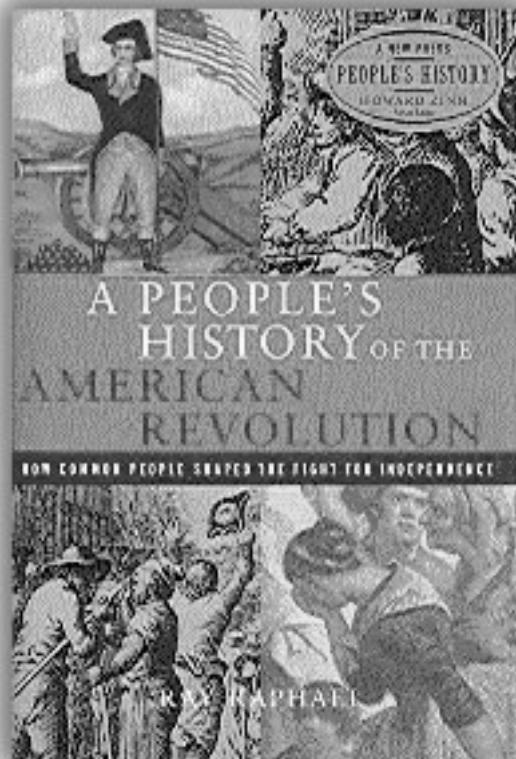


A People's History of the American Revolution:



A Guide for Teaching and Readers' Groups

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INTRODUCTION

Review:

1. How were the personal lives of Lydia Mintern Post, Abner Beebe, Phebe Ward, and the “youth from Massachusetts” affected by the political events of the American Revolution?

2. Freedom was in the air. What did Joseph Plumb Martin, James Barr, and the four African Americans from Massachusetts do about it?

3. How was the Revolution in the South similar to the Civil War?

4. In their “selective memory” of the Revolutionary War, what did leaders of the new nations leave out?

5. Which were the two most destructive wars in United States history, judging by the percentage of the population that died?

6. When we think of the American Revolution, we generally conjure up images of scruffy farmers fighting off the King's redcoated soldiers, or perhaps the wiggled “Founding Fathers” signing the Declaration of Independence. Who else was involved in the American Revolution, whether voluntarily or not?

7. With “a simple shift of the lens” to include a view of common people, we discover a very different American Revolution from the one depicted in most textbooks. List five of the new “discoveries” which will be discussed in this book.

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Based on the introductory vignettes, discuss some of the ways in which private lives can be affected by public events, particularly warfare.

2. Why do you think Charles Thomson burned his papers? What might they have revealed that he wished hidden from history?

3. Why have Americans of different political persuasions been so quick to claim the Revolution as a precedent for their particular beliefs and actions? (If you wish, refer to footnote #16.)

4. Discuss Raphael's definition of “common people.” Would you like to alter it?

CHAPTER 1: RANK-AND-FILE REBELS

STREET ACTIONS

Review:

1. What did Bostonians protest in 1747?
2. What did the people of South Carolina, Connecticut, New York, and other colonies protest in 1765?
3. Who were the “strolling poor”?
4. (a) Who were the Whigs in England? (b) Who were the Whigs in the American colonies? (c) Who were the Tories in England? (d) Who were the Tories in the American colonies?
5. (a) What were the “Pope’s Day riots”? (b) What did the lower classes get from them? (c) How did the upper classes deal with them?
6. Who was included in “the whole body of the people” at town meetings? [Note: voting in regular elections, in those days, was limited to adult white males with property.]
7. What happened in Boston the night of December 16, 1773?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Pauline Maier, in *From Resistance to Revolution*, wrote: “Eighteenth-century Americans accepted the existence of popular uprisings with remarkable ease.” (For a related quotation, see footnote #2.) Do you think *all* eighteenth-century Americans accepted uprisings with ease?
2. (a) Describe the differences between Whig leaders and street protesters. (b) Despite these differences, what did they have in common?
3. Other than the Boston Tea Party, can you think of any instances in American history when elite property owners lent support to the purposive destruction of private property in an act of civil disobedience? If so, compare that event to the Boston Tea Party. If not, why do you think this happened only at the Boston Tea Party?
4. Whig leaders in Boston celebrated the anniversary of the August 14 Stamp Act protest, but not that of August 26. Alfred F. Young, in *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party*, notes that the Boston Tea Party was not celebrated in the public arena until the 1830s; the anniversary of the Boston Massacre, on the other, occasioned large ceremonies in the years immediately following the event. Why the selective memory?

A SHOEMAKER’S TALE

Review:

1. How did Tories such as Oliver and Hulton explain Boston’s turmoil?
2. In 1768, how did the presence of British soldiers affect George Hewes?
3. What was Hewes’ role in the Boston Massacre?
4. What special talent helped George Hewes at the Tea Party?
5. What was Malcolm’s “modern jacket”?
6. Cite three instances in which Hewes, as an adult, got into arguments with officials or gentlemen.

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Why do you think Oliver and Hulton resisted the notion that common people could act on their own?
2. Alfred Young, in reconstructing Hewes' story, confronted two problems: "separating [Hewes] from his biographers and sifting the memories of a man in his nineties." (See footnotes #34 and #39.) (a) Can you cite examples from your own readings in which biographers forced their own agendas on their subjects? (b) In your own experience, how can memory distort reality?
3. Imagine that five people are killed by officials with guns, four of whom you know, and one falls into your arms when shot. How might this event affect your political beliefs and behavior?
4. Raphael contends that common people "tend to pursue, of their own volition, their own personal interests and the interests of their communities." But do people always make up their own minds? Compare the extent to which people's opinions and actions have been affected by (a) newspapers and pamphlets during the American Revolution (b) state controlled media in a totalitarian society (c) politicians in contemporary American society (d) television news and advertisements (e) the Internet.

COUNTRY REBELLIONS***Review:***

1. What were the objectives of pre-revolutionary protesters in (a) New Jersey, 1746; (b) New York, 1766; (c) Pennsylvania, 1764; (d) South Carolina, 1767; (e) North Carolina, 1771?
2. (a) Which of these protests involved the greatest number of people? (b) What was the outcome of that event?
3. (a) Did any of these protests involve a direct challenge to the authority of the British Parliament? (b) How can these protests be viewed as "preludes" to the American Revolution?
4. Why do you think land rioters in New Jersey and New York were called "Levellers"?

Historical Reasoning/Discussion:

1. Edward Countryman claimed that country rebels were "more likely to be armed" and "more likely to attack the symbols of authority" than city rebels. Yet cities housed the seats of government. Which do you think posed a bigger threat to established authority, urban or rural unrest?
2. (a) State Gilje's definition of "riot." Do you agree with it? If not, how would you alter it? (b) How does his (or your) definition of "riot" differ from that of "rebellion" and "revolution"? (c) Try to characterize each event, or series of events, in this chapter as a "riot," a "rebellion," or a "revolution" according to definitions you accept.
3. Raphael maintains that "the repeated resistance to civil authority tilled the soil for the Revolution which followed." What other periods in United States history can be characterized by "the repeated resistance to civil authority"? Did any of these carry a threat of revolution?

4. Bernard Bailyn, in *Pamphlets of the American Revolution*, said that revolutionary ideas gave meaning to the “diffuse and indeliberate anti-authoritarianism” of earlier protesters. Marcus Rediker, on the other hand, has claimed that the “self-activity” of common people “produced a major breakthrough in libertarian thought that would ultimately lead to revolution.” (Citation in footnote #1.) Did ideas trigger events, or did events lead to the development of revolutionary ideas? Discuss these differing perspectives with respect to the Knowles riot, the rent strikes of tenant farmers, the Regulator movements, the various Stamp Act riots, the Boston Massacre, and the Boston Tea Party.

FRONTIER SWAGGER

Review:

1. Ethan Allen showed “no deference whatsoever” to any government officials. Give at least five examples of things he did in defiance of authority.
2. (a) Where did the Green Mountain Boys conduct their trials? (b) How do you think the location affected the proceedings?
3. What did the Green Mountain Boys do to humiliate Dr. Samuel Adams (not to be confused with Sam Adams, the revolutionary)?
4. What was the original goal of the Green Mountain Boys?
5. When the Revolutionary War broke out, which side did the Green Mountain Boys join?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. How effective were the techniques used by the Green Mountain Boys? If you were a resident of the area with a deed granted from New York, could you have resisted the Green Mountain Boys?
2. Were the Green Mountain Boys freedom fighters or vigilantes?
3. Although most of the Green Mountain Boys eagerly embraced the American Revolution by joining on the side of the patriots, Justus Sherwood became an active loyalist (see Chapter 4 below, “Choosing Sides”). (a) Discuss his reasoning, and contrast it with that of the majority of the Green Mountain Boys. (b) Which side, if any, do you think the Green Mountain Boys should have joined in order to further their primary goal: independence from New York?
4. Ethan Allen himself toyed with the notion of siding with the British towards the end of the war. Would this have made him a “traitor”?

POLITICS “OUT-OF-DOORS”

Review:

1. What type of goods were boycotted in the non-importation movement of 1764-5?
2. How did the non-importation movement change in 1769?
3. Did non-importation succeed in getting the Townshend Acts repealed?
4. What was the “Association” of 1774?

5. (a) In your own words, describe tarring and feathering. (b) What was its political function?
6. What was meant by “out-of-doors” politics?
7. According to Raphael, what were the two “most important venues in the social lives of the colonists”? How did each figure in the activities building towards revolution?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Raphael states, “If governments were indeed social contracts as John Locke maintained, the associations could lay a stronger claim to legitimacy than the British Crown.” Explain and argue for or against this statement.
2. Debate this resolution: “The wording of section 11 of the Continental Association gave official sanction to mob actions.”
3. The First Continental Congress, when creating the Association, also banned “all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shews, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments,” as well as fancy funerals. Was this due to economic frugality caused by the boycott of British goods, antagonism towards the upper classes, a wave of pious morality, or any other reasons? Discuss and weigh all possible motivations.
4. According to Richard Maxwell Brown, “the majoritarian concept of popular sovereignty” bestowed “an awesome dignity to the brutal physical abuse or killing of men that tarring and feathering, vigilantism, and lynching came to embody.” Explain what he means, then respond: Is this an inevitable by-product of any government in which the majority rules? Can there be safeguards?
5. During the 18th century the threat of ostracism served to enforce community values, in this case proper revolutionary behavior. (a) Do you think the threat of ostracism worked as well in cities as in small towns? (b) Do you think it would be as effective today as it was back then?

YANKEES ‘WITH STAVES AND MUSICK’

Review:

1. What were the basic provisions of the Massachusetts Government Act?
2. What were the farmers of Massachusetts afraid might happen if this act went into effect?
3. What did the farmers do to close the courts? Explain what happened at Worcester and Springfield.
4. How did the farmers get the crown-appointed counsellors to resign? Cite at least three incidents.
5. What did the people of Marblehead, Danvers, and Salem do about the prohibition against town meetings?
6. Why didn't General Gage force a military confrontation with the farmers?
7. With the Crown-appointed officials gone, who wound up governing rural Massachusetts?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Why did the people of Worcester insist that the judges and Timothy Paine read their resignations in public, several times, with their hats off?

2. On the evening of September 1, 1774, a crowd broke several windows in Cambridge in response to the movement of British troops. The following day a much larger crowd disavowed the actions of the preceding evening. After they had forced the resignation of Lee and Danforth, some demonstrators asked the counsellors whether they had been treated respectfully. Lee responded: they were “the most extraordinary People that he ever saw for Sobriety and Decency.” (See footnotes #119 and #138 for related incidents.) (a) Why were the insurgents so concerned about their image? (b) Were the people who forced Israel Williams to choke on smoke a “mob”? (c) Were the people who forced judges to read their resignations a “mob”? (d) Discuss the differences, if you see any, between mob action and revolution.

3. Raphael claims the 1774 court closures and forced resignation of counsellors conform to the definition of a “political revolution.” (a) Do you agree with the definition cited in the text? If not, how would you alter it? (b) Explain why the events discussed in this section do or do not conform to whatever definition of “political revolution” you accept. (c) On the basis of your answers to (a) and (b), do you agree or disagree that the farmers’ actions constituted the true beginning of the American Revolution?

4. (a) There were no acknowledged leaders of the court closure movement. There was also a paucity of attention given to rural areas by the newspapers. Are these two facts interconnected? Are the so-called “leaders” of popular movements sometimes created the media? (b) The official government could not find any ring-leaders to punish. Are so-called “leaders” of popular movements sometimes created by the government as it tries to repress the people?

CLASS ACTIVITIES FOR CHAPTER 1: RANK-AND-FILE REBELS

1. Stage a group simulation of a court closure. Characters can include a few judges, many crowd participants, and some observers who might be either impressed or frightened by the proceedings. Before starting, each student should prepare a background sketch for his/her character. Be sure to keep the final goal in mind: the judges must resign. But how willingly will they do this? How will they issue their resignations? You will work these issues out in the simulation. After the drama is over, de-brief: how did it feel to be one of a large and powerful crowd? How did it feel to be intimidated by the crowd?

2. Stage one of Ethan Allen’s trials. Where will it be? Who is the “jury”? What is the crime? Who are the witnesses? What will you decide upon for a punishment? Again, be sure to de-brief: did the defendant feel that justice was done? Did the jury?

3. Write a dramatic script for any of the crowd actions discussed in this chapter: the Knowles riot, one of the Stamp Act riots, the Boston Massacre, a tarring-and-feathering, the Boston Tea Party, the court closures, etc. Then perform the script as “readers’ theater.”

4. Broadcast the TV evening news of September 2, 1774. Cover the events of the preceding evening as well as the resignations in Cambridge. Look ahead to the first few

pages of the next chapter for further discussion of this “powder alarm,” and send reporters to the outlying towns to cover the massive mobilization.

5. Simulate a radio talk show. The topic: the tarring-and-feathering of Malcolm. Listeners call in with their views of this incident, patriotism, the “mob,” aristocratic “gentlemen,” tarring-and-feathering, etc. Since so much of the tone of talk radio is determined by the host, repeat this show more than once. Have different hosts be more or less sympathetic to the crowd, and see how that changes the dynamic of the show.

6. Prepare two newspapers of the times, each including articles covering various events from this chapter. (You can include several events, even though they didn't actually occur on the same date.) Since the editors of most newspapers were partisan to one side or the other, have one newspaper come from a patriot perspective, the other from a loyalists perspective.

7. Prepare a petition to Governor Shirley in 1747. The object: to gain the release of the sailors impressed by Commodore Knowles.

8. Create a character from the times. Be specific as to age, gender, marital status, location, class, occupation, etc. Then write a diary/journal in which your character observes some of the events discussed in this chapter. Be sure to make the observations appropriate for the particular character you have created.

9. Conduct an in-depth interview with George Robert Twelves Hewes the night after the Boston Massacre.

10. Prepare a diorama depicting any of the crowd actions.

11. Draw two political cartoons, one favoring crowd actions, the other mocking them.

12. Draft a chapter for a 5th grade textbook covering the crowd actions leading up to the Revolutionary War. Make your text understandable for elementary students, but try to give enough sense of the complexities so as not to constitute an over-simplification of history.

UNIT PROJECTS FOR CHAPTER 1: RANK-AND-FILE REBELS

1. After the Knowles riot, government officials arrested eleven so-called “ringleaders” whom they claimed were responsible for the disturbances. (a) By blaming the affair on “ringleaders,” what were they saying about the power of the people to act on their own? (b) Throughout United States history, officials have responded to popular unrest by trying to find and punish “ringleaders.” The 1886 riot in Chicago's Haymarket Square is an excellent example. Study and discuss the Haymarket affair and any other examples of this dynamic. (c) During the Boston Tea Party participants wore disguises, while well-known revolutionary leaders made themselves conspicuously present in other locations. How did the failure to find “ringleaders” contribute to the frustration of British officials and their repressive response?

2. (a) Consult any books you can find which tell about the American Revolution. Which ones address the 1774 farmers' revolution in Massachusetts? What kind of play, if any, do they give to it? (b) Try to work the story of the farmers' revolution into the narratives you read. Where would you put it? Does it fit in cleanly, or would you have to re-adjust the focus of these other texts?

3. Why do you think the 1774 revolution in rural Massachusetts has failed to receive much attention? Evaluate and weigh the following factors, and add more if you wish: (a) *The dearth of well known personalities*. No high-profile leaders instigated the proceedings, and no fame accrued to any of the participants. Since all actions were taken by “the body of the people,” there could be no tales of individual heroism, so pervasive in the telling of history. (b) *The absence of a single event worthy of being mythologized*. There was no Paul Revere’s ride, no shot heard ‘round the world. This was a revolution that happened anywhere and everywhere, erupting spontaneously throughout the countryside. (c) *The absence of a linear form, a clear chronological order*. There was no chain of events leading neatly from A to Z, just ordinary people acting in concert whenever they glimpsed an opportunity to help shut down the government. (d) *The rural setting*. The hinterlands, where most of the action occurred, were not major media markets; the spread of print information had to flow through urban newspaper editors and pamphleteers. (e) *The middle-class status of many of the revolutionaries*. These were not exploited tenants overthrowing their rich landlords; they were freeholders scared of losing the modest property they already possessed. (For a discussion of the “middle-class revolution,” see Robert E. Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780*.) (f) *The lack of bloodshed*. When the British staged their counter-revolution at Lexington and Concord the following year, people lost their lives. That was the beginning of the *war*, but the initial *revolution* occurred without a body count. (You might want to compare this revolution with the “Glorious Revolution” in England in 1688, which was also bloodless.) (g) *Public relations*. At Lexington, professional British soldiers fired at a handful of plain farmers hastily assembled on the village green; at Worcester and Springfield, thousands of angry and vengeful patriots, muskets in tow, tormented and humiliated a few unarmed judges. Who was the “victim” in each case? Which story makes better press for the Americans?

4. The American Revolution, most historians have assumed, radicalized the former colonists. People who once bowed to their social “betters” refused to do so. But had colonial Americans ever displayed much deference? Michael Zuckerman thinks not. After studying the handful of writings left by common laborers in colonial times, Zuckerman concludes: “Their stories ... do not tell of a deferential mentality among the lower orders of Early America.” Perhaps, he suggests, a “bumptious egalitarianism and antiauthoritarianism” which already existed in colonial American was more a cause than an effect of the Revolution. (a) Read Michael Zuckerman, “Tocqueville, Turner, and Turds: Four Stories of Manners in Early America,” *Journal of American History* 85:1 (June 1998), 13-42. Read also the articles and critiques that follow (pp. 43-97), then posit your own conclusion. (b) Comment on Raphael’s critique of Young’s treatment of deference (see footnote #40).

5. Most Americans have been taught to believe that the Revolution was a fight for liberty by a principled people. The ideas of great men like Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Sam Adams, and Tom Paine were embraced by the majority of the population; under the leadership of George Washington, the people stood up for their beliefs.

This is only one interpretation of what happened. In *Smugglers and Patriots: Boston Merchants and the Advent of the American Revolution*, John W. Tyler maintained that smugglers held a “favored position in the Whig hierarchy” and that they stirred up

rebellion to suit their special interests. In *Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Land: The Plunder of Early America*, Daniel M. Friedenbergl suggested that speculators in western lands — men such as Ben Franklin, Patrick Henry, and George Washington — had vested interests at stake in the Revolution. On the other hand, Gary Nash, Alfred F. Young, and others have suggested that urban crowds had their own reasons for rebelling (see footnotes in the text for references). Raphael, in this book, shows how ordinary farmers staged a revolution for their own special reasons.

How can we account for the “real” American Revolution? Was it a single revolution, or was it an alliance of disparate groups with interests which happened to coincide? If it was several fights rolled into one, how did they mesh? What was their common language? Did some eventually dominate the picture?

After consulting at least two texts with differing slants, address the questions above in a brief essay. As you read this book, and hopefully others as well, revisit your initial assessment and test it against new information.

CHAPTER 2: FIGHTING MEN AND BOYS

THE SPIRIT OF '75

Review:

1. Describe the response to the "Powder Alarm" by the people of Longmeadow.
2. Tell what happened at Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775.
3. (a) What was the response by other New Englanders upon hearing the news?
(b) In particular, what was the response of Joseph Plumb Martin and Joseph Hodgkins?
4. When Ebenezer Fox headed from Roxbury (near Boston) to Providence, why did he see so many men on the road?
5. (a) In April of 1775, how old were each of the four soldiers-to-be featured in this section? (b) How did the circumstances of Joseph Hodgkins differ from those of Joseph Plumb Martin, Jeremiah Greenman, and Ebenezer Fox?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Is it really predictable, as Raphael suggests, that marching with "staves and musick" leads to warfare?
2. British sources claim there were hundreds of farmers on the Lexington Green; American sources say there were far fewer (see footnote #7). How might political motivations help explain these differences in "eyewitness" accounts?
3. (a) Who do *you* think fired the first shot at Lexington? (b) If you were able to give an answer to (a), do you think your own political views affected your response?
4. (a) Imagine that you are a teenage male living in New England in April of 1775. How do you think you would respond to the military mobilization by the patriots? (b) Imagine that you are married and the father of a new-born son, yet you have just signed on as a Minuteman. How do you think you would respond to military mobilization?

AN AMERICAN CRUSADE

Review:

1. Where was the Battle of Bunker Hill fought?
2. What was the most serious danger faced by the soldiers during the siege of Boston?
3. In the fall of 1775, why were so many soldiers "Bewicht about getting home"?
4. List the various factors contributing to the Canadian campaign.
5. When their provisions ran out, what did the soldiers of the Canadian expedition eat?
6. Describe the Battle of Quebec, as seen by Jeremiah Greenman.
7. What was the end result of the Canadian offensive?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. In what ways did the siege of Boston impact everyday life in the rest of New England?

2. Discuss the dilemma faced by Joseph Hodgkins in the fall of 1775.
3. On October 24, after five weeks of travel through the Maine woods, three companies, including many men who were sick, turned back. How do you think those who continued felt about those who returned? (If you want to know the how they really did feel, consult the journals of Isaac Senter, Henry Dearborn, and Simeon Thayer in Kenneth Roberts, ed., *March to Quebec: Journals of the Members of Arnold's Expedition*.)
4. How did the Canadian offensive relate to the struggle against British tyranny in the thirteen colonies?

FORGING AN ARMY

Review:

1. Who were the “shirtmen”?
2. When Congress put out a call for soldiers at the end of 1775, what was the response?
3. (a) Whom did recruiting officers target in their drive to enlist soldiers? (b) What means did they use to entice these prospects?
4. What payments were offered at various times to new recruits?
5. How did Ebenezer Fox finally become a soldier?
6. John Adams and Isaiah Thomas, influential patriots, did not always practice what they preached. Explain.

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Discuss the differing concepts of military service held by common folk and the gentry of Virginia.
2. How did the change from volunteers to hired soldiers mesh with patriot ideology?
3. According to John Shy, “The men who shouldered the heaviest military burden were something *less* than average colonial Americans. As a group, they were poorer, more marginal, less well anchored in society.” Theodore Crackel, on the other hand, concludes that veterans were “quite representative of the whole adult male population.” (a) After examining footnote #50, decide: which view is better supported by the existing evidence? (b) Do you think this evidence is conclusive? (c) If not, what kinds of additional information might lead to more definitive results? (d) What difficulties might you encounter in trying to find that information?
4. Can you think of any war that has been fought without involuntary conscription? If so, what were the circumstances? If not, what does this say about how wars are waged?

IN THE FACE OF THE ENEMY

Review:

1. What was the objective of the largest military force assembled in the 18th century?
2. Describe Joseph Plumb Martin's feelings on the eve of his first active combat.

3. (a) What happened to the American forces when they tried to defend Long Island? (b) What happened to the American forces when the British landed at Kip's Bay on Manhattan?
4. Compare the views of a rout as seen from the "outside" by the Reverend Robert Cooper and from the "inside" by Garrett Watts and Otho Williams.
5. (a) What was the estimated death toll for American soldiers during the Revolutionary War? (b) List the causes in order of magnitude.

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Some soldiers, in anticipation of battle, did not hold up too well. Joseph Martin himself struggled as he readied himself to fight. Imagine yourself a 15-year-old male in 1776. How do you think you might have fared?
2. Consider the ideal of "courage" vs. the reality of being routed. What might be the effect of a rout on individual psyches? In particular, take some account of the few words which Joseph Hodgkins and Joseph Plumb Martin had to say about being routed at New York.
3. "The documentary record of history is skewed in favor of the survivors, those who lived to tell the tale." Discuss the implications of this truism for the interpretation of historical events.
4. In the telling of military history, the loss of human life is turned into numbers; often, the totals are very large. How does the reduction of human life into numbers effect the way we look at war? To what extent does it alter our sensitivities?

CANNONS ROARING MUSKETS CRACKING

Review:

1. Who took care of Joseph Plumb Martin when he was sick?
2. How did the Christmas holiday contribute to the first American victory?
3. Describe the fighting at (a) Brandywine, (b) Germantown, and (c) Fort Mifflin.
4. What were the results of the three battles mentioned above?
5. Our usual image of the American Revolution includes soldiers facing off against each other in direct, personal combat. (a) What evidence does Raphael put forth to challenge that image? (b) Is that evidence from primary or secondary sources?
6. Describe the aftermath of the battles fought near Bemis's tavern and Freeman's farm.
7. What were the strategic and diplomatic implications of the British surrender at Saratoga?
8. (a) Describe the fighting at Monmouth. (b) What was the result?
9. How did the positions of the American and British armies in the fall of 1778 compare with the positions in the fall of 1776?

Historical Reasoning/Discussion:

1. (a) Why did Joseph Plumb Martin leave the army at the end of 1776? (b) Why do you think he re-enlisted the following spring?
2. Joseph Hodgkins, following "the way of our duty," chose to re-enlist despite his wife's objections (see chapter 3, "What Was Done, Was Done by Myself," for

Sarah's feelings on the matter). Discuss his possible motivations, and compare them with those of Martin.

3. Jeremiah Greenman re-enlisted as well, although he had been freed from prison in Quebec upon promising he would never fight again. Did he act ethically?

4. Here are two descriptions of the fighting between Bemis's tavern and Freeman's farm. Evaluate the central thesis of this section with respect to these new pieces of evidence.

(a) "For a few seconds the scene which ensued defies all power of language to describe. The bayonet, the butt of the rifle, the sabre, the pike, were in full play, and men fell, as they rarely fall in modern war, under the direct blows of their enemies."

(b) "Such an explosion of fire I never had any idea of before, and the heavy artillery joining in concert like great peals of thunder, assisted by the echoes of the woods, almost deafened us with the noise... The crash of cannon and musketry never ceased till darkness parted us... During the night we remained in our ranks, and tho we heard the groans of our wounded and dying at a small distance, yet could not assist them till morning, not knowing the position of the enemy." [Hugh F. Rankin, *The American Revolution*, 138, 141; Henry S. Commager and Richard B. Morris, *The Spirit of 'Seventy-Six: The Story of the American Revolution as Told by the Participants*, 575-6, 580.]

5. "The American Revolution, which both sides had expected to win in a moment, had turned into a war of attrition. This was a conflict that would be lost, not won." What other war(s) might fit this description?

Death or Victory

Review:

1. Why did the British expect to fare better in the South than in the North?
2. (a) Who won the Battle of Charleston in 1776? (b) Who won the Battle of Charleston in 1780? (c) How can you account for the different outcomes?
3. Summarize the fighting at King's Mountain, as reported by James Collins.
4. What part did militiamen like James Collins play in Morgan's strategy at Cowpens?
5. (a) Who "won" the battles at Guilford Court House and Eutaw Springs? (b) Why is the term "won" placed in quotation marks?
6. Cornwallis was besieged at Yorktown because he made a false assumption. (a) What was that assumption? (b) How did it prove false?

Historical Reasoning/Discussion:

1. Discuss the irony of the expression "Tarleton's quarter."
2. James Collins, though victorious, shed tears for the enemy at King's Mountain. (a) Discuss the full range of his feelings, as revealed in his narrative. (b) How could Collins (or any soldier) reconcile such contradictory emotions?

3. (a) Can one side “win” a battle in which it suffers greater casualties than the other? (b) Discuss the use of the terms “winning” and “losing” in two contexts: sports and military conflict.

4. Did Daniel Morgan violate any ethical standards by placing untrained militiamen on the front line to take the brunt of the British charge?

5. Are there any ethical standards in warfare? If you think there are, try to formulate some; if you think there are not, explain your reasoning.

Beasts of Prey

Review:

1. Describe briefly the nature of the Revolutionary War in the South.

2. (a) How did Moses Hall react when his fellow soldiers “hewed to pieces” some prisoners in their charge? (b) How did he react when he met the boy who had been run through with a bayonet by the enemy? (c) How did he then deal with his emotions?

3. (a) During the war, did Joseph Plumb Martin try to kill the enemy? (b) After the war, did he hope his shots had met their mark?

4. What was the “temptation” which James Collins escaped?

5. (a) How did James Collins go about “ferreting out the Tories”? (b) Why didn't he feel any guilt or remorse for these activities?

6. Why didn't the fallen soldiers from Pennsylvania and New Jersey receive proper burials?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. The British and the Americans each blamed the other for initiating the brutalities of the war in the South. Can we say who really started it? (Consult chapter 4, “The Dogs of Civil War,” for further information.)

2. What is the strange “logic” of war, as evidenced by Moses Hall and William Gipson?

3. After the war both Martin and Collins appeared reluctant to admit they had been killers. Compare their responses to those of Vietnam veterans.

4. “I fired without thinking,” said Garret Watts, “except that I might prevent the man opposite from killing me.” Discuss the implications of this statement.

WINTER SOLDIERS

Review:

1. (a) What, and how much, did soldiers eat? (b) What did soldiers wear in good times? (c) What did they wear in bad times? (d) What did soldiers do for shelter?

2. How did inflation impact soldiers in the Continental Army?

3. How did ordinary farmers benefit from the war?

4. Early on, war profiteers were tarred and feathered; later, they were not. Why the change?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Why do wars so often produce inflation?

2. (a) How did Ebenezer Fox's maneuvers during his first tour of duty affect relations between soldiers and civilians? (b) How did the building of the garrison at Morristown affect relations between soldiers and civilians? (c) How did the soldiers' pay schedule affect relations between soldiers and civilians?

3. The relationship between professional soldiers and civilians worsened as the understandable responses by each party — plundering and hoarding — only made matters worse. (a) Can you think of any policies that might have halted or reversed this cycle? (b) Why do you think these policies weren't implemented?

4. A different cycle was discussed in the preceding section, "Beasts of Prey." How are these two cycles similar? Can cycles like these ever be broken?

SUMMER SOLDIERS

Review:

1. Why could militiamen be classified as "summer soldiers"?
2. How did upper level officers feel about the "leveling spirit" of many common soldiers?
3. Why didn't non-commissioned officers come down hard on their subordinates?
4. (a) How did the militias further the war effort militarily? (b) How did the militias further the war effort politically?
5. Draw up a "party platform" listing the demands of the Philadelphia militia.
6. (a) What happened at the Battle of Fort Wilson? (b) How did it differ from other Revolutionary War battles?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Compare and contrast the attitudes of Joseph Plumb Martin and George Washington towards militiamen. How can you account for both the similarities and the differences?
2. "Most deserters did not sneak away stealthily in the dead of night; they packed up and went home by broad daylight." Was this true in any other war in United States history? Discuss the implications of your answer.
3. Did the militias really constitute an army? Give arguments on both sides, then draw your conclusion.
4. List the provisions of the 1776 Pennsylvania Constitution cited in the text, then explain how each one can be considered more "democratic" than governmental forms which followed (including the state governments of today).
5. Carl Becker, the Progressive historian, said the American Revolution was fought not just over the "question of home rule" — it also addressed the "question of who should rule at home." (a) Discuss the experiences of the Philadelphia militia with respect to Becker's statement. (b) Consider the actions and attitudes of other militiamen discussed in this section. How do they relate to the "question of who should rule at home"? (c) How far can you generalize from the experiences of the militiamen discussed in this section? (d) What other paths of inquiry might you pursue to investigate the thesis that the American Revolution involved not just a fight against British rule but a struggle for power among different classes of Americans?

GITING THAIR RIGHTS

Review:

1. What led soldiers to mutiny towards the end of the war?
2. (a) What was the outcome of the 1781 mutiny in the Pennsylvania line? (b) What was the outcome of the mutiny in the New Jersey line shortly thereafter? (c) What was the outcome of the 1783 mutiny in the Pennsylvania line?
3. (a) What did veterans receive for compensation at the end of the war? (b) Most often, what became of this compensation?
4. Joseph Hodgkins was the only one of our five featured soldiers to resign from military service before his term had ended. How did his circumstances differ from those of the other four?
5. What happened to each of the others after the war was over? Did the wartime experiences of each one lead to further opportunities?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Why do you think Jeremiah Greenman and Joseph Plumb Martin responded so differently to mutinies?
2. Joseph Martin wrote: “[A]fter such extreme hardships to give up all was too much, but to starve to death was too much also. What was to be done?” Imagine you are a Continental soldier in Martin’s company. What stance might you take?
3. Officers like Anthony Wayne forced peers of the mutineers to act as executioners. Why did he choose not to have officers, or men from other units, perform the executions?
4. (a) Trace the change in Joseph Hodgkin’s attitude from the beginning of the war to the end of his service, and try to account for that change. (You might want to consult chapter 3, “What Was Done, Was Done by Myself.”) (b) Trace the change in Joseph Plumb Martin’s attitude from the beginning of the war to the end, and try to account for that change.
5. (a) How were Revolutionary War veterans received by civilian society after the war? Include in your response specific references to our featured soldiers. (b) Compare this reception to that given to veterans of World War II and Vietnam.

CLASS ACTIVITIES FOR CHAPTER 2: FIGHTING MEN AND BOYS

1. Stage a simulation of a mutiny. Start with the soldiers trying to decide whether of not to do it. What are the grievances? What are the demands? Are they met? Characters include: soldiers who want to protest, others who are hesitant, officers who want to suppress it or talk the soldiers out of it, perhaps a “stool pigeon” (informant). De-brief: how did it feel for the mutineers to place their lives on the line — but not in battle with the enemy? How did it feel for the officers to turn against their fellow patriots?
2. Conduct a court-martial of one or more of the mutineers. What is the verdict? The punishment? De-brief: do the defendants feel that justice was done? Do the officers trying the court-martial feel that justice was done?
3. Write a dramatic script of the Canadian expedition, then perform it as “readers’ theater.”

4. Cover the siege of Fort Mifflin (or any other battle) for the TV news. Be sure to interview common soldiers, not just officers.

5. Simulate a radio talk show. The topic: either the “powder alarm,” the drawbridge incident at Salem, or the battles of Lexington and Concord. Listeners call in with their views of this incident, the Redcoats, the patriots, etc. Repeat this show more than once, using different hosts who evidence differing perspectives.

6. Prepare two newspapers of the times, one with a radical perspective and the other more conservative. Have each paper cover the actions of the Philadelphia militiamen. (You can include several events, even though they didn't actually occur on the same date.)

7. Prepare a petition from privates in the Continental Army demanding to be paid.

8. Create a character who is a private in the Continental Army. Be specific as to age, marital status, location, class, prior occupation, etc. Then write a diary/journal in which your character records his participation in the war.

9. Conduct an in-depth interview with one of the soldiers appearing in this chapter. Establish your circumstances before you start; you need a clear idea of where and when you are staging the interview.

10. Find pictures of the “uniforms” of Continental soldiers and militiamen. (Often, as with the “shirtmen” of Virginia, these were not very elaborate.) Find pictures of the uniforms of British regulars. Create a visual display, using your own drawings if you like, which reveals some of the differences between the British and American armies as revealed through their uniforms.

11. Prepare a diorama depicting the battle of King's Mountain.

12. Draw a political cartoon depicting a veteran at the close of the war.

13. Draw a poster encouraging young men to enlist in the Continental Army.

14. Find a military map of the Revolutionary War in another text. Note the names of generals next to the arrows indicating the various campaigns. Make a similar map to demonstrate the military actions of the five common soldiers featured in this chapter.

15. Draft a chapter for a 5th grade textbook featuring the participation of common soldiers in the Revolutionary War. Make your text understandable for elementary students, but try to give enough sense of the complexities so as not to constitute an oversimplification of history.

UNIT PROJECTS FOR CHAPTER 2: FIGHTING MEN AND BOYS

1. Often, writers use a commanding officer's name to denote the movements of hundreds or thousands of soldiers. (Washington, they say, marched towards Yorktown, although he actually rode a horse while the privates did the marching.) Why do they do this? Evaluate and weigh the following possible explanations, and generate more if you can: (a) The commanding officers issue the orders. In the chess game of war, the commander is the real player and the rest merely pieces, mostly pawns. (b) People relate more to specific names than anonymous numbers; this is a writer's way of personifying the stories. (c) Tales of heroism (a large part of what war is all about) require individual personalities. (d) There is no special import to this convention; it simply facilitates the telling of the story.

2. In this text the author has consciously endeavored not to use a general's name when referring to movements of soldiers; after all, this is a book about common people. (a) Can you find places in which the author has succumbed to tradition? (b) Try to re-write those passages in a way that does not use the commander's name to denote all the soldiers under him. (c) Evaluate the ease or difficulty of this task.

3. Read footnote #177 concerning the "patriotism" of prisoners. (a) Consult the texts of Fox and Greenman (citations in footnotes) for more complete descriptions of their time in prison and the British offers of freedom for changing sides. Then decide for yourself: Was Fox unpatriotic? What about Greenman's peers who were freed from jail to fight for the British? (b) What about the patriotism of our other featured soldiers? Read the full texts, then decide: Was Martin unpatriotic for siding with the mutineers? Was Hodgkins unpatriotic for finally abandoning the fight for "this glorious cause"? Was Collins unpatriotic for sympathizing with fallen British soldiers? (c) Under what circumstances can civilians evaluate the patriotism of soldiers? (d) Under what circumstances can historians evaluate the patriotism of soldiers?

4. Compare the narratives of Revolutionary veterans with those of World War II veterans (see Studs Terkel, *The Good War*) and Vietnam veterans (there are several good collections, including Harry Maurer, *Strange Ground*, and Wallace Terry, *Bloods: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Black Veterans*). Are there any themes which run through narratives of different generations in different wars?

5. The narratives in this text vary in genre: three memoirs, one journal, one collection of letters. What are some advantages of each of these forms? What special sorts of information can you learn from each one? And what are their respective limitations?

CHAPTER 3: WOMEN

EXPECTATIONS

Review:

1. How did taxation by Parliament lead to an additional workload for colonial women?
2. (a) What were the original “spinning bees”? (b) What was the new spin on spinning bees? (c) Who was the “black regiment,” and what did they have to do with spinning bees?
3. Why did male patriots who opposed the tax on tea have to enlist the support of women?
4. Why did Washington feel nurses should be female?
5. Summarize this section by making a list of the various expectations placed on revolutionary women by male patriots.

Historical Reasoning/Discussion:

1. Why did male patriots try so hard to convince women to embrace the cause?
2. Was Christopher Gadsden's letter to “Planters, Mechanics, and Freeholders” respectful towards women? Explain your response.
3. (a) Which of the expectations you listed in review question #5 were *explicitly* expressed with some frequency? (b) Do you think that expectations have to be stated explicitly, or can they be merely assumed? (c) Discuss at greater length any assumptions you think were merely assumed.
4. How did traditional gender roles contribute to the expectations placed on female patriots?

A DUTY WE OWE

Review:

1. What did the “Lady from Philadelphia” have to say about taxation without representation?
2. Which documents did women sign in support of the patriotic cause?
3. The Newport Daughters of Liberty offered conditional support to the patriots. What was the catch?
4. Compare the patriotic acts of men and women as set forth by historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich.
5. According to historian Mary Beth Norton, what was the effect of the war on women's consciousness?
6. What did Abigail Adams mean by “Remember the Ladies”?
7. (a) What was the “Offering of the Ladies”? (b) Who decided how to spend the money that was collected? (c) How was the money spent?
8. (a) Were the majority of women in Revolutionary times literate or illiterate? (b) How does this affect our knowledge of how women experienced the Revolutionary War?

9. Raphael claims that much of the evidence showing that women became politically active refers to two particular groups. (a) Which groups? (b) Name some other groups of women who might have experienced the war quite differently.

10. How does Ulrich account for spinning bees?

11. What were the concerns of female rioters during the Revolutionary War?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. The Edenton petition, an indication that women were acting on their own behalf, was satirized in the British press, which questioned women's capacity to participate in politics. But on Feb. 12, 1770, the *Boston Gazette* reported on a gathering of "upwards of one hundred ladies" and explained that they had "of their own free will and accord come into and signed an agreement." In the *Virginia Gazette* of Jan. 20, 1774, a female poet proclaimed that the use of tea "will fasten slavish Chains upon my country," but to justify her view she said only "because I'm taught (and believe it true)." Were women acting on their own and of their own free will? In your response take some account of these three items from the contemporary press.

2. Below is the complete diary entry in which Betsy Foote used the expression "felt Nationly." (a) How would you summarize the main gist of this passage? What is the most obvious conclusion you can draw from it? (b) Why do you think modern writers have focused on the two words, "felt Nationly"?

"Fix'd Gown for Prude Just to clear my teeth, — Mend Mother's Riding-hood. — Ague in my face, — Ellen was spark'd last night, — Mother spun short thread, — Fix'd two Gowns for Welch's girls, — Carded tow, — spun linen — worked on Cheese Basket, — Hatchel'd Flax with Hannah and we did 51 lb a piece, — Pleated and ironed, — Read a sermon of Dodridge's, — Spooled a piece — milked the cows — spun linen and did 50 knots — made a broom of Guenea wheat straw, — Spun thread to whiten, — Went to Mr. Otis's and made them a swinging visit, — Israel said I might ride his jade, — Set a red Dye, — Prude stayed at home and learned Eve's Dream by heart, — Had two scholars from Mrs. Taylor's — I carded two pounds of whole wool and felt Nationly, — spun harness twine, — scoured the Pewter." [Linda Grant De Pauw, *Founding Mothers: Women in America in the Revolutionary Era*, 154-5.]

3. Read carefully the selection from Temperance Smith, the parson's wife. What can you infer from this one passage?

4. Below are additional passages from Eliza Wilkinson's "perfect statesmen" letter. (a) What can you conclude from this letter about the development of Wilkinson's political consciousness? (b) What can you infer from her last two sentences?

"They [male authors, Homer in particular] won't even allow us the liberty of thought, and that is all I want. I would not wish that we should meddle in what is unbecoming female delicacy, but sure we may have sense enough to give our opinions... without being reminded of our spinning and household affairs as the only matters we are capable of thinking or speaking of with justness or propriety. I won't allow it, positively won't... What will the men say if they should see this? I am really out of *my sphere* now, and must fly to Homer for

direction and instruction of household matters. Begone, pen; I must throw you by until I can keep you in proper order.”

5. Raphael challenges Norton's assertion that “it seems possible to allow the literate portion of the female population to speak for their illiterate counterparts.” (a) Argue for either side of this issue. (b) Explain how this disagreement affects the methodology of historians studying women during the Revolutionary era.

WOMEN AND THE ARMY

Review:

1. What tasks did “camp followers” perform for the army?
2. What type of women were likely to become camp followers?
3. Summarize George Washington's attitude towards camp followers.
4. How did Washington and common soldiers disagree over the issue of women riding in the wagons?
5. Why did women make good messengers and spies?
6. Why was Nancy Morgan Hart regarded as a heroine?
7. What did Deborah Sampson, Margaret Corbin, and “Molly Pitcher” have in common?
8. (a) List the women known to have fought in the war disguised as men, and state what happened to each one. (b) Were their attempts to serve their country valued at the time? (c) Were they valued later?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion

1. Discuss the factors that contributed to the low status of camp followers.
2. (a) Do you think women camp followers experienced an increase in “personal aspirations” and “self-assessments” because of their revolutionary activities? (b) Compare and contrast their experiences with those of Eliza Wilkinson and Esther Reed.
3. (a) Why was prostitution more accepted in the British army than in the American army? (b) Discuss the difficulties in assessing the success of the American ban against prostitution.
4. (a) Discuss the difficulties in determining the facts with respect to Deborah Sampson. (b) What do we know, and what don't we know, about “Molly Pitcher”? (c) How do you think the “Molly Pitcher” story came to be?

SHAMING

Review:

1. According to historian Linda Kerber, what was “shaming”?
2. Kerber offered three stories in which women sent men into battle. What were the sources of these stories?
3. (a) How did Hannah Dickinson, Hannah Robertson, and the carpenter's wife from Maryland react when their husbands joined the army? (b) How did Sarah Hodgkins feel about her husband's re-enlistment? (c) How did the mother of the sick youth from Massachusetts feel about her son's joining the army? (d) What do all these anecdotal tales have in common?

4. According do Raphael, which group of females *did* urge men and boys into battle? Consult footnote #81.

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Holly Mayer, citing Kerber and Norton, concludes that women willingly sent their own loved ones into battle: “Finally, in her most patriotic act, one demonstrating that women, no less than men, were capable of public virtue, a woman could subordinate her needs to those of the nation and send her father, husband, brothers, and sons to war.” (*Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community during the American Revolution.*) Evaluate this statement in light of the evidence cited in this section, including footnote #81.

2. The evidence cited on both sides of the “shaming” debate is anecdotal. (a) Can you think of any way to recover “hard” evidence covering a wider sample of the female population? (b) If not, does the limited evidence mean we can posit no hypotheses? Discuss the uses and abuses of anecdotal evidence, with particular reference to this issue.

3. Now that you’ve discussed the evidence, join the debate over “shaming” men into battle. How do you see this issue?

WHERE GOD CAN WE FLY FROM DANGER?

Review:

1. When armies advance, women faced a choice: to remain at home or to flee. What were some of the dangers of each option?

2. The text mentions several women affected by the war: Elizabeth Drinker, Rachel Ferguson, Lidia Currey, Rachel Wells, Eliza Wilkinson, Abigail Palmer, Molly Dibblee, Phebe Ward, Sally Logan Fisher, and Mary Donnelly. Group these women according to the ways in which they were victimized.

4. (a) Why is it difficult to document instances of rape? (b) One class of women were not subject to rape. Which class, and why not?

5. (a) What type of court-martial did Lord Rawdon consider “entertaining”? (b) In light of his attitude, what verdicts do you think were rendered?

6. Where did all the refugees go?

7. What did widowed women have to do to receive (a) benefits from the government, and (b) private charity?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Why do you think most history texts pay little attention to the suffering caused by wars?

2. The choice of staying home or fleeing must have been a “defining moment” in the life of each women forced to decide. Undoubtedly, they pondered the issue carefully. What factors do you think they considered as they made their decisions?

3. Discuss the similarities and differences between the experiences of Eliza Wilkinson and Abigail Palmer.

4. (a) Refer back to the letter by Phebe Ward, printed in the Introduction. Discuss the implications of her husband’s decision to take sides in the war. (b) Look ahead to the

story of Mary Gould Almy in chapter 4, "Choosing Sides." Discuss the implications of her husband's decision to take sides in the war.

5. Emotionally, how do you think the absence of a body impacted the relatives mourning a dead soldier? If possible, draw from the more recent experiences of the relatives of Vietnam veterans still reported as "Missing in Action."

WHAT WAS DONE, WAS DONE BY MYSELF

Review:

1. Why do we know so little about "the women who worked the hardest" during the war?
2. When Joseph Hodgkins went to war, which relatives did he leave behind? Of these, who did most of the work?
3. Which men did Sarah Hodgkins help, and what did she do for them?
4. (a) How did Sarah Hodgkins feel when her husband re-enlisted for his second term? (b) How did she cope with her feelings? (c) What did Joseph do after finishing his second term? (d) How did Sarah react?
5. Explain what happened to two of Joseph's sons while he was away in the army. How do you think Joseph's absence at these crucial junctures affected the relationship between Sarah and Joseph?
6. Cite three (or more) passages from Sarah's letters that gave you a sense of how she felt, or that moved you personally.

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. "While upper class women might have felt exhilarated by the partial breakdown of gender roles, lower class women probably felt more oppressed." Comment on this hypothesis with reference to specific women mentioned in this chapter.
2. Why do you think women received so much praise for their labors at the beginning of the war and so little attention at the end?
3. (a) Discuss the apparent changes in the relationship between Sarah and Joseph Hodgkins over the course of the war. (b) Discuss Sarah's ways of coping with the prolonged absence of her husband.
4. The passage from Temperance Smith "reveals how religion, politics, work, and family, thoroughly interwoven, enabled women to carry on." Analyze this selection closely to show how these four factors affected her consciousness.

CLASS ACTIVITIES FOR CHAPTER 3: WOMEN

1. Stage a simulation of "women-in-the-wagons." Characters can include: private soldiers, women camp followers, officers, George Washington. What happens when officers come by and see women in the wagons? What happens when Washington himself observes women still riding in the wagons? De-brief: how did the women feel? How did officers and privates feel? How did Washington feel when his orders were ignored?
2. Conduct two court-martials of a British soldier accused of rape. First, do it as Lord Rawdon did. Then conduct one the way you would like it to have happened. De-

brief: How did each of the characters feel after each trial? Why wasn't justice achieved in Rawdon's court martial?

3. Write a dramatic script depicting the adventures of "Molly Pitcher," then perform it as "readers' theater." Since little is known, feel free to make things up. Treat the script as propaganda: you are trying to promote patriotism among women.

4. Prepare a TV news broadcast covering riots over the price of food. Be sure to interview participants.

5. Simulate a radio talk show. The topic: women camp followers have just marched through Philadelphia after the men. Listeners call in with their views of this incident.

6. Write an article on a spinning bee for a patriot newspaper.

7. Prepare a petition from a widow of a Continental soldiers asking for relief.

8. Create a female character from the times. Be specific as to age, marital status, location, class, etc. Then write a diary/journal in which your character observes any event, or series of events, during the war. Be sure to make the observations appropriate for the particular character you have created.

9. Interview one of the women who actually fought in the war.

10. Interview a number of women whose husbands, brothers, or sons have volunteered for the army or have been drafted. What's life like back on the farm? How do they feel about their husband's absence? How do they relate to the struggle for liberty?

11. Write a series of letters between a soldier and his wife at home.

12. During World War II the government invented "Rosie-the-Riveter" and featured her image on posters which encouraged women to leave home and work in the factories. Draw a poster ("Frances-the-Farmer"?) which encourages women of the Revolution to produce home-made goods and/or boycott British products.

13. Draft a chapter for a 5th grade textbook telling how the Revolutionary War affected women of various classes and situations. Make your text understandable for elementary students, but try to give enough sense of the complexities so as not to constitute an over-simplification of history.

UNIT PROJECTS FOR CHAPTER 3: WOMEN

1. Recent textbooks include more material on women than older texts. But are they misleading? Consult footnotes #62 and #66. (a) If you agree with Raphael, why do you think these textbook writers have gone astray? If you agree with the textbooks, what is wrong with Raphael's argument? (b) Examine the treatment of women in other textbooks. Does the term "women" in these texts pertain only to certain groups?

2. Elizabeth Evans has collected several primary sources in her book *Weathering the Storm: Women of the American Revolution*. Use these sources to test some of Raphael's statements and hypotheses. (a) Discuss Jemima Condict Harrison's journal (pp. 33-51) with respect to Raphael's statement: "Revolutionary-era women coped with their many troubles by renewing their faith in God... Women felt little control over their own destinies; always vulnerable, they placed themselves in the hands of a higher power." (b) Does Sarah Wister's letter (pp. 110-151) contradict or support Raphael's treatment of "shaming" men into battle? (See footnote #49 for other renditions of Wister's letter.) (c) Compare and contrast the experiences of two women whose husbands were political

exiles: Elizabeth Drinker (pp. 152-184) and Phebe Ward (from Raphael's Introduction). How can you account for the differences? (d) What dilemma did Mary Gould Almy face (pp. 245-270)? Discuss Almy's letter with respect to the "shaming" debate.

3. Read Joy and Richard Buel's biography of Mary Fish Silliman, *The Way of Duty: A Woman and her Family in Revolutionary America*. Read also the complete letters of Sarah Hodgkins (Herbert T. Wade and Robert A. Lively, *This Glorious Cause: The Adventures of Two Company Officers in Washington's Army*). Compare and contrast the experiences of these two women with respect to politics, religion, family life, female roles, literacy, and social class.

CHAPTER 4: LOYALISTS AND PACIFISTS

CHOOSING SIDES

Review:

1. (a) According to John Adams, cited in many history texts, what fraction of Americans were loyalists? (b) How is this citation erroneous? (c) According to Paul Smith, what percent of Americans were loyalists?
2. (a) Give the simple definition of “loyalist” presented in the text. (b) Why is this definition misleading?
3. (a) In rural Massachusetts loyalists came predominantly from which socio-economic class? (b) In New York City, according to Countryman, loyalists came from which class? (Try to categorize the class on the basis of his list.) (c) In the Hudson Valley, loyalists came from which class?
4. What were the complaints of loyalists in Delaware and Maryland?
5. (a) Why did the Scotch Highlanders of the Mohawk Valley become loyalists? (b) Why did several non-English speaking groups remain loyal to the Crown?
6. Explain Justus Sherwood's decision to become a loyalist.
7. Why was Mary Gould Almy emotionally torn?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion

1. Explain and evaluate Paul Smith's method for determining the number of loyalists (see footnote #2).
2. Explain and evaluate the techniques used by Hancock and Hoffman for determining the class of loyalists in Delaware and Maryland. (In addition to the text, consult footnotes #4 and #14.)
3. Many poor people and ethnic or linguistic minorities became loyalists. (a) How does this affect the popular view that the Revolution pitted ordinary Americans against aristocratic rulers from Great Britain? (b) How does this affect the popular view that the Revolution was fought over the principle of “liberty”? (c) How does this affect the argument used by patriots that the revolutionaries acted on behalf of “the body of the people”?
4. Discuss Pencak's hypothesis with respect to age and political affiliation. His study was limited to loyalist and patriot leaders in one colony; can you think of evidence that might confirm or refute his hypothesis for other locations, or for people other than leaders?
5. Discuss the logic of “choosing sides.” What factors figured in the decision of each group or individual? Which of these factors, in your opinion, were most significant?

THE DOGS OF CIVIL WAR

Review:

1. What happened in the Ninety Six district of South Carolina when patriots asked militiamen to pledge their allegiance to the Revolution?

2. What response did Drayton and Tennent receive when they tried to convince Fletchall and his friends to become patriots?
3. (a) According to historian Robert Lambert, what was the one characteristic which backcountry loyalists had in common? (b) Why would this characteristic tend to make people become loyalists?
4. Personal vendettas might have accounted for some men becoming loyalists. State the grievances of: (a) Robert Cunningham and Moses Kirkland (b) William Cunningham (c) Daniel McGirt (d) David Fanning (e) Thomas Brown.
5. Summarize the battles of the 1775 civil war in South Carolina.
6. (a) How many times did David Fanning break loose from confinement? (b) Describe Fanning's lifestyle between 1776 and 1780. (c) What happened in 1780 that turned Fanning from a hunted man into a hunter? (d) Referring to specific actions which Fanning describes in his narrative, explain why you would or would not consider him a "terrorist." (e) What happened to Fanning once the British had surrendered?
7. What group or groups, other than white farmers, joined loyalist bands in the southern backcountry?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. (a) "This was a conflict of interests and personalities, not ideologies." Discuss how interests and personalities affected political alignments. (b) Discuss how republican ideology was evidenced by loyalists as well as patriots. (Consult footnote #30 and cite examples from the text.)
2. What was Rachel Klein's explanation for political alignments? Explain why you find this explanation useful or not.
3. David Fanning wanted to "have satisfaction" for his buddies who were killed. What did he do? Compare his response to that of Moses Hall and William Gipson described in chapter 2, "Beasts of Prey."
4. How do you react emotionally to Fanning's narrative?
5. When Fanning was accused of "deliberate and wilful murder, robbery, rape or housebreaking," he responded, "their Never was a man thats Been In Arms on Either Side But what Is guilty of Some of the Above Mentioned Crimes." Explain why you agree or disagree with his statement.

TESTS OF FAITH

Review:

1. (a) What fraction of free Americans belonged to pacifistic religious communities? (b) Which was the largest group? (c) What language did many of the smaller groups speak?
2. Could Mennonites ever make good revolutionaries? Explain.
3. When pacifists were exempted from military service, were they totally off the hook? Explain.
4. Tell what happened to: (a) George Kriebel (b) eleven farmers who refused to take the oath (c) Stephen Howell (d) Mother Ann (e) Moravians at Bethlehem (f) Andrew Giering. Then state what these experiences have in common.

5. In 1777 General Sullivan pushed for a crackdown on Quakers. (a) What evidence did he have? (b) Do you think that evidence was sound? Explain.

6. Within each sect individuals argued over the appropriate response to the Revolutionary War. Describe the internal divisions within: (a) Dunkers (b) Quakers (c) Moravians.

7. (a) How did the Moravian community respond to the Test Act? (b) In the end, did they win or lose their fight against taking oaths?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. "A movement dependent upon popular support cannot accept 'no' for an answer, and the American patriots, experienced in matters of coercion, brought the full force of the Revolution to bear on the Mennonites and other sects who would not join in their cause." Are repressions on behalf of a revolution, an uprising of common people, different in any way from repressions of a monarchy or dictatorship?

2. Imagine you are a neighbor of a pacifistic sect. How would you feel about granting their young men exemption from the draft? (Keep in mind that each county or town had a draft quota to meet.) How would you weigh your own self-interest against their right to religious freedom?

3. (a) Compare and contrast the responses of Stephen Howell and Andrew Giering to being jailed. (b) If you were Giering, what would you have done? (c) What do you think of John Ettwein's advice to Giering?

4. Discuss the difference between Quaker and Moravian responses towards individual members within their communities who gave in to revolutionary demands.

5. Perhaps the American rebels had good reason to suspect that pacifists were closet loyalists. (a) Cite a quotation from the text which seems particularly suspicious. (b) Do you think the quotation you chose reflects religious or political beliefs? Explain. (c) Do the other quotations within this section reflect religious or political beliefs? How do we draw the line between religion and politics?

6. Do you think religious pacifists posed a real threat to revolutionary governments? Do you think they made it more difficult to raise an army? Discuss their repression in light of your responses.

A ROCK AND A HARD PLACE

Review:

1. (a) How did 101 of 105 suspected loyalists in Morristown avoid execution? (b) What happened to the other four?

2. In the parody of Hamlet's "to be or not to be" soliloquy, what are the options open to loyalists, and what are the consequences of each?

3. According to Tom Paine, what was the practical definition of "Tory"?

4. Who was the real "Judge Lynch," and what did he do?

5. How much respect did patriots give to the civil liberties of loyalists? In your answer, cite statements by two different patriots.

6. How did Joseph Hodgkins feel about Tories?

7. What did it mean to be "drawn and quartered"?

8. (a) How did most people of Queens county feel about the British when they first came? (b) How did they feel about the British three years later? (c) What do you think accounted for this change?
9. What happened to the population of colonial cities under British occupation?
10. What was Samuel Townsend's big mistake?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. George Washington asked rhetorically: "Why should persons who are preying upon the vitals of their Country be suffered to stalk at large, while we know they will do us every mischief in their power?" Treat this as a real question and try to respond to it.

2. (a) Compare and contrast the "lynchings" in Bedford County during the Revolutionary War to latter-day lynchings. (b) Do you think the use of Lynch's name to describe later events can be attributed to supporters or opponents of lynchings? (c) On the basis of your response to (b), try to explain why his name came to be used as it did. (You might want to consult the sources noted in footnote #82.)

3. A key rhetorical tool lies in the framing of a question. Consider: "[W]hich is better — to be ruled by one tyrant three thousand miles away, or by three thousand tyrants not a mile away?" (a) Treat this question seriously and try to respond to it. (b) Compare this question to the one asked by George Washington in question #1. How does the posing of each question make it difficult to argue against the position held by the speaker? (c) Analyze the passage from the *Pennsylvania Packet* in terms of rhetorical questioning.

4. People who "bend with the wind," like David Bruce or William Greene, are often cast in a disparaging light. Try to give a sympathetic explanation for the actions of the three thousand people from New Jersey who signed contradictory loyalty oaths. Make specific references to the pressures they faced from both sides during the American Revolution.

A LOST CAUSE

Review:

1. The Treaty of Paris urged a "spirit of reconciliation." (a) What did Article V say? (b) What did Article VI say? (c) Why didn't these provisions work?
2. How did Stephen Jarvis deal with the "mob" that came to get him?
3. In what cities did loyalist refugees congregate?
4. (a) There were approximately 2,500,000 free Americans during the time of the Revolutionary War. What percentage became political refugees? (b) There are approximately 250,000,000 inhabitants of the United States today. If the same percentage were forced to leave the country for political reasons, how many people would that be?
5. (a) List the various destinations of loyalist refugees at the end of the war. (b) Approximately how many went to each? (You won't have actual numbers for all destinations.) (c) What class of people went to each?
6. Summarize the conditions faced by refugees in Nova Scotia.
7. On the basis of the examples cited in this section, how would you characterize mob actions towards loyalists after the war was over?
8. Why did some communities welcome loyalists?

9. In South Carolina, what happened when Judge Burke tried to conduct a fair trial?

10. (a) Did all refugees remain out of the country? (b) If not, when did they return?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. History is often told with abstract generalizations, but “loyalists” and “patriots” were flesh-and-blood people. Discuss the interplay between immediate personal relationships and impersonal politics as revealed in Stephen Jarvis’s story.

2. (a) Compare and contrast the experiences of the Schurman’s and the Dibblees. (b) Based only on these two stories, what conclusions can you draw about loyalist refugees in Canada? (c) What kind of statistical evidence might you consult to determine whether the Schurmans of the Dibblees were more representative of the overall population of loyalist refugees in Canada?

3. Aedanus Burke said he was “shocked at the very idea of trying & condemning to death after so singular, so complicated & so suspicious a Revolution.” David Fanning, in a different tone, expressed a similar view: “their Never was a man thats Been In Arms on Either Side But what Is guilty of Some of the Above Mentioned Crimes.” Does this imply there can be no “war crimes”?

4. On April 24, 1783, a writer in Boston’s *Independent Chronicle* held forth: “Do not your spirits rise with indignation, your very blood curdle in your veins, at the idea of those wretches whose hands are still smoking with the blood of your slaughtered countrymen, brothers and fathers, return to live among you... I beseech, I implore, I obtest you, by the names of your slaughtered friends! by the cries of your defloured virgins! and abused matrons! by the flames of your houses! your temples! and villages! by the calamities you have endured in a seven years war! that you ... combine as one man to deprecate, and by proper measures, to prevent miseries more direful than even war itself.”

(a) If you were alive at the time, and if you entertained notions of Christian forgiveness, how would you counter this call for vengeance? Write a “letter to the editor” of the *Independent Chronicle*. (b) How do you think your letter would have been received by the public?

CLASS ACTIVITIES FOR CHAPTER 4: LOYALISTS AND PACIFISTS

1. Stage a simulation of tenant farmers revolting against their patriot landlord. Characters include: several farmers who revolt, the landlord, a family whom the landlord has placed in the house of evicted rebel tenants, some militiamen who are supposed to suppress the revolt.

2. Conduct a trial of a man accused of dodging the draft. Create a specific character with an understandable reason for avoiding military service.

3. Write a dramatic script covering the exploits of David Fanning, then perform it as “readers’ theater.”

4. Prepare a TV news broadcast covering the crackdown on Quakers which followed the discovery of the “Spanktown” papers.

5. Simulate a radio talk show. The topic: should religious pacifists be required to take the oath?
6. Write two letters to the editor, dated sometime in 1783. In the first, argue for harsh measures towards loyalists; in the second, respond to the first and argue for milder measures.
7. Prepare a petition from a loyalist protesting the seizure of his land.
8. Create a character who is a loyalist. Be specific as to age, gender, marital status, location, class, occupation, etc. Then write a diary/journal in which your character observes some of the events of the war. Be sure to make the observations appropriate for the particular character you have created.
9. Conduct an in-depth interview with one of the pacifists featured in this chapter.
10. Draw a political cartoon depicting David Fanning from a patriot's perspective. Draw another depicting him from a loyalist's perspective.
11. Draw a poster encouraging all good Americans to take the oath.
12. Write a letter from a refugee in Nova Scotia to relatives back in the United States.
13. Draft a chapter for a 5th grade textbook telling the story of the Revolutionary War from the perspective of the Quakers. Make your text understandable for elementary students, but try to give enough sense of the complexities so as not to constitute an oversimplification of history.

UNIT PROJECTS FOR CHAPTER 4: LOYALISTS AND PACIFISTS

1. The classic two-volume reference work concerning specific loyalists is Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, originally published in 1864. Look it over. Do you think this constitutes a representative sample of loyalists? If you think the sample is biased, who is over-represented and who is under-represented? What are the consequences for researchers like Paul Smith (see footnote #2) who use Sabine's biographies as a basis for their own work?
2. Read *The Narrative of Col. David Fanning*. Whom did he write this for? How might an eye to his audience have affected the content or tone of his narrative? Do you think he exaggerated? As you read the book, note specific instances that might be confirmed or refuted by additional evidence.
3. Compare the experiences of pacifists of other wars with the experiences of pacifists in the American Revolution. What common threads can you find? Does the repression of pacifism conform to a pattern? Are pacifists more tolerated in some wars than in others?
4. If the Bill of Rights had been in effect during the American Revolution, which ones would have been violated? List specific examples from this chapter, and state which amendment was violated in each case.

CHAPTER 5: NATIVE AMERICANS

WESTERN ABENAKIS

Review:

1. (a) What did Ethan Allen and Colonel Greene want from the Indians? (b) What did Allen and Greene offer in return? (c) According to Greene, why had American soldiers come to Canada? (d) Why had they really come?
2. What did the British want from the Indians?
3. (a) Where did the Western Abenakis live? (b) Why was their homeland deemed so important to European nations? (b) Before 1763, which European power had the Western Abenakis favored, and why?
4. (a) What did the Western Abenakis gain by fighting in the Revolutionary War? (b) How enthusiastically did they fight? (c) In terms of lives lost in battle, how costly was the war to the Western Abenakis?
5. (a) What did the patriots think of the Abenakis' performance in the war? (b) What did the British think of the Abenakis' performance in the war?
6. Explain how Joseph Louis Gill "played both sides against the middle."
7. How did the treaty at the end of the war impact the Western Abenakis?
8. (a) How did the Western Abenakis react to Yankee settlers after the war? (b) What was the population increase for whites around Missisquoi in the 1790s? Express your answer as a percentage. (c) What happened to the Western Abenakis when white settlers took over most of their land?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Read carefully Allen's and Greene's entreaties for support. What do these speeches reveal about white views of Native Americans?
2. (a) Discuss the ways in which the traditional lifestyles of the Western Abenakis had changed by the 1770s, and explain how these changes affected their participation in the Revolutionary War. (b) Discuss the ways in which the traditional lifestyles of the Western Abenakis remained intact into the 1770s, and explain how these traditional ways affected their participation in the Revolutionary War.
3. Patriots criticized the Western Abenakis for their "fickle disposition." Did they deserve to be criticized for their lack of loyalty?
4. Describe and explain the change in the Allens' attitude towards Native Americans.

IROQUOIS

Review:

1. (a) Prior to contact with Europeans, why did the Iroquois live in crowded settlements? (b) What did Deganawida and Hiawatha accomplish? (c) How did contact with Europeans affect the Iroquois population?
2. What was the "Covenant Chain"?

3. (a) How did the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix help the Iroquois? (b) Who violated that treaty? (c) How did that affect future alliances in the Revolutionary War?
4. (a) Towards the beginning of the Revolution, what did the British ask of the Iroquois? (b) Towards the beginning of the Revolution, what did the Americans ask of the Iroquois? (c) Both the British and the American wooed the Iroquois with parties and lavish gifts. Which side put on a better show?
5. (a) Which Iroquois nations sided with the British, and what were their major reasons for doing so? (b) Which Iroquois nations sided with the Americans, and what were their major reasons for doing so? (c) Did Iroquois nations actually fight against each other?
6. Who won the debate between Joseph Brant and Cornplanter, and what was his decisive argument?
7. (a) Who “won” the battle of Fort Stanwix? (b) How did the Senecas feel about the results?
8. (a) What was the goal of the Sullivan expedition? (b) Was it “successful”? (c) What was the impact on Iroquois women, old men, and children?
9. Who gave up first, the Iroquois or the British?
10. How did Iroquois gender roles change at the close of the war?
11. After the war, what happened to the Iroquois “council fire”?
12. What happened to the community of Oquaga during the Revolutionary War?
13. (a) What happened to Cornplanter’s father? (b) What happened when an Oneida warrior captured his brother?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. How did the presence of Europeans in America impact the internal power relationships between Iroquois sachems and warriors?
2. When British and Americans asked for support, the initial response of most Iroquois was “to sit still and see you fight it out.” But they did not sit still. (a) Discuss the forces that drove the Iroquois to take sides. (b) Were these forces irresistible? Was there any way the Iroquois could have sat out the war?
3. Cornplanter counseled peace, Joseph Brant counseled war. Do “hawks” always enjoy a political advantage over “doves”? Compare the experience of the Iroquois with the debate over the Vietnam War, or the debate over whether to enter World War I or World War II, or any other debate concerning war and peace. What kinds of arguments, if any, are strong enough to neutralize the call to war?
4. (a) How do you react to Blacksnake’s battle descriptions? (b) How did he himself react in later years? Do you agree with Raphael that he seemed “confused about his role” as a warrior? (c) Are warriors always confused about their roles when they return to civil society? Compare the experiences of Vietnam veterans suffering from “post-traumatic stress syndrome” with the experiences of decorated heroes from any war. Are there always nagging doubts about killing?
5. Traditionally, European armies waged war by fighting each other, not civilians. (a) How did the Sullivan expedition differ from that tradition? (b) Do you think such an expedition, during those times, could have been waged by Europeans against other Europeans? If so, are there specific examples? If not, why were such actions deemed more appropriate and acceptable against Indians?

6. How do you react emotionally to the two stories related by Mary Jemison at the end of this section?

DELAWARE AND SHAWNEE

Review:

1. In the 1768 Fort Stanwix treaty, who signed away rights to land used by the Delaware and Shawnee?
2. How did European-Americans and Native Americans differ in their concepts of land ownership?
3. (a) Which side did Cornstalk and White Eyes seem to favor? (b) Did the rest of the Shawnee and Delaware agree? Explain.
4. (a) Which side did the Mingo favor, and why? (b) How did actions taken by the Mingo affect relations between the Delaware and the Americans?
5. How did the views of George Morgan, the United States Indian Agent, differ from those of Brigadier General Edward Hand?
6. (a) What happened in the end to Cornstalk, the Shawnee chief friendly towards the Americans? (b) How did other Shawnees respond?
7. What happened in the "squaw campaign"?
8. (a) What did the Americans get out of the council at Fort Pitt in 1778? (b) What did the Delaware appear to get? (c) Why were the Delaware disappointed with the results of the agreement?
9. (a) What did the Americans claim happened to White Eyes, the pro-American Delaware chief? (b) What really happened to him? (c) How did Killbuck and other pro-American Delaware respond?
10. How did Killbuck's pro-American stance affect his relationship with his people? (In addition to the text, consult footnote #99.)
11. (a) Describe what happened at Gnadenhutten. (b) Who were the victims? Had they presented a military or political threat to the Americans?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. (a) How did the English perceive the relationship between the Iroquois and Delaware? (b) According to Delaware tradition, what was that relationship at the time of the first contact with whites? (Consult footnote #83.) (c) Why do you think the English interpreted the relationship the way they did? (d) What were the consequences of their misinterpretation?
2. Discuss the frontier dynamic that favored violence over peace. Why were "voices of moderation" so often silenced?
3. Why do you think White Eyes remained friendly towards the Americans for so long? In addition to the text, consult footnotes #83, #85, and #87.
4. Was the massacre at Gnadenhutten an aberration by a few zealots, or was it the logical conclusion to American policy?
5. "The world is already too narrow." What did David Zeisberger mean? Could these words apply to other people of the times?

CHEROKEES

Review:

1. In 1776 were either the Americans or the British supplying arms to the Cherokeees?
2. (a) What happened at Sycamore Shoals? (b) Did representatives of all Cherokee factions participate? Explain.
3. (a) What did the delegation of northern warriors ask of the Cherokeees at Chote? (b) What was the response of young warriors? (c) What was the response of the elders?
4. Who was Nancy Ward, and what did she say about women and war?
5. (a) What did the Cherokeees finally decide to do with the gunpowder they had received as a present? (b) According to the text, "the timing could not have been worse." Why was the timing so bad? (c) Describe the fighting between the Cherokeees and the Americans in 1776.
6. (a) What did white soldiers want to do with Indians they took prisoners? (b) Why did white officials oppose this?
7. (a) Why did Corn Tassel not want to trade land for goods? (b) How much land did the Cherokeees lose in the treaties of DeWitt's Corner and Long Island of the Holston River? (c) What did Dragging Canoe, Young Tassel, and other warriors do when they learned about the terms of the treaty?
8. Who were the Chickamaugas?
9. (a) How did the British surrender affect the Chickamaugas? (b) How did the British surrender affect the moderate Cherokeees?
10. (a) What happened to Corn Tassel? (b) Name two Native Americans from other tribes who met a similar fate.

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion

1. (a) Compare and contrast what happened at Chote with the debate between Iroquois factions when the British asked for their support. (b) The rift between young warriors and elders figured prominently among the Iroquois, Delaware, Shawnee, and Cherokeees. Compare and contrast the *outcomes* of these internal divisions.
2. (a) Discuss the participation of women at Cherokee and Iroquois councils. (Consult footnotes #105 and #107 as well as the text.) Did the women wield any power? (b) Did Euro-American women of those times have any comparable experiences at "councils" where political business was conducted?
3. Dragging Canoe refused to attend the treaty negotiations at Sycamore Shoals and Long Island of the Holston River. Was this appropriate, or do you think he should have participated?
4. (a) Discuss how the actions of the Chickamaugas affected other Cherokeees. (Consult footnote #127 as well as the text.) (b) In fact, historical records show some intermingling between the Chickamaugas and the moderate Cherokeees. Why is this not surprising? What kinds of forces must have continued to pull these factions together, despite their political differences?

CATAWBAS

Review:

1. In earlier times, did the Catawbas way of life more closely resemble that of the Iroquois or that of the Western Abenakis? Explain. (b) By the time of the American Revolution, how did the Catawbas make their living?
2. (a) Which side did the Catawbas support in the war, and why? (b) How enthusiastic was their support? (c) List the battles in which the Catawbas participated.
3. What happened to the Catawba Reservation during the war?
4. (a) Why do you think the Catawbas changed the title of their leader? (b) What were Catawbas who fought at Rocky Mount and Fishing Creek called? (c) Why do you think they weren't called "warriors" like most other Native American fighting men?
5. (a) How did the Catawbas try to "cash in" on their participation after the war? (b) Compared to most other Native Americans, how did the Catawbas fare after the war? (c) How did other groups of Native Americans who sided with the Americans fare after the war?
6. What eventually happened to the Catawba Reservation?
7. What happened to Peter Harris after the war?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Compare and contrast the participation in the Revolutionary War of the Catawbas and the Western Abenakis. Consider which side(s) they joined, the type of support they offered, and how they fared in the end.
2. Why do you think the Catawba agreed to hunt runaway slaves (see footnote #142)? Was money the only object?
3. Debate resolution: "The Catawbas benefited from the Revolutionary War." (a) Develop arguments pro and con. (b) Either show how one argument is stronger than the other, or develop a synthesis from the opposing views.
4. How much can we extrapolate from the experiences of one man? (a) Study the brief biography of Peter Harris, then create a list of factual statements about the Catawba participation in the Revolutionary War which we can confirm on the basis of this evidence. Example: "Some Catawbas died of smallpox in the generation preceding the Revolutionary War." (b) What can we infer about the relationship between whites (both English and American) and the Catawbas after the war?

CHICKASAWS, CHOCTAWS, CREEKS, AND SEMINOLES

Review:

1. Which side did the Chickasaws support, and why?
2. Did the Chickasaws participate in the war as enthusiastically as the Catawbas? Explain.
3. What did traders offer the Chickasaws for their furs?
4. What finally induced the Chickasaws to take the war more seriously?
5. (a) After the Revolutionary War, which European nation competed for influence in the Mississippi Valley? (b) How did this affect the Chickasaws?

6. By the end of the war, which side did the Creeks and Choctaws support, and for what reasons?

7. Who was Alexander McGillivray, and what was his main task?

8. What happened at Fallen Timbers? When? Why was it so important?

9. (a) Who were the Seminoles? Where did they come from? Where did they live? (b) Which side did they support, and why? (c) How did the Seminoles fare in the Revolutionary War?

10. According to the text, what were the major impacts of the Revolutionary War on Native Americans? Can you think of any more?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Discuss the impact of liquor among the Chickasaws from the standpoint of (a) the traders (b) British army officers (c) Chickasaw trappers (d) Chickasaw elders (e) Chickasaw women.

2. (a) Why do you think the rift within the Chickasaw, similar to that experienced by other nations, came to a head after the war rather than during the war? (b) List the various groups which vied for Chickasaw support — and for their land — in the wake of the Revolutionary War. (c) Discuss the possible strategies/alignments available to the Chickasaws. (d) Imagine you are a Chickasaw at the time. Create a specific character for yourself, then argue for a particular course of action.

3. Why do you think a pan-Indian Confederation congealed after the Revolutionary War rather than before or during the war?

4. Discuss the factors which made the Seminole experience of the Revolutionary War different from that of other Native Americans?

5. In standard textbooks, the war fought between 1775 and 1783 is often called “the War of Independence.” (a) What might it be called in Native American textbooks? (b) What events and battles might be featured in a textbook focusing on Native Americans?

CLASS ACTIVITIES FOR CHAPTER 5: NATIVE AMERICANS

1. Stage a simulation of an Iroquois council as it considers whether or not to join with the British. Characters can include Joseph Brant, Blacksnake, Cornplanter, young warriors, sachems, women, British officers.

2. Conduct a trial in which American soldiers are accused of murdering 96 mission Indians at Gnadenhutten. Stage the trial twice: first as it was likely to have occurred, then as it might occur today for a similar crime.

3. Write a dramatic script covering the adventures of Peter Harris, the Catawba, then perform it as “readers’ theater.”

4. Prepare a TV news broadcast covering the murder of Cornstalk and three other Shawnees. Interview participants, relatives, witnesses. What are the reactions from the “public,” both whites and Indians?

5. Simulate a radio talk show. The topic: the death of White Eyes, the Delaware chief. Have both whites and Indians call in. Does everybody buy the official line?

6. Prepare an issue of the *Frontier Gazette* covering any series of events from this chapter. Assume that the editor of this fictive newspaper views events as the majority of

white settlers did. Then prepare an issue of a rival paper, perhaps the *Frontier Times* (or another name of your choice), with a slant more in tune with that of George Morgan.

7. Choose a group of Native Americans at a specific time, then prepare a petition they might send to white officials protesting the incursions of settlers onto their lands.

9. Create a character who was taken captive as a child by a particular group of Native Americans, then grew up to become a member of that tribe (as did Mary Jemison). In your mind, develop your character: Where and when was he/she captured? Did he/she marry? How old now? Then write a diary/journal in which your character observes some of the events discussed in this chapter. Be sure to make the observations appropriate for the particular character you have created.

9. Conduct a series of in-depth interviews with Dragging Canoe and Attakullakulla, Corn Tassel, or The Raven. Cover the periods before, during, and after the Treaty of Long Island of the Holston River.

10. Prepare a diorama depicting the Sullivan campaign.

11. Draw a political cartoon depicting George Morgan from the standpoint of frontiersmen bent on avenging Indian raids.

12. Deliver a speech in which you try to recruit Western Abenakis to join the patriot army.

13. Deliver a speech by Alexander McGillivray in which he tries to recruit Chickasaw warriors to join the pan-Indian Confederation.

14. Draft a chapter for a 5th grade textbook telling how Native Americans participated in, and were affected by, the Revolutionary War. Make your text understandable for elementary students, but try to give enough sense of the complexities so as not to constitute an over-simplification of history.

UNIT PROJECTS FOR CHAPTER 5: NATIVE AMERICANS

1. How did the *location* of various Native American nations affect their participation in the war? Formulate a hypothesis and apply it to all the groups covered in this chapter.

2. Read Daniel R. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth-Century Eastern Massachusetts*, and Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republicans in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. (a) Does the hypothesis you just developed apply the Native Americans in Eastern Massachusetts and the Great Lakes region? (b) How do these new sources contribute to your understanding of Native American responses to the Revolutionary War?

3. Iroquois warriors characterized sachems as “a parcell of Old People who say Much, but who Mean or Act very little.” White Eyes, the Delaware chief, disavowed the actions of “foolish Young Men.” Dragging Canoe referred pejoratively to “old men who were too old to hunt.” Compare and contrast the schism between elders and warriors during the Revolutionary War with the rift between civilian and military factions at any other point in United States history.

4. Recently, Joseph R. Fischer has stated that “Sullivan’s army turned in a credible performance in its operations against the Iroquois.” (*A Well-Executed Failure: The Sullivan Campaign against the Iroquois, July-September 1779*, 197.) Read Fischer, and read also the primary sources reprinted in Frederick Cook, ed., *Journals of the*

Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779. (a) What criteria did Fischer use to praise the army for a “credible performance”? Why does he also call it a “failure”? (b) Did the officers who kept journals regard their campaign as a success? (c) How do you react emotionally to the documentation of the burning of villages and the destruction of food by the people who performed these deeds?

5. Read the complete proceedings of the Treaty of Long Island of the Holston River (see footnote #121 for citation). How were the final terms of the treaty determined? Should Corn Tassel and The Raven have signed it?

6. Raphael states, “The American Revolution, a fight for freedom from colonial rule, was also the most extensive and destructive ‘Indian war’ in the nation’s history.” Consult a history of Native Americans to see if there are other candidates for this dubious honor. Then decide: Do you agree? What criteria do you use to determine “the most extensive and destructive” war? In making your assessment, do you consider the defeat of the Confederation at Fallen Timbers to be a new and separate war, or the last battle of a war that continued from the time of the Revolution?

CHAPTER 6: AFRICAN AMERICANS

THE PROMISE AND THE PANIC OF '75

Review:

1. (a) In April of 1775, what were whites in Virginia scared might happen? (b) What did Governor Dunmore do on April 21? (c) How did the white citizens of Williamsburg react? (d) What was Dunmore's initial justification for his actions? (e) Later, what did Dunmore threaten to do?
2. (a) What was decided in the *Sommersett* case? (b) How did this affect slaves in America?
3. What did masters fear even more than a revolt among slaves?
4. According to reports from whites, what happened in the Tar River region of North Carolina?
5. When Andrew Estave's 15-year-old slave tried to escape, where did she go, and why did she choose to go there?
6. How and why did Dr. Cobham's slave die?
7. Upon what evidence was George of St. Bartholomew Parish hanged?
8. (a) What did Joseph Harris do for the British? (b) What did he do for himself?
9. (a) What was the charge against Jeremiah of Charleston? (b) What was the evidence? (c) Do you think race was a factor in his sentencing? Explain.

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. According to Philip J. Schwarz in his book *Twice Condemned: Slaves and the Criminal Laws of Virginia*, in 1774 there were 50 accusations of felonies leveled against slaves in Virginia; during 1775, the height of revolutionary fever, the number of trials for felonies increased to 81. Why the rise? Do you think this was due to increased unrest among the slaves or heightened fears among whites? Is there any evidence that might help answer this question?
2. Why do you think the *South Carolina Gazette* used the term "N*****s"?
3. Why do you think rumors of slave uprisings were so ubiquitous?
4. Historian Patricia Bradley, in her recent book *Slavery, Propaganda, and the American Revolution*, wrote of the Tar River incident that "a slave uprising was discovered hours before it was to go into effect over three counties." In St. Bartholomew Parish, she said, slaves tried "to mount a countywide plan of death to whites." Do you think that Bradley and other historians are correct in accepting the reports of whites at face value? Explain your reasoning.
5. Based on the experiences of George and Jeremiah, discuss the workings of the justice system in a slave society that feels threatened. How is "evidence" acquired? How is it tested?

“LIBERTY TO SLAVES”

Review:

1. (a) Which side of the war was Lord Dunmore on? (b) What did Lord Dunmore proclaim on November 14, 1775? (c) Cite three ways in which patriot masters countered Dunmore's proclamation.
2. (a) What was the response to Dunmore's proclamation among slaves? (b) Specifically, what was the response of Landon Carter's slaves?
3. (a) What percent of runaways arriving on H. M. S. *Scorpion* appear to have been female? (b) Is this result similar or dissimilar to Gary Nash's findings cited in footnote #46?
4. What military actions did the “Ethiopian Regiment” undertake?
5. Describe the obstacles faced by runaways trying to reach British ships?
6. (a) What happened to people who tried to escape to the British but were captured? (b) What happened to the majority of those who reached the British ships successfully?
7. (a) What happened on Sullivan's Island? (b) What happened on Tybee Island?
8. Between late 1776 and late 1778, why did fewer southern slaves try to escape?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. “Stay, you d--d white bitch, till Lord Dunmore and his black regiment come, and then we will see who is to take the wall.” Why do you think this one small story was taken up by the informal “wire service” of the times and reprinted in the newspapers of several states?
2. (a) Why were masters like Henry Laurens and Robert Carter not likely to get a straight response from their slaves? (b) Discuss the implications for our ability to recover historical evidence.
3. With no written testimony from slaves, and with the information we get from masters unreliable, sometimes we can only conjecture. What kinds of discussions do you think occurred within the slave quarters on Virginia plantations late in 1775? What factors did the people consider as they tried to decide whether or not to flee to Lord Dunmore?
4. (a) How do you think the mood within the slave quarters had changed by the end of 1777? (b) What forms of resistance were at the slaves' disposal when the British were nowhere present?

A BOARD GAME

Review:

1. According to contemporary estimates, approximately how many slaves from Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia ran away during the Revolutionary War?
2. Did General Clinton promise freedom to slaves who ran to the British?
3. What work did runaway slaves perform to aid the British army?
4. More slaves escaped than the British army could handle. What happened to the “excess”?
5. Did the British arm runaway slaves? If so, under what conditions? If not, why not?

- 6 (a) What and where were “maroon” communities, and how did the people survive? (b) What did slaves do on plantations abandoned by patriot masters?
7. What options were considered by slaves on plantations owned by patriots?
8. What happened at Yorktown to former slaves who had joined the British?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. What can you learn from the list of Washington's slaves who ran away?
2. (a) “[E]very soldier had his Negro.” How did the prevailing social relationships of the times affect the lives of slaves who had hoped to find freedom with the British?
3. (a) A loyalist from Charleston wrote that “it was not uncommon for persons to let out the Negro girls to British Officers,” while a patriot complained that he was unable to retrieve a slave named Esther from the British at Camden because “she was hid in an Officers room.” [Robert Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects*, 255.] Do you find it plausible that former slaves became prostitutes for British officers? (b) What kind of documentation might confirm or refute your answer? Why might documentation be difficult to discover?
4. The loyalist John Cruden argued that slaves running to the British strengthened rather than weakened the slave system. Explain his reasoning and argue for it or against it.
5. Imagine you are a slave in 1780 on a plantation owned by a patriot, and you are trying to decide whether to run to the British army, now 50 miles away. Create a specific character — male or female, single or married, etc. Outline the options available to you (review question #7), then explain why you plan to follow a specific course of action. Why does this seem the best choice?
5. Examine the documentation cited for the fate of former slaves at Yorktown (see footnotes #118, #119, and #120 as well as the text). Can we trust this evidence? Does it come from biased sources on one side only? Can we draw a firm conclusion? If so, state it. If not, why not?

TWO ÉMIGRÉS

Review:

1. (a) Were most African American emigrants after the war free or enslaved? (b) Where did the slaves go? (c) Where did those who were free go?
2. What happened to African American emigrants who went to England?
3. What danger did former slaves face while they waited for their boats in New York City?
4. (a) What circumstances led Boston King to escape to the British? (b) What happened to him as soon as he did? (c) What was his first occupation with the British? (d) Why did Boston King run from Captain Lewes? (e) What other jobs did Boston King perform? (f) What happened when he shipped to sea? (g) How did he escape from Brunswick? (h) Why were the initials “G. B. C.” so important to Boston King?
5. What and where was the largest settlement of free blacks in North or South America?
6. (a) How were David George, his siblings, and his mother treated by their master? (b) How many times did David George flee for his freedom before his religious

conversion? (c) How did David George become a preacher? (d) How did he learn to read? (e) What did David George and his family do when their patriot master left? (f) How did they support themselves while in Savannah? (g) Where did they go after the war? (h) What happened when David George tried to preach in his new home?

7. (a) What percent of the slave population gained their freedom and moved to Canada? (b) Describe the living conditions for former slaves in Canada. (c) Where did David George, Boston King, and many other former slaves go next?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Since there are only a handful of primary sources from slaves and former slaves, we must examine the few we have very carefully. What can we infer from Judith Jackson's petition?

2. Compare and contrast the backgrounds of Boston King and David George. Were there different "classes" among slaves?

3. Why do you think religion figured so prominently in the lives of Boston King and David George?

4. (a) How did Boston King and David George utilize the American Revolution to their own advantage? (b) What new dangers did the American Revolution create?

5. How did you react emotionally to these personal narratives?

PATRIOTS OF COLOR

Review:

1. (a) About how many African Americans lived in the northern states at the time of the American Revolution? (b) What percent were still enslaved?

2. What type of evidence indicates that African Americans fought at Concord and Bunker Hill?

3. In the fall of 1775, what policy did Washington and his Council of War adopt towards "Negroes in the new Army"?

4. What factors led Washington to reverse this policy shortly thereafter?

5. What two laws in Connecticut led to increased African American participation in the army?

6. (a) Make a list of African American soldiers from Connecticut discussed in the text, and next to each name note briefly what happened to that soldier. (b) Tabulate the results. Although this is not a random sample, it does give an idea of the range of outcomes.

7. (a) What was unique about the First Rhode Island Regiment? (b) How well did it perform in battle? (c) What happened to its veterans?

8. (a) Were African Americans recruited for the army in the mid-Atlantic states? If so, were distinctions made between slaves and freemen? (b) Were African Americans recruited for the army in Virginia? If so, were distinctions made between slaves and freemen? (c) Were African Americans recruited for the army in South Carolina and Georgia? If so, were distinctions made between slaves and freemen?

9. (a) What happened to Ned Griffin after he served in the army as a substitute? (b) Was Griffin's petition granted?

10. Why were African American sailors perceived by whites as less of a threat than African American soldiers?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Discuss the changing policy towards African Americans in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. How did racism and the fear of arming blacks intersect with the need for soldiers?
2. What factors might have contributed to the disproportionate number of African American soldiers who served long tours of duty?
3. Imagine you are a slave in Connecticut or Rhode Island. Create a specific character for yourself: age, marital status, etc. Would you agree to serve as a substitute in the army — and thereby risk your life — in return for a promise of freedom at war's end? What factors would you consider in making your decision?
4. Why do you think the First Rhode Island Regiment fought so well?
5. Compare and contrast white policies towards black soldiers in the following regions: (a) New England (b) Mid-Atlantic (c) Upper South (Virginia and North Carolina) (d) Deep South (South Carolina and Georgia). How do you account for the differences?

TOWARDS FREEDOM?

Review:

1. (a) What was the argument of the Massachusetts slaves who petitioned for their freedom on May 25, 1774? (b) What was the argument used by black residents of Dartmouth in 1780? (c) Why would these arguments appear more forceful during the era of the Revolution than twenty years earlier?
2. Not all northern whites pushed for the abolition of slavery, but some did. Name two groups that opposed slavery.
3. Make a chart listing the northern states. Next to each state, give the date (a) when that state *started* the legal termination of slavery, and (b) when the last slaves, according to the laws of that state, would *actually* receive their freedom.
4. Name five African Americans who achieved some degree of success after the Revolution, and state what each one did.
5. According to John Shy, what was the impact of the Revolution on the institution of slavery in the South?
6. According to Raphael, was the death toll extracted by the Revolutionary War higher for slaves fleeing to the British or for white soldiers?
7. What happened to William Hooper's slaves?
8. Explain why Raphael takes issue with the notion that African Americans "contributed" to the American Revolution.
9. Explain how the American Revolution affected (a) Limus (b) Samuel Johnson (c) Frederic.

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. (a) Compare the number of southern slaves who found their way to freedom during the Revolutionary War with the number who died in the process (consult footnotes

#219 and #220). (b) What are the implications of these (approximate) numbers? How do you weigh the disparate impacts of the American Revolution on slaves in the South?

2. Did the American Revolution either contribute to the abolition of slavery or strengthen the institution of slavery? Consider: (a) the North (b) the South (c) the nation as a whole.

3. Slaves had to develop means of coping with domination by their masters. Some slaves, like those of Robert Carter and Henry Laurens, “sucked up” to their masters (see also footnote #222). Others, like Frederic, engaged in work slow-downs. How did each of these methods help slaves survive? What attitudes might slaves develop to help them cope with their apparent powerlessness? What power does a slave have?

4. (a) Were Limus, Samuel Johnson, and Frederic “heroes”? (b) Was George Washington? Joseph Plumb Martin? (c) Can we compare white and black “heroism” in the Revolutionary War?

CLASS ACTIVITIES FOR CHAPTER 6: AFRICAN AMERICANS

1. Stage a simulation of plantation slaves trying to decide whether to flee to the British. Characters include men and women, married and single, old and young. Include some children. If married, are the spouses and children on this plantation or another? Spend some time developing the various characters before you engage in the simulation, since their particulars should have some bearing on their various responses.

2. Give George and Jeremiah fair trials. Also try to re-enact the trials they probably received. What factors precluded their getting fair trials?

3. Write a dramatic script of an escape to Lord Dunmore's ship, then perform it as “readers' theater.” Not all of the runaways have to make the escape successfully.

4. Prepare a TV news broadcast covering the siege at Yorktown and focusing on the blacks cast into the no-man's-land between the armies.

5. Simulate two radio talk shows, one in the South and one in the North. The topic: should the Continental Army recruit free blacks and/or slaves?

6. Write a dispatch for a patriotic newspaper on Governor Dunmore's seizure of gunpowder at Williamsburg.

7. Prepare a petition from a black emigrant in Halifax to British officials. Ask for some form of relief or assistance. Why do you need it? Why do you feel you are entitled to it?

8. Create the character of a specific slave who lived through the Revolutionary War. What is your age, gender, marital status, location? Who is your master? When were you, your parents, or your ancestors sold into slavery? Assume it is the year 1800 and tell your children (or grandchildren) about your experiences during the war.

9. Interview an African American refugee waiting for a boat to Canada at the close of the war. How did he/she escape from slavery? How did he/she get to New York? What are his/her expectations? What are his/her fears?

10. Interview an African American soldier in the Continental Army. How did he get there? How does he take to military life? How is he treated by his peers? By his officers? What are his hopes and fears?

11. Prepare a diorama depicting African Americans at Yorktown.

12. Draw a poster encouraging blacks in Rhode Island to enlist in the First Regiment.

13. Draft a chapter for a 5th grade textbook telling how African Americans participated in, and were affected by, the Revolutionary War. Make your text understandable for elementary students, but try to give enough sense of the complexities so as not to constitute an over-simplification of history.

UNIT PROJECTS FOR CHAPTER 6: AFRICAN AMERICANS

1. Read the complete narratives of Boston King and David George (see footnotes #132 and #133 for citations). (a) To understand the importance of the American Revolution in their personal lives, consider: how might their lives have evolved *without* the Revolution? (b) Compare the importance of religion in the lives of Boston King and David George to the importance of religion for women during the Revolution, as discussed above in chapter 3.

2. Upon the conclusion of the American Revolution, Patrick Henry ("Give me liberty or give me death!") owned 66 slaves. Thomas Jefferson ("All men are created equal") owned 204 slaves. George Washington, who directed the "War for Independence" to its successful conclusion, owned 390 slaves. These three men achieved fame as apostles of freedom, but they gained their fortunes by the sweat and tears of other human beings whom they claimed to own. Did they see the contradiction? Did it bother them? And, if so, what did they do to resolve it?

To understand how Henry, Jefferson, and Washington confronted and/or avoided the issue of slavery, consult these sources:

Patrick Henry. Richard R. Beeman, *Patrick Henry: A Biography* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1974); David A. McCants, *Patrick Henry, the Orator* (New York and Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990); Robert D. Meade, *Patrick Henry: Patriot in the Making* (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1957); Henry Mayer, *A Son of Thunder* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1986).

Thomas Jefferson: William Cohen, "Thomas Jefferson and the Problem of Slavery," *Journal of American History*, 56 (1969), 509; John C. Miller, *The Wolf by the Ears: Thomas Jefferson and Slavery* (New York: The Free Press, 1977); Annette Gordon-Reed, *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Heming: An American Controversy* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997); for DNA evidence that suggests an affair between Jefferson and Sally Heming, see Eugene A. Foster, M. A. Jobling, P. G. Taylor, P. Donnelly, P. de Knijff, Rene Mieremet, T. Zerjal, C. Tyler-Smith, "Jefferson Fathered Slave's Last Child," *Nature*, 396 (Nov. 5, 1998), 27-8. *Primary sources:* Jefferson's most complete statement of his views concerning slavery appears in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955; first published in 1785). The major collections of Jefferson's letters and other writings are Paul L. Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893) and Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950-1965). In the Ford and/or Boyd collections, consult the following dates for letters in which Jefferson addresses the issue of slavery: June 26, 1786; August 30, 1791; May 11, 1805; February 25, 1809; August 25, 1814; April 22, 1820; December 26, 1820; February 4, 1824; August 7, 1825; January 18, 1826; April 8, 1826; June 24, 1826.

George Washington: Fritz Hirschfeld, *George Washington and Slavery: A Documentary Portrayal* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997). *Primary sources:* Washington's writings are collected in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1931-44) and W. W. Abbott and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *Papers of George Washington* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983—). Consult entries for the following dates: July 2, 1766; November 12, 1775; August 15, 1778; February 24, 1779; September 9, 1786; November 6, 1786; November 24, 1786; February 1, 1787; February 4, 1787; November 23, 1794; November 13, 1797; August 18, 1799; July 9, 1799.

Compare the responses of Henry, Jefferson, and Washington. Although similar in many respects, how do they differ? Did one try harder than the others to match his deeds with his words?

3. With so few primary sources from the slaves themselves, we must rely on information written by whites, in many cases their masters. Although we do not have to accept the masters' accounts at face value, they do provide us with a window into the world of the slaves. Perhaps the most revealing information comes in the form of advertisements for runaway slaves (see, for instance, the ads placed by Andrew Estave, Joshua Eden, and Peregrine Thorn cited in the text). These ads have been collected in several books, the most complete being the multi-volume *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790*, edited by Lathan A. Windley. Look through this or any other collection of advertisements for runaways. What can you learn about specific people? What can you learn about the institution of slavery?

4. The death toll among white soldiers was approximately the same as that of slaves who perished as they tried to flee to freedom during the Revolutionary War. The toll among African Americans, considered as a percentage of their population, greatly exceeded that of Euro-Americans. The cry of "liberty" had a greater impact for those who were actually enslaved than for those who complained about the laws of Parliament. Despite all this, the fate of African Americans is treated only tangentially in most texts on the Revolution. (a) Look through various books which cover the American Revolution. What percent of the space do they devote to African Americans? Do they integrate the story of African Americans into the narrative? (b) How would you integrate the African American experience of the Revolutionary War into the overall narrative? Try it. Do you have to re-write some other parts of the traditional story to account for African Americans?

CHAPTER 7: THE BODY OF THE PEOPLE

PEOPLE'S HISTORY AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Review:

1. How was the daily work of common people affected by the American Revolution?
2. What were the extra burdens imposed on common people by the American Revolution?
3. (a) Describe how three particular groups of Native Americans “played the system” during the American Revolution. (b) Describe how African Americans in both the South and the North “played the system” during the American Revolution. (c) Describe how farmers “played the system” towards the end of the American Revolution.
4. How did the mechanisms for enlisting soldiers insure that poor people did a disproportionate share of the fighting?
5. (a) How did white patriots, including common people, withhold their support from the British government in the years leading up to the Revolution? (b) What kind of “boycott” did slaves stage?
6. Explain how three different groups tested the limits of authority just prior to the Revolution.
7. (a) In 1774, what repression was triggered by the Boston Tea Party? (b) How did the farmers of Massachusetts respond to this repression? (c) How did the fear of slave revolts lead many masters to become “revolutionaries”? (d) How did the fear of slave revolts affect the manpower available to the army in the southern states?
8. (a) How did common people participate in the overthrow of the British government? (b) How did lower class loyalists participate in the “transforming hand of revolution”? (c) How did slaves participate in the “transforming hand of revolution”? (d) How did Native Americans participate in the “transforming hand of revolution”?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. How helpful do you find Raphael's framework for ways in which common people participate in the historical process? What has he left out? Can you add to his list, or alter it, to make it more useful?
2. Choose any other era (it doesn't have to be a war), study it in some depth, then try to apply Raphael's list. Does it help elucidate the role of common people in this era? Does your refinement of this schema in the previous question work any better? In light of new information from your era, can you refine this framework some more?

WHO'S IN AND WHO'S OUT

Review:

1. (a) What does Gordon Wood think was the most radical concept fostered by the American Revolution? (b) According to Wood's critics, whom has he neglected to consider?

2. Do the findings of Jackson Turner Main on the wealth of legislators before and after the war argue for or against Wood's thesis?
3. According to John Shy, how did activities during the war alter the relations between classes?
4. What happened in rural Massachusetts exactly 12 years after the court closures that ushered in the American Revolution?
5. How widespread was popular discontent in the mid-1780s?
6. Gordon Wood and others have maintained that the revolutionary concept of equality, although not fully realized at the time, paved the way for future gains. Raphael does not disagree with this, but he does give it a new perspective. What qualifications does he offer?
7. (a) What did the patriots of Longmeadow do to Samuel Colton? (b) How did they justify their actions?
8. (a) During the Revolutionary War, what groups suffered abuse at the hands of "the body of the people"? (b) How has this kind of abuse been repeated in the 19th and 20th centuries? Give some examples. (c) What crowd actions in the 20th century have led to greater equality in American Society?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Was the cup of the Revolution half full or half empty? How does the answer change depending on which group you're looking at? Give your own evaluation of the inclusions and omissions in the revolutionary move towards equality.
2. Compare and contrast the Massachusetts court closures of 1774 and 1786.
3. (a) How does the term "Shays' Rebellion" lead to a mis-reading of the farmers uprising of 1786? (See footnote #11.) (b) How does a failure to acknowledge the court closures of 1774 lead to a mis-reading of the court closures of 1786?
4. What is your interpretation of Hannah Griffitts' poem?
5. Throughout United States history, the "body of the people" has "empowered and deprived." (a) Historically, how has the concept of the "common good" conflicted with minority rights? Give examples. (b) Are these always in conflict? Can attention to the rights of minorities further the "common good"? Consider the case of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, or the movement for gender equality, or any other movement which promoted equality.

THE HUMAN FACE OF FREEDOM

Review:

1. (a) How did common soldiers apply the spirit of the Revolution to army life? (b) What did their officers think of this?
2. "New lords new laws." Who were the lords and what were the laws?
3. (a) Who was Charles Asgill, and how did he get caught up in post-war politics? (b) In June of 1782, what did George Washington say of the intended execution? (c) How did he feel about it later? (d) Why did he turn the matter over to Congress? Why didn't he free Asgill himself?
4. What does the Asgill affair tell us about the "dictates of war."

5. (a) What does Raphael think was the most pervasive feature of the American Revolution? (b) How does his concluding story illustrate that feature?

Historical Reasoning/ Discussion:

1. Is the concept of a “freedom-loving soldier” self-contradictory? Is “a proper degree of Subordination” necessary for an army to function? Was there any way to blend revolutionary ideals with military necessity?

2. During the Vietnam War, many (perhaps most) Americans held that the United States might have made a mistake by committing to the war, but once committed, there was no choice but to continue. Compare this to Washington’s experience in the Asgill affair. Can you think of similar instances in United States history? How does the logic of “saving face” contribute to the perpetuation of war?

3. “The world is already too narrow.” Why/how did the Revolutionary War box people into corners? What was its peculiar dynamic? Do all wars box people into corners in a similar fashion? If so, explain how this works. If not, state a counter example and explain how your example differs from the Revolutionary War.

4. “People were scared. They didn’t know how it would all turn out.” How does the fact that we *do* know how the war turned out keep us from a more complete understanding of the people of the times?

5. “The people of the Revolution had become players, for better and worse.” What was the “better,” and what was the “worse”?

UNIT PROJECTS FOR CHAPTER 7: THE BODY OF THE PEOPLE

1. “In order to survive, everybody had to pay attention to public happenings, project how their own personal actions might be construed, and calculate how those actions might affect the course of events.” Choose one person from each of the first six chapters and describe how he/she participated in this process.

2. Pick an instance from the history of the United States in which you think the “body of the people” acted as a repressive force. Pick another instance in which you think the “body of the people” acted as a progressive force. Study them both in greater detail. (a) How do you account for the differences? What make one repressive and the other progressive? (b) How could the people involved in both instances claim roots in the American Revolution?

3. Compare/contrast the treatment of “freedom” in this book with that in another book (or books) on the American Revolution. How does the focus on common people here contribute to any difference in tone?

4. Raphael calls the American Revolution the “total war” of its times. The Civil War and World War II have often been characterized as “total wars,” whereas the Revolution generally is not. Study the effect of the Civil War or World War II (or both) on common people, then compare/contrast with the Revolutionary War. How did technological changes affect the nature and sweep of later wars? If you allow for the less developed technology of warfare, do you think the American Revolution can be considered the “total war” of its time? Like the Civil War and World War II, did the workings of the American Revolution envelop the entire population?