Chapter 4: Imperial Wars and Colonial Protest, 1754 - 1774
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1. Empires at War
   a. The First Three Wars
      i. King William’s War and Queen Anne’s War, English attempted and failed to capture Quebec
      ii. Native Americans supported the French
      iii. Queen Anne’s War gained the English Nova Scotia from France and trading rights in Spanish America
      iv. King George’s War, New Englanders fought hard for a French fortress, only for it to be exchanged in post-war settlements for political and economic gains in India
   b. The French and Indian War (Seven Years’ War) (1754-1763)
      i. first three wars focused primarily in Europe not on colonial conflict
      ii. this war started in colonies then spread to Europe
      iii. Louis XIV’s search for international dominance led France to claim most of continental America (Louisiana), dotting it with communities, fortresses, missions and trading posts
      iv. although the French’s market goods were worse than the commercial English, because they were tolerant of the Indian’s social customs, they had better relationships with the Indians
      v. the Iroquois Confederacy traded with both the French and the English, creating an imbalance of power in the Great Lakes region
   vi. The war
      1. British sent small militia led by George Washington to stop the French building forts in the Ohio River Valley
      2. Initially succeeded but then surrendered
      3. General Edward Braddock’s expedition was defeated as well
      4. Pitt replaced him, directly planning military strategy
      5. most Indians allied with French, Iroquois reluctantly allied with British but were passive
      6. French and Indian War expanded to Europe as the Seven Years’ War
      7. capture of Quebec effectively ended the war
   vii. Albany Plan of Union
      1. Benjamin Franklin’s “join or die” snake cartoon
      2. intercolonial government and a system for recruiting troops and collecting taxes from the various colonies for their common defense
      3. formed out of necessity, not out of love
      4. unsuccessful because each colony jealously guarded its own taxation powers
      “Everyone cries, a union is necessary, but when they come to the manner and form of the union, their weak noodles are perfectly distracted
      5. significant because it set a precedent for later congresses
   viii. British victory
      1. outnumbered the French
      2. Great Britain acquired French Canada and Spanish Florida
      3. Left with only Haiti, France gave Louisiana and claims west of the Mississippi River to Spain, only to be returned in 1800
   ix. Immediate effects of the war
      1. Great Britain became supreme boss in North America and top naval power in the world
2. colonies no longer needed to fear attacks from the French, Spanish and natives
3. changed relationship between colonies and England

x. British view
1. saw American militia as poorly trained, disorderly rabble
2. noted that some of the colonies refused to contribute troops or money
3. angry that some colonial merchants had been selling food and other goods to the French
4. concluded that colonists were unable and unwilling to defend the British empire

xi. Colonial view
1. felt that British troops and leadership were bad, unsuited to America’s terrain
2. resented and resisted impressment (forcible enlistment of colonists) and seizure of supplies and equipment without compensation; forced Pitt to loosen his policies
3. believed that English should not interfere in local affairs
4. proud of their military successes

xii. Indians
1. those who had allied with French earned enmity of English
2. the Iroquois had been passive, so the English thought they were duplicitous

c. Reorganization of the British Empire
i. before: salutary neglect - policy of little direct control over colonies
   1. purposely refrained from strictly enforcing mercantilism to improve the economy and to maintain support from merchants and landowners
   2. decentralized and inefficient administration b/c there was no agency devoted to colonial administration
   3. royal officials were inept and easily bribed
   4. by the 1750s, American assemblies had claimed the right to levy taxes, make appropriations, approve appointments, and pass laws

ii. salutary neglect replaced with forceful policies
   1. British troops permanently stationed in America
   2. ships watched for smugglers

iii. shifted the burden of paying heavy taxes to pay for the wars from the British landowners to the American colonies

iv. Pontiac's rebellion
1. Native Americans angered by increased British expansion and refusal to offer gifts like the French
2. British sent regular troops rather than trusting the colonial forces

v. Proclamation of 1763
1. to stabilize the western frontier with the natives, proclamation prohibited colonists from settling west of the Appalachians
2. prevent conflict with natives which were military costly and dangerous to track
3. to slow population exodus from the coastal colonies, where England’s most important markets and investments were
4. colonists felt that they were denied benefits that they had fought for and defied the prohibition, so the Proclamation was ineffective

2. British Actions and Colonial Reactions
   a. British believed their actions were justified to protect its colonial empire and to make colonies pay their share of costs for such protection
   b. Colonists believed that they were threats to cherished liberties and practice of representative government
c. Colonial Resistance to *Colonial* Taxes
   i. **Paxton Boys** - felt underrepresented in colonial governments and protested colonial taxes, also demanded money for defense against the Indians
   ii. **Regulator movement** - underrepresented in colonial assembly of Carolina who began to resist tax collections by force
      1. there was bloodshed

d. New Revenues and Regulations
   i. **Lord George Grenville**, King George III’s chancellor of the treasury and prime minister, supported these measures
   ii. everyone protested them:
      1. northern merchants felt it restrained their commerce because fewer opportunities for manufacturing and increased burden of taxation
      2. northern backcountry resented closing of West to land speculation and fur trading
      3. Southern planters didn’t want to pay more taxes and wouldn’t be able to speculate in land to ease their debts
      4. small farmers suffered from increased taxes
      5. also aggravated the postwar depression (British stopped their during-war financing)
   iii. **Sugar Act (Revenue Act of 1764)** - duties on foreign sugar and certain luxuries to raise money
      1. also stopped smuggling, those who were accused were tried without sympathetic juries
      2. only affected merchants
   iv. **Quartering Act** - required colonists to provide food and living quarters for British soldiers stationed in the colonies
      1. British believed it justified because they were stationed to protect the colonists from attack
      2. Colonists saw it as an assault on their liberties because it was *forced* aid
   v. **Currency Act of 1764** - no more printing paper money - prevented small farmers from paying their debts
   vi. **Stamp Act** - revenue stamps must be placed on most printed paper
      1. first direct tax, collected by those who use the goods (*everyone*), unlike the other taxes on goods which were paid by merchants
      2. purpose was not to regulate commerce, but to raise money -- scared Americans because it set a precedent for raising revenue without representation
   vii. Protesting the Stamp Act
      1. **Patrick Henry** represented many when he spoke in the House of Burgesses and demanded that there be no taxation without representation; his resolutions were printed and circulated the *Virginia Resolves*
      2. **James Otis** initiated call for cooperative action among the colonies to protest Stamp Act, creating the *Stamp Act Congress* (1765)
      3. **Sons and Daughters of Liberty** was a secret society that intimidated tax agents by tar and feathering them
         “That rather than Freedom, we’ll part with our Tea”
      4. colonies boycotted British goods, causing London merchants to put pressure on Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act
   viii. **Declaratory Act**
      1. Stamp Act was repealed, but new act asserted that Parliament had the right to tax and make laws for the colonies “in all cases whatsoever”
2. to prevent precedence of colonial disobedience
e. Second Phase of the Crisis, 1767 - 1773
   i. Townshend is the new chancellor of the exchequer (treasury)
   ii. more taxes because the landlords were angry that the government had "sacrificed the landed gentlemen to the interests of traders and colonists."
   iii. disbanded the New York Assembly until the colonists agreed to obey the Mutiny Act, viewed as a precedent for the annihilation of all colonial government rights
   iv. Townshend Acts
      1. new duties on tea, glass and paper
      2. these were considered "external" taxations (between lands), which had been deemed justified, unlike "internal" taxations like the stamp act
      3. allowed for search of private homes for smuggled goods on the basis of only a writ of assistance (general license to search anywhere) instead of a judge's warrant permitting search of a specific property
   v. Colonial reaction
      1. initially didn’t strongly protest until John Dickinson of Pennsylvania and Samuel Adams and James Otis of Massachusetts started fighting against “taxation without representation”
      2. Dickinson’s Letters From a Farmer in Pennsylvania - accepted British government but insisted that colonies were sovereign
      3. Samuel Adams and James Otis wrote the Massachusetts Circular Letter which urged colonies to petition Parliament to repeal the Townshend Acts
      4. British received the letter, threatened to dissolve the legislature and increased the number of troops in Boston
      5. colonists boycotted and merchants smuggled to avoid the Townshend duties, instead turning to homespun and domestic products
   vi. Repeal of the Townshend Acts
      1. Lord Frederick North, their latest prime minister, urged Parliament to repeal Townshend Acts because they only damaged trade, without bringing much money in
      2. tax on tea kept to represent Parliament’s right to tax
      3. ushered in three-year respite from political troubles, exception being Boston Massacre
      4. Boston Massacre
         a. in response to the resentment, British placed redcoats in Boston, who also competed with local workers for jobs
         b. born out of resentment from quartering British soldiers from Sons of Liberty
         c. later used to inflame anti-British feeling
   f. Renewal of the Conflict
      i. Samuel Adams spread ideas of British conspiracy against colonial liberties using Committees of Correspondence, which exchanged letters about suspicious/threatening British activities
      ii. The Gaspee - the colonists burned down a ship that caught smugglers... and the British tried them in England, not in colonial courts
      iii. Boston Tea Party
         1. colonists continued to boycott British tea, representing their refusal to accept British’s “right” to tax the colonies
         2. Tea Act of 1773 gave the company the right to export its merchandise directly to
the colonies w/o paying any of the navigation taxes that were imposed on the colonial merchants; made British East India Company’s tea cheaper than smuggled Dutch Tea,

3. colonial merchants felt replaced and bankrupted by the company’s monopoly
4. in response, men dumped tea into the harbor and refused to pay for it
5. some colonists felt it was justified, some felt destruction of private property was too much

iv. **Intolerable Acts** - colonial nickname for the following acts:
   1. **The Coercive Acts (1774)**
      a. British punishment for the Boston Tea Party
      b. **Port Act** - closed port of Boston for export or import until tea was paid for
      c. **Massachusetts Government Act** reduced power of legislature but increased power of royal governor
      d. **Administration of Justice** allowed royal officials accused of crimes to be tried in England rather than in the colonies
      e. **Quartering Act** expanded
      f. martyred Massachusetts, sparking new resistance

2. **Quebec Act (1774)**
   a. established Roman Catholicism as official religion of Quebec, set up government without representative assembly and extended Quebec’s boundary to the Ohio River
   b. colonists resentful of recognition given to Roman Catholicism, fearful of the loss of their own religion and own representative government and angry about the loss of their land

3. **Philosophical Foundations of the American Revolution**
   a. long tradition of loyalty to the king and England; felt closer to England than they did to each other
   b. **John Locke’s Two Treatises of Government** said that government must respect natural rights, sovereignty resides with the people not the state and citizens had a right/obligation to revolt whenever government failed to protect their rights
   c. people believed that the English constitution, which provided for a balance of power between the monarchy, aristocracy, and common people, was falling apart b/c the monarchy had too much power
   d. two conflicting ideas of representation
      i. **virtual representation** - according to the English, members of Parliament did not represent individuals or particular geographical areas; they represented the interests of the whole nation and the entire empire
      ii. **actual representation** - every community entitled to its own representative, elected by the people of that community and directly responsible to them
   e. later used for the American Revolution and for the US Constitution