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absolutely irreconcileable with the rights of the Colonists,

COLONISTS RESPOND TO THE SUGAR ACT & CURRENCY ACT OF 1764

A Selection from Petitions, Pamphlets, News Reports, Merchants' Appeals, & A History

1763_____French and Indian War ends with British victory and acquisition of French Canada and all French territory in North America east of the Mississippi River. The war has nearly doubled the British national debt.

1764

- April 5: SUGAR ACT (American Revenue Act) is passed by Parliament to raise funds for the depleted British treasury and to curtail the colonists' smuggling of non-British sugar and molasses to avoid import tariffs. It decreased the tax on British sugar and molasses but increased the enforcement of anti-smuggling laws.
- April 19: CURRENCY ACT is passed by Parliament to ban colonies' printing paper money, primarily due to British merchants' insistence that payment in colonial currency rather than British currency left them underpaid for their goods.

1765_

March 18: STAMP ACT is passed by Parliament to raise funds for the maintenance of British troops in the colonies. The first direct tax imposed on the colonists by Parliament, it requires the use of tax-stamped paper for all newspapers, magazines, legal documents, etc.

To us they are bland terms — "Sugar Act" and "Currency Act" — but in 1764 they were fighting words for New England colonists. They signalled a frightening upset in the longterm commercial and political relationship with Great Britain. They announced: "You can't conduct global trade the way you used to"; "You can't print paper money to pay your debts." *And*: "If you get caught, you won't be tried by a jury of your peers." To colonial merchants and other businessmen, already struck by a postwar economic depression, the acts threatened personal livelihoods, the future vitality of colonial economies, and the colonists' long-cherished status as nearly autonomous British subjects.

As the revolutionary statesman and historian David Ramsay wrote in 1789: "The sad story of Colonial oppression commenced in the year 1764. Great Britain then adopted new regulations respecting her Colonies, which, after disturbing the ancient harmony of the two countries for about twelve years, terminated in a dismemberment of the empire." A dismemberment of the empire — not what the British Parliament envisioned in 1764.

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Boston Merchants' Appeals to Repeal the Sugar Act, 1764

BOSTON MERCHANTS, Recommendations to representatives in the Massachusetts General Assembly, published in The Boston News-Letter and New-England Chronicle, 31 May 1764.

... But if our trade is to be curtail'd in its most profitable branches [sugar/molasses], and burdens beyond all possible bearing laid upon that which is suffer'd [permitted] to remain, we shall be so far from being to take off [trade in] the manufactures of Great Britain that it will be scarce possible for us to earn our bread. —— But what still heightens our apprehensions is that these unexpected proceedings [of Parliament] may be preparatory to new taxations upon us: For if our trade may be taxed, why not our lands? Why not the produce of our lands and everything we possess or make use of? This we apprehend annihilates our charter right to govern and tax ourselves. — It strikes at our British privileges which, as we have never forfeited them, we hold in common with our fellow subjects who are natives of Britain. If taxes are laid upon us in any shape without our having a legal representation where they are made, are we not reduc'd from the character of free Subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?

- BOSTON MERCHANTS, Society for Encouraging Trade and Commerce, "State of Trade," published as Reasons Against the Renewal of the Sugar Act, As It Will Be Prejudicial to the Trade, Not Only of the Northern Colonies, but to That of Great Britain Also, 1764 (to be delivered by colonial agents to British officials in England).
- First, It is apprehended that the trade is so far from being able to bear the high duty [tax] imposed by this act on sugar and molasses that it will not bear any duty at all . . . And if an end should be put to our trade to the foreign islands, Great Britain would finally lose much more than would be gained by the duty on sugar. . . .
- Secondly, The loss of the trade to the foreign islands, on which great part of our other trade depends, must deeply affect all the northern colonies, greatly hurt the fishery at Newfoundland, and entirely destroy that of this province, as our own islands [the British sugar-producing islands in the West Indies] are not capable of taking off [purchasing] above one third of our West India cod fish, or one quarter of the mackerel, shad, alewives, and other small fish exported from hence. . . .
- Thirdly, A prohibition of the trade to the foreign islands will greatly promote the French fishery [in the Grand Banks off Newfoundland] . . . their establishing such a fishery will be very prejudicial [harmful] to Great Britain, as great numbers of our fishermen, having no employ at home will be induced to enter into the French service where they will have all possible encouragement given them. . . .
- Fifthly, The destruction of the fishery will be very prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain by lessening the demand for her manufactures
- Sixthly, The destruction of the fishery will not only lessen the importation of goods from Great Britain but must greatly prejudice the whole trade of these colonies. The trade to the foreign islands is become very considerate. Surinam and the other Dutch settlements are wholly supply'd with provisions, fish, lumber, horses, onions, and other articles exported from the northern colonies, for which we receive molasses in return. This is distilled into rum, for the fishery and to export to the southern colonies for naval stores [turpentine, tar, and pitch for shipbuilding], which we send to Great Britain, and for grain, and to Africa to purchase slaves for our own Islands in the West Indies. . . .
- Eighthly, The sugar act, if put into execution, will greatly affect the king's revenue by lessening the importation of rum and sugar into Great Britain... The duty paid upon rum, it is said, amounts to upwards of £50,000 sterling per annum [yearly]. This will be wholly lost to the Crown, as the northern colonies will take all the rum our islands can make; consequently none can be ship'd to Great Britain.



PAMPHLETS IN OPPOSITION TO THE SUGAR ACT, 1764

(and the imminent STAMP ACT)

In establishing American independence, the pen and the press had merit equal to that of the sword. _____David Ramsay, The History of the American Revolution, 1789

OXENBRIDGE THACHER, The Sentiments of a British American, Boston, 1764, EXCERPTS.

The reason given for this extraordinary taxation [Sugar Act], namely, that this was undertaken for the security of the colonies, and that they ought therefore to be taxed to pay the charge thereby incurred, it is humbly apprehended is without foundation. For—

- (1.) It was of no less consequence to Great Britain than it was to the colonies that these should not be over-run and conquered by the French. Suppose they had prevailed and gotten all the English colonies into their possession: How long would Great Britain had survived their fate! . . .
- (2.) The colonies contributed their full proportion to those conquests All of them by their expenses and exertions in the late war have incurred heavy debts, which it take them many years to pay.
- (3.) The colonies are no particular gainers by these acquisitions. None of the conquered territory is annexed to them, all the acquisitions accruing to the Crown. . . . It is true that they have more security from having their throats cut by the French, while the peace lasts, but so have also all his Majesty's subjects.
- (4.) Great Britain gaineth immensely by these acquisitions. The command of the whole American fur trade and the increased demand for their woolen manufactures from their numerous new subjects in a country too cold to keep sheep: These are such immense gains

RICHARD BLAND, The Colonel Dismounted, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1764, EXCERPTS.

If then the People of this Colony are free born and have a Right to the Liberties and Privileges of *English* Subjects, they must necessarily have a legal Constitution, that is, a legislature composed, in Part, of the Representatives of the People, who may enact laws for the INTERNAL Government of the Colony, and suitable to its various circumstances and Occasions; and without such a Representative, I am bold enough to say, no Law can be made.

... In every Instance, therefore, of our EXTERNAL Government, we are, and must be, subject to the Authority of the *British* Parliament, but in no others; for if the Parliament should impose Laws upon us merely relative to our INTERNAL Government, it deprives us, as far as those Laws extend, of the most valuable Part of our Birthright as *Englishmen*, of being governed by Laws made with our own Consent... I do not deny but that the Parliament, as the stronger Power, can force any Laws it shall think fit upon us, but the Inquiry is not what it can do, but what constitutional Right it has to do so

■ JAMES OTIS, The Rights of the British Colonies, Asserted and Proved, Boston, 1764, EXCERPTS.

Their [colonists'] loyalty has been abundantly proved, especially in the late war. Their affection and reverence for their mother country is unquestionable. They yield the most cheerful and ready obedience to her laws, particularly to the power of that august body the Parliament of Great Britain, the supreme legislative of the kingdom and in dominions. These I declare are my own sentiments of duty and loyalty....

I also lay it down as one of the first principles from whence I intend to deduce the civil rights of the British colonies, that all of them are subject to and dependent on Great Britain; and that therefore as over subordinate governments, the Parliament of Great Britain has an undoubted power and lawful authority to make acts for the general good, that by naming them, shall and ought to be equally binding as upon the subjects of Great Britain within the realm....



Now can there be any liberty where property is taken away without consent? Can it with any color of truth, justice or equity be affirmed that the northern colonies are represented in Parliament? Has this whole continent of near three thousand miles in length, and in which, and his other American dominions, His Majesty has or very soon will have some millions of as good, loyal and useful subjects, white and black, as any in the three kingdoms, the election of one member of the House of Commons? . . .

I can see no reason to doubt but that the imposition of taxes, whether on trade, or on land, or houses, or ships, on real or personal, fixed or floating property, in the colonies, is absolutely irreconcilable with the rights of the Colonists as British subjects, and as men. . . For what one civil right is worth a rush, after a man's property is subject to be taken from him at pleasure, without his consent? If a man is not his *own assessor* in person, or by deputy, his liberty is gone, or lays entirely at the mercy of others. . .

... The power of Parliament is uncontrolable, but by themselves, and we must obey. They only can repeal their own acts. There would be an end of all government if one or a number of subjects or subordinate provinces should take upon them so far to judge of the justice of an act of Parliament, as to refuse obedience to it. If there was nothing else to restrain such a step, prudence ought to do it, for forcibly resisting the Parliament and the King's laws is high treason. Therefore let the Parliament lay what burdens they please on us, we must, it is our duty to submit and patiently bear them, till they will be pleased to relieve us. And tis to be presumed, the wisdom and justice of that august assembly always will afford us relief by repealing such acts, as through mistake, or other human infirmities, have been suffered to pass, if they can be convinced that their proceedings are not constitutional, or not for the common good....

We all think ourselves happy under Great Britain. We love, esteem and reverence our mother country and adore our King. And could the choice of independency be offered the colonies, or subjection to Great Britain upon any terms above absolute slavery, I am convinced they would accept the latter. The ministry, in all future generations may rely on it, that British America will never prove undutiful till driven to it as the last fatal resort against ministerial oppression, which will make the wisest mad and the weakest strong.

STEPHEN HOPKINS (governor of Rhode Island), *The Rights of the Colonies Examined*, Providence, Rhode Island, written late 1764, publ. 1765, EXCERPTS.

The resolution of the House of Commons, come into during the same session of Parliament, asserting their rights to establish stamp duties and internal taxes to be collected in the colonies without their own consent, hath much more, and for much more reason, alarmed the *British* subjects in America than anything that had ever been done before. These resolutions, carried into execution, the colonies cannot help but consider as a manifest violation of their just and long enjoyed rights. For it must be confessed by all men that they who are taxed at pleasure by others cannot possibly have any property, can have nothing to be called their own. They who have no property can have no freedom, but are indeed reduced to the most abject slavery . . .

We are not insensible that when liberty is in danger, the liberty of complaining is dangerous. Yet, a man on a wreck [rack] was never denied the liberty of roaring as loud as he could, says Dean [Jonathan] *Swift*. And we believe no good reason can be given why the colonies should not modestly and soberly inquire what right the Parliament of *Great Britain* have to tax them. . . .

... Have not the colonies here, at all times when called upon by the crown, raised money for the public service, done it as cheerfully as the Parliament have done on like occasions? Is not this the most easy, the most natural, and most constitutional way of raising money in the colonies? What occasion then to distrust the colonies—what necessity to fall on an invidious and unconstitutional method to compel them to do what they have ever done freely? Are not the people in the colonies as loyal and dutiful subjects as any age or nation ever produced; — and are they not as useful to the kingdom, in this remote quarter of the world, as their fellow-subjects are who dwell in *Britain*?

but are indeed reduced to the most abject slavery

_Public Protests Against the Sugar Act: Rhode Island__

Rum was Rhode Island's prosperity — the production of rum, that is, distilled from molasses imported from the West Indies (and throughout New England, undistilled molasses was a staple food). For decades shippers had smuggled molasses into Rhode Island to avoid paying British import taxes, and for decades British officials had accepted bribes to ignore the covert nighttime activities along the shores. With the end of the French and Indian War, however, and the huge war debt incurred by the British, the blind-eye policy was replaced by strict enforcement of the old laws and enactment of new duties, especially the Sugar Act, which raised the taxes on molasses imported from non-British islands in the West Indies (preferred by New Englanders for its lower price). Tensions mounted with the arrival of armed British navy ships to patrol the coastal waters, leading to two of the earliest acts of colonial defiance in the revolutionary period.

The H.M.S. St. John. Newport [Rhode Island] Mercury, 16 July 1764____

The following Affair, which at the Beginning seemed to indicate a tragical Issue [outcome], happened here last Monday, viz. [namely]

Some Men belonging to His Majesty's Schooner St. *John*, then in this harbour [Newport], commanded by Capt. Hill, had been guilty several Days before of some irregularities in Town, of which Information was given by one concerned in the same, who had made his Escape, and being observed to be on a Wharf nearly opposite to her, a Boat, with some men armed, came in Quest of him, or, as is said, to impress Men at Work on board a Vessel. But, whatever were their Motives for their coming ashore in that Manner, this is certain, that a smart Skirmish was the Consequence, by which it is said the Schooner's Men were considerably bruised and very expeditiously went off, leaving the commanding Officer behind, who was immediately taken into Custody. The defensive Party, it is also said, received some slight Wounds.

This Transaction, with the Men who had been guilty of the Disorders, being detained on board the Schooner, after they had been demanded by Authority, greatly incensed the people of the Town.— But it many be proper to observe that B. Smith, Esq., Commander of His Majesty's Ship *Squirrel* (who, since his Residence here, by a Conduct becoming the Spirit of a Gentleman of Honor and Generosity, has justly merited the Esteem of the Inhabitants) and the Captain of the Schooner, were absent, otherwise the Affair might probably have been amicably adjusted. —

But it being apprehended [discovered] that the Delinquents might make their Escape, Orders were sent over to Fort George to stop the schooner in case she should attempt going out of the harbour. Towards Evening she got under Sail, intending to come to under the *Squirrel*'s Stern, who lay without [near] the Fort, and was endeavoring to beat out (the Wind being a-head) when she was hailed from the Fort, which she disregarded. Soon after the Gunner, pursuant to his orders, fired a Shot, which being ineffectual, was repeated, to the Number of 8 or 10, none of which had any Effect, and the Schooner got safely moored under the *Squirrel*'s Stern.

Captain Smith has since ordered the Men, who was the Cause of the above Disorder, to be delivered up to be dealt with agreeable to Law.

The St. John patrolled Narragansett Bay for smugglers. Three months earlier, it had seized the sloop Rhoda and its cargo of smuggled molasses, arousing the ire of Rhode Islanders; some armed a sloop and fired shots at the St. John.

> "irregularities in Town": including stealing chickens

"impress Men": take men by force to work on British ships

Rhode Island officials demanded custody of the British crewmen accused of "irregularities."

Fort George, in Newport harbor, was occupied by Rhode Islanders who fired several artillery shots, unsuccessfully, at the *St. John.*



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The Polly. Providence [Rhode Island] Gazette, 27 April 1765_

On the 13th Inst.[ant] His Excellency Governor Bernard, of Boston, issued a Proclamation for apprehending the Persons concerned in the riotous Proceedings at Taunton, occasioned by the Seizure of a Vessel there by John Robinson, Esq., Collector of His Majesty's Customs for the Port of Newport, the Substance of which is as follows, viz.

Thereas a Representation has been made to me by the Honorable John Temple, Esq., the Surveyor-General of His Majesty's Customs for the Northern District of America, That the Collector of the Customs for the Port of Newport, suspecting that — Dogget, Master of the Sloop Polly, owned by Mr. Job Smith, of Taunton, lately entered from Surinam, had reported only a Part of her Cargo, did thereupon, accompanied by Capt. Charles Antrobus, of His Majesty's Ship Maidstone, proceed to Taunton River in the County of Bristol within the province of Massachusetts-Bay, where the said Sloop then lay, and together went on board the said Sloop and found that she was loaded with double the Quantity of Molasses reported as aforesaid; and that thereupon the said Collector seized the Overplus, and also seized the Vessel, both as forfeited; and then left on board the said Sloop Mr. Lechmere, the Searcher of the Customs for the Port of Newport, and the said Collector's own Servant, in order to see the Delivery of the said Cargo; but that the said Searcher and the Servant aforesaid, having Occasion to go ashore to refresh themselves, the Boat they went ashore in was, after their Landing, taken away, and they could get no other Boat to go aboard of the said Sloop, she then lying within one Hundred Yards of the Shore, and as soon as it became dark the Vessel was surrounded with Boats, into which the whole Cargo was delivered [removed] by at least Forty Persons in Disguise, with their Faces blacked, and the said Searcher and the Servant aforementioned threatened with ill usage if they made any Attempts to prevent what was doing; and that the said Sloop, being thus unloaded, was after-wards stripped, and she was at a full Tide ran high up on the Shore and scuttled: And that a Boat and Crew sent up the River by the Officers of the Customs to assist in navigating the Vessel was obliged to put back because that about One Hundred People were there ready to oppose them: And

Whereas it is of great Importance to the Peace and Order of this Government, and to the carrying into Execution within the same the several Acts of Parliament for regulating the Plantation [colonial] Trade, that such high-handed offenders should be brought to speedy and condign [fitting] Punishment:

I HAVE thought fit, with the Advice of His Majesty's Council, to issue this Proclamation, hereby requiring all Justices of the Peace, and Sheriffs and their Deputies, and all Civil Officers within the said Province, to use their utmost Endeavors for discovering, seizing, and bringing to Justice the several offenders aforementioned, or any of them; ...

In Consequence of this Proclamation, a Number of the Offenders have been apprehended and secured, some of whom have disclosed the whole Affair; and the Vessel, with great Part of her Cargo, is recovered by the officers of the Customs.



"13th Instant": 13th of this month

Surinam, a Dutch colony on the northern coast of South America, was the major source of molasses for Rhode Island rum producers.

The newly appointed British tariff collector, John Robinson, had refused a bribe of 70,000 pounds from Newport, Rhode Island merchants much to their surprise and chagrin—when he arrived in the colony,

Robinson, the tariff collector, was arrested by the local sheriff for the destruction of the *Polly* and marched eight miles to jail. He was soon released, but enmity now defined the relationship of the colonial merchants and British trade officials.

PETITIONS AGAINST THE SUGAR & CURRENCY ACTS, 1764

NEW YORK, General Assembly, Petition to the House of Commons, 18 Oct. 1764, EXCERPTS.

This petition, drawn to protest the imminent Stamp Act (passed five months later), emphasized the colonies' fears that the Sugar and Currency Acts would "prove equally detrimental to us and Great Britain."

The honourable House will permit us to observe next that the Act of the last Session of Parliament [Sugar Act], inhibiting all Intercourse [trade] between the Continent and the foreign Sugar Colonies, will prove equally detrimental to us and Great Britain. —— That Trade gave a value to a vast but now alas unsaleable Staple [sugar/molasses] which, being there converted into Cash and Merchandise, made necessary Remittances for the British Manufactures we consumed -– And when we consider the Wisdom of our Ancestors in contriving Trials by Juries, we cannot stifle our Regret that the Laws of Trade in general change the Current of Justice from the common Law and subject Controversies of the utmost Importance to the Decisions of the Vice-Admiralty Courts, who proceed not according [to] the old wholesome Laws of the Land, nor are always filled with Judges of approved Knowledge and Integrity. - To this Objection. the aforementioned Statute will at first View appear to be so evidently open, that we shall content ourselves with barely suggesting that the amazing Confidence it reposes in the Judges gives great Grief to his Majesty's American Subjects; and pass on to a few Remarks on that other Law of the same Session, which renders our Paper Money no legal Tender.

"Necessary Remittances": Britain had banned the very trade (with Caribbean sugar colonies) that provided colonial merchants with the cash to pay for imported British goods.

"Trials by Juries": Britain had changed the courts in which trade violations would be prosecuted—from colonial courts that guaranteed trial by jury, to the naval "vice-admiralty" courts in which verdicts were delivered by the judge only.



University of Notre Dame

The Use of this Sort of Currency [paper money] in procuring a speedy Supply on Emergences, all the Colonies have often experienced. — We have had Recourse to this Expedient in every War since the Reign of King William the Third, and without it we could not have co-operated so vigorously in the Reduction [defeat] of Canada, that grand stroke which secured to Great Britain the immense Dominion of the Continent of North America. We had no other Alternative but that, or the taking up Money upon Loan, Lenders could not have been easily found, and if they were, the Interest upon all the Sums raised in that Way would have exceeded our Ability now to discharge. Happy for us, therefore, that we fell upon the Project of giving a Credit to Paper [issuing paper money], which was always supported by seasonable Taxes on our Estates . . . One Instance is so recent, and shows the Necessity of the Continuation of such a Power in the Colonies, in so striking a Point of Light, that it deserves more particular Notice. The Operations of the Year 1759 were nearly at a Stand for want of Money. The military Chest being exhausted, the General was alarmed, and seeing no other Method to ward of the impending Disaster, was obliged to ask the Colony for a Loan of One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds: We immediately gratified his Request — Such was our Concern for the public Weal!

■ VIRGINIA, House of Burgesses, Petition to the House of Commons, 18 Dec. 1764, EXCERPT.___

And if it were proper for the Parliament to impose Taxes on the Colonies at all, which the Remonstrants [petitioners] take leave to think would be inconsistent with the fundamental Principles of the [British] Constitution, the Exercise of that Power at this Time would be ruinous to *Virginia*, who exerted herself in the late War, it is feared beyond her Strength, insomuch that to redeem the Money granted for that Exigence, her People are taxed for several Years to come. This, with the large Expenses incurred for defending the Frontiers against the restless *Indians*, who have infested her as much since the Peace as before, is so grievous that an Increase of the Burden will be intolerable, especially as the People are very greatly distressed already from the Scarcity of circulating Cash amongst them, and from the little Value of their staple [tobacco] at the *British* markets.



AN AMERICAN LOOKS BACK AT 1764

DAVID RAMSAY, The History of the American Revolution, 1789.

A South Carolina physician, Ramsay served as a surgeon in the Revolutionary Army. After the war, he served in the Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation (1782-83, 1785-86), and wrote his Revolution history in the late 1780s, as the new nation was crafting its final Constitution.

The sad story of colonial oppression commenced in the year 1764. Great Britain then adopted new regulations respecting her colonies which, after disturbing the ancient harmony of the two countries, for about twelve years, terminated in a dismemberment of the empire. . . .

After the 29th of September, 1764, the trade between the British [colonies], and the French and Spanish colonies [in the West Indies] was in some degree legalized, but under circumstances that brought no relief to the colonists, for it was loaded with such enormous duties as were equivalent to a prohibition....

Though all the colonists disrelished, and many, from the pressure of actual sufferings, complained of the British restrictions

on their manufactures and commerce, yet a great majority was disposed to submit to both. . . It was generally allowed [admitted] that, as the planting of colonies was not designed to erect an independent government but to extend an old one, the Parent State had a right to restrain their trade in every way

Immediately after the peace of Paris, 1763, a new scene was opened. The national debt of Great Britain then amounted to 148 millions [British pounds sterling], for which an interest of nearly 5 millions was annually paid. While the British minister [Prime Minister George Grenville] was digesting plans for diminishing this amazing load of debt, he conceived the idea of raising a substantial revenue in the British colonies from taxes laid by the Parliament of the parent state. On the one hand it was urged that the late war¹ originated on account of the colonies—that it was reasonable, more especially as it had terminated in a manner so favourable to their interest, that they should contribute to the defraying of the expenses it had occasioned. . . .

... The common people in America reasoned on this subject, in a summary way: "If a British Parliament," said they, "in which we are unrepresented, and over which we have no control, can take from us any part of our property by direct taxation, they may take as much as they please, and we have no security for anything that remains," ... On the other hand, the people of Great Britain revolted against the claims of the colonists. ..."What," said they, "shall we, who have so lately humbled France and Spain, be dictated to by our own colonists? Shall our subjects, educated by our care and defended by our arms, presume to question the rights of Parliament, to which we are obliged to submit."...

 \dots The love of power, and of property, on the one side of the Atlantic, were opposed by the same powerful passions on the other....

A perfect calm in the political world is not long to be expected. The reciprocal happiness, both of Great Britain and of the colonies, was too great to be of long duration. The calamities of the war of 1755 [-1763] had scarcely ended when the germ of another war was planted, which soon grew up and produced deadly fruit.

¹ The French and Indian War, 1754-1763, which ended with the British American colonists no longer facing a French enemy in Canada.