

We are therefore----- § S L A V E S.

COLONISTS RESPOND TO THE TOWNSHEND ACTS

1767-1770

A Selection from Resolutions, News Reports, Essays, Illustrations, Poetry & A History

Year	Title	Enactments	Colonial Opposition
1767	Revenue Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Set new import taxes on British goods (imported from Britain alone)—paper, paint, lead, glass, tea Used revenues to maintain British troops in America and to pay salaries of some royal officials Affirmed use of writs of assistance (search warrants) by customs officials without court approval (i.e., officials could use blank warrants) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Constituted taxation without parliamentary representation (again) Removed assemblies' authority to pay salaries of British officials — the "power of the purse"
1767	Indemnity Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Removed duties on tea shipped to the colonies by the British East India Co. so that British tea could compete with (smuggled) Dutch-shipped tea 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Targeted merchants' illegal smuggling of non-British tea (cheaper than taxed British tea) — an activity long ignored by Britain until its merchants demanded action and Britain needed to refill its coffers
1767	Commissioners of Customs Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Implemented firmer customs enforcement and assigned five new customs officials—tax collectors and investigators—headquartered in Boston 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gave tax collectors unprecedented authority to search merchants' ships & warehouses with no official oversight
1767	New York Restraining Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ordered the suspension of the New York assembly if it did not fully comply with the 1765 Quartering Act 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Threatened the longstanding (relative) autonomy of colonial legislatures
1768	Vice Admiralty Court Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Created new courts (admiralty) in which colonial smugglers would be prosecuted without a jury—verdicts being decided solely by the judge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Removed in these cases the right to trial by a jury of one's peers—long valued as a basic right of Englishmen

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NON-IMPORTATION & BOYCOTT AGREEMENTS

IN PROTEST OF THE TOWNSHEND ACTS, 1767-1770: A SELECTION

■ BOSTON, Town Hall Meeting, 28 Oct. 1767, EXCERPTS.

The Town then took into Consideration the Petition of a Number of Inhabitants: "That some effectual Measures might be agreed upon to promote Industry, Economy, and Manufactures, thereby to prevent the unnecessary Importation of European Commodities which threaten the Country with Poverty and Ruin"; Whereupon in a very large and full Meeting, the following Votes and Resolutions were passed Unanimously.

Whereas the excessive Use of foreign Superfluities [luxuries] is the chief Cause of the present distressed State of this Town, as it is thereby drained of its Money, which Misfortune is likely to be increased by Means of the late [recent] additional Burdens and Impositions on the Trade of the Province, which threaten the Country with Poverty and Ruin:

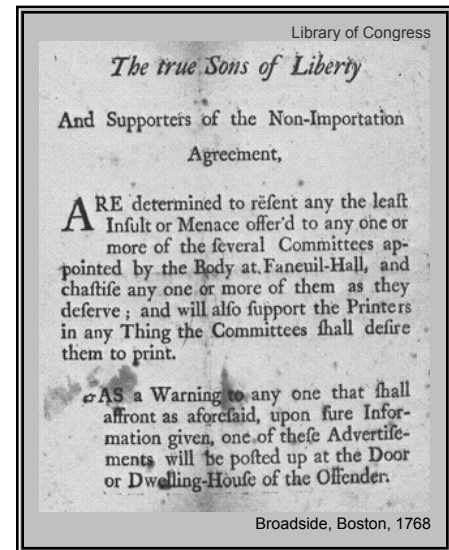
Therefore, *VOTED*, That this Town will take all prudent and legal Measures to encourage the Produce and Manufactures of this Province, and to lessen the Use of Superfluities, & particularly the following enumerated Articles imported from Abroad: viz. [namely]

<i>Loaf Sugar</i>	<i>Clocks and Watches</i>
<i>Cordage</i>	<i>Silversmith's and Jeweller's Ware</i>
<i>Anchors</i>	<i>Broad Cloths that cost above 10s. per Yard</i>
<i>Coaches</i>	<i>Muffs, Furs, and Tippetts, and all Sorts of Millenary Ware</i>
<i>Chaises and Carriages of all Sorts</i>	<i>Starch</i>
<i>Horse Furniture</i>	<i>Women's and Children's Stays</i>
<i>Men and Women's Hats</i>	<i>Fire Engines</i>
<i>Men's and Women's Apparel</i>	<i>China Ware</i>
<i>ready made Household Furniture</i>	<i>Silk and Cotton</i>
<i>Gloves</i>	<i>Velvets</i>
<i>Men's and Women's Shoes</i>	<i>Gauze</i>
<i>Sole-Leather</i>	<i>Pewterer's hollow Ware</i>
<i>Sheathing and Deck Nails</i>	<i>Linseed Oil</i>
<i>Gold and Silver and Thread Lace of all Sorts</i>	<i>Glue</i>
<i>Gold and Silver Buttons</i>	<i>Lawns</i>
<i>Wrought Plate of all Sorts</i>	<i>Cambricks</i>
<i>Diamond, Stone and Paste Ware</i>	<i>Silks of all Kinds for Garments</i>
<i>Snuff</i>	<i>Malt Liquors, and</i>
<i>Mustard</i>	<i>Cheese.</i>

■ WINDHAM, CONNECTICUT, Town Meeting, 7 December 1767, EXCERPTS.

After a non-importation and non-purchase resolution similar to that of Boston, the meeting's resolves continue.

And furthermore, to the end that this union be not violated . . . if any inhabitant of this town does not sign and conform to the regulations herein made, but, disregarding the interest of the colony, still continues to import and introduce any of the aforementioned restricted articles, such person or persons shall be by us discountenanced in the most effectual but decent and lawful manner; — and that a committee be appointed to correspond with committees from the several towns in this county in order to render the foregoing proposals as extensive and effectual as may be.



■ **NEW YORK CITY**, Tradesmen's Resolves, 5 September 1768.

The following RESOLVES are agreed to by the TRADESMEN of this City.

Reflecting on the salutary [beneficial/curative] Measures entered into by the People of *Boston* and this City to restrict the Importation of Goods from Great Britain until the Acts of Parliament laying Duties on Paper, Glass, &c. were repealed; and being animated with a Spirit of Liberty and thinking it our Duty to exert ourselves by all lawful Means to maintain and obtain our just Rights and Privileges, which we claim under our most excellent Constitution as Englishmen, not to be taxed but by our own Consent or that of our Representatives; and in order to support and strengthen our Neighbors, the Merchants of this City, we the Subscribers [signers], uniting in the common Cause, do agree to and with each other, as follows:

- First, That we will not ourselves purchase or take any Goods or Merchandise imported from Europe by any Merchant directly or indirectly, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of an Agreement of the Merchants of this City, on the twenty-seventh of August last.
- Secondly, That we will not ourselves, or by any other Means, buy any Kind of Goods from any Merchant, Storekeeper, or Retailer (if any such there be) who shall refuse to join with their Brethren in signing the said Agreement; but that we will use every lawful Means in our Power to prevent our Acquaintance from dealing with them.
- Thirdly, That if any Merchant, in or from Europe, should import any Goods in order to sell them in this Province contrary to the above Agreement, that we ourselves will by no Means deal with such Importers; and as far as we can, by all lawful Means, endeavor to discourage the Sale of such Goods.
- Fourthly, That we will endeavor to fall upon some Expedient to make known such Importers or Retailers as shall refuse to unite in maintaining and obtaining the Liberties of their Country.
- Fifthly, That we, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, Inhabitants of the City of New York, being filled with Love and Gratitude to our present most gracious Sovereign, and the highest Veneration for the British Constitution, which we unite to plead as our Birth Right; and are always willing to unite to support and maintain, give it as our Opinion, and are determined to deem that Persons who shall refuse to unite in the Common Cause, as acting the Part of an Enemy to the true Interest of Great Britain and her Colonies, and consequently not deserving the Patronage of Merchants or Mechanics.

■ **CHARLESTON**, 22 July 1769, EXCERPTS.

We, his Majesty's dutiful and loving subjects, the inhabitants of South Carolina . . . do solemnly promise and agree to and with each other that, until the colonies be restored to their former freedom by the repeal of the said Acts, we will most strictly abide by the following:

- I. That we will encourage and promote the use of North American manufactures in general . . .
- II. That we will upon no pretense whatsoever . . . import into this province any of the manufactures of Great Britain, or any other European or East India goods, either from Great Britain, Holland, or any other place, other than such as may have been shipped in consequence of former orders; excepting only Negro cloth, commonly called white and colored plains (not exceeding one shilling and six pence sterling per yard), canvas, bolting cloths, drugs and family medicines, plantation and workmen's tools, nails, firearms, bar steel, gunpowder, shot, lead, flints, wire cards and card-wire, mill and grindstones, fishhooks, printed books and pamphlets, salt, coals, and saltpeter and exclusive of these articles, we do solemnly promise and declare that we will immediately countermand all orders to our correspondents in Great Britain for shipping any such goods and merchandise.
- III. That we will use the utmost economy in our persons, horses, and furniture; particularly, that we will give no mourning, or gloves, or scarves at funerals.
- IV. That from and after the 1st day of January, 1770, we will not import, buy or sell any Negroes that shall be brought into this province from Africa; nor after the 1st day of October next, any Negroes that shall be imported from the West Indies or any other place excepting from Africa as aforesaid; and that if any goods or Negroes shall be sent to us contrary to our agreement in this subscription,

such goods shall be re-shipped or stored, and such Negroes re-shipped from this province, and not by any means offered for sale therein.

- V. That we will not purchase from, or sell for, any masters of vessels, transient persons, or non-subscribers, any kind of European or East India goods whatever, excepting coals and salt, after the 1st day of November next.
- VI. That as wines are subject to a heavy duty, we agree not to import any on our account or commission, or purchase from any master of vessel, transient person, or non-subscriber, after the 1st day of January next.
- VII. Lastly, that we will not purchase any Negroes imported, or any goods or merchandise whatever, from any resident in this province, that refuses or neglects to sign this agreement within one month from the date hereof, excepting it shall appear he has been unavoidably prevented from doing the same; and every subscriber who shall not strictly and literally adhere to this agreement, according to the true intent and meaning hereof, ought to be treated with the utmost contempt.

■ **NEW YORK & PHILADELPHIA**, broadsides, 1769-70, related to violations of the merchants' non-importation agreements.

New-York, September 18, 1769.

ADVERTISEMENT.

WE are sorry to acquaint the Public, that *Thomas Richardson*, Jeweller, lately from London, now living in the House of Mr. *Thomas Grigg*, Cabinet Maker, has knowingly and wilfully, subjected himself to the legal Repentment of every Friend to *Great-Britain* and the Colonies, by a direct and open Opposition to the Terms of the Non-Importation Agreement. It was hoped that the Treatment some Capital Offenders met with, would have deterred the most obstinate and daring from attempting to imitate Examples so inglorious and dangerous. The Particulars of his Conduct are as follows :---He brought with him, and privately introduced into this City, Jewellery, and Materials for his Business to a considerable Amount, which he exposed to Sale at his Shop Window; the Committee being apprized of this, sent for him, and desired him to store his Goods; but as he urged his immediate Want of Cash as an Argument against his Compliance, the Committee engaged to use their Influence in procuring him a Sum that would have more than compensated for the trifling Loss he might have sustained by suffering in common with all who had imported or received Goods contrary to Agreement;---a temporary Storage of them. This generous Offer he refused to accept of, and ambitious of distinguishing himself as an Enemy to the glorious Cause of Liberty, obstinately persists in resolving to dispose of them.

NEW-YORK, June 23, 1769.

To the PUBLICK.

AS I have justly incurred the Repentment of my Fellow Citizens, from my Behaviour, as set forth in an Advertisement, *Of great Importance to the Publick*; I beg Leave to implore the Pardon of the Publick, assuring them that I am truly sorry for the Part I have acted; declare and promise that I never will again attempt an Act contrary to the true Interest and Resolutions of a People zealous in the Cause of *Virtue* and *Liberty*; and by my future Conduct, not only convince them of my Contrition, but make it my whole Study to maintain inviolate the Resolutions they have entered into,---beseeching the Public in general to believe me,

Their ready devoted, and most
Obedient Humble Servant,
ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

I Also declare, That the Goods were returned back to Philadelphia by the Stage last Monday, and that a Certificate of the same shall be produced to the Publick.

The last four Lines } *Elias Desbrosses.*
sworn to before me,

To the PUBLIC.

AS I am convinced that my refusing to store my Goods, was wrong; I do promise and consent, That they shall be deposited in the public Store with other Goods which were imported contrary to the *Non-importation Agreement*;---which I hope will appease the Minds of my injured Fellow Citizens, and convince them that I do not regard sacrificing my private Interest for the Good of the Public.

Simeon Coley.

New-York, 21st July, 1769.
Afternoon, 2 o'Clock.

THURSDAY, September 20, 1770.

AT this Juncture, when Measures are pursuing to dissolve the Union of the Colonies, every Subscriber to our Non-Importation Agreement, who wishes well to the Liberties of his Country and the Reputation of this City, it is hoped will attend the Meeting at *Davenport's Tavern*, This Afternoon, at Three o'Clock, to deliberate and determine what is best to be done.

For the patriot party,

Philadelphia

A MERCHANT'S OPPOSITION TO NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENTS

- **BOSTON**, statement by merchant Theophilus Lillie, publicly condemned for his opposition to the city's non-importation agreement, *The Boston News-Letter*, 11 January 1770, EXCERPTS.

Every Man has a natural right to vindicate his Character in a public manner when a public attack is made upon it. My character has been attacked in the public Newspapers, and at present I can take no other method of redress but by endeavoring to clear it up in the same way.

When the Subscriptions [signature campaigns] for non-importation were carrying about, they were repeatedly brought to me, and as often as they were brought, I refused signing. I knew many worthy Gentlemen had refused, and I was told there was no compulsion. I therefore went on sending for my goods as usual [from Britain], for the support of my family depended upon it. . . .

The Merchants met and voted that my name, with others, should be published in the newspapers and in handbills as Enemies to our Country, &c., which was done accordingly, and it was reported that Mr. W. Dennie, one of the Committee, spread the handbills immediately throughout many of the Country towns; and the greatest pains were taken to stop my customers from coming to my shop, my signboard was defaced, and my name brushed out, and I suffered many other indignities. . . .

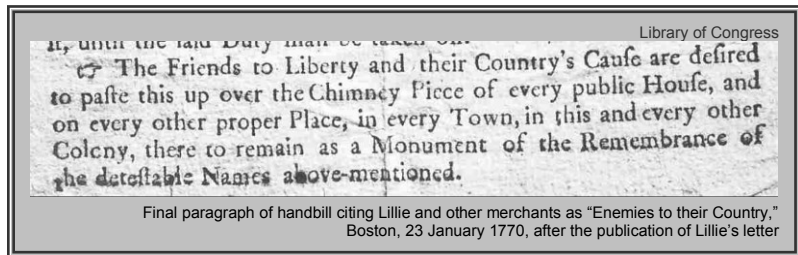
The second of October I understood there was to be another Meeting of the Merchants. Some of my friends came to me and told me they had heard of designs [plans] which I do not care to mention, that they were in the utmost pain for me and begged of me to agree to any demand which should be made, be it what it would. I own [admit] I was intimidated. I went to the Coffee House, where I found Messrs. W. Molineux, A. Welles, W. Phillips, E. Payne, and W. Dennie, treating with other Gentlemen. When they had done with them, after some treaty [conversation], I agreed to consider the paper I had signed as in force; and I further I promised not to buy of any importer. But it was no more my own act that if I had been in prison, or upon the [torture] rack, and had made a promise on condition of being set free. They urged my coming into their general Agreement, but I desired they would not insist upon it, and they agreed to receive what I had done. . . .

Lillie recounts that an unexpected shipment from Britain arrived in November and caused the "Committee of Inspection, as they are called" to visit him several times to inquire whether he would keep the goods.

After this they came the 16th of December to examine my goods anew. I told them I could not be interrupted in my business and would not submit to such slavery any longer. Upon this Capt. Dashwood was in a great rage, challenged me to come out of my house, and he would break my neck, my bones, and the like, which may well be supposed to put me in a passion, and will I hope be some excuse for any indecent expressions from me. — The rest of the Gentlemen, being very moderate, I consented. Mr. Fletcher, who happened to be present, should show them the goods, which he did. After this, finding that where there was one person who had imported and was called to account for it, there were ten who had no notice taken of them, and were selling freely — the partiality was so gross that I openly declared I would sell my goods, too. And for this I am a third time exposed in the newspapers and charged with breach of faith.

Upon the whole, I cannot help saying, although I have never entered far into the mysteries of Government, having applied myself to my shop and my business, that it always seemed strange to me that People who contend so much for civil and religious Liberty should be so ready to deprive others of their natural Liberty — that Men, who are guarding against being subject to Laws which they never gave their consent in person or by their representative, should at the same time make Laws, and in the most effectual manner execute them upon me and others, to which Laws I am sure I never gave my consent either in person or by my representative. . . .

If one set of private subjects [persons] may at any time take upon themselves to punish another set of private Subjects just when they please, it's such a sort of Government as I never heard of before, and according to my poor notion of Government, this is one of the principal things which Government is designed to prevent; and I own I had rather be a slave under one Master, for if I know who he is, I may perhaps be able to please him, than a slave to a hundred or more who I don't know where to find, nor what they will expect from me.

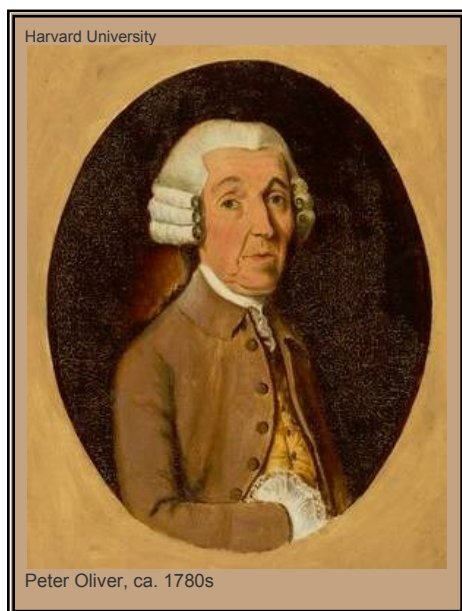


A LOYALIST'S OPPOSITION TO NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENTS

For his staunch defense of British imperial authority and power to tax the colonies, American-born Peter Oliver was harassed by Sons of Liberty and forced from his judgeship. He forever resented the destruction of his brother's house by a Boston mob in 1765. He left America with the British evacuation of Boston in 1776, wrote his vehement memoir *Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion* in 1781 (from which this selection is taken), and lived in Britain until his death in 1791.

I am now come to the Year 1767, a Year fraught with Occurrences as extraordinary as 1765, but of a different Texture. Notwithstanding the Warnings that the Colonies had repeatedly given of their determined Resolution to throw off the Supremacy of the British Parliament, yet the then Ministry [government officials in the king's cabinet] chose to make another Trial of Skill, never adverting to the ill Success of former Attempts. They might have known that the Contest had reached so great a Height that the Colonists would never descend one Step until they had first ascended the last Round of the Ladder . . . It required no great Degree of second Sight to calculate Consequences. But the Ministry, confiding in their own good Intentions & placing too much Confidence in the Gratitude of the Colonists to the parent State (which by the Way they did not possess a Spark of . . .), procured a new Act to be passed, laying Duties upon Tea, Glass, Paper, & Painters Colors. This Act was not more unreasonable than many other Acts which had been submitted to for many Years past & which, even at this Time, they made no Objection to. But the Colonists had succeeded in their first Experiment of Opposition, & their new Allies in Parliament increased their Importance. . . .

In order to effectuate their Purposes to have this Act repealed also, they formed many Plans of Operation. Associations were convened to prevent the Importation of Goods from *Great Britain* & to oblige all those who had already sent for them to reship them after their arrival. This was such an Attack upon the mercantile Interest that it was necessary to use private evasive Arts to deceive the Vulgar. Accordingly, when the Goods arrived, they were to be in Warehouses which were to be guarded by a public Key; at the same Time the Owners of the Stores & Goods had a Key of their Own. This amused the Rabble whom the Merchants had set to mobbing, & such were the blessed Effects of some of those Merchants' Villainy that Bales & Trunks were disgorged of their Contents & refilled with Shavings, Brickbats, Legs of Bacon & other Things, & shipped for *England*, where some of them were opened on the King's Wharves or Quays, & the Fraud discovered. Many of those Merchants also continued to import the prohibited Goods in Disguise, of which a bold Printer of *Boston* detected them [revealed their names] in his public Papers, for which they, out of Revenge, in 1768, attempted to murder him; but narrowly escaping with his Life he fled to *England*, as the civil Power of the Country was not sufficient to protect anyone who was obnoxious to the Leaders of the Faction. . . .



All this Struggle & Uproar arose from the selfish Designs of the Merchants. They disguised their Private Views by mouthing it for Liberty. The Magic of this Sound echoed through the interior Parts of the Country, & the deluded Vulgar were charmed with it — like the poor harmless *Squirrel* that runs into the Mouth of the *Rattlesnake*, the Fascination in the Word *Liberty* threw the People into the harpy Claws of their Destroyers, & for what? But to gratify the artful Smugglers in carrying on their contraband Tea Trade with the Dutch, to make their deluded Consumers purchase at their Prices

. . . Thus the common People had had that Act, & all the Acts of Parliament since, dressed up by their seditious Leaders, either with raw Head & bloody Bones, or with Horns, Tails, & cloven Feet, which were sufficient to affright their weak Followers. And as for Men of Sense who could see through the Delusion, it would have been imprudent for them to have interposed, for the Government was in the Hands of the Mob, both in Form & Substance, & it was in vain to combat a Whirlwind or a Hurricane.

NEWSPAPER ESSAYS OPPOSING THE TOWNSHEND ACTS

John Dickinson, *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies* [EXCERPTS]*

In twelve essays published in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser* and widely reprinted throughout the colonies, Dickinson urged Americans to resist the encroaching subjugation of the colonies' rights to the undaunting will of Parliament.

■ LETTER TWO, *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, December 2-7, 1767.

My dear COUNTRYMEN . . .

OUR great advocate, Mr. *Pitt*,[†] in his speeches on the debate concerning the repeal of the *Stamp Act*, acknowledged that *Great Britain* could restrain [limit] our manufactures. His words are these — “This kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power, has ALWAYS bound the colonies by her regulations and RESTRICTIONS in trade, in navigation, in MANUFACTURES — in everything *except that of taking their money out of their pockets* WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT.” Again he says, “We may bind their trade, CONFINE THEIR MANUFACTURES, and exercise every power whatever, *except that of taking their money out of their pockets* WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT.”

HERE then, my dear countrymen, ROUSE yourselves, and behold the ruin hanging over your heads. If you O N C E admit that *Great Britain* may lay duties upon her exportations to us, *for the purpose of levying money on us only*, she then will have nothing to do but to lay those duties on the articles which she prohibits us to manufacture — and the tragedy of *American* liberty is finished. We have been prohibited from procuring manufactures, in all cases, anywhere but from *Great Britain* (excepting linens, which we are permitted to import directly from *Ireland*). We have been prohibited, in some cases, from manufacturing for ourselves, and may be prohibited in others. We are therefore exactly in the situation of a city besieged, which is surrounded by the works of the besiegers in every part *but one*. If *that* is closed up, no step can be taken *but to surrender at discretion*. If *Great Britain* can order us to come to her for necessities we want, and can order us to pay what taxes she pleases before we take them away, or when we land them here, we are as abject slaves as *France* and *Poland* can show in wooden shoes and with uncombed hair. . . .**

UPON the whole, the single question is whether the Parliament can legally impose duties to be paid *by the people of these colonies only* FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF RAISING A REVENUE, *on commodities which she obliges us to take from her alone*, or, in other words, whether the Parliament can legally take money out of our pockets without our consent. If they can, our boasted liberty is but

Vox et praeterea nihil.

A sound and nothing else.

A F A R M E R

■ LETTER THREE, *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, December 7-14, 1767.

I REJOICE to find that my two former [earlier] letters to you have been generally received with so much favor by such of you, whose sentiments I have had an opportunity of knowing. Could you look into my heart you would instantly perceive a zealous attachment to your interests, and a lively resentment of every insult and injury offered to you, to be the motives that have engaged me to address you.

Sorry I am to learn that there are some few persons who shake their heads with solemn motion and pretend to wonder, what can be the meaning of these letters. “*Great Britain*,” they say, “is too powerful to contend with; she is determined to oppress us; it is in vain to speak of right on one side when there is

HERE then, my dear countrymen, ROUSE yourselves,

*Full text of Letters One and Two in this collection; full series available in the Online Library of Liberty at oll.libertyfund.org/.

[†]William Pitt the Elder (1708–1778), British statesman and prime minister who supported the repeal of the Stamp Act.

**The peasants of *France* wear wooden shoes, and the vassals of *Poland* are remarkable for matted hair, which never can be combed. [Dickinson note]

power on the other. When we are strong enough to resist we shall attempt it, but now we are not strong enough, and therefore we had better be quiet. It signifies nothing to convince us that our rights are invaded when we cannot defend them, and if we should get into riots and tumults about the late act, it will only draw down heavier displeasure upon us.” . . .

I will now tell the gentlemen what is “the meaning of these letters.” The meaning of them is to convince the people of these colonies that they are at this moment exposed to the most imminent dangers; and to persuade them immediately, vigorously, and unanimously to exert themselves in the most firm, but most peaceable manner, for obtaining relief. . . .

I hope, my dear countrymen, that you will, in every colony, be upon your guard against those who may at any time endeavor to stir you up, under pretenses of patriotism, to any measures disrespectful to our Sovereign and our mother country. Hot, rash, disorderly proceedings injure the reputation of the people as to wisdom, valor, and virtue, without procuring them the least benefit. . . .

We cannot act with too much caution in our disputes. Anger produces anger; and differences that might be accommodated by kind and respectful behavior may, by imprudence, be enlarged to an incurable rage. In quarrels between countries, as well as in those between individuals, when they have risen to a certain height, the first cause of dissension is no longer remembered, the minds of the parties being wholly engaged in recollecting and resenting the mutual expressions of their dislike. When feuds have reached that fatal point, all considerations of reason and equity vanish; and a blind fury governs, or rather confounds all things. A people no longer regards their interest but the gratification of their wrath. . . .

Nil desperandum.

Nothing is to be despaired of.

A F A R M E R

■ **LETTER SEVEN**, *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, January 4-11, 1768.

THESE duties, which will inevitably be levied upon us — which are now levying upon us — are *expressly* laid FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF TAKING MONEY. This is the true definition of “*taxes*.” They are therefore *taxes*. This money is to be taken from *us*. *We* are therefore *taxed*. *Those* who are *taxed* without their own consent, expressed by themselves or their representatives, are *slaves*. *We* are *taxed* without our own consent, expressed by ourselves or our representatives. *We* are therefore — I speak it with grief — I speak it with indignation — we are S L A V E S .

Miserabile vulgus

A miserable tribe.

A F A R M E R

■ **LETTER NINE**, *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, January 18-25, 1768.

NO free people ever existed, or can ever exist, without keeping, to use a common but strong expression — “the purse strings” — in their own hands. Where this is the case, *they* have a *constitutional check* upon the administration, which may thereby be brought into order *without violence*. But where such a power is not lodged in the *people*, oppression proceeds uncontrolled in its career, till the governed, transported into rage, seek redress in the midst of blood and confusion. . . .

. . . Is it possible to form an idea of a slavery more *complete*, more *miserable*, more *disgraceful*, than that of a people where *justice is administered*, *government exercised*, and a *standing army maintained*, AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PEOPLE, and yet WITHOUT THE LEAST DEPENDENCE UPON THEM?

Venienti occurrere morbo.

Oppose a disease at its beginning.

A F A R M E R

We are therefore----- § S L A V E S.

__POETRY IN OPPOSITION TO THE TOWNSHEND ACTS, 1768__

- HANNAH GRIFFITTS, “THE FEMALE PATRIOTS,” published anonymously, 1768; as printed in *The Pennsylvania Chronicle*, 25 December 1769.

The F E M A L E P A T R I O T S

Address'd to the Daughters of Liberty in America, 1768

Since the Men, from a Party or fear of a Frown,
Are kept by a *Sugar-Plumb*, quietly down.
Supinely asleep—and depriv'd of their Sight,
Are stripp'd of their Freedom, and robb'd of their Right;
If the Sons, so degenerate! the Blessing despise,
Let the *Daughters* of Liberty nobly arise;
And tho' we've no Voice, but a negative here.
The use of the *Taxables*,[†] let us forbear:—
(Then Merchants import till your Stores are all full,
May the Buyers be few, and your Traffic be dull!)
Stand firmly resolv'd, and bid *Grenville* to see
That rather than Freedom we part with our *Tea*,
And well as we love the dear Draught when a-dry,
As American Patriots our Taste we deny—
Pennsylvania's gay Meadows can richly afford,
To pamper our Fancy or furnish our Board;
And Paper sufficient at *Home* still we have,
To assure the *Wiseacre*, we will not sign *Slave*.
When this *Homespun* shall fail, to remonstrate our Grief,
We can speak viva Voce, or scratch on a Leaf.
Refuse all their Colors, tho' richest of Dye,
When the Juice of a Berry our Paint can supply,
To humor our Fancy — and as for our Houses,
They'll do without Painting, as well as our Spouses;
While to keep out the Cold of a keen Winter Morn,
We can screen the North-west with a well polished Horn;
And trust me a *Woman*, by honest Invention,
Might give this *State-Doctor* a Dose of Prevention.
Join mutual in this — and but small as it seems,
We may jostle a *Grenville*, and puzzle his Schemes;
But a Motive more worthy our *Patriot-Pen*,
Thus acting — we point out their Duty to *Men*;
And should the *Bound-Pensioners* tell us to hush,
We can throw back the Satire, by bidding them blush.

A F E M A L E .

taxables: items taxed by the 1767 Revenue Act

forbear: i.e., not use

Traffick: trade

Grenville: prime minister who initiated the Stamp Act

Draught: draft, beer

“To pamper . . . our Board:” to provide luxuries and necessities from the colony's resources

Wiseacre: wise guy

“sign Slave”: submit to British enslavement, i.e., accept the infringement of their rights

Homespun: home-woven textiles

viva Voce: with the voice, i.e., not use taxed paper to communicate in writing

Bound-Pensioners: i.e., their husbands intimidated by British authority

[†] *Tea, Paper, Glass and Paints*. [footnote in original]

__POETRY IN OPPOSITION TO THE TOWNSHEND ACTS, 1768__

■ JOHN DICKINSON, "A SONG," *The Boston Gazette, and Country Journal*, 18 July 1768.*

Soon called the "Liberty Song," Dickinson's anthem was sung at the third anniversary celebration of the first public protest by the Boston "Loyal Nine"—later the Sons of Liberty—opposing the Stamp Act in August 1765, as reported in the *Boston News-Letter* of August 18, 1768.

About 5 o'clock, the Morning was ushered in by the firing of 14 Cannon in Liberty-Square and hoisting the Flag on Liberty-Tree. At Noon several of the principal Gentlemen of the Town, and a great Number of other Persons of Credit, assembled at Liberty-Hall, where was a Band of Music and the much admired American Song was melodiously sung, to the great Pleasure of a Number of Gentlemen and Ladies who were at the Windows of the Houses in that Neighborhood, as also to a vast Concourse of People in the Square: — 14 Toasts were then drank, and after again firing the Cannon, the Gentlemen set out in their Chariots and Chaises for the Greyhound Tavern in Roxbury, where an elegant Entertainment was provided. After Dinner the new Song was again sung, and 45 Toasts drank, and the Afternoon was spent sociably and with great Harmony and Affection for the Liberties of their Country. After consecrating a Tree sacred to Liberty in Roxbury, the Gentlemen returned to Town about 6 o'clock, in Procession, the Cavalcade passing round the Court-House proceeded to Common Street, where every one filed off to their respective Habitation. No Occurrence happened to prevent the Mirth of the Day.

—*The Boston News-Letter and New-England Chronicle*, 18 August 1768

COME, join Hand in Hand, brave AMERICANS all,
And rouse your bold Hearts at fair LIBERTY'S Call;
No *tyrannous Acts* shall suppress your *just Claim*,
Or stain with *Dishonor* AMERICA'S Name.

In FREEDOM we're BORN, and in FREEDOM we'll LIVE
Our Purses are ready,
Steady, Friends, Steady,
Not as SLAVES, but as FREEMEN our Money we'll give.

Our worthy *Forefathers* — let's give them a Cheer—
To *Climates unknown* did courageously steer;
Thro' *Oceans* to *Deserts* for *Freedom* they came,
And dying bequeath'd us their *Freedom* and *Fame*—
In FREEDOM we're BORN, &c.

Their generous Bosoms all Dangers despis'd,
So *highly*, so *wisely*, their BIRTHRIGHTS they priz'd;
We'll keep what they gave,—we will piously keep,
Nor Frustrate their Toils on the Land or the Deep.
In FREEDOM we're BORN, &c.

The TREE their own Hands had to LIBERTY rear'd,
They liv'd to behold growing Strong and rever'd;
With Transport they cry'd, "now our Wishes we gain,
For our Children shall gather the Fruits of our Pain,"
In FREEDOM we're BORN, &c.

Swarms of *Placemen* and *Pensioners* soon will appear,
Like Locusts deforming the Charms of the Year;
Suns vainly will rise, Showers vainly descend,
If we are to *drudge* for what *others* shall *spend*.
In FREEDOM we're BORN, &c.

Then join Hand in Hand brave AMERICANS all,
By *uniting* we stand, by *dividing* we fall;
IN SO RIGHTEOUS A CAUSE let us hope to succeed,
For Heaven approves of each generous Deed.—
In FREEDOM we're BORN, &c.

All Ages shall speak with *Amaze* and *Applause*,
Of the *Courage* we'll show IN SUPPORT OF OUR LAWS
To DIE we can *bear* — but to SERVE we *disdain*—
For SHAME is to *Freemen* more dreadful than PAIN.—
In FREEDOM we're BORN, &c.

This Bumper I crown for our SOVEREIGN's Health,
And this for BRITANNIA's Glory and Wealth;
That Wealth and that Glory immortal may be,
If *she* is but *just* — and if *we* are but *free*.
In FREEDOM we're BORN, &c.

* For a music file of "Heart of Oak," the anthem of the British Royal Navy, see www.contemplator.com/america/liberty.html; and for the transcribed music, see Yet Another Digital Tradition Page at sniff.numachi.com/pages/tiHARTOAK2:ttHEARTOAK.html.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN EXPLAINS THE AMERICANS' "ILL HUMOUR" TO THE BRITISH, 1768

In an essay published in *The London Chronicle* (January 5-7, 1768) known later as "Causes of the American Discontents before 1768," Franklin, serving in Britain as the colonial agent of several colonies, attempts to explain the Americans' increasing resistance to British rule, especially after the Townshend Acts of 1767 and 1768.

Sir,

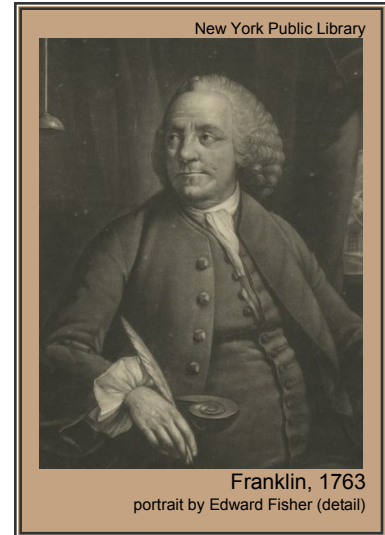
As the cause of the present ill humor in America, and of the resolutions taken there to purchase less of our manufactures, do not seem to be generally understood, it may afford some satisfaction to your Readers if you give them the following short historical state of facts. . . .

. . . [They say the Governors are] generally strangers to the Provinces they are sent to govern, have no estate, natural connection, or relation there to give them an affection for the country; that they come only to make money as fast as they can; are sometimes men of vicious characters and broken fortunes, sent by a Minister [member of the king's cabinet] merely to get them out of the way; that as they intend staying in the country no longer than their government continues, and purpose to leave no family behind them, they are apt to be regardless of the good will of the people, and care not what is said or thought of them after they are gone. Their situation at the same time gives them many opportunities of being vexatious, and they are often so, notwithstanding their dependence on the Assemblies for all that part of their support [salary] that does not arise from fees established by law, but would probably be much more so if they were to be supported by money drawn from the people without their consent or good will, which is the professed design of this new act. That, if by means of these forced duties, Government is to be supported in America without the intervention of the Assemblies, their Assemblies will soon be looked upon as useless, and a Governor will not call them [into session], as having nothing to hope from their meeting, and perhaps something to fear from their enquiries into and remonstrances [petitions/declarations] against this Mal-administration. That thus the people will be deprived of their most essential rights. . . .

As to *Judges* they allege that, being appointed from hence [Britain] and holding their commissions *not* during *good behavior*, as in Britain, but during *pleasure*,² all the weight of interest or influence would be thrown into one of the scales (which ought to be held even) if the salaries are also to be paid out of duties raised upon the people without their consent and independent of their Assemblies' approbation or disapprobation [approval or disapproval] of the Judges' behavior. That it is true, Judges should be free from all influence; and therefore, whenever Government here will grant commissions to able and honest Judges during good behavior, the Assemblies will settle permanent and ample salaries on them during their commissions. But at present they have no other means of getting rid of an ignorant or an unjust Judge (and some of scandalous characters have, they say, been sometimes sent them) but by starving him out. . . .

The colonists being thus greatly alarmed, as I said before, by the news of the Act for abolishing the Legislature of New York,³ and the imposition of these new duties professedly for such disagreeable purposes (accompanied by a new set of revenue officers with large appointments, which gave strong suspicions that more business of the same kind was soon to be provided for them, that they might earn these salaries), began seriously to consider their situation and to revolve afresh in their minds grievances which, from their respect and love for this country, they had long borne and seemed almost willing to forget. . . . They reflected how lightly the interest of all America had been estimated here, when the interest of a few inhabitants of Great Britain happened to have the smallest competition with it.

That thus the whole American people were forbidden the advantage of a direct importation of wine, oil, and fruit from Portugal, but must take them loaded with all the expenses of a voyage 1000 leagues round



² I.e., at the pleasure of the king; with no set term.

³ For refusing to fully comply with the Quartering Act that required colonial legislatures to supply funds for the food, provision, and housing of British troops in the colonies.

about, being to be landed first in England to be re-shipped for America, expenses amounting in war time at least to 30 per cent more than otherwise they would have been charged with, and all this merely that a few Portugal merchants in London may gain a commission on those goods passing through their hands. . . .

That on a slight complaint of a few Virginia merchants, nine colonies had been restrained from making paper money [which had] become absolutely necessary to their internal commerce from the constant remittance [payment] of their gold and silver to Britain. But not only the interest of a particular body of merchants, the interest of any small body of British tradesmen or artificers has been found, they say, to outweigh that of all the King's subjects in the colonies. There cannot be a stronger natural right than that of a man's making the best profit he can of the natural produce of his lands, provided he does not thereby hurt the state in general. Iron is to be found everywhere in America, and beaver furs are the natural produce of that country; hats and nails and steel are wanted there as well as here. It is of no importance to the common welfare of the empire whether a subject of the King's gets his living by making hats on this or that side of the water. Yet the Hatters of England have prevailed to obtain an Act in their own favor, restraining that manufacture in America in order to oblige the Americans to send their beaver to England to be manufactured, and purchase back the hats, loaded with the charges of a double transportation. . . .

Added to these, the Americans remembered the Act authorizing the most cruel insult that perhaps was ever offered by one people to another, that of emptying our gaols [jails] into their settlements, Scotland too having within these two years obtained the privilege it had not before of sending its rogues and villains also to the plantations.⁴

I say, reflecting on these things, they said to one another (their newspapers are full of such discourses) these people are not content with making a monopoly of us, forbidding us to trade with any other country of Europe and compelling us to buy everything of them . . . Thus they get all our money from us by trade, and every profit we can anywhere make by our fisheries, our produce, or our commerce, centers finally with them; but this does not signify. It is time then to take care of ourselves by the best means in our power. Let us unite in solemn resolutions and engagements with and to each other, that we will give these new officers as little trouble as possible by not consuming the British manufactures on which they are to levy the duties. Let us agree to consume no more of their expensive gewgaws. Let us live frugally, and let us industriously manufacture what we can for ourselves: Thus we shall be able honorably to discharge the debts we already owe them, and after that we may be able to keep some money in our country, not only for the uses of our internal commerce but for the service of our gracious Sovereign whenever he shall have occasion for it and think proper to require it of us in the old *constitutional* manner.

For notwithstanding the reproaches thrown out against us in their public papers and pamphlets, notwithstanding we have been reviled in their Senate as *Rebels* and *Traitors*, we are truly a loyal people. Scotland has had its rebellions and England its plots against the present Royal Family, but America is untainted with those crimes. There is in it scarce a man, there is not a single native of our country who is not firmly attached to his King by principle and by affection. But a new kind of loyalty seems to be required of us, a loyalty to P[arliament], a loyalty that is to extend, it is said, to a surrender of all our properties whenever a H[ouse] of C[ommons], in which there is not a single member of our choosing, shall think fit to grant them away without our consent, and to a patient suffering the loss of our privileges as Englishmen if we cannot submit to make such surrender. We were separated too far from Britain by the Ocean, but we were united to it by respect and love, so that we could at any time freely have spent our lives and little fortunes in its cause: But this unhappy new system of politics tends to dissolve those bands of union and to sever us forever.

These are the wild ravings of the at present half distracted Americans. To be sure, no reasonable man in England can approve of such sentiments, and, as I said before, I do not pretend to support or justify them. But I sincerely wish, for the sake of the manufactures and commerce of Great Britain, and for the sake of the strength which a firm union with our growing colonies would give us, that these people had never been thus needlessly driven out of their senses. I am, yours, &c.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

⁴ As indentured servants.

THE MASSACHUSETTS CIRCULAR LETTER, 1768

[EXCERPTS]

In February 1768 the Massachusetts House of Representatives sent to all colonial assemblies a letter, written by Samuel Adams,* promoting the unified opposition of the colonies to the Townshend Acts, and asserting that *only* the colonial assemblies, not Parliament, had the authority to tax the colonists — an early statement of this radical concept. When the British ordered the retraction of the letter, the Massachusetts House refused and was promptly dissolved by the governor, a fate shared by the Virginia assembly the following spring when it issued resolutions in support of the Massachusetts resolutions.

The House have humbly represented to the ministry [British cabinet] their own sentiments:

- that his Majesty's high court of Parliament is the supreme legislative power over the whole empire;
- that in all free states the constitution is fixed, and as the supreme legislative derives its power and authority from the constitution, it cannot overleap the bounds of it without destroying its own foundation;
- that the constitution ascertains and limits both sovereignty and allegiance, and, therefore, his Majesty's American subjects, who acknowledge themselves bound by the ties of allegiance, have an equitable claim to the full enjoyment of the fundamental rules of the British constitution;
- that it is an essential, unalterable right in nature, engrafted into the British constitution, as a fundamental law, and ever held sacred and irrevocable by the subjects within the realm, that what a man has honestly acquired is absolutely his own, which he may freely give but cannot be taken from him without his consent;
- that the American subjects may, therefore, exclusive of any consideration of charter rights, with a decent firmness, adapted to the character of free men and subjects, assert this natural and constitutional right.

It is moreover their humble opinion, which they express with the greatest deference to the wisdom of the Parliament, that the Acts made there imposing duties on the people of this province, with the sole and express purpose of raising a revenue, are infringements of their natural and constitutional rights; because, as they are not represented in the British Parliament, his Majesty's commons in Britain, by those Acts, grant their property without their consent.

This House further are of opinion that their constituents, considering their local circumstances, cannot by any possibility be represented in the Parliament, and that it will forever be impracticable that they should be equally represented there and, consequently, not at all, being separated by an ocean of a thousand leagues. That his Majesty's royal predecessors, for this reason, were graciously pleased to form a subordinate legislature here, that their subjects might enjoy the unalienable right of a representation; . . .

. . . They have also submitted to consideration whether any people can be said to enjoy any degree of freedom if the Crown, in addition to its undoubted authority of constituting a governor, should appoint him such a stipend as it may judge proper without the consent of the people and at their expense; and whether, while the judges of the land and other civil officers hold not their commissions during good behavior, their having salaries appointed for them by the Crown, independent of the people, hath not a tendency to subvert the principles of equity and endanger the happiness and security of the subject.

Response from the Earl of Hillsborough, British Secretary for Colonial Affairs, to the Governors in America, 21 April 1768 [EXCERPTS]

As his Majesty considers this Measure [the Massachusetts circular letter] to be of a most dangerous & factious tendency calculated to enflame the minds of his good Subjects in the Colonies, to promote an unwarrantable combination and to excite and encourage an open opposition to and denial of the Authority of Parliament, & to subvert the true principles of the constitution, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should, immediately upon the Receipt hereof, exert your utmost influence to defeat this flagitious [heinous/criminal] attempt to disturb the Public Peace by prevailing upon the Assembly of your Province to take no notice of it, which will be treating it with the contempt it deserves.

The repeated proofs which have been given by the Assembly of their Reverence and respect for the laws, and of their faithful Attachment to the Constitution, leave little Room in his Majesty's Breast to doubt of their showing a proper Resentment of this unjustifiable Attempt to revive those distractions which have operated so fatally to the prejudice of this Kingdom and the Colonies; and accordingly his Majesty has the fullest confidence in their Affections. But if, notwithstanding these expectations and your most earnest endeavors, there should appear in the Assembly of your Province a disposition to receive or give any Countenance to this Seditious Paper, it will be your duty to prevent any proceeding upon it by an immediate Prorogation or Dissolution [of the colonial assembly].

* Full text in The Avalon Project (Yale Law School) at avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/mass_circ_let_1768.asp.

PUBLIC PROTESTS AGAINST THE TOWNSHEND ACTS: MASSACHUSETTS

The *Liberty* Riot, Boston, 10 June 1768, after which British soldiers were ordered to Boston.

Boston Evening Post, 20 June 1768

Last Friday se'nnight [seven nights] towards Evening, the officers of the Customs for this Port made a Seizure of a Sloop [*Liberty*] belonging to and laying at the Wharf of John Hancock, Esq.¹ which Vessel was improved as a Store to put some Barrels of Oil on board, there being no room in the Owner's Store on the Wharf. After the officers took Possession of the Sloop, one of them made a Signal to his Majesty's Ship *Romney*, then lying off in the harbor, whereupon the Boats belonging to the said Ship were immediately manned and armed and made toward the Wharf. Several Gentlemen present advised the Officers not to move her, as there would be no Attempt allowed by the Owner to rescue her out of their hands, but notwithstanding this Declaration, her Fast was cut away [from the wharf], and she carried under the Guns of the *Romney*.

This Conduct provoked the People who had collected on the Shore and, in the Dispute, the Collector, the Comptroller of his Majesty's Customs, and the Collector's Son, were roughly used and pelted with Stones, none of them much hurt. The Noise bro't together a mix'd Multitude who followed up to the Comptroller's House and broke some of his Windows, but withdrew by the Advice of some prudent Gentlemen that interposed. They were joined by a number of Sailors and vagrant Persons who were suspicious of an Intention to put them on board the Ship. These went in search for one of the Man of War's Boats; in their way met with the Inspector of Exports and Import; him they attacked, broke his Sword and tore his Clothes, but by some Assistance he with difficulty escaped into a House in King Street.

No Boat being ashore, between 8 & 9 o'Clock they went to one of the Docks and dragged out a large Pleasure Boat belonging to the Collector. This they drew along the Street with loud huzzaing all the way into the Common where they set Fire to it and burnt it to Ashes. They also broke several Windows of the Houses of the Collector & Inspector-General, which were nigh the Common. No other Outrage was committed that Night.

There were some Occurrences respecting the Officers of the *Romney* preceding this Affair that raised the Resentment of the Populace, but which, we hear, since the Conference which his Excellency the Governor and a Committee from the Honorable

Council had with the Captain of the Man of War on Thursday last, are all amicably settled, and the Captain has given all the satisfaction that could be expected. However, before this Conference, there appeared such a prospect of the Trade and Business of this & other Towns being in a manner ruin'd, as raised such a Clamor with the People that the Board of Commissioners (those of them who arrived here last November from England) and their Officers, together with the Collector & Comptroller for this Port, thought it most prudent to repair [proceed] on board the *Romney*, where they have ever since remained.

On Monday the People in Town were in great agitation, but least any tumult might arise at Night, the Consequences whereof would be very prejudicial, a Notification was posted up in divers parts of the Town, requesting the Sons of Liberty to meet at Liberty Hall the next Day at ten o'Clock in the Forenoon, the expectation of the Meeting kept the Town in Peace. Accordingly at the Hour appointed, vast Numbers of the Inhabitants appeared at and near the Hall, but the Weather being Wet and uncomfortable in the Street, they adjourned to Faneuil hall, where it was proposed to have a legal meeting called. Accordingly a Warrant was issued by the Selectmen to the Constables to Warn a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town at three o'Clock,² and several Gentleman were nominated to prepare a Draft of some Matters proper to lay before them. At three o'Clock the Inhabitants met, but so great was the Concource that they were obliged to adjourn from Faneuil Hall to the Old South Meeting House. The Transactions at the Meeting, &c., relative to the above we shall give in the Gazette if they come timely to hand.

It has been reported that the Sloop was seized because no Permit for Loading was taken out at the Custom-House before the Oil was put on board. Others report that it was for Breach of the Acts of Trade in her last Voyage, which was from Madeira; but which of the Reports is right we are not able to inform the Public.

We have related the Affair in as impartial a manner as we were able. If there is any material Mistake it shall be corrected upon Notice being given.

Text from footnote two forward from
The New-York Journal, 23 June 1768

¹ Hostility between Boston merchants and British customs officials had escalated in the weeks before the events reported in these articles. In April, officials had boarded the *Liberty* without a warrant in search of smuggled cargo and were allegedly locked by the crew in the ship's cabin, precipitating the takeover of June 10 (after which the officials escaped to the British fortress of Castle William on an island in Boston harbor).

² The *Boston Evening Post* and *New-York Journal* articles are identical to this point, at which the *Evening Post* transitions to the text of a petition presented to the colonial governor of Massachusetts, Frances Bernard (not included here).

BRITISH TROOPS ARRIVE IN BOSTON, OCTOBER 1768

Due to increasingly heated resistance to the Townshend Acts, especially in Boston, British troops were sent from Canada to enforce British authority — “riveting the Chains our Masters have flung around us,” as described by *The Boston Evening Post*.

The Boston News-Letter, 6 October 1768

Friday last came up into [t]his Harbor the following Ships of War, viz. [namely]

<i>Ships</i>	<i>Sloops</i>	<i>armed Schooners</i>
Mermaid	Beaver	Hope
Romney	Senegal	St. John
Launceston	Martin	Lawrence
Glasgow	Bonetta	Magdalene,

And several other Vessels employed in the Service, having on board the 14th, 29th, and Part of the 59th Regiment, with a Company of the Train of Artillery. The Ships of War were ranged round the North-East Part of the Town, & came to Anchor.

On Saturday forenoon, the troops were put on board the armed schooners and the boats belonging to the men of war, and at 12 o'clock were landed on the long wharf. From the wharf they marched into King's Street, and from thence into the common. About three o'clock a company of the train, with 2 pieces of cannon, joined them in the common, where the 29th regiment encamped. The 14th regiment marched in the evening to Faneuil Hall, and after waiting some hours were admitted into the hall. On Sunday night part of the 14th regiment were quartered in the Court House. The detachment of the 59th and the train are quartered in some stores on Griffin's wharf.

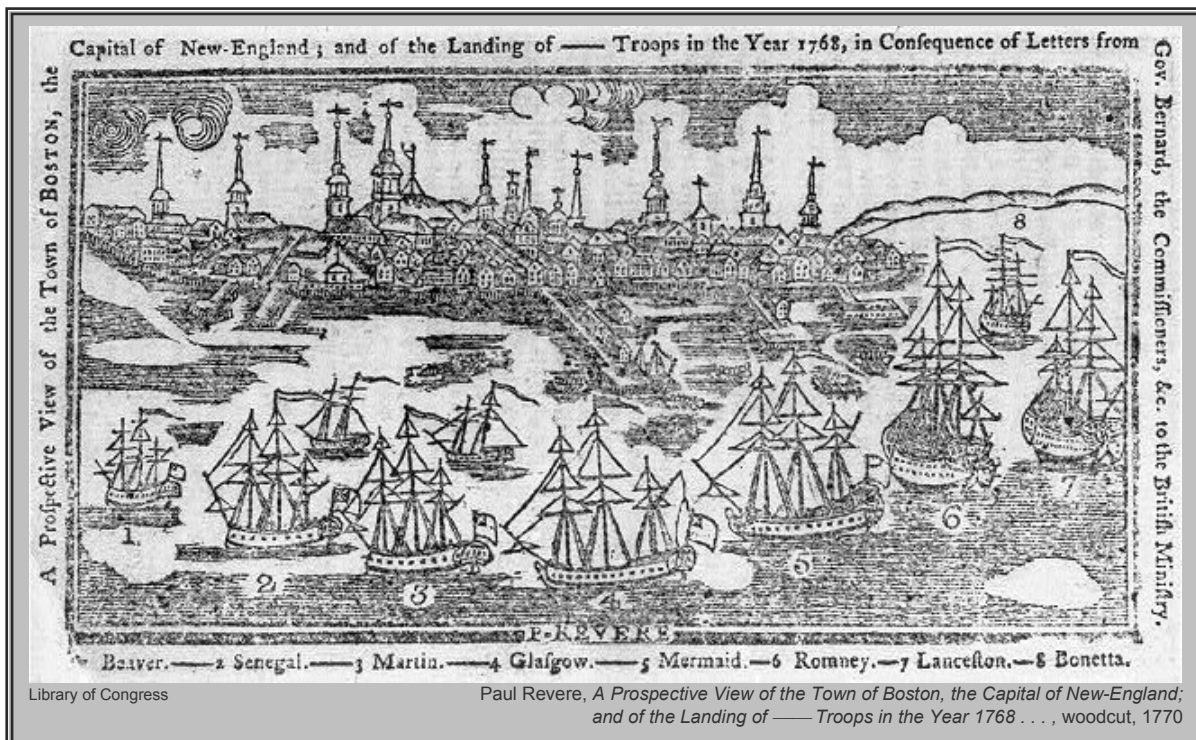
The Boston Gazette, 10 October 1768

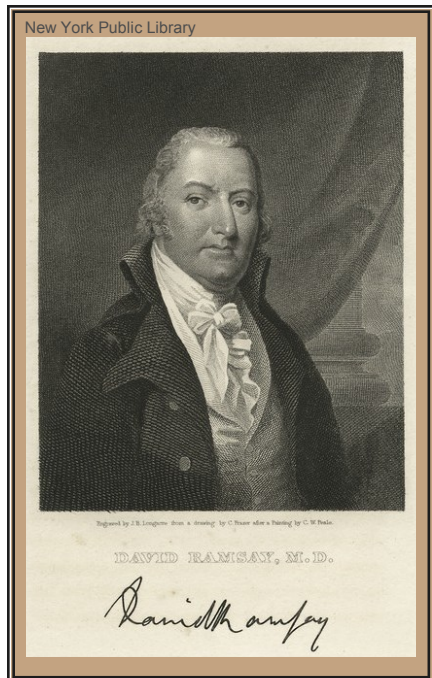
It is hoped that the peace and good order among the inhabitants of this Town, who, however, are not and never can be reconciled to the thoughts of their being made a garrison, will convince the gentlemen lately [recently] arrived that there can be no necessity for the troops to be quartered in the Body of the town but to humor the Commissioners of the customs who deserted their station for no apparent reason.

The Boston Evening Post, 10 October 1768

The King's Troops are encamp'd on what is usually called the Common.—Our Parliament House, the Court-House and Faneuil Hall are still occupied by Soldiers—And Col. Green, Commander of the South Battery, was ordered by the G——r [Governor] to remove the Town Stores [provisions/food supplies] and deliver the Keys to Colonel Dalrymple. . . .

Whoever in America shall, at this Time of Calamity, purchase any Thing foreign for Consumption, will thereby contribute his part to the perpetuating our Distresses and riveting the Chains our Masters have flung around us.





AN AMERICAN LOOKS BACK AT THE TOWNSHEND ACTS, 1767-1769

■ **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 repeal of the Stamp Act [1766], in a relative connection with all its circumstances and consequences, was the first direct step to American independency. The claims of the two countries were not only left undecided, but a foundation was laid for their extending at a future period to the impossibility of a compromise. . . .

Elevated with the advantage they [colonists] had gained, from that day forward, instead of feeling themselves dependent on Great Britain, they conceived that, in respect to commerce, she was dependent on them. It inspired them with such high ideas of the importance of their trade that they considered the Mother Country to

be brought under greater obligations to them, for purchasing her manufactures, than they were to her for protection and the administration of civil government. The freemen of British America, impressed with the exalting sentiments of patriotism and of liberty, conceived it to be within their power, by future combinations, at any time to convulse, if not to bankrupt the nation, from which they sprung.

Opinions of this kind were strengthened by their local situation, favoring ideas as extensive as the unexplored continent of which they were inhabitants. While the pride of Britons revolted at the thought of their colonies refusing subjection to that Parliament which they obeyed, the Americans with equal haughtiness exclaimed, "shall the petty island of Great Britain, scarce a speck on the map of the world, control the free citizens of the great continent of America?"

. . . Though the Stamp Act was repealed, an American revenue was still a favorite object with many in Great Britain. The equity and the advantage of taxing the colonists by parliamentary authority were very apparent to their understandings, but the mode of effecting it, without hazarding the public tranquility, was not so obvious. Mr. Charles Townsend, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, pawned his credit to accomplish what many so earnestly desired. He accordingly brought into Parliament a bill for granting duties in the British colonies on glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea, which was afterwards enacted into a law. If the small duties imposed on these articles had preceded the Stamp Act, they might have passed unobserved, but the late [recent] discussions occasioned by that act had produced among the colonists not only an animated conviction of their exemption from parliamentary taxation, but a jealousy [suspicion] of the designs of Great Britain. . . .

The war of words was not confined to the colonies. While the American assemblies passed resolutions, asserting their exclusive right to tax their constituents, the Parliament by resolves asserted their unlimited supremacy in and over the colonies. While the former in their public acts disclaimed all views of independence, they were successively represented in Parliamentary resolves, royal speeches, and addresses from Lords and commons as being in a state of disobedience to law and government, and as having proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution, and manifesting a disposition to throw off all subordination to Great Britain. . . .

. . . Had Great Britain generously repealed the whole and forever relinquished all claim to the right, or even the exercise of the right of taxation, the union of the two countries might have lasted for ages.