ReadWorks® ARTICLE-A-DAY

Unrest in the American Colonies

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A Change in Thinking

This text is adapted from an original work of the Core Knowledge Foundation.

Back in the 1770s, many of the people in the British colonies of North America had come to resent the rule of the British government. One major issue was that they didn't appreciate being taxed without having any of their own representatives in the British government. These tensions boiled over in the violent and tragic event known as the Boston Massacre. The incident involved angry Bostonians confronting British soldiers. After all was said and done, five people were left dead.

In time, the anger over the Boston Massacre died down. The British government didn't do anything new to upset the American colonists. For the most part, American colonists tried not to upset the British government. Therefore the next three years were mostly calm.

Still, the way many colonists thought about Britain was changing. A country that sets up colonies in other lands is often called the *mother country*. That's what most colonists had always called England, or Britain. Even those who had never been there called Britain home.

The British described their relationship with the colonies the same way. Prime Minister William Pitt once said, "This is the mother country, they are the children. They must obey, and we prescribe [set the rules]."



In the early 1770s, colonists' feelings toward London and Britain itself were changing.

But children grow up. They learn to do things for themselves. They gain confidence. They need to do things their own way. Eventually, they live on their own. Independently.

After the Boston Massacre, some colonists wondered whether that time had come. This change in thinking happened slowly. At first only a few felt that way. Most colonists wanted to stay in the British Empire. They were loyal to their king. They just thought it was time for the British government to stop making rules for them.

A small number of colonists talked about going further. They believed that they could only

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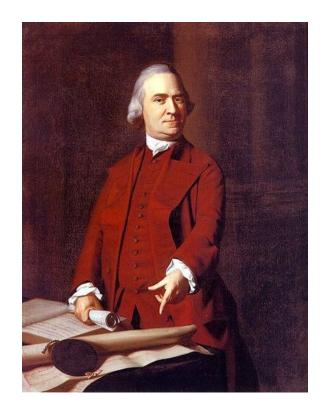
keep their liberties by breaking away from Britain. The colonies, they believed, must become independent.

Sam Adams

Sam Adams of Boston was one of the colonists who believed in independence. Adams came from an important Boston family.

In 1765, at the time of the Stamp Act, Adams helped to organize the Sons of Liberty. He was one of the leaders in the boycotts against British goods.

From that time forward, Adams worked to convince others that it was time to separate from Great Britain. In newspaper articles he told colonists to stand up against Britain for their rights. "The liberties of our country . . . are worth defending at all risks," he wrote. It would be a "disgrace" to allow our freedoms to be taken away "from us by violence, without a struggle, or be cheated out of them by tricks . . . "



Sam Adams wanted the colonies to be independent of Great Britain.

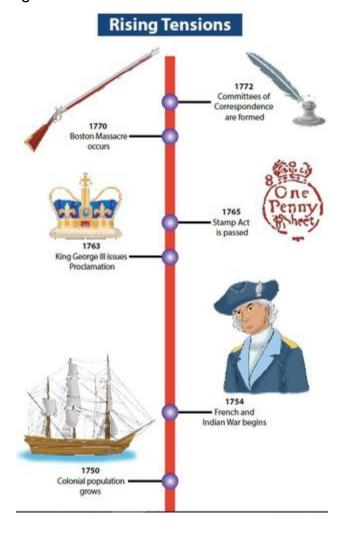
After the Boston Massacre, Adams and others in Boston created a way to alert colonists if (or when) the British government threatened their liberties again. In 1772, they set up a Committee of Correspondence.

Correspondence means "an exchange of letters." If the British again took away any "rights of Englishmen," committee members would immediately send letters across Massachusetts with the news.

The idea spread quickly to other colonies. Soon there was a great network of Committees of Correspondence. They could get news out quickly within each colony and from one colony to another.

Of course these committees didn't put away their quill pens and paper and wait for the next conflict. They wrote to each other often. Little by little, the idea of independence spread

throughout the colonies. Those who wanted independence were still in the minority. But what would happen if the British government threatened their liberties once again?



Over time, relations became strained between Great Britain and the colonies.

The Quarrel Between the Colonists and the British Begins

This text is adapted from an original work of the Core Knowledge Foundation.

What's the point of winning land in a war if you're not allowed to use it? Even before the French and Indian War, some colonists had moved onto the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains.

Now that France had given up its claim to land in the Ohio River Valley and beyond, many colonists looked forward to using the land themselves. The British government saw the matter differently. Many groups of Native Americans lived on that land. Some of them had fought with the British in the war against France. Having just ended one war with France, the British did not want to start a new one with Native

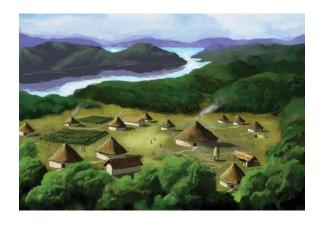


The colonists wanted to move onto land in the Ohio River Valley and set up farms.

Americans. They would surely have one, though, if colonists kept pushing onto Native American lands. In fact, one conflict did break out among Native Americans, settlers, and British soldiers. This conflict was called Pontiac's War. During this rebellion, Native Americans in the Great Lakes area tried to drive settlers off of their land.

Great Britain believed that it would be best to keep colonists away from Native American lands-for now, at least. On a map of North America, the British king, George III, drew a line running along the Appalachian Mountains from New York all the way south to Georgia. He then issued a proclamation. Until further notice, no more colonists were allowed to settle west of that line.

The Proclamation of 1763 angered the colonists. They had not fought the French to win land for Native Americans. They expected to keep it for themselves. Now their own king was telling them they couldn't settle there. The king also said that thousands of British soldiers would stay along the frontier to enforce the proclamation. The presence of British soldiers meant colonists couldn't move west of George III's line.



Native Americans did not want the colonists to move onto their land.

The Quarrel Grows

Soon the colonists had an even bigger disagreement with Great Britain. This new quarrel also grew from the war with France.

Britain spent a lot of money to win the French and Indian War. In fact, it spent more money than the British government really had. The government had borrowed what it needed to pay for the war. Now it had to pay back the borrowed money. It also needed to pay for the soldiers on the North American frontier.

Where was this money going to come from? Parliament thought the colonists should paymaybe not all of the money, but certainly a fair share. The colonists had been helped by Britain's victory over France. They should help pay for it.

First, Parliament said colonists needed to start paying the taxes they should have been paying all along. For example, colonists were supposed to pay taxes on certain imported goods. Instead, they had been smuggling-bringing in the goods secretly-to avoid the tax collectors.

The British government sent more officials to the colonies to make sure the colonists paid their taxes. The officials were especially interested in new taxes on sugar and molasses. These officials could enter and search colonists' homes and businesses without the owners' permission. They could search for smuggled goods or anything else that showed colonists had broken the law.

Remember the "rights of Englishmen"? One of those rights said that government officials

could not just search a home or business whenever they felt like it. How could the British government take this right away from its colonists?

Parliament found another way to make colonists pay. When the French and Indian War ended, there were thousands of British soldiers in the colonies. The British government wanted to keep them there. To help pay for this, Parliament passed the Quartering Act. The act required colonial governments to supply quarters for the British soldiers. Quarters were places to live.



Many colonists did not like having to quarter British soldiers in their homes.

The colonists did not like the Quartering Act. Why did the British government want to keep soldiers in the colonies? If it was for the colonists' protection,

whom were they being protected from? Were the soldiers staying in the colonies to make sure that colonists obeyed British laws, even the unfair ones?

The French and Indian War

This text is adapted from an original work of the Core Knowledge Foundation.

Washington's small battle against the French started the French and Indian War. On one side was France, their French colonists in North America, and their Native American allies. On the other side was Great Britain, their British colonists in North America, and their Native American allies.

Great Britain and France had been fighting each other on and off for nearly a hundred years. No one was surprised that they were at war again. The two European countries had colonies all over the world. Both wanted to control the other's colonies. It was no surprise when the war that began in North America spread to two other continents and the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans. In Europe and Asia, the war was called the Seven Years' War. In North America, it was called the French and Indian War.



George Washington's small battle helped trigger another war between Great Britain and France.

Fighting in the Woods

The British were determined to take Fort Duquesne and drive the French out of the Ohio River Valley. In 1755, they sent General Edward Braddock with 2,200 soldiers from the British army to do the job. Eager to join Braddock's army and return to Fort Duquesne, George Washington offered his services to the British general. Braddock appointed the eager young Virginian to the position of colonel (/ker*null/). Washington was put in charge of 450 colonial soldiers.

Braddock was an experienced general. He knew how to fight wars in Europe, where armies battled on great open fields. He knew very little about fighting a war in the woods of North America. Even worse, he was too stubborn to listen to anyone who did.

The first thing Braddock did was order his men to cut a hundredmile- long road through the

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woods toward Fort Duquesne. His army would march on the road-almost as if they were on parade.

Colonel Washington knew that building the road was unwise. He and his colonists knew about the woods. They warned Braddock that his soldiers should advance with great caution. An attack could come at any moment from anywhere. Braddock ignored their advice. They were only colonists. What did they know about the art of war?

A few miles from Fort Duquesne, French soldiers and their Native American allies attacked Braddock's army without warning. They fired from hiding places in the thick woods. The British didn't know what hit them. Their bright red coats made them easy targets. They panicked and ran. General Braddock was killed.

Fortunately for the British, George Washington had joined them. Courageously exposing himself to danger, Washington led the remaining British soldiers to safety.



Both sides had Native American allies. The Huron fought with the French; the Iroquois sided with the British.

Victory for the British

For a time, the French and Indian War went badly for the British elsewhere too. Things began to turn around when William Pitt became the British prime minister. As prime minister, Pitt was in charge of Great Britain's foreign affairs. This included foreign wars and dealing with the colonies.

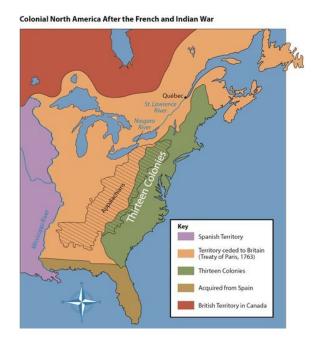
It was true that the war was being fought around the world, not just in North America. But Pitt knew the American colonies were valuable to Great Britain. He decided that Great Britain must win the war and keep control of its North American lands. If that meant sending more soldiers to North America, Pitt would do it. Waging a war on many continents was expensive, but Pitt was ready to spend whatever was necessary to win.

Pitt wanted to win control of two rivers: the St. Lawrence River and the Niagara River. The French used these rivers to send supplies to their soldiers near the Great Lakes and in the Ohio River Valley, including those at Fort Duquesne. If the British could prevent the French

from using these rivers, they would soon run out of supplies.

Aided by their Native American allies and the American colonists, the British did what Pitt wanted. In addition, British and American forces captured Fort Duquesne. They renamed it Fort Pitt. That is how the city of Pittsburgh eventually got its name. They also captured the French fortress at Louisbourg in Canada.

Another part of Pitt's plan was to capture Quebec. The city of Quebec sits atop steep cliffs alongside the St. Lawrence River. The cliffs protected the city from attack. At least, that's what the French thought. One night in September 1759, British soldiers, led by General James Wolfe, climbed to the top of the cliffs. When dawn broke, the French found the British assembled on a flat area, called the Plains of Abraham, ready for battle. The British defeated the French forces and took the city of Quebec. Both



This map shows the lands gained at the end of the French and Indian War. Spain had joined the war on the side of France. It had to give up land,

Wolfe and the French general, Louis Montcalm, died in the battle.

The British now controlled the St. Lawrence River, and the French had lost. The French and Indian War ended when Great Britain and France signed the Treaty of Paris in 1763. As a part of the peace treaty, France gave all of Canada to Great Britain. France also gave the land it had claimed between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River to Britain. The land west of the Mississippi River was given to Spain, one of France's allies in the war. Spain was, however, forced to give up Florida.

How complete was Great Britain's victory? Britain was now the main colonial power in North America.

The Stamp Act

This text is adapted from an original work of the Core Knowledge Foundation.

The British created new taxes to collect money from the colonists. In 1765, Parliament passed the Stamp Act. This law made colonists pay a tax on just about every kind of printed paper. The tax applied to about fifty different items in all.

Under the Stamp Act, colonists had to buy special tax stamps from a tax collector. They would put a stamp on each of the taxed items they used. Every time they bought such things as a newspaper, a calendar, a marriage license, or any kind of legal or business paper, they had to pay a tax. They even



People began to protest against the Stamp Act.

had to pay a tax on playing cards. This made many of the colonists very angry.

Do you see why the colonists were so outraged? Had their own colonial assemblies passed this tax law? No, they had not. It was the British Parliament in faraway London, England.

Sure, British subjects living in Great Britain were already paying a stamp tax. But those subjects were represented in Parliament. The colonists were not. They could not elect members of Parliament. They had no voice and no representatives in Parliament. What right did Parliament have to pass a law taxing them? None. Absolutely none. To the colonists, this was "taxation without representation." It was completely unjust!

A Leader Emerges

One colonist who strongly protested the Stamp Act was a twenty-nine-year old Virginian named Patrick Henry. Patrick Henry was a member of the Virginia



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assembly, known as the Virginia House of Burgesses. He gave a powerful speech against the new tax. He warned that the Stamp Act would take away the colonists' liberty.

Patrick Henry spoke out against the Stamp Act.

Patrick Henry's speech was printed in newspapers throughout the colonies. The speech made people think. In New York, Boston, Newport, and other places throughout the colonies, people protested, debated, and formed groups called the Sons of Liberty. These groups threatened the stamp tax collectors. Many stamp tax collectors decided that the best thing to do was get out of town and forget about selling tax stamps.

The Colonies Protest

The Sons of Liberty did more than threaten tax collectors. They also organized a boycott of British goods. People throughout the colonies agreed not to buy goods from Great Britain as long as the Stamp Act remained a law.

Like the Sons of Liberty, women's groups called the Daughters of Liberty helped support the boycott. One of the most important goods purchased from British merchants was cloth. To make up for the growing shortage in the colonies, the Daughters of Liberty wove their own cloth.

The Sons of Liberty, Daughters of Liberty, and the many other people who supported the colonists' cause also gave themselves another name. They called themselves Patriots.

Colonial leaders knew they could do more to put pressure on Parliament. Colonial leaders called for a special meeting of all the colonies to decide on a course of action. In October 1765, nine colonies sent delegates, or representatives, to the meeting held in



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New York. Delegates at the Stamp Act Congress agreed on a number of statements that confirmed the rights of colonists as British subjects. They also asked Parliament to repeal the hated law.

Patrick Henry's newspaper article influenced many people in the colonies.

These actions by the colonists shocked the leaders of the British government. They were especially worried by the meeting of the Stamp Act Congress.

Never before had the colonies acted together against the British government. British leaders did not want this to become a habit. British merchants weren't happy either. The boycott was causing them to lose a lot of money.

In 1766, after one year, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act. When the news reached America, the colonists celebrated. Through their resistance, they had brought an end to the hated Stamp Act. Of course, they still loved their king. No one was talking about leaving the British Empire. The Stamp Act had really been nothing more than a conflict between members of the same family.

Parliament Stumbles

This text is adapted from an original work of the Core Knowledge Foundation.

You might think Parliament would get the message: no taxation without representation. The colonists had drawn the line there, but the British government still needed money, and it needed to show who was boss. And so in 1767-just one year after repealing the Stamp Act-Parliament tried again. This time, as part of the Townshend Acts, it placed taxes on glass, paint, lead, paper, and a number of other goods that colonists imported.



The British government taxed imported goods that the colonists needed.

This was Parliament's thinking: the colonists need these goods, so when ships deliver them to colonial harbors, our officials will be there to collect the tax.

Parliament made things worse by saying that whomever was arrested for not paying the tax would be tried without a jury.

Taxation without representation again? And this time, trial without a jury? So much for the "rights of Englishmen"! Once again, the Sons of Liberty swung into action. They organized another boycott of all British goods. This boycott was as successful as the first one. The colonists didn't stop at making their own cloth. They also made their own paint, lead, glass, and paper. The quality of the homemade items was not as good as those purchased from Britain, and it may have cost more to make them, but the colonists would make do to get their point across!

The boycott lasted for nearly three years. Once again, the colonists succeeded. British merchants and manufacturers lost so much money because of the boycott that they demanded that Parliament repeal the new taxes.

It was one thing for the colonists to demand that Parliament repeal a tax. Parliament could ignore them if it wished. But Parliament could hardly ignore the powerful businessmen of their own country.

So in 1770, Parliament repealed all but one of the taxes. The British government kept the tax

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on tea as a symbol of their right to pass laws *and* tax the colonies. The colonists responded accordingly. They ended their boycott of all goods from Britain, except for one. Can you guess which item they continued to boycott?

Parliament had left the tax on tea to show that it had the right to tax the colonists. The colonists continued the boycott on tea to show that Parliament did not have the right to tax them. Each side was willing to leave it at that for the time being. The colonists, who were big tea drinkers, didn't give up tea completely. They simply bought their tea from Dutch merchants who smuggled it into the colonies.

The Boston Massacre

Meanwhile, more British troops arrived in the colonies. The colonists grew alarmed. For them, the presence of British soldiers represented a threat to their freedom. The British said the soldiers were needed to defend the colonists against Native American attacks. If that were true, then why weren't the soldiers on the frontier, where the Native Americans were? Why were so many troops located in eastern cities, like Philadelphia, New York, and Boston? In Boston in particular, troops seemed to be everywhere- on the street corners, in front of buildings, in the parks.

The citizens of Boston jeered at the soldiers. They made fun of them. They tried to make their lives miserable. Because British soldiers sometimes had regular jobs, tensions grew over employment opportunities, too. In several cities, fights broke out between colonists and soldiers.

Those fights were not nearly as bad, though, as what happened in Boston on the evening of March 5, 1770. There, a crowd of men and boys gathered around a lone British soldier on guard duty. They shouted insults and threw snowballs at him. Some of the snowballs had rocks inside of them.

The frightened soldier called for help. More British soldiers arrived. The crowd grew larger. The shouts, the dares, and the insults grew louder and angrier.

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Then, for reasons that are unclear, the soldiers turned their guns on the angry crowd and shot. When the smoke cleared, five colonists lay dead or wounded. Their blood stained the snow-covered street. One of them was Crispus Attucks, who had once been enslaved and now worked as a sailor. Crispus Attucks was the first African American to die for the cause of American liberty. He was not the last.



Crispus Attucks was the first African American to die for the Patriot cause.

A few days later, more than half of the population of Boston turned out for a funeral march for the dead men. Shops were closed. Church bells rang. Angry

Bostonians called the killing a massacre- a needless killing of defenseless people. The event became known as the Boston Massacre.

A Boston silversmith named Paul Revere made a copper engraving that showed soldiers firing on a group of perfectly peaceful, innocent citizens. Many paper copies can be printed from a single engraving. That is exactly what Revere did.

No one knows for sure whether Revere actually saw the shooting. Some of the things shown in the engraving are not true. But Paul Revere was a Son of Liberty. He made that engraving because he wanted to make people angry at the British. Sure, the citizens who were shot had been asking for trouble. But they certainly did not deserve to die.

The British soldiers who fired on the crowd were tried by a local court. It found six soldiers innocent and two guilty of manslaughter. The lawyer who defended them was John Adams.

A Tea Party in Boston

This text is adapted from an original work of the Core Knowledge Foundation.

Have you ever heard the expression, "He was too clever for his own good"? It means that sometimes a person thinks he has a smart solution to a problem. Instead, his solution makes things worse.

Few sayings better describe what the British government did next. Parliament had left the tax on tea just to show the colonists that it had the right to tax them. Meanwhile the colonists had maintained the boycott on tea just to show Parliament that it didn't.

Parliament decided its plan had not worked. British tea merchants had lost their colonial customers. The colonists were buying tea smuggled in by Dutch merchants. As a result, the government hadn't collected more than a few pennies in taxes. So in 1773, Parliament came up with another plan. It passed the Tea Act.

Parliament's new plan was clever but tricky.

Parliament lowered the price of the tea itself. But it also kept the tax on the tea. When the new price of the tea was added to the tax, the total cost was less than what the colonists paid for tea from the Dutch.

Parliament thought the colonists would now buy British tea again. When they did, they would be paying the tea tax! Soon two thousand chests of tea were loaded aboard British ships bound for the American colonies. Once there, the tea would be sold by certain colonial merchants.



Tea was a popular drink in the colonies.

Unfortunately, Parliament was "too clever for its own good." The Tea Act of 1773 showed how poorly Parliament understood the colonists. The colonists did not care about the price of tea. They cared about "taxation without representation." They were not going to pay that tea tax, no matter what British tea cost.

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News Travels Fast

As British tea ships headed for the colonies, Committees of Correspondence went to work. The news spread through the colonies. The Sons of Liberty prevented the tea ships from being unloaded in several ports. In Philadelphia, for example, the Sons of Liberty sent a letter to the captain of a ship waiting in the harbor to unload its chests of tea. "I wouldn't try to land that tea if I were you," said the letter. "Your ship may just happen to be set on fire . . ." The captain got the idea and decided not to dock.

Colonists in other colonial port cities responded the same way. Some captains had their ships wait in the harbor. Others turned their ships around and headed home. That is not what happened in Boston.

Time for Tea

Early in December 1773, three tea ships entered Boston Harbor. Citizens gathered at a town meeting. They demanded that the governor of the colony order the ships to leave. The governor did not like Sam Adams or the Sons of Liberty. He refused.

Colonists took matters into their own hands. On the night of December 16, 1773, a group of colonists dressed as Native Americans as a symbol of independence. Then they rowed out to the ships in the harbor. They boarded the ships and dumped every chest of tea into the water. Exactly 342 chests went into the harbor. All of this was done in a quiet,



No one was fooled by the costumes worn by the colonists when they tossed the tea into Boston Harbor.

businesslike way. When they were through, the "Native Americans" swept the deck and put everything back in its proper place. This event became known as the Boston Tea Party.

The Intolerable Acts

When Parliament and the king heard about the Boston Tea Party, they were outraged. Parliament passed laws to punish the people of Boston and the whole Massachusetts colony. One law closed the Port of Boston until the colonists paid for the wasted tea. For a city that

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depended on trading and fishing, this was a harsh punishment. Parliament hoped that Boston's merchants and fishermen would turn in the guilty persons. Maybe they would even pay for the tea themselves. They did neither.

A second law took away most of the Massachusetts colony's self-government. The British also appointed an army general to be the governor of Massachusetts. The new governor came with thousands of British soldiers. The Quartering Act forced the colonists to house and feed the soldiers.

These laws became known as the Intolerable Acts because the colonists would not tolerate or accept them.

Making Enemies

The British government failed to understand the effects of its actions. The new laws caused it to lose friends and make enemies. Even colonists who were loyal to Britain, who opposed the Sons of Liberty, who wanted to buy British tea and pay the tea tax felt the new laws were too harsh. Once again, the Committees of Correspondence spread the news. The colonies decided to stand with the people of Boston to resist the Intolerable Acts.

The Colonists Resist

This text is adapted from an original work of the Core Knowledge Foundation.

Parliament was right about one thing: the Intolerable Acts made the people of Boston and the rest of Massachusetts suffer. However, Parliament didn't expect the other colonies to come to their aid.

Pennsylvania sent barrels of flour to the people of Massachusetts. New York sent sheep. South Carolina sent sacks of rice. Connecticut sent money. Virginia sent corn and wheat.

Virginia's leaders even went a step further. They set aside a day of fasting and prayer for the people of Boston. They also declared that the Intolerable Acts were a threat to liberty in every colony. If the king and Parliament could do these things to Massachusetts, what would stop them from doing the same to other colonies?

The Virginians took a bold step. They called for delegates from all of the colonies to meet and discuss what to do next. This would be the second time delegates met to resist an act of Parliament. The first time, the Stamp Act Congress, had been successful. This time, though, the British government seemed determined not to back down.



The First Continental Congress

In September 1774, fifty-six colonial leaders met in Philadelphia. They represented twelve of the thirteen British colonies in North America. Only Georgia did Throughout the colonies, there was a determination to help the people of Boston.

not send delegates. The colonists thought this meeting was important. We can tell by the delegates they chose. George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson represented Virginia. Sam Adams and his cousin John represented Massachusetts. New York sent John Jay. Jay later served on the Supreme Court of the United States. John Adams wrote in his

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diary, "There is in the Congress a collection of the greatest men upon this continent."

This meeting became known as the First Continental Congress. The delegates discussed their common problems. They shared their anger at the British government. They issued a Declaration of Rights. The declaration said that as British colonists, they were entitled to all the "rights of Englishmen." They listed the ways Parliament had taken their rights away since the French and Indian War. They also told King George III that the colonists were still loyal to him. They asked him to consider their complaints.





George Washington (left) and Thomas Jefferson (right) attended the First Continental Congress.

The First Continental Congress did two more things. It voted to stop all trade with the British until Parliament repealed the Intolerable Acts. Until Parliament removed the laws, colonists would buy nothing from Britain and sell nothing to Britain. The Congress also agreed to meet again in May 1775 if Parliament still had not given back their rights.

A New Identity

The First Continental Congress and the Declaration of Rights were the most defiant actions the colonies had ever taken. But something more than defiance had happened. This "something" had no exact name. There is no exact date when it started. Still, it was as important as any of the resolutions passed by the First Continental Congress. Maybe it started with those shipments of flour and rice and money to Boston from the other colonies. Maybe it began with the Stamp Act Congress. Maybe it had been happening all along, before anyone was aware of it. That "something" was that the colonies were coming together as never before.

Before this, each colony had thought of itself as separate from the others. The colonists thought of themselves as Virginians or New Yorkers or Georgians. When they thought of an attachment to any other place, it was to Great Britain. That was partly because each colony had more to do with Britain than it did with other colonies. It was also due to the fact that the colonists thought of themselves as British citizens, with all the "rights of Englishmen."

By the end of the First Continental Congress, many colonists were thinking of themselves as part of one country, not as people living in thirteen different ones. They were more aware of the things they had



The colonists began to think of themselves as Americans, not as members of thirteen separate colonies.

in common. They were more aware that they needed each other. Patrick Henry summed up the new awareness perfectly. He told the First Continental Congress, "The distinctions [differences] between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders, are no more. I am not a Virginian but an American."