

## CHAPTER 5

# Severing the Bonds of Empire, 1754–1774

### LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After you have studied Chapter 5 in your textbook and worked through this study guide chapter, you should be able to:

1. Examine the relations between Europeans and North American Indians between 1701 and 1763.
2. Discuss the goals and consequences of the Albany Congress.
3. Discuss the causes and consequences of the Seven Years War.
4. Through an examination of Parliament's actions relating to the colonies from 1763 to 1774, explain Great Britain's approach to the crisis it faced in the post–Seven Years War decade.
5. Through an examination of the development of the colonial resistance movement, explain the reaction of the colonists to Parliament's actions in the period from 1763 to 1774.
6. Examine the basic ideological conflict between the British and the colonists concerning (a) the nature of representative government and (b) the nature of political power.
7. Examine the ideological and constitutional arguments presented by the colonists against the Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, and the Townshend Acts.
8. Explain the role of each of the following in the development and spread of the colonial resistance movement:
  - a. Pamphlets
  - b. Legislative protest (e.g., Virginia Stamp Act Resolves)
  - c. Crowd action
  - d. Economic protest
  - e. Public rituals
  - f. Committees of correspondence
9. Discuss the various divisions that emerged among the colonists during the development of their resistance against the British.
10. Trace the development of the theory that Great Britain was conspiring to oppress the colonists, and explain how that theory became especially important in relation to the Tea Act, the Coercive Acts, and the Quebec Act.

### THEMATIC GUIDE

The main topic of Chapter 5 is the emergence of the colonial resistance movement. The authors explain (1) the interaction of forces that determined how the American colonists and the British perceived each other between 1754 and 1774; and (2) how the actions born of those perceptions created tensions and conflicts that led to the emergence of a widespread and unified colonial resistance movement.

In the first section, “Renewed Warfare Among Europeans and Indians,” we learn about the causes of the Seven Years War, William Pitt’s contributions to the eventual British victory over France, and the provisions of the Peace of Paris of 1763.

The next section, “1763: A Turning Point,” presents the consequences of the Seven Years War, especially the devastating impact of the war on the southern and northwestern Indians and Pontiac’s desperate attempt to regain a measure of independence for the northwestern Indians. The consequences of the war on the British, on their North American colonies, and on the relationship between the two takes up the rest of the section, and indeed the rest of the chapter. The authors explain the differing frames of reference of the British and the colonists. The British frame of reference was shaped by (1) Britain’s need for additional revenue in the face of financial crisis; and (2) Britain’s definition of representative government, the role of Parliament, and the nature of the relationship between Parliament and colonies. The colonial frame of reference toward Great Britain was shaped by (1) a feeling of security stemming from the outcome of the Seven Years War; (2) a wariness of the British based on the influence of the Real Whigs; and (3) colonial theories about representative government. Given this frame of reference, the colonists began “to see oppressive designs behind the actions of Grenville and his successors.” Out of this colonial perception grew the “conspiracy theory,” considered at the end of the chapter.

Passage of the Sugar and Currency Acts in 1764 and the hesitant protest attending those acts are the topics of the third section, “The Stamp Act Crisis.” The debate over constitutional issues led to widespread but relatively moderate protest at the ideological level. Involvement of the masses shifted the protest to the emotional level. Soon some internal colonial divisions appeared, caused by the tension between the “ordinary” and the “genteel” discussed in Chapter 4. Composed of merchants, lawyers, prosperous tradesmen, and the like, the Sons of Liberty attempted to capitalize on this tension, using it to create acceptable forms of resistance.

Repeal of the Stamp Act, passage of the Declaratory Act, passage of the Townshend Acts, and the expansion of the resistance movement are considered in the fourth section, “Resistance to the Townshend Acts.” John Dickinson’s contention that the colonists had the right to determine the intent of Parliament before deciding to obey its laws suggests that the conspiracy theory was gaining ground. British reaction to the Massachusetts Circular Letter strengthened the perception that the British were conspiring to destroy colonial rights and liberties. The discussion of how the “middling sort” used public rituals to involve the “ordinary” in the resistance movement again shows the internal divisions among the colonists.

We then focus on events in Boston that eventually led to the Boston Massacre, an event that exemplified the fears of the most conservative patriots about involving the masses in the resistance movement. News of the repeal of the Townshend duties (except the tea tax), the use of the Massacre as a propaganda tool against the British, the defense of the British soldiers by two leading patriots, and the relative calm from 1770 to 1773 helped alleviate those fears. Yet both the resistance movement and the conspiracy theory continued to grow in these calm years. It was during this time that Samuel Adams used the Boston Committee of Correspondence to widen the geographic scope of the resistance movement. Both the Boston Committee’s statement of rights and grievances and the response of interior Massachusetts towns to this document demonstrate the emergence of patriots more committed to American rights than to loyalty to Great Britain.

Such commitment led to definitive action by patriots, who perceived a corrupt, oppressive, tyrannical Great Britain conspiring to destroy colonial rights and liberties through passage of the Tea Act, the Coercive Acts, and the Quebec Act. The chapter ends with the calling of delegates to the First Continental Congress for the purpose of formulating a united plan of resistance against the British.

## IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

After studying Chapter 5 of *A People and a Nation*, you should be able to identify *and* fully explain the historical significance of each item listed below.

- Identify each item in the space provided. Give an explanation or description of the item. Answer the questions *who*, *what*, *where*, and *when*.
- Explain the historical significance of each item in the space provided. Establish the historical context in which the item exists. Establish the item as the result of or as the cause of other factors existing in the society under study. Answer this question: *What were the political, social, economic, and/or cultural consequences of this item?*

1. Albany Congress

2. the Seven Years War

3. Acadian deportation

4. William Pitt

5. Treaty of Paris (1763)

6. the Proclamation of 1763

7. George III

8. George Grenville

9. individual representation

10. virtual representation

11. the Real Whigs

12. the Sugar Act

13. the Currency Act

14. the Stamp Act

15. Patrick Henry

16. the Sons of Liberty

17. the Stamp Act Congress

18. the Townshend Acts

19. the nonimportation-nonconsumption movement of 1768–1770

20. the Boston Massacre

21. Committees of Correspondence

22. the Boston Tea Party

23. the Coercive (Intolerable) Acts

24. the Quebec Act

## IDEAS AND DETAILS

### Objective 3

1. Which of the following was a consequence of the Seven Years War?
  - a. The French no longer posed a threat to the British colonies in North America.
  - b. The war heightened colonists' fears of being drawn into another European based conflict.
  - c. The war left colonists with a deep sense of insecurity.
  - d. The victorious alliance between the colonists and the British eliminated tensions between the two.

### Objectives 1 and 3

2. In response to the outcome of the Seven Years War, Chief Pontiac
  - a. advised the tribes of the Northwest to negotiate separate trade agreements with the French.
  - b. allied with Spain in an attempt to counter British power.
  - c. instructed the Ottawas to accept British superiority in the Northwest.
  - d. forged an anti-British alliance among Indian tribes in the Northwest.

### Objectives 1 and 3

3. The Proclamation Line of 1763 was intended to
  - a. regulate colonial settlement of the western territories.
  - b. regulate colonial trade with the Indians.
  - c. prevent clashes between colonists and Indians.
  - d. prevent all future colonial settlement west of the Appalachians.

### Objective 4

4. George Grenville's colonial policies were designed to
  - a. solve Great Britain's financial crisis by raising revenue in the colonies.
  - b. encourage the development of colonial manufacturing.
  - c. gradually reduce the powers of the colonial assemblies by first attacking their power to tax.
  - d. implement mercantilist policy by regulating colonial trade and commerce.

### Objectives 5 and 6

5. In contrast to the British concept of representative government, Americans believed
  - a. that each elected representative in a colonial assembly represented *all* people in the colony.
  - b. in the one man, one vote concept.
  - c. that an assembly could not be considered representative unless all people twenty-one years of age or over had the right to vote.
  - d. that a member of the lower house of a colonial assembly represented the voters who had elected him.

### Objectives 5, 6, and 10

6. Because of the arguments of the Real Whigs, the colonists
  - a. were convinced that the Sugar Act was simply designed to regulate trade.
  - b. perceived British actions, beginning with those of Grenville, as having an oppressive purpose.
  - c. established the Continental Congress as an intercolonial legislative body.
  - d. realized that they had the right to present protest petitions to Parliament.

### Objectives 5, 6, 7, and 8

7. Which of the following was part of Otis’s argument in *The Rights of the Colonies Asserted and Proved*?
  - a. Parliament has no legislative power over the colonies.
  - b. The colonists may refuse to obey unconstitutional laws.
  - c. A colonial assembly has power equal to that of Parliament.
  - d. Parliament cannot tax the colonies without their consent.

### Objectives 5, 6, 7, and 8

8. Which of the following ideas was unacceptable to the Virginia House of Burgesses in its adoption of the Stamp Act Resolves?
  - a. The American colonists are British subjects.
  - b. The House of Burgesses has “the only” right to tax Virginians.
  - c. Colonists enjoy the right of consent to taxation.
  - d. The American colonists enjoy all of the rights of Englishmen.

### Objectives 5 and 8

9. The Stamp Act ultimately could not be enforced because
  - a. stamp distributors refused to perform their duties because of the widespread nature of anti–Stamp Act demonstrations.
  - b. the protests of the Stamp Act Congress had created severe divisions within Parliament.
  - c. Parliament realized that the tax was excessive.
  - d. the tax fell heaviest on those least able to pay.

### Objectives 5, 8, and 9

10. The Sons of Liberty was created to
  - a. organize merchant resistance against British acts.
  - b. provide a means by which protest leaders could control and channel the resistance movement.
  - c. provide a means of distributing pamphlets throughout the colonies.
  - d. organize liberty parades in major cities against the Stamp Act.

**Objectives 5, 6, 7, and 8**

11. Which of the following ideas was presented by John Dickinson and was unacceptable to Parliament?
- The colonies have the right of *virtual* representation in Parliament.
  - English citizens have the right of consent to taxation.
  - The colonists have the power to assess the intent of an act of Parliament before deciding whether to obey it.
  - Parliament has the right to regulate trade.

**Objectives 5 and 8**

12. Public rituals during the revolutionary era were important because they
- helped refine the constitutional arguments against Parliament's actions.
  - served as entertainment for the community.
  - put the ideals of the revolution on a religious plane.
  - helped to involve illiterate people in the resistance movement.

**Objectives 5, 8, and 9**

13. During the course of colonial resistance against the Townshend Acts, it became apparent that
- sentiment in favor of independence was growing.
  - new divisions were emerging among the colonists.
  - a new sense of equality was emerging among the colonists.
  - Americans were beginning to question their loyalty to the king.

**Objectives 5, 8, and 10**

14. The response of Massachusetts towns to the Boston pamphlet of 1772, stating the rights and grievances of the colonists, reveals that
- serious divisions existed between urban and rural colonists.
  - most colonists favored independence in 1772.
  - there was widespread agreement throughout Massachusetts with ideas presented by the Boston patriots.
  - the nonimportation movement was in serious trouble.

**Objectives 5 and 10**

15. Which of the following is true of the patriots' perception of the Coercive and Quebec Acts?
- The patriots realized that the Boston Tea Party had been a mistake and that these British measures were justified.
  - The patriots saw the Coercive Acts as repressive but cared little about the Quebec Act because it applied to Canada.
  - The patriots saw both measures as part of a deliberate British plot to destroy their rights.
  - Because of divisions within their ranks, the patriots had no unified perception of these acts.

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

### Objectives 4 and 5

1. Explain the reasons behind the issuance of the Proclamation of 1763. What were the provisions of the Proclamation? How did the colonists react to the Proclamation? Why?

### Objective 6

2. Discuss the similarities and differences between the colonial and the British concepts of representative government.

### Objectives 5, 6, 7, and 8

3. Explain the constitutional arguments presented by James Otis against the Sugar and Stamp Acts. How and why had these arguments changed by the time the Tea Act was passed in 1773?

### Objectives 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9

4. Discuss the role of pamphlets and crowd action in the development and spread of the colonial resistance movement.

## ANSWERS

### Multiple-Choice Questions

1.
  - a. Correct. As a result of the British victory over France in 1763, the French empire in North America was virtually dismantled, with most of that empire going into British hands. As a result, the French no longer posed a threat to the existence of the British colonies in North America.
  - b. No. The British victory over the French and their Indian allies was so decisive that the likelihood of the colonies being drawn into a European-based conflict seemed remote. In addition, although the war was fought to achieve European objectives, it should be remembered that the conflict began in North America.
  - c. No. As a result of the war, two major sources of colonial insecurity, the French and their Indian allies, had been defeated. Therefore, colonists felt more secure than they had in years, which caused some Americans like Benjamin Franklin to think expansively about the colonies' future.
  - d. No. During the first year of the war, the British attempted to coerce young colonial men into the British Army rather than allowing them to enlist in their colonial militia units. During that same period, the British Army commandeered supplies throughout the colonies. Although these hated practices were ended by William Pitt and the colonists and the British ultimately cooperated and achieved victory over the French and Indians, many colonists, especially New England soldiers who were in close contact with British soldiers, vividly remembered the British as being profane, haughty, and unfair. Therefore, the colonists were left with feelings of animosity toward the British.
2.
  - d. Correct. Pontiac, realizing that British victory in the Seven Years War placed the Indians of the Northwest in jeopardy, persuaded many Indian tribes in the area to join him in an anti-British alliance. This led to Pontiac's uprising.

- a. No. By the Treaty of Paris, France ceded all of its territory in North America to Great Britain and Spain. In other words, since France had lost its North American empire, the Indians could not negotiate trade agreements, separate or otherwise, with the French.
- b. No. Although France ceded all of its territory west of the Mississippi and the city of New Orleans to its ally Spain, the interior Indian tribes realized that Spain was no longer a major power and could not help them counter the power of Great Britain.
- c. No. Pontiac was not willing to accept British superiority in the Northwest and would never have advised his tribe to do so.
3. c. Correct. The British hoped that they could prevent a clash between the colonists and the Indians by confining colonial settlements to the area east of the Appalachian Mountains.
- a. No. Although the proclamation did confine colonial settlements to the area east of the line, “regulation” of colonial settlement in the West was not the proclamation’s major intent.
- b. No. The proclamation did not deal with trade issues, and it was not designed to regulate colonial trade with the Indians.
- d. No. The proclamation did confine colonial settlement to the area east of the Appalachians, but the British saw this as a temporary measure.
4. a. Correct. Debt burden was Britain’s most pressing problem in the aftermath of the French and Indian War. Grenville’s colonial policies were largely designed to solve this financial crisis by raising revenue in the colonies.
- b. No. Encouragement of colonial manufacturing would have increased competition for colonial and international markets between England and its colonies, and such encouragement would, therefore, have been contrary to mercantilist philosophy.
- c. No. Grenville’s colonial policies were not specifically or intentionally designed as an attack on the taxing powers of the colonial assemblies.
- d. No. Only in an incidental way did Grenville’s policies regulate colonial trade and commerce (the Sugar Act, 1764), and this was not the primary purpose of his policies.
5. d. Correct. Whereas the British believed in virtual representation, the American colonists believed in individual or direct representation. This difference between the English and the colonists on how to define representative government was a major factor in the coming of the American Revolution.
- a. No. The idea that each elected representative represented all people in the colony is a restatement, on the colonial level, of the British idea of virtual representation (a member of Parliament virtually represents every English citizen).
- b. No. In 1765 the colonial theory of representative government had not yet reached the point of a belief in the one man, one vote concept. It was not until 1964, in the case of *Westberry v. Sanders*, that the Supreme Court applied the one man, one vote concept to state districts in the United States.
- c. No. The American colonists denied the right to vote to women, blacks, and Indians. They clearly did not believe that all people over twenty-one years of age had to have the right to vote before a colonial assembly could be considered representative.

6. b. Correct. In their writings, the Real Whigs warned of the tendency toward corruption and oppression inherent in powerful government. The colonists began to interpret British actions, such as the Sugar Act, in light of these warnings.
- a. No. The Real Whigs did not deal specifically with the Sugar Act in their writings and did not suggest that the intent of the Sugar Act was to regulate trade. Furthermore, one of the most influential essays written by the Real Whigs, *Cato's Letters*, was published in the 1720s, long before the Sugar Act.
- c. No. The arguments presented by the Real Whigs in their writings did not, in any direct way, lead to the establishment of a Continental Congress.
- d. No. The right to petition the government for redress of grievances was a recognized right of English citizens, and English citizens regularly exercised this right concerning local matters by engaging in street demonstrations. In other words, the idea of this right was not new to the Real Whigs. In 1764 eight colonial legislatures sent separate petitions to Parliament, but the protests had no effect.
7. d. Correct. James Otis asserted by implication that Parliament did not have the right to tax the colonies without their consent. However, he further asserted that even unconstitutional laws passed by Parliament had to be obeyed because Parliament was the supreme authority in the empire.
- a. No. James Otis asserted in his pamphlet that Parliament was the supreme legislative authority in the British Empire. If Otis clearly recognized Parliament's legislative power, what was the point of his pamphlet?
- b. No. James Otis did not assert that the colonists could refuse to obey the laws of Parliament even if they knew those laws to be unconstitutional. What, according to Otis, could the colonists do about unconstitutional laws?
- c. No. James Otis did not go so far as to say that a colonial assembly was equal in power to Parliament.
8. b. Correct. The idea that the House of Burgesses had the sole right to tax Virginians was rejected as too radical by the burgesses in 1765.
- a. No. In its debate relating to the Stamp Act Resolves, the Virginia House of Burgesses accepted the idea that the colonists were British subjects. It was on the basis of this idea that the colonists asserted certain rights as English citizens.
- c. No. In their debate over the Stamp Act Resolves, the burgesses accepted the idea that the colonists enjoyed the right of consent to taxation.
- d. No. In its debate over the resolutions presented by Patrick Henry, the House of Burgesses accepted the idea that the colonists were English citizens and enjoyed all of the rights as Englishmen.

9. a. Correct. Crowd action against the Stamp Act was so widespread and so effective that no stamp distributor was willing to enforce the law when it went into effect on November 1, 1765.
- b. No. The Stamp Act Congress was important as a show of unity on the part of the colonies, but its statements were relatively conservative and did not cause divisions within the British Parliament.
- c. No. Parliament never viewed the tax imposed by the Stamp Act as excessive.
- d. No. Since the Stamp Act taxed most printed materials, it had an impact on most colonists. But the genteel used printed matter more frequently than the ordinary. As a result, the tax fell most heavily on the genteel.
10. b. Correct. Protest leaders recognized that the involvement of ordinary people in crowd action could give these people a taste of power and endanger the position of the dominant elite within colonial society. The Sons of Liberty was formed to channel popular resistance into “acceptable forms.” How successful was it in doing this?
- a. No. Although many merchants supported economic protest against the British by organizing nonimportation associations after passage of the Stamp Act, the Sons of Liberty was not intended to organize merchants and was not a nonimportation association.
- c. No. Although it is quite possible that members of the Sons of Liberty advanced ideas found in the pamphlets associated with the resistance movement, the organization was not created for the purpose of distributing such pamphlets.
- d. No. Popular demonstrations against the Stamp Act were already widespread, and the Sons of Liberty was not created for the purpose of organizing Liberty Parades.
11. c. Correct. Parliament could never accept Dickinson’s contention that colonists could determine the intent or motive of an act of Parliament before deciding whether to obey the act. Such an idea would undermine parliamentary supremacy.
- a. No. The idea of “virtual” representation was an idea advanced by Parliament and one that they found perfectly acceptable. This idea was not advanced by Dickinson in his pamphlet. For a discussion of the idea of virtual representation, see pages 81 and 82.
- b. No. Parliament accepted the idea that English citizens have the right of consent to taxation.
- d. No. Parliament totally agreed with Dickinson’s contention that it had the right to regulate trade, but it disagreed with other beliefs he asserted in his essays.
12. d. Correct. Illiterate colonists could not be reached through pamphlets, newspapers, and written petitions. However, through the symbols used in public rituals, they could be educated about the arguments against Parliament and drawn into the resistance movement.
- a. No. Constitutional arguments were refined through debates in colonial assemblies and through the written word rather than through public rituals.
- b. No. Although it is true that public rituals, to some extent, served as a form of entertainment, this is not the reason that such rituals were important during the revolutionary era.
- c. No. Public rituals were not usually religious in nature and did not serve a religious purpose in relation to the resistance movement.
13. b. Correct. The nonimportation movement created divisions between urban merchants and artisans. In addition, continued crowd action, the use of force and violence as part of the resistance movement, and the increasing political activism of ordinary folks frightened the elite and widened the rift between these two groups.

- a. No. Resistance against the Townshend Acts indicated a growing willingness by the colonists to defend what they perceived to be their rights as English citizens, but it did not indicate the growth of sentiment in favor of independence.
- c. No. Analysis of the resistance to the Townshend Acts does not provide evidence that a new sense of equality was emerging among the colonists.
- d. No. Analysis of the resistance to the Townshend Acts reveals a growing rift between the colonists and Parliament but does not demonstrate that the colonists were questioning their loyalty to the king.
14. c. Correct. The pamphlet was written in an attempt to involve people of the rural areas of Massachusetts in the resistance movement. The fact that most of the colony’s towns agreed with the sentiments expressed in this document indicates widespread agreement throughout Massachusetts with the patriot position.
- a. No. Although it is true that some Massachusetts towns disagreed with some of the ideas presented in this pamphlet, the evidence does not indicate the presence of “serious divisions” between urban and rural colonists.
- b. No. This pamphlet, prepared by members of the Boston Committee of Correspondence and containing a statement of the rights and a list of the grievances of the colonists, did not advocate independence. Accordingly, response to the pamphlet did not indicate that Massachusetts colonists favored independence in 1772.
- d. No. Although some towns disagreed with the sentiments expressed in this pamphlet, the pamphlet did not deal directly with the nonimportation movement and reaction to the pamphlet does not provide evidence that the nonimportation movement was in serious trouble.
15. c. Correct. Although the Quebec Act (a reform measure that applied to Canada) and the Coercive Acts (laws designed to punish Massachusetts for the Boston Tea Party) were in reality unrelated, the patriots perceived a link between the two and pointed to both as further evidence that Parliament was conspiring to destroy colonial rights.
- a. No. Most patriots throughout the colonies approved of the Boston Tea Party and did not see the Coercive and Quebec Acts as justified.
- b. No. Although the Quebec Act was actually unrelated to the Coercive Acts, the patriots perceived the two as being linked.
- d. No. There were divisions among the patriots, but these divisions did not prevent the patriots from having a unified view with regard to the Coercive and Quebec Acts.