

First Draft

Minute Man Handbook

9-18-72

NOTE TO REVIEWERS

This first draft of the Minute Man Handbook will require a number of refinements before it will be ready for publication. Please review it and make your suggestions. It will be readily apparent that much attention has been given to the events of the decade that preceded April 1775. The justification for this is obvious, unless we are going to try to interpret the events of April 19 in a vacuum. Your assistance in making this a useful and scholarly publication will be appreciated.

John F. Luzader (per EFB)
John F. Luzader

Militia and Minutemen

Unlike most modern popular revolutionary movements, the Americans began their War of Independence with a large military organization - the militia - at their command. This ancient institution had its origin in the Anglo-Saxon fyrd, a locally controlled defence force composed of the entire free male population. It gradually gave way, following the Norman Conquest, to the feudal levy, which was founded upon land and the personal obligations between lord and vassal. However, something of the older organization survived in the general levy that was employed to raise men for siege warfare, freeing the mounted knights for "nobler" duty. As the feudal system expanded, the English kings ~~used~~ used the general levy increasingly ~~more~~, along with occasional units of hired professional soldiers, to curb the power of the local barons. Between the 14th and 16th centuries, the practice developed of appointing prominent persons in each shire to command the local militia under royal commissions; and in 1550 each county had a lord lieutenant whose duty it was to raise its military force in time of disorder or war. It was these men who perfected England's defence when the kingdom was threatened by the Spanish Armada; and under them reliance was increasingly placed upon the local "train bands" for defending the realm.

When the English colonists transplanted themselves in America, they brought with them the only institutions they knew - English ones. The primitive conditions that existed in the New World forced them to revert to the Anglo-Saxon organization, the enrollment of every able-bodied freeman in the local defence force. The need for such a system of universal training and service was obvious in a frontier environment. While their normal responsibility was the protection of their own

communities, they were so etimes mobilized for more distant service, as when in 1690, they attacked Port Royal in Nova Scotia; in 1710, Port Royal again; and Louisbourg in 1745.

The militia officers were commissioned by the governor in the name of the Crown, and the companies mustered periodically for training. As long as the frontier was nearby, militia duties were serious obligations; but as the country became more settled, the musters became holidays, when men gathered in the villages, performed a few clumsy drills, heard a muster day sermon, and disbanded for several hours of eating drinking, and amusement. Gun powder was limited, and whatever skill in marksmanship was acquired was developed on the men's own time in hunting and occasional target shooting. Volley firing, upon which the effectiveness of the smooth-bore musket depended (there were no rifles in New England and relatively few elsewhere) was rarely practiced.

When, in the autumn of 1774, the revolutionary Provincial Congress became the de facto government of Massachusetts Bay, it created a Committee of Safety to purchase £20,000 worth of arms and ammunition and reorganize the militia.

The reorganization was a complicated process. The local companies chose their officers, who, in turn, selected the regimental field officers. These were charged with raising a new force that would consist of at least one-fourth of the total enrolled militia. The townships accordingly polled their manpower and divided it into two groups: the alarm lists and the militia. Although originally intended to include all men capable of service, the alarm lists eventually were composed of the elder men, those unfit for active service, and boys. The militia were organized in companies of least 50 privates, with nine companies forming a battalion. From the militia a company of "minute men" was chosen to be ready to muster at a

moment's notice on orders from the Committee of Safety or, in emergencies, on those of the company commander. The rest of the militia formed a reserve that was subject to call if needed, and the alarm lists provided watchmen and other supporting personnel. However, men and boys from the alarm lists fought as individuals on occasion. Until the Continental

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Congress adopted the Massachusetts army, this militia was the American military establishment, and even after that time, the militiamen were an important source of short-term manpower.

TRIUMPH and DISCORD

The Anglo-French contest for a colonial empire, which had troubled the waters of European international affairs for seven decades, ended with the Treaty of Paris of 1763. By its provisions Great Britain received, in addition to other accessions, Canada, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton, Mobile, and all French territory east of the Mississippi River, except New Orleans and vicinity. France was thus expelled from the North American mainland. Britain emerged as the most powerful nation in the world, and the power of her imperial rivals was correspondingly reduced. With no immediate challengers on the international scene, she turned her attention to the consolidation and administration of her colonies.

Several important factors complicated Britain's task of integrating her older American colonies into the empire. They had developed during the period of "salutary neglect" into mature political, economic, and social communities in which English legal and political concepts of personal liberty and representative government were as firmly rooted - in some instances more so - as in the Mother Country. The colonists, unless they were in servitude, were as free as their fellow-subjects at home. Secondly, imperial and colonial ^{interests and} values were often at odds; and British policies directed toward collecting revenue and regulating trade, land speculation, and Indian affairs could succeed only at the expense of some American vested interests. Thirdly, the expulsion of France from the mainland of North America removed the major threat to the security of the colonies and diminished their sense of dependence upon Great Britain. Thus at the moment of imperial triumph the bonds of affinity that tied the inhabitants of British North America to England were beginning to unravel.

To understand the forces that led from individual and local dissatisfaction with British policy and its execution to revolution, a brief review of the controversies that attended Anglo-Colonial relations from 1763 to 1775 is necessary.

The colonies had been subject to certain restrictions imposed by London for many years prior to 1763. Among these were the several Navigation Acts that attempted to channel ocean-borne commerce for the benefit of English shipping. Acts of Trade, such as the Wool, Naval Stores, Hat, Molasses, and Iron Acts were intended to regulate colonial manufactures in a manner consistent with current mercantilistic theory. Because they were calculated to restrict certain forms of American economic development, it might seem strange that they did not arouse rebellious sentiments in the colonies long before the middle of the 18th century. However, they often ^{bestowed} ~~operated to bestow~~ important advantages upon significant portions of the colonial economy. Then too, the colonists resorted to extra-legal methods of evasion and smuggling, ^{that} ~~which~~ lightened their burdensome features. Thus there was little opposition to the regulatory acts, and the years preceding 1764 came to be remembered as a golden age to which the Americans wished to return.

Great Britain emerged from the Seven Years' War with a far-flung empire and a huge public debt. The wars that she had waged with France and her allies during the past seventy years had exhausted the treasury and piled up a debt that exceeded £133,000,000. This sum included funds for reimbursing the colonies for the military expenses they had incurred during the recent war. To fulfill commitments made to the colonies for that purpose, Parliament had appropriated more than £1,150,000 during the

years 1756 to 1763, which was distributed among the colonies upon the basis of their claims for reimbursement.)

no p ✓ With the conclusion of hostilities, the already heavily taxed people of Great Britain were expected to assume the financial burden of paying the national debt. While no responsible official was proposing that any part of that burden should be borne by the Americans, there was a strong sentiment among all parties in Britain that the colonies should share the costs of maintaining garrisons at strategic points in North America.

¶ The Proclamation Line of 1763 established by the Crown endorsed the principle of the Treaty of Easton of 1758, which Britain had negotiated with the western Indians. The royal proclamation reiterated the English pledge to respect native claims to lands west of the Appalachians and to refrain from occupying them without the Indians' consent. It also provided for establishing the Provinces of Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida in North America and the government of Grenada in the West Indies. The vast interior of the continent between the Appalachians and the Mississippi was *yet* still to be brought under imperial control. This fact was made obvious the very year the Proclamation was promulgated when Indians, suspicious of British intentions, waged a two-year war under the leadership of Pontiac. The defense of strategic parts and policing of the frontier required the presence in North America of a regular military establishment whose assigned mission came to be that of an imperial police force. The search for funds to finance this establishment led directly to the Revenue Act of 1764, commonly called the Sugar Act.

George Grenville headed the ministry that faced the problem of finding new sources of revenue at home and in the colonies. Taxes and

prices in the United Kingdom were high, while the American Colonies were prosperous and lightly taxed. Britons were unanimous in their belief that the colonies should share with the Mother Country to burden of financing the maintenance of the garrisons in North America. Some income from them was already being raised under existing legislation. The war-time policy of rigid enforcement of the Acts of Trade to prevent American trading with the enemy had increased the amount of money collected as customs; but with the return of peace, smuggling again flourished. This, coupled with the common ignoring of the Navigation Acts through direct trading with Holland and other countries, resulted in a substantial loss of revenue. Then too, the system produced by the Navigation and Trade Acts was primarily regulatory, with revenue a secondary consideration, even though indirect contributions to the British economy were considerable. William Pitt estimated that colonial commerce brought an annual profit of at least £2,000,000 to British merchants.

The Sugar Act was the first measure for raising revenue in America that Grenville introduced, and its purpose was stated in the preamble: "That a revenue be^{raised} in your Majesty's dominions in America for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting and securing the same." In its details it extended the provisions of the Molassas Act of 1733, but reduced the duty on foreign molasses from 6 to 3 pence per gallon, ^{and} increased the duty on foreign refined sugar. It also prescribed new or higher duties on non-British textiles, coffee, indigo^o, and on Madeira and Canary wines imported direct; and it doubled the duties on foreign goods reshipped from England. Iron, hides, whale, furs, raw silk, pearl ash, and potash were added to the "enumerated" articles that could be

exported only to Britain. Foreign rum and French wines were banned from importation into the colonies.

The Sugar Acts ~~included provisions that~~ represented a compromise between the interests of the sugar planters and the colonial merchants that really favored the latter. It also benefited the American distillers by lowering the duty on molasses and prohibiting the importation of foreign-produced rum, giving them a virtual monopoly in the colonies. The fact that Parliament was not completely indifferent to American economic interests was demonstrated by the passage of an act that favored colonial whalers and the importation into Britain of whale fins by colonials ^{by remitting} which remitted all duties except a small perpetual duty dating from the reign of Charles II, called the "Old Subsidy." This law stimulated the expansion of the New England whaling industry. Another act allowed South Carolina rice planters to send their product, an enumerated commodity, to any part of America to the southward, subject only to the same duty collected for exporting directly to European ports south of Cape Finistère. A third act provided a generous bounty to Americans who raised flax and hemp for export to England.

Ministerial optimism concerning the success of their efforts to effect an equitable distribution of the burden of defending North America was rudely shattered when colonial leaders ^{sic. z. c.} seized upon the Sugar Act's avowed revenue raising purpose as a constitutional issue. A committee of the Massachusetts Bay under the chairmanship of James Otis challenged the act and any other that Parliament might enact with the same intent on the basis of rights guaranteed by the British constitution, declaring that such "measures have a tendency to deprive the Colonies of some of

their most essential Rights as British Subject . . . particularly the Right of assessing their own Taxes." Thus a new and significant element entered into the controversy between Britain and her colonies.

Colonial fears that if Parliament succeeded in taxing trade through the agency of the Sugar Act, it could proceed to impose internal taxes seemed prophetic when it passed the Stamp Act on March 22, 1765. The ^{Act} imposed a tax upon practically all types of legal documents, as well as dice and playing cards. Violations were to be tried without a jury in the Vice-Admiralty Courts. It was designed to raise £60,000 a year to pay part of the estimated £350,000 required to maintain British troops in America.

American opposition to this, the first direct tax that Parliament had tried to levy on the colonies, was ultimately based, as against the Sugar Act, upon the principle of "no taxation without representation" and led to the meeting of the Stamp Act Congress in New York City during October 7-25, 1765. The Congress adopted a 14-resolution Declaration of Rights and Grievances that denied that Parliament had a right to tax the colonies and condemned the act's provision of a trial before the Vice-Admiralty Courts as a threat to civil liberties. This expression of colonial sentiment was embodied in an address to the King, a memorial to the House of Lords, and a petition to Commons.

Meanwhile, the Sons of Liberty and other less well-organized opponents of the parliamentary acts resorted to intimidation and violence ^{that} and forced the stamp agents to resign. Colonial opposition was so successful that, except in Georgia, the stamps could not be sold.

English demand for the repeal of the Stamp Act ^{were} was organized even before the act became effective. William Pitt and other Whigs supported American opposition. Petitions from merchants, whose trade had declined by 25 per cent as the result of non-importation agreements among the colonists boycotting goods taxed by the Sugar Act, gave force to arguments in favor of repeal. On March 18, 1766, the King gave his assent to the parliamentary act of repeal, to be effective on May 1. The Americans received the news with self-congratulatory rejoicing, ignoring for the time being the passage of the Declaratory Act, passed the same day, that asserted Parliament's authority to enact laws binding upon the colonies "in all cases whatsoever."

Another of the Grenville Ministry's acts that sparked American dissatisfaction with imperial policy was the Currency Act that prohibited the colonies from issuing legal tender currency. ^{Its purpose was} ~~This was passed to prevent~~ colonial debtors from paying English creditors in depreciated currency. Despite the equity of the act's provisions, it did result in a money shortage in America at a time when the Sugar Act had cut off the flow of specie acquired through the sugar trade with the West Indies.

Grenville left office in July 1765 and was succeeded by Charles Watson-Wentworth, Second Marquess of Rockingham, who was in turn followed by a return to office by William Pitt. Both men had opposed Grenville's program and were considered friends of the American colonists. Although they were critics of their predecessor's efforts to force the Americans to contribute to defraying the costs of imperial defence, they found themselves faced the problem of producing effective alternatives to his policies. The Rockingham ministry resorted to an expedient that was very unpopular in

Great Britain. The 1761 tax on houses and windows was expanded to include the humblest dwellings, which had hitherto been exempt. Additional duties were laid upon imported beverages, withdrawals were made from the fund set aside for retiting the public debt, and a lottery was authorized. Land taxes continued to weigh so heavily upon ^{British} the farmers and country gentry that they were compelled to sell their wheat at such exorbitant prices that widespread "bread riots" occurred. Thus, while the tax burdens in the colonies were becoming lighter, the already over-taxed Britans were being required to assume a still heavier share of imperial expenses:

Pitt, who became the Earl of Chatham, had been a great war-time leader, but he was not temperamentally equipped to deal with domestic problems. The situation was made more difficult by his serious illness that incapacitated him, leaving a leadership vacuum. The dominant figure in the Cabinet was Charles Townshend^d, Chancellor of Exchequer. In February 1767 he proposed a continuation of ^{the} land tax at the war-time rate of 4s. on the pound. His predecessor in the Exchequer, William Dowdeswill^e, and Grenville led the opposition and demanded that the rate be reduced to 3s, and their motion to that effect carried. Instead of resigning Townshend chose to remain in office and accommodate himself to the decision of the parliamentary majority. Because the one shilling reduction of the land tax represented a loss of some £500,000 of revenue, the minister had to look elsewhere for relief. Imports on cider, rum, and malt were about to expire, but they were continued and additional imports were imposed upon straw hats, canvas, and linen. As in preceding years, withdrawals were made from the sinking fund and a lottery was authorized to cover necessary expenses for the ^{current} year, which totaled more than £8,500,000.

Additional revenue was still needed if the retirement of the public debt was to be undertaken. Public opinion opposed levying additional taxes upon the inhabitants of Great Britain. This sentiment was enforced by the conviction that the colonists were not carrying a fair share of the empire's burden. The Cabinet recognized ^{that} the issue raised by the favored position of the colonies had to be met. America's substantial contributions to the imperial treasury under the operation of the navigation system were recognized, but ^{the record} ~~experience~~ had demonstrated that important sections of its economy had also profited. It was clear that the prosperous colonists comparatively free of taxation. What was equally clear was the enforcement agencies of the navigation system, together with the Sugar Act of 1764, were no longer sufficiently effective.

The Townshend Revenue Act, which became effective on July 2, 1767, imposed duties on lead, glass, tea, painters' colors, and paper imported into the colonies. The rates fixed by the act were so low ^{and} the volume of traffic in the designated articles was so limited that the maximum anticipated revenue was only £40,000, less than one tenth of the income lost in reducing the land tax in Great Britain by one shilling. However, it was a gesture aimed at assuring the people in the home island that an attempt was being made toward having the colonists make a more concrete contribution to supporting the Empire.

The fund raised in America was to be devoted to:

defraying the Charge of the Administration of Justice, and the Support of Civil Government, in such Provinces where it shall be found necessary; and toward further defraying the Expenses of defending, protecting and securing the said Dominions. . . .

Thus the revenue was to be used not only to help finance the military establishment but also to defray the expenses of civil government, including paying the salaries of governors and judges. Because the colonial assemblies had struggled long and successfully to exercise the power of the purse and to thwart royal attempts to establish a fixed civil list in the colonies, it was this provision that especially aroused American opposition. The situation was rendered more ominous by the threatening tone implicit in the act's language that made the degree to which the powers conferred by it would be invoked dependent upon the colonies' conduct. At the same time, it should be noted that there was no apparent intent to apply the statute to the two self-governing charter colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut, despite the fact that its first application was to be made in their neighbor, the royal colony of Massachusetts Bay, which the ministry considered to be the cradle of defiance.

The Revenue Act was not expected to stand alone in Townshend's program. The enforcement of the navigation and trade laws and the Sugar Act had been inadequate. To aid in their enforcement, as well as of the Revenue Act, Parliament passed a bill that had been under consideration for some time. This act set up in America a board of customs commissioners to assume the functions that had been exercised in England by commissioners created during the reign of Charles II for "better securing of the Plantation Trade." The new law placed all American customs officials under the authority of this board, whose members were appointed under the Great Seal and had their headquarters in Boston. The enforcement system was rounded out by the creation in 1768 of four American vice-admiralty districts, in each of which a judge and other officers would have the power to exercise original jurisdiction, as well as to hear appeals

from local vice-admiralty courts. After some delay, these new courts were set up at Halifax in Nova Scotia, Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston.

The establishment of the four vice-admiralty courts ~~at~~ completed the creation of the British administrative system for the American colonies. This system was based upon an important constitutional concept that sovereignty within the empire did not reside in the King, nor in the House of Lords, nor in Commons, but in all three functioning jointly in Parliament. This meant that the King's High Court of Parliament, which for almost a century had ~~been~~ possessed ultimate authority in the British Isles, was also supreme in the dominions beyond the realm. This drastically altered the older doctrine that had obtained during the first half of the 17th century that the Crown could regulate colonial affairs without interference from Parliament. The constitutional change had evolved since the period of the English Civil War and Commonwealth to the point where sovereignty rested in Parliament, first at home and now throughout the British Empire.

This constitutional revolution had included a number of acts and judicial decisions that advanced and secured the civil rights of British subjects while establishing a political system that, with all its inequities and excesses, formed the basis for ^{the development of} ~~representative~~ and ⁿ ~~responsible~~ government. But the extension of parliamentary supremacy to the colonies did not have the same happy effect on their liberties. They could not be effectively represented in the House of Commons; and without active colonial participation in imperial legislative processes, the growing conflict between America and imperial interests ~~was inevitable.~~
~~were bound to collide.~~

Parliamentary attempts to legislate for the Empire were accompanied by centralizing moves that militated against traditional local rights, of which

the broad extension of the authority of the vice-admiralty courts at the expense of the common law courts in America was an example. Moreover, to insure the execution of imperial policy, not only were the more important colonial officials—most governors and councilors and all fiscal and customs officials, as well as all vice-admiralty judges—appointed by the ministry, but also most laws passed by colonial assemblies were required to be submitted to the Privy Council, ^{who} ~~with~~ possessed the power of disallowance on veto. The Privy Council also exercised the right to review cases appealed from the colonial courts.

There was much to commend the system, but during the period ⁱⁿ ~~during~~ which it evolved, the American colonies grew in population, wealth, and political experience. As they matured, their inhabitants became less British ^{and} more American. This growing nationalism clashed with the ^{centralized supra-nationalism} ~~centralisation~~ of the Empire. The provincial assemblies were the most important agencies for the expression of American resistance to imperial policy; and at the same time that parliamentary authority was becoming supreme in the Empire, an important development of conceptions of parliamentary privilege took place within ^{these} ~~the provincial~~ assemblies that paralleled those that had attended the rise of parliamentary supremacy in England. By 1774 the colonial assemblies claimed complete local legislative autonomy. Thus two institutions that were the products of English concepts of responsible self-government became the vehicles for a conflict of fundamental values and interests.

News of the enactment of the Townshend Acts reached America during September 1767, and the text of the Revenue Act appeared in the newspapers early in October. Reaction in Boston was immediate, and in a town meeting held later in that month resolutions were adopted that called upon the people to manufacture

for themselves a long list of articles subject to the new levies. A request for a meeting of the General Assembly was also voted. While Boston's reaction was immediate, it was also moderate in contrast to the violence that had attended resistance to the Stamp Act. Even if the turbulence was missing, the determination was there to oppose paying of the new duties. However, the leaders were hand^Y put to find a legal argument. They wanted to deny Parliament's power to tax them, yet they acknowledged its power to regulate commerce. They certainly were not prepared to break loose from the protective system created by the Trade and Navigation Acts, nor could they deny that many of the new regulations were justified by evasions of customs laws and smuggling.

The colonial leader who came the closest to resolving this de^ulema was not James Otis and his radical associates in Boston, but mild, conservative John Dickinson, whose impressio^{ve}n and elaborate attack upon the Townshent Acts appeared in Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies that appeared in twelve installments in the Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser. The most significant part of his argument was his somewhat tentative advocacy of a principle of federalism within the Empire when he wrote:

The Parliament unquestionable possesses a legal authority to regulate the trade of Great Britain and all her colonies . . . We are but parts of a whole; and therefore there must exist a power somewhere to preside, and preserve the connexion in due order. This power is lodged in the Parliament; and we are as much dependent on Great Britain as a perfectly free people can be on another . . .

Parliament was the supreme legislature of the Empire and had certain defined power to legislate for the colonies, but the latter retained the reside^unce of powers. Unfortunately for the future of the Empire, Dickinson's contemporaries did not grasp the implications of the federal idea.

Equally important with his discussion of imperial federalism was Dickinson's assertion that while Parliament could regulate trade, including the levying of port duties, it did not have the authority to impose taxes--
- internal or external--upon the colonies. He thus repudiated the distinction that had been made by most Americans, including Benjamin Franklin, between internal and external taxation. Although Letters from a Farmer suffered from some defects from the viewpoint of 18th century constitutional law, it soon became the leading doctrinal ^{expression} ~~publication~~ of the American position, a place that it occupied until early 1776, when Thomas Paine's Common Sense ^{supplanted} ~~supplemented~~ it by denying all dependence upon Britain, including fealty to the Crown. In the meantime, it crystallized colonial opposition to the Townshend Acts.

As the Governor of Massachusetts Bay, Sir Francis Bernard, saw the problem, the only way out of the developing impasse was to extend representation in the House of Commons to the colonies; and he strongly urged this upon the ^{ministry} ~~ministry~~, although he acknowledged that most Americans did not desire it. He argued that by this means the colonial opposition to parliamentary levies would be met. To support the governor and silence the radicals, conservative Brigadier Timothy Ruggles urged the Massachusetts House of Representatives to choose members to Commons and to send them to London to be seated, an ^{that was both} ~~action~~ out of tune with the House's sentiments and devoid of legality.

The House of Representatives, while firmly objecting to ^Cresent parliamentary legislation, rejected with equal firmness the idea of representation in Commons. It addressed a petition to the King that voiced its fears that the colonists' rights as free Englishmen were endangered by the Townshend Acts. Letters to the Commissioners of the Treasury and to political figures,

including William Pitt and the Marquiss of Rockingham, reflected the same concern. Then, after some hesitation, it addressed the "Circular Letter" to the assemblies of its sister colonies on February 11, 1768. The "Circular Letter," drafted by Samuel Adams, denounced the Townshend Acts for violating the principle of no taxation without representation. Concerning parliamentary representation, the "Circular Letter" declared, "this House think that a taxation of their constituents, even without their consent, grievous as it is, would be preferable to any representation that could be admitted for them there."

Adams, as spokesman for the House, not only summarily dismissed the idea of colonial representation in Commons, he also attacked the constitutionality of proposals to provide for a colonial civil list and the cited the dangerous implications of the Mutiny Act. In concluding, the "Letter" solicited proposals from the other assemblies for united action, while protesting that there was no sentiment in the colonies for independence.

The "Circular Letter" evoked strong support among the American colonies. The assemblies, or their Speakers if they were not in ^{session} review, of Connecticut, Georgia, Maryland, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Rhode Island, and Virginia endorsed it. Their deliberate defiance of the ministry ^{confirmed} ~~testified to~~ the Massachusetts House's leadership in resisting Parliament's actions.

Official British reaction was immediately hostile. Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Colonies, considered it a call to form "unwarrantable combinations" to oppose the constitutional authority of Parliament. After consulting with the King, he instructed Governor Bernard to call upon the House of Representative in the King's name to rescind the resolution that was ^{its} ~~the basis~~ for the "Letter" and to repudiate the "Circular Letter" under penalty of dissolution and reference to Parliament of the whole issue. He also sent

circulars to all the governors, except those of Quebec and East Florida, calling upon them to exert themselves to keep their assemblies from endorsing the Massachusetts Bay's position.

Instead of acceding to Lord Hillsborough's demand, the House overwhelmingly voted to send a detailed defence of its conduct to London. In that paper it pointed out that the King's "request" was entirely improper as being without precedent in the relations between Crown and Commons since the days of the Revolution of 1688. It asserted that this request could only ~~have resulted~~ ^{be the product} ~~an~~ from an attempt to poison the King's mind against his subjects, "a crime of the most malignant nature." The communication ended with the request that the ~~Secretary~~ ^{Secretary} should inform the King that the House's actions were those of "affectionate and loyal subjects." Upon being informed of the House's stand, Governor Bernard, in compliance with his orders, dissolved the House.

Meanwhile, the nonconsumption movement that started in Boston in October 1767 spread to other New England towns. Now, as Dickinson had urged in Letters from a Farmer, the non-importation agreements that had been so effective in opposition to the Stamp tax, were being reviewed. The Boston importers, aware of the limited effectiveness of nonconsumption influencing English manufacturers and merchants, took the lead during March 1768. New York importers agreed during April and, finally after a delay of almost a year, Philadelphia's merchants joined the movement.

The breakdown of commercial relations between Old and New England was further illustrated by increased smuggling and violation of the Acts of Trade.

By the beginning of 1768, customs officials in Boston were aware that ~~enforcing~~ ^{they were} ~~powerless to enforce~~ both the revenue acts and the trade regulations. Although smuggling had in-

creased alarmingly since 1765, only six seizures had been made. Of these, one had been successfully prosecuted. Mobs at Falmouth (modern Maine) and Newburyport rescued two others. A third at New London, Connecticut, was carried away clandestinely while the case was being tried. The other two were acquitted in Rhode Island "through the Combination and Influence of the Poep[le]." A report to the Commissioners of the Treasury, preserved in the Shelburne Papers, summed up the situation in these words:

Our Officers were resisted and defeated in almost every attempt to do their duty when the Right of Parliament to lay external duties was acknowledged. Now that the Right of Parliament to lay any taxes whatsoever on the Colonies is denied, we have every reason to expect that we shall find it totally impracticable to enforce the Execution of the Revenue Laws until the Hand of Government is strengthened. At present not a ship of war in the Province, nor a company of soldiers nearer than New York, which is two hundred and fifty Miles distant from this place [Boston].

"Until the Hand of Government is strengthened" had a fateful ring. For it was in strengthening that hand that seeds of even greater troubles were sown. Governor Bernard was convinced by the spring of 1768 that his colony was on the verge of rebellion, and he voiced that opinion in correspondence with Viscount Barrington, Secretary ^{of} War. News from the Massachusetts Bay persuaded the ministry that troops were required in the colony to aid the local magistrates in maintaining law and order. Acting upon this conviction, Lord Hillsborough ordered Maj. Gen. Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief in North America, then resident in New York, to post at least one regiment in Boston. Gage had anticipated a request from Bernard and had made preparations for transferring troops from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to Boston. However, the governor had made it clear to the general that he could not request troops without the

recommendation of his Council, which he was not likely to obtain. A ^{clue} ~~clue~~ to the Council's sentiments may be found in the fact that its members agreed on July 7 to petition the King against levying duties provided for in the Townshend Revenue Act.

Although the radical leaders denied that there was any serious breakdown in public order, the governor and others believed a state of virtual anarchy ~~apparently~~ existed by the summer of 1768. On June 10 the crew of the H. M. S. Romney seized John Hancock's sloop Liberty for alleged violation of the trade acts. A mob seized the vessel and forced the customs commissioners to take refuge on board the Romney. When news of this event reached Whitehall, the 64th and 65th Regiments were ordered from the United Kingdom to Boston, and General Gage took steps to have troops moved from Halifax to support the government. When rumors reached Boston in July that ^{the} a regiment was on its way south, there was talk on the part of some of the Sons of Liberty of open resistance; and the selectmen of Boston called a provincial "Convention" to petition the governor against the bringing in the troops. Bernard refused to accept the petition because it came from an illegal body, and he ordered the "Convention" to disband.

Ships appeared in the harbor at the end of September. The following ~~day~~ men-of-war moved in and fell into formation with springs on their anchor cables, so that broadsides faced the town. They were followed by transports carrying the 14th and 29th Regiments, with some companies of the 59th. At noon, Friday, October 1, the barges brought the soldiers ashore. The ships and soldiers presented a spectacle that combined order, menace, and uncertainty. The sight was an unsettling one for ^{the} almost 20,000 inhabitants of Boston, and talk of fighting in the streets gave way to councils of prudence.

Boston's first resistance to the presence of the troops was staged not on the docks nor in the streets but in the Court House. When Colonel Dalrymple requested quarters under the Quartering Act, the Council refused. Its refusal was based upon an interpretation of the provision of law which directed that a province was to provide quarters only if there were no barracks or if the barracks were filled. There were barracks at Castle William on Castle Island in the harbor ~~Those~~ ^{that} buildings had been erected during the war and were in a bad state of repair. More important, while the island was legally a part of the town, it was several miles from Boston proper. If the troops did not first fill those barracks, the Council contended that it would be illegal to quarter soldiers in the town, and it would be impossible to furnish them anything under the terms of the Quartering Act.

The regiments from Ireland, not due arrive for another month, would fill the Castle barracks, but the Council was not inclined to be reasonable. Colonel Dalrymple could not agree to move the troops to the island without defeating the purpose for which they were brought to Boston. While the 29th bivouaced ^{over} on the Common and the 14th in ~~Faneuil~~ ^{FANEUIL} Hall and the Court House, Colonel Dalrymple and the engineer, John Montresor, rented buildings to house the men. Those buildings were scattered throughout the town: on Water Street, along the docks, in Athenson Street, where the ropewalks were located, and elsewhere.

The consequences of the dispersing of the soldiers became apparent to everyone--military and civilian. Discipline was extremely difficult to maintain. Within two weeks, 70 men deserted.)

No 11 To deal with the problem, Colonel Dalrymple tried to seal off the town from the countryside by placing guards at all the temporary quarters and around

the town, especially at Boston Neck, where a strong guard was posted. During the hours of darkness, every person near a guard post was suspect, including those in civilian dress. The sentries found it impossible to distinguish between deserters and bona fide civilians, and they were frequently embroiled in ^{encounters} ~~confrontations~~ with irate townsmen.

The potential for conflict between civilians and soldiers was increased by reports that had been circulated by part of the radical leadership that the troops had three assignments: to disarm the people; to place the colony under martial law; and to arrest provincial leaders and send them to London for trial. Thus it was not strange that incidents that would have been minor in another context became the occasion for confrontation between soldier and townsman. The officer and non-commissioned officers of the guard ordered the sentinel to keep a sharp watch, challenge every person near his post, and let no deserter slip past, on pain of a lashing for neglect of duty. The soldier would try to execute his orders, many civilians would not play the game. When the sentinel tried to stop strangers who would not answer the summons, several things--all of them unpleasant--might occur. If they were numerous or drunk, they might disarm and beat the soldier. If they were few or respectable, they would take his name and swear out a warrant charging him with assault; and the next day would find him before an unfriendly justice of the peace. A less serious but equally irritating variation was practiced by the town's boys, who ^{pelted} ~~jilted~~ the "bloody back" with bricks, stones, or snowballs.

Morale, never high among British troops faced with the prospect of fighting fellow-subjects, suffered and desertion increased. General Gage tried severity and clemency and severity again, but nothing seemed effective. The guards kept

it within bounds until February, when a hard freeze made it possible for fugitives to escape over the ice. When the general sent parties in civilian clothes into the countryside to find deserters, the inhabitants and magistrates refused to cooperate and sometimes rescued men who were arrested.

Low morale and impaired discipline ^{W.E.C.} ~~even~~ also reflected in increased drunkenness, and prostitution. Colonial nonconsumption and nonimportation ~~agreements~~ ^{were} were causing economic depression and unemployment, compounding the social problems that townsmen and soldiers had to face.

The fact that a year and a half passed before the Boston Massacre entered ~~history~~ ^{and legend} was due to the pressure of certain forces that operated to prevent an outbreak. One ^{factor} was doubtless the fear ~~the~~ ^{the} civilians felt for the armed troops. Another was ^{the} economic benefits that the town derived from the garrison's presence. The soldiers spent their meagre pay^s in Boston, and the officers patronized local tradesmen. Given the depressed economic conditions, these sources of business were not to be lightly dismissed. Another less easily ^a gaged, factor was a certain humanitarianism that made the Bostonians feel sorry for the common soldiers. They saw their religious life neglected, a matter of importance to heirs of the Calvinist heritage. They also saw them beaten, ^{bilked} ~~bit~~ of their poor pay, and caught in a system that New Englanders loathed almost to a man. Even readers of the radical "Journal of the Times" were able to see a fellow human being beneath the red coats.

The commanders in Boston deserve much of the credit for preventing an outbreak of full-scale violence. General Gage did all in his power to that end; and after his departure in November 1768, his successors managed to preserve reasonably good order for the next six months. Brigadier ¹²⁷ John Pomeroy,

who arrived with the major elements of the 64th and 65 Regiments, was in command until the following May. When he departed, even the "Journal of the Times" confessed that his conduct had "done honour to the army, and that as a gentleman he was well respected." His successor, Maj. Gen. Alexander Mac^Khay, who served until August, nullified the townspeople by prohibiting horse racing on the Common during Sabbath services and doing his best to prevent confrontations between sentries and civilians.

While an "Appearance of Peace and Quiet in the Place," to use General Gage's language, prevailed, the British ministry deeply concerned about the seriousness of the American crises, particularly in Massachusetts, laid a body of papers that included the votes, resolutions, and proceedings of that colony's House of Representatives, as well as copies of Boston newspapers, before the House of Lords for consideration during the December session. The peers examined these documents, which were incendiary on their face, and addressed ^{eight} ~~right~~ resolutions to the King, to which the House of Commons were asked to give its assent. These resolutions were concerned with the colonists' denial of parliamentary authority, with the towns' efforts to hold an illegal convention, and with the civil disorders in Boston. The Lords supported the Crown's efforts to uphold the imperial constitution and urged the King to direct the Governor of Massachusetts to collect comprehensive information concerning "all treasons, or misprision of treason" committed within the colony during the past year, and to appoint a commission to evaluate the evidence under the provisions of the treason statute of Henry VIII's reign for the purpose of bringing suspects to England for trial.

There was little opposition to the resolutions in the House of Lords, but a large and important minority of the members of Commons eloquently opposed them.

After a lengthy and searching debate, they were passed in the House by a vote of 159 to 65. The King responded to Parliament's actions by declaring that he would give the orders that the members had recommended "as the most effective method of bringing the authors of the late unhappy disorders in that province to condign punishment." Although there were rumors that Samuel Adams, James Otis, and Thomas Cushing were to be arrested, taken to London, and hanged, these King's remarks remained only a threat that hung over the colony for the next half-dozen years.

Rhetoric and debate aside, the Cabinet faced a harsh dilemma. The Townshend duties, which had been levied to lighten the burden of the British taxpayer, had by the spring of 1769 brought in no more £3,500, while the non-importation and non-consumption agreements had produced a drop in trade of £700,000 in one year. Most men in public life were convinced that attempting to collect the duties in the face of colonial opposition was economically and politically unwise. At the same time, there was an equally strong conviction that the government could not retreat without endangering the Empire.

The British ministry's efforts to cope with the American problem crippled by a leadership vacuum. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was not physically nor mentally capable of carrying the heavy burden of responsibility of heading the administration of the assuming office in August 1766, and he gradually faded from the political scene before resigning the Privy Seal in October 1768. The new titular Prime Minister, the Duke of Grafton, was a well-intentioned mediocrity who could not command the support of his colleagues. The Lord High Chancellor, Lord Camden, who had strongly opposed the right of Parliament to levy taxes on the colonists, had sat silently through the denunciations of American resistance in the December 1768 session of the House of Lords. Iso-

lated by bitter opposition to both the ministry and the majority in Parliament, he was forced out of office in 1770. The only public figure who at the moment enjoyed public and parliamentary respect was Townshend's reccessor as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Frederick North. Shortly after Grafton's resignation in January 1770, North assumed the post of First Lord of the Treasury, becoming the head of the ministry, a position that he held against his own wishes throughout the American Revolution.

The parliamentary debates of 1769 thus took place during a period when the Cabinet was practically leaderless, and when any real hope of securing revenue from America through either external or internal taxation had disappeared. The futility of such a hope was confirmed in Lord Hillsborough's circular letter to the American governors of May 13, 1769 in which he wrote: "no measure ought to be taken which can in any way derogate from the authority of Great Britain over the colonies," but at the same time, he let it be known that the Cabinet did not intend to propose any new taxes and was now prepared to recommend the abolition of the duties on paper, paints, and glass. The willingness to abandon the attempt to secure revenue from the Colonies was illustrated by the fact that when the Cabinet decided to retain the duty on tea, it was by one vote, and that the ^{real} purpose was to vindicate the principles expressed in the Declaratory Act of ~~1776~~¹⁷⁶⁶. Although many members of Parliament supported the repeal of all acts relating to the colonies, including the regulatory Navigation Act, the tea duty was retained, along with a preamble of the earlier act that asserted Parliament's authority to levy such a duty.

American political thought had undergone such a fundamental change that the retention of the tea duty and the "obnoxious preamble" was considered an

infringement of colonial rights. Benjamin Franklin, although in advance of most of his countrymen in his views of the colonies' constitutional status voiced a logical extension of American thought when he concluded that the colonies were separate states possessing ¹⁷⁹¹sovereign rights--even in their dealings with England. He had come to assert that each colony had purposely been established as separate states. While their common sovereign was the King, Parliament had no authority over them, but had usurped that power.

Franklin was in the van-guard, but ^{he was} ~~not~~ ⁱⁿ not much in advance of the members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, who on July 1, 1769, had unanimously declared:

That this House do concur in and adhere to . . . that essential Principle, that no man can be taxed, or bound in Conscience to obey any Law, to which he has not given his Consent in Person, or by his Representative

To be sure, this defiant declaration was watered down on second thought to the effect that right of imposing taxes belonged to the House "with the consent of the council, and of his majesty the king of Great Britain, or his governor for the time being." But it was the original text that received the wider circulation. Massachusetts Bay had become ~~the cradle~~ what Lawrence Henry Gipson called the "dynamic center" of revolution.

MASSACHUSETTS--A COLONY IN CRISIS ← *delete sentence*

Because it was the eye of the storm that was to engulf the thirteen "English" North American colonies, it is necessary to follow the events that took place there between the summer of 1769 and the spring of 1775 with some care.

Lulled by the apparent quiet^{that prevailed at the time}, Gage on the eve of the publication of the resolves of July 1, decided to move the 64th and 65th Regiments to Halifax. He even considered withdrawing the two remaining regiments, the 14th and 29th. The Bostonians were elated. Prudence had paid off, and Franklin's prediction seemed justified that if Boston would avoid provoking a crisis "this military cloud that now blusters over you, will pass away, and do you no more harm than a Summer Thunder Shower." Even the radical "Journal of the Times" stopped publication, as though the fight were over.

But Boston ^{did} ~~had~~ not avoided provoking a crisis. On July the original text of the unamended resolves of the first^{of the month} appeared in print, and the controversy was revived with new constitutional implications. Gage decided not to withdraw the 14th and 29th Regiments. Governor Bernard was recalled; and after a stormy session with the Assembly, he left for England. He had devoted nine years of his life to trying to be a faithful servant of the Crown and a ^{just} first governor--but more than ⁱⁿ fidelity and justice had been required. Native-born Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson took over the administration. High-minded, intelligent, and

learned, ~~he was~~ devoted to the country of his birth, and ^{knowing} knew Massachusetts as no contemporary knew it, he was one of the tragic figures of the Revolution; for he was bound by his oath of office "to support an authority to which the body of the people refused to submit." In his classic, The History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay from the Year 1749, until June 1774, Hutchinson accurately described the changes that occurred in colonial political thought:

At first, indeed, the supreme authority [of Parliament] seemed to be admitted, the cases of taxes only excepted; but the exceptions gradually extended from one case to another, until it included all cases whatsoever. A profession of "subordination," however, still remained; it was a word without any precise meaning to it.

While the colony's radical leaders still protested loyalty to the Crown and the Empire, their use of the term was so flexible and precise as to strip it of meaning. One meaning was clear; that by early 1770 there was virtually no effective legal government in Massachusetts. It had been displaced by defiant illegal assemblies, especially as regards enforcement of the extra-legal nonimportation agreement. As Judge Israel Williams of Hatfield saw the constitutional crisis: "The Sword is drawn. I am as much for liberty, for supporting the rights of the Colonys [sic] and for taking every prudent measure to maintain and defend them as any of my Countrymen. But I differ widely from the generality, as to what they are, wherein they have been invaded, and also as to the methods of redress." [italics added]

Acting Governor Hutchinson realized more clearly than his predecessor that the troops in Boston could not be useful in maintaining lawful

authority, because they could not be employed to preserve order or enforce the law without a request from a magistrate, and none would ever call upon them for assistance. At the same time, he did not dare take responsibility for their removal. The Customs Commissioners, who were the main objects of local wrath, claimed that they could not function without the protection of the soldiers. The two regiments thus remained in the town.

While the soldiers could not strengthen the administration's hand, they were a continuing source of potential trouble, and as all too visible symbols of an unpopular authority, they were especially vulnerable targets of the town's frustrations and resentments. Like Englishmen everywhere, the Bostonians partook of an ancient distrust of and dislike for the military. British soldiers were not like some of their European counterparts. Their actions were severely circumscribed by law and custom, and they could act only as the agents of civil authority unless martial law were declared, and British officials were most reluctant to resort to that expedient. Dragooning citizens was not tolerated.

The Bostonians recognized the soldiers' vulnerability, and they exploited it. When they thought that all the regiments were about to be withdrawn, they exerted pressure on the ^{troops} men, perhaps to speed their removal or merely to vent their dislike for the government. When it was obvious that the 14th and 29th Regiments were being retained, the pressures intensified and became uglier. Colonel Dalrymple, again in command after Mackay's departure, lived in constant fear of an outbreak of violence, while local radicals believed that the time for prudence was past and that only direct action could get the army out of Boston.

Townsmen had probed for weak spots in the garrison since the day the soldiers had arrived. Sentries who provoked civilians in the performance of their duties were haled before magistrates like old Richard Daner, who would harangue them: "What brought you here, who sent for you, and by what authority do you mount Guard, it is contrary to laws of the Province, and you should be all taken up for so offending"; and then fine them a month's pay or more. Soldiers accused of more serious crimes were turned over to the Superior Court, but when the Attorney General seemed lax in prosecuting them, the magistrates in frustration levied higher fines. Regimental funds were soon exhausted in paying the fines, and the magistrates took to binding out as servants soldiers who could not pay.

General Gage was outraged by the abuse suffered by his men at the hands of administrators of local justices. He was also afraid that the soldiers, who knew that they had certain rights as British subjects, would mutiny. By mid-1769, it was becoming increasingly difficult to prevent the troops from seeking redress in the streets, and dangerous for officers to be too insistent that they turn the other cheek.

As incidents multiplied, the conviction grew on both sides that justice could not be obtained without violence. The townspeople saw prisoners rescued by their comrades, accused men disappear, and some of those brought before the Superior Court let off by the Attorney General. Soldiers heard magistrates instruct juries not to believe the unsupported testimony of military men; and they suffered outrageous penalties for obeying lawful orders. Another ominous factor was the changing attitude

of the officers. While they had usually retained their composure under provocation, the tension was telling on them. Gage and Dalrymple both lost their temper by the middle of the summer of 1769, and they were certain that they had to support their men to prevent a further deterioration of morale and discipline.

A condition perilously close to gang warfare prevailed in Boston's streets that neither side could stop. Incidents were not forgotten, but were followed ^{by} retaliation and counterretaliation. Sentries could not fire, regardless of the provocation. The townspeople knew this and used that knowledge without compunction to harass the despised "bloody-backs." The stage was set for the drama that has come down in American history and legend as the "Boston Massacre."

Because of its impact upon American opinion, the details of the Boston Massacre are important to an understanding of the background of the story of Lexington and Concord.

Most of the men of the 14th Regiment were quartered in Murray's sugar warehouse near Dock Square. Those of the 29th were less fortunate, and were scattered in buildings toward the waterfront and along the ropewalks, in Water Lane and Athinson Street. These soldiers became the special target of the waterfront toughs and town youths.

Shortly before noon on March 2, 1770, Private Patrick Walker, looking for off-duty work, was walking past John Gray's ropewalks between what are now Pearl and Congress Streets south of Milk Street. Ropemaker William Green asked him if he wanted work. When the soldier replied that he did, Green told him to clean his privy. Walker answered, "Empty

it yourself." A fight followed in which the ropemen gave him a thorough beating. Walker returned with eight or nine comrades, more ropemen joined their fellows, and a second fight resulted in repelling the soldiers. Within fifteen minutes almost forty soldiers, led by a tall black drummer, appeared to engage the ropeworkers in another round. Justice of the Peace John Hill came out of his house nearby and commanded the crowd to keep the peace. Neither party paid any attention to the justice. In the ensuing fight, the outnumbered soldiers were driven out of the ropeyard. Hill did succeed in preventing a pursuit, and a corporal at the barracks managed to get the soldiers under control and indoors. Both sides apparently intended to renew the affair.

More fights broke out on Saturday and a temporarily missing sergeant of or whom an unauthorized search was made by the regimental commander, Lt. Col. Maurice Carr, aggravated tensions. The soldiers were certain that an explosion must be imminent and warned civilian friends. Civilians were equally certain. The Reverend Andrew Eliot had known since Saturday that many townsmen looked forward to "fighting it out with the soldiers on the Monday" and that the "bells were to be rung to assemble the inhabitants together." A maid who worked for Hutchinson's sister, ^{Ms.} Miss Sarah Wilsteed, warned her mistress that there would be fight Monday evening and that the bells were to be rung as a signal. Mrs. Wilsteed did not relay the information to her brother until too late.

The Provincial Council met on Monday, and Hutchinson solicited its advice and assistance in dealing with the mounting crisis. Several councilors told him that the people would never be satisfied with anything less

than the removal of the troops. One member even made the bold statement that several of the town's leading citizens had met several times to discuss the best means of hastening the withdrawal. The ~~council gave the~~ acting governor ^{got no help from the council.} ~~no assistance.~~

March 5 was a clear and cold with about a foot of frozen snow on the streets. Boston did not yet have street lamps, but a first-quarter moon reflected from the snow and lit the area between the Town House (City Hall) and the Custom House.)

No 77 South of the Town House, across a narrow fork of King Street, stood the Main Guard, Boston's military headquarters. A pair of small brass fieldpieces flanked the door, and soldiers manned two sentry boxes. One block from the ^{CU} Town House, on the south side of King Street, was the Custom House, the center of the revenue enforcement operations. A sentry box stood a few feet from the Royal Exchange Lane corner of the building, where in the evening of March 5, Private Hugh White of the 29th Regiment stood guard. The captain of the day was a forty-year-old Irish veteran named Thomas Preston. Lt. James Basset, barely twenty, commanded at the Main Guard.

The evening began quietly, but sometime after 7:00 a wigmaker's apprentice named Edward Garrick appeared and called out that Capt-Lt. John Goldfinch, who was passing, owed his master some money. Goldfinch had paid the bill and ignored him and went his way. At about the same time a group of club-carrying townsmen were seen on King Street. In other parts of the town parties of civilians and soldiers were seen moving along the streets.

Garrick, accompanied by a fellow-apprentice named Bartholomew Broaders, reopened the subject of Goldfinch's credit and taunted White until the soldier struck him on the side of the head with his musket. Within a few minutes, several men and boys gathered around White, taunting him and daring him to come out and fight. The crowd grew to about fifty and the soldier retreated to the Custom House steps and loaded his musket. By this time snowballs and hunks of ice were reinforcing the volley of verbal abuse. White fixed bayonet, lowered his musket, and used ^{it} to keep himself clear. Bookseller Henry Knox, the future general, called to White that if he fired he would "die for it." As fist-sized pieces of ice crashed about him and members of the crowd cried "Kill him, kill him, knock him down. Fire damn you, fire, you dare not fire," the frightened soldier tried to get into the Custom House. Town watchman Edward Langford ^{attempted} to reassure White that the gang would not hurt him. Not surprisingly, he was unconvinced and bellowed for help: "Turn out, Main Guard!"

While the scene at the Custom House became more threatening, another confrontation developed a few blocks north in front of the barracks in Murray's warehouse. While the bell of the Old Brick Church near the Town House rang the alarm, a large body of civilians argued with army officers, threw snowballs, and jeered the soldiers quartered in the warehouse, ^{and then} they dispersed and ran southward past the main Guard.

Simultaneous with these events, a third crowd gathered in Dock Square, armed with wooden staves and cudgels. In the middle of the square stood a tall man wearing a white wig and a red cloak. The crowd ^{gathered} ~~gathered~~ and

gathered round him, listening while he harangued them. When he had finished, the people ^{cheered,} ~~gave a cheer,~~ and yelling a promise to "do for the soldiers," they ran toward King Street, some going over Cornhill, some by a narrow alley, and the rest roared up Royal Exchange Lane to the Custom House.

While the crowds from Dock Square and Murray's barracks poured into King Street, enlarging the mob already there, the ringing of the town's bells drew more people toward the Custom House. The role of the bells in the drama of March 5 was important. Unscheduled bell-ringing at night signaled a fire. Thus when shortly after 9:00 p.m., first the Brattle Church bells, then those of the Old Brick Church, began to peal, the people reacted instinctively. They poured into the streets, some pulling fire engines, others carrying buckets and bags, all rushing toward the sound of the bells and crying, "Fire!" To the question, "Where is the fire?" the answer came back that the soldiers were fighting townsmen in King's Street. Up and down the street, men cried loudly for an attack on the Main Guard, and Private White, penned on the Custom House steps, was in danger of being seized and carried away.

A corporal with six soldiers reported to Captain Preston at the Main Guard that White was in serious danger. For half an hour, he paced in front of the building, trying to decide what to do. He could see the crowd in front of the Custom House, and several people brought him word that the sentry's life was threatened. Finally, he ordered the guard to fall out, and Corp. William Wemms and six grenadier privates marched toward, down, and across King Street, with Preston walking beside them.

Forcing their way through the jeering, threatening crowd, the relief party reached the now-empty sentry box beside the Custom House. There they halted, grounded their musk^{ets}, and without orders began to load.

Preston, had been delayed by a brief conversation with Henry Knox in which the latter warned him: "For God's sake, take care of your men. If they fire, you die." "I am sensible of it," the captain replied, and he hurried off to rejoin his men. Preston's first thought was to rescue White, and he ordered him to fall in with the guard, which the soldier did. Then Preston tried to march the squad back to the Main Guard, but the crowd closed in on them, and someone screamed at the motionless soldiers: "Damn you, you sons of bitches, fire!"

The squad then formed a semicircular single line ^{from the} sentry box to a hitching post on the street corner, but several people slipped ^{between} the Custom House and sentry box, getting to the soldiers' rear.

Preston stood slightly in front of the soldiers, shouting to the crowd to disperse, but the more than 300 townsmen pressed closer, striking at the soldiers with clubs, while the latter parried with their bayonets, trying to gain breathing space. One of the magistrates, James Murray, approached the scene, perhaps to read the Riot Act, but he was stoned and sent scurrying to safety. The crowd was convinced that without a civil magistrate present, the soldiers could not lawfully defend themselves. Radicals had encouraged the townspeople to believe in a legal oversimplification that was based ⁵ upon the undoubted truth, that soldiers could not use force against civilians without authority from a civil authority. The corollary of the principle: that no one, civilian

or soldier, need without retaliation suffer a mortal attack, was ignored. Whether with or without civil approbation, a soldier, like anyone else, retained the ordinary right to defend himself. Thus, a heedless, swearing, jeering, threatening mob, deduced by a legal fiction, faced a confused, angry, and frightened squad of soldiers.

Theodore Bliss asked Preston if the soldiers' muskets were loaded and whether they would fire. The Captain answered, "They cannot fire without my orders." Richard Palmes stepped between Bliss and Preston and asked if the guns were loaded. "With powder and ball," replied Preston. Palmes said, "Sir, I hope you don't intend the soldiers shall fire on the inhabitants." Preston answered that he did not and pointed out that, since he was standing in front of the muzzles, he "must fall a sacrifice" if they fired. Besides, the muskets were held low on half-cock.

Suddenly, a club arched through the air, ^{hitting} and ~~hit~~ one of the soldiers, Hugh Montgomery, ^{and} knocking him to the ground. Cursing, he rose and fired his musket, ^{but} ~~no~~ one was hit. Palmes struck Montgomery on the left arm, and then brought his club down on Preston. After some scuffling, the crowd pushed down King Street, leaving the immediate area in front of the soldiers relatively clear. The pause after the first shot ended quickly. Edward Langford watched Private Mathew Kilroy raise his piece. "God damn you, don't fire," he cried.

Without aiming, the soldier fired, and Gray fell, shot in the head. More shots followed. Two struck Crispers Attucks, alias Michael Johnson, in the chest. The crowd advanced, and the soldiers fired more shots into it, two striking sailor James Caldwell. Another struck Robert Paterson in the right wrist. Patrick Carr, ^aveteran of Irish riots, fell mortally wounded, and young Samuel Maverick, who was running toward the Town House, was hit by a recoch^eting bullet. A stray bullet wounded Edward Payne, who stood inquisitively in his own doorway. Christopher Monk, standing a few feet in front of the soldiers, was hit. ^{see} These men were dead, and two were mortally wounded.

The furious Captain Preston asked his men why they had fired. They replied that they had heard the word "fire" and thought that he had ordered them to shoot. The mob, which ^{was} dispersed somewhat, began to move forward again to gather up the dead and wounded, but the soldiers mistook its intent and raised their muskets to the firing position. Preston hurried down along the line, pushing down the barrels, shouting "stop firing!" "Do not fire!" Benjamin Burdick paused over the huge form of Attucks, stepped closer to the soldiers, and said: "I want to see some faces that I may swear to another day." Preston turned, and for a moment Burdick stood at the Captain's pox-marked, shocked face. Preston quietly replied, "Perhaps, sir, you may."

The scene cleared rapidly as the towns^{men} dispersed with their casualties. Preston^{then} formed his party and marched it to the ^Main Guard. There he turned out the entire guard and formed it for street fighting. He had reason to be alarmed. A rumor had reached him that 4 or 5,000 people were preparing an assault. In fact, the crowd in King Street had increased to at least 1,000. All the bells in town began to ring; drums beat, calling out the town militia, and cries of "to arm!" filled the air. Preston overheard his own drummer to beat "to arm", thus signaling the alert for the entire garrison. He also sent an armed party to notify Colonel DeWympie

The possibility of a real massacre now gripped the town. The only man who could avert that tragedy was Governor Hutchinson, and a succession of townspeople of all^{political} persuasions rushed to his home to urge him to meet the mob. He hurried to the scene, and from the balcony of the Town House urged the crowd to disperse, promising a full inquiry. "The law shall have its course; I will live and die by the law." Many responded, but others cursed him for a liar and traitor. When the governor went to the south window of the Council Chamber, someone took over the balcony and urged the crowd not to leave unless the troops withdrew first. Hutchinson^{now} consulted Lieutenant Colonel Carr, and the latter marched the troops away from the scene, and the crowd broke up.

True to his word, Hutchinson immediately set the machinery for an investigation in motion. Throughout the tense night, the Justices of the Peace John Tudor and Richard Dana took testimony, and at about 3:00 A.M., they remanded Preston to jail. The next morning, the eight soldiers surrendered and were imprisoned.

During the weeks that followed the "Boston Massacre," the Sons of Liberty controlled Boston, ^{while both} ~~both~~ sides capitalized upon the propaganda potential of the event. Samuel Adams staged a demonstration of March 8, the day the victims' funeral, that left an indelible imprint upon American mythology. Crispin Attucks, the part Indian Suffian whom many regard as America's first black hero, Maverick, Caldwell and Gray became murdered monuments of British oppression.

After much agonizing negotiating, the troops were withdrawn to Castle William. In October and November, Preston and the soldiers were tried for murder. Their counsels for the defense were John Adams and Josiah Quincy. Preston and four soldiers were acquitted. Kilroy and Montgomery were found guilty of manslaughter, but were released after pleading "benefit of clergy" and being branded on the right thumb.

Boston radicals made the "Massacre" a milestone on the road to independence. The details were ^{distorted} dictated and given wide distribution, ^{for} And every year a memorial service kept its memory fresh. Some students have found, including Samuel Adams' biographer, reason to believe that he provoked the incident. Be that as it may, many Americans still view the event as the propagandists of 1770 painted it. Two more objective judgements deserve quoting. In

In 1887, the Massachusetts Historical Society opposed a memorial to the victims with this resolution: "While greatly applauding the sentiment which erects memorials to the heroes and martyrs of our annals, the members of the Society believe that nothing but a misapprehension of the event styled the "Boston massacre" can lead to classifying these persons with those entitled to grateful recognition at the public expense." And Claude H. Van Tyrne, in his The Causes of the War of Independence, wrote:

There was ^ufertility in any agreement either at the time or since, because if one held that the citizens were maddened by the soldiery, the answer was that the soldiers were nagged to desperation by the citizens. If against that rejoinder it was argued that the soldiers ought never to have been sent there, the reasonable reply was that the growing ascendancy of the mob-law made military force necessary.

The removal of the troops to Castle William was a major victory for the Boston whigs. Their triumph was documented by the instructions given on May 15 by the Boston town meeting to their representatives to the General Assembly. To the earlier denial of the power of Parliament to bind the colony by statute was added the more revolutionary rejection of the binding power of the King and the cabinet to instruct the governor. The claims for colonial autonomy found expression in glossary of new terms. "State House" replaced the title "Town House" or "Court house." "The house of representatives of Massachusetts Bay" was called "his majesty's commons." "The debates of the assembly" became "parliamentary debates." The term "the province laws" were called "the laws of the land; and, significantly, the colony's "charter" was now its "compact."

This victory was made sweeter by the news that on the very day of the Boston Massacre Parliament had repealed all the Townshend duties except the one on tea, which was retained as an assertion of parliament authority.

Although the spirit of resistance was by no means dead, the three years following the summer of 1770 were relatively tranquil. The major grievances that had united the colonists in varying forms of opposition to ministerial and parliamentary imperial policy had been removed, and the radicals found it hard to find a popular issue. Samuel Adams and his confederates did what they could to keep the

agitation alive with an annual service memorializing the victims of the Boston Massacre, but in the absence of over assertions of parliamentary authority, the ^{mass} ~~man~~ of ^{the} people did not rally to the old causes. Nonimportation had failed, and the subsequent revival of trade helped stimulate the colonial economy. A general prosperity prevailed, ^{and} imports into New England alone jumped from £330,000 to £1,200,000. Poor harvests in Europe created ^r greatly increased demand for American corn and wheat. Shipbuilding prospered. Specie was sent from England to buy American products. Thus, although the Gaspey affair, a resolution of the King's cabinet to pay governors from royal exchequer funds, and other irritants continued to keep the purposes of the liberty groups alive, the period was one of ^a general relaxing of tensions. But the fundamental questions raised in the 1760s were still unanswered, and the potential for trouble remained.

Men like Samuel Adams, Richard Henry Lee, and New York's Sons of Liberty could not view this period with the equanimity of most of their countrymen. Everyday of calm strengthened the ministry and Parliament and weakened the colonists' cause. Prosperity dulled vigilance for colonial freedom, and the new efficiency of the Customs service ^{produced} brought enough revenue that the British government was able to put governors and judges on the Crown's payroll. The radicals fumed in vain, but the average American was pleased ^{at not having} ~~to not have to~~ pay the royal officials' salaries. Adams and his supporters believed that if the system were allowed to go on, colonial liberties would eventually be eroded away. But they needed a spectacular, emotional issue that would arouse Americans from their complacency.

In May of 1773 Parliament provided the issue when, ^{in response to pleas} it passed ~~from the ailing East India Company, it passed the Tea Act.~~ ~~The ailing East India Company had appealed to Par-~~

~~liament, for relief.~~ The act permitted not only a drawback of duties paid on all tea above 10,000,000 pounds held by the company in its warehouses before being exported to the colonies, but also the direct exportation of this excess amount to America under a special licence. The company decided to sell the tea through its own agents, eliminating the independent merchants, and disposing of the tea at less than the usual price. This monopolistic aspect aroused the colonial merchants and threw ^{them} again into alliance with the radicals.

American reaction took varied forms. Consignments to Philadelphia and New York were rejected and returned to England; in Charleston the tea was landed, but not offered for sale. In Boston Samuel Adams' fertile brain produced a dramatic showdown. On the night of December 16, 1773, Sons of Liberty, thinly disguised as Mohawk Indians and followed by a large mob, boarded the three tea ships moored at Griffin's wharf and destroyed 343 chests of tea valued at about £18,000.

The "Boston Tea Party" accomplished Adams' purpose. It goaded Lord North's ministry into a showdown on the naked issue of power, which was precisely what the Boston radicals wanted. British reaction was swift and fatig^eful. The action that the King and Lord North took was the product of their failure to perceive the ^{realities} ~~realities~~ of the situation—that the old continental colonies had, in actuality if not in theory, become states within the Empire and would no longer tolerate being treated as immature dependencies. Where the British

Government had tried to rule by consent, it now resorted to rule by coercion. But this new formula had first to be applied not against all the colonies but rather against one, the leader resistance.

In a sense, the British response was the inevitable product of history. The colonies had never retreated one iota on the constitutional issue of parliamentary supremacy. Now the issue was joined; a subordinate unit had defied the imperial government, sitting itself up as the ultimate judge of what was constitutional, and challenging the concept of imperial unity. Once the question of whether ultimate sovereignty resided in the Empire or its constituent parts was raised, it had to be resolved.

The new policy of coercion took the form of five acts of Parliament that Americans ^{called} the "Intolerable Acts." The Boston Port Bill closed that city's port to commerce until the East India company had been reimbursed for its tea and transferred the custom house temporarily to Salem. The Government of Massachusetts Act made the provincial Council appointive, as in other royal colonies. It also gave the governor the exclusive power to appoint and dismiss all inferior law officers, including inferior judges and sheriffs. The functions of the town meetings were limited, and the method of selecting jurors was altered. The Administration of Justice Act protected royal officials by providing that those accused of capital offenses in the performance of their duties, might at the discretion of the governor, be tried in another colony or in Great Britian.

While the extension of the Quartering Act and the Quebec Act were not integral parts of the coercive system, the colonists so considered them. The former was intended to end the type of disputes that had arisen over whether troops stationed in a colony must be assigned to barracks if their presence away from them was required. It provided that soldiers might be quartered by the governor's orders in uninhabited houses, outhouses, barns, or other buildings that were more suitably situated for a particular purpose. The Quebec Act extended the boundaries of the Province of Quebec, created in 1763, to include those French-speaking settlements in the Ohio Valley and the Illinois Country that under the terms of the Proclamation of 1763 had been left without provision for a civil government. It also provided that the old French civil law with some modifications would be retained along with English criminal law and procedure. The Test Act, which would have excluded Roman Catholics from office was waived in favor of an oath of allegiance. Finally, the legality of the Roman Catholic religion within the province was recognized, and the right of the Church to collect tithes was confirmed.

The Americans naturally viewed the Boston Post Bill, the Administration of Justice Act, and the Government of Massachusetts Act as obvious and irrefutable proof of Parliament's intention to destroy provincial autonomy and violate the most precious rights of free English subjects. They saw in the extension of the Quartering Act a move toward using the army in America as a police force

to enforce imperial policy. To most Americans, especially the overwhelmingly Protestant New Englanders, the Quebec Act threatened both religious freedom and, through the retention of French civil law, legal rights. By this time, most politically conscious Americans were convinced that a conspiracy against colonial liberty was behind the policies of the British ministry and Parliament, and they judged every act of the imperial government in that light. The old bonds that had united the Mother Country and her colonies were dissolving under the stress of conflicting interests and mutual distrust. The Empire's subjects were no longer one people--they were British and Americans, two distinct nationalities. The Intolerable Acts had made the Revolution all but inevitable.

Instead of isolating Massachusetts, the Britain's coercive policy rallied the other colonies to her support. As protests mounted proposals for an intercolonial congress came from various provinces. On May 27 members of Virginia's General Assembly, meeting in the Raleigh Tavern at Williamsburg, issued a call for such a meeting, and on June 17 the Massachusetts House of Representatives proposed that a congress be held in Philadelphia during September. By the end of August, every colony except Georgia named delegates.

The First Continental Congress that convened in Carpenter's Hall on September 5 met, not to proclaim independence, but to secure liberty within the British Empire. Because it was an extra-legal body whose delegates were chosen by provincial assemblies or popular conventions, the most conservative elements were not represented.

Except for this limitation, the delegates represented a fair cross-section of American opinion. These were moderates like George Washington and John Dickinson, radicals like the Adamses and Richard Henry Lee, and conservatives like John Jay and Joseph Galloway. The total number of delegates was 55--large enough to encompass diversity, small enough to encourage genuine debate and effective action.

The delegations included many able men, and their political skills were from the beginning severely tested. They had to project an image of firmness to persuade or frighten the British government into concessions, and at the same time avoid a 'spirit of independency' that would alarm conservatives. The character of the Congress was manifest when conservative Joseph Galloway introduced his truly revolutionary Plan of Union that called for the establishments of a distinct American government with a legislative council, composed of representatives chosen by the colonial assemblies, and a President appointed by the Crown. While the government would be inferior to that of Great Britain, it would have authority to regulate all criminal, civil, commercial, and police matters that affected more than one colony, with a right to veto all parliamentary legislation affecting the colonies. On the other hand, right of Parliament to veto the laws of the American Grand Council was conceded.

While the Congress was debating Galloway's Plan, Paul Revere arrived with Dr. Joseph Warren's Suffolk Resolves that declared the Intolerable Acts unconstitutional, urged Massachusetts to establish a new government, and called upon the Congress to adopt

commercial sanctions against Great Britain. By a majority of one state, the Congress voted to shelve Galloway's proposal and endorsed the Resolves.

Congress then proceeded to adopt a series of retaliatory measures, including non-importation, nonexportation, and nonconsumption agreements, enforced by a Continental Association. Having agreed to this economic counter-offensive, Congress passed a Declaration of Rights and Grievances ^{directed} addressed to the people of Great Britain and the colonies and addressed a petition to the king. On October 22, after resolving to meet again the following May if colonial grievances had not been redressed, the Congress adjourned.

By early 1775, ^{three} those of the leading American political thinkers, James Wilson, author of Considerations on the Authority of Parliament; Thomas Jefferson, who wrote Summary View; and John Adams in his Novanglus, had propounded a federal solution to the problem of liberty versus authority within the Empire, a solution that anticipated the theory of self-governing dominions. It is one of the ironies of history that this solution, which the British government dismissed as unthinkable in 1775, was the basis upon which Parliament proposed to make peace in 1778.

THE EVE OF REBELLION

On May 13, 1774, Thomas Gage, who had been Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in North America, arrived in Boston from leave in England as the new Royal Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. The governor was a scion of a family whose founder, a Norman nobleman named de Gaudi, had accompanied William the Conqueror to England. The Gages of Firle, Sussex, had an ancient penchant for identifying themselves with lost causes. King John, Queen Mary I, Charles I, and James II had commanded Gage royalties; and the family remained Roman Catholic for 150 years after the Elizabethan Settlement. The support of these causes must have been mixed with a certain blend of cleverness and luck, because while they suffered disabilities, they "were consistently able to avoid the scaffold."

Changes in the family's situation occurred when the governor's father, who was also named Thomas, joined the Church of England, was created a viscount in the Irish peerage and elected to the House of Commons. Lord Gage did not enjoy a very enviable reputation, and of his wife a notorious debtor declared that he would settle his account when "Lady Gage grows chaste."

Thomas, the second son of this unpr^epossessing couple, was born late in 1719 or early the next year. When he was about 9 years old, he entered Westminster School, where he knew Francis Bernard, who became Governor of Massachusetts Bay; John Burgoyne, who surrendered his army at Saratoga on October 17, 1777; William Legge, the Earl of Dartmouth who became Secretary for the Colonies; the Howe brothers; and George Sackville, who became Lord Germain and Secretary for the Colonies. He entered the army in 1741 and began a long and useful career that in 1754 brought him to America with the 44th Regiment of Foot in 1754. He was with General Edward Braddock's disastrous expedition. In 1758 he organized and became colonel of a light infantry regiment, the 80th, and served in Sir Jeffrey Amherst's Montreal campaign. He succeeded the latter as commander-in-chief in North America in 1763.

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Besides his seventeen years service in the Colonies, General Gage had close American ties. He was genuinely interested in the country and was popular with the Americans with whom he had professional and ^{Social?} ~~social~~ dealings. His wife was Margaret Kemble of New Jersey, who was related to several prominent colonial families. The marriage was not an unmixed political asset. The beautiful Mrs. Gage was haughty and somewhat unpopular, and she was accused of capitalizing on her husband's position to obtain favors for her numerous relatives. Since, according to one scholar, "Half of the years between 1761 and 1771 were marked

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by new arrivals in the Gage family," New York society ^{had} enjoyed frequent relief from her overbearing manner; and the general was able to enjoy his popularity.

The post to which Gage was named was one, that would have taxed the abilities of the best colonial administrator. The province's quarrel with the Mother Country had intensified, and Samuel Adams and other radicals were exerting themselves against accommodation and reconciliation. Opinions and positions were crystallizing. ^{with} mutual distrust, ignorance, and conflicting interests and loyalties strained the imperial fabric. The governor stood in the middle of the crisis, bound by instructions from London, the personification of the politics that were becoming hateful to an increasingly militant portion of the inhabitants of the colony he was commissioned to govern.

On June 1, ¹⁷ eighteen days after his arrival in Massachusetts, Governor Gage put the Boston Port Act into force by closing and blockading the town's port. In accordance with the King's instruction, the governor moved the province's capital to Salem and took up his residence there, leaving Hugh Earl Percy in command of the regiments who were brought to Boston to support British authority in the summer of 1774.

The General Assembly met at Salem on June 17 under ~~the~~ ^{the} protest against the capital's removal. The governor sent his secretary with an order to dissolve the session. Locking the door against the secretary, the Assembly proposed that a

continental congress be called and elected five delegates to represent their colony.

The Massachusetts Government Act, another of the "Intolerable Acts" in retaliation for the "Boston Tea Party," re-formed the colony's government by increasing the power of the governor, by making the Council, or upper house, appointive instead of elective, and by suppressing town meetings, except as the governor might permit. In accordance with the act's provisions, Gage appointed 36 members of the Council. Eleven promptly declined to serve, and the others were so insulted and harassed that only sixteen remained in office, and they took refuge in Boston.

In September, Gage, in one of his rare incautious acts, called the General Court, consisting of the Council and the Assembly, to meet at Salem on October 5; but, realizing that his Council appointees would not be permitted to take their seats, he withdrew the summons. ^{Taking} ~~Assuming~~ the position that the governor could not cancel the call to convene, the towns proceeded to elect delegates to the Assembly, who met at Salem on the appointed date. After two days of being deliberately ignored by the governor, the assembly adjourned to Concord and organized themselves into a Provincial Congress with the theatrical John Hancock as president. This body of men, illegally elected, ^{and} outside the law and unknown to it, became the de facto government of Massachusetts outside the garrisoned city of Boston.

4. ~~Ibid.~~, 216; Christopher Ward, The War of the Revolution (2 vols., New York, 1952), I, 16-17.

While the Provincial Congress met in Concord's Meeting House, secret, highly-placed informants kept General ^{Gage} ~~Gates~~ advised of the results of the meetings. Through them, he knew that the colonists had collected military stores in Concord and were planning to organize an army. The Congress adjourned on April 15, the same day that one of the general's agents sent him the following message, which is preserved in the Gage Papers in the Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan:

The Congress have determined upon raising an Army if the other New England Colonies will join them. For this purpose they have sent delegates to these colonies to know their sentiments on that subject. The Army is to consist of 18,000 men 8,000 of whom are to be raised in this province 5,000 in Connecticut 3000 in New Hampshire & 2000 in Rhode Island. Six Companies of Matrosses [Artillerymen] . . . There was a great division among the members of the Congress & great irresolution shown in the Course of their debates this Week. Many of them apposed raising an army & though it was motioned to take under consideration the appointment of officers for said army they would not enter upon it at all.

The Committee on the State of the Province have now under consideration the means of procuring a fund for the subsistence of the Army voted but find so many insurmountable difficulties that can come to no determination.

Thus the Royal Governor knew of the Congress's plans for armed resistance, but he also knew that a strong minority opposed this exercise of quasi-sovereignty.

On the same day, Gage ordered the grenadier and eight infantry companies "off all duties 'till further orders." The reasons assigned were "Exercise and new evolutions [maneuvers]." Paul Revere and his patrol of observers noted this detail of troops from their normal duties and reported it to Dr. Joseph Warren, who in turn passed the information

on to the Committee of Safety. The colonial radicals immediately suspected that the governor was preparing to send an expedition to seize the military supplies at Concord.

No? Their suspicions were confirmed when about midnight the boats belonging to the troop ships, which been previously hauled up for repairs, were launched and moved to the sterns of the warships. This indicated that the boats would be used to carry troops by water across Back Bay to Combridge.

Paul Revere reported the movement of the boats to Dr. Warren, and they decided that Gage probably intended to send the grenadiers and light infantrymen on a raid to seize the supplies at Concord, or to capture John Hancock and Samuel Adams, or to do both. Early in the morning of the 16th, Revere set out for Lexington to warn the two radical leaders, who were staying at the home of the Reverend Jonas Clarke, whose wife was Hancock's cousin. As chairman of the Provincial Committee of Safety, John Hancock sent orders to local committee in Concord to disperse and conceal the military supplies. Messengers were also sent to other town, warning their minutemen that they might be summoned. A special meeting of the Committee of Safety at Concord was called for the next day.

After alerting Adams and Hancock, Revere returned to Boston by way of Charlestown, where he stopped and in his words, "agreed with Colonel Conant, and some other Gentlemen, that if the British went out by water, we would show two lanthorns in the North Church Steeple; if by land, one as a signal, for we were apprehensive it would be

be difficult to cross the Charles River or get over Boston Neck."

This arrangement was not intended to be a signal to Revere, but to alert Conant and the Charlestown committee so that they could get the word to Lexington and Concord, if Revere and his associates were unable to cross the Charles River or ride over Boston Neck.

General Gage, in Boston, also received a message on April 16. His was a four month-old letter from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Dartmouth. The burden of his Lordship's long letter was that general had not been sufficiently aggressive in dealing with the recalcitrant Yankees. He rejected Gage's opinion that the 4,000-man garrison was inadequate to reassert imperial authority. The King and the ministry wanted more decisive action, including the arrest of the insurgent leaders. While the letter reflected the thinking at Whitehall, it had a very limited effect on Gage, to whom the destruction of colonial military supplies was more practical and important than the capture of radical leaders. Political leaders could be replaced, but a rebel army would be powerless without its material—especially that that material was irreplaceable.

At Concord, the Committees of Safety and Supplies met, and in response to Hancock's warning message, voted to transport some of the common to nearby towns for safe-keeping. After deciding to reconvene at the Black Horse Tavern in Menotomy (modern Arlington) the next day, the committees adjourned.

The committees' decision to move the commons was carried out the next day when four 6-pounders were hauled to Groton, about 18 miles

northwest of Concord. Groton's minute men assembled, and nine of them started for Concord, arriving there the next morning several hours before the British troops reached the town.

During the afternoon of the 18th, General Gage dispatched a number of mounted officers to patrol the roads between Cambridge and Concord. Their objective was to prevent the Americans in Boston from warning the countryside of any movement of troops.

In the meantime, the general had prepared the instructions he intended to give the man who was to command the raid, Lt. Col. Francis Smith of the 10th Regiment of Foot. He prepared a draft and a final version, both of which are important: the draft because it reflected what Gage knew about the disposition of supplies in Concord; the official order because it defined the expedition's mission.

The draft, which is preserved in the Gage Papers in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, contains the following information:

Four Brass Cannon and two Mortars or Cohorns with a Number of small arms in the Cellar or out Houses of Mr. Barrett [Col. James Barrett] a little on the other side the Bridge where is also lodged a Quantity of Powder & Lead.

Ten Iron Cannon before the Town-House [town hall] and two within it which Town-House is in the Center of the Town. The ammunition for said Guns within the House.

Three Guns 24 Pounders, lodged in the Prison yard with a Quantity of Cartirdges and Provision.

A Quantity of Provision and Ammunition in other Places, the Principal Deposits are the Houses of Mess^{rs} Hubbard, near the Meeting [House], Bufler,

Jones the Tailors, near Hubbards, two men of the name of Bond, at particularly at Mr. Whitney's who lives on the Right Hand near the Entrance of the Town, at a House plaistered white a small yard in Front* a large Quantity of Powder and Ball is reported to be deposited in his store adjoining the House.

Cannon hid in a wood a mile & half from the Center of the River and Malden [Walden] Pond. The wood thick a good deal of underwood. The Ground no little wet, but not a Marsh. Three Guns still mounted, the rest desmounted and carefully hid and even buried. In the same place some Boxes of Arms hid like the Cannon.

The Medicine Chests & Powder Barrells, Tents, etc, distributed in the Chief Houses, particularly Mr. Barretts, Capt. Wheelers, Mr. Hubbards Stores and the two Bonds.

The guns in the Prison Court remain there besides many different Articles.

When he prepared the final draft, the general omitted the details concerning the stores, and wrote:

Boston, April 18, 1775

Lieut Coll. Smith, 10th Regiment foot,
Sir:

Having received Intelligence, that a Quantity of Ammunition, Provision, Artillery; Tents and small Arms, have been collected at Concord, for the Avowed purpose of raising and supporting a Rebellion against His Majesty, you will March with the Corps of Grenadiers and light Infantry, put under your Command, where you will seize and destroy all the Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, Tents, Small Arms, and all Military Stores whatever. But you will take care that the Soldiers do not plunder the Inhabitants, or hurt private property.

You have a Draught of Concord, on which is marked the Houses, Barns, & c., which contain the above Military Stores. You will order a Trenion to be

* This house, later called "The Wayside" was ^{later} the home of the Alcotts ~~and~~
~~Longfellow, and~~

knocked off each Gun, but if its found impracticable on any, they must be spiked, and the Carriages destroyed [sic]. The Powder and flower, must be shook out of the Barrells into the River, the Tents burnt, Pork or Beef destroyed in the best ways you can devise, and the Men may put Balls or lead in their pockets, throwing them by degrees into Ponds, Ditches &c., but no Quantity together, so that they may be recovered afterwards.

If you meet with any Brass Artillery, you will order their muzzles to be beat in so as to render them useless.

You will observe by the Draught that it will be necessary to secure the two Bridges as soon as possible, you will therefore Order a party of the best Marchers, to go on with expedition for that purpose.

A small party on Horseback is ordered out to stop all advice of your March getting to Concord before you, and a small number of Artillery to go out in Chaises to wait for you on the Road, with Sledge Hammers, Spikes &c.

You will open your business, and return with the Troops, as soon as possible, which I must leave to your own Judgment and Disention. I am

Sir

Your most obedient
humble Servant
Thos. Gage

The orders were clear and sensible, ^{and} the objective was defined. While the capture of Adams and Hancock would have been considered a windfall, no effort was ordered to that end. The expedition was not intended to terrorize the countryside nor destroy private property, and certainly Gage had every reason to desire that there would be neither resistance nor bloodshed.

The General made elaborate efforts to keep his intentions secret. He sealed Colonel Smith's orders, notified him that he was to command the expedition, and gave him the orders with instructions to open them

only after the troops were assembled. The regimental officers met at headquarters at about 8:00 in the evening and were told to march their flank companies to "the beach near the magazine guard," exactly at 10 o'clock this night;" which was located at the foot of Boston Common on the Back Bay, ^{at 10:00.} These officers were told nothing about the destination and mission of the troops. The sergeants shook their men awake shortly before 10:00 and ~~were~~ silently marched them in small units to the rendezvous on the beach.

^{Warren}
As soon as he learned that the troops were marching to the beach, he sent William Dawes, a local cobbler, and Paul Revere to warn Adams and Hancock in Lexington that the British had begun their march. Dawes left town via Boston Neck. Revere took the shorter but more difficult route across the Charles River.

Before going to the waterfront, Revere stopped long enough to make arrangements to have two lanterns displayed in the tower of North Church to let Colonel Conant know that the British were leaving Boston via the River. After being rowed across the Charles, Revere walked into Charlestown, where he met Conant, Richard Devens, a member of the Committee of Safety, and a few other men. They had seen the lanterns, and Devens had sent a messenger to warn Adams and Hancock. Revere then set out for Lexington on Deacon John Larkin's "very good horse." After eluding two British officers in Charlestown, he rode on to Lexington by way of Medford, reaching Jonas Clarke's house shortly after midnight.

Although the rider that Devens had sent from Charlestown did not arrive, Lexington was in a state of alert. Young Solomon Brown had

passed a party of British officers on the road from Cambridge, and he had alerted William Munroe, tavern-keeper and orderly sergeant of the Lexington minutemen, who posted a nine-man guard on the Clarke house. As word spread around the town, thirty other militiamen gathered in the Beechman Tavern.

Revere roused the occupants of Clarke's house and delivered Dr. Warren's warning to Hancock. Capt. John Parker, commander of the town's minute company was sent for, and some of the men in the tavern were sent to summon other militiamen, and about 130 militiamen mustered on the town green. After standing in the chilly night air until about 1:30 on the morning of the 19th, Captain Parker dismissed his men with orders to reassemble at the beat of the company drums. Those who did not live nearby went to Beechman's Tavern to await events.

In the meantime, William Dawes arrived. After refreshing themselves, he and Revere started for Concord on their tired horses. They were soon joined by young Dr. Samuel Prescott of Concord, who was on his way home from visiting sweetheart, Lydia Mulliken. Halfway to Concord, they ran into men of Gage's mounted patrols. Revere was captured, but Dawes and Prescott got away. Dawes returned on foot to Lexington, and Prescott continued on to Concord giving the alarm as he went.

While Dr. Warren's messengers and a number of other colonials were raising the countryside, Gage's expedition, no longer attended by the secrecy he so much desired, was getting off to a slow start. It was composed of ten light infantry and eleven grenadier companies, including two companies of Royal Marines, with a total strength was approximately 672 men. It was almost 10:30 at night before the troops embarked in the boats. Because two trips were required to ferry the men, it was

between midnight and 1:00 a.m. before they last man waded ashore at
Lechmere Point in East Cambridge, where they stood, a "dirty wad^{road}" for
two hours while supplies were brought from the boats and distributed.
After each man received a day's ration and 36 rounds of ammunition, the
march got under way.

.....
LEXINGTON

The British column reached Menotomy, - modern Arlington, at about 3:00, where ^{three} ~~their~~ members of Marblehead's Committee of Safety: Elbridge Gerry, Jeremiah Lee, and Azor Orne, were spending the night in the Black Horse Tavern. Aroused from their beds, the committeemen watched the soldiers march by. Before they could dress, a search party approached the tavern, and the three revolutionaries fled through the back door and hid the stubble of a nearby cornfield.

Colonel Smith was not pleased with the slow progress of his expedition, and his dissatisfaction was increased by the sounds of ringing bells and shots that indicated that the countryside was being raised against him. His reaction to the situation produced two decisions. He promptly sent a messenger back to Boston with a request for reinforcements, and he detached six light infantry company under Major John Pitcairn of the Royal Marines to hurry ahead to secure the two bridges at Concord.

Pitcairn moved his advanced party at quick step along the old road to Lexington, where its flankers captured ^{three} ~~their~~ men sent out from Captain Parker's company to scout the British advance. A fourth man, Thadd^{us} Bowman, eluded the flankers and returned to the town and reported that the soldiers were a mile and a half away. In a few minutes, young William Diamond's ^{drum summoned} ~~drum was summoning~~ the minute men to reassemble. From the Buckman Tavern and nearby homes men of the town's militia answered the drum's roll.

With less than half an hour to prepare his men, Captain Parker, who was neither a novice nor a fool, made a remarkable disposition of his men. This veteran of the French and Indian War who had earlier that morning consulted with his men and "concluded not to be discovered, nor meddle or make with the said Regular Troops," did not deploy his company behind the nearby stone walls where they could watch the red-coats, and if necessary make them convenient targets, ^{while} preserving the advantage of surprise and mobility. Instead, he ordered Sergenat Munroe to form the men on the Green in a long, thin line to await the arrival of what he believed to be a force of 12,000 to 15,000 regulars with orders not to fire. Someone, perhaps Samuel Adams, may have reminded him of the Provincial Congress's resolution that if a body of troops should march out of Boston, "the countryside should be alarmed and assembled to oppose the march to the last extremity." But this would not explain why the militia were formed in a line on the open Green, because opposing the British march could have been more effectively accomplished from cover. The only logical explanation would seem to be that someone--again probably Adams--understood the political value that might result from the type of confrontation that was made almost inevitable when the company formed on the Green.

There the men of Lexington gathered in the early spring daylight. Some 40 stood in line; more than 30 more milled about, some going to the meeting house for ammunition, others coming in across the ^{fields} from their homes. All told, they constituted about half the town's adult male population. Sixty-five year old Moses Harrington, who was there with his

son Calib and nephew, Jonathan, was the oldest. Slightly younger Robert Munroe, with his two sons and two sons-in-law, answered the drum roll. There were eight father and son combinations. Twelve were teen-agers, and at least 20 more were under 30 years old. One, Prince Estabrook, was a slave. There were even some men from other towns who happened to be in Lexington that April 19th.

Militiamen were not the only Americans on the scene. Other townspeople, unarmed by-standers, stood around the Green, in the neighboring yards and fields, or watched from nearby windows. And close by Paul Revere and John Lowell hauled Hancock's trunk with ^{its} precious cargo of papers away from Beechman's Tavern. Perhaps 100 spectators watched while Parker and his men got ready.

As Pitcairn's force of light infantry, which numbered slightly fewer than 200 men, approached Lexington, it joined the patrol that had captured and then released Revere. These men had swallowed their erstwhile captive's bluff that 500 men waited in Lexington to oppose the British march. The major also heard that an American had aimed his gun at two officers of the advance guard, but that the price had "flashed in the pan" without discharging. Pitcairn interpreted this as an attempted assault on his troops, and he halted the column and had the men prime and load their muskets. He also directed them "on no account to fire, nor even attempt it without orders." Thus prepared, the column, marched into the village of Lexington fully expecting to find much larger hostile force and probably expecting shots from the fields and buildings along the road..

The road ran on a level grade to the Green, where it divided, the left leg leading to Concord, the right to Bedford. In the angle formed by roads stood a large, barnlike meeting house, to the west of which was a free-standing belfry. Behind and to the right of these, was the open Green on which Pitcairn saw Parker's militiamen drawn up in two platoons two ranks deep, with a space between them. Along the borders of the Common stood the spectators.

When the troops came into view of the assembled colonials, Major Pitcairn called out: "Soldiers, don't fire, keep your ranks, form and surround them." The column swung to the right of the meeting house and advanced directly toward the minute men. Pitcairn, ^{with} and the mounted officers galloped to the left around the building, placing himself on the flank of both forces. From that position, he repeated the orders to his troops not to fire and called upon the Americans to lay down their arms. Almost simultaneously, Captain Parker--perhaps even before Pitcairn gave his orders--directed his men to disperse and not to fire.

The men on the Green heard their ^{le} Captain's command and started to break ranks, but they did so singly and without much order. ~~A few, like James Parker, apparently did not intend to move.~~ Some drifted off toward the edge of the Green while others hurried away. None obeyed Pitcairn's command to lay down their arms, *and a few, like James Parker did apparently did not intend to move.*

While the Americans were thus reacting to Parker's order, the soldiers, as was the custom of the period, cheered and ran forward to carry out Pitcairn's command to disarm the militiamen. Suddenly, a shot rang out, perhaps fired by an excited soldier. Or an officer may have fired a

warning shot. It may have come from one of the spectators who stood off the Green. ^{Perhaps it was} ~~It may have been~~ an accident. It certainly did not come from any of the men on the Green.

Other shots followed as the scene erupted into noisy violence. The first platoon fired a volley, and as Pitcairn tried to stop the shooting, the soldiers continued firing and charged onto the Green. Seven or eight Americans, some of whom were not on the Green when they fired, got off a few scattered shots at the soldiers. Major Pitcairn and other officers tried to restore order, but the soldiers continued firing. Lieutenant Colonel Smith, who had been with the main body of the column, hurried forward at the sound of the shooting. He found a drummer and ordered him to start to beat "to arms." The men responded to their commander's authority, and the familiar sound of the drum beat reinforced his effort to bring them under control.

The four eight infantry companies and the grenadiers that comprised the main body of Smith's force arrived at the Green by the time the firing stopped. After some delay, the troops reformed, and received a dressing for their performance. They then replenished their cartridge supply, fired a volley, gave three cheers, and resumed the march to Concord.

The affair on Lexington's Green was not a battle, but a massacre executed by poorly disciplined soldiers that earned from Major Pitcairn a contempt for the light infantry that he carried to his death on Bunker Hill.

Concord

The men of Concord had been busy since noon of the 18th. The Committee of Safety's instructions to disperse the military stores collected there put men and carts to moving the precious supplies to safety. Some were moved to nearby towns, while others were concealed at various places within the township.

Dr. Samuel Prescott carried the news of the British advance into his native village about an hour after midnight, and the bell on the Town Hall soon summoned the men of the two local minute companies to assemble on the common in ^{the} front of Wright's Tavern. There was some shepticism about the accuracy of Prescott's report, so Reuben Brown was sent to Lexington for more information, and another man rode to Watertown, in case the British should come by that route. The minute men were soon dismissed with orders to reassemble at the beat of the drum. Many of the men, including their ^{Ac} Colonel, James Barrett, returned to the task of concealing the supplies that remained in the town.

While his fellow-townsmen were busying themselves with these preparations, Reuben Brown rode into Lexington to the point where the road from Concord reached the ^{reen} Green. He got there in time to hear the shooting see men running. Without waiting to see more, he galloped back to Concord and reported to Maj. John Buttrick, ^{who} ~~in~~ command ^{ed} in Colonel Barrett's absence. The major inquired whether

the soldiers were firing bullets, to which Brown replied, "I do not know, but think it probable." The minute men reassembled, some "150 of us and more," including a body of Lincoln militia under Captains William Smith and Abajah Pierce, ^{who} ~~These men~~ had just arrived with the rumor that men had been killed in Lexington. In good New England fashion, the citizen-soldiers took council and decided in Amos Barrett's words: "We thought we wood go and meet the Britsch." Barrett recalled what followed in these words:

We marched Down to wards L[exington] about a mild or mild half and we see them acoming we halted and stayd till they got within about 100 Rods then we was orded to the about face and marchd before them with our Droms and fifes agoing and also the B[ritish] we had grand musick.

When the British reached Meriam's Corner, they found that the road ran along the base of a long ridge on whose slopes a number of militiamen could be seen. Pitcairn sent the light infantry up the ridge, and the Americans hurried off to the center of Concord. Thus the British entered the village with the grenadiers on the road and the light infantry functioning as flankers along the ridge. The time was 9:00 a.m. The 17-mile march had taken 11 hours.

Major Buttrick and his fellow officers kept their companies out of the reach of the soldiers while managing to retain for themselves the advantages of observation and initiative, ^{moving} ~~They moved~~ from ridge to ridge as their strength increased with the arrival of additional companies from neighboring towns.

The tired British soldiers paused briefly in ranks along the road and in the village square before Lieutenant Colonel Smith put

into effect the plan that he had made before reaching Lexington. For the second time he detached units to secure Concord's bridges and seize the supplies at Colonel Barrett's farm. One company of grenadiers under Capt. Munday Pole marched to the South Bridge, where they knocked the trunnions off three iron 24-pound cannon, burned some cannon carriages, and destroyed a quantity of flour. Six light infantry companies of light infantry under Capt. Lawrence Parsons of the 10th Regiment marched from the square toward the North Bridge.

The Americans, from their vantage point on Ripley Hill, saw the light infantry move toward them en route to the bridge and debated the course they should take. Some of the more aggressive were for advancing to meet the soldiers; the local minister, William Emerson, and others favored making a stand where they were, but the majority in Emerson's words "thought it best to retreat till our strength should be equal to the enemy's by recruits from neighboring towns that were continually coming in to our assistance." Col. James Barrett, who had rejoined militiamen, led them across the North Bridge to Punkatasset Hill, where they could watch the British soldiers and still be accessible to the reinforcements arriving from Acton, Bedford, Ch^elmsford, Littleton, and Westford. Barrett then returned to his farm to supervise the concealing of stores.

As the light infantry detachment followed the Americans to the North Bridge, the other British troops began searching for and destroying the colonial military supplies. They conducted the search

with a scrupulous regard for private property and with a reasonable degree of kindness to the townsfolk. In fact, they were so solicitous that they almost seemed to connive in the ruses practiced to frustrate the search. For instance, the soldiers who searched Amos Wood's house compensated the occupants for their inconvenience with a tip of a guinea a piece. Finding one room locked, the officer in charge asked whether some girls were in the room. Mrs. Wood's rather evasive reply did not disabuse him, and he forbade its search. According to tradition, the room was filled with supplies. The story of how Timothy Wheeler ^{handled the situation} illustrates nature of the search:

He had the charge of a large quantity of provincial flour, which, together with some cashes of his own, was stored in his barn. A British officer demanding entrance, he readily took his key and gave him admission. The officer expressed his pleasure at the discovery; but captain Wheeler, with much affected simplicity, said to him, putting his hand on a barrel, "This is my flour. I am a miller, Sir. Yonder stands my mill; I get my living by it. In the winter I grind a great deal of grain, and get it ready for market in spring. "This, pointing to one barrel, "is the flour of wheat, this," pointing to another, "is the flour of corn; this the flour of rye; this" putting his hand on his own cashes, "is my flour; this is my wheat; this is my rye; this is mine." "Well," said the officer, "we do not injure private property," and withdrew, leaving this important depository untouched.

Ephraim Jones, whose inn adjoined the town jail and who served as jailor, was not treated so gently. He had reason to be reluctant to have the premises searched. Henry Gardner, Treasurer of the Provincial Congress, had left his trunk in one of the inn's rooms, and

two 24-pounder cannon tubes still lay concealed in the jail-yard. Jones bolted the doors and refused to admit the search party. Major Pitcaim ordered the doors broken down, accompanied Jones to the yard, and brandished his pistol until the latter led him to the canon. While Jones was held in the yard, the soldiers searched the inn, but did not disturb Gardner's trunk when a Hannah Burns, who lived at the inn, identified ^{it} as belonging to her. Pitcaim had the trunnions knocked off the cannon and then ordered breakfast. Jones reverted to the role of inn-keeper, served the mayor, rendered his bill, and was paid.

The soldiers did find some supplies, including musket balls and flour, which they threw in the mill-pond. The flour ^{swelled} sevelled in the casks, and the colonists recovered both commodities the next day. Gun carriages, entrenching tools, and some wooden trenchers and spoons were burned. Fires apparently started in the town hall and Reuben Brown's harness shop, which the soldiers quickly extinguished.

While the search for supplies continued under Smith's and Pitcaim's supervision, the stage was being set for the "shot heard 'round the world."

When Colonel Smith dispatched Captain Parsons with the six companies of light infantry, he gave him two missions to perform. One was to secure the North Bridge, the second to search Colonel James Barrett's farm, which General Gage had identified as one of the places where supplies were collected. Thus, Parsons detailed the companies

of the 5th and 43d companies under Capt. Walter Laurie to remain at the bridge.* He then marched the other four companies up the hill along the Groton Road until they reached the houses of Ephraim and Willard Buttrick, where he left his own company, the 10th, under Lieutenant Kelley. Lieutenant William Sutherland of the 38th Regiment, one of the chroniclers^{ers} of the day's events, attached himself to this company as a volunteer. Moving on, ^{Parsons} he detached the 4th company on or near the so-called "Muster Field." ^{Parsons} With the 38th and 52d companies,^{he} continued on toward the Barrett farm. A short time later, ~~Captain Laurie reported half an hour~~ a seventh company, the 23d arrived at the bridge, picked up the 5th, and went on to join Parsons at Barretts.

While the minutemen on Punkatasset Hill watched the British deploy, their numbers grew to more than 400 men. After some discussion, they decided to move nearer to the bridge and the town, to where they would have a better view of what was taking place; and they marched toward the "Muster Field." The light infantry company of the 10th Regiment fell back from the position near the Buttrick houses, and joined the men of the 4th, and together both retreated to join Captain Laurie and the 43d company at the west end of the bridge.

The Americans moved into the "Muster Field," where they were again joined by Colonel Barrett, who had returned from a second

*For convenience, the light infantry companies are identified by the numbers of their parent regiments.

visit to his farm. The minute men^{now} stopped and resumed watching the soldiers at the bridge and the smoke rising from where the wooden equipment was burning in the town. English-born James Nichols of Lincoln, whom Amos Baker described as a fine singer and "droll fellow," remarked to fellow militiamen, "If any of you will hold my gun, I will go down and talk them." Someone held his musket, and he walked to the bridge and talked to the soldiers. Then he went back up the hill, got his gun, and said he was going home, and home he went to obs^rcurity.

Tension increased among both the soldiers near the bridge and the militia on the hill. The former were concerned about their isolation from the companies that had gone on to Barrett's farm, and the Americans ^{worried} watched the smoke rising from Concord. Men who had left their families in the village ^{feared for} ~~worried about~~ their safety, and the smoke seemed to confirm their worst fears. While Colonel Barrett conferred with the commanders of the companies and at least some members of Concord's committee of correspondence, Lt. Joseph Hosmer, of Concord and acting adjutant for the entire force, noticed "an unusual smoke" rising from the center of the village and demanded: "Will you let them burn the town down?" The colonial leaders un-animously decided to cross the bridge and return to Concord village. Colonel Barrett ordered the men to march with loaded guns, but not to shoot unless the soldiers fired first, "then to fire as we can." The fifes and drums struck up the "White Cockade," and the Americans started toward the bridge, marching by twos with Capt. Isaac Davis's

Acton company in the lead, accompanied by Major Buttrick.

The 84 light infantrymen who comprised the three companies on the western side of the river were in an indefensible position, with no cover, the stream behind them, and only a narrow bridge over which to retreat. Captain Laurie sent Lieutenant Robertson back to Colonel Smith for reinforcements. When the head of the American column was about 200 yards away, the soldiers withdrew across the bridge, leaving a small party to take up the flooring. Major Buttrick shouted at them to stop and quickened his pace. By now, the colonials were uncomfortably near, and the party did stop tearing up the planks and rejoined their comrades.

The British soldiers found themselves massed at the eastern end of the bridge in a narrow lane between two stone walls. Captain Laurie ordered the companies of the 4th and 10th Regiments to form for start fighting. The 43d company was ordered over the wall of the Mansfield to extend a line to the British left. Street fighting formation required the unit to face the enemy in ranks of four and to a depth of up to eight men.

The first rank would fire, split and wheel to the rear, where it would reload while succeeding ranks repeated the exercise. It could be used in advancing, standing in place, or retreating within a confined street or road. The execution of Laurie's orders was confused. The men were not adequately trained in the tactic, and only three or four men of the 43rd company followed Lieutenant Southerland over the wall into the field.

While Laurie's men clumsily got into position, some fired a few shots that fell into the river, followed by a single shot ^{that} rang out ~~that~~ ^{wounding} wounded Luther Blanchard ^{of} Acton and Jonas Brown of Concord. Then, when the two forces were about seventy-five yards apart, the first rank of the light infantry fired a volley, killing Captain Isaac Davis and Abner Horner. "God Damn it, they are firing ball," yelled Concord's Captain David Brown, and Major Buttrick shouted "Fire, fellow soldiers, for God's sake, fire!" As many of the Americans as could obeyed the command, killing two men of the 4th company, mortally wounding a third, and wounding four officers, a sergeant, and four privates. After a few more scattered shots, the confused and desperate soldiers fled in disorder.

When the retreating soldiers were about halfway to the center of Concord, they met Colonel Smith, who with a detachment of grenadiers was on his ^{pernicious} way to their support. The colonel marched his grenadiers and the beaten light infantrymen back to the villages.

Some of the Americans continued across the North Bridge, but instead of pursuing the soldiers, ^{they} continued up a road to Ripley Hill, assembled behind a stone wall and watched the retreating enemy. Other Americans picked up their dead and wounded, and went to the Buttrick farm.

For some two hours, the British lingered in Concord which the Americans moved from one hill to another, and the tired 10th company light infantry company kept them under surveillance, a task they found "most fatiguing."

Captain Parsons and his detachment completed their search of Barrett's farm and started back toward Concord Village. Fortunately, for them, the Americans did not intercept their march. When they reached the North Bridge, they were shocked to find the bodies of the soldiers who had died there. One of these was a man who, after being wounded, crawled off the road into the grass, where a country boy found him and split his head with a hatchet. Parson's men hurried on to repair the main body of troops in the village, and started the story that the Americans were scalping the wounded - a rumor that was to have an influence on the conduct of the soldiers during the long, tragic afternoon that lay ahead.

While the British lingered in Concord, local physicians, Timothy Minot and John Cumming, came for their wounded, since no surgeon accompanied their expedition. Several injured men were loaded into chaises taken from John Beaton and Reuben Brown, and the worst cases were taken into homes in the village.

The Americans' numbers continued to grow as companies from Westford, Chilmford, and ~~Stow~~ ^{Stow}. By now, news of Lexington had reached villages and towns throughout Middlesex, Suffolk, and Norfolk counties, as as the afternoon wore on, men from ^{Billerica} ~~Bellevue~~, Reading, Charlestown, Danvers, Dudham, Needham, Medford - eventually from more than 40 towns - hurried to join their fellow-countrymen. Before the day was over, at least 3,600 colonials in companies of 10 to 40 swarmed along the 15-mile line between Concord and Cambridge.

The Americans' strength was not commensurate with their numbers. After the North Bridge fight, there was no unified command. The militiamen, as companies or even individuals, made their own decisions, taking up positions, opening fire, retreating, and attacking again. Neither Colonel Barrett nor any other local leader, made any effort to impose unity of command or action.

THE RETREAT

Colonel Smith had no reason to be gratified with the day's events. His mission was badly botched. Few colonial supplies had been seized; blood had been spilled; the country was aroused; and almost 20 dangerous miles lay between Concord and the safety of Gage's army.

Finally, he gave the order to march, and at noon, the tired apprehensive soldiers marched eastward out of the village. The grenadiers tramped along the same road they ^{had} followed that morning, and the light infantry deployed as flankers in the meadows and on the ridge north of the road. The "walking wounded" and those unable to walk, who were mounted on horses, were in center of the column. Lieutenants Hull and Gould, too severely wounded to walk or ride horseback, went ahead of the column in the chaises. This time, there was no military music. The objective was to return to Boston as quickly and unobtrusively as possible.

For about 15 minutes, the column limped along until they reached Merriam's Corner, where a road from Bedford joined the old "Country Road." Nathan Merriam's century-old house stood, then as now, near the junction. Just east of the junction, the road crossed a small brook by way of a narrow bridge. The ridge along which the flankers had deployed ended, and the flankers rejoined the body in the road, and in a compact column moved to cross the bridge. Then the Americans struck. Men from Concord, who had cut across the fields, and Captain John Brooks' Bedford company fired into the

massed column, killing and wounding several men. The soldiers returned the fire, and because there was little cover for the Americans east of the brook, the troops had a brief respite.

Then, a little less than a mile from Marriam's Corner, the road ran north of Hardy's Hill, and Nathaniel Cardworth's East Sudbury Company opened fire. For less than half a mile, the road ran down hill past Samuel Brooks' house, to Elm Brook and then made a steep rise and a turn to the left. Here the action became more than a series of isolated skirmishes - this was the beginning of the "Bloody Angle," where the pursuing militia and new men from Woburn took cover behind trees on both sides of the road and caught the soldiers between two fires. From there, it was a running fight past the North Lincoln school-house, Joseph Mason's home, the old Hartwell Tavern, and Samuel Hartwell's house. By now, the soldiers were fighting desperately to break out of their trap. Flankers leaped the walls to try to drive back the provincials, and the action in that wooded angle was unmatched in ferocity until the British column reached Menotomy late in the afternoon. The next day, old Ephraim Hartwell, whose sons, John and Samuel, were minute men, gathered up British dead and hauled them in his wagon to the Lincoln burying grounds and others were buried along side the road.

More Lexington militia entered the fight that continued sporadically along the road past the home of Lincoln Minute Company commander, Captain William Smith.

William Thorning, a member of the Lincoln Company, concealed himself in a meadow where the road curved northward, not far from the Lexington-Lincoln town line. From his hiding place, he got off a shot or two. ^a The soldiers in the road, ^{who} returned the fire and chased him from cover. Thorning ran for his life and flankers opened fire, but the minute man dived into a ditch. As soon as his pursuers passed, he took cover behind a boulder on Josiah Nelson's land and killed two soldiers.

A little further east, a soldier entered Thomas Nelson's house to loot and was killed as he was coming out.

As the British approached Lexington's town line, they met the same company that had stood that morning on the town green. Captain John Parker's men were back in the fight, but they no longer stood alone. Captain Samuel Thatcher's Cambridge company ^{was} there too. For a brief time, the soldiers had some relief from their tormentors because the land bordering the road did not afford cover for the colonials. Then the road reached a bluff and ran along its base for about 600 feet - 600 feet of death, if the Americans should occupy the ridge. A party of troops went up the bluff to face militiamen crossing Jacob Wittemore's fields. The Rev. Edmund Foster from Bedford described the action:

When we had advanced near to Benjamin's (Damforth) tavern, a man rode up on horseback, but unarmed. The enemy were then passing round the hill just below the tavern. They had posted a small body of their troops on the north side of the hill, which fired upon us. The horse and rider fell instantly to the ground; the horse died immediately, but the man received no injury. We were quickly at the spot, from which we returned the fire. The enemy were then rising and passing over Fiske's hill.

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After leaving the bluff, the road turned eastward and began to climb Fiske Hill. It was mid-afternoon when the nearly exhausted and almost demoralized British soldiers reached its westward slope. Colonel Smith had been shot in a leg; but because being on horseback made him too conspicuous a target, he was on foot, limping along with his troops. Active direction devolved on Major Pitcairn, who tried to rally the men as they ascended the hill. As he rode among the men, the Americans fired on him; his frightened horse threw the major and ran off to the enemy with Pitcairn's pistols still in their saddle holsters. General Israel used the pistols throughout the war, and the major's horse was sold at auction. The attempt to rally the soldiers failed, and they retreated over the crest of the hill and down its eastern slope past Ebenezer Fiske's, where some of the wounded were carried into the house. A soldier, who lingered encountered James Hayward of ^{Action} ~~Action~~ at the Fiske well. Both men fired; the soldier died ^{immediately} eventually, and Hayward soon after.

By the time the British reentered Lexington, their situation was desperate. Ensign Henry de Bernier^{re} of the Tenth Regiment recorded:

All the hills on each side of us were covered with rebels . . . so that they kept the road always lined, and a very hot fire on us without intermission; we, at first, kept our order and returned their fire as hot as we received it, but when we arrived within a mile of Lexington, our ammunition began to fail, and the eight companies were so fatigued with flanking they were scarcely able to act, and a great number of wounded scarcely able to get forward, made a great confusion. Colonel Smith (our commanding officer) had received a wound through his leg, a number of officers were also wounded, so that we began to run rather retreat in order - the whole behave with amazing bravery, but little order; we attempted to stop the men and form them two deep, but to no purpose, the confusion increased rather than lessened. At last, after we got through Lexington, the officers got to the front and presented their bayonets, and told the men that if they advanced they should die! Upon this, they began to form under a very heavy fire.

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Thus, the troops passed Lexington Green and staggered along the road toward Cambridge. Just as it seemed that they could go no further, a cannon boomed and a ball crashed into the meeting house. Hugh Earl Percy, had arrived with a relief column that General Gage had sent out after he realized that the secret of his Concord expedition was out. Leaving at 9:00 A.M., Percy's column entered Lexington from the east as Smith's arrived from the west.

After a half hour's rest, Smith's men reformed under the protection of Lord Percy's force and began the march back toward Boston. Although the Americans had kept their distance while the British ~~regrouped~~ ^{now} they renewed their attack, reinforced by still more newly arrived companies. The colonials now had a semblance of military order and command because Major General William Heath had arrived from Roxbury.

The most effective fighting on the part of the British occurred on the march from Lexington as the flankers drove colonials from houses and walls. At Menotomy (Arlington) Percy set up his field pieces, reformed his flankers, and held off the increasingly numerous militia from the towns and around Boston. For four hours the soldiers marched and fought under an almost constant galling fire from the provincials.

At 8:00 P.M., Percy got his brigade and its beaten charges on to the hills of Charlestown and under the protection of the 64-gun HMS Somerset.

The nineteenth of April was over. Seventy three of the King's soldiers and 49 Americans had died. Two hundred, thirteen men, 174 British and 39 Americans were wounded; 26 soldiers and 5 colonials were listed as missing. Thus, British casualties came to approximately 20 percent, while the Americans had a rate of between 2 and 2-1/2 percent.

EPILOGUE

The events of April 19, did not present a flattering picture of Anglo-American military competence. While Gage's strategic purpose could be defended, given the delicacy of the political and military situation, the execution of the staff duties by his headquarters was very inefficient. Lieutenant Colonel Smith was a poor choice to command an expedition that required speed, intelligent initiative, and discretion. The ^{l.e.} junior Officers were frequently unfamiliar with the men they commanded; and they did not know what to do, and ^{what} they did was done badly. Pitcairn conducted himself with intelligence and courage, but he was a marine officer commanding soldiers to whom he was almost a stranger. The performance of the soldiers, especially the light infantry, upon whose effectiveness success depended, was a disgrace to the service. They were disobedient and hysterical, alike in success and adversity. Yet they displayed pathetic courage when, ^{weary from a long march} and caught in a situation for which they were untrained by an enemy that outnumbered them by almost five to one, they marched and fought for five miles before they ran. Once under the competent direction of Lord Percy, and reinforced by their fellows, the men who made the march to Concord showed a soldierly spirit.

For all their fervor and patriotic zeal, the Americans did not achieve a military success commensurate with their numbers and the tactical situation. Fighting without either a strategic objective or unity of command, and with every man his own commander, there was no effective employment of their overwhelming numerical superiority. They did ^{not} destroy Smith's force before Percy rescued it, and they failed to cut off ~~his~~ ^{the latter's} retreat at either the bridge over the Charles, or at Charlestown Neck. ~~Even~~ The effectiveness of their fire was so low that an estimated 300 shots were fired for every man hit - only one man in 15 hit anyone

While the "battle" was militarily unimpressive, its political significance was immediate and far-reaching. An immediate result was the isolation in Boston of General Gage's army, ending even the shadow of imperial government in the colony. More important was the unifying effect that the day had, first upon Massachusetts and eventually upon all the older English colonies.

The leaders of the resistance in Massachusetts acted with consummate political skill during the days following the 19th. Samuel Adams and John Hancock left for Philadelphia to the scheduled meeting of the Continental Congress, which now became a national revolutionary forum. The political exploitation of the events of the day came under the direction of Dr. Joseph Warren, who proved to be a most effective propagandist. This protege of Sam Adams had twice delivered Boston Massacre anniversary orations in which he had turned water-front tough into martyrs. Now he

had better material with which to work.

No. 188 The men who fell along the Battle Road were sober, upright yankee farmers, artisans, teachers, and parsons. They had fallen in defense of the homes - not in city street riot. At the same time ^{that} Artemas Ward and the militia general were setting up headquarters in Cambridge, Warren established a kind of Civil counter-part and ^{he} within less than 24 hours wrote the first circular on Lexington and Concord and sent it out to the other towns of the province. It read:

Gentlemen: - The barbarous murders committed on our innocent brethern, on Wednesday, the 19th instant, have made it absolutely necessary that we immediately raise an army to defend our wives and our children from the butchering hands of an inhuman soldiery ^{ery} who, ^{incensed} incurs at the obstacles they met with in their bloody progress, and enraged at being repulsed from the field of slaughter, will, without the least doubt, take the first opportunity in their power to ravage this devoted country with fire and sword. We conjure you, therefore, by all that is dear, by all that is sacred, that you give all assistance possible in forming an army. Our all is at stake. Death and devastation are the instant consequences of delay. Every moment is infinitely precious. An hour lost may

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deluge our country in blood and entail perpetual slavery upon the few of your posterity who may survive the ^{carnage,} ~~evange.~~

We beg and entreat, as you will answer to God, himself, that you will hasten and encourage by all possible means the enlistment of men to form the army, and send them forward to headquarters, at Cambridge, with that expedition which the vast importance and instant urgency of the affair demand.

The circular contained no facts, gave no names, and cited no statistics. Its purpose was not to enlighten, but to arouse; and it was worded in such a way as to confirm every rumor, every exaggeration, every deliberate falsehood, and put them to work to achieve one great objective. That objective was the same one that had engaged Sam Adams' energies since Massachusetts' First Provincial Congress had assembled in October 1774, and that was failing as the Second Provincial came to a halfhearted close at Concord less than a week earlier - raising a provincial army.

Atrocity stories spread throughout the colonies and to Britain. Tales of women, children, invalids, and old men abused, tortured, and killed; wholesale looting and burning; and soldiers sweeping the countryside in a mad ~~career~~ ^{career} of murder and pillage were eagerly believed, expanded, and passed on. ^{In fact,} No women and children were so much as slapped by a soldier. No one was killed in any house in Concord or Lexington. Except for a very few ^{felled} ~~filled~~ by

random shots, every person wounded or killed was actively engaged in the fight; and the only old man killed was 79 year old Josiah^{iah} Hayes of Sunbury, who was enthusiastically shooting at British soldiers when he was shot down. Put Best patriotism outdistanced facts, and Dr. Warren and his circular succeeded.

An army sprang into being overnight as a steady stream of men came from as far as 100 miles away and set up camp in Harvard Yard at Cambridge, most of them arriving on the 20th. General Artemas Ward took over the command from William Heath. Some 20,000 men laid siege to 4,000 British soldiers in Boston.

The Massachusetts Committee of Safety, with Warren at its head, had its army. But until then it was organized and a functioning administrative system established, its 20,000 men were little more than a mob. In the first place, most of the men had marched to Cambridge in response to an immediate and specific alarm, not to join an army. They came unprepared for extended service. They had now to be organized, fed, sheltered, and subjected to a political authority. The Committee immediately moved to impose the Colony's authority, insure that the militiamen would remain in service, and to call out those who could or should not undertake unlimited service.

On the 21st, the Committee adopted a form of enlistment that took care of the matter of authority and length of service by adopting a form of enlistment that read: "I, A. B., do solemnly engage and enlist myself as a soldier in the Massachusetts service, from the day of my enlistment to the last day of December next, unless the service should admit to a discharge of a part or the whole sooner, which shall be at the discretion of the Committee of Safety; and I hereby promise to submit myself to all the orders and regulations of the Army, and faithfully to observe and obey all such orders as I shall receive from any superior officer." The third matter, that of creating a manageable force from the mass of militiamen, was the subject of a resolution that created an 8,000-man army organized into regiments of nine companies for regiment.

The Committee of ^{Safety's} ~~Safety's~~ parent body, the Provincial Congress, met at Concord on the 22nd and then adjourned to Watertown to be near its new army. Dr. Warren was elected president in Hancock's absence, and he immediately turned his efforts to producing an account of the battle that would prove that the colonists were innocent, honorable victims of the royal troops' ruthless, inhuman aggressiveness. It was important that this be accomplished before General Gage and his subordinates could get their version before the public. Congress appointed a committee to take depositions "from which a full account of the transactions of the troops under General Gage, in ~~thix~~ their route to and from Concord, ~~the~~ . . . , on Wednesday last, may be

collected." On the 23rd, it appointed members of another committee to prepare an official account of the events of the 19th.

The depositions committee wasted no time. It was in Lexington on the 23rd, and during the next three days, it interviewed 97 persons and collected 21 sworn depositions. Some of the sworn statements were made by individuals, others by groups numbering from four to 40. They were terse, rather undramatic accounts, devoid of atrocity stories, that followed one theme: the British had fired the first shots at both Lexington and Concord. On this point every deponent was explicit, including those who could not have known firsthand who fired first. The committee delivered the depositions to the Congress on the 26th, but the committee charged with composing the official narrative had already completed its assignment.

The chairman of the narrative committee was Dr. Benjamin Church, the vocally patriotic member of the Congress who had so accurately reported its secrets, including the location of the colonial supplies, to General Gage. The story that the doctor and his committee prepared was very different from the depositions - emotional, accusatory, and abounding in atrocities committed against women in "child-bed" and helpless old men. Wholesale plundering and arson characterized the British retreat. Nowhere in this official narrative was there any reference to colonial military action. Captain Parker's

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company on Lexington Green was a "small body of inhabitants." The parade of Concord minuteman along the Lexington road accompanied by music of fife and drum "to meet the British" was ignored; and the 400 men who marched to the North Bridge were "some inhabitants of Concord and adjacent towns, who were collected upon a bridge." When the colonists "assumed their native valor" and fought back, they acted individually without reference to any military organization.

PA A brief examination of the official account reveals its cavalier treatment of the facts. No women and children were abused by British soldiers during the day. The "aged men" who participated in the day's fighting were as aggressive as their younger compatriots, and the only unarmed "aged men" killed were 43-year old Jason Winship and 39-year old ^{bez} ~~James~~ Wyman who were drinking in Benjamin Cooper's tavern. American snipers had been active in the neighborhood, and soldiers entered the house to clear it. The Coopers took refuge in the cellar, but the two men patrons were shot while trying to escape. According to the returns filed with the Provincial Congress, ^{three} ~~their~~ houses were burned - all of them at Lexington where Lord Percy reformed the column for the retreat to Charlestown - and all had been vacated. Looting was limited by the circumstances under which the tired, hardpressed soldiers had neither the leisure nor strength to indulge in wholesale plundering. The findings of the Provincial Congress's Committee appointed to estimate

the "damage done at Cambridge, Lexington and Concord" estimated the total, including the three houses burned at Lexington, at slightly more than ~~at~~ \$3,000, and most of the claimants were not conservative in their estimates of the values of damaged property.

This official narrative was broadcast throughout the Colonies. Couriers carried the news southward down the coast, and within less than a week, newspapers from Massachusetts to Georgia published their stories, borrowing liberally from one another and enlivening their accounts with apocryphal details of atrocities. Headlines trumpeted the news that merciless, pillaging soldiery had set upon unresisting, law-abiding citizenry. Isaiah Thomas' Massachusetts Spy press, recently moved from Boston to Worcester, issued a broadside that a score of papers throughout the colonies reprinted:

AMERICANS! forever bear in mind the BATTLE OF LEXINGTON - where British Troops, unmolested unprovoked, went only and in a most inhuman manner fired upon and killed a number of our countrymen, then robbed them of their provisions, ransacked, plundered and burned their houses! Nor could the tears of defenseless women, some of whom were in the pains of childbirth, and the cries of innocent babes, nor the prayers of old age, confined to beds of sickness, appease their thirst for blood - or divert them from their DESIGN of MURDER and ROBBERY!

Dr. Warren's horizons were not limited to North America. Viewing the outbreak of hostilities as the opening of a civil war between loyal citizens and an usurping Government, he believed it important to give his fellow subjects in Great Britain the colonists' version of the April 19 before General Gage's official report reached London.

On April 26, he wrote an account, that together with copies of the depositions collected by the congressional committee and an appeal to the people of Britain, was sent to England. The appeal said:

We cannot think that the honour, wisdom and valour of Britons will suffer them longer to be inactive spectators of measures in which they themselves are so deeply interested; measures pursued in opposition to the solemn protests of many noble Lords, and expressed sense of conspicuous commoners, whose knowledge and virtue have long characterized them as some of the greatest men in the nation; measures executing contrary to the interest, petitions and resolves of many large, respectable and opulent Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, in Great Britain; measures highly incompatible with justice, but still pursued with a specious pretense of easing the nation of its burden; measures which, if successful, must end in the ruin and slavery of Britain, as well as the persecuted American colonies.

We sincerely hope that the Sovereign of the Universe, who hath so often appeared for the English nation, will support you in very rational and manly exertion with their Colonies, for saving it from ruin; and that in a constitutional connection with the Mother County, we shall soon be altogether a free and happy people

single
space

Wealthy Salem merchant Richard Derby owned a fast schooner, the ^QTuero, and Congress commissioned it to carry copies of the Salem Gazette, the official narrative letter, copies of the depositions, and letters of instructions to Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee, American agents in London. Captain John ^EDerby sailed his father's vessel out of Salem harbor during the night of April 28. One month later, on May 28, he reached London. Copies of the narrative and supporting depositions were quickly produced and the originals placed in the custody of the radical Lord Mayor of London, John Wilkes. Within days, the American version of April 19 was widely circulated throughout the United Kingdom.

During the first two weeks of June, other ships from America brought oral confirmation of the news of the events at Concord and Lexington. Finally, two weeks after the ^QTuero's arrival at the Isle of Wight, Gage's report arrived on the packet Sukey. By that time, the Americans had achieved a propaganda success that the Government was never quite able to negate.

The American's ~~success~~ effectual use of the events of April 19th was the real victory of Lexington and Concord. The quiet New England villages were suddenly a symbol that united England's old North American colonies in the cause that produced a new nation.

NOTES ON SOURCES

Because of the large volume of sources and secondary literature on the subject, these notes will be very selective. Among the numerous studies that analyze the development of Anglo-American discord between 1763 and 1775 are several that make especially valuable contributions to an understanding of that development. Among these are the following: George L. Beer and Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Background of the American Revolution (New Haven, 1924) a study that is sympathetic to the British problems. A more colonialcentric study is Merrill Jensen's The Founding of a Nation: A History of the American Revolution, 1763-1776 (New York, 1968). Arthur M. Schlesinger, Senior's The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution (New York, 1918) ~~(New York, 1918)~~ and Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain (New York, 1958) and Bernard Bailyn's The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) and Pamphlets of the American Revolution (1 vol. to date, Cambridge, Mass., 1965) are important interpretive sources. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Gordon S. Wood's The Creation of the American Republic (Chapel Hill, 1969), Clinton Rossiter's Seedtime of the Republic: The Origins of the American Tradition of Political Liberty (New York, 1953), Caroline Rabbins' The Eighteenth Century Commonwealth (Cambridge, Mass., 1959) H. Trevor Colbourn's The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution (Chapel Hill, 1965), Esmond Wright's Fabric of Freedom, 1763-1800 (New York, 1961), Edmund S. Morgan's The Birth of the Republic, 1763-1789 (Chicago, 1956), Dan Lacey's The Meaning of the American Revolution (New York, 1964), Richard B. Morris's The American Revolution Reconsidered (New York, 1967), and Jack P. Greene's The Reappraisal of the American Revolution in Recent Historical Literature (Washington, D. C., 1967) make especially valuable contributions.

to understanding the philosophical backgrounds of the Revolution.

Studies of British colonial policy include: Sir Lew Namier's The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III (2 vols., London, 1929) and England in the Age of the American Revolution (London, 1930), Fred J. Hinkhouse's The Preliminaries of the American Revolution as Seen in the English Press, 1763-1775 (New York, 1926), Charles R. Ritcheson's British Politics and the American Revolution (Norman, Okl., 1954), and J. Steven Watson's The Reign of George III, 1760-1815 (Oxford, 1960)

Specialized works that help illuminate the prewar story ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ and are especially useful in understanding the situation in New England are: Oliver M. Dickerson's The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution (Philadelphia, 1951), Bernard Knollenberg, Origin of the American Revolution, 1759-1766 (New York, 1960), Thomas C. Barrow's Trade and Empire: The British Customs Service in Colonial America, 1600-1775 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), Carl Ubbelohde's The Vice-Admiralty Courts and the American Revolution (Chapel Hill, 1960), Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan's The Stamp Act Crisis (Chapel Hill, 1953), Benjamin W. Labaree's The Boston Tea Party (New York, 1964), Harold B. Zobel's The Boston Massacre (New York, 1970), Richard D. Brown's Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts: The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774 (Cambridge, Mass., 1970). ~~Also~~ John Sky's Toward Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution (Princeton, 1965) is an extremely valuable study.

For the account of the events of April 19, 1775, the following primary sources are basic: The original depositions taken by the Provincial Congress during the period April 23 - 25 in Lexington, Concord, and Charles-

town, twenty-one in number, University of Virginia and Harvard College; also published in Force, American Archives, II, 487 - 501. Ten depositions taken in 1825, printed in Elias Phinney's History of the Battle of Lexington (1825). Lt. John Barker's Diary, in Elizabeth E. Dana, ed., The British in Boston (Boston, 1924). Barrett Amos's "Concord and Lexington Battle" in Henry True, Journals and Letters (Marion, Ohio, 1906). Henry De Berniere's Narrative of Occurrences, 1775 in Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, IV, 204 ff. Percy Papers, Alnwick MSS, Alnwick Castle, Alnwick, Northumberland, England. Secondary works of special value are John Richard Alden's General Gage in America (Baton Rouge, 1948); Allen French's three pioneer studies: General Gage's Informers (Ann Arbor, 1932), Day of Lexington and Concord (Boston, 1925), and The First Year of the Revolution; Harold Murdock's The Nineteenth of April, 1775 (Boston, 1923); and Arthur B. Tourtellot's Lexington and Concord (New York, 1959).