

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

I. WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

- I. Causes leading to the War, 1760-74.
- II. Beginnings of the War, April, 1775-July, 1776.
 - 1. In Massachusetts.
 - 2. In Canada.
 - 3. On the Carolina Coast.
- III. Struggle for the Middle States, July, 1776-July, 1778.
 - 1. Campaigns around New York City.
 - 2. Campaigns in northern New York.
 - 3. Campaigns around Philadelphia.
- IV. War beyond the Frontiers, 1778-9.
 - 1. West of the Alleghanies.
 - 2. On the Ocean.
- V. War in the South, 1778-81.
 - 1. In Georgia and the Carolinas.
 - 2. In Virginia.

I. CAUSES LEADING TO THE REVOLUTION.

241. Old Grievances. — As a rule, the English kings were careless of the rights of their American subjects. America was valued chiefly as a means to pay royal debts by grants of territory, or to reward court favorites by appointments to colonial offices. The royal governors frequently lacked both character and ability, and often provoked the people to resistance. When the tyranny of Governor Nicholson became unbearable to the Virginians, the king at last graciously consented to transfer him to another colony, and he became in turn governor of Maryland and of Carolina. Every colony, except Pennsylvania and Delaware, was at some period in its history the

victim of incompetent governors. But the victories won by English and colonial troops in the French and Indian War had caused old grievances to be forgotten and good feeling to prevail between the colonies and the mother-country. It was the course of the king and Parliament subsequent to 1760, in attempting to enforce certain old laws and in passing new ones distasteful to the colonists, that hurried on the Revolution.

242. Laws of Trade and Navigation. — It was commonly believed in England that British traders and manufacturers should not only be protected from competition in the colonies, but that they should derive an actual profit from colonial trade. To this end, more than one hundred years before the Revolution, Parliament had begun to pass laws to regulate shipping, trade, and manufactures in the colonies. These laws provided among other things (1) that no foreign vessel, except British, should carry goods to or bring them from the colonies; (2) that certain colonial products, such as tobacco, sugar, and cotton, should not be exported to any part of the world save to Great Britain or her colonies; (3) that all European products needed by the colonists should be purchased in England and imported in English ships; (4) that no articles made in England should be manufactured in the colonies. The object of these laws was partly to injure England's rivals (especially the Dutch, who at that time did most of the carrying trade of the world), but chiefly to enrich British merchants and manufacturers at the expense of the American colonists.

243. The Laws Evaded. — The disastrous effect of such laws upon the prosperity of the colonies, if strictly enforced, can be readily imagined. For nearly one hundred years the colonists ignored or evaded them. The numerous harbors on the American coast made it easy for smugglers¹ to avoid the

¹ To *smuggle* goods is to import them without paying the import tax required by law.

king's officers. When offenders were arrested sympathizing juries refused to convict them, and even the judges appointed by the king were disposed to be lenient, remembering that their salaries depended upon the vote of colonial Assemblies. The pressure of the French wars prevented the British government from turning its attention to the enforcement of the law.

244. Efforts to Enforce the Navigation Laws.—When the French power in America was overthrown, England was free to enforce her hated navigation laws. Colonial juries having re-



James Otis.

refused to punish smugglers, "Admiralty Courts" were established in the colonies, with authority to try offenders without juries. A still more formidable measure was the issuance of "writs of assistance" (1761). These were general warrants good for an indefinite time, authorizing officers to search all suspected places at any hour of the day for goods supposed to have been imported

contrary to law. The colonists, believing the navigation laws unjust, were ready to oppose any effective measures for enforcing them. Moreover, it was held that these new measures were violations of the British Constitution, which allowed to every citizen the right of trial by jury, and declared his house should be secure against unreasonable search. James Otis resigned his position as advocate-general of Massachusetts to avoid supporting the writs. The Boston merchants appealed to the courts to declare the writs illegal, and employed Otis as their counsel. The case was decided against them, yet

the powerful arguments of Otis exerted a wide influence in strengthening the opposition of the people.

245. The "Parson's Case."—While the admiralty courts and the writs of assistance were causing dissatisfaction and resistance in the commercial colonies, an event took place in Virginia which weakened the authority of the king in that loyal colony. The annual salary of each minister of the Established Church in Virginia was fixed by law at 16,000 pounds of tobacco, and this amount was raised by taxation. One year, when there was a failure of the tobacco crop, the Virginia Assembly passed a law allowing the salaries of ministers to be paid in money at the rate of twopence for each pound of tobacco due. As this sum was far below the market value of tobacco the clergy objected, and appealed to the king. The result was the king annulled or set aside the "two-penny act" of the Assembly. The ministers thereupon brought suits in their respective counties to recover the difference in salary due them. In one of the coun-



Patrick Henry.

ties Patrick Henry, an obscure young lawyer, represented the taxpayers. In a speech of surprising eloquence, he denounced the king as a tyrant for setting aside a good law, and declared that the Assembly of Virginia "was the only authority for the laws of the colony." His words were cheered by the crowd present, and the jury awarded the sum of one penny to the clergyman who brought this suit, instead of the large amount demanded by him. In all parts of Virginia, Henry's defiance of the king was discussed, some condemning it as treason, others approving it.

246. The Colonies to be Taxed.—The expenses of the French wars had brought an enormous debt upon England. As the wars had been waged partly in the interest of the colonies, England claimed that the colonies should help to pay the cost. Accordingly, the British Parliament decided to go a step further than it had ever gone before; it determined to raise a revenue from the colonies by taxation. An old law, placing a duty on sugar and molasses, was revived, and the Stamp Act was passed (1765), requiring government stamps to be placed on all contracts, notes, and legal documents. These stamps were to be sold by British officials, and from this source a large revenue was expected.

247. Feeling of the Americans.—The proposed taxation of Americans by the British Parliament awakened a greater storm than did the enforcement of the navigation laws. Centuries before this, the people of England had taken away from their king the power to tax them, and had declared that in England taxes could be imposed only by the representatives elected by the people. In accordance with this principle, the American colonists claimed they could be taxed only by their colonial Assemblies. They elected no representatives to Parliament; that body, therefore, had no right to tax them. Moreover, inasmuch as their territory, when first discovered, was considered to belong to the king, and as they had obtained their title to the soil from the king, they held that they were subject to the king alone, and not to Parliament. As to the expenses of the French wars, the colonists held that they had already paid their share in the soldiers and supplies they had furnished.

248. The British Parliament.—The Parliament which proposed to tax the American colonists did not truly represent the people of England. In the United States to-day, we know that members of Congress are elected from districts of nearly equal

population; and as population increases much more rapidly in some parts of the country than in others, we rearrange our representative districts every ten years in order to prevent unfairness in representation. In England, however, members of Parliament had been originally elected from "shires" or "boroughs," as such, and without reference to population. At the time of George III. these parliamentary districts, never regular, had not been changed for 200 years. As a consequence, cities like Manchester and Birmingham, which had sprung up in recent years, had no representatives, while other districts, whose population had decreased to hardly a dozen inhabitants, were yet allowed to choose members of Parliament. The votes in these "rotten boroughs" were controlled by the king and a few wealthy families. The people of the unrepresented cities had begun to complain of their unjust treatment, and they sympathized with the Americans in their cry of "no taxation without representation."

249. Resistance to the Stamp Act.—News of the passage of the Stamp Act reached America in the spring of 1765. From Virginia came the first response. Her Assembly passed a series of resolutions introduced by the great orator, Patrick Henry, and supported by his matchless eloquence, declaring that "the Assembly of this colony have the only and sole exclusive right to levy taxes upon the inhabitants." John Ashe, speaker of the North Carolina Assembly, declared to the royal governor that in his colony the Stamp Act "would be resisted to blood," whereupon the governor promptly dissolved the Assembly. The Massachusetts Assembly resolved that their courts should recognize unstamped documents, and sent a circular to the other colonies recom-



British Stamp.

mending that a congress of delegates from all the colonies be held in New York to consider common grievances. In some places the feeling of opposition was so strong that mobs were formed and deeds of cruelty and lawlessness enacted.¹ Everywhere stamp agents were forced to resign, and the stamps were either destroyed or sent back to England.

250. The Stamp Act Congress. — This Congress, proposed by Massachusetts and seconded by South Carolina, met in New York just before the Stamp Act was to go into effect (October, 1765). Twenty-eight delegates were present, representing nine colonies. Four colonies were unrepresented, chiefly through opposition of their royal governors and not through lack of interest in the cause. Petitions to the king and Parliament² were prepared and also a Declaration of Rights, asserting that the colonies should be free from all taxes not imposed with their own consent.

251. The Stamp Act Repealed. — It soon became evident to the British ministry that to enforce the Stamp Act an army must be used, and they were unwilling to go so far. The colonies, moreover, were not without sympathizers in England. When Parliament met in 1766, a petition against the Stamp Act was presented by the London merchants trading with America. William Pitt, now old and suffering with disease, appeared in the House of Commons on crutches, and fiercely opposed the policy of the British government. "I rejoice that America has resisted," said he. "If her people had submitted, they would have voluntarily become slaves. My opinion is that the Stamp Act should be repealed, absolutely,

¹ In Boston the home of Chief-Justice Hutchison was burned by a mob, the Justice and his family barely escaping. In New York a torch-light procession dragged through the streets the governor's chariot bearing images of the governor and the devil, and finally made a bonfire of the chariot.

² Gadsden, of South Carolina, objected to sending petitions to Parliament, because thereby its authority would be acknowledged.

totally, immediately." The result was the repeal of the Stamp Act before it had been in operation six months. At the same time a resolution was passed declaring that Parliament had the right to tax the colonies in all cases. Thus the principle of taxation without representation was still maintained.

252. The Townshend Acts. — The next year two laws known as the Townshend Acts (from their author, Charles Townshend) were passed. The first provided for the stricter execution of the laws of trade; the second, for imposing a tax on glass, paper, and tea. Again bitter opposition was aroused, especially in the commercial colonies. The Massachusetts Assembly sent a circular to the various colonies censuring the recent acts of the British government in reference to trade and taxation. The king ordered the Assembly, under penalty of being instantly dissolved, to rescind this circular. By a vote of ninety-two to seventeen the Massachusetts Assembly refused to obey, thus deliberately defying the authority of the king. The Virginia Assembly the next year endorsed the Massachusetts circular and sent copies of her resolutions of approval to all the other colonies.

253. The Mutiny Act and the Boston Massacre. — Several regiments of British troops were stationed in New York and Boston to enforce the unpopular laws. By the Mutiny Act of 1765 the colonies were required to furnish food and quarters for the soldiers. The New York Assembly having failed to provide fully for the troops, Parliament suspended its powers of legislation. All the colonies looked upon this act of Parliament as a serious invasion of their rights. Boston flatly refusing to provide shelter for the soldiers, they were compelled to rent quarters at the expense of the Crown. There were frequent quarrels between the troops and the populace. Finally a collision occurred in which a squad of soldiers fired upon a crowd of citizens, killing three persons and wounding

several others¹ (1770). This affair, known as the "Boston Massacre," increased the excitement all over the country.

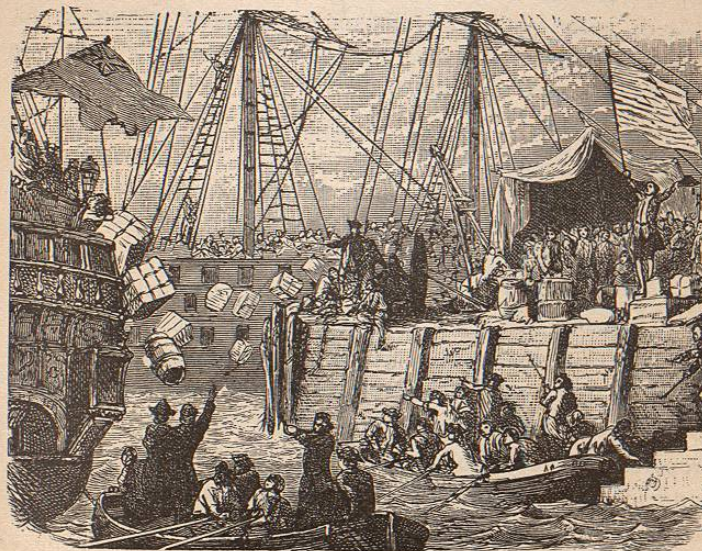
254. The Battle of Alamance.—In North Carolina excessive fees had been collected by the officers of the royal governor, and the taxes had been squandered. The people of the western counties of the colony organized to resist the payment of such taxes as were not "agreeable to law, and applied to the purposes therein mentioned." In 1771, at Alamance, near the head-waters of the Cape Fear River, a battle took place between the tax-payers and the governor's troops. The rebels were beaten, a large number were killed, and several of the captured were hanged as traitors. This was the first blood shed in America in resistance to unjust British taxation.

255. The Tax on Tea.—The British government decided to remove all taxes save that on tea. The tea tax was retained to show the colonists that the right to tax them was still maintained. Thereupon the Americans refused to buy tea shipped from England, and either drank none at all, or smuggled it from Holland. In order to induce them to use this taxed tea, it was provided that on all tea shipped from England to the colonies the owners should have refunded to them the duty paid when first imported into England from China. By this means the tea could be sold to the colonists, with the American duty added, cheaper than it could be purchased elsewhere. But the colonists refused to be caught in the king's trap. It was not the payment of a few pence, but the principle of "taxation without representation" that they opposed. From Massachusetts to Georgia the people showed their indignation. The merchants of Philadelphia, New York, and Charleston, to whom the first shiploads of tea under the act were consigned, agreed not to receive it. As the Boston tea merchants

¹ The soldiers were tried for murder. Two were convicted of manslaughter, the rest were acquitted.

refused to join in this agreement, the eyes of the whole country were turned to that city to see what course the people would take. When the first three shiploads of tea arrived at that port, fifty men disguised as Indians boarded the vessels, cut open the chests of tea and emptied them into the harbor.

256. Punishment of Boston.—The British government decided that severe punishment should be inflicted upon



Throwing the Tea Overboard. (An old Print.)

Boston and the colony of Massachusetts for the destruction of the tea. Parliament at once passed an act known as the Boston Port Bill, by which no ships were allowed to leave or enter the port of Boston, until the town should pay for the tea destroyed. This put a stop to all commerce, and threatened the people with financial ruin. By another act, the charter of Massachusetts was annulled, the appointment of nearly all the

officers was vested in the king, and the most important powers of the town meetings were taken away.

257. First Continental Congress.¹ — From all the colonies came expressions of sympathy for the people of Boston, who were regarded as sufferers in a common cause. Georgia and South Carolina sent hundreds of barrels of rice to feed the hungry patriots. The Virginia Assembly set apart the first day of June (when the Boston Port Bill was to go into effect) as a day of "fasting, humiliation, and prayer." For this, the governor at once dissolved the Assembly, but the members met the next day at Raleigh Tavern and proposed a general congress of the colonies. A few days later, but before the news from Virginia had reached them, the Massachusetts Assembly made a similar proposition. The other colonies accepted the invitation of Virginia and Massachusetts, Georgia alone being prevented from doing so by the efforts of her royal governor. On September 5, 1774, the delegates met in Philadelphia. The Congress approved the resistance of Massachusetts to the despotic acts of Parliament, demanded a repeal of the laws invading their rights, and recommended commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain. They also prepared addresses to the king and people of Great Britain and fixed the 10th day of May following for a second congress.

258. Summary of Causes of Revolution. — In their gifts of territory as well as in their appointments of colonial governors, the British sovereigns were careless of the welfare of their American subjects. Parliament considered the colonies as existing solely for the benefit of the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain, and passed navigation laws in accordance with this idea. For years these laws were evaded, but at the close of the French Wars, England determined to enforce them and also to tax the colonists. The Americans declared there should be no taxation without representation. Their determined resistance to the Stamp Act

¹ Called "Continental" Congress to distinguish it from "Provincial" Congress, a name applied to the revolutionary Legislatures of several of the colonies.

caused its repeal, but other taxes were soon afterward imposed. In a quarrel between British troops and citizens of Boston the troops fired into the crowd, killing several persons (1770). The first bloodshed in resistance to unjust taxation occurred at Alamance, North Carolina, 1771. Determined not to pay the tax on tea, colonial merchants refused to receive it, and at Boston three shiploads were thrown into the sea. England having taken steps to punish Boston, all the colonies showed their sympathy. A congress of delegates from twelve colonies met in Philadelphia, 1774, approved the resistance of Massachusetts, and demanded the repeal of the unjust laws.

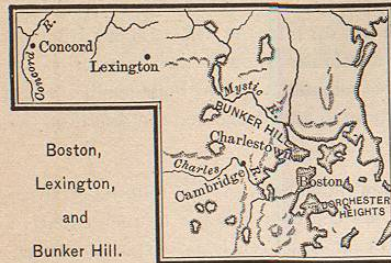
259. Thought Questions. — Show how each of the following causes influenced the separation between the colonies and the mother country: (1) the French wars; (2) overthrow of the French power in America; (3) conduct of the king of England; (4) feeling of British merchants toward the colonists; (5) action of Parliament; (6) course of royal governors. Is there a stamp act in force in the United States to-day? Why is it not resisted? Why were the writs of assistance so much more objectionable than our modern search-warrants, which authorize a sheriff to enter a citizen's house? What excuse had the British government for taxing the colonists? How might Great Britain have imposed a tax with the consent of the Americans? Why was she not willing to do this? What Englishmen sympathized with the Americans in their resistance? How do you suppose the owners of the tea regarded the destruction of their property by the men of Boston? What was the justification of the act? What colonies took the lead in resistance to the British government? Name the prominent leaders in the different colonies.

II. BEGINNINGS OF THE WAR.

(April, 1775 — July, 1776.)

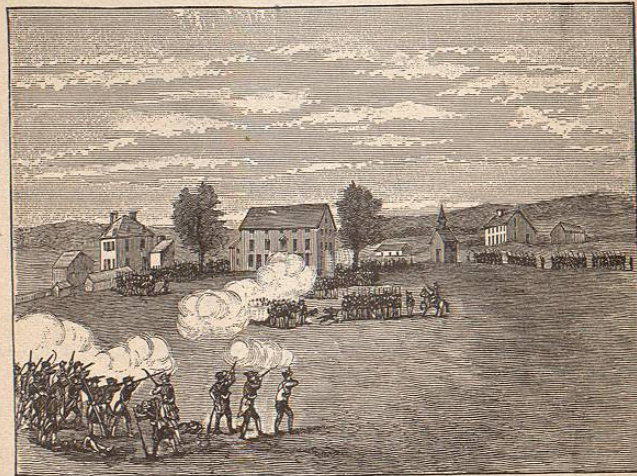
260. Lexington and Concord. — General Gage, who was stationed at Boston with 3,000 British troops, was appointed by the king governor of Massachusetts. The colonial Assembly met in defiance of the new governor's proclamation, and voted to equip 12,000 men and provide supplies for them. General Gage fortified Boston Neck and seized the military stores in the neighborhood. Learning that the colonists had other stores at Concord, eighteen miles from Boston, he sent eight hundred men by night to destroy them, ordering them to

stop at Lexington and arrest the patriot leaders, Hancock and Adams. His plan, however, was discovered, and Paul Revere, "all booted and spurred," was ready to spread the alarm.



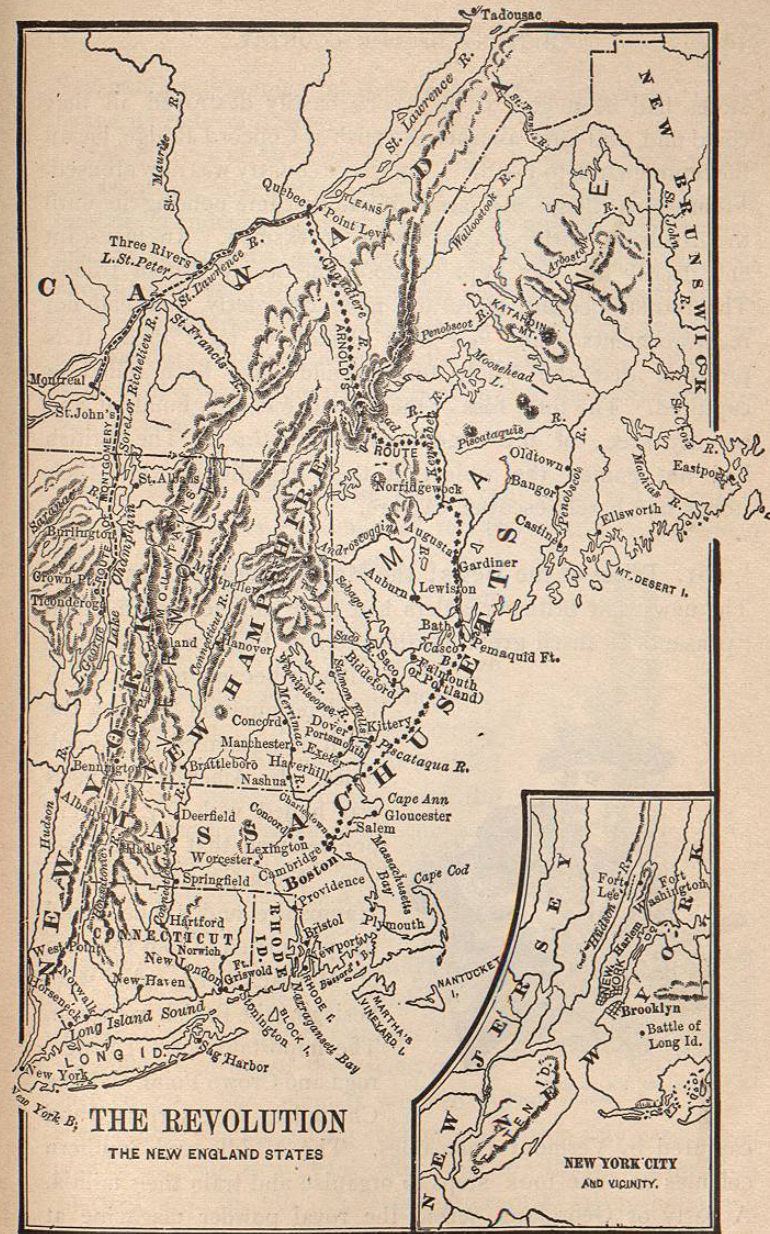
The moment the British troops started, he sprang into his saddle and dashed madly through the neighboring villages on his famous midnight ride, to arouse the people. Thus warning was given, and when the troops reached

Lexington at sunrise, April 19th, they found about fifty citizens drawn up on the village green. "Disperse, ye villains!" shouted Major Pitcairn, the British leader. The patriots refused to



Lexington Common and Meeting-House.

obey, and a skirmish followed in which the Americans were compelled to retreat with the loss of eight killed and several wounded. By the time the British reached Concord, most of the



stores had been concealed. They hastily destroyed all they could find, and after another skirmish at Concord Bridge, began the return march to Boston. The whole country was now aroused. From every village and farm militiamen came pouring in until the roadside fairly swarmed with marksmen. An incessant and deadly fire was kept up upon the weary British troops. The retreat became more and more disorderly, and had not reënforcements come out from Boston to meet them, it is probable that the whole force would have been killed or captured. The total loss of the British was two hundred and seventy-three; of the Americans, ninety-three. The British had not gained the object of their expedition, while their troops had barely escaped capture.

261. Effect of the News; the Mecklenburg Declaration.—The news that British regulars had been chased by American "peasants" caused great mortification in England. The government became more fixed in its determination to crush the spirit of resistance in the colonies. In America the news was hailed with joy. Every one realized that war had begun. From Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island troops hurried to join the men of Massachusetts, who were besieging the British in Boston. The important forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, were surprised and



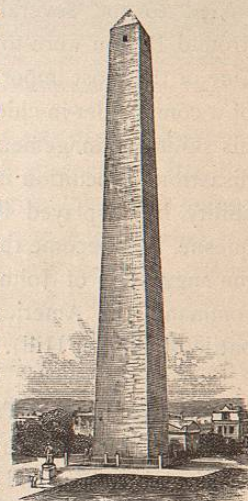
A "Minute-Man."

captured by Vermont companies. The Middle and Southern colonies at once took steps to organize and train their militia. A party of Georgians seized the royal powder magazine at

Savannah, and sent five hundred pounds of the captured powder to the patriots at Boston.

The citizens of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, met in the month of May and adopted the famous Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, renouncing the authority of all crown officers in America, declaring that the Continental Congress and the Legislatures of the several colonies possessed all the powers of government, and asserting that their own county officers should act independently of the British Crown. This was more than a year before the independence of the united colonies was declared.

262. Bunker Hill.—The British sent fresh troops to Boston, until their forces numbered ten thousand men. Sixteen thousand New England militia had gathered just outside the city. In order to compel the British to leave, the colonists determined to fortify Bunker Hill on Charlestown peninsula, an eminence overlooking Boston. The troops sent out by night to execute this movement fortified Breed's Hill instead, because nearer the city. When the British awoke and saw the breastworks of the Americans on the hill within easy cannon shot, they realized they must either abandon the city or capture the threatening fortifications. On the 17th of June the British troops crossed over to Charlestown, set fire to the village and began the ascent of the coveted hill. The colonists watched in silence until the advancing column was within fifty yards, then opened fire with such deadly effect that the British troops broke and fled down the hill. A second attempt to storm the breast-



Bunker Hill Monument.