Dominion of VIRGINIA, and Vice Admiral of the fame.*

As I have ever entertained Hopes that an Accommodation might have taken Place between GREAT-BRITAIN and this colony, without being compelled by my Duty to this most disagreeable but now absolutely necessary Step, rendered so by a Body of armed Men unlawfully assembled... and the formation of an Army, and that Army now on their March to attack His MAJESTY'S troops and destroy the well disposed Subjects of this Colony. To defeat such unreasonable Purposes, and that all such Traitors, and their betters, may be brought to Justice, and that the Peace, and good Order of this Colony may be again restored, which the ordinary Course of the Civil Law is unable to effect; I have thought fit to issue this my Proclamation, hereby declaring, that until the aforesaid good Purposes can be obtained, I do in Virtue of the Power and Authority to ME given, by His MAJESTY, determine to execute Martial Law, and cause the same to be executed throughout this Colony: and to the end that Peace and good Order may the sooner be [effected], I do require every Person capable of bearing Arms, to [resort] to His MAJESTY'S STANDARD, or be looked upon as Traitors to His MAJESTY'S Crown and Government, and thereby become liable to the Penalty the Law inflicts upon such Offences; such as forfeiture of Life, confiscation of Lands, &c. &c. And I do hereby further declare all indentured Servants, Negroes, or others, (appertaining to Rebels,) free that are able and willing to bear Arms, they joining His MAJESTY'S Troops as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing this Colony to a proper Sense of their Duty...

GIVEN under my Hand on board the ship WILLIAM, off NORPOLE, the 7th Day of NOVEMBER, in the SIXTEENTH Year of His MAJESTY'S Reign.

DUNMORE.

(GOD Save the KING.)

Source: [http://www.blackloyalist.com/canadiandigitalcollection/documents/official/virginia\\_response.htm](http://www.blackloyalist.com/canadiandigitalcollection/documents/official/virginia_response.htm)

Virginia, Dec. 14, 1775. By the Representatives of the People of the Colony and Dominion of VIRGINIA, assembled in GENERAL CONVENTION

### A DECLARATION

WHEREAS lord Dunmore, by his proclamation, [dated on board the ship William](#), off Norfolk, the 7th day of November 1775, hath offered freedom to such able-bodied slaves as are willing to join him, and take up arms, against the good people of this colony, giving thereby encouragement to a general insurrection, which may induce a necessity of inflicting the severest punishments upon those unhappy people, already deluded by his base and insidious arts; and whereas, by an act of the General Assembly now in force in this colony, it is enacted, that all negro or other slaves, conspiring to rebel or make insurrection, shall suffer death, and be excluded all benefit of clergy : We think it proper to declare, that all slaves who have been, or shall be seduced, by his lordship's proclamation, or other arts, to desert their masters' service, and take up arms against the inhabitants of this colony, shall be liable to such punishment as shall hereafter be directed by the General Convention. And to that end all such, who have taken this unlawful and wicked step, may return in safety to their duty, and escape the punishment due to their crimes, we hereby promise pardon to them... And we do farther earnestly recommend it to all humane and benevolent persons in this colony to explain and make known this our offer of mercy to those unfortunate people.

EDMUND PENDLETON, president.

# Document 2.8

## Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (January, 1776)

Modern History Sourcebook: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/paine-common.html>

### Introduction

Perhaps the sentiments contained in the following pages, are not yet sufficiently fashionable to procure them general favor; a long habit of not thinking a thing wrong, gives it a superficial appearance of being right...

As a long and violent abuse of power, is generally the Means of calling the right of it in question... and as the King of England had undertaken in his own Right, to support the Parliament in what he calls Theirs, and as the good people of this country are grievously oppressed by the combination, they have an undoubted privilege to inquire into the pretensions of both, and equally to reject the usurpation of either....

The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind. Many circumstances hath, and will arise, which are not local, but universal, and through which the principles of all Lovers of Mankind are affected, and in the Event of which, their Affections are interested. The laying of a Country desolate with Fire and Sword, declaring War against the natural rights of all Mankind, and extirpating the Defenders thereof from the Face of the Earth, is the Concern of every Man to whom Nature hath given the Power of feeling....

Who the Author of this Production is, is wholly unnecessary to the Public, as the Object for Attention is the Doctrine itself, not the Man. Yet it may not be unnecessary to say, That he is unconnected with any Party, and under no sort of influence public or private, but the influence of reason and principle.

### Common Sense

#### On the Origin and Purposes of Government

**SOME** writers have so confounded **society** with **government**, as to leave little or no distinction between them; whereas they are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness; the former promotes our happiness Positively by uniting our affections, the latter negatively by restraining our vices. The one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions. The first is a patron, the last a punisher.

Society in every state is a blessing, but government even in its best state is but a necessary evil in its worst state an intolerable one; for when we suffer, or are exposed to the same miseries by a government, which we might expect in a country without government, our calamities [are] heightened by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer! Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence; the palaces of kings are built on the ruins of the bowers of paradise. For were the impulses of conscience Wear, uniform, and irresistibly obeyed, man would need no other lawgiver; but that not being the case, he finds it necessary to surrender up a part of his property to furnish means for the protection of the rest; and this he is induced to do by the same prudence which in every other case advises him out of two evils to choose the least. Wherefore, security being the true design and end of government, it unanswerably follows that whatever form thereof appears most likely to ensure it to us, with the least expense and greatest benefit, is preferable to all others....

Here then is the origin and rise of government; namely, a mode rendered necessary by the inability of moral virtue to govern the world; here too is the design and end of government, viz. freedom and security. And however our eyes may be dazzled with snow, or our ears deceived by sound; however prejudice may warp our wills, or interest darken our understanding, the simple voice of nature and of reason will say, it is right.

## On the English Constitution

I draw my idea of the form of government from a principle in nature, which no art can overturn, viz. that the more simple any thing is, the less liable it is to be disordered, and the easier repaired when disordered; and with this maxim in view, **I offer a few remarks on the so much boasted constitution of England.** That it was noble for the dark and slavish times in which it was erected is granted. When the world was overrun with tyranny the least therefrom was a glorious rescue. But that it is imperfect, subject to convulsions, and incapable of producing what it seems to promise, is easily demonstrated.

Absolute governments (tho' the disgrace of human nature) have this advantage with them, that they are simple; if the people suffer, they know the head from which their suffering springs, know likewise the remedy, and are not bewildered by a variety of causes and cures. But the constitution of England is so exceedingly complex, that the nation may suffer for years together without being able to discover in which part the fault lies, some will say in one and some in another, and every political physician will advise a different medicine.

**I know it is difficult to get over local or long standing prejudices, yet if we will suffer ourselves to examine the component parts of the English constitution, we shall find them to be the base remains of two ancient tyrannies, compounded with some new republican materials.**

First. The remains of **monarchical tyranny** in the person of the king.

Secondly. The remains of **aristocratical tyranny** in the persons of the peers [the House of Lords].

Thirdly. The new **republican materials**, in the persons of the commons, on whose virtue depends the freedom of England.

The two first, by being hereditary, are independent of the people; wherefore in a constitutional sense they contribute nothing towards the freedom of the state.

To say that the constitution of England is a union of three powers reciprocally checking each other, is farcical, either the words have no meaning, or they are flat contradictions.

To say that the commons is a check upon the king, presupposes two things.

First. That the king is not to be trusted without being looked after, or in other words, that a thirst for absolute power is the natural disease of monarchy.

Secondly. That the commons, by being appointed for that purpose, are either wiser or more worthy of confidence than the crown.

But as the same constitution which gives the commons a power to check the king by withholding the supplies, gives afterwards the king a power to check the commons, by empowering him to reject their other bills; it again supposes that the king is wiser than those whom it has already supposed to be wiser than him. A mere absurdity!

....

The prejudice of Englishmen, in favor of their own government by king, lords, and commons, arises as much or more from national pride than reason. Individuals are undoubtedly safer in England than in some other countries, but the will of the king is as much the law of the land in Britain as in France, with this difference, that instead of proceeding directly from his mouth, it is handed to the people under the most formidable shape of an act of parliament. For the fate of Charles the First, hath only made kings more subtle not more just.

Wherefore, laying aside all national pride and prejudice in favor of modes and forms, the plain truth is, that it is wholly owing to the constitution of the people, and not to the constitution of the government that the crown is not as oppressive in England as in Turkey.

## On Monarchy and Hereditary Succession

**MANKIND** being originally equals in the order of creation<sup>4</sup>, the equality could only be destroyed by some subsequent circumstance; the distinctions of rich, and poor, may in a great measure be accounted for...

But there is another and greater distinction for which no truly natural or religious reason can be assigned, and that is, the distinction of men into **KINGS** and **SUBJECTS**. Male and female are the distinctions of nature, good and bad the distinctions of heaven; but how a race of men came into the world so exalted above the rest, and distinguished like some new species, is worth enquiring into, and whether they are the means of happiness or of misery to mankind.

In the early ages of the world, according to the scripture chronology, there were no kings<sup>5</sup>; the consequence of which was there were no wars; it is the pride of kings which throw mankind into confusion. Holland without a king hath enjoyed more peace for this last century than any of the monarchical governments in Europe. Antiquity favors the same remark; for the quiet and rural lives of the first patriarchs hath a happy something in them, which vanishes away when we come to the history of Jewish royalty.

Government by kings was first introduced into the world by the Heathens, from whom the children of Israel copied the custom. It was the most prosperous invention the Devil ever set on foot for the promotion of idolatry. The Heathens paid divine honors to their deceased kings, and the Christian world hath improved on the plan by doing the same to their living ones. How impious is the title of sacred majesty applied to a worm, who in the midst of his splendor is crumbling into dust.

As the exalting one man so greatly above the rest cannot be justified on the equal rights of nature, so neither can it be defended on the authority of scripture; for the will of the Almighty, as declared by Gideon and the prophet Samuel, expressly disapproves of government by kings. All anti-monarchical parts of scripture have been very smoothly glossed over in monarchical governments, but they undoubtedly merit the attention of countries which have their governments yet to form...

Near three thousand years passed away from the Mosaic account of the creation, till the Jews under a national delusion requested a king. **Till then their form of government (except in extraordinary cases, where the Almighty interposed) was a kind of republic administered by a judge and the elders of the tribes.** Kings they had none, and it was held sinful to acknowledge any being under that title but the Lords of Hosts. And when a man seriously reflects on the idolatrous homage which is paid to the persons of Kings, he need not wonder, that the Almighty, ever jealous of his honor, should disapprove of a form of government which so impiously invades the prerogative of heaven.

Monarchy is ranked in scripture as one of the sins of the Jews, for which a curse in reserve is denounced against them. The history of that transaction is worth attending to.

The children of Israel being oppressed by the Midianites, Gideon marched against them with a small army, and victory, thro' the divine interposition, decided in his favor. The Jews elate with success, and attributing it to the generalship of Gideon, proposed making him a king, saying, Rule thou over us, thou and thy son and thy son's son. Here was temptation in its fullest extent; not a kingdom only, but [a] hereditary one, but Gideon in the piety of his soul replied, I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you, **THE LORD SHALL RULE OVER YOU**. Words need not be more explicit; Gideon doth not decline the honor but denieth their right to give it...

About one hundred and thirty years after this, they fell again into the same error. The hankering which the Jews had for the idolatrous customs of the Heathens, is something exceedingly unaccountable; but so it was, that laying hold of the misconduct of Samuel's two sons, who were entrusted with some secular concerns, they came in an abrupt and clamorous manner to Samuel, saying, Behold thou art old and thy sons walk not in thy ways, now make us a king to judge us like all the other nations. And here we

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<sup>4</sup> Note that this was written before the Declaration of Independence.

<sup>5</sup> "In those days Israel had no king; everyone did as he saw fit." -- a recurring passage in the Book of Judges

cannot but observe that their motives were bad, viz. that they might be like unto other nations, i. e. the Heathens, whereas their true glory laid in being as much unlike them as possible. But the thing displeased Samuel when they said, give us a king to judge us; and Samuel prayed unto the Lord, and the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee, for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, **THE I SHOULD NOT REIGN OVER THEM.** According to all the works which have done since the day; wherewith they brought them up out of Egypt, even unto this day; wherewith they have forsaken me and served other Gods; so do they also unto thee. Now therefore hearken unto their voice, howbeit, protest solemnly unto them and show them the manner of the king that shall reign over them, i.e. not of any particular king, but the general manner of the kings of the earth, whom Israel was so eagerly copying after.

And notwithstanding the great distance of time and difference of manners, the character is still in fashion, And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people, that asked of him a king. And he said, This shall be the manner of the king that shall reign over you; he will take your sons and appoint them for himself for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and some shall run before his chariots [conscription]... and will set them to ear his ground and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war... and he will take your daughters to be confectioneries and to be cooks and to be bakers (this describes the expense and luxury as well as the oppression of kings) and he will take your fields and your olive yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants; and he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give them to his officers and to his servants (by which we see that bribery, corruption, and favoritism are the standing vices of kings) and he will take the tenth of your men servants, and your maid servants, and your goodliest young men and your asses, and put them to his work... and ye shall be his servants, and ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen, **AND THE LORD WILL NOT HEAR YOU IN THAT DAY.** This accounts for the continuation of monarchy; neither do the characters of the few good kings which have lived since, either sanctify the title, or blot out the sinfulness of the origin; the high encomium given of David takes no notice of him officially as a king, but only as a man after God's own heart.

Nevertheless the People refused to obey the voice of Samuel, and they said. Nay, but we will have a king over us, that we may be like all the nations, and that our king may judge us, and go out before us and fight our battles. Samuel continued to reason with them, but to no purpose; he set before them their ingratitude, but all would not avail; and seeing them fully bent on their folly, he cried out, I will call unto the Lord, and he shall sent thunder and rain (which then was a punishment, being the time of wheat harvest) that ye may perceive and see that your wickedness is great which ye have done in the sight of the Lord, **IN ASKING YOU A KING.** So Samuel called unto the Lord, and the Lord sent thunder and rain that day, and all the people greatly feared the Lord and Samuel. And all the people said unto Samuel, Pray for thy servants unto the Lord thy God that we die not, for **WE HAVE ADDED UNTO OUR SINS THIS EVIL, TO ASK A KING.** These portions of scripture are direct and positive. They admit of no equivocal construction. **That the Almighty hath here entered his protest against monarchial government is true, or the scripture is false.** And a man hath good reason to believe that there is as much of king-craft, as priest-craft in withholding the scripture from the public in Popish countries. **For monarchy in every instance is the Popery of government.**

**To the evil of monarchy we have added that of hereditary succession;** and as the first is a degradation and lessening of ourselves, so the second, claimed as a matter of right, is an insult and an imposition on posterity. For all men being originally equals, no one by birth could have a right to set up his own family in perpetual preference to all others for ever, and though himself might deserve some decent degree of honors of his contemporaries, yet his descendants might be far too unworthy to inherit them....

England, since the conquest, hath known some few good monarchs, but groaned beneath a much larger number of bad ones, yet no man in his senses can say that their claim under William the Conqueror is a very honorable one. A French bastard landing with an armed banditti, and establishing himself king of England against the consent of the natives, is in plain terms a very paltry rascally original. It certainly hath no divinity in it...



2.2

## As Democrats gather, liberal positions gaining in popularity

Steven Thomma | McClatchy Newspapers

<http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2008/08/22/50009/as-democrats-gather-liberal-positions.html>

Posted on Fri, Aug. 22, 2008

DENVER — As they meet for their national convention Monday through Thursday, Democrats are poised to shift their party's course — and the country's.

They're turning to the left — deeply against the war in Iraq, ready to use tax policy to take from the rich and give to the poor and middle class, and growing hungry, after years of centrist politics, for big-government solutions, such as a health-care overhaul, to steer the nation through a time of sweeping economic change.

They are, in short, more liberal than at any time in a generation and eager to end the Reagan era, which dominated not just the other party, but also their own, for nearly three decades.

"Every generation . . . there are changes in people's relationship with government," said Sen. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y. This, he said, is such a time.

The shift of the party also reflects a change in much of the population — evidenced in the policy positions advocated by rank-and-file voters as well as the party's presumptive presidential nominee, Sen. Barack Obama of Illinois.

"Government SHOULD do more, especially when you're spending tens of billions of dollars in Iraq protecting the interests of millionaires," said Rebecca Washington, a Democrat and an accountant from Cleveland Heights, Ohio.

"We've got to revoke the tax cuts for the wealthy," said Vicki Balzer, a Democrat and retired teacher from the Cleveland suburb of Berea. "We definitely need to do something more for the economically disadvantaged. . . . We've allowed big corporations to take millions for corporate leaders while workers get nothing."

Nationally, 40 percent of Democrats in the 2006 midterm elections called themselves liberal, the highest since the American National Election Studies program started asking in 1972.

At the same time, the number of Democrats who support a government safety net for the poor — such as guaranteeing food and shelter for the needy and spending to help them even if it means more debt — jumped by 14 percentage points from 1994 to 2007, according to the Pew Research Center.

Support for that safety net also rose by 15 points among independents and 9 points among Republicans.

That's a remarkable change since the mid-'90s, the decade when centrist Bill Clinton dominated the Democratic Party, signed a welfare overhaul into law that forced recipients to work, expanded free trade against the wishes of organized labor and famously declared the era of big government to be over.

"During the era when Bill Clinton was president, there was a clear re-centering of the party," said Democratic Gov. Kathleen Sebelius of Kansas. Today, she added, "there is a growing understanding that government can play a positive role in investing in our country."

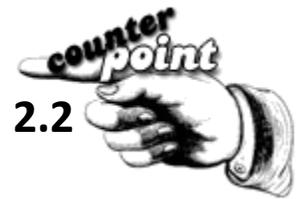
What changed? Several things.

The Iraq war lasted longer, cost more lives and money, and proved deeply unpopular. A few years ago, Obama was a rare voice in the party opposing the war; today he's one of a chorus...

# Americans More Likely to Say Government Doing Too Much

Belief that government is over-regulating business is at high for decade

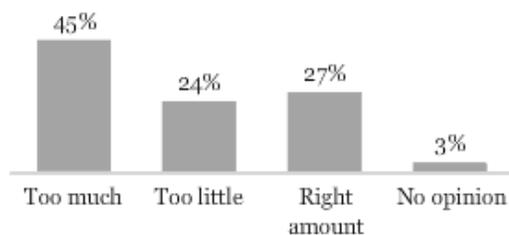
by Frank Newport  
September 21, 2009



Source: Gallup.com - <http://www.gallup.com/poll/123101/americans-likely-say-government-doing-too-much.aspx>

PRINCETON, NJ -- Americans are more likely today than in the recent past to believe that government is taking on too much responsibility for solving the nation's problems and is over-regulating business. New Gallup data show that 57% of Americans say the government is trying to do too many things that should be left to businesses and individuals, and 45% say there is too much government regulation of business. Both reflect the highest such readings in more than a decade.

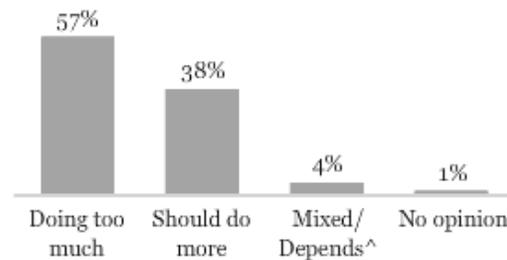
*In general, do you think there is too much, too little, or about the right amount of government regulation of business and industry?*



Aug. 31-Sept. 2, 2009

GALLUP POLL

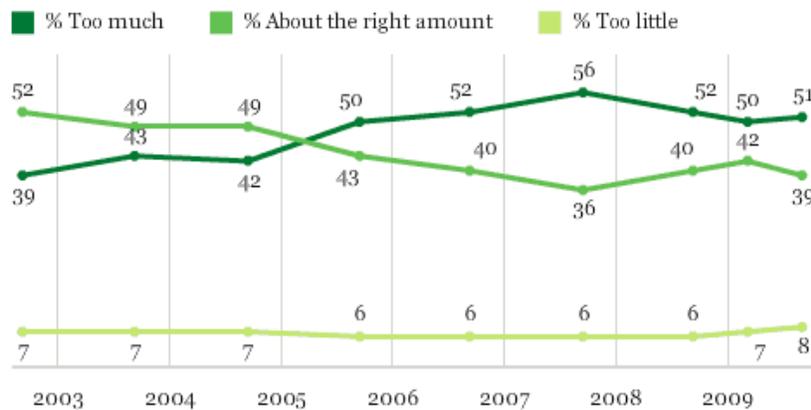
*Some people think the government is trying to do too many things that should be left to individuals and businesses. Others think that government should do more to solve our country's problems. Which comes closer to your own view?*



<sup>^</sup> Volunteered response  
Aug. 31-Sept. 2, 2009

GALLUP POLL

*Do you think the federal government today -- [ROTATED: has too much power, has about the right amount of power, or has too little power]?*



GALLUP POLL

These two measures are based on questions Gallup has asked each September since 2001, and intermittently before that. The 57% level of public concern about big government in this survey is, among other things, coincident with an extensively increased government involvement in the economy, and the extensive focus on a large-scale government effort to reform healthcare that was underway as this survey was being conducted.

Forty-five percent of Americans say there is too much regulation of business, while 27% say the amount of regulation is about right and 24% say there is too little regulation.

## Graphic Organizer 2.2

### Key Battles of the American Revolutionary War

#### The New England Phase

(1775)

<b>Battles of Lexington and Concord</b>		
<b>Massachusetts</b>		<b>April, 1775</b>
	<b>Americans</b>	<b>British</b>
<b>Commander(s)</b>	---	
<b>Victory</b>		
<b>Highlights</b>		
<b>Significance</b>		

<b>Capture of Fort Ticonderoga</b>		
		<b>_____, 1775</b>
	<b>Americans</b>	<b>British</b>
<b>Commander(s)</b>		---
<b>Victory</b>		

<b>Battle of Bunker Hill</b>		
		<b>June, 1775</b>
	<b>Americans</b>	<b>British</b>
<b>Commander(s)</b>	---	
<b>Victory</b>		
<b>Highlights</b>		
<b>Significance</b>		

## The Times that Try Men's Souls (1776)

<b>Siege of Boston</b>		
		<b>April, 1775 – March, 1776</b>
	<b>Americans</b>	<b>British</b>
<b>Commander(s)</b>		
<b>Victory</b>		
<b>Highlights</b>		
<b>Significance</b>		

<b>Battle of Long Island (Brooklyn)</b>		
		<b>August, 1776</b>
	<b>Americans</b>	<b>British</b>
<b>Commander(s)</b>		
<b>Victory</b>		
<b>Highlights</b>		
<b>Significance</b>		

<b>Battle of Trenton</b>		
		<b>, 1776</b>
	<b>Americans</b>	<b>Hessians</b>
<b>Commander(s)</b>		<b>Rall</b>
<b>Victory</b>		
<b>Highlights</b>		
<b>Significance</b>		

## The Turning Point (1777-1778)

<b>Battle of Saratoga</b>		
	<b>, 1777</b>	
	<b>Americans</b>	<b>British</b>
<b>Commander(s)</b>		
<b>Victory</b>		
<b>Highlights</b>		
<b>Significance</b>		

<b>Winter at Valley Forge</b>		
	<b>Winter, 1777-1778</b>	
<b>Commander(s)</b>	<b>Washington</b> <b>Baron von Steuben</b> <b>Marquis de Lafayette</b>	
<b>Highlights</b>		
<b>Significance</b>		

<b>Battle of Monmouth</b>		
	<b>June, 1778</b>	
	<b>Americans</b>	<b>British</b>
<b>Commander(s)</b>		<b>Gen. Sir Henry Clinton</b>
<b>Victory</b>		
<b>Highlights</b>		
<b>Significance</b>		

# The “Southern Strategy”

(1780-1781)

After Burgoyne’s humiliating defeat at Saratoga, the British decided to adopt a “Southern strategy.” The British hoped to take advantage of the high number of **Loyalists** (i.e., colonists who were still loyal to the British crown, also known as **Tories**).

The British captured Savannah, GA, in December, 1778. In the Spring of 1780, **Gen. Sir Henry Clinton**, Howe’s successor as commander-in-chief of the British forces in the colonies, sent **General Lord Cornwallis** to capture Charleston. At the time, the only Patriot military forces were **guerrilla** forces led by Francis Marion. **Gen. Horation Gates**, the hero of Saratoga, went to South Carolina to face Cornwallis.

<b>Battle of Camden</b>		
		<b>August, 1780</b>
	<b>Americans</b>	<b>British</b>
<b>Commander(s)</b>		
<b>Victory</b>		

<b>Battles of Kings Mountain (NC) and Cowpens (SC)</b>		
		<b>October, 1780 / January, 1781</b>
	<b>Americans</b>	<b>British</b>
<b>Victory</b>		

<b>Siege of Yorktown</b>		
		<b>September-October, 1781</b>
	<b>Americans</b>	<b>British</b>
<b>Commander(s)</b>	Washington Rochambeau Lafayette	
<b>Victory</b>		
<b>Highlights</b>		
<b>Significance</b>		

## Document 2.9

### Thomas Paine, *The American Crisis*, No. 1 (December 23, 1776)

Source: <http://libertyonline.hypermall.com/Paine/Crisis/Crisis-TOC.html>

**THESE are the times that try men's souls.** The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: it is dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared that she has a right (not only to TAX) but "to BIND us in ALL CASES WHATSOEVER," and if being bound in that manner, is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious; for so unlimited a power can belong only to God.

Whether the independence of the continent was declared too soon, or delayed too long, I will not now enter into as an argument; my own simple opinion is, that had it been eight months earlier, it would have been much better. We did not make a proper use of last winter, neither could we, while we were in a dependent state. However, the fault, if it were one, was all our own\*; we have none to blame but ourselves. But no great deal is lost yet. All that Howe has been doing for this month past, is rather a ravage than a conquest, which the spirit of the Jerseys, a year ago, would have quickly repulsed, and which time and a little resolution will soon recover.

\* The present winter is worth an age, if rightly employed; but, if lost or neglected, the whole continent will partake of the evil; and there is no punishment that man does not deserve, be he who, or what, or where he will, that may be the means of sacrificing a season so precious and useful.

I have as little superstition in me as any man living, but my secret opinion has ever been, and still is, that God Almighty will not give up a people to military destruction, or leave them unsupportedly to perish, who have so earnestly and so repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war, by every decent method which wisdom could invent. Neither have I so much of the infidel in me, as to suppose that He has relinquished the government of the world, and given us up to the care of devils; and as I do not, I cannot see on what grounds the king of Britain can look up to heaven for help against us: a common murderer, a highwayman, or a house-breaker, has as good a pretence as he....

I thank God that I fear not. I see no real cause for fear. I know our situation well, and can see the way out of it. While our army was collected, Howe dared not risk a battle; and it is no credit to him that he decamped from the White Plains, and waited a mean opportunity to ravage the defenceless Jerseys; but it is great credit to us, that, with a handful of men, we sustained an orderly retreat for near an hundred miles... Twice we marched back to meet the enemy, and remained out till dark. The sign of fear was not seen in our camp, and had not some of the cowardly and disaffected inhabitants spread false alarms through the country, the Jerseys had never been ravaged. Once more we are again collected and collecting; our new army at both ends of the continent is recruiting fast, and we shall be able to open the next campaign with sixty thousand men, well armed and clothed. This is our situation, and who will may know it. By perseverance and fortitude we have the prospect of a glorious issue; by cowardice and submission, the sad choice of a variety of evils- a ravaged country- a depopulated city- habitations without safety, and slavery without hope- our homes turned into barracks and bawdy-houses for Hessians, and a future race to provide for, whose fathers we shall doubt of. Look on this picture and weep over it! and if there yet remains one thoughtless wretch who believes it not, let him suffer it unlamented.

COMMON SENSE.  
December 23, 1776.

# HOMWORK ASSIGNMENT

## SECONDARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

In a 2008 issue, *U.S. News and World Report* published a series of articles on the American Revolution. These articles highlight key individuals, groups, and events and represent the most recent scholarship on the Revolution. They also challenge previous interpretations and popular myths – many of which you have probably learned in school.

**Choose one of the following pairs of essays for your summary based on what interests you:**

[Why the Patriots Really Fought](#) / [For Blacks, There Was No Clear Choice](#)

[In Paris, Taking Salons By Storm](#) / [Allied With France, the Enemy of Our Enemy](#)

[Benedict Arnold: A Traitor, but Once a Patriot](#) / [Rewriting the Legend of Paul Revere](#)

[How Washington's Saavy Won the Day](#) / ['Town Destroyer' Versus Iroquois Indians](#)

[British Might Meets Yankee Ingenuity](#) / [The Unlikely Role of Patriot Pirates](#)

[In a Massacre, the Seeds of a Civil War](#) / [The Rich Legacy of a Forgotten Founder](#)

### YOUR ASSIGNMENT

After reading the articles and making notes, type a multi-paragraph composition that addresses the following aspects of your articles:

1. Identify each author's thesis. What popular myths are these authors challenging with their theses? How credible do you find their arguments?
2. How do these two articles relate to each other? What comparisons can you draw? Do the authors present similar or opposing views? Some pairs are more difficult to link than others (such as the Massacre / Rich Legacy set), but there is always a link.
3. What have you learned from reading these articles? This should be written in a way to help your classmates to "read" your articles without actually having to read them. There is stuff in all of these articles that is useful to know, so the more you read, the better.

# Correspondence of John and Abigail Adams (Spring, 1776)

## ABIGAIL ADAMS TO JOHN ADAMS

*March 31, 1776* ([Link to Full Letter](#))

I long to hear that you have declared an independency -- and by the way in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If [particular] care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a [rebellion], and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation.

That your Sex are Naturally Tyrannical is a Truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute, but such of you as wish to be happy willingly give up the harsh title of Master for the more tender and endearing one of Friend. Why then, not put it out of the power of the vicious and the Lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity with impunity. Men of Sense in all Ages abhor those customs which treat us only as the vassals of your Sex. Regard us then as Beings placed by providence under your protection and in imitation of the Supreme Being make use of that power only for our happiness.

## JOHN ADAMS TO ABIGAIL ADAMS

*April 14, 1776* ([Link to Full Letter](#))

As to Declarations of Independency, be patient. Read our Privateering Laws, and our Commercial Laws. What signifies a Word.

As to your extraordinary Code of Laws, I cannot but laugh. We have been told that our Struggle has loosened the bands of Government everywhere. That Children and Apprentices were disobedient -- that schools and Colledges were grown turbulent -- that Indians slighted their Guardians and Negroes grew insolent to their Masters.

But your Letter was the first Intimation that another Tribe more numerous and powerfull than all the rest were grown discontented. -- This is rather too coarse a Compliment but you are so saucy, I won't blot it out.

Depend upon it, We know better than to repeal our Masculine systems. Altho they are in full Force, you know they are little more than Theory. We dare not exert our Power in its full Latitude. We are obliged to go fair, and softly, and in Practice you know We are the subjects. We have only the Name of Masters, and rather than give up this, which would compleatly subject Us to the Despotism of the Peticcoat, I hope General Washington, and all our brave Heroes would fight.

## ABIGAIL ADAMS TO JOHN ADAMS

*May 7, 1776* ([Link to Full Letter](#))

I can not say that I think you very generous to the Ladies, for whilst you are proclaiming peace and good will to Men, Emancipating all Nations, you insist upon retaining an absolute power over Wives. But you must remember that Arbitrary power is like most other things which are very hard, very liable to be broken -- and notwithstanding all your wise Laws and Maxims we have it in our power not only to free ourselves but to subdue our Masters, and without violence throw both your natural and legal authority at our feet.

# The Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom

*Written by Thomas Jefferson (1786)*

**I.** Well aware that Almighty God has created the mind free; *that* all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burdens or by civil incapacitations tend only to ... [produce] habits of hypocrisy and meanness and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who, being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his Almighty power to do; *that* the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible [ones], and, such, endeavoring to impose them on others, have established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world and through all time; that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical; *that* even ... forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness ... ; *that* our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; *that* therefore the proscribing [of] any citizen as unworthy [of] the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow citizens he has a natural right... and, finally, *that* truth is great and will prevail if left to herself, *that* she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate, [for] errors [cease] to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

**II.** *Be it enacted by the General Assembly* that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

**III.** And though we well know that this assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, [has] no power to restrain the acts of succeeding assemblies, constituted with powers equal to her own, and that therefore to declare this act to be irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet, as we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall hereafter be passed to repeal the present or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural rights.

# Document 2.12

## Northern Emancipation

Slavery in the North: <http://www.slavenorth.com/emancipation.htm>

The American Revolution was the death knell of Northern slavery. The rhetoric of the rebels, based on the Enlightenment doctrine of natural rights, immediately ran into the hypocrisy of a slave-owning people crying out for freedom. Tory Samuel Johnson twitted the Americans in 1775: "How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?" The rebels were sensitive to the taunt. "To contend for liberty and to deny that blessing to others," John Jay wrote, "involves an inconsistency not to be excused." Nathaniel Niles put it succinctly: "For shame, let us either cease to enslave our fellow-men, or else let us cease to complain of those that would enslave us." James Otis found another thread in the argument when he wrote, "It is a clear truth that those who every day barter away other men's liberty, will soon care little for their own." [1]

Britain had a large financial stake in the slave trade (between 1729 and 1750, Parliament approved more than 90,000 for maintenance of slave stations on the African coast), so New England resistance to slave importation in the years leading up to the Revolution could express anti-Crown sentiment. As so often happened, morality and economic self-interest flowed the same way, so it is difficult to distinguish them. Dr. Jeremy Belknap of Boston recalled that few in the colony had spoken publicly against slavery, "till we began to feel the weight of oppression from 'our mother country.'" It was probably not a coincidence that Massachusetts, where resistance to British authority was greatest, was also the hotbed of agitation against the slave trade.

Meanwhile, by 1770, slave raids had depopulated whole regions of coastal West Africa. The terms of the [Assiento](#) encouraged this by drawing off the breeding-age population: "none of the said 4,800 Negroes shall be under the age of ten years, nine parts in ten of the ... Negroes so to be furnished shall be of the age of sixteen years at least, and none of them shall exceed the age of 40 years." During the decade before the American Revolution, the cost of slaves at the stations in Africa soared. Because of that, the flow of available slaves from the West Indies -- the traditional main source of Northern slaves -- dried up. Plantation owners there held on to their stock, realizing it could no longer easily be replaced by African imports. The combination drove many Northern slave merchants out of the trade. Slave imports to the North fell off sharply after 1770, and internal trade in blacks rose in importance. The change in the economic winds helped ease the path for the North to give up its direct involvement in expanding slavery, without disowning the fortune it already had made.

Emancipation in the North also involved a religious component. Quakers came later to abolition than many people realize. Not until 1758 did Philadelphia Yearly Meeting condemn not only the slave trade, but slavery itself. Still, the Society of Friends was the most visible of the anti-slavery sects, though somewhat marginalized during the Revolution because many Friends had been Loyalists. They brought varying degrees of pressure to bear in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island. Presbyterians in Pennsylvania and Methodists in the Chesapeake region also preached against slavery.

But the heaviest blow was dealt by the war itself, which was waged for five years all across the North. Both sides competed for the slaves, and whichever side he joined, a slave was likely to end up free. The incentives were greater on the British side, however, since the running away of an American's slave meant no financial loss to them. In Connecticut, as early as 1776, slaves were escaping to British vessels lying off New Haven. In 1775, at the outbreak of the Revolution, Virginia's Gov. John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, issued a proclamation offering freedom to all slaves who would bear arms against the rebellion. Among the many who ran away from their masters and flocked to Lord Dunmore's regiments was Titus, 21, slave of New Jersey Quaker John Corlies. A year later, calling himself Colonel Tye, Titus was back in New Jersey, organizing other slaves and free blacks to fight against the Americans. For five years he led a guerilla band that terrorized northern New Jersey.

In 1779, Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander in chief, offered freedom “to every Negro that shall desert the rebel standard.” Clinton's policy was as much practical as philanthropic. A British warning in the *New York Weekly Mercury* on July 5, 1779, notified blacks that any captured with the rebel forces would be sold into slavery, regardless of their legal status. But there does seem to have been a good deal of genuine humanitarian feeling among the British generals. Lord Cornwallis would not allow runaways to be taken from his camp, even when their owners were not rebels. And Sir Guy Carleton kept his word to fugitives at the end of the war during the evacuation of New York, even as the victorious Yankees clamored for the return of their slave property. When the British and the American Loyalists pulled out at the end of the war, some 3,000 blacks left with them.

The British offer of liberty to escaped slaves drew in thousands of them. “By the invasion of this state, and the possession the enemy obtained of this city, and neighborhood,” George Bryan of Philadelphia wrote in 1779, “[a] great part of the slaves hereabouts, were enticed away by the British army.” The large slave populations of Philadelphia and New York were permanently reduced. Henry Muhlenberg, the prominent Lutheran minister in Pennsylvania, wrote in his journal that blacks “secretly wished the British army might win, for then all Negro slaves will gain their freedom.” The number of runaways rose so sharply after 1775 that there can be no doubt that the machinery of control no longer functioned effectively. [2]

The Northern colonies, too, began to offer their slaves manumission or freedom in exchange for military service. Usually this came with some reimbursement to the owner (in 1782 in New York, 500 acres was given to a master for every slave who enlisted for three years with the master's consent). In the American Revolution, some 5,000 blacks, mostly from the North, fought on the American side. But likely many more went over to the British. The black population of Massachusetts declined in actual numbers during the Revolutionary years, and its ratio to the white population fell from 1:45 in 1763 to 1:80 in 1784. In Rhode Island, the black-to-white ratio had been 1:14 in 1749; in 1783 it was 1:22. In the 15 years after 1771, the white population of New York grew by about 50 percent, but the black population fell by 5 percent. Black population in Connecticut decreased by 1,045 from 1774 to 1790, a drop of better than 16 percent.

The result of this convergence of forces was that, between 1777 and 1804, the Northern colonies and states, one by one, gave up on slavery. It's difficult to assign a relative weight in this to practical economics as opposed to political liberalism. Evidence suggests the practical was paramount. There was a good deal of anti-slavery rhetoric in the early days of the Revolution in the form of petitions and non-binding resolutions. In the North, a few of the former colonies even barred the importing of slaves. But only Vermont, where slavery was practically non-existent, went so far as to ban it outright in 1777. The war came first, most of the Northern leaders decided, and anything that could upset the struggle ought to be, in the words of the New Hampshire legislature in 1780 putting off a petition for freedom from the state's slaves, “postponed till a more convenient opportunity.”

Edgar McManus, the historian of Northern slavery, finds that “abolitionists of the 1780's belonged to the business elite which thirty years before had reaped handsome profits from the slave trade. The precipitous decline of the trade after 1770 apparently sharpened the moral sensibilities of those who had formerly profited. ... The leaders of the abolition movement were honorable men who sincerely regarded slavery as a great moral wrong. But it is also true that they embraced antislavery at a time when it entailed no economic hardship for their class.”

Northern slaves, more often than those of the colonial South or other parts of the Americas, had filled skilled positions, working as artisans, especially in the cities. They appear as bakers, tailors, weavers, goldsmiths, and woodcut illustrators. Such status allowed them a certain power to negotiate with their masters, and win certain protections. It also earned them the jealousy of white workers, who petitioned relentlessly against slave competition in Boston from 1660, New York from 1686, and Philadelphia from 1707. But with the end of slavery, the white workers who had sought these jobs for generations soon swept them clean of black incumbents. The freed slaves were excluded from the occupations that would have allowed them to make something of their freedom.

Considering New York, McManus writes, "Upper-class whites were motivated by idealism, and their attitude toward the Negro was philanthropic and paternalistic. Members of the upper class supported Negro charities and schools much more generously than they supported organizations assisting poor whites." This idealism, however, "had no counterpart in the lower classes, among whom could be found neither sympathy for the Negro nor understanding of his problems. From its inception, slavery had been detrimental to the working class. On the one hand, the slave system excluded whites from jobs preempted by slaves; on the other, it often degraded them socially to the level of the slaves with whom they had to work and compete in earning a livelihood. Many whites preferred chauvinistic idleness to employment which had come to be identified with slavery. ... Whites of the working class hated slavery as an institution, but they also feared the free Negro as an economic competitor. They supported emancipation not to raise the Negro to a better life but to destroy a system which gave him a fixed place in the economy." [3]

"Emancipation in some ways strengthened the tyranny of race by imposing on blacks new forms of subordination that better served the economic interests of the whites," writes McManus." The historical reality of race relations in the Americas is that whites have never altered their institutions primarily for the benefit of blacks. [4]

Northern prejudice, and the inability of those states to assimilate their former slaves, certainly discouraged efforts toward freeing the slaves in the South. Having inadvertently freed the slaves in the state, the Massachusetts legislature voted to bar interracial marriages and expel all blacks who were not citizens. Boston authorities took action against 240 of them in 1800, most natives of Rhode Island, New York, Philadelphia, and the West Indies. White Philadelphians were rioting against blacks from 1805, driving them from the Fourth of July celebrations on Independence Square. Within a decade, the burning of black churches in the city had begun. A Virginia judge, observing the North in 1795, wrote, "If in Massachusetts, where the numbers are comparatively very small, this prejudice be discernible, how much stronger may it be imagined in this country ...?" [5]

Another kind of mixed message was sent south by prominent Northern critics of slavery who had difficulty freeing their own slaves. Benjamin Rush and the Rev. Francis Allison were among Pennsylvania's prominent, outspoken abolitionists who owned slaves during most of their public careers. In 1785, Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr and 30 other New Yorkers formed the Society for Manumission of Slaves. Hamilton, as chair of the Ways and Means Committee, reported a resolution that members begin the work by freeing their own slaves. The resolution failed. "[I]n the manner northern state governments dealt with the abolition of slavery, the South witnessed the central difficulty besetting the revolutionary generation -- how to put into practice beliefs that could be implemented only at personal cost." [6]

By the time of the 1790 census, 94 percent of the 698,000 U.S. slaves lived below the Mason-Dixon Line. They concentrated in the tobacco-growing region in the Chesapeake basin and in the rice-growing along the coast of Georgia and South Carolina. Having solved its slavery problem by a very gradual emancipation, and by aggressively proscribing the rights of its free black minority, the North was content. Its ships continued to carry slaves to Southern ports, and slave-grown cotton to Europe. The North reaped the profits of the Southern plantations, and the federal government collected the tariffs. Any further effort made in the North toward resolving the slavery issue generally went into the pipe-dream of colonization and to making sure Southern blacks stayed there, or at least did not come north.

1. *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved*

2. Edgar J. McManus, *Black Bondage in the North*, Syracuse University Press, 1973, p.154.

3. Edgar J. McManus, *A History of Negro Slavery in New York*, Syracuse University Press, 1966, p.182-3.

4. McManus, op. cit., p.197.

5. Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery*, University of Chicago Press, 1961, p.15.

6. Gary B. Nash, *Race and Revolution*, Madison House, 1990, p.31.

# Review Questions

## *Based on Mr. Radford's Study Guide*

1. Before the French and Indian War, which European power had the largest land claim in the area that is today the United States?
2. How did French land holdings change from 1682 to 1763?
3. Which areas of North America were held by the English as of 1763?
4. During the French and Indian War, most Native Americans fought on the side of \_\_\_\_\_, with one exception being the \_\_\_\_\_ Confederation, a traditional enemy of \_\_\_\_\_.
5. With the Proclamation of 1763, the British government attempted to
6. The Sugar Act was an effort by the British Parliament to
7. During which battle did the first fighting between redcoats and minutemen occur?
8. In January of 1776, Thomas Paine wrote *Common Sense* in order to convince the colonists that...
9. The Americans owed some of the credit for their victory to the aid of which European power?
10. Which event confirmed American independence and set the boundaries of the new nation?
11. In the years preceding the American Revolution, Samuel Adams was best known as a leader of the...
12. Which products were taxed by the Townshend Acts?
13. The First Continental Congress was called in response to the...
14. Jefferson based the preamble of the Declaration of Independence on the ideas of which English political philosopher?
15. The formation of the Sons of Liberty was a response to the...
16. The Intolerable Acts consisted of five acts, which...
17. The document that was most crucial in changing public opinion to support independence was...
18. In December, 1776, Washington's Continental Army scored a much-needed victory at...
19. The British soldiers involved in the "Boston Massacre" were found (guilty / not guilty) by a local jury.
20. The low point of the Revolutionary War for the Continental Army was during the year...
21. Samuel Adams called April 19, 1775, "a glorious day for America" because...
22. The British defeat at \_\_\_\_\_ resulted in France signing a treaty of alliance with the Americans.
23. The Treaty of Paris signed in September 1783 ended the war and set the western boundary of the United States at the...
24. In spring 1775, British troops marched to Concord in order to...
25. \_\_\_\_\_ trained American troops to become an effective fighting force during their winter at Valley Forge.
26. Colonists who displayed loyalty to Great Britain and King George were called...

27. Loyalists were most numerous in New York and in the \_\_\_\_\_ colonies.
28. The British decided to negotiate a peace settlement after this General surrendered to Washington at Yorktown.
29. One cause of the French and Indian War was British settlement in the \_\_\_\_\_ River valley.
30. What two works were written by Thomas Paine during the American Revolution?
31. The Declaration of Independence, written by \_\_\_\_\_, stated that all men are created \_\_\_\_\_ and have unalienable rights to " \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, and the pursuit of \_\_\_\_\_."
32. This document, which urged King George to consider a return to "the former harmony" between Britain and the colonies, was drafted by the Second Continental Congress in July, 1775.
33. By "pursuit of happiness," Jefferson meant that all people have a right not only to political freedom, but also to \_\_\_\_\_ freedom.
34. The Continental Congress appointed \_\_\_\_\_ as the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army because...
35. After reading the Olive Branch Petition, King George issued a proclamation stating that the colonies were in rebellion and urging Parliament to order a naval blockade of the American coast, which is known as the...
36. Colonists who favored independence were known as...
37. The signers of the Declaration of Independence pledged to each other their, \_\_\_\_\_, their \_\_\_\_\_, and their Sacred \_\_\_\_\_.
38. This is the site of the Continental Army's camp during the winter of 1777-1778.
39. During the war, Congress printed more and more paper money, known as \_\_\_\_\_, which resulted in rampant \_\_\_\_\_.
40. In 1777, General Howe did not show up to help Burgoyne capture Albany because he was capturing...
41. After withdrawing from Boston in 1776, Washington moved his Continental Army to defend...
42. On Christmas night in 1776, George Washington led 2,400 men in rowboats across which ice-choked river.
43. In 1765, Parliament passed the \_\_\_\_\_ Act, requiring colonists to pay a direct tax on a variety of printed items.
44. The colonists resisted this act with a \_\_\_\_\_ of British goods.
45. In 1770, this conflict between dock workers and British soldiers left Crispus Attucks and four others dead.
46. In 1773, Colonists staged the Boston Tea Party to send a forceful message to Britain communicating their feelings about the \_\_\_\_\_ Act, which had granted a \_\_\_\_\_ to the British East India Company.
47. In 1774, \_\_\_\_\_, the King of England urged Parliament to take quick action to punish Massachusetts.
48. In 1774, to keep the peace, General Thomas Gage places Boston under \_\_\_\_\_.
49. Britain issued the Proclamation of \_\_\_\_\_, banning colonial settlement west of the \_\_\_\_\_ Mountains, in order to prevent further costly conflicts with Native Americans.
50. This Act was intended to crack down on smuggling and to raise money to pay off the war debt.