

| <b>REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                    |                                                                  |                                             |                                          | <i>Form Approved</i><br>OMB No. 0704-0188                                         |  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| <p>The public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing the burden, to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number.</p> <p><b>PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.</b></p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                    |                                                                  |                                             |                                          |                                                                                   |  |
| <b>1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY)</b><br>07-04-2020                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                    | <b>2. REPORT TYPE</b><br>Master of Military Studies (MMS) thesis |                                             |                                          | <b>3. DATES COVERED (From - To)</b><br>AY 2019-2020                               |  |
| <b>4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE</b><br><br>American Attempts to Gain Public Support: American Revolutionary Era, 1763 - 1777                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                    |                                                                  |                                             | <b>5a. CONTRACT NUMBER</b><br>N/A        |                                                                                   |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                    |                                                                  |                                             | <b>5b. GRANT NUMBER</b><br>N/A           |                                                                                   |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                    |                                                                  |                                             | <b>5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER</b><br>N/A |                                                                                   |  |
| <b>6. AUTHOR(S)</b><br><br>Mace, Damon R. (Major)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                    |                                                                  |                                             | <b>5d. PROJECT NUMBER</b><br>N/A         |                                                                                   |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                    |                                                                  |                                             | <b>5e. TASK NUMBER</b><br>N/A            |                                                                                   |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                    |                                                                  |                                             | <b>5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER</b><br>N/A       |                                                                                   |  |
| <b>7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)</b><br>USMC Command and Staff College<br>Marine Corps University<br>2076 South Street<br>Quantico, VA 22134-5068                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                    |                                                                  |                                             |                                          | <b>8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER</b><br>N/A                            |  |
| <b>9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)</b><br>N/A                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                    |                                                                  |                                             |                                          | <b>10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)</b>                                           |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                    |                                                                  |                                             |                                          | <b>11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)</b><br>N/A                              |  |
| <b>12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT</b><br>Approved for public release, distribution unlimited.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                    |                                                                  |                                             |                                          |                                                                                   |  |
| <b>13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                    |                                                                  |                                             |                                          |                                                                                   |  |
| <b>14. ABSTRACT</b><br><br>During the Revolutionary War Era, 1763 - 1777, the Americans (patriots) made deliberate attempts to gain public support for the cause of Independence by spreading their ideology, capitalizing on colonial ideas of self-government, and taking advantage of British mistakes. The end of The Seven Years War brought about an unprecedented British assertiveness that created a fertile breeding ground for the patriots to spread their ideology through means of propaganda, republicanism, politically motivated mobs, embracing individual rights, and politicization of the economy. During this time, the patriots also attempted to influence the public by advancing their cause by stoking flames of resistance to British tyranny resulting from the Parliamentary Acts, reminding the public of their historical precedence of self-government, and building on a gradual trend towards sovereignty. Lastly, the patriots attempted to influence the public by highlighting British atrocities committed against colonists, instilling colonial perceptions of loss of liberties due to increased British control, and taking advantage of British over-reliance on perceived popular support within the colonies. |                    |                                                                  |                                             |                                          |                                                                                   |  |
| <b>15. SUBJECT TERMS</b><br><br>Propaganda, ideology, self-government, mobs, republicanism, politicization of economy, atrocities, tyranny, Parliamentary Acts, taxation without representation, equality, freedom, property rights, boycotts, marketplace, loyalists, revolution, patriot, British, Independence                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                    |                                                                  |                                             |                                          |                                                                                   |  |
| <b>16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                    |                                                                  | <b>17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT</b><br><br>UU | <b>18. NUMBER OF PAGES</b><br><br>48     | <b>19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON</b><br>USMC Command and Staff College          |  |
| <b>a. REPORT</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | <b>b. ABSTRACT</b> | <b>c. THIS PAGE</b>                                              |                                             |                                          | <b>19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER (Include area code)</b><br>(703) 784-3330 (Admin Office) |  |
| Unclass                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Unclass            | Unclass                                                          |                                             |                                          |                                                                                   |  |

# ***Master of Military Studies Requirements for the Degree***

*United States Marine Corps  
Command and Staff College  
Marine Corps University  
2076 South Street  
Marine Corps Combat Development Command  
Quantico, Virginia 22134-5068*

**American Attempts to Gain Public Support: American Revolutionary Era, 1763 - 1777**

**Major Damon R. Mace**  
AY 2019-20

Mentor and Oral Defense Committee Member: Dr. Lon Strauss

Approved: //Signed//

Date: 03 April 2020

Oral Defense Committee Member: Dr. John W. Gordon

Approved: //Signed//

Date: 03 April 2020

## **Executive Summary**

**Title:** American Attempts to Gain Public Support: American Revolutionary Era, 1763-1777

**Author:** Major Damon R. Mace, United States Air Force

**Thesis:** During this period, the patriots sought to gain public support by deliberately attempting to influence the colonists through a strategy of spreading their ideology, capitalizing on colonial ideas of self-government, and taking advantage of British mistakes in an effort to gain American Independence.

**Discussion:** The early American Revolutionary Era between 1763 – 1777 was a fascinating time in American history. It provides insight into the origins of the Revolutionary War, the Declaration of Independence, and numerous attempts by the patriots to unify colonial efforts that would eventually help drive the British army out of the northern colonies, and force them to change their strategy to focus on the South. None of this came together over night, but was a slow process built up over the course time. In order for the patriots to be successful, they needed to have the public on their side. During this time period, the patriots attempted to influence the public to gain support by spreading their ideology, capitalizing on colonial ideas of self-government, and taking advantage of British mistakes in an effort to gain American Independence.

The patriots spread their ideology through a variety of means, which included propaganda, republicanism, and politically motivated mobs. Propaganda was a primary tool used to spread their ideology and was done so through pamphlets, newspapers, and word of

mouth. Patriot ideology was also spread through ideas of republicanism, which focused on rights, liberties, and freedoms of the American people. And lastly, the political use of mobs also was a crucial element of spreading patriot ideology because the mobs energized the people and established fear in those who opposed them.

The patriots also attempted to influence the public by to gain support by capitalizing on ideas of self-government, which was somewhat already instilled in the colonies at the time. Under British “salutary neglect,” the colonials became accustomed to governing themselves and established legislative assemblies at the local, provincial, and state levels to handle their own problems internally. These by nature, opposed British rule and helped the public and made the idea of independence more palatable.

Lastly, the patriots attempted to gain public support by highlighting British atrocities, stoking fears of loss of further freedoms under increased British rule, and by taking advantage of British mistakes. By committing atrocities, the British undermined their own strategy of pacification set forth by their senior military leadership and gave the patriots opportunities to tarnish their name in the eyes of the American public. Additionally, with increased British assertiveness and increased patriot rhetoric caused the public to fear they would lose more rights and liberties guaranteed by the British constitution. And finally, due to the overestimation of loyalist support, the British were unable to sufficiently man their army and secure victory.

**Conclusion:** Patriot attempts to gain support from the populace taught us many lessons, such as the numerous ways and means in which public support can be gained. The patriots made deliberate attempts to sway them to their side through a strategy of spreading of their ideology, capitalizing on colonial ideas of self-government, and taking full advantage of British atrocities

and mistakes. These lessons are crucial because as in all conflicts, public support is essential for military success and morale. Although nearly two hundred and fifty years have passed, the lessons learned is still applicable to our military today.

## **DISCLAIMER**

THE OPINIONS AND CONCLUSIONS EXPRESSED HEREIN ARE THOSE OF THE  
INDIVIDUAL STUDENT AUTHOR AND DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT THE  
VIEWS OF EITHER THE MARINE CORPS COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE OR ANY  
OTHER GOVERNMENTAL AGENCY. REFERENCES TO THIS STUDY SHOULD  
INCLUDE THE FOREGOING STATEMENT.  
QUOTATION FROM, ABSTRACTION FROM, OR REPRODUCTION OF ALL OR ANY  
PART OF THIS DOCUMENT IS PERMITTED PROVIDED PROPER  
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT IS MADE.

## *Preface*

This paper explores the various methods the American patriots used in their attempts to influence the public to gain support for the cause of Independence. Both the patriots and the British were well aware of the need for public support to advance their respective cause. Due to a series of British Acts following The Seven Years War, America began to gradually drift toward a mindset of independence and the patriots attempted to take advantage of that sentiment to try to win the public over to their side.

This topic interests me for several reasons: 1) The American Revolution was a fascinating time in American history. It provides insight into early American life and why they fought so hard to gain their independence. 2) The Americans overcome overwhelming odds of fighting against the most powerful nation with the most powerful military in the world at the time, having no professional Army or Navy, and having minimal support needed for their cause. 3) Patriot attempts to gain support across the colonies without any mass communication capabilities we have today. Although only simple methods of communication (word of mouth, printed press, etc...) were available at the time, valuable lessons learned are still applicable for current and future military efforts. Whether in past, present, or future, public support for military efforts is always crucial to military success. Our military can gain insights from the past to apply to future to help secure strategic, operational, and tactical objectives.

I would like to thank Dr. Lon Strauss for the guidance and assistance provided in developing this project. I would also like to thank Ms. Christi Bayha and all the members of the Marine Corps Research Library for their assistance in providing research methods and materials. Lastly, I would like to thank the Rare Books and Special Collections staff at the Library of Congress for providing access to their collection of materials.

## Table of Contents

|                                                                                                 |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Executive Summary .....                                                                         | ii  |
| Disclaimer .....                                                                                | v   |
| Preface.....                                                                                    | vi  |
| Table of Contents .....                                                                         | vii |
| Introduction.....                                                                               | 1   |
| Thesis .....                                                                                    | 1   |
| Thesis Point 1: Spreading Ideology .....                                                        | 2   |
| Sub-thesis Point 1: Spread of Propaganda, Republicanism, and Political Use of Mobs.....         | 2   |
| Propaganda .....                                                                                | 2   |
| Republicanism .....                                                                             | 9   |
| Political Use of Mobs .....                                                                     | 11  |
| Sub-thesis Point 2: Advancement of Individual Rights .....                                      | 14  |
| Equality.....                                                                                   | 14  |
| Freedom .....                                                                                   | 15  |
| Property Rights .....                                                                           | 16  |
| Sub-thesis Point 3: Political Use of the Economy.....                                           | 18  |
| Negative English Influence .....                                                                | 18  |
| Boycotts .....                                                                                  | 20  |
| Colonial Marketplace .....                                                                      | 22  |
| Thesis Point 2: Ideas of Self Government .....                                                  | 24  |
| Sub-thesis Point 2: British Tyranny, History of Self-Government, Trend Towards Sovereignty..... | 24  |
| Parliamentary Acts .....                                                                        | 24  |
| Taxation without Representation.....                                                            | 26  |
| Divisions between Americans and British .....                                                   | 26  |
| Sub-thesis Point 2: History of Self-Government under Salutary Neglect.....                      | 27  |
| Local Governments.....                                                                          | 27  |
| Provincial Governments .....                                                                    | 28  |
| State Government (State Constitutions) .....                                                    | 29  |
| Sub-thesis Point 3: Trend Towards Sovereignty .....                                             | 29  |
| Democratic Ideals .....                                                                         | 29  |
| Abiding by Laws .....                                                                           | 30  |

|                                                                           |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Governmental Equality.....                                                | 30 |
| Thesis Point 3: British Mistakes .....                                    | 31 |
| Sub-thesis Point 1: British Atrocities .....                              | 31 |
| Undermining of their own Strategy .....                                   | 33 |
| Caused Citizens to Take Up Arms Against the British .....                 | 35 |
| Turned Potential Friends into Enemies .....                               | 36 |
| Sub-thesis Point 2: Perceived Losses Under Increased British Control..... | 37 |
| Future Settlements .....                                                  | 38 |
| Rights and Liberties .....                                                | 38 |
| Protections of the British Constitution .....                             | 38 |
| Sub-thesis Point 3: British Miscalculations .....                         | 39 |
| Overestimation of Military Assistance Provided by Loyalists.....          | 39 |
| Overestimation of Colonial Support.....                                   | 41 |
| Underestimation of Backlash of British Army Augmentees .....              | 41 |
| Conclusion .....                                                          | 43 |
| Bibliography .....                                                        | 45 |

Since the beginning of the American Revolution, numerous books, articles, and papers have been written on the military, economic, and ideological aspects of the war. Although each of these topics represent a significant part of the revolution, the social aspects of the war remain clouded in mystery. Further study is needed on the ordinary citizens of the day and how their support was crucial to both the Americans (patriots) and the British to advance their cause. As with any war, public support was essential for morale and military success, and the American Revolution was no exception. Both the patriots and the British were well aware of the need to gain public support and both sides made concerted efforts to win colonists over to their sides.

In an effort to examine the ways the patriots attempted to influence the public to gain support, this paper will focus on the pre-Revolutionary War period following the Seven Years War (1763) through the Battle of Saratoga (1777). Although the Revolution raged on through September of 1783, this early Revolutionary period was significant because it gives insight into the origins of the conflict and sets the stage for how the remainder of the war would play out after the British shifted their strategy to the colonies in the South.<sup>1</sup> At first glance, one would think that the American Revolution would have failed in its initial stages. The patriots had limited public support, lacked a professional army, and faced the most capable army in the world at the time. Despite these limitations, though, the patriots attempted to maximize efforts in order to give them the best chance of success, which included attempting to sway the public to their side. During this period, the patriots sought to gain public support by deliberately attempting to influence the colonists through a strategy of spreading their ideology, capitalizing on colonial ideas of self-government, and taking advantage of British mistakes in an effort to gain American Independence from Great Britain.

---

<sup>1</sup> Gordon S. Wood, *The American Revolution: A History* (New York: Random House, 2002), 81.

Ideally, it would be beneficial to know the actual level of public support the patriots had prior to the start of the war. Unfortunately, there are no historical records containing such data. Thus, it is extremely difficult for scholars to accurately identify the level of public support for either side during the conflict. According to historian Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, "the estimates of modern historians vary wildly, which is itself an indication of how difficult it was to gauge the fluctuating situation during the Revolution."<sup>2</sup> Although there are no accurate records available and disagreement amongst scholars on the level of support to either side, there is little doubt that both the British and patriots attempted to perform their actions with public opinion in mind. According to John Adams, "the Revolution had occurred not in the halls of Congress or on the battlefield, but rather in the 'minds of the people.'"<sup>3</sup> The patriots knew they had to win over the people to their side, so planned their strategies carefully, beginning with the spread of their political ideology. The end of the Seven Years War brought about an unprecedented British assertiveness and a highly charged political atmosphere to colonial life. As a result, the period between 1763-1777 became a fertile ground for the patriots to spread their ideology through the means of propaganda, republicanism, and politically motivated mobs.

Propaganda was an extremely effective messaging technique that played a major role on both sides of the conflict. It came in many different forms, but colonists primarily distributed it via pamphlets, newspapers, and word of mouth. Some of the most famous uses of patriot propaganda during the Revolutionary War are Thomas Paine's pamphlets *The American Crisis* and *Common Sense*, as well as, John Dickenson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, all of

---

<sup>2</sup> Andrew J. O'Shaughnessy. *The Men Who Lost America: British Leadership, the American Revolution, and the Fate of the Empire*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), ProQuest E-book Central, 192.

<sup>3</sup> Scott Liell, *46 Pages: Thomas Paine, Common Sense, and the Turning Point to Independence*, (Philadelphia, PA: Running Press, 2003), 119.

which were deliberate attempts to sway public opinion.<sup>4</sup> Thomas Paine was a well-known and gifted writer, who gave his talents and abilities to the patriot cause. He “joined the army as a volunteer and served as aid-de-camp to General Nathaniel Green while also serving as the first war correspondent in American history to write reports of the war for publication.”<sup>5</sup> Paine had a deep understanding of the condition of the Continental army and when he began to see enlistments shrink during the New Jersey Campaign, he felt compelled to do something about it. As a result, he wrote a pamphlet titled *The American Crisis* in an attempt to sway the colonists to support the cause of liberty.<sup>6</sup>

In *The American Crisis*, Paine highlighted the nobility of the patriots, the evils of the British tyranny, and pleaded with his fellow countrymen to join the patriot cause. In his mind, British tyranny was worse than war, so he attempted to create a sense of urgency to force colonists to take action.<sup>7</sup> In an effort to turn people from a loyalist mindset and to spur those who were sitting passively by, he wrote “...I turn with the warm ardour [sic] of a friend to those who have nobly stood yet determined to stand the matter out; I call not upon a few, but upon all; not on this state or that truth but on every state; up and help us; lay your shoulders to the wheel; better have too much force than too little; when so great an object is at stake.”<sup>8</sup> In this excerpt, Paine attempted to sway those who were neutral to join the patriot cause by referring to them as friends and imploring those who have stood idly by to join them in a common cause.

The pamphlet proved to be well timed and very beneficial. According to historian David Hackett Fischer, “*The American Crisis*, published in the *Pennsylvania Journal* on 19 December

---

<sup>4</sup> Homer L. Calkin, “Pamphlets and Public Opinion during the American Revolution,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 64, 1 (1940), 31, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20087256>.

<sup>5</sup> David Hackett Fischer, *Washington's Crossing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 138-139.

<sup>6</sup> Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*, 141.

<sup>7</sup> Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*, 141.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Paine. *The American Crisis No. 1 By the author of Common Sense. Boston sold opposite the course house Queen Street.* (Boston, 1776. Pdf.) <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.03902300/>.

1776, had a major impact on the revival of the American Cause in the week before the Battle of Trenton.”<sup>9</sup> After distribution of the pamphlet, the patriots witnessed an increase in morale of the army, increased numbers of retired militiamen returning to action, and a revival of the Revolutionary spirit in the ordinary people of Delaware.<sup>10</sup> The impact *The American Crisis* had on soldier, militia, and ordinary people was proof of a successful patriotic propaganda effort.

Although American colonists were familiar with *The American Crisis*, Thomas Paine’s most famous work to influence colonists’ thoughts on the Revolution was the 1776 pamphlet *Common Sense*. According to historian Dr. Gordon Wood, it was “the most incendiary and popular pamphlet of the entire Revolutionary era.”<sup>11</sup> Paine was a true believer in the cause of liberty, who mastered the skillful spreading of propaganda by effectively connecting with his readers. In an effort to motivate his readers to action, he attempted to create a sense of panic and urgency, which was designed to gain more public support for the continental army and for the cause of liberty.<sup>12</sup> For example, in *The American Crisis*, Paine wrote, “Tis surprising to see how rapidly a panic will sometimes run through a country...yet panics in some cases have their uses; they produce as much good as hurt. There [sic] duration is always short; the mind soon grows to them, and acquires a firmer habit than before.”<sup>13</sup> His hypothesis was that panic, whether real or perceived, had a way of exposing hidden agendas and bringing things to light that would otherwise not be exposed. He states “they have the same effect on secret traitors, which an imaginary apparition would have on a private murderer...they bring out hidden thoughts of man, and hold them up in public to the world.”<sup>14</sup> The panic he was referring to was a panic that forces

---

<sup>9</sup> Fischer, *Washington’s Crossing*, 141.

<sup>10</sup> Fischer, *Washington’s Crossing*, 143.

<sup>11</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 56.

<sup>12</sup> Fischer, *Washington’s Crossing*, 142.

<sup>13</sup> *The American Crisis*, Library of Congress

<sup>14</sup> *The American Crisis*, Library of Congress

an individual to react or to choose sides, which is evidence that his writings were propaganda tools meant to mobilize his readers to action.

According to Maya Jasanoff, *Common Sense* is said to have “sold a half a million copies in 1776 alone – enough for one in every five Americans to own one – the pamphlet helped convert Americans *en masse* to the idea of independence.”<sup>15</sup> It was partially successful because it generated controversy as it set off a great debate in newspapers, which served the purpose of the patriot cause by familiarizing readers with the idea of separation from the British.<sup>16</sup> The more colonists that read *Common Sense*, the more people became familiar with the cause of liberty. According to historian, Dr. Sophia Rosenfeld, “Soon after the appearance of *Common Sense*...national independence and republicanism came to be not only viable but also essential, and did so to a public that ran the gamut from New England ministers to Philadelphia artisans and tradesmen.”<sup>17</sup> In other words, *Common Sense* motivated many colonists across the region to take action.

Dr. Rosenfeld also added that the “change of hearts” helped to move Congress more toward declaring independence from Britain.<sup>18</sup> By “change of hearts” she meant those who were either neutral or had not previously supported the cause of Independence. John Penn of the Second Continental Congress witnessed the change in sentiment of the people after traveling to Virginia in the Spring of 1776, which he stated upon his return that “I heard nothing praised in the course of my journey, but Common Sense and Independence.”<sup>19</sup> Additionally, the pamphlet set off a massive debate in the press, which ultimately familiarized the colonist with the idea of

---

<sup>15</sup> Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Random House, 2011), 30.

<sup>16</sup> Carl Berger, *Broadsides & Bayonets: The Propaganda War of the American Revolution* (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1976), 194.

<sup>17</sup> Sophia Rosenfeld, “Tom Paine’s Common Sense and Ours,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 65, no.4 (2008), 637-638, [www.jstor.org/stable.40212021](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40212021).

<sup>18</sup> Rosenfeld, “Tom Paine’s Common Sense and Ours,” 638.

<sup>19</sup> Rosenfeld, “Tom Paine’s Common Sense and Ours,” 637.

Independence as well. By May of 1776, North Carolina and Virginia had pressed their representatives in Congress to vote for separation.<sup>20</sup> *Common Sense* is an example of American propaganda that appears to have served its purpose by having an impact on public opinion and motivating colonists to action.

John Dickinson was a propagandist as well and used his skills in an attempt to influence colonists' thinking, primarily through his works of *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*. Colonists were well aware of Dickinson's feelings toward Parliament and taxes by the late 1760s. He believed the only purpose of British taxes was to remove money from the colonies.<sup>21</sup> Taxes was a major point of consternation during this time and he made deliberate efforts gin up resistance against the British insinuating the British was trying to steal money from the colonies. He was also a supporter of rights and liberty, having felt that the colonists were an educated people who were aware of their rights. In writing to his *Beloved Countrymen*, in Letter VII, he wrote "For many such persons there must be even in these colonies, where the inhabitants in general are more intelligent than other people whatever, as has been remarked by strangers, and it seems with reason."<sup>22</sup> In the excerpt, he was attempting to patronize the colonist by appealing to their intellect. Additionally, in 1768, he wrote "'the crucial question in the colonists minds was not what evil has actually attended particular measures, but what evil, in the nature of things, is likely to attend them...because nations, in general, are apt not to think until they feel, therefore nations in general have lost their liberty.'"<sup>23</sup> This was an attempt to spur the colonist to pre-

---

<sup>20</sup> Berger, *Broadsides and Bayonets*, 194.

<sup>21</sup> Vaughn P. Scribner. "Imperial Pubs: British American Taverns as Spaces of Empire, 1700-1783" (Dissertation, University of Kansas, 2013), 177.  
[https://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/bitstream/handle/1808/19606/Scribner\\_ku\\_0099D\\_12628\\_DATA\\_1.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](https://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/bitstream/handle/1808/19606/Scribner_ku_0099D_12628_DATA_1.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y).

<sup>22</sup> John Dickinson, *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*: Letter VII, 64.  
[https://history.delaware.gov/jdp\\_main/dickinsonletters/pennsylvania-farmer-letters/](https://history.delaware.gov/jdp_main/dickinsonletters/pennsylvania-farmer-letters/).

<sup>23</sup> Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (North Carolina: Chapel Hill Press, 1998), 5, ProQuest Ebook Central.

emptive action by reminding them that nations of the past have lost their liberties by not acting in a timely manner. *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* is another example of American propaganda as it attempted to spur the American people to action. Dickinson attempted this by stoking resistance towards the British, appealing to the intellect and virtuous character of the colonists', and by planting the seeds of British tyranny in the minds of the colonists before any acts of tyranny were committed.

The patriots also attempted to sway the public again through propaganda in the winter of 1776, which was perhaps when the patriots were at their weakest point. They had just lost Fort Washington along with "230 officers, 2,600 soldiers, and a large number of guns, cannons, shells, and other equipment,"<sup>24</sup> and were in retreat. While they withdrew, British soldiers pillaged American colonists and the patriots used it as an opportunity to tarnish the British soldiers.<sup>25</sup> British actions led to a Congressional inquiry and indictments of British soldiers during their march through New York and New Jersey,<sup>26</sup> which was more symbolic than any actual legal consequences. Regardless, Congress brought forward the indictments for "wanton devastation and destruction of property, inhumane treatment of prisoners, savage butchery of those who had submitted, and lust and brutality of soldiers abusing women."<sup>27</sup> These were just a few of the many attempts the patriots made to sway the populace to their side by painting the British as barbarians. However, propaganda efforts were not limited to one side only. The British also utilized propaganda in attempt to sway the public to their side.

---

<sup>24</sup> Berger, *Broadsides and Bayonets*, 14.

<sup>25</sup> Berger, *Broadsides and Bayonets*, 15.

<sup>26</sup> Berger, *Broadsides and Bayonets*, 15-16.

<sup>27</sup> Berger, *Broadsides and Bayonets*, 16.

The British Howe brothers, Sir William Howe and Admiral Richard Howe, attempted to influence colonial thinking by releasing an appeal to “his Majesty’s well-affected subjects” and “the inhabitants at large”, in September 1776. The appeal read in part:

...it is recommended to the inhabitants at large to reflect seriously upon their present condition and expectations, and judge for themselves whether it would be more inconsistent with their honor and happiness to offer up their lives as a sacrifice to the unjust and precarious cause in which they are engaged, or return to their allegiance, accept the blessings of peace, and to be secured in a free enjoyment of their liberties and properties.<sup>28</sup>

This use of British propaganda directly targeted the colonists as a veiled threat while urging them to consider the consequences of joining the patriot cause. Additionally, they urged the colonist to return to the liberties they had previously been accustomed too under the King.

British propaganda was also used in the Fall of 1776 when the Howe brothers offered free pardons to colonists in New Jersey who would swear an oath to the King. About 5,000 colonists accepted, making it one of the more successful efforts on the side of the British.<sup>29</sup> At this point, things were going well for the British as they had just landed 32,000 British and German soldiers on American shores in the previous month, making it the largest force ever sent from Britain.<sup>30</sup> The effective use of British propaganda was very concerning for the patriots since they had suffered many recent setbacks and the British were succeeding. This forced the patriots to pushback strongly against British efforts.

In an effort to stall British successes, the patriots made a counter-offer to the public promising pardons for anyone willing to reverse their allegiance to the crown,<sup>31</sup> which was an attempt to sway those who the British targeted. Additionally, Congress turned the British

---

<sup>28</sup> Berger, *Broadsides and Bayonets*, 13.

<sup>29</sup> Lord Howe and Lord George, *British Politics and the Winning of American Independence*, 237 (JSTOR). [https://www.jstor.org/stable/1920697?read-now=1&refreqid=excelsior%3A55e8740f188513efd6bde0d012181a31&seq=13#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/1920697?read-now=1&refreqid=excelsior%3A55e8740f188513efd6bde0d012181a31&seq=13#page_scan_tab_contents)

<sup>30</sup> Berger, *Broadsides and Bayonets*, 12.

<sup>31</sup> Fischer, *Washington’s Crossing*, 162.

premise of a pardon back on itself on 29 May 1777 when they stated that “A pardon implies a precedent crime.” They followed up with the question of “what crime has been committed?”<sup>32</sup> Patriots argued that their “inalienable rights” guaranteed the legitimacy of their revolution. They affirmed that “To receive a pardon was to acknowledge that asserting essential rights of freemen was criminal; and the *British* intended absolute and unconditional submission to them.”<sup>33</sup> These are a few examples of both American and British propaganda efforts and counter-efforts directly targeting the colonists in deliberate attempts to sway the public to their respective sides.

In addition to their propaganda efforts, another way the patriots attempted to influence the public was through the spread of republicanism, which was a radical ideology that was “borrowed from opposition groups in English society and linked with older and deeper European currents of thought...that focused on the good life, citizenship, political health, and social morality....”<sup>34</sup> Given the colonists’ roots in historical English society, they likely would have been familiar with the concept of republicanism. Republicanism appealed to ordinary people, especially the free white population, as it emphasized liberty, natural rights, representation, and equality.”<sup>35</sup> It was an important concept to swaying the public because most property owners, and those who had voting rights, were colonists of the free white population. The idea of republicanism resonated well with many Americans because to them, it aligned with the spirit of the English constitution. The English constitution was always the glorious fabric of Britain’s liberty<sup>36</sup> and “nearly everyone agreed that the mixture of republicanism within it was a crucial source of its strength.”<sup>37</sup> The idea of republicanism that the patriots had in mind was to allow for

---

<sup>32</sup> Berger, *Broadsides and Bayonets*, 40.

<sup>33</sup> Berger, *Broadsides and Bayonets*, 40.

<sup>34</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 91-92.

<sup>35</sup> O’Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 114.

<sup>36</sup> Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787*, 11.

<sup>37</sup> Gordon S. Wood, *Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution*, 17.

the people's greater participation in government and for better representation by the government.<sup>38</sup>

The 1776 Congress of New Hampshire offered an example of a republican style government. On 5 Jan 1776 when the Representatives met, they proclaimed "We the members of the Congress of the Colony of New Hampshire, chosen and appointed by the free suffrages of the people of the said Colony, and authorized and empowered by them, to meet together, and use such means, and pursue such measures, as we should judge best for the public good..."<sup>39</sup> The representatives gave credit to the people for their power and authority, which demonstrated representation and equality. This statement acknowledged that ordinary citizens played a role in political decisions of their society and gave them say in their own future. This is an example of the patriots attempting to influence the public through their republican ideology by establishing a government to serve as a model to the people and embrace the principles of liberty and equality found in the English constitution, which was deeply cherished most colonists.

The British and their loyalist supporters were well aware of patriot attempts to spread republicanism and attempted to prevent them from converting more colonist to their ideology. An example of British efforts to stop the spread of republicanism is seen in a broadside written and distributed in New York in October 1776 under the pseudonym of "Camillus." Camillus attempts to sway the public away from republicanism by stating "The present armament (British military), will restore the Americans to Freedom, that freedom which was enjoyed under a British constitution. It will relieve them from the most degrading species of tyranny, republican

---

<sup>38</sup> O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 114.

<sup>39</sup> New Hampshire General Court. In Congress at Exeter, January 5th, . We the members of the Congress of the Colony of New Hampshire, chosen and appointed by the free suffrages of the people of said Colony ... to establish some form of government, provided that measure shou. Portsmouth, 1776. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.0880010a/>.

tyranny. Every dispassionate and well-disposed American, must despise the idea of republicanism.”<sup>40</sup> The way that patriots presented republicanism to other colonists was a threat to maintaining British rule. Therefore, the British and their supporters attempted to sway the public to reject the very idea of it.

In addition to propaganda and republicanism, the patriots attempted to spread their ideology through the political use of mobs to increase opposition to the British. According to historian Arthur Schlesinger, “Mass violence played a dominant role at every significant turning point of the events leading up to the War for Independence...and mobs were a necessary ingredient in the mode of opposition.”<sup>41</sup> The use of mobs allowed the patriots to coerce and intimidate those who were loyal to the British. Some mobs developed spontaneously while others were coordinated, but both were useful to the Revolutionaries as long as it supported their cause.<sup>42</sup> Mobs were used for purposes of “riots, threatening royal officials, enforcing non-importation agreements, intimidating Tories, persecuting printers, were not only excused but often directed and abetted by respectable members of the community....”<sup>43</sup> Mobs had the ability to directly impact those who supported the British cause that were out of reach of the Continental Army. Additionally, mob actions served the political purposes of the patriots and were often condoned at the highest levels of their leadership. For example, John Adams justified “popular commotions” when the fundamentals of the Constitution were being attacked.<sup>44</sup>

Some of well-known historical events during the Revolutionary era involving the political use of mobs were the events surrounding The Stamp Act and The Boston Massacre. In

---

<sup>40</sup> Camillus Pseud. New York, October, 18, . To the public. Considerations on the present revolted state of America, addressed to its inhabitants at large ... Signed Camillus. New York Printed in Water-Street, between the Coffee-House and the Old Slip. 177. New York, 1776. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.10902600/>.

<sup>41</sup> Arthur Meir Schlesinger, “Political Mobs and the American Revolution 1765-1776,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 99, No. 4 (August 30, 1955), 244, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3143703?seq=1>.

<sup>42</sup> Wood, *Creation of the American Republic*, 321.

<sup>43</sup> Wood, *Creation of the American Republic*, 321.

<sup>44</sup> Wood, *Creation of the American Republic*, 321.

reference to The Stamp Act, Historian Gordon S. Wood stated, "...it was mob violence that destroyed the Stamp Act in America. On 14 August 1765, a crowd tore apart the office and attacked the home of Andrew Oliver, the stamp distributor for Massachusetts...the next day Oliver promised not to enforce the Stamp Act."<sup>45</sup> This successful use of a mob to achieve a political purpose had an immediate impact on the colonies. After experiencing the successful events surrounding The Stamp Act, a new-found spirit of resistance spread throughout the colonies.<sup>46</sup> "As news spread of the riots to other colonies, similar violence and threats of violence spread with it. From Newport, Rhode Island, to Charleston, South Carolina, local groups organized for resistance."<sup>47</sup> The spread of mob violence was an obvious benefit to the patriot cause and was used frequently in their efforts to resist the British.

Some of the groups that sprang up in an organized fashion referred to themselves as the Sons of Liberty.<sup>48</sup> The Sons of Liberty "became in effect organized mobs"<sup>49</sup> and attempted to influence the public through means of coercion, violence, and intimidation. These groups "burned effigies of royal officials, forced stamp agents to resign, compelled businessmen and judges to carry on without stamps, developed an intercolonial network of correspondence, generally enforced nonimportation of British goods, and managed anti-stamp activities throughout the colonies."<sup>50</sup> The actions taken by the Sons of Liberty as a result of the Stamp Act proved to be a patriot success as it resulted in increased public support for their cause. In late 1765, John Adams noted in his diary that "The people, even to the lowest ranks, have become

---

<sup>45</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 30-31.

<sup>46</sup> Richard M Ketchum, *Divided Loyalties* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2002), 157.

<sup>47</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 29.

<sup>48</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 30-31.

<sup>49</sup> Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic*, 321

<sup>50</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 30-31.

more attentive to their liberties, more inquisitive about them, and more determined to defend them, than they were ever before known or had occasion to be.”<sup>51</sup>

The Boston Massacre is another example mob violence for political purposes. “On 5 March 1770, a party of eight harassed British soldiers fired on a threatening crowd and killed five civilians...which aroused American passions and inspired some of the most sensational rhetoric heard in the Revolutionary era.”<sup>52</sup> Patriot leaders attempted to sway the public by using mob actions as a rallying call. For example, during a commemoration event of the Boston Massacre, Dr. Joseph Warren used vivid language in describing the event in order to rouse the crowd. He stated “Language is too feeble to paint the emotions of our souls, when our streets are stained with the blood of our brethren; when our ears were wounded by the groans of the dying, and our eyes were tormented with the mangled bodies of the dead.”<sup>53</sup> He went on to warn the crowd that there was an imminent likelihood of “our houses wrapped in flames, our children subjected to the barbarous caprice of a raging soldiery; our beauteous virgins exposed to all insolence of unbridled passion. Warren and other popular leaders hoped such oratory and memorializing of the dead would ensure higher levels of commitment to the cause of liberty...,”<sup>54</sup> which represents another example of the patriots using actions taken by mobs to advance their cause.

The information and examples above highlight several ways the patriots attempted to spread their ideology by deliberate attempts at influencing the public to support their cause. They attempted to influence the public by spreading their ideology through various forms of propaganda, republicanism, and the political use of mobs. Although these are some of the ways

---

<sup>51</sup> Ketchum, *Divided Loyalties*, 157.

<sup>52</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 34.

<sup>53</sup> Martin and Lender, *Respectable Army*, 25.

<sup>54</sup> Martin and Lender, *Respectable Army*, 25.

they attempted to gain support, they also attempted to influence the public through directly targeting the population through basic messages of equality, freedom, and individual property rights that many colonists were accustomed to.

Equality was not a new concept that sprang up during the Revolutionary era, but had slowly developed over time as “economic growth, political adaption, and interest in political ideas increased.”<sup>55</sup> As a result, the idea of social and legal equality was generally accepted. It resonated well with the colonist because they considered themselves as “natural-born” Englishmen and equality was their right.<sup>56</sup> As Virginia lawyer Richard Bland explained: “I am speaking of the rights of a people: rights imply equality, in the instances to which they belong...by what right is it, that parliament can exercise such a power over the colonies, who have as natural a right to the privileges and liberties of Englishmen, as if they were actually resident within the Kingdom?”<sup>57</sup> Richard Bland was arguing the equality of Americans to Englishmen as an attempt to influence his readers to come to the same understanding of equality.

As stated above, the message of equality appealed to ordinary colonist because it implied the same rights as any Englishman in Great Britain. This was helpful to the Revolutionary cause because it increased the likelihood of accepting the message of Independence. “In the final analysis...it was the American’s habit of thinking “that all men were equal in their rights” which had underwrote their Revolution and sustained their freedom.”<sup>58</sup> The founding fathers had this same idea in mind when they wrote in the Declaration of Independence that “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

---

<sup>55</sup> Pole, *The Pursuit of Equality in American History*, 11.

<sup>56</sup> Pole, *The Pursuit of Equality in American History*, 15.

<sup>57</sup> Pole, *The Pursuit of Equality in American History*, 15.

<sup>58</sup> Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic*, xv.

Happiness.”<sup>59</sup> Equality was a powerful message that helped unify the colonists, and the patriots used it as a means to try drawing more people to their cause.

Freedom was very important concept to the colonists as well and the patriots made concerted efforts to instill a fear of losing it in the minds of the colonists. Colonists had a long history of feeling they were a free people and their reaction to the Parliamentary Acts after 1763 was evident of this fact as they tried to preserve their formal rights and protect themselves from conspiracy, corruption, and enslavement.<sup>60</sup> The colonist not only believed that the British government was going to take away the liberties they enjoyed, but they believed the ultimate goal of the British was to destroy the English constitution, “with all rights and privileges embedded in it.”<sup>61</sup> For example, a 1770 Boston Town Meeting to its Assembly Representatives where the speaker stated “...there is great reason to believe that a deep-laid and desperate plan of imperial despotism has been laid, and partly executed, for the extinction of all civil liberty. The august and once revered fortress of English freedom...the admirable work of ages...the British Constitution seems fast tottering into fatal and inevitable ruin.”<sup>62</sup> By attempting to influence those who were at the meeting with the fear of losing freedoms and liberties provided by the English Constitution, they in-effect attempted to influence the people of Boston via their representatives who were in attendance.

As a continued effort to play on the fears of the colonists, an untitled broadside written in New York on 1 May 1775 under the pseudonym of “An English American” further pushed the

---

<sup>59</sup> Clinton Rossiter. ed, *The Federalist Papers*. (New York: Penguin Group, 1961), 528.

<sup>60</sup> Marc Egnal and Joseph A. Ernst, “An Economic Interpretation of the American Revolution,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 29, No. 1 (January 1972), 7. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1921325?seq=1>

<sup>61</sup> Bernard Bailyn. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*. (Cambridge, Ma: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1973), 95.

<sup>62</sup> Bernard Bailyn. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*. (Cambridge, Ma: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1973), 95.

narrative of British tyranny. In this broadside, the author appeals to the British soldiers to see the evil of the British Ministry (Parliament). The author states:

If you consider the conduct of the British Ministry, with a necessary degree of attention, you cannot avoid being convinced, that they have long acted upon a settled determined plan of destroying the English Constitution, that inestimable birth right and inheritance of Englishmen, that only valuable distinction between them and the people of other nations, the only source of all their national prosperity and grandeur, of their private content and happiness!<sup>63</sup>

Although the author directed comments towards British soldiers, it was also an attempt to convince the reader that the British wanted to take away their rights provided by the English Constitution. The patriots took advantage of a prevalent conspiracy that the British government was systematically trying to take away their liberties long before the Revolutionary era occurred.<sup>64</sup>

In addition to trying to sway the public through a message of equality and a potential loss of freedom, the patriots deliberately attempted to influence property owners who sympathized with their cause. They believed that “individual ownership of property, especially landed property, was essential for a republic, both as a source of independence and as evidence of permanent attachment to the community.”<sup>65</sup> Not only would the individual property owner support the cause of liberty in word, but was more likely to take up arms to fight for it, primarily in the form of militia. “According to Whig ideology, property-holding citizens organized as militia would naturally stand up to those who would resort to military force as a means of wiping out liberties.”<sup>66</sup> As an individual from the Carolinas wrote in 1777, “the people of America are a

---

<sup>63</sup> New-York, May 1, . To the regular soldiery of Great-Britain, now on service in the British American colonies. Friends and countrymen. The business and profession of a soldier, when properly applied- to its true and lawful design, is highly u. New York, 1775. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.10801600/>.

<sup>64</sup> Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, 95.

<sup>65</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 94.

<sup>66</sup> Martin and Lender, *Respectable Army*, 6.

people of property; almost every man is a freeholder.”<sup>67</sup> If the patriots could sway the property holding citizens they could bring a loyal segment of the population to their side. The idea of owning property was so important to Thomas Jefferson that “he proposed in 1776 that the new commonwealth of Virginia guarantee at least fifty acres of land for every citizen.”<sup>68</sup>

Influencing property-holding citizens was important to the patriots because they believed that property owners could be counted on in the time of war. Property holding citizens were the individuals “who came forth as a Minuteman at Lexington and Concord”<sup>69</sup> at the beginning of the conflict. Also, it was also the property-owning citizens who rose up to defend their rights and help throw off the rule of established British governance. Lieutenant Governor William Bull II, South Carolina, stated that “Men of property, begin at length to see that the many-headed power of the people, who have hitherto been obediently made use of by their numbers and occasional riots to support the claims set up in America, have discovered their own strength and importance and are not now so easily governed by their former leaders.”<sup>70</sup> The patriots felt that property owners were willing to stand up for what belonged to them and to preserve their way of life. Not only were property owners willing to fight for what belonged to them, they were also respected members of the community and had the ability to vote.<sup>71</sup> By influencing property owners, the patriots attempted to gain loyal support from individuals who were willing to fight, had the ability to vote, and the ability to potentially influence others around them to support their cause.

---

<sup>67</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 94.

<sup>68</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 95.

<sup>69</sup> Martin and Lender, *Respectable Army*, 6.

<sup>70</sup> Gary B. Nash. *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America* (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 200.

<sup>71</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 94.

Of course, this did not apply to all property holding citizens since many loyalists were property holders as well. Property holders who were loyal, or who could be converted to, the patriot cause was the patriot's objective. Those who remained loyal to the crown suffered many abuses by the patriots, which included punishments such as "tarring and feathering, confiscation of property, arrests, and sometimes executions."<sup>72</sup> These acts of abuse were not just a few isolated cases, but were widespread. On one occasion in May 1776, "suspected New York loyalists seized and forced to hand over any weapons in their possession; the next month, more loyalists were seized by the mob, rode on Rails, their clothes torn off, & much beaten & abused. Many were obliged to fly out of the City, & durst not return."<sup>73</sup> Despite the fact that many loyalist were people of stature and property owners themselves, they suffered immensely at the hands of the patriots and what they owned was taken from them and sold by the Revolutionary governments to help fund the patriot cause.<sup>74</sup>

Not only did the patriots attempt to influence the public to advance their ideology through the use of propaganda, spreading of republicanism, political use of mobs, messages of equality, fear of loss of freedom, and the deliberate targeting of property owners, they also made deliberate attempts to influence the public by politicizing the economy. The patriots politicized British influences on the colonial economy, encouraging boycotts of British goods, and taking advantage of the unifying effect of the colonial marketplace.

The British Parliament began playing a major role in many parts of the American economy after the end of the Seven Years War. Prior to the Seven Years War, Americans enjoyed an economic policy with "an uninterrupted flow of consumer goods and the freedom and

---

<sup>72</sup> O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 98-99.

<sup>73</sup> Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles*, 30.

<sup>74</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 114.

opportunity to earn the money to pay for those goods.”<sup>75</sup> The colonist were accustomed to a vibrant and stable economy prior to the Seven Years War, so the actions taken by the British following the War must have come as a shock, especially the wealthy elites. With increased taxes from Parliament, the colonists were not making the money that they normally would have and found themselves going deeper and deeper in debt.<sup>76</sup> The Parliamentary actions taken severely affected the ability of the colonial elite to conduct their business, which was just as critical to them as the Parliamentary Acts.<sup>77</sup> Given the circumstances that were in place as a result, the patriots had an opportunity to exploit the economic circumstances to their own favor.

The patriots attempted to sway the population by insinuating they were partially responsible for the economic downturn for buying so many British goods without reflecting on the consequences of their actions.<sup>78</sup> A 1764 article that ran in several colonial papers under the pseudo of “The Farmer,” is evidences of patriot attempts to sway the public. In referring to the colonist in the article, he stated “Luxury and extravagance abound, and have taken deep root, even to such a degree, that when two hundred pounds, about ten years ago, would have maintained a common family for the current year, three times that sum has not become necessary.”<sup>79</sup> In this article, the writer was attempting to persuaded the colonist to reduce their spending on luxurious items, which translates into spending less on British goods. The writer went on to say “trade droops and sinks her head; wisdom cries aloud to retrench and use our utmost industry, frugality and economy.”<sup>80</sup> The patriots felt it was necessary for the colonists to

---

<sup>75</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 206.

<sup>76</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 206.

<sup>77</sup> Egnal and Ernst, “An Economic Interpretation of the American Revolution,” 3.

<sup>78</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 207.

<sup>79</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 207-208.

<sup>80</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 208.

limit their dependency on British goods, which was a driving factor in the negative trend of the economy.

As negative impacts of British influence on the colonial economy increased, the colonial elites decided to use a new tactic to undermine the British. “Tired of their wealth and power being affected by stifling Imperial policy, many elite colonists begin urging their lower and middle-class compatriots to boycott British-imported goods such as tea, sugar, ceramics, alcoholic beverages, and cloth.”<sup>81</sup> This action was the start of the boycott movement, which would prove to have a tremendous effect on the British economy, as well as, giving rise to a new political system in America that would benefit the patriot cause.

The implementation of boycotts in the colonies served as a political tool to push back on British Parliamentary taxes.<sup>82</sup> Although they were very effective, they did not get off to an easy start. Boycotts were effective because they caused a negative economic and financial impact to the British as well as indirectly sitting up an entirely new political system that allowed participation by ordinary citizens. People who were traditionally excluded from the political process, such as women and the poor, were now able to voice their opinions in open forum and directly impact the British by obstructing their commerce.<sup>83</sup> This was a welcome change for the patriots in the advancement of their cause; however, it proved to be a major challenge for them.

As stated above, the boycott effort did not get off to an easy start. Although many Americans were in support of the movement, the merchants were the key players needed to make it work; however, many in the merchant class did not want to take part in the process.<sup>84</sup> For example, merchants in Boston “refused to sign non-importation agreements unless merchants in

---

<sup>81</sup> Scribner. “Imperial Pubs: British American Taverns as Spaces of Empire, 1700-1783”, 177.

<sup>82</sup> Scribner. “Imperial Pubs: British American Taverns as Spaces of Empire, 1700-1783”, 177.

<sup>83</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 4.

<sup>83</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, xvi-xvii.

<sup>84</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 245.

New York and Philadelphia did the same.”<sup>85</sup> As a result, the boycott effort had a limited impact for the first few years. However, after intense public pressure continued to build, the merchants of Boston, New York and Philadelphia eventually signed the agreements in 1768 and followed by the merchants in Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina in 1769.<sup>86</sup>

As the boycott effort gained momentum across the colonies, there was still significant levels of support for British trade that the patriots had to contend with amongst other colonists. In effort to extinguish colonist support to the British, the patriots used increased rhetoric, coercion or the threat of coercion against those who resisted. In the 1770 broadside written to the *Merchants and Traders of the City of Philadelphia*, the author calls for a unified front to confront the British on the Townshend Act (a 1767 British tax on tea, glass, paint, lead, and paper as an effort to gain additional revenue to pay off governors and judges to keep the loyal to the crown),<sup>87</sup> by stating “If we do not exert ourselves now, when TAXED by Parliament, under the exploded notion of virtual representation, when shall we exert ourselves?”<sup>88</sup> This was a direct challenge to other colonist to unite for a common purpose. The author goes on to state how Boston had suspended importing goods from Great Britain, and if other colonies should follow suit or they will have nobody to blame but themselves for the measures laid against them.<sup>89</sup>

Further evidence can be seen in a 1773 broadside written to *The Freemen of America* regarding the British tax on tea, where the author, Mucius, attempts to influence how the Americans should respond to this British effort. The author states that the British idea that “she

---

<sup>85</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 245.

<sup>86</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 245.

<sup>87</sup> Ketchum, *Divided Loyalties*, 188.

<sup>88</sup> To the merchants and traders, of the City of Philadelphia. Gentlemen. The worthy and patriotic writer of the Farmer's letters, have clearly demonstrated, that the liberties of the British colonies in America, have been most cruelly violated. Philadelphia, 1770. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.14300100/>.

<sup>89</sup> To the merchants and traders, of the City of Philadelphia. Gentlemen. The worthy and patriotic writer of the Farmer's letters, have clearly demonstrated, that the liberties of the British colonies in America, have been most cruelly violated. Philadelphia, 1770. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.14300100/>.

can of right oblige the Americans, whose importation of many articles of life in confined to her alone, to pay any duties she may impose on such necessities, is to give her a right to strip you of everything you possess.”<sup>90</sup> Mucius concludes the broadside with a threat of coercion when he says “Americans must refuse to purchase the noxious weed; and such refusal will make it infamous and dangerous for any man, or any set of men, to aid or abet its introduction and sale.”<sup>91</sup> This broadside is another example of the patriots, or those loyal to them, trying to influence negative public opinion toward the British.

Patriot coercion directed towards the colonists was used not only at the local levels, but at the Congressional level as well. “In the Association of 1774, the Continental Congress had set up committees of safety (or committees of observation) in every town and county to enforce the boycott against British trade.”<sup>92</sup> These committees served as the eyes and ears of Congress to keep tabs on the population. In addition, the Americans also used the local populace who supported the boycott effort to monitor those who did not. Colonist could see for themselves who was still purchasing British goods, which resulted in them being labeled as enemies and individuals who could not be counted on.<sup>93</sup> This was another example of the patriots or Revolutionary government attempting to influence the public.

The patriots also benefited by the political use of the economy through the colonial marketplace. This was done as a result of colonist uniting around a common cause, policing themselves against the purchase of British goods, and bringing previously excluded people into the political process. Since all colonies basically imported the same type of goods, colonists

---

<sup>90</sup> Mucius Pseud. To the freemen of America on the tea tax Signed Mucius. Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 1773. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.14303000/>.

<sup>91</sup> Mucius Pseud. To the freemen of America on the tea tax Signed Mucius. Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 1773. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.14303000/>.

<sup>92</sup> O’Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 115.

<sup>93</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, xvi.

found it easy to communicate and with each other about their experiences, which led to further unification, and made it easier to push back against the empire that they thought was trying to take away their rights and liberties.<sup>94</sup> Not only were colonists able to unite and communicate around a common cause, the market place allowed the colonist to distinguish between potential enemies. In the market place “private decisions were interpreted as political acts; consumer choices communicated personal loyalties. Goods became the foundation of trust, for one’s willingness to sacrifice the pleasures of the market provided a remarkably visible and effective test of allegiance.”<sup>95</sup>

Following the Townshend Act of 1767, “committees and voluntary associations, many from extra-legal groups claiming to speak in the name of the public, constructed lists of prohibited goods as well as people who would purchase them; and subscription lists favoring non-importation circulated door to door.”<sup>96</sup> Circulation from door to door would naturally bring more people into the process. This process opened up “political participation to women, who would normally not be allowed to participate in the political process, were now given a voice because they were potential consumers of British goods.”<sup>97</sup> The patriots benefited by having more colonists in the political process that supported their cause. When reflecting back on this time period, John Adams wrote that “Thirteen clocks were made to strike together,”<sup>98</sup> which shows the level of mutual support from each colony in resisting the British.

The patriots attempted to sway the public by spreading their ideology through the use of propaganda, spreading of republicanism, political use of mobs, messages of equality, fear of the loss of freedoms, appealing to property owners, highlighting negative British influences on the

---

<sup>94</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, xv.

<sup>95</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, xv-xvi.

<sup>96</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 235.

<sup>97</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 235.

<sup>98</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 4.

economy, supporting boycotts, and benefiting from new political players within the colonial market place. Although not every aspect of their efforts worked quickly or exactly how they wanted, they made many attempts to mobilize the American public against the British during this time. “The most appealing explanation for the mobilization of the American people is simply that they came to share a powerful but loosely defined bundle of ideas about liberty and property, what might be best labeled a compelling political ideology.”<sup>99</sup>

Other ways that the patriots attempted to influence the American public was by advancing their cause through colonial ideas of self-government by stoking the flames of resistance to “British tyranny” resulting from the Parliamentary Acts,<sup>100</sup> reminding the public of their historical precedence of self-government, and building on a gradual trend towards their own sovereignty. The Parliamentary Acts following the Seven-Years War sparked the beginning of the Revolutionary Era. In an effort to offset tremendous war debts, the British Parliament passed a series of legislative Acts (Sugar Act, Currency Act, Stamp Act, Tea Act, Quartering Act, Townshend Act, and Coercive Acts) over the course of about a decade to force the colonist to help pay the war debts and to punish them if they did not.<sup>101</sup> These Acts were considered unreasonable to the colonists who were directly impacted because they had become accustomed to levying their own taxes. Prior to 1763, the ability to tax in the colonies was practiced by representatives of colonial assemblies without any significant resistance from the colonists or

---

<sup>99</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 8.

<sup>100</sup> Andrew Frank. *American Revolution: People and Perspectives*. (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2007), xiii, ProQuest E-book Central. ““The British also begin to institute new taxes and enforce old ones in order to pay for its wartime expenses. Great Britain, which had amassed tremendous debts in its war with France, turned to its colonies as an untapped source of revenue. The litany of resulting parliamentary acts is familiar – the Sugar Act, Currency Act, Stamp act, Tea Act, Quartering Act, Intolerable Acts, Coercive Acts, and the rest. The responses of Americans to these actions varied. Many colonists accepted them as the inevitable inconveniences of a desirable condition – being part of the British Empire, while others declared that they were burdensome and arbitrary impositions of the Crown.”

<sup>101</sup> Scribner. “Imperial Pubs: British American Taverns as Spaces of Empire, 1700-1783”, 177

England.<sup>102</sup> Although these Acts were a tremendous burden to the American people, their impact created an atmosphere that helped unify the colonists and provide another platform for the patriots to advance their cause.

In referring to the Parliamentary Act, Andrew O'Shaughnessy states "These policies were vigorously and often successfully resisted by the colonists. They gave rise to radical leaders, organized popular resistance, a heightened political consciousness, intercolonial unions, and a profound distrust in Britain."<sup>103</sup> As a result, the American people increased their unification of resistance and distrust for the British. When the colonist began to push back on these measures, the British responded with the Coercive Acts in 1774. "The Coercive Acts were a set of laws in response to the colonists that closed the port of Boston, altered the government of Massachusetts to increase British power, allowed royal officials to be accused of crimes to be tried in other locations, allowed the governor to take over private buildings for quartering of troops, and made the British army commander the governor of the colony of Massachusetts."<sup>104</sup> The Acts would go down in history as tipping point for the colonists. The Coercive Acts initiated a complete rebellion against British and royal governor authority, which resulted in the colonist beginning a grass roots effort to establish their own popular governments.<sup>105</sup> "By generating a constitutional debate about the limits of imperial power, the colonists articulated and defined a coherent set of political ideas to justify the opposition to Britain,"<sup>106</sup> which contributed to the patriot cause by further separating the colonies from Britain.

---

<sup>102</sup> Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, 204.

<sup>103</sup> O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 50.

<sup>104</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 38.

<sup>105</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 38.

<sup>106</sup> O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 50.

The British felt they had the right to tax the colonies since the colonies were part of the overall empire;<sup>107</sup> however, many colonists felt that Parliament's taxation was a direct violation of the English constitution. The patriots used that sentiment to try to sway the public to their cause. An example of this can be seen in an anonymous 1775 broadside where the author attempts to appeal to his readers and British soldiers: "The Great foundation of the English constitution, is, that no man shall be taxed, or bound, by any human law, till he has first given his free consent to it, either personally, or by Representatives freely chosen by himself for that purpose."<sup>108</sup> Although there is no data available to provide the impact of writings such as these, there was a popular sentiment that supported the feelings. According to Martin and Lender, many colonists declared "they would resist taxes not specifically levied by their local assemblies. To do otherwise would be to succumb to taxation by a legislative body in which the colonists lacked direct representation."<sup>109</sup>

The taxation issue caused a major divide between the American and British people,<sup>110</sup> and the patriots took full advantage of it by increasing rhetoric in an attempt to increase colonial resistance. For example, Samuel Adams asserted that "If Taxes are laid upon us in any shape without our having a legal Representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the Character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?"<sup>111</sup> This issue of taxes brought the colonists closer together for a common cause. According to Don Higginbotham, "American unity increased after 1763 because of the London government's new colonial policy, which seemed threatening with its parliamentary taxes and burdensome administrative

---

<sup>107</sup> O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 52.

<sup>108</sup> New-York, May 1, . To the regular soldiery of Great-Britain, now on service in the British American colonies. Friends and countrymen. The business and profession of a soldier, when properly applied- to its true and lawful design, is highly u. New York, 1775. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.10801600/>.

<sup>109</sup> Martin and Lender, *Respectable Army*, 20.

<sup>110</sup> O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 52.

<sup>111</sup> Richard M Ketchum, *Divided Loyalties* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2002), 96-97.

regulations.”<sup>112</sup> The Parliamentary Acts, taxation, and regulations were all divisive issues and the patriots benefited from the fact that these events drew the colonist into closer unification against British, which supported their cause.

Another benefit realized by the patriots was the fact that the colonies already had a historical precedent of self-government from the earliest settlements leading up to Revolution. Under Sir Robert Walpole, first Prime Minister of Great Britain, the American colonies operated under decentralized form over government from Britain that would later be known as “salutary neglect.” Salutary neglect was the term used to describe how the colonies were basically left to govern themselves with very little British oversight.<sup>113</sup> As a result, the colonist became accustomed to managing their own affairs and pushed them toward a mindset of self-government and independence.<sup>114</sup>

Prior to 1763, it was local or common law courts and local assemblies that administered justice, made rules, and levied taxes in the colonies.<sup>115</sup> With very little British oversight, they created their own ways of governing themselves. Additionally, prior to the Articles of Confederation, the colonies “had been through a decade of establishing quasi-governments at the local levels to address their own problems.”<sup>116</sup> As localized governments grew, so did the need for larger provincial assemblies. During the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Americans established their own provincial assemblies of government and begin to go against prerogatives of royal governors.<sup>117</sup>

---

<sup>112</sup> Don Higginbotham, “Some Reflections on the South in the American Revolution,” *Journal of Southern History* 73, No. 3 (August, 2007), ProQuest, 660.

<sup>113</sup> Ketchum, *Divided Loyalties*, preface.

<sup>114</sup> Ketchum, *Divided Loyalties*, preface.

<sup>115</sup> Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, 204.

<sup>116</sup> Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution*, 199.

<sup>117</sup> Martin and Lender, *Respectable Army*, 14.

For example, in 1764, the governments of six colonies “Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Virginia took a stand against the Greenville tax program. The General Assembly of New York attacked the plan submitted to Parliament ““to impose taxes upon subject here, by laws to be passed there...would reduce the colonies to absolute ruin.”” Also, without immunity or protection from un-granted, involuntary taxes, there can be no liberty, no happiness, and no security.”<sup>118</sup> This example shows that the colonial governments were functional and had the ability push back against the British government at the time and assert they were in control of their own destiny.

The fact that Americans felt they could govern themselves was accepted as common knowledge by many colonists. For example, in John Dickinson’s *Letters From a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, Letter IX he states “The common law of England is generally received, together with such statutes, as were enacted before we had a legislature of our own; but our courts exercise a sovereign authority, in determining what parts of the common and statute law ought to be extended....”<sup>119</sup> He also went on to say that “The practice of our courts is no less uncertain than the law. Some of the English rules are adopted, others rejected.”<sup>120</sup> These excerpts are evidence that self-government was accepted as common knowledge during this time. By 1774, local and provincial governments handled most legal aspects of colonial life.<sup>121</sup> The thought or ability to self-govern was beneficial to the patriots because, it further divided the American people from British authority and provided opportunities for their system of government to take root.

---

<sup>118</sup> Ketchum, *Divided Loyalties*, 97.

<sup>119</sup> John Dickinson, *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*: Letter IX, 95. [https://history.delaware.gov/jdp\\_main/dickinsonletters/pennsylvania-farmer-letters/](https://history.delaware.gov/jdp_main/dickinsonletters/pennsylvania-farmer-letters/)

<sup>120</sup> John Dickinson, *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*: Letter IX, 95. [https://history.delaware.gov/jdp\\_main/dickinsonletters/pennsylvania-farmer-letters/](https://history.delaware.gov/jdp_main/dickinsonletters/pennsylvania-farmer-letters/)

<sup>121</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 48.

In addition to local and provincial type governments, state governments grew as well and the Americans became more and more confident in their legislators at the state level. “The confidence of the Revolutionaries in 1776 in their popular representative legislatures was remarkable. Except for a few disgruntled Tories and loyalists, few Americans expected these state legislators to become tyrannical - in Whig theory of politics it did not seem possible for the people to tyrannize over themselves.”<sup>122</sup> As confidence sored in the colonies, Americans felt it to be important for each State to have their own constitution. New state constitutions were drafted from 1776-1777 and were designed not only prevent British tyranny, but also any future tyranny from a centralized government.<sup>123</sup> Whether it was local, provincial, or state level governments or constitutions that were in place, each of these benefited the patriots because, the more Americans governed themselves, the less dependency they had on Britain and drew them closer to fully governing themselves when Independence was declared.

The patriots benefited by a gradual trend towards sovereignty manifested by colonial democratic ideals, colonial adherence to the law, and a growing colonial realization of their own government’s equality with that of Britain’s. The word “democracy” meant “the lowest order of society as well as a form of government in which the commons ruled...which didn’t set well with some colonists and many of the British elites.”<sup>124</sup> British elites and their supporters were used a monarchical system that was ruled by royals and nobles, not ordinary citizens. According to Jameson J. Franklin, “...political democracy came to the United States as a result of economic democracy, that this nation came to be marked by political institutions of a democratic type because it had, still earlier, come to be characterized in its economic life by democratic

---

<sup>122</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 69.

<sup>123</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 66.

<sup>124</sup> Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, 282-283.

arrangements and practices.”<sup>125</sup> It’s possible that years of being under the policy of “salutary neglect” was a factor in this as well. Regardless, it allowed the colonist to discovered their own strength and saw the power of the people in their support for the cause of liberty, which made it difficult for their previous forms of government to control them.<sup>126</sup>

The democratic mindset was a major factor the British and the army had to deal with before and during the war. “Democratic practices had accustomed Americans to a say in their government, and they were an armed people, with long-established militia organizations that enhanced their capacity to participate directly on one side or the other. These distinctive features of American life ensured that the war was less a struggle for territory on the European model than a contest for the political allegiance of the people.”<sup>127</sup> This mindset helped advance the patriot cause because they were like minded in resisting monarchical rule and created an armed people who could be utilized as militia.

Although colonists were proud to be part of the British Empire, their democratic mindset helped them see they were not just objects of British control, but on equal standing with British citizens. The colonist were law abiding citizens and felt they were fighting in the name of the King against a corrupt Parliament to protect British liberties.<sup>128</sup> They supported the British constitution and felt that the “spirit of the British Constitution” justified their resistance.<sup>129</sup> This helped the cause of the patriots because the populace didn’t feel like they were breaking the law by resisting the British, but actually do what a law abiding citizen would be expected to do.

---

<sup>125</sup> J. Franklin Jameson. *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Papoma Press, 2017), 24, ProQuest E-book Central.

<sup>126</sup> Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution*, 200.

<sup>127</sup> Stephen Conway. “To Subdue America: British Army Officers and the Conduct of the Revolutionary War,” *The Williams and Mary Quarterly* 43, No. 3 (July 1986), 381. [https://www.jstor.org/stable/1922482?read-now=1&seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/1922482?read-now=1&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)

<sup>128</sup> O’Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 26.

<sup>129</sup> Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787*, 12.

The idea of self-government at the local, provincial, and state levels and increasing democratic ideals gave way to a growing trend of the idea of governmental equality with Britain. The colonist began to question if Britain even had the authority to interfere with colonial affairs. Thomas Jefferson and James Iredell proclaimed that Parliament's authority didn't extend beyond Britain and the thirteen colonies were "equal spokes in the wheel of the empire."<sup>130</sup> As stated above, the colonist felt that they were not just a subordinate colony Britain, but felt they were equal citizens and had the British constitution on their side. As a result, the colonies continuously trended toward sovereignty as they assumed all rights of other Englishmen,<sup>131</sup> which helped the patriot cause of moving toward independence.

British Parliamentary Acts, ideas of self-government, and America's gradual trend toward sovereignty all provided opportunities influence the public in an effort to sway them to their cause. The Parliamentary Acts were a very divisive issues that pushed the American people further apart than they had ever been before. The establishment of local, provincial, and state governments along with increasing democratic ideals increased the likelihood of rejecting British rule and made the idea of independence more palatable, therefore benefiting the patriot cause.

The patriots also attempted to sway the public by highlighting British atrocities committed against colonists, instilling colonial perception of loss of liberties due to increased British control, and taking advantage of British over reliance on perceived popular support within the colonies. British atrocities, actual and perceived, gave the patriots a considerable advantage in the creating ways to influence public opinion, which included recounting the events throughout the press to paint the British has a hostile occupying force.<sup>132</sup> In a 1775 broadside from Boston, the author attempts to sway his readers by glorifying those Americans who fought

---

<sup>130</sup> Higginbotham, "Some Reflections on the South in the American Revolution," 661.

<sup>131</sup> Egnal and Ernst, "An Economic Interpretation of the American Revolution," 7.

<sup>132</sup> O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 116.

and died at the battles of Lexington and Concord while demonizing the British. In reference to the Americans who died, the author states;

These particulars are now published in this form, at the request of the friends to the deceased worthies, who died gloriously fighting in the cause of liberty and their country; and it is their desire that every householder in America, who are sincere well-wishers to the American colonies, may be possessed the same, either to frame or glass, or otherwise to preserve in their houses, out only as a token of gratitude of the memory of the deceased forty persons, but as a perpetual memorial of that important event, on which perhaps, may depend the future freedom and greatness of the commonwealth of America.<sup>133</sup>

The author of the broadside went on to paint the British in barbaric terms by stating “Last Wednesday, the nineteenth of April, the troops of his Britannic-Majesty commenced hostilities upon the people of this province, attended with circumstances of cruelty not less brutal than what our venerable ancestors received from the vile savages of the wilderness.”<sup>134</sup> The intent behind the message was to instill the image of British troops as hostile barbarians in the minds of its reader, which was designed to influence the public and gain their sentiment. Not only did the patriots take advantage of the atrocities committed, but the British soldiers’ actions undermined their leadership’s strategy of pacification and turned potential friends in the local population into enemies,<sup>135</sup> which resulted in more people fleeing to the American side.

British Commanders Sir William Howe and Sir Henry Clinton were well aware of the need of popular support and strongly opposed acts of hostilities against the American people at the start of the conflict. Clinton wrote of the need “to gain the hearts & subdue the minds of America.”<sup>136</sup> While prosecuting the war against the rebels, the Howe brothers planned to allow the loyalist to recapture America by treating people well and hope to gain their support as a

---

<sup>133</sup> A bloody butchery, by the British troops: or, The runaway fight of the regulars ... To which is annexed A funeral elegy to the immortal memory of those worthies, who were slain in the battle of Concord. Salem Printed and sold by E. Russell. Boston, 1775. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.0380090a/>.

<sup>134</sup> A bloody butchery, by the British troops: or, The runaway fight of the regulars ... To which is annexed A funeral elegy to the immortal memory of those worthies, who were slain in the battle of Concord. Salem Printed and sold by E. Russell. Boston, 1775. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.0380090a/>.

<sup>135</sup> Fischer, *Washington’s Crossing*, 174.

<sup>136</sup> Conway. “To Subdue America: British Army Officers and the Conduct of the Revolutionary War, 381.

result. General Howe reminded his army why they were there “to restore order and help the great majority of loyal Americans to return to their rightful king. He ordered the army not to plunder, ravage, or abuse the population.”<sup>137</sup> Although direction was clearly given by British senior military leadership, many of the British officers did not follow it, resulting in a gap in amongst British officers.

There were essentially two types of British officers, those who took a conciliatory approach and those who took a hardline approach. Those who took conciliatory approach did so for various reasons to include obedience to leadership, humanitarian purposes, or to gain a positive military effect.<sup>138</sup> However, the hardliners were those who “advocated a tough approach, usually intended to bludgeon the colonist into submission.”<sup>139</sup> Both the conciliators and hardliners agreed on the principle that the colonists could be brought to the British side, but they disagreed on what method would work the best.<sup>140</sup>

Early on in the war, the conciliatory approach was the primary strategy used by the British; however, some of the British military did not adhere to this strategy and committed many atrocities among the American people. The increased amount of atrocities led to a Declaration by the U.S. Continental Congress in 1775, in reference to General Thomas Gage, that “His troops have butchered our countrymen; have wantonly burnt Charles Town, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted and he is exerting his utmost power to spread devastations and destruction around him.”<sup>141</sup> By committing atrocities, it allowed opportunities for the patriots

---

<sup>137</sup> Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*, 161.

<sup>138</sup> Conway. “To Subdue America: British Army Officers and the Conduct of the Revolutionary War, 382.

<sup>139</sup> Conway. “To Subdue America: British Army Officers and the Conduct of the Revolutionary War, 381.

<sup>140</sup> Conway. “To Subdue America: British Army Officers and the Conduct of the Revolutionary War, 399.

<sup>141</sup> U. S. Continental Congress. 1775. A declaration by the representatives of the United Colonies of North-America, now met in General Congress at Philadelphia, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms. A view of that great and flourishing City of Boston, when. Portsmouth, 1775. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2005578051/>.

to tarnish their image amongst the populace. For example, at the onset of the war, British troops “...plundered and destroyed as many houses as possible upon the road, and considerable injury of this sort had been done in Lexington and Concord. Aged and sick persons and women who had just given birth to children are said to have been shot in the houses or driven out into the fields; and these atrocities, whether true or false, were quickly used by the patriots to make the British name detestable in America.”<sup>142</sup>

As a result of the events at Lexington and Concord, Joseph Warren, President of the Provincial Congress in Massachusetts, attempted to sway the public to action when he pleaded with his fellow members in his 1775 broadside to raise a militia to fight back against the British. In the broadside he states:

The barbarous murders on our innocent brethren on Wednesday the 19<sup>th</sup> instant, has made it absolutely necessary that we immediately raise an army to defend our wives and our children from the butchering hands of inhumane soldiery....our all is at stake, death and devastation are certain consequences of delay, every moment is infinitely precious, an hour lost may deluge your country in blood, and entail perpetual slavery upon the few of your posterity, who may survive the carnage.<sup>143</sup>

Not only did the patriots benefit from British atrocities at Lexington and Concord, but they took advantage of atrocities committed during the New Jersey campaign as well.

During the New Jersey Campaign, atrocities such as out of control plunder, pillage, and rape became a common occurrence by British soldiers.<sup>144</sup> An example of atrocities in the New Jersey campaign was recounted by Princeton resident Robert Lawrence when he testified of a situation a few miles from the town where a young farmer's daughter was lured into a barn by

---

<sup>142</sup> Sydney George Fischer. *The Struggle for American Independence, Vol I.* (Philadelphia & London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1908), 308.

<sup>143</sup> Massachusetts Provincial Congress. In Congress, at Watertown, . Gentlemen, The barbarous murders on our innocent brethren on Wednesday the 19th instant, has made it absolutely necessary that we immediately raise an army to defend our wives and our children from the. Watertown, 1775. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.03801200/>.

<sup>144</sup> Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*, 179.

two British soldiers who took turns strangling and raping her.<sup>145</sup> Another case involved Rebekkah Christopher, who “testified under oath that she was raped several times by British soldiers and got away, only to find her ten-year-old daughter in the barn being raped by five or six others.”<sup>146</sup> Many women, young and old fell victim to the British soldiers, which led to further resentment from the public.

Investigations of these and other events took place in the Continental Congress, Governors of New York and New Jersey, as well as other local justices and clergyman who found evidence widespread instances of rape by British soldiers which resulted in the people of New Jersey taking up arms against them.<sup>147</sup> Actions taken by the public in response to British actions benefited the patriots by arousing the public and increasing the numbers of those willing to take up arms against them. These are few of many examples where patriots exploited British mistakes. Although senior British military leaders warned the troops about not committing atrocities, they continued to do so and inadvertently assisted the patriot cause by turning the public against them.

Evidence of the public turning against the British can be seen in a letter from Colonel Charles Stuart to his father, the Earl of Bute in 1778, where he stated “Wherever our armies have marched, wherever they have been encamped during the last campaign, every species of barbarity has been executed. We planted an irrecoverable hatred wherever we went, which neither time nor measures will be able to eradicate.”<sup>148</sup> Additionally, Major General James Robertson stated “burning houses that add value to a Country which might have been for the King’s use give the people a notion that we despair of possessing it & therefore leads them to

---

<sup>145</sup> Fischer, *Washington’s Crossing*, 178.

<sup>146</sup> Fischer, *Washington’s Crossing*, 178.

<sup>147</sup> Fischer, *Washington’s Crossing*, 179.

<sup>148</sup> Fischer, *Washington’s Crossing*, 377.

despair of our protection & to court the Enemy's favor."<sup>149</sup> The actions taken by the British soldiers inadvertently assisted the patriot cause by sending more people to their side.

It appears that the patriot leaders were careful not to make the kind of mistakes the British made, at least in the eyes of the public. Although there were atrocities committed by the Americans as well, especially in the case of the loyalists mentioned above, General George Washington was very careful in his armies' actions when it involved public opinion. According to David Hackett Fischer, "General George Washington felt that prudence was key to his success. In a free society, he knew that carelessness, a major loss, or even a costly victory could cause him to lose the support of the people."<sup>150</sup> An example of this can be seen by how General Washington treated enemy prisoners. In spite of American soldiers "been treated with extreme cruelty by British soldiers after the battle of New York, where thousands of American soldiers were suffered cruelty and starvation,"<sup>151</sup> Gen. Washington treated his prisoners with decency and respect, much to the surprise of the captives. For example, at the conclusion of the battle of Trenton, the Hessians, who fought on the side of the British, were taken prisoner and were "treated as human beings with the same rights of humanity for which the Americans were striving."<sup>152</sup> Additionally, when the Hessian prisoners were taken to Philadelphia and were met by angry citizens, Gen. Washington issued a broadside declaring that Hessian soldiers "were innocent people in this war, and were not volunteers, but were forced into this war."<sup>153</sup> These actions were done not only for purposes of decency, but also to show that the patriots valued principles of humanity, and therefore hoped to win the sentiment of the public.

---

<sup>149</sup> Conway. "To Subdue America: British Army Officers and the Conduct of the Revolutionary War, 390.

<sup>150</sup> Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*, 371.

<sup>151</sup> Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*, 378.

<sup>152</sup> Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*, 378.

<sup>153</sup> Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*, 378.

General Washington was not the only patriot leader who was prudent in his decision making. John Adams, on the policy of humanity, stated “I know of no policy, God is my witness, but this – Piety, Humanity and Honesty are the best Policy. Blasphemy, Cruelty and Villainy have prevailed and may again. But they will not prevail against America, in this Contest, because I find the more of them are employed, the less they succeed.”<sup>154</sup> John Adams was aware of the values the American people held and he was careful not to do anything that would appear to go against them. In addition, the Continental Congress understood this as well as they demanded that continental army leadership conduct the war with respect for human rights, which included respectful treatment of enemy forces.<sup>155</sup> These examples show that the patriots understood the mindset, culture, and values of the colonists, and by conducting their actions accordingly gave them a better chance of gaining the sentiment of the public.

The patriots also advanced their cause through playing on the fears of what the colonist felt they might lose with more British control. “Many Americans were coming to believe that their interests and their hopes, their rights and their liberties, were threatened by British power.”<sup>156</sup> For example, the Colonists were frustrated with the Crown for the Proclamation of 1763, which forbade colonist settlements west of the Appalachian Mountains in an attempt make peace with Native Americans.<sup>157</sup> Ownership of land in the colonies was a source of prosperity and the British was seen as taking it away their opportunities. The prevention of further settlements, caused grievances because some of the lands were already settled, and made it appear that the King was putting Native Americans over the colonists.<sup>158</sup>

---

<sup>154</sup> Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*, 376.

<sup>155</sup> Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*, 376.

<sup>156</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 36.

<sup>157</sup> Frank, *American Revolution: People and Perspectives*, xiii.

<sup>158</sup> Frank, *American Revolution: People and Perspectives*, xiii.

In addition to the perception of favoritism towards the Native American, the colonist feared increased British control could cause them to lose their rights and liberties given to them by the British constitution. “For the Americans, the English constitution was always the glories fabric of Britain’s liberty<sup>159</sup>, but felt it was undermined through bribery and corruption.<sup>160</sup> They felt that British politicians, particularly Parliament, was trying to destroy the British constitution, which guaranteed their rights. In fact, “they said over and over again that the “spirit and the letter of the British Constitution” was justifying their resistance....even as late as 1776 they assured themselves that there was “no room at all to doubt, but we have justice and the British Constitution on our side.”<sup>161</sup> These ideals supported the cause of the patriots by instilling a willingness to fight for rights and freedoms, which was a major cause of the Revolution.

An example of the patriots stoking fear in the public concerning British control can be seen in the records from a January 1777, The State of Massachusetts-Bay House of Representatives meeting. During this meeting they declared that their message be printed and sent to each minister of the gospel to be read to their congregation and copy by sent to the commanding officer of each militia company to read to those in arms and for recruiting.<sup>162</sup> The message said in part:

When a people within reach of the highest temporal happiness human nature is capable of, are in danger of having it wrested from them by an enemy whose paths are marked with blood, and insupportable load of misery.... The danger of having your towns, your families, your fruitful fields, and all the riches and blessings derived from industry and wisdom of your venerable ancestors, who may justly be ranked among the most virtuous and brave men that the world ever produced, ravished from you, and possessed by a banditti [sic] whom no laws can control, and whose aim is to trample upon all the rights

---

<sup>159</sup> Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787*, 11.

<sup>160</sup> Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787*, 12.

<sup>161</sup> Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787*, 12.

<sup>162</sup> Massachusetts. General Court. House Of Representatives. State of Massachusetts-Bay. In the House of Representatives. January 26th, . Ordered that the following address be printed ... To the people of Massachusetts-Bay. Friends and countrymen: When a people within reach of the highest temporal hap. Boston, 1777. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.04000400/>.

of humanity, would be sufficient to give the coward courage, and animate to the greatest feats in the arms of the supine and indolent.<sup>163</sup>

The revolutionary leaders in the State of Massachusetts-Bay deliberately attempted to influence the public by sending an address, written in vivid language, to each minister to read to his congregation...which most people during this time attending a church of some sort, and to the commanding officers of the militia to read to troops. By utilizing the ministers and commanding officers, a large segment of the population could be reached in a short amount of time. The urgent message to the people of Massachusetts was an attempt to paint the British as barbarians who would take away everything the people and their ancestors had worked for, and it was the people's duty fight against the British to prevent it from happening. This is evidence of the patriots attempting to instill fear in the public in an attempt to draw more people to their side.

And finally, the British inadvertently helped the patriots by mistakenly overestimating the amount of military assistance they would receive from loyalist, overestimating the amount of colonial support for their efforts, and underestimated the amount of resistance they would encounter by trying to augment their army with slaves and Native Americans. The British overestimated colonial support for their cause by mistakenly believing an overwhelming majority of Americans were loyal to them and the revolution was nothing more than a coup achieved by "the intrigues of a few bold and criminal leaders."<sup>164</sup> This mistake caused them to believe the rebellion would be put down quickly. The patriots really didn't have to influence the public in this matter, but they took advantage of the fact that the British failed to understand the sentiment of the colonies.

---

<sup>163</sup> Massachusetts. General Court. House Of Representatives. State of Massachusetts-Bay. In the House of Representatives. January 26th, . Ordered that the following address be printed ... To the people of Massachusetts-Bay. Friends and countrymen: When a people within reach of the highest temporal hap. Boston, 1777. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.04000400/>.

<sup>164</sup> O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 98.

According to Dr. Gordon S. Wood, “The British never clearly understood what they were up against – a revolutionary struggle involving widespread support in the population. Hence, they continually underestimated the staying power of the rebels and overestimated the strength of loyalists. And in the end, independence came to mean more to the Americans than reconquest did to the English.”<sup>165</sup> The British failed to understand the American people, their culture, and what they were fighting for. However, the patriots seemed to have a better grasp on the pulse of the colonies, which helped them further their cause.

The British continuously overestimated the extent to which loyalist would help in the war effort. The British counted on the majority of the colonial populace to support their efforts and help put down the rebellion. Their plan was to have loyalist hold the territory gained after defeating rebel strongholds, which in turn, would allow them to maximize the use of their limited number of soldiers. “Loyalism continued to be the cornerstone of British thinking, which still assumed that Crown supporters constituted most of the population and that, as the revolting colonies fell like dominoes, the king’s friends would serve as a police force or constabulary. They would maintain law and order, while the redcoats would be freed to fight elsewhere.”<sup>166</sup>

This mistake caused them to believe they had sufficient personnel in their Army stop the rebellion and win the war. Evidence of this can be seen in the recruiting numbers of loyalist into the British ranks. “British officials had hoped for-if not expected and counted on-a larger popular turnout amount loyalists to bring the war swiftly to an end. About nineteen thousand joined, which compared well to the Continental Army’s maximum force of twenty-five thousand, but fell considerably short when patriot militia was included in the numbers.”<sup>167</sup> By

---

<sup>165</sup> Wood, *The American Revolution*, 78.

<sup>166</sup> Higginbotham, “Some Reflections on the South in the American Revolution,” 666.

<sup>167</sup> Jasanoff, *Liberty’s Exiles*, 41.

overestimating loyalist support, they British could never muster an army large enough defeat the patriot army, which was an obvious benefit to the patriots.

British troops committed a major mistake when they continued to plunder American property by not realizing the consequences of their actions. It appears the British thought they would have loyalist support regardless of their actions because throughout England's history, most loyalist viewed the actions of the troops as a passive obedience and divine right taught by the Anglicans.<sup>168</sup> However, "Unlike seventeenth century Tories, the American loyalist were not believers in passive obedience and divine right, but shared the belief of their fellow countrymen in the rule of law, liberty, and government by consent."<sup>169</sup> The fact that the British failed to recognize this, further distanced themselves from those possible allies they could have had, an inadvertently assisted the patriots in the process.

Lastly, a severe backlash against the British occurred when they attempted to recruit slaves and Native Americans into their army. "The British attempted to compensate for the size of their army by appealing to those on the margins of American society, including the slaves of rebel masters and Native Americans, but the policy helped alienate white Americans whose support Britain needed to win the war."<sup>170</sup> An example of the backlash on this can be seen in a rough draft of the Declaration of Independence written by Thomas Jefferson, which was later removed, when he accused the King of for "exciting those very people [slaves] to rise in arms among us, and to purchase liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."<sup>171</sup> This

---

<sup>168</sup> O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 117.

<sup>169</sup> O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 117.

<sup>170</sup> O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 11.

<sup>171</sup> Berger, *Broadsides and Bayonets*, 111.

draft language represents the anger and resentment that Thomas Jefferson, and no doubt his supporters as well, had against the King for recruiting slaves into his army to fight against them. This mistake alienated the people they needed to win the war, which shows their lack of understanding of colonial relationships and culture at the time, thereby helping the patriot cause.

Further evidence of this is reflected in the backlash on British General John Burgoyne in 1777 as a result of the murder of Jane McCrea. Jane McCrea was the wife of one of General Burgoyne's loyalist officers who was murdered by two of his Indian recruits in his army. The patriots wasted no time in highlighting this event. General Horatio Gates, Continental Army, stated in a published letter to Burgoyne "that the famous lieutenant-general Burgoyne, in whom the fine gentleman is united with the scholar and soldier, should hire savages of America to scalp Europeans, and the decedents of Europeans."<sup>172</sup> Gates went on to portray her as "a young lady of lovely to sight, of virtuous character and amiable disposition...scalped in mangled in the most shocking manner....dressed to meet her husband, but instead met murderers employed by you."<sup>173</sup> According to O'Shaughnessy, the letter was "published in every newspaper in America between August and October 1777."<sup>174</sup> As a result, many New Englanders took up arms to fight against him,<sup>175</sup> which was significant benefit to the patriot cause.

The repeated mistakes made by the British when committing atrocities, asserting more control than they had in the past, and overestimating the amount of support that they had for their cause severely impacted their army's ability to conduct the war and allowed the patriots gain support for their cause. The patriot benefited by these errors because it drove more colonist to their side in an effort to seek protection of life, rights, and liberties that were threatened.

---

<sup>172</sup> O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 151.

<sup>173</sup> O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 151.

<sup>174</sup> O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America*, 151.

<sup>175</sup> Martin and Lender, *Respectable Army*, 85.

In conclusion, patriot attempts to gain support from the populace taught us many lessons, such as the numerous ways and means that can be utilized in an attempt to gain public support. The patriots made deliberate attempts to influence the public through a strategy of spreading of their ideology, capitalizing on colonial ideas of self-government, and taking full advantage of British atrocities and mistakes. The spreading of their ideology via propaganda, spreading of republicanism, and the use of politically driven mobs were attempts to further their cause and intimidate those who supported the British. All of which were deliberate attempts to influence the public to support their cause.

The patriots also attempted to capitalize on the growing trend of American idea of self-government to support their cause. With British tyranny via the Parliamentary Acts, actual or perceived, the public resistance drastically increased and moved the colonist closer to the idea of independence. Since the colonies had a history of establishing provincial and local governments under salutary neglect, being able to govern themselves as an independent country was not an idea too difficult to imagine. Over the course of time, and as a result of British actions, the colonies drifted closer to their own sovereignty and independence.

And lastly, the patriots masterfully took full advantage of British atrocities committed and mistakes made. British atrocities helped fan the flames of colonial resistance and resentment. The British mistakenly thought they had more support for their cause than they actually did, causing them to have insufficient numbers in their army. Lastly, when the British tried to augment their army with slaves and Native Americans, they further alienated the white population who's support they needed to win the war. The British failed to recognize the relationship and culture of colonial America at the time, which assisted the patriots in gaining more support for their cause and eventually assisted them in winning the war.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources

A bloody butchery, by the British troops: or, The runaway fight of the regulars ... To which is annexed A funeral elegy to the immortal memory of those worthies, who were slain in the battle of Concord/Salem Printed and sold by E. Russell. Boston, 1775. Pdf.

<https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.0380090a/>.

Camillus Pseud. New York, October, 18, To the public. Considerations on the present revolted state of America, addressed to its inhabitants at large ... Signed Camillus. New York Printed in Water-Street, between the Coffee-House and the Old Slip. 177. New York, 1776. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.10902600/>.

Dickinson, John. *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*: Letter IX, 95.

[https://history.delaware.gov/jdp\\_main/dickinsonletters/pennsylvania-farmer-letters/](https://history.delaware.gov/jdp_main/dickinsonletters/pennsylvania-farmer-letters/)

Massachusetts. General Court. House of Representatives. State of Massachusetts-Bay. In the House of Representatives. January 26th, Ordered that the following address be printed ... To the people of Massachusetts-Bay. Friends and countrymen: When a people within reach of the highest temporal hap. Boston, 1777. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.04000400/>.

Massachusetts Provincial Congress. In Congress, at Watertown. Gentlemen, The barbarous murders on our innocent brethren on Wednesday the 19th instant, has made it absolutely necessary that we immediately raise an army to defend our wives and our children from the. Watertown, 1775. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.03801200/>.

Mucius Pseud. To the freemen of America on the tea tax Signed Mucius. Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 1773. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.14303000/>.

New Hampshire General Court. In Congress at Exeter, January 5th. We the members of the Congress of the Colony of New Hampshire, chosen and appointed by the free suffrages of the people of said Colony ... to establish some form of government, provided that measure. Portsmouth, 1776. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.0880010a/>.

New-York, May 1. To the regular soldiery of Great-Britain, now on service in the British American colonies. Friends and countrymen. The business and profession of a soldier, when properly applied- to its true and lawful design, is highly u. New York, 1775. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.10801600/>.

Paine, Thomas. *The American Crisis No. 1 By the author of Common Sense. Boston sold opposite the course house Queen Street.* Boston, 1776. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.03902300/>.

To the merchants and traders, of the City of Philadelphia. Gentlemen. The worthy and patriotic writer of the Farmer's letters, have clearly demonstrated, that the liberties of the British colonies in America, have been most cruelly violated. Philadelphia, 1770. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.14300100/>.

U. S. Continental Congress. 1775. A declaration by the representatives of the United Colonies of North-America, now met in General Congress at Philadelphia, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms. A view of that great and flourishing City of Boston, when. Portsmouth, 1775. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2005578051/>.

### Secondary Sources

Bailyn, Bernard, ed. *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750-1776.* Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1965.

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1973.

- Berger, Carl. *Broadsides & Bayonets: The Propaganda War of the American Revolution*. San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1976.
- Breen, T.H. *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence*. New York: Oxford Press, 2004.
- Calkin, Homer L. "Pamphlets and Public Opinion during the American Revolution," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 64, 1 (1940), 22-42.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20087256>.
- Conway, Stephen. "To Subdue America: British Army Officers and the Conduct of the Revolutionary War," *The Williams and Mary Quarterly* 43, No. 3 (July 1986), 381-407.  
[https://www.jstor.org/stable/1922482?read-now=1&seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/1922482?read-now=1&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)
- Egnal, Marc and Joseph A. Ernst. "An Economic Interpretation of the American Revolution," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 29, No. 1 (January 1972), 3-32.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1921325?seq=1>
- Fischer, David Hackett. *Washington's Crossing*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004
- Fisher, Sydney George. *The Struggle for American Independence, Vol I*. Philadelphia & London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1908.  
[https://www.google.com/books/edition/The\\_Struggle\\_for\\_American\\_Independence\\_B/UUUUnQEACAAJ?hl=en](https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_Struggle_for_American_Independence_B/UUUUnQEACAAJ?hl=en)
- Foner, Eric and Garraty, John A. ed., *The Readers Companion to American History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991.
- Frank, Andrew. *American Revolution: People and Perspectives*. Oxford: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2007. ProQuest E-book Central.
- Higginbotham, Don. "Some Reflections on the South in the American Revolution," *Journal of Southern History* 73, No. 3 (August 2007), ProQuest, 659-670.
- Jameson, J. Franklin. *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*. Papoma Press, 2017. ProQuest E-book Central.
- Jasanoff, Maya. *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World*. New York: Random House, 2011.
- Ketchum, Richard M. *Divided Loyalties*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2002.
- Liell, Scott. *46 Pages: Thomas Paine, Common Sense, and the Turning Point to Independence*. Philadelphia, PA: Running Press, 2003.
- Martin, Kirby James and Mark Edward Lender. *A Respectable Army: The Military Origins of the Republic 1763-1789*. Wheeling, IL: Harland Davidson, 2006.

- Nash, Gary B. *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America*. New York: Penguin Group, 2005.
- O'Shaughnessy, Andrew J. *The Men Who Lost America: British Leadership, the American Revolution, and the Fate of the Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013. ProQuest E-book Central.
- Pole, J.R. *The Pursuit of Equality in American History*. California: University of California Press, 1978.  
[https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=QZWQiMpgf84C&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=equality+and+the+american+revolution&ots=Kg\\_WnTu-HR&sig=H-1UiYhrwXTqMny7FRh631CWDj0#v=onepage&q=equality%20and%20the%20american%20revolution&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=QZWQiMpgf84C&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=equality+and+the+american+revolution&ots=Kg_WnTu-HR&sig=H-1UiYhrwXTqMny7FRh631CWDj0#v=onepage&q=equality%20and%20the%20american%20revolution&f=false)
- Rosenfeld, Sophia. "Tom Paine's Common Sense and Ours." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 65, no.4 (2008), 637-638, [www.jstor.org/stable.40212021](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40212021).
- Rossiter, Clinton. ed, *The Federalist Papers*. New York: Penguin Group, 1961.
- Schlesinger, Arthur Meir. "Political Mobs and the American Revolution 1765-1776," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 99, No. 4 (August 30, 1955), 244-250. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3143703?seq=1>
- Scribner, Vaughn P. "Imperial Pubs: British American Taverns as Spaces of Empire, 1700-1783." Dissertation, University of Kansas, 2013.  
[https://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/bitstream/handle/1808/19606/Scribner\\_ku\\_0099D\\_12628\\_DATA\\_1.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](https://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/bitstream/handle/1808/19606/Scribner_ku_0099D_12628_DATA_1.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y)
- Wood, Gordon S. *The American Revolution: A History*. New York: Random House, 2002.
- Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787*. North Carolina: Chapel Hill Press, 1998. ProQuest Ebook Central.

