

CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: FOCUS ON BOSTON

A UNIT OF STUDY FOR GRADES 7-12

DAVID L. GHERE, *University of Minnesota*
JAN F. SPREEMAN, *Stillwater Jr. High School*



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COVER ILLUSTRATION: A 1774 cartoon showing colonial hostility to British authority. Tea is forced down a tar and feathered tax collector in front of the Liberty Tree with a noose and a copy of the Stamp Act nailed upside down. The Boston Tea Party is depicted in the background. John Grafton, *The American Revolution: A Picture Sourcebook* (New York: Dover Publications), 1975.

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APPROACH AND RATIONALE

The National Center for History in the Schools and the Organization of American Historians have developed the following collection of lessons for teaching with primary sources. Our units are the fruit of a collaboration between history professors and experienced teachers of United States History. They represent specific “dramatic episodes” in history from which you and your students can pause to delve into the deeper meanings of these selected landmark events and explore their wider context in the great historical narrative. By studying a crucial turning-point in history the student becomes aware that choices had to be made by real human beings, that those decisions were the result of specific factors, and that they set in motion a series of historical consequences. We have selected dramatic episodes that bring alive that decision-making process. We hope that through this approach, your students will realize that history is an ongoing, open-ended process, and that the decisions they make today create the conditions of tomorrow’s history.

Our teaching units are based on primary sources, taken from documents, artifacts, journals, diaries, newspapers and literature from the period under study. What we hope to achieve using primary source documents in these lessons is to remove the distance that students feel from historical events and to connect them more intimately with the past. In this way we hope to recreate for your students a sense of “being there,” a sense of seeing history through the eyes of the very people who were making decisions. This will help your students develop historical empathy, to realize that history is not an impersonal process divorced from real people like themselves. At the same time, by analyzing primary sources, students will actually practice the historian’s craft, discovering for themselves how to analyze evidence, establish a valid interpretation and construct a coherent narrative in which all the relevant factors play a part.

CONTENT AND ORGANIZATION

Within this unit, you will find: 1) Unit Objectives, 2) Correlation to the National History Standards, 3) Teacher Background Materials, 4) Lesson Plans, and 5) Student Resources. This unit, as we have said above, focuses on certain key moments in time and should be used as a supplement to your customary course materials. Although these lessons are recommended for grades 10-12, they can be adapted for other grade levels.

The teacher background section should provide you with a good overview of the entire unit and with the historical information and context necessary to link the specific dramatic episode to the larger historical narrative. You may consult

it for your own use, and you may choose to share it with students if they are of a sufficient grade level to understand the materials.

The lesson plans include a variety of ideas and approaches for the teacher which can be elaborated upon or cut as you see the need. These lesson plans contain student resources which accompany each lesson. The resources consist of primary source documents, any hand-outs or student background materials, and a bibliography.

In our series of teaching units, each collection can be taught in several ways. You can teach all of the lessons offered on any given topic, or you can select and adapt the ones that best support your particular course needs. We have not attempted to be comprehensive or prescriptive in our offerings, but rather to give you an array of enticing possibilities for in-depth study, at varying grade levels. We hope that you will find the lesson plans exciting and stimulating for your classes. We also hope that your students will never again see history as a boring sweep of inevitable facts and meaningless dates but rather as an endless treasure of real life stories, and an exercise in analysis and reconstruction.

The Boston Massacre



Engraved by Paul Revere
(Library of Congress)

Examine the engraving as colonial propaganda. How does Revere depict the British troops? their commander? Are the Bostonians portrayed as a mob antagonizing the British soldiers? Notice that a rifle, barely seen from a window in Butcher's Hall, is being discharged at the people gathering in the square. What is the artist's message in this engraving?

I. UNIT OVERVIEW

This unit addresses the intellectual foundations, the emotional attitudes and the specific political events that combined to create an imperial crisis between Great Britain and her North American colonies in the early 1760s and 1770s. It also provides material that can be used to promote a better understanding of economic and social relations during the same period.

During the Revolutionary era the role of women, African Americans and Native Americans was significant. From formal organizations such as the Daughters of Liberty to boycott meetings to informal social gatherings to private letters, colonial women displayed a keen interest in the events of the time. Yet the documentary evidence is scattered and conspicuous by its absence. Native American and African American sources are almost nonexistent and written or visual references to them by others are almost always symbolic and demeaning. It is important for students to be aware that the story of the American Revolution is based on a documentary record that reflected the political establishment. Women, urban poor, small freeholders, and people of color are all too often excluded from eighteenth-century documents on which historians base their study of the American Revolution. Students should not **only be aware of who** and what was recorded. but what was excluded and why.

The selections in this teaching unit address these issues but larger questions are raised. Why are the views of women almost totally absent from the political/legal discussion of rights and loyalty? Why are written accounts of events or testimony in trials almost exclusively given by white males? What does this suggest about the prevailing societal beliefs and attitudes concerning who should be included or excluded from the events of that period? What positions did women and minorities occupy in pre-Revolutionary America and did the unfolding events have an effect on their role in society?

The primary goal for this history unit is to provide teaching materials for easy use in the secondary classroom while retaining the logical argumentation, the rich flowery language and the burning emotion that is contained in the original documents. Therefore, the documents contained in this teaching unit have been edited to eliminate most words or phrases that would be confusing or meaningless to modern secondary level students and spelling, capitalization and punctuation have been adjusted to modern American usage (for example, labor instead of *labour*, mixed instead of *mixt*, or has instead of *hath*). Some extremely long complex sentences have been broken up into smaller sentences with the appropriate changes in punctuation and capitalization, and in two instances, phrases that were grammatically incorrect have been reworded for clarity. The editing was always done with a concern both for accurately conveying the thoughts and intent of the author of the document and for preserving the original flavor and context of each document.

Lesson 1 provides seven documents that enable students to examine the issues of taxation and representation, particularly those associated with the Stamp Act Crisis (1765-66), from a variety of perspectives and to appreciate the diversity of opinion on both sides of the Atlantic. **Lesson 2** utilizes political cartoons to illustrate the contending views throughout the colonial struggle with a primary focus on the Townshend Acts in 1768. In these first two sections (3-5 class periods), students will examine the political and philosophical arguments concerning taxation and imperial control that defined British-Colonial relations between 1763 and 1770 as well as the various methods of colonial resistance. These primary sources provide multiple perspectives on the issues and events that lead from one colonial crisis to another, ultimately resulting in violence in the streets of Boston in 1770.

Lesson 3 consists of a detailed role-playing simulation of the Boston Incident (Boston Massacre) Trial which is designed to run for one week, from the selection of witnesses to the closing statements. Students acting as prosecutors and defense attorneys must possess a clear knowledge of the long, intermediate and short term causes of the Boston Incident and interpret them from the perspective of those who they represent. Students who portray witnesses and defendants must be aware of the circumstances that shaped their attitudes and biased their testimony. The testimony provided in this section is based on eyewitness accounts compiled by the authors from several sources. In order to prepare their cases, student-lawyers will review relevant primary documents and the statements of witnesses. As attorneys and witnesses interact, the students gain unique perspectives on the historical process and its impact on the administration of justice.

Lesson 4 provides six documents that focus on the Boston Tea Party and the events that precipitate the outbreak of hostilities. The diversity of colonial opinion is highlighted as well as the emotional range of American reaction to British policies from formal petitions and vitriolic rhetoric to physical violence. The entire teaching unit consisting of primary documents, discussion questions, learning activities and the role-playing simulation promotes the student's understanding of the principles ultimately articulated in the Declaration of Independence.

II. UNIT CONTEXT

In the typical United States History survey course, this unit should follow class topics on the social, political and economic maturation of the American colonies in the early 1700s. Also, a discussion of Anglo-American frustrations and/or antagonisms during the colonial wars coupled with an examination of the cost to the British treasury of the removal of the French threat to the colonies would lead easily into this unit. Completion of this unit should prepare the students for a detailed consideration of the Declaration of Independence and a discussion of the early formation of state and national governments. The unit's focus on Massachusetts and particularly the simulation on the Boston Massacre could also tie in nicely with a detailed treatment of the events involved at Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill.

This unit is designed for a two to three week time period but is structured to be easily modified for use in a variety of secondary and post-secondary classroom situations and to provide great flexibility in the use of class time. The unit can be used as a whole, independently as separate sections, or by extracting selected documents to enhance other classroom strategies. Student activities could include engaging in debates, writing mock newspaper articles about specific events, producing posters, staging demonstrations and role playing as they define their positions on the unfolding events. After having examined the cause and effect relationships of these events, students will be challenged to engage those events from a variety of British and Colonial perspectives.

III. CORRELATION TO NATIONAL HISTORY STANDARDS

Causes of the American Revolution: Focus on Boston provides an excellent opportunity for students to demonstrate their knowledge of cause and effect relationships in history and their ability to engage those events from numerous perspectives. This unit provides documentary materials and teaching options relating to the *National Standards for History, Basic Edition* (National Center for History in the Schools, 1996), Era 3, Standards 1A and 1B, *Demonstrate understanding of the causes of the American Revolution* and *Understand the principles articulated in the Declaration of Independence*. This unit also addresses the five Historical Thinking Standards outlined in Part 2, Chapter 2 of the *National Standards for History*. Lessons provide primary source materials which challenge students to explain historical change and continuity; consider multiple perspectives; compare and contrast differing sets of ideas and values; draw evidence from visual sources; reconstruct the literal meaning of a historical passage; and identify the purpose, perspective, and point of view of a document. The simulation of the Boston Incident Trial, in particular, challenges arguments of historical inevitability and requires students to identify problems and solutions; analyze the interests of people involved; formulate a position or course of action on an issue; and marshal the necessary knowledge and logic to reach an acceptable conclusion.

IV. UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. Students will identify the major elements of the Anglo-American disputes over taxation and imperial restrictions from 1763 to 1775 as well as the various methods of resistance used by the colonists.
2. Students will understand the cause and effect relationship of historical events, particularly the contribution of earlier disputes over taxation to the political atmosphere that fostered the Boston Incident and the impact of those historical events on the administration of justice in this case.
3. Students will recognize the historical implications of the trial both as a culminating episode and a precipitating event in pre-Revolutionary America.
4. Students will interpret primary documents and examine how that interpretation alters historical perspective and how inquiry methods can be applied to the historical process.

V. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The causes of the American Revolution can be traced to the economic, political and military interactions between Great Britain and the colonies during the previous century. Official British economic policy was based on the theory of mercantilism as stated in the Trade and Navigation Acts while unofficially lax British enforcement of the regulations allowed colonists to circumvent the rules with relative impunity. Meanwhile, frequent successful clashes with royal governors prompted an arrogance and defiance in colonial legislatures that fostered a growing British frustration at colonial provincialism. Furthermore, wartime experience had promoted a mutual contempt with the colonists disparaging British military ineptitude and the British voicing their disgust with the lack of military discipline and imperial commitment on the part of the colonies. These long-standing perceptions shaped the context wherein each side judged the other during the events that led to the American Revolution.

The victorious conclusion of the colonial wars of the mid-eighteenth century initiated dramatic changes in political and economic policies that hastened the onset of the American Revolution. For the British, military success had come at a high financial price, plunging the imperial treasury into debt. This financial crisis precipitated the passage of new revenue taxes as well as a stricter enforcement of trade policies. For the American colonies, the elimination of the French threat lessened their dependence for military and diplomatic support on Britain and allowed them to be more vociferous in their objections to British policies. The causes of the American Revolution can be found in the clash of these policies and perceptions within the context of changing political and economic relationships.

The American revolutionaries prided themselves on being more British than the British. The ideals that initiated colonial resistance to British dominance stemmed from the time-honored “rights of Englishmen.” Colonial rebels maintained that they were, in essence, seeking to sustain the very rights that the mother country had fought to preserve as part of the unwritten English constitution from the Magna Carta of 1215 to the English Bill of Rights that followed the Glorious Revolution. Colonial leaders, schooled in British law, understood that English subjects enjoyed certain fundamental rights that government could not violate and made their case on this basis.

Colonists, with memories of their wartime sacrifices still fresh, resented the passage of a series of acts following the French and Indian War. Parliament’s Proclamation of 1763, the Quartering Act (1765) and the Sugar Act (1764) seemed to testify that English colonists were being deprived of rights they assumed were guaranteed by the English constitution. Many colonists refused to believe that the maintenance of frontier stability and peace with Native Americans required the prevention of settlement west of the Appalachians. This, in turn, necessitated the presence of British troops which, not coincidentally, provided the British government with numerous political patronage appointments. The colonials considered access to western lands as the just deserts of their hard won victory and were shocked when the depleted treasury prompted Parliament to enact the

Sugar Act which imposed a heavy tax on imported sugar and created several new procedures designed to revitalize the customs service and eliminate smuggling. While these three new acts were grudgingly seen as within the authority of Parliament, they were unwelcome intrusions into the daily lives of the colonists. Moreover, they were unenforceable in most colonial circumstances and served only to antagonize. Petitions and boycotts ultimately led to the repeal of the Sugar Act, but the Proclamation and Quartering Act continued to plague imperial relations.

Colonial resistance was galvanized when it was perceived that Parliament had exceeded its authority by passing the Stamp Act, an internal tax purely to raise revenue. Throughout the colonies mob action prevented its implementation through the blockage of docks, the burning of stamps, the destruction of property, and threats against persons associated with the Stamp Act. Other Americans sought political redress through petitions and formal resolutions, ultimately uniting their efforts in the Stamp Act Congress. The Virginia Resolves in particular, written by Patrick Henry and circulated throughout the colonies, energized resistance. The issue polarized Parliament splitting its members along lines of both political interest (commercial v. landed) and constitutional interpretation (virtual representation v. direct representation). Intense American reaction coupled with Parliamentary paralysis forced the repeal of the controversial Stamp Act.

Humbled by this retreat, Parliament passed the Declaratory Act, reasserting its authority over the colonies. The continuing financial crisis forced Parliament to return to the less objectionable taxing of trade. The Townshend Acts imposed an indirect tax on certain enumerated articles such as lead, glass, paint, paper and tea. This less offensive tax elicited a more restrained American reaction in the form of boycotts, petitions and “circular letters” between colonial legislatures. Political crises were initiated in some colonies when colonial governors were ordered to dissolve any legislature that considered the “circular letters.” These methods of colonial resistance eventually resulted in the repeal of most of the Townshend Acts.

As the political controversies surrounding the Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, and the Townshend Acts fluctuated in the late 1760s, the presence of large contingents of British troops in New York and Boston became a constant source of irritation. The citizens of those port cities, already angered by British trade regulations, resisted efforts to provide housing (or colonial funding for housing) for the troops. In both cities, the presence of these troops created a variety of political disputes, a series of court cases, and frequent physical confrontations in the streets. British troops became the symbols of imperial oppression as well as convenient targets for radicals to vent their frustrations.

For their part, British troops found themselves in a conundrum: if they remained passive as ordered they promoted perceptions of British weakness and ineptitude; if they responded they confirmed fears of British oppression as well as being legally culpable for their violation of orders. This incendiary situation required only a spark to burst into flames. In Boston, the home of the Sons of

Liberty, several street incidents culminated in a violent confrontation on the night of March 5, 1770, in which five colonists died. The incident became known as the Boston Massacre.

The Boston Massacre became a defining moment. It solidified the views of some concerning British oppression while jarring others to a realization of the violence inherent in imperial confrontation. After the Boston Massacre an uneasy calm settled over the colonies, interrupted by annual commemorations and occasional incidents. Three years later, still desperate to generate revenue, Parliament increased the tax on tea while exempting it from some of the trade regulations that increased shipping costs. The combined effect was an actual reduction in the retail price of tea which, it was hoped, would circumvent colonial opposition to the increased tax on tea. Recognizing this ploy, radical leaders determined to destroy the tea before its tempting low price could fracture colonial resistance against British taxation. On December 16, 1773, the Sons of Liberty delivered those of weaker resolve from temptation by dumping the tea into Boston Harbor.

This audacious act, known as the Boston Tea Party, required a Parliamentary response of equal gravity. Measures were passed such as the closing of the port of Boston, the annulment of the Massachusetts colonial charter, the re-organization of the Massachusetts government to increase the power and authority of crown appointees, the re-establishment of admiralty courts and the issuing of arrest warrants for radical leaders. As if these actions weren't enough, the Quebec Act was seen as an affront to all of the colonies by officially recognizing the Catholic religion and extending Quebec's jurisdiction into the trans-Appalachian territories, an area coveted by many of the colonies. Colonial assemblies and town meetings moved by concern for the Bostonians and fear of similar sanctions on their colony, elected delegates to the First Continental Congress to issue a united condemnation of these "Intolerable Acts."

The confrontation around Boston escalated in September, 1774 when British troops seized the military supplies of the local militia at Charlestown and Cambridge, prompting the creation of local military units known as "minutemen." A similar British operation to Lexington and Concord seven months later was resisted by these minutemen, initiating the American Revolution.

LESSON 1: CONTROVERSY OVER TAXATION AND REPRESENTATION

A. LESSON OBJECTIVES

1. Students will examine and interpret primary documents in order to engage the events and political arguments that precipitated the colonial confrontation with Britain.
2. Students will engage primary documents from multiple perspectives in order to understand the complexities of historical events.
3. Students will comprehend the diversity of opinions and reactions generated by the Stamp Act.

B. LESSON ACTIVITIES

The primary documents included in this section represent a variety of perspectives and conflicting arguments concerning the Stamp Act and colonial methods of resistance that epitomized attitudes on both sides of the Atlantic during the turbulent days preceding the American Revolution. These selections reveal the imperial tensions between Great Britain and her colonies as well as the diversity of opinion and the range of emotional response within each area. Some documents such as the Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress, William Pitt's Speech on the Stamp Act, the Letter of the London Merchants and the Boycott by Women in Boston are reasoned and relatively civil discourses giving particular points of view on the issue of the Stamp Act. Others are quite emotional like W. Almy's vivid description of the intimidation and violence of the Boston mob or the stinging condemnation of Americans who did not strenuously oppose the Stamp Act in the *Constitutional Courant*. Soame Jenyns' stern rebuttal of critics of the Crown, *The Objections to the Taxation...Considered*, uses ridicule and sarcasm in his defense of Parliament's right to tax the colonies.

Each selection is introduced by a brief summary of its contents and followed by a list of analytical questions to prompt classroom discussion. The documents are arranged in chronological order and, where appropriate, juxtaposed in order to more dramatically emphasize divergent perspectives. This section may be taught as an independent teaching unit, used in conjunction with other sections of the teaching unit, or the documents can be used individually or in pairs to augment instruction.

Several activities are provided for the documents in this lesson. Choose from one or more of these suggested teaching activities to engage students in examining the basic arguments presented in the documents.

The Boston Mob

The letter below contains one observer's description of the actions that the Boston Mob took in protest against the Stamp Act. The details concerning what the protesters wrote on the effigies is very revealing even though some of the meanings may be unclear to modern readers. The absence of vitriolic rhetoric in the body of the letter somewhat obscures the political position of its author which becomes clear at the end. The Earl of Bute mentioned below (and satirized as the devil in the boot) was the leader of Parliament from 1761 to 1763 and a strong supporter of taxation of the colonies.

To Doctor Elisha Story, Boston
Newport Aug't. 29th 1765. Thursday

My Worthy friend, . . . I'll Just Inform you Concerning Mr. Martin Howard Junior and Doctor Moffatt, who was hung in Effigy with the Stamp Master. Mr. Howard and the Doctor you must know have made themselves very Busy with their Pen (By all accounts) In Writing Against the Colonies and in Favor of the Stamp Act etc.

In the Morning of the 27th Inst. between five and six a Mob Assembles and Erected a Gallows near the Town House and then Dispersed, and about Ten A Clock Reassembled and took the Effigys of the Above Men and the Stamp Master and Carted them up Thames Street, then up King Street to the said Gallows where they was hung up by the Neck and suspended near 15 feet in the Air, And on the Breast of the Stamp Master' was this inscription THE STAMP MAN, and holding in his Right hand the Stamp Act, And upon the Breast of the Doctor was wrote, THAT INFAMOUS, MISCREATED, LEERING JACOBITE DOCTOR MURFY in Rhode Island, And on the Same Arm was Wrote, If I had but Rec'd this letter from Earl of Butte But One Week sooner. And upon a strip of paper hanging out of his Mouth was wrote It is too late Marinius to Retaract, for we are all Aground.

And upon Mr. Howard's Breast was wrote, THAT FAWNING, INSIDIOUS, INFAMOUS MISCREANT AND PARACIDE MARTINIUS SCRIBLERIUS, and upon his Right Arm was wrote, THE ONLY FINIAL PEN. Upon his left Arm was wrote, CURS'D AMBITION AND YOUR CURSED CLAN HAS RUIN'D ME and upon the Same Arm a little Below was this, WHAT THO' I BOAST OF INDEPENDANCE- POSTERITY WILL CURSE MY MEMORY.... And about five A Clock in the Afternoon they made a Fire under the Gallows which Consumed the Effigy's Gallows and all, to Ashes. I forgot to tell you that a boot hung over the Doctor's Shoulder with the Devil Peeping out of it etc. ... And after the Effigys were Burnt the Mob Dispersed and we thought it was all Over. But last Night about Dusk they all Mustered again and first they went to Martin Howard's, and Broke Every Window in his House Frames and all, likewise Chairs Tables, Pictures and every thing they could come across. They also sawed down two Trees which Stood before his door When they found

they had Entirely Demolished all his furniture and done what damage they Could, they left the house, and Proceeded to Doctor Moffatts where they Behaved much in the Manner. I Can't say which Came off the Worst, For all the Furniture of Both Houses were entirely Destroyed, Petitions of the houses broke down, Fences Leveled with the ground and all the Liquors which were in both Houses were Entirely Lost. Dear Doctor this Moment I've Received a peace of News which Effects me so Much that I Cant write any More, which is the Demolition of your Worthy Daddy's house and Furniture etc. But I must Just let you know the Stamp Master has Resigned, the Copy of His Resignation and Oath I now Send you. I hope, my Friend You'll send me the Particulars of your daddy's Misfortune.

Yours for Ever W. ALMY

William Almy to Dr. Elisha Story, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. 55 (1921-1922), pp. 234-237.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What is the position of the writer concerning the actions of the Boston Mob?
2. What is the purpose of this letter? How does the author portray the mob?
3. In what ways did mob actions such as these pave the way for the "Boston Massacre" and the Boston Tea Party?

ACTIVITIES

- Write a song or a poem that condemns the rioters as traitors to the Crown or praises their actions as patriots fighting for their rights.
- Write a letter describing these actions from the perspective of a protester.
- Draw an illustration that depicts the mob in a negative light.
- Write phrases or sayings that you would have written on the effigies.

Constitutional Courant

The Constitutional Courant was published secretly and distributed to newspapers throughout the colonies. Excerpts appeared in the Boston Evening Post on October 7, 1765. The selection below is an aggressive assertion of colonial rights and a condemnation of supporters of the Stamp Act. Although its opening statements avow allegiance to the King, the body of the document is a logical, although emotionally charged argument against the legality of the Stamp Act and taxation of the colonies in general. Divide and conquer has long been a philosophy applied to vanquishing an enemy. In the Constitutional Courant, whether intentionally or inadvertently, the petitioner attempts to distinguish between friends and foes of the colonies. Examine the document and list ways in which the author uses the “divide and conquer” strategy.

At a time when our dearest privileges are torn from us, and the foundation of all our liberty subverted, every one who has the least spark of love to his country, must feel the deepest anxiety about our approaching fate. The hearts of all who have a just value for freedom, must burn within them, when they see the chains of abject slavery just ready to be riveted about our necks. It has been undeniably demonstrated, by the various authors who have dared to assert the cause of these injured colonies, that no Englishman can be taxed . . . but by his own consent, given either by himself or his representatives, that these colonies are not in any sense at all represented in the British Parliament. . . . [T]he public faith of the nation, in which, till now, we thought we might securely confide, is violated, and we robbed of our dearest rights by the late law erecting a *stamp-office* among us.

What then is to be done? Shall we sit down quietly, while the yoke of slavery is wreathing about our necks? He that is stupid enough to plead for this, deserves to be a *slave*. Shall we not hope still that some resource is left us in the royal care and benevolence? We have the happiness to be governed by one of the best kings, who is under no temptations to sacrifice the rights of one part of his subjects to the caprice of another. . . .

It must certainly give the most sensible pleasure to every American that loves this majesty a united representation of their grievances, and pray a redress. Such a representation as this, in the name of so large and respectable a body of his subjects, must have great weight and influence in the royal councils. . . . But what are we to think of a set of mushroom patriots, who have refused to concur in so noble an attempt? In what light can we view this conduct? . . . Liberty and property are necessarily, connected together: He that deprives of the latter without our consent, deprives of the former. What is a slave, but one who depends upon the will of another for the enjoyment of his life and property? This surely is a very precarious tenure. . . .

This, my country men, is our unhappy lot: The same principles on which the vile minions of tyranny vindicate the present tax, will vindicate the most

oppressive laws conceivable. They need only boldly assert, that *we are virtually represented in the British parliament, that they are the properest judges of the sums necessary to be raised, and of our ability to pay them*, therefore such a tax is equitable, be it what it will, tho' it reduces nine-tenths of us to instant beggary. If we throw in petitions against them, they need only say, *'tis against the known rules of this house to admit petitions against money bills*, and so forever deny us the liberty of being heard. Was there ever a wider door opened for the entrance of arbitrary power, with all it's horrors? . . . Poor America! The bootless privilege of complaining, always allowed to the vilest criminals on the rack, is denied thee!

Let none censure these free thoughts as treasonable. . . . We cherish the most unfeigned loyalty to our rightful sovereign; we have a high veneration for the British parliament; we consider them as the most august assembly on earth; but the wisest of kings may be misled Parliaments also are liable to mistakes, yea, sometimes fall into capital errors, and frame laws the most oppressive to the subject, yea, sometimes take such steps, which, if persisted in, would soon unhinge the whole constitution. Our histories bear innumerable attestations to the truth of this. It cannot be treason to point out such mistakes and the consequences of them, yea to set them in the most glaring light, to alarm the subject. By acting in this principle, our ancestors have transmitted to us our privileges inviolated; let us therefore prosecute the same glorious plan, Let the British parliament be treated with all possible respect, while they treat us as fellow-subjects; but if they transgress the bounds prescribed them by the constitution, if they usurp a jurisdiction, to which they have no right; if they infringe our liberties, . . . violate the public faith and destroy our confidence in the royal promises, let us boldly deny all such usurped jurisdiction; . . . to seem to acknowledge such a claim, would be to court our chains. Be assured, my countrymen, whatever spirit we manifest on this juncture, it cannot be offensive to our sovereign: *He glories in being King of freemen, and not of slaves*. To show that we are freemen, and resolve to continue so, cannot displease, but must endear us to him. It must endear us also to all the true sons of liberty in Great Britain, to see that we have carried over the Atlantic the genuine spirit of our ancestors. We cannot offend none but a set of the blackest villains, and these we must always offend, unless we will tamely suffer them to tread down our rights at pleasure. With them, liberty is always treason, and an advocate for the people's rights, a sower of sedition. Let it be our honor, let it be our boast, to be odious to these foes to human kind; let us show them that we consider them only as beasts of prey, formed to devour; that tho' full of loyalty to the best of kings, and ready to spill the last drop of our blood in his service, yet we dare bid defiance to all who are betraying the sovereign, and sacrificing his people.

While too many to the Westward are thinking of nothing but tamely yielding their necks to the yoke, it revives the courage of all who wish well to their country, to see such a noble spirit prevailing in the eastern colonies. There the gentlemen appointed to serve as tools to enslave their countrymen, have some of them gloriously disdained the dirty employment; they

have scorned to raise their own fortunes by such detestable means; they have shown that they esteem the public good, infinitely above all private emolument: in short, they have proved themselves TRUE LOVERS OF THEIR COUNTRY. Let their names be enrolled in the annals of fame; let them be embalmed to all posterity, and serve as examples to fire the breasts of patriots yet unborn. Others, we find, have been intimidated into a resignation, by those hardy sons of liberty, and have the mortification to see all their vile schemes of enriching themselves out of the plunder of their fellow-subjects, blasted in an instant. But what name shall we give those miscreants who still resolve to keep the detested office? How hard must that heart be, which is insensible of the dearest and tenderest of all obligations? which feels no sympathy for a native country, oppressed and ruined? but can please itself with the hellest prospect of increasing private wealth by her spoils? Ye blots and stains of America! Ye vipers of human kind! Your names shall be blasted with infamy, the public execration shall pursue you while living, and your memories shall rot, when death has disabled you from propagating vassalage and misery any further: Your crimes shall haunt you like *spectres*, and take vengeance for the crimes of distressed innocence. . . . Know ye vile miscreants, we love liberty, and we fear not to show it. We abhor slavery, and detest the remotest aiders and abettors of our bondage: but native Americans, who are diabolical enough to help forward our ruin, we execrate as the worst of parricides. Parricides! 'tis too soft a term: Murder your fathers, rip up the bowels of your mothers, dash the infants you have begotten against the stones, and be blameless; but enslave your country! entail vassalage, that worst of all human miseries, that sum of all wretchedness, on millions! This, this is guilt, this calls for heaven's fiercest vengeance. But rouse, rouse my countrymen, let the villain that is hardy enough to persist, do it at his peril. Show them we have resentment no less keen than our Eastern brethren; will you tamely suffer the execution of a law that reduces you to the vile condition of slaves, and is abhorred by all the genuine sons of liberty? Let the wretch that sleeps now, be branded as an enemy to his country.

PHILOLEUTHERUS.

Tracts of the American Revolution, 1763-1776, edited by Merrill Jensen (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1967), pp. 81-87.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What is the emotional tone of this document? Cite at least five examples.
2. How does the author make a distinction between the parliament and the King?
3. Why does the author emphasize his loyalty to the King throughout the letter?
4. What political groups does the author identify in this document?
5. On what basis does this document object to the Stamp Act?
6. Who has the right to tax? Why is the right to tax dangerous?
7. Why do Americans start talking about slavery when they are faced with taxes imposed by the English parliament?
8. How does the author attempt to silence critics who might call his words treasonous?
9. How does the author describe those who are true lovers of their country?
10. What names does the author apply to colonists who support the Stamp Act?
11. How would this document contribute to the general attitude of Bostonians toward resistance to British policies?

ACTIVITIES

- Write a letter to the editor responding to this document from one of the following perspectives:
 - A Tory merchant
 - An advisor to King George III
 - A member of the Sons of Liberty
- Analyze the document and construct a chart listing the answers to the following questions:
 - In what ways does this document have a conciliatory tone?
 - With whom does this document attempt conciliation?
 - In what ways does it have a confrontational tone?
 - What group does this document confront?

Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress October 19, 1765

The resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress enumerate the basic rights of Englishmen and colonial grievances concerning those rights as grounds for repealing the Stamp Act. The document repeatedly affirms colonial loyalty to the King and Parliament and specifically asserts that it is the duty of the colonists as loyal English subjects, to point out these violations of their rights. Taxation without representation, although at the core of the grievances, is not the only action for which the colonies seek redress.

The members of this Congress, sincerely devoted, with the warmest sentiments of affection and duty to His Majesty's Person and Government . . . and with minds deeply impressed by a sense of the present and impending misfortunes of the British colonies on this conscience; having considered as maturely as time will permit the circumstances of the said colonies, esteem it our indispensable duty to make the following declarations of our humble opinion, respecting the most essential rights and liberties of the colonists, and of the grievances under which they labor, by reason of several late Acts of Parliament.

- I. That His Majesty's subjects in these colonies, owe the same allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain, that is owing from his subjects born within the realm, and all due subordination to that august body, the Parliament of Great Britain.
- II. That His Majesty's liege subjects in these colonies are entitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of his natural born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain.
- III. That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them, but with their own consent, given personally, or by their representatives.
- IV. That the people of these colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great Britain.
- V. That the only representatives of the people of these colonies, are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been, or can be constitutionally imposed on them, but by their respective legislatures.
- VI. That all supplies to the Crown, being free gifts of the people, it is unreasonable and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British Constitution, for the people of Great Britain to grant to His Majesty the property of the colonists.
- VII. That trial by jury is the inherent and invaluable right of every British subject in these colonies.
- VIII. That the late Act of Parliament, entitled, *An Act for granting and applying certain Stamp Duties and other Duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, etc.*, by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of these colonies, and the said Act, and several other Acts, by extending the jurisdiction of the

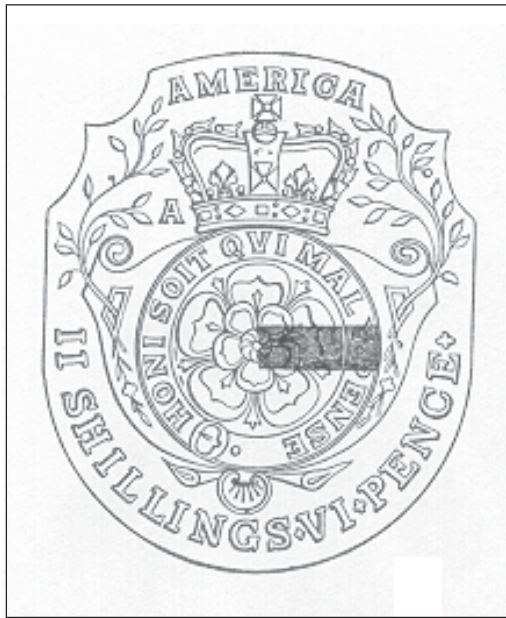
- courts of Admiralty beyond its ancient limits, have a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists.
- IX. That the duties imposed by several late Acts of Parliament, from the peculiar circumstances of these colonies, will be extremely burdensome and grievous; and from the scarcity of specie, the payment of them absolutely impracticable.
 - X. That as the profits of the trade of these colonies ultimately center in Great Britain, to pay for the manufactures which they are obliged to take from thence, they eventually contribute very largely to all supplies granted there to the Crown.
 - XI. That the restrictions imposed by several late Acts of Parliament, on the trade of these colonies, will render them unable to purchase the manufactures of Great Britain.
 - XII. That the increase, prosperity, and happiness of these colonies, depend on the full and free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, and an intercourse with Great Britain mutually affectionate and advantageous.
 - XIII. That it is the right of the British subjects in these colonies, to petition the King, or either House of Parliament.

Lastly That it is the indispensable duty of these colonies, to the best of sovereigns to the mother country, and to themselves, to endeavor by a loyal and dutiful address to his Majesty. and humble applications to both Houses of Parliament, to procure the repeal of the Act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, of all clauses of any other Acts of Parliament whereby the jurisdiction of the Admiralty is extended as aforesaid and of the other late Acts for the restriction of American commerce.

Proceedings of the Congress at New York (1766), pp. 15-16.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What is the tone of the resolutions first paragraph?
2. List the numerals of those resolutions that relate directly to the rights of taxation.
3. Which resolution(s) claim rights not directly connected to the right of taxation?
4. How do the resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress defend their opposition to the crown?
5. The Stamp Act not only asserted the right of Parliament to tax the colonies but extended the jurisdiction of Admiralty courts. Why would this be included in an act for taxation?
6. Why is it the “indispensable duty” of the colonies to submit these resolutions to the King and to the Parliament?
7. The Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress formally presented the grievances of the colonies to the King and Parliament. How does the emotional tone of the resolutions differ from the objections expressed in other primary documents in this unit?



*Facsimile of a revenue stamp
(John Grafton, The American
Revolution: A Picture Sourcebook
New York: Dover Publications, 1975.)*

ACTIVITIES

- You are a member of the British Parliament responding to The Stamp Act Resolutions. Write a letter to the Stamp Act Congress persuading them of the necessity of this new tax.
- Compile a list of the objects/ documents that were legally required to have a stamp. Then compile a list of those individuals, identified by occupation, that would have been most affected by the Stamp Act. (The second list should reveal that the Stamp Act was targeted directly at the social and political leaders of the colonies and that the British could not have designed a tax that was more likely to generate organized and sustained resistance than the Stamp Act.)

Letter from London Merchants Urging Repeal of the Stamp Act

The petition of the London merchants to the British Parliament is a clear indication that Great Britain was far from unified in its support of the Stamp Act. The merchants, fearful of economic repercussions from colonial embargoes, sent their pleas to Parliament in hopes of persuading that body to reconsider the Stamp Act.

That the petitioners have been long concerned in carrying on the trade between this country and the British colonies on the continent of North America; and that they have annually exported very large quantities of British manufacturers, consisting of woollen goods of all kinds, cottons, linens, hardware, shoes, household furniture, and almost without exception of every other species of goods manufactured in these kingdoms, besides other articles imported from abroad, chiefly purchased with our manufacturers and with the produce of our colonies. By all which, many thousand manufacturers, seamen and laborers have been employed, to the very great and increasing benefit of this nation; and that, in return for these exports, the petitioners have received from the colonies rice, indigo, tobacco, naval stores, oil, whale fins, furs and, lately potash, with other commodities, besides remittances by bills of exchange and bullion obtained by the colonists in payment for articles of the produce not required for the British market and therefore exported to other places.

From the nature of this trade, consisting of British manufacturers exported and of the imported of raw materials from America, many of them used in our manufactures and all of them tending to lessen our dependence on neighboring states, it must be deemed of the highest importance in the commercial system of this nation; and that this commerce, so beneficial to the state and so necessary for the support of multitudes, now lies under such difficulties and discouragement that nothing less than its utter ruin is apprehended without the immediate interposition of parliament. In consequence of the trade between the colonies and the mother country as established and as permitted for many years, and of the experience which the petitioners have had of the readiness of the Americans to make their just remittances to the utmost of the real ability, they have been induced to make and venture such large exportations of British manufacturers as to leave the colonies indebted to the merchants of Great Britain in the sum of several millions sterling.

At this time the colonists, when pressed for payment, appeal to past experience in proof of their willingness; but declare it is not in their power, at present, to make good on their engagements, alleging that the taxes and restrictions laid upon them, and the extensions of the jurisdiction of Vice-Admiralty courts established by some late acts of parliament, particularly by an act passed in the fourth year of His present Majesty for granting certain

duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, and by an act passed in the fifth year of His present Majesty for granting and applying certain stamp duties and other duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, with several regulations and restraints, which, if founded in acts of Parliament for defined purposes, are represented to have been extended in such a manner as to disturb legal commerce and harass the fair trader, have so far interrupted the usual and former most fruitful branches of their commerce, restrained the sale of their produce, thrown the state of the several provinces into confusion, and brought on so great a number of actual bankruptcies that the former opportunities and means of remittances and payments are utterly lost and taken from them.

The petitioners are, by these unhappy events, reduced to the necessity of pending ruin; to prevent a multitude of manufacturers from becoming a burden to the community, or else seeking their bread in their countries, to the irretrievable loss of this kingdom; and to preserve the strength of this nation entire, its commerce flourishing, the revenues increasing, our navigation, the bulwark of the kingdom, in a state of growth and extension, and the colonies, from inclination, duty, and interest, firmly attached to the mother country; and therefore praying the consideration of the premises, and entreating such relief as to the House shall seem expedient.

The Parliamentary History of England (London, 1813), 16:133-136.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. In what ways have the Stamp Act and other duties affected the London merchants involved in this petition?
2. How might this letter encourage colonial resistance?
3. How did the new taxes prevent colonists from paying debts to British merchants?

ACTIVITIES

- Have students write a response from a member of Parliament who supports the Stamp Act.
- Have students write an open letter from a member of the Sons of Liberty to the London Merchants.
- Colonial viewpoints have often been oversimplified, such as: "Britain's attempts to tax the colonies were met with fierce resistance." Considering the various perspectives presented in these documents, debate the accuracy of this statement.

The Objections to the Taxation...Considered
Soame Jenyns (1765)

Soame Jenyns' "The Objections to the Taxation...Considered" and William Pitt's speech on the Stamp Act provide examples of the conflicting arguments that were debated on the floor of the British House of Commons concerning the Stamp Act and its effect on relations between Britain and her North American colonies. Soame Jenyns refutes various American assertions about the "Rights of Englishmen" and explains Parliament's views concerning virtual representation.

The right of the legislature of Great Britain to impose taxes on her American Colonies, and the expediency of exerting that right in the present conjuncture, are propositions so indisputably clear, that I should never have thought it necessary to have undertaken their defense, had not many arguments been lately flung out, both in papers and conversation, which with insolence equal to their absurdity deny them both....

The great capital argument, which I find on this subject . . . is this; that no Englishman is, or can be taxed, but by his own consent . . . Now let us impartially consider, whether any one of these propositions are in fact true: if not, then this wonderful structure which has been erected upon them, falls at once to the ground, and like another Babel, perishes by a confusion of words which the builders themselves are unable to understand.

First then, that no Englishman is or can be taxed but by his own consent as an individual: this is so far from being true, that it is the very reverse of truth; for no man that I know of is taxed by his own consent; and an Englishman, I believe, is as little likely to be so taxed, as any man in the world.

Secondly, that no Englishman is or can be taxed but by the consent of those persons whom he has chose to represent him; for the truth of this I shall appeal only to the candid representatives of those unfortunate counties which produce cider, and shall willingly acquiesce under their determination.

Lastly, that no Englishman is, or can be taxed, without the consent of the majority of those, who are elected by himself, and others of his fellow-subjects, to represent them. This is certainly as false as the other two; for every Englishman is taxed, and not one in twenty represented: copyholders, leaseholders, and all men possessed of personal property only, choose no representatives; Manchester, Birmingham, and many more of our richest and most flourishing trading towns send no members to parliament, consequently cannot consent by their representatives, because they choose none to represent them; yet are they not Englishmen? or are they not taxed?

I am well aware, that I shall hear Locke, Sidney, Selden, and many other great names quoted to prove that every Englishman, whether he has a right to vote for representative, or not, is still represented in the British Parliament; in which opinion they all agree . . . Why does not this imaginary representation extend to America, as well as over the whole island of Great Britain? If it can travel three hundred miles, why not three thousand? If it can jump over rivers and mountains, why cannot it sail over the ocean? If the towns of Manchester and Birmingham sending no representatives to parliament, are notwithstanding there represented, why are not the cities of Albany and Boston equally represented in that assembly? Are they not alike British subjects? Are they not Englishmen, or are they only Englishmen when they solicit for protection, but not Englishmen when taxes are required to enable this country to protect them?

But it is urged, that the Colonies are by their charters placed under distinct Governments, each of which has a legislative power within itself, by which alone it ought to be taxed; that if this privilege is once given up, that liberty which every Englishman has a right to, is torn from them, they are all slaves, and all is lost.

The liberty of an Englishman, is a phrase of so various a signification, having within these few years been used as a synonymous term for blasphemy, bawdry, treason, libels, strong beer, and cider, that I shall not here presume to define its meaning; but I shall venture to assert what it cannot mean; that is, an exemption from taxes imposed by the authority of the Parliament of Great Britain; nor is there any charter, that ever pretended to grant such a privilege to any colony in America; and had they granted it, it could have had no force; their charters being derived from the Crown, and no charter from the Crown can possibly supersede the right of the whole legislature: their charters are undoubtedly no more than those of all corporations, which empower them to make bylaws, and raise duties for the purposes of their own police, for ever subject to the superior authority of Parliament. . . .

It has been moreover alleged, that, though Parliament may have power to impose taxes on the Colonies, they have no right to use it, because it would be an unjust tax; and no supreme or legislative power can have a right to enact any law in its nature unjust: to this, I shall only make this short reply, that if Parliament can impose no taxes but what are equitable, and the persons taxed are to be the judges of that equity, they will in effect have no power to lay any tax at all. No tax can be imposed exactly equal on all, and if it is not equal, it cannot be just: and if it is not just, no power whatever can impose it: by which short syllogism, all taxation is at an end. . . .

Speech on the Stamp Act
William Pitt (January 14, 1766)

On January 14, 1766, William Pitt responded to critics who accused him of “giving birth to sedition in America.” In his address to Parliament, Pitt takes on his critics and Soame Jenyns point by point and in the process outlines the responsibilities of Great Britain towards the colonies.

Gentlemen,—Sir [to the speaker], I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. They have spoken their sentiments with freedom against this unhappy act, and that freedom has become their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this house imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise. . . . The gentleman tells America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three million people so dead to all feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. . . .

. . . I am no courtier of America; I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain, that the parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected together, like England and her colonies, without being incorporated the one must necessarily govern; the greater must rule the less; but so rule it, as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both. If the gentleman does not understand the difference between external and internal taxes, I cannot help it: but there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the subject; although, in the consequences, some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter.

The gentleman asks, when were the colonies emancipated? But I desire to know, when were they made slaves. But I dwell not upon words. When I had the honor of serving his Majesty, I availed myself of the means of information which I derived from my office: I speak, therefore, from knowledge. My materials were good I was at pains to collect, to digest, to consider them; and I will be bold to affirm, that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two million a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. . . . You owe this to America: this is the price that America pays you for her protection. And shall a miserable financier come with a boast, that he can bring a pepper-corn into the exchequer, to the loss of millions to the nation? I dare not say, how much higher these profits may be augmented. Omitting the immense increase of people by natural population, in the northern colonies, and the emigration from

every part of Europe, I am convinced the whole commercial system of America may be altered to advantage. You have prohibited where you ought to have encouraged, encouraged where you ought to have prohibited. . . .

. . . A great deal has been said . . . of the power, of the strength of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. I know the valor of your troops. I know the skill of your officers. There is not a company of foot that has served in America out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience to make a governor of a colony there. But on this ground, on the Stamp Act, when so many here will think a crying injustice, I am one who will lift up my hands against it.

In such a cause, your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheathe the sword in its scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourselves, now the whole House of Bourbon is united against you?

The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. They have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America, that she will follow the example. . . .

Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House what is really my opinion. It is, that the Stamp Act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately; that the reason for the repeal should be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever: that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever—except that of taking money out of their pockets without their consent.

Great Issues in American History: From Settlement to Revolution, 1584-1776, edited by Clarence L. Ver Steeg and Richard Hofstadter (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 407-10 and 414-18.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What arguments does Jenyns refute concerning Parliament's right to tax the colonies?
2. What argument does Jenyns make that taxes may be levied without the consent of the governed?
3. How does Jenyns repudiate the argument that America is exempt from taxes imposed by the authority of Parliament?

ACTIVITIES

- Supply several students with Jenyns' arguments and with Pitt's response. Debate the right of the Parliament to tax the colonies in front of the class. The class may then secretly vote on the most persuasive argument.
- William Pitt defends the colonies against Soame Jenyns arguments in favor of taxation. List William Pitt's response to each of Soame Jenyns' points on the "Taxation Worksheet."

Taxation Worksheet

SOAME JENYNS

WILLIAM PITT

No man, anywhere, is taxed by
their own consent.

Englishmen can, and have historically
been taxed by people who do not
directly represent them.

Every Englishman is taxed and not
one in twenty is represented. Lease
holders, copy holders, and all man
possessed of personal property only,
choose no representatives but
they are taxed.

No charter ever granted to America
exempted it from taxation by Parliament.

The same laws that bind Englishmen
on one side of the Atlantic bind the
other side as well.

Boycott by Women in Boston (1770)

While men played the central roles in articulating colonial political arguments, women were crucial to the success of the economic boycotts that forced British officials to take those views seriously. About 300 Bostonian women agreed to the tea boycott below in an effort to exert political pressure on Parliament and repeal the Townshend Acts.

At the time when our invaluable Rights and Privileges are attacked in an unconstitutional and most alarming Manner, and as we find we are reproached for not being so ready as could be desired, to lend our Assistance, we think it our Duty perfectly to concur with the true Friends of Liberty, in all the measures they have taken to save this abused Country from Ruin and Slavery: And particularly, we join with the very respectable Body of Merchants and other Inhabitants of this Town, who met in Faneuil-Hall the 23rd of this Instant, in their Resolutions, *totally* to abstain from the Use of TEA: And as the greatest Part of the Revenue arising by Virtue of the late Acts, is produced from the Duty paid upon Tea, which Revenue is wholly expended to support the American Board of Commissioners: We the Subscribers do strictly engage, that we will *totally* abstain from the Use of that Article, (Sickness excepted) not only in our respective Families; but that we will absolutely refuse it, if it should be offered to us upon any Occasion whatever. This Agreement we cheerfully come into, as we believe the very distressed Situation of our Country requires it, and we do hereby oblige ourselves religiously to observe it, till the late Revenue Acts are repealed.

Boston Evening-Post, February 12, 1770.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What contributions were patriot women expected to make in the resistance to British taxation?
2. What would have more affect on the British Parliament, political petitions or economic boycotts?
3. What is the difference between a boycott by merchants and a boycott by women (consumers)?
4. How would the effects be different?
5. Who would be the target of the women's boycott?

ACTIVITIES

- What modern consumer boycotts are comparable to the Bostonian women' boycott of 1770? Have students research César Chávez and the grape boycott of the mid-1960s and compare the outcomes of that boycott with the results of the boycott against the Townshend Acts.
- Boycotts have become an accepted means of protest. What current issue would be most susceptible to the pressures of an economic boycott?

LESSON 2: COMMUNICATING REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS WITH POLITICAL CARTOONS

A. LESSON OBJECTIVES

1. Students will actively engage the events and issues of the time from various perspectives using the visual medium of political cartoons.
2. Students will better comprehend the essence of pre-Revolutionary thought and emotions including the prevailing attitudes and internal disputes in both America and Great Britain and the influence of the Enlightenment on contemporary thought.
3. Students will develop a clearer understanding of the various social, political, economic and ideological forces shaping the emerging conflict.

B. BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON REVOLUTIONARY ERA CARTOONS

The vast majority of colonial Americans, while literate, had neither the time nor the inclination to read detailed legal arguments or treatises on government theory. The political cartoon provided an effective method of conveying complex political ideas while exciting emotions through images that provided citizens with a common language for political discussion. As a result, the influence of political cartoonists on the general population was very significant during the colonial period. Some cartoonists sought to fan the flames of colonial discontent, others warned of outside threats to the empire, while still others attempted to show the folly of British and/or American policies and actions. In some cases, the perspective of the artist became accepted as recorded fact such as the engraving “The Boston Massacre perpetrated in King Street” by Paul Revere.

Political cartoons are a very effective method of teaching the causes of the American Revolution; they serve as windows to the past, providing unique perspectives and revealing both intended and unintended messages. The political cartoons included in this section are valuable primary sources which offer a wealth of information concerning British colonial relations; historic personalities (heroes and villains); perceptions of international intrigue; and prevailing political attitudes or political dissent on both sides of the Atlantic. They also reveal contemporary symbolism and the effective use of political satire as well as the wit and wisdom of the times. As students analyze the contrasting perspectives conveyed by the cartoons, they will become more aware of the impact of abstracted government policy on individual behaviors.

C. SYMBOLISM IN POLITICAL CARTOONS

Political cartoons historically have relied on the use of symbols in order to say a great deal in a small space. Most colonial cartoons were heavily laced with

references to Greek and Roman mythology or biblical passages because they provided the most commonly known set of images for that time. Cultural stereotypes and aspects of common knowledge also appear that would be meaningless to modern students. The cartoons included in this teaching unit were selected due to their simplicity and their limited use of symbols. Yet it will be difficult to determine some of the symbolism employed by the cartoonist. You may wish to assist students in determining the meaning of several of the cartoons. The following is offered as a guide for teachers.

Document 7, *Poor Old England*

- The shield with the British emblem represented the Empire or its defenses.
- The hooks through noses were symbols of the treatment of slaves by masters.
- The whip would evoke images of discipline and authority.
- The pea shooters represented the rebelliousness of adolescents.

Document 8, *The Colossus*

- William Pitt is shown on stilts. One stilt labeled “Popularity” is securely planted among the city merchants, indicating Pitt’s adherence to the commercial rather than the landed interests in Parliament. Another crutch is labeled “pension” and implies that his willingness to advocate radical policies rests in his own financial security. A third stilt, labeled “Sedition” is reaching out to New York and appears to be fishing for support. This refers to Pitt’s support of the Americans during the Stamp Act crisis and attempts to characterize his acts as disloyal. The fourth crutch is striking St. Stephen’s Chapel, a reference to Parliament. Snakes on this crutch are a symbol for treachery, although winged snakes are unusual.
- Lord Temple, Pitt’s brother-in-law, is depicted in the upper right blowing bubbles labeled “Public Spirit” and “Loyalty.” He had warned Pitt that repealing the Stamp Act would make Great Britain’s authority in America contemptible thereafter.
- The broad brimmed hat is a symbol for the common people and is used to attack Pitt’s support for republicanism against the interests of the crown and landed aristocracy.
- The verses on the left ridicule Pitt and refer to the symbols mentioned above.
- Ireland is shown as a tiny figure beneath Pitt, crying for independence. The cartoonist views Pitt’s support of the Americans as encouragement for Ireland to rebel to gain its independence.
- Internal conflicts in the cartoon show Pitt v. Parliament, Pitt v. Lord Temple, Ireland v Great Britain; Great Britain v. American colonies; and commercial v. landed interests.

Document 9, *Magna Britannia: Her Colonies Reduced*

- The Latin inscription DATE OBOLUM BELLISARIO refers to Belisario, a Roman general in the service of the Emperor Justinian. Belisario was neglected by the emperor and, in his old age, was forced to beg.
- England is depicted as a female torso; her severed limbs are the American colonies. Franklin has depicted England as helpless without her colonies.
- The shield and spear on the ground represent the state of the Empire’s defenses.

- The olive branch, near the arm labeled Pennsylvania is a symbol of peace and reconciliation; in 1766, it could have indicated Franklin's efforts to seek repeal of the Stamp Act. When it was published two years later during the heated confrontations concerning the Townshend Acts, it could have been interpreted as a reference to John Dickinson's "Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer" which outlined logical arguments against British taxes in an attempt at conciliation through negotiation and compromise.
- The three ships in the background represent British trade and commerce. The ships have brooms tied to the top of their masts indicating they are for sale due to the loss of colonial trade.

Document 10, *Its Companion* (Companion to "Magna Britannia")

- The female Britannia, representing Britain, is the central focus of the cartoon.
- Britannia is attempting to spear America, represented by an Indian who is fleeing into the arms of the French king. France wants to restore its position as a world leader, having been recently defeated by Britain in the Seven Years War.
- Lord Bute is pictured holding Britannia's cape, exposing her to her enemies. Bute is showing Britannia's weakness and inviting the Frenchman and Spaniard to "strike home."
- The snake is a symbol of treason.
- A Dutchman is pictured in the center of the cartoon carrying off a British ship symbolizing the Dutch taking advantage of the situation to encroach on British trade.
- Using the fallen shield, the cartoonist indicates that internal dissent and preoccupation with America has left Britain prey to other European countries. Britannia is surrounded by enemies who are preparing to take advantage of her difficulties with America while Bute's parliamentary politics are exposing her to mortal threat.
- The shadows in the cartoon indicate sunset, symbolizing the decline of the empire.

Document 11, *A Warm Place—Hell*

- The cartoon shows 17 legislators who voted to rescind the Massachusetts Circular Letter being marched by the devil into hell.
- The cartoonist implies that people who did not support colonial resistance to British policies are in league with the devil and belong in hell.
- The cartoonist implies that this is a moral issue and that the colonists are fighting for what is "right," not just for their own political self interests.

Document 12, *A Society of Patriotic Ladies*

- The woman with the gavel is old and unattractive with masculine features; to her left is a demure younger woman with a fan; to her right is an immodest young woman whose revealing attire has attracted the amorous attention of a "gentleman" in the foreground. A well-dressed woman is signing the document while an unattended child plays under the table. A dog is licking the child's face while urinating on a tea-caddy [container]; in the rear, a slave woman stands ready with a new ink well and quill pen; the three women around her are stern-faced and dressed in puritanical garb; to their right are

three women of modest means holding tea-caddies; one is pouring tea into the hat of a man at the door.

- Drinking from a bowl shows colonial women lack grace and culture; women's indifference to the child and dog indicate a neglect of their "true duties."
- Few women are paying any serious attention to the document or by implication, the political issues it represents. Women serving tea at the door contradicts the purpose of the meeting.
- The artist may have included slave women in the cartoon to indicate the hypocrisy of emotional colonial claims that paying taxes reduced them to a state of abject slavery.
- Women of different classes are socializing together (Puritan women are included in this Society of Patriotic Ladies from North Carolina); the artist may have been trying to depict women from various regions of the colonies to make the cartoon more generic or he may have been attempting to ridicule the possibility of colonial unity by the unrealistic mixing of classes and regions.

D. LESSON ACTIVITIES

Make a transparency of the cartoon *Poor Old England*, Document 7. This anonymous, undated cartoon displays negative attributes of both sides of the colonial conflict. Its simplicity and general focus could facilitate a wide open discussion of the artist's perspective and intent unencumbered by any prior knowledge on those issues. As such it could be used effectively as the opening cartoon in the lesson. The following questions are provided as suggestions to help focus discussion of the cartoon.

1. How is England portrayed? List several features that support your observation.
2. Why is England depicted as being crippled?
3. What is in his left hand? How will it be used on the unruly colonists?
4. What does the shield represent?
5. How is England endeavoring to reclaim its colonies?
6. What do the strings represent?
7. How are the colonists portrayed in this cartoon?
8. What were the goals of the cartoonist? Is the cartoonist favorable to one side or the other, or a moderate attempting to portray the excesses of both sides?
9. Does the cartoonist believe a conflict is inevitable? If England were less pompous and demanding while the colonies were more respectful and conciliatory, could the conflict be resolved?
10. Why do you think the cartoonist remained anonymous? Do you think the cartoonist would have faced punishment if known?
11. How would this cartoon affect the tensions between England and the colonies? Would it tend to increase tensions or reduce them?

In the cartoon, England's actions have united the colonies in resistance and a crippled England is losing the "tug of war" with the five young colonists. England is trying to regain the harmony/balance that the empire once had but its coercive methods are driving the colonists to resistance. Have students construct a chart comparing this assessment of the cartoon with the speech by

William Pitt in the previous lesson. In what ways do Pitt's views seem to correspond to the cartoonist and in what ways do they differ?

Is the cartoonist expressing popular attitudes or extreme views on both sides of the Atlantic? Compare *Poor Old England* with other documents provided in Lesson One. Have students write letters to the editor reacting to this cartoon from the perspective of the authors of the documents contained in Lesson One.

Distribute copies of Documents 8-12. Using the class activity in analyzing *Poor Old England* as a model, have students discuss these political cartoons. Recommend that students use the questions with each of the cartoons as a guide for discussion. You may wish to divide the class into five groups and give each group a different cartoon or conduct a jigsaw as a means of analyzing the cartoons. If the cartoons are discussed in groups, have each group summarize the analysis of their cartoon for the class.

Poor Old England



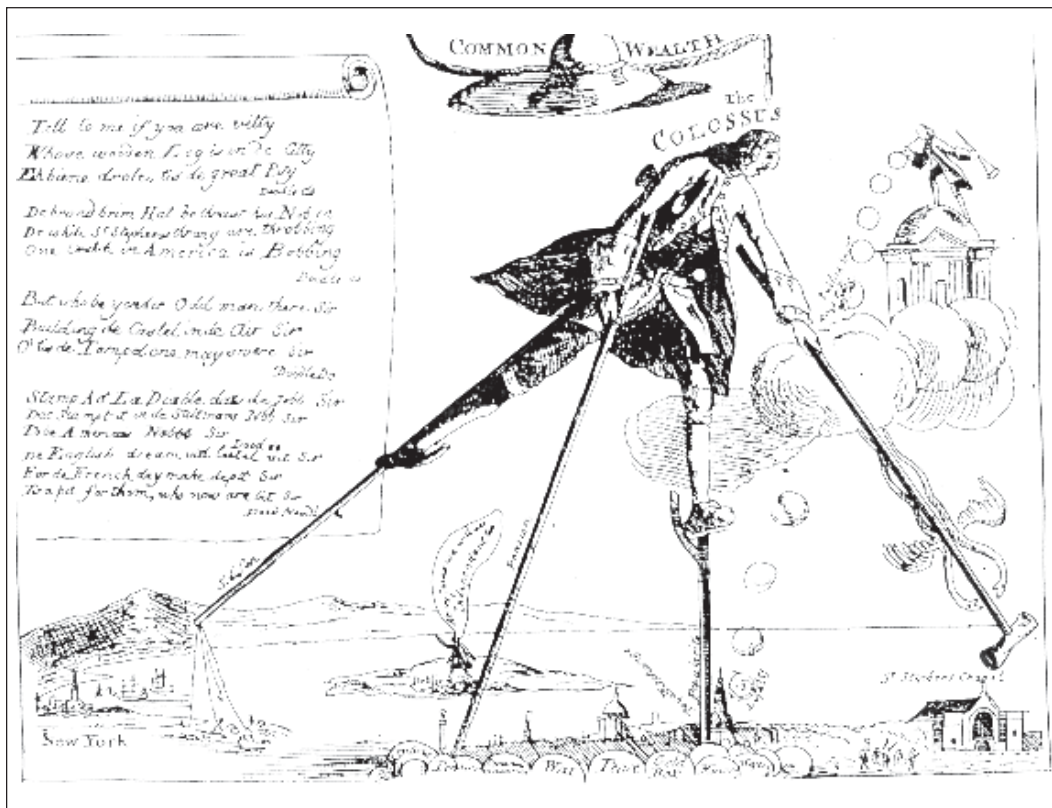
English Cartoons and Satirical Prints, 1320-1832,
British Museum, microfilm collection, plate 5397. © The British Museum

Poor old England endeavoring to reclaim his wicked American children

This cartoon depicts poor old England, represented by a man with a peg leg, a crutch, and a whip, trying to reclaim his wicked American children, one of whom insults his "father" by bending over.

The Colossus, 1776 (Pitt on Stilts)

William Pitt, a known friend of the colonies, began his ministry after Lord Rockingham's Ministry failed in July 1766 due to the controversial repeal of the Stamp Act. This political cartoon, decidedly unfavorable to Pitt, depicts him as a man spreading himself too thin, courting popularity with the masses and placing Parliament and Great Britain in a dangerous position. Some other cartoons openly questioned Pitt's loyalty to his king and country. Examine the cartoon and answer the questions that follow. Also consider this cartoon in light of the documents in lesson one, particularly those selected from the London merchants, Soame Jenyns and William Pitt.



English Cartoons and Satirical Prints, 1320-1832, in the British Museum, microfilm collection, plate 4162. © The British Museum

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What support does Pitt enjoy in Britain?
2. What is Pitt's relationship with America?
3. What is Pitt striking with his crutch?
4. Lord Temple, Pitt's brother-in-law, depicted in the upper right blowing bubbles labeled "Public Spirit" and "Loyalty," had warned Pitt that repealing the Stamp Act would make Great Britain's authority in America contemptible thereafter. Why might he and others feel that way?
5. Ireland is shown as a tiny figure beneath Pitt, crying for independence. What is the cartoonist suggesting about what may happen to Great Britain's other territories if Pitt has his way?
6. What does this cartoon indicate about Great Britain's policies toward the colonies?
7. Is the government of Great Britain united in its policies toward America? Explain.
8. Examine the cartoon. List the number of internal conflicts in Great Britain that are depicted.
9. How might these divisions within Great Britain encourage colonial resistance?
10. In what ways could Great Britain's internal disputes contribute to a confrontation such as the Boston Massacre?

ACTIVITY:

- The documents by Soame Jenyns and William Pitt in Lesson One (Document 5) encapsulate the Parliamentary debate over the Stamp Act. Examine the cartoon "The Colossus" and explain to what extent it provides a third perspective.

Magna Britannia: Her Colonies Reduced, 1766

This cartoon was originally done by Benjamin Franklin early in 1766 while he was in London. He printed the cartoon on cards which were distributed privately to British officials and influential citizens to argue for the repeal of the Stamp Act. It was reprinted in the *Political Register* along with another cartoon entitled "Its Companion" in December 1768 at the height of another political crisis over the Townshend Acts.



English Cartoons and Satirical Prints, 1320-1832, in the British Museum, microfilm collection, plate 4183. © The British Museum

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How is England depicted?
2. How are the colonies depicted?
3. What is the relationship between England and her colonies?
4. What do the shield (painted like a British flag) and spear symbolize? What is the significance of their lying on the ground?
5. What is the significance of the olive branch by Pennsylvania's hand?
6. What do the ships in the background represent? Are they ready to sail? Why or why not?
7. What is the cartoonist saying about the impact of colonial non- importation?
8. What is the overall message of this cartoon? Who is the target audience for this cartoon? Whose opinions is the cartoonist attempting to change?

ACTIVITIES:

- Organize students in groups of two or three and have them identify and list all the symbols or examples of symbolism that they observe in the cartoon. Have groups compare lists and discuss any differing interpretations that are revealed by this process.
- Why is Britain depicted as a female here as opposed to a male in the first cartoon? How is gender used in political discourse? What are the implications? Have students discuss how gender was used in these cartoons and whether gender would be used in the same way in modern political cartoons
- The Latin words "DATE OBOLUM BELLISARIO" is Franklin's message to the members of Parliament that for the sake of a little tax money, they were sowing the seeds of conflict or war. Have students assume that they are members of parliament who received Franklin's card with this cartoon and have them write a letter responding to it.
- Have students analyze Franklin's perspective on the colonial conflict. What was England's position or status prior to losing her colonies? How would their loss affect England's status or position in the world? How important are the colonies to England? How important is England to the colonies?

Its Companion, 1768
(Companion to "Magna Britannia")

The cartoonist utilizes stereotypical caricatures to convey various national, ethnic, racial and gender related attitudes in his message to the observer. From right to left the cartoon depicts a Spaniard and a Frenchman standing on the shield of Great Britain; Lord Bute, unpopular Prime Minister responsible for the Proclamation of 1763 and subsequently the leader of the Tory party which supported the various taxes against the colonies; a female Britannia representing Great Britain; a Dutchman carrying a merchant ship; an Indian woman representing America; and a Frenchman on the far left.



English Cartoons and Satirical Prints, 1320-1832, in the British Museum, microfilm collection, plate 4183. © The British Museum

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Which country is the focus of the cartoon? Why?
2. What is Britannia doing in the cartoon?
3. What is the American reaction?
4. How is the Frenchman responding to Britannia's threats on America?
5. What is the meaning of the Frenchman's words?
6. What is Lord Bute, pictured holding Britannia's cloak, doing?
7. What are the Frenchman and Spaniard on the right preparing to do?
8. What is the reaction of the Dutch, pictured holding a ship, to these events?
9. Why are America and Britain depicted as women while the other characters are male? What is the significance of depicting a female Britannia about to be violated by the French and Spanish?
10. What is the cartoonist depicting with the fallen shield of Great Britain?
11. Taking into consideration the answers to the previous questions, what is the cartoonist trying to say about the condition of Britannia in the world?
12. Is this cartoon designed to rally American resistance to British policies or to counsel Britain in the error of her ways and to affect changes in British policies?

A Warm Place—Hell (1768)

On June 28, 1768, the Massachusetts legislature voted not to rescind the Circular Letter, which called for all colonies to act in a concerted effort against British policies. This action was taken despite a British threat to dissolve the legislature if the letter was not rescinded. Seventeen members of the legislature voted in favor of rescinding the letter prompting this line engraving by Paul Revere condemning those dissenting votes. This cartoon was copied and distributed in a variety of forms throughout the Boston area.



Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. In the cartoon, who do the men represent?
2. What is happening to the men?
3. Although Great Britain is not depicted in the cartoon, what does the cartoonist believe about Great Britain?
4. Does this cartoon suggest that the colonists are united in their stand against British policies?
5. What does the cartoonist imply about people who do not support the colonial resistance against British policies?
6. Does the cartoon suggest that resisting British taxation of the colonies is no longer a political issue but a moral issue? Explain.
7. What does their punishment suggest about the toleration of differing political views in the colonies?
8. How could resistance to British policies be energized by the notion that the struggle with Britain was a moral struggle rather than a political one?

A Society of Patriotic Ladies, 1775

This cartoon was published in *Fleet Street* on March 25, 1775 in London and its target audience was the English aristocracy. It is a satire of the various groups of colonial women that took an active role in nonimportation movements, specifically focusing on an October 25, 1774 meeting of fifty-one women at Edenton, North Carolina who resolved not to drink tea. The artist uses various stereotypical images of women in an attempt to ridicule their participation in political issues.



(English Cartoons and Satirical Prints, 1320-1832, in the British Museum, microfilm collection, plate 5284. © The British Museum)

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Describe the characters depicted in the cartoon. What stereotypical images are used in the cartoon?
2. Considering the artist's intent and target audience, what other unfavorable images of colonial women are depicted in the cartoon?
3. How could this cartoon be interpreted differently if you were unaware of the artist's intent and target audience?
4. African Americans are almost never depicted in political cartoons of this period. Why does the artist include a slave woman in this cartoon?
5. In what ways is the artist's depiction of the meeting unrealistic for the place and period?
6. How might a similar meeting of men have been depicted?

ACTIVITIES:

- Have students draw their own cartoon concerning the role of women in the events leading to the American Revolution.
- Research the "Remember the Ladies" exchange of letters between Abigail and John Adams in March and April of 1776. What would have been their reaction to the cartoon? Explain.

THE BOSTON INCIDENT: A TRIAL SIMULATION

A. LESSON OBJECTIVES

1. Students will understand the historical implications of the trial both as a culminating and precipitating event in pre-Revolutionary America.
2. Students will comprehend the cause and effect relationship of historical events and their impact on the administration of justice.
3. Students will engage in the collection, synthesis, analysis and evaluation of evidence pertinent to shaping a historical perspective.
4. Students will recognize how varying interpretations can shape history.

B. SIMULATION OF THE BOSTON INCIDENT TRIAL

The purpose of this simulation is to provide students with a common experience that will enable them to formulate ideas about the nature of justice as well as familiarize them with the facts and issues involved in this special event. Students will be motivated by the controversial nature of the trial and by the contest of arguments, evidence and personalities inherent in a trial, even a simulated one. Prior to the trial, students will have examined the issues and events that defined British-Colonial relations between 1763 and 1770 and ultimately lead to violence in the streets of Boston in 1770. Students will be challenged to engage those events from multiple British and colonial perspectives.

This simulation motivates a student to read and to examine primary documents carefully in the performance of the student's role in the simulation. Students acting as prosecutors and defense attorneys must possess a clear knowledge of the long, intermediate and short term causes of the Boston Incident and interpret them from the perspective of those who they represent. Testimony provided for student-witnesses/defendants is based on eyewitness accounts of the incident and can be memorized or used as the basis for extemporaneous testimony. As attorneys and witnesses interact, students will gain unique perspectives on the historical process and its impact on the administration of justice.

"The Boston Incident: A Trial Simulation" is designed to run for one week, from the subpoenaing of witnesses and review of the primary documents through the building of strategies to the closing statements. Materials necessary to implement this simulation are included in the teaching unit. The overall context for the colonial dispute is provided in the Historical Background and the written and visual primary documents in Lessons 1 and 2. A historical summary of the Boston Incident, a list of court procedures, a list of witnesses and the witness testimonies are all provided in this lesson. The exchange of letters between Josiah Quincy and his son (Document 13) are included to illustrate the ambiguities of the Boston Incident, even among patriots. The conflicting observations of General Thomas Gage and Dr. Joseph Warren (Documents 14 and 15) are also included.

NOTE TO TEACHERS

Inform students that Captain Thomas Preston and eight of his soldiers were charged with murder and brought to trial in Boston in October 1770. The jury was selected from neighboring towns. John Adams, Josiah Quincy and Robert Auchmuty defended Preston. Adams, Quincy, and Sampson Butler Blowers volunteered to defend the accused soldiers.

Rather than conduct a trial of nine defendants, you may wish to bind over one or more of the accused for trial. Do not announce the results of the actual Boston Massacre Trial until after completion of the simulation. Preston was acquitted along with six of the eight soldiers (Hugh White, James Hartegan, William Warren, William M'Cauley, William Wemms, and John Carroll). Privates Montgomery and Killroy were found guilty of man-slaughter, branded on the hand and released.

C. SIMULATION INSTRUCTIONS

Day 1: Pass out the historical summary of the Boston Massacre. Have students take turns reading excerpts in class or assign the reading for homework. (Be aware that the language is unedited and the instructor may wish to censor some words or phrases in advance.) Depending on class size, select three or four prosecution attorneys and a like number of defense attorneys. Other students could volunteer for roles or roles could be assigned by the instructor.

Day 2: Have students read the correspondence between Josiah Quincy, Sr. and his son, Josiah, Jr. who, along with John Adams, has agreed to defend the British soldiers charged in the Boston Incident (Document 13). Use the letters to illustrate the emotional pitch in Boston and to prompt discussion of how the trial divided families. Ask students if they think it would be possible to conduct a fair trial considering the charged political atmosphere in Boston.

Following discussion, pass out witness cards assigning parts to students. Depending on class size, some students could play multiple roles or students with small roles could be assigned to write newspaper accounts or create political cartoons representing a variety of colonial and British viewpoints. A master list of witnesses and courtroom roles has been provided for the teacher's convenience. The attorneys must prepare a list of witnesses, subpoena them and review their testimonies. The instructor may want to provide copies of the witness testimony or provide class time for the attorneys to interview the witnesses. Since there are a large number of witnesses, attorneys should work in teams of three or four. The bailiff performs important functions like calling the court to order, swearing in witnesses and dismissing witnesses. Some students could also perform the role of guards if they are not going to be called as witnesses.

The prosecution must consider what legal arguments/evidence support their case and determine whether to charge the soldiers with first, second or third degree murder. The defense must consider what legal arguments/evidence support their case and determine whether reasonable doubt exists of their defendant's guilt.

For homework have attorneys for the defense and prosecution prepare an opening statement which outlines the logic they intend to use to prove guilt or innocence. Witnesses study their roles to be able to speak extemporaneously on the witness stand. The judge and bailiff must review courtroom procedures and news reporters must consider their newspaper's views on issues.

Days 3 and 4: Conduct the trial according to the procedures provided in this section. The teacher can serve as the judge, appoint a student as the judge or arrange for an actual judge or attorney to play the role of judge. The teacher can impanel a jury of students (five works well) from a study hall or perhaps from another class or arrange for parents to serve as jurors. Access to a courtroom would be an added highlight for the simulation but a normal classroom will suffice.

Day 5: Discuss the Trial. Was "justice" achieved? What was the basis of the jury's decision? Compare the results of the simulation in different classes. What mistakes did the attorneys make? What witnesses should have been called to testify that were not?

Conclude by reading General Thomas Gage's account of the incident from a letter written to one of King George's trusted ministers (Document 14) and Dr. Joseph Warren's speech commemorating the second anniversary of the "Massacre" (Document 15). Use the Gage and Warren documents to promote class discussion about how student experiences during the simulation corresponded to these opposing views. You may wish to use the questions following each of these two documents to help focus.

You may wish to use one of the following activities to further extend the lesson:

- Divide class into small groups and have students read the historical account of the "Massacre" and compare it with Dr. Warren's description. Have groups compile a list of significant differences between Warren's depiction and the actual event.
- Have students assume the roles of colonists who witnessed the Boston Massacre and have just attended the commemoration. In extemporaneous speeches indicate reactions to Dr. Warren's recounting of the incident. Some students could play the role of news reporters doing "man on the street" interviews.
- Examine the Paul Revere engraving of the Boston Massacre as propaganda (provided in the unit's "Dramatic Moment"). How effective was this illustration in building support for the Patriot cause? How does the engraving and Dr. Warren's description of the events of March 5, 1770 compare to other examples of propaganda. What characteristics do various types of propaganda have in common? What are the differences between various types of propaganda?

“The Boston Incident”

Historical Summary

In the summer of 1769, General Thomas Gage in charge of British troops in Boston observed: “[The soldiers] were there contrary to the wishes of the Council, Assembly, Magistrates and people,” and concluded that “. . . The soldiers were either to suffer ill usage and even assaults upon their persons till their lives were in danger, or by resisting and defending themselves, to run almost a certainty of suffering by the law.” Within a year, Gage’s words would prove prophetic.

All through the months that preceded March 5, 1770, a series of events unfolded that polarized attitudes on both sides of the Atlantic. The presence of troops in Boston exacerbated the problem by constantly reminding colonists in that port as to the nature of British policy. To make matters worse, the two regiments left in Boston, the fourteenth and the twenty-ninth, were considered to be a particularly hard lot. Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson referred to the troops of the twenty ninth as “. . . in general such bad fellows that it seems impossible to restrain them from firing upon an insult or provocation.”

The general climate in Boston prior to 1770 had been tense, manifesting itself in resistance to the hated Stamp Act and later the Townshend Acts. By 1770, embargoes, rallies, and rioting were viewed as successful means of protest. Bostonians themselves were divided between supporters of the crown and resisters to British policy. Needless to say importers of British goods became targets of those bent on enforcing embargoes. One such incident occurred on February 22, 1770, inflaming anti-British sentiments to such a degree that wide spread violence seemed inevitable. On that day, Ebenezer Richardson, an informer for the customs officers and one of the most hated men in Boston, attempted to remove a sign outside the shops of William Jackson and Theophilus Lillie. The sign indicated that these men were importing British goods. When Richardson attempted to destroy the sign he was bombarded by a crowd, composed mostly of school boys, with an array of missiles ranging from dirt balls to stones. Richardson withdrew to his house, yelling threats at the crowd as he retreated. The crowd followed him to his house where they became more menacing, hurling threats and insults and ultimately, stones. Richardson and a friend, George Wilmot, barricaded themselves in the house, along with Richardson’s wife. Shortly after Mrs. Richardson was struck by a stone, Richardson rested his musket barrel on a window ledge, aimed it in the direction of the crowd and fired. The spread of swan shot struck two young men. One of them, eleven year old Christopher Seider was struck by several slugs and died of his wounds later that evening. After being rescued from a near lynching by the mob, Ebenezer Richardson was formally arrested and charged with murder. Meanwhile the funeral of Christopher Seider, as orchestrated by Samuel Adams, took on near epic proportions. Emotions were raised to a fever pitch and suspicions concerning British intentions deepened. In such an atmosphere almost any action, however innocent, was subject to misinterpretation.

The situation intensified on Friday, March 2, 1770, when a rope maker named William Green insulted Patrick Walker, a soldier of the twenty ninth regiment by suggesting that Walker clean his outhouse. Insults turned to threats and Walker left swearing that he would be back with reinforcements. Within a short time Walker returned with forty soldiers. A fight ensued in which the soldiers, eventually out-numbered, were forced to retreat, promising that the incident would not go unpunished. During the days that followed, rumors circulated throughout Boston that the soldiers planned on taking revenge. For their part, the troops were equally on edge as taunting of sentries and minor clashes with the citizenry increased in frequency and intensity.

On a cold, clear night, March 5, 1770 tensions reached the breaking point. Groups of Bostonians wandered the streets armed with clubs. Parties of soldiers were likewise prepared for confrontation. At a sentry box at the corner of King Street and Royal Exchange Lane near the Custom House where official records were kept, Private Hugh White was at his post. A small group of boys gathered to indulge in the increasingly common pastime of soldier-baiting. One boy in particular, Edward Garrick, a wig maker's apprentice was especially insulting declaring that a British officer, Captain-Lieutenant John Goldfinch, had refused to pay for a wig and was a stingy, untrustworthy individual. Private White challenged Garrick to come closer and repeat the accusation. When Garrick accepted the dare, Private White struck him with his gun butt. As Garrick ran off, crying in pain, another sentry, a sergeant ran after him, bayonet bared. Attempting to avoid further injury Garrick jumped into the doorway of a shop, narrowly avoiding the sergeant's bayonet. Private White then joined in as the two soldiers struck the boy again. Within minutes the disturbance attracted the attention of others. From there the situation rapidly escalated. An alarm bell began to toll, the shout of "fire" was heard in the darkness and a small group of boys swelled the size of an angry mob.

Private White stood on the steps of the Custom House, loaded his musket and aimed it in the general direction of the crowd. As White struggled to hold his ground he was approached by several colonists alternately warning or advising him of his circumstances. Henry Knox, a bookseller, warned the private that if he fired the crowd would likely kill him. Jonathan W. Austin, a law student, unsuccessfully urged the crowd to go home. Edward Langford, the town watchman, tried to convince White that he was confronted by mostly boys who could do him no harm. With ten inches of snow on the ground the streets of Boston were a schoolboy's arsenal. Snowballs began to fly occasionally hitting Private White. Soon ice chunks joined the barrage. White, in danger of totally losing his composure, yelled out for reinforcements.

British officers found themselves in an impossible situation. On the one hand a British soldier was in danger and calling for help, on the other hand, any attempts to rescue Private White could intensify the situation. To complicate matters further, they had to appease an angry citizenry while at the same time restrain their troops from taking unauthorized action. One soldier became so angry that he ran out of the barrack gate, aimed his musket at a nearby group of Bostonians and would have fired had he not been knocked down and disarmed

by two British officers. In another instance, Captain John Goldfinch rescued a group of soldiers at Cornhill Street and led them away from a crowd bent on violence.

Leaders of the Sons of Liberty were anxious to defuse the situation as well. Richard Palmes, a well known non-importer of British goods, stood by British officers, braved snowballs and urged a crowd to go home. Andrew Cazneau, a known patriot, protected a Tory merchant's home pleading with colonists not to break the windows. Dr. Thomas Young, an outspoken critic of British policy, tried to disband angry Bostonians headed toward the Custom House. The exhortations of patriot leaders had little or no affect on the proceedings of March 5th. While all of these events were unfolding, Private White's circumstances were rapidly deteriorating. The crowd continued to grow and become more hostile. Snowballs, ice chunks and occasional roof tiles were being hurled at him. He continued to call for help until finally his plea was answered.

Upon learning of Private White's dilemma, Captain Thomas Preston, Officer of the Day, was left with few options. A reasoned and composed soldier, with a reputation for bravery, Captain Preston carefully deliberated a course of action. He was well aware that he could not call out the guard without orders from a civil authority yet Private White's circumstances demanded immediate intervention. Aware that a show of force might further provoke the citizenry, Captain Preston selected a squad of seven men: Corporal William Wemms, Privates John Carroll, Matthew Killroy, William Warren, Hugh Montgomery, James Hartegan and William McCauley. Captain Preston assumed command. The orders were to go to the assistance of Private White. Muskets were not to be loaded.

The squad encountered their first resistance on the way to the Custom House. Nathaniel Fosdick, a Bostonian observing the scene from the street, was pushed by Corporal Wemms and told to get out of the way. When Fosdick refused, the column marched around him to the left and right. Captain Preston was halted once more by Henry Knox who had been trying to keep the peace. He ran up to Preston shouting, "For God's sake, take care of your men. If they fire, they die." Preston answered, "I am sensible of it." He then marched his men to the sentry box where he ordered them to load their muskets.

As soon as the squad reached Private White, Captain Preston ordered him to fall in, then attempted to march the squad through the crowd and back to the guard house. They were unable to penetrate the growing mass of people who were either unwilling or unable to move. The mood of the crowd turned more hostile. Shouts of "Kill the bloody backs," and taunts to fire emanated from nameless faces in the darkness. Preston reacted by forming the squad into an arc near the corner of the Custom House. The crowd pressed hard against the soldiers, some making contact with their bayonet points. All the while, bells were ringing, and people were shouting as snowballs and other projectiles flew through the darkness.

Even after all of this the voices of reason tried to prevail. Private White, recog-

nizing a woman in the crowd, pushed her aside pleading “Go home or you’ll be killed.” Captain Preston stood in front of his squad in order to prevent anyone of them from firing, all the while telling the crowd to go home. Justice of the Peace Murray appeared on the scene in order to read the Riot Act but was driven away by snowballs. In the end it was not the voice of reason that prevailed.

Many in the crowd of now three hundred to four hundred strong dared the soldiers to fire. Loud voices from the mob demanded “Why do you not fire? Fire and be damned . . . You dare not fire!” Some, bolder than others, struck at the soldiers bayonets with clubs. Nathaniel Fosdick was stuck by a bayonet hard enough to draw blood as he threatened a soldier with a stick.

Amidst the confusion separate conversations transpired between Captain Preston and patriot leaders concerned for the safety of the citizenry. Theodore Bliss managed to come close enough to Preston to ask, “Are your men loaded?” Preston responded that they were. Bliss then asked pointedly, “Are they loaded with ball? . . . Are they going to fire?” Preston reassured, “They cannot fire without my orders.” At that point Richard Palmes joined the conversation saying to Preston, “Sir, I hope you don’t intend the soldiers shall fire on the inhabitants.” Preston replied “By no means, by no means . . . My giving the word ‘fire’ under those circumstances would prove me no officer.”

No sooner had Preston finished his reassurances than a club thrown from the crowd struck Private Montgomery with such force that it knocked him down. Shaken and angry, Montgomery sprang to his feet, cocked his musket and yelled “Damn you, fire.” He then discharged his piece. Richard Palmes, standing nearby swung a club first at Montgomery, then at Preston before he was forced to retreat at bayonet point. The crowd moved back at the sound of the shot leaving a space between it and the soldiers. Within seconds Private Killroy discharged his weapon into the crowd striking Sam Gray in the head and killing him instantly. Up to this point Captain Preston had yet to give orders to fire. A third musket fired, probably double loaded, striking Crispus Attucks twice in the chest, fatally wounding him. Some in the crowd surged forward then more shots were fired and the casualties grew. One bullet passed through a sailor who was then struck again in the shoulder. Robert Patterson was hit on his right wrist. Patrick Carr was severely wounded as he tried to run away when a bullet injured his right hip and tore away part of the spine. Samuel Maverick, a seventeen year old, was killed when a ricocheting bullet caught him in the chest. Edward Payne, observing from his doorway, was wounded in the right arm. In all, three men died instantly, two others succumbed to their wounds.

Although many in the crowd had at first thought that the soldiers were firing blanks, the reality of what had transpired quickly set in. Even so a number went back in order to retrieve the bodies of the fallen. Upon seeing this, the soldiers, believing that they were under attack, prepared to fire again. At this point Preston interceded, physically pushing the musket barrels upward shouting, “Stop firing! Do not fire!” As Captain Preston reasserted his authority, Benjamin Burdick approached the squad, stared at its members then said, “I want to

see some faces that I may swear to another day." Preston quietly replied, "Perhaps, sir, you may." With that Captain Preston marched the troops back to the Main Guard then ordered the entire guard out in order to deal with rioters.

Meanwhile a group of Bostonians went to Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson urging him to go out and speak with soldiers and citizens alike. Hutchinson responded and, after some unnerving encounters in the streets managed to find Captain Preston who was commanding troops near Pierce's Alley. "How came you to fire without order from a civil magistrate?" Hutchinson asked angrily. "I was obliged to save my sentry," Preston answered.

Feeling that it was inappropriate to continue the dispute in public, the Lieutenant Governor and his party withdrew to the Town House, where, from the balcony, Hutchinson pleaded successfully for the main body of the crowd to go home. At two o'clock on the morning of March 6th, Captain Thomas Preston was arrested. The next morning Preston's squad was imprisoned. The incident commonly referred to as the "Boston Massacre" had ended. It seemed the inevitable consequence of British policies toward the colonies.

Court Procedures

- Step 1. The bailiff calls the court to order.
- Step 2. The prosecution and the defense give their opening statements.
- Step 3. The judge asks for the prosecution to call its first witness.
- Step 4. The witness is sworn in by the bailiff.
- Step 5. The witness is questioned by the prosecution.
- Step 6. The witness may be cross examined by the defense.
- Steps 4, 5 and 6 are repeated for each prosecution witness.
- Step 7. The prosecution rests its case.
- Step 8. The judge asks for the defense to call its first witness.
- Step 9. The witness is sworn in by the bailiff.
- Step 10. The witness is questioned by the defense.
- Step 11. The witness may be cross examined by the prosecution.
- Steps 9, 10 and 11 are repeated for each defense witness.
- Step 12. The defense rests its case.
- Step 13. The prosecution and the defense present their closing arguments.
- Step 14. The judge charges the jury and sends them into deliberation.
- Step 15. The jury determines the verdict voting by secret ballot and is recalled.
- Step 16. The judge asks the foreperson of the jury for the written verdict.
- Step 17. The judge silently reads verdict then bailiff returns it to foreperson.
- Step 18. The defendants rise and the foreperson reads the verdict to the court.
- Step 19. The defendants are either dismissed or returned to jail for sentencing.
- Step 20. The judge thanks the jury for its deliberation and dismisses them.

Witnesses

Patrick Walker
Edward Gerrish (Garrick)
Private Hugh White
Daniel Calef
Jane Whitehouse
William Green
Nathaniel Fosdick
Private James Hartegan
James Murray
Benjamin Burdick
Private William Warren
Joseph Hinkley
Benjamin Davis
Theodore Bliss
Captain Thomas Preston
Richard Palmes
Private Montgomery
Corporal William Wemms
Christopher Monk
Robert Patterson
Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson
Private Killroy
John Cole
Edward Langford
Private John Carroll (Carrol)
Edward Payne
Captain James Gifford
Robert Goddard
Diman Morton

Trial Testimony

PATRICK WALKER

I am a British soldier with the rank of private attached to the 29th regiment. On March 2 around 2 P.M. I was walking past a group of rope makers. Suddenly one of them, a William Green, yelled out to me asking if I wanted work. When I said that I did, he insulted me saying that I should clean his outhouse. The other rope makers swore at me. I had done nothing to make them angry. I went back to the barracks and rounded up about 40 soldiers. We went back to teach them a lesson. We had no guns nor bayonets, only clubs. There was a big fight. After a while we were out numbered so we ran away. British soldiers should not have to put up with that kind of treatment. It is for this reason I believe that the events of March 5th were an act of revenge on the part of certain colonists who wished to provoke British soldiers.

EDWARD GERRISH (Garrick)

I am a wig maker's apprentice. On the evening of March 5th I saw a British soldier at his sentry post beside the Custom House near the corner of King Street and Royal Exchange Lane. I decided to give him a good-natured teasing but when I did, he struck me in the face with the butt of his musket. I ran, but another soldier, a sergeant, ran after me and would have stabbed me with his bayonet if I had not ducked. Then Private White caught up with me and together they beat me up. I cried for help and two of my friends came. They began to yell and within fifteen minutes, other citizens arrived. Shortly after that a crowd of maybe 50 people gathered and began to yell at him and throw snowballs at him. He pointed his musket at them but did not shoot. Soon more and more citizens came. They were very angry and began to throw snowballs, ice chunks and pieces of tile at him. After about 30 minutes or so, a squad of soldiers marched through the crowd. Shortly after that shots rang out and I ran away. I later learned that some citizens had been killed.

PRIVATE HUGH WHITE

I am a private of the 29th Regiment in His Majesty's service. On the night of March 5th, 1770, I was a sentry on duty at the corner of King Street and Royal Exchange Lane near the Custom House. The Officer of the Day was Captain Thomas Preston who I knew to be a sober, honest man and a good officer. My duty was to protect the Common House from vandalism which had occurred regularly over the past weeks.

Just after dark several wig maker's apprentices began to insult me and my fellow soldiers. One, an Edward Gerrish, was especially insulting. I decided to teach him a lesson so I told him to step closer and repeat his insult. When he did, I struck him in the face with the butt of my musket. He squealed and ran away. Another soldier, a sergeant, ran after him, caught him and began to rough him up a bit. I went to the scene as well. I thought that if we taught him a lesson, he would leave us alone. Instead, he yelled and others came. I ran back to my post to protect the Custom House, but a crowd gathered and began to threaten me and throw ice and snow. I warned them that I would shoot, but they only yelled more. After half an hour, Captain Preston came with a squad to rescue me. They could hardly get through the crowd and when they did, the crowd closed around them and would not let us pass. They were screaming and throwing snow, ice and bricks. Captain Preston ordered them to go home but they jeered at him. Some of the crowd were so close that they pressed against our bayonets. Suddenly I saw Private Montgomery go down, get back up and fire into the crowd. I assumed that in the confusion and noise that the order to fire had been given so I fired into the crowd. After a moment the crowd fell back. I was very nervous when I saw some of them coming back. To my relief, they were only coming back to retrieve bodies. Captain Preston then ordered us back to the barracks.

DANIEL CALEF

I was there when the shooting occurred. I was about thirty feet away when I heard the officer who I recognized to be Captain Preston give the orders to fire twice. I looked him in the face when he gave the word and saw his mouth move. It was moonlight and I could see well enough. I ran after I heard the word fire.

JANE WHITEHOUSE

I went to the Custom House after the crowd had gathered. They were yelling at the soldiers and the soldiers were pointing their muskets at the crowd. Suddenly Private White recognized me and shouted to me, "Go home or you will be killed!" but I stayed on. I saw a man in the crowd knock down a soldier with a chunk of wood. Then I saw a man dressed in dark colored clothing, not an officer, tell one of the soldiers to fire and slapped him on the shoulder. The soldier fired immediately. I am sure that the Captain gave no orders to fire.

WILLIAM GREEN

I am a rope maker. On Friday, March 2nd, I was busy with my fellow workers, about ten of us, when a British soldier walked by. I asked him if he wanted a job. He answered that he did so I offered him one and he got very angry. (The job that I offered was to clean my outhouse.) He said that he'd be back so I got together some of the workers and waited. Sure enough, after about an hour, he came back with about 40 soldiers. There were armed with clubs so we grabbed some clubs of our own. There was a big fight and when it was done, the soldiers ran away but they swore that they'd get even with us.

I later learned of the events of March 5th. I guess they finally got even.

NATHANIEL FOSDICK

I heard bells ringing and thinking there was a fire, I followed the sound of the alarm. I saw no fire, only a crowd. I was standing in the middle of the street watching the riots from a distance. I was pushed by a British soldier when I refused to move out of the way. I stood my ground. I admit that I am hot tempered when it comes to British soldiers. Later at the Custom House I tried to strike down a soldier's bayonet with a stick. The soldier struck me in the chest and arm hard enough to draw blood. A stick is not match for bayonets. I recognized the officer in charge by his wig and drawn sword. I do not believe that he gave the order to fire but rather one of the soldiers. First one shot went off, then several others about two minutes later.

PRIVATE JAMES HARTEGAN

Before we marched to the Custom House, I remember Captain Preston ordering us not to load our muskets unless there was a clear threat and, that under no circumstances, were we to fire without his orders. When the squad reached the Custom House, we were ordered to load our weapons. The crowd jeered and threw stones and ice at us. I heard the

word “fire” and amid the confusion assumed that the command came from Captain Preston. I then fired into the crowd. The crowd fell back after a moment as if they were stunned by what was happening. After a few minutes, some of them came back. Thinking that they were going to attack, we raised our weapons but Captain Preston ordered us to shoulder arms and march back to the barracks about six blocks away.

JAMES MURRAY

I am the Justice of the Peace. I appeared on the scene as Captain Preston was urging the crowd to go home. I tried to read the crowd the Riot Act which warned the crowd that they could be arrested if they did not go home. I was not able to finish reading because the crowd was shouting at me and throwing snowballs. I had to step aside and finally left the scene. This was before the shots were fired. The crowd was angry and unruly. Nothing good could come of such a situation.

BENJAMIN BURDICK

I am a landlord. Many rope makers stay at my boarding house. Earlier in the week of March 2nd, I had to chase a soldier away from my boarding house with a stick. On March 5th, in the evening around nine o'clock, I was present when shots were fired by British soldiers into a crowd of Bostonians. I asked one of the soldiers if he was going to fire and he said, “yes”, then threatened me with his bayonet. I had a broad sword with me and would have killed the man had he threatened me again.

After the shooting, I went up to Captain Preston and his squad to get a better look at their faces. I told Preston that I wanted a closer look at each soldier so that I could testify against them later. Preston said, “Perhaps, sir, you may”. The soldiers then left.

PRIVATE WILLIAM WARREN

I swear I heard Captain Preston give the order to fire. The crowd was threatening us. I could hear some of them crying, “Kill the Bloody Backs”. I admit that I was afraid and felt that I had to fire but I would not have fired without hearing orders. All in all, it was a dark, noisy and confusing time. It is now difficult to recall the sequence of events that led to the shooting.

JOSEPH HINKLEY

I wanted to leave and go home when a drunken man named Sam Gray said, “Do not run. They dare not shoot.” I stayed and when the shooting started I thought the soldiers were firing blanks. It was dark and there was much confusion. I didn't realize that anyone had been killed until after the shooting was over. I then saw some of the citizens going back to pick up bodies. The soldiers at first aimed their muskets, but then shouldered their weapons and marched back toward their barracks.

BENJAMIN DAVIS

I heard a great commotion and someone yelling, "Fire!" so I hurried toward the noise which was in the direction of the Custom House. But there was no fire. There was a crowd. Then I saw a friend of mine, Sam Gray. He was equipped for fire fighting! When I told him it was a soldier fighting, he said that he was glad because he wanted to bash in a few heads. I suppose he was referring to the soldiers since Sam has always been outspoken about British soldiers being in Boston.

THEODORE BLISS

I worked my way through the crowd to Captain Preston when the soldiers were pressed against the wall of the Custom House by the crowd. I asked Captain Preston if the soldiers' muskets were loaded. Preston said that they were loaded. I then asked Preston if his men were going to fire. Preston answered that the soldiers could not fire without his orders. I was somewhat relieved although the crowd was growing more agitated by the moment. Minutes later, British soldiers fired into the crowd and I retreated as quickly as I could.

CAPTAIN THOMAS PRESTON

I was Officer of the Day on March 5th. When word got to me that Private Hugh White was surrounded by an angry crowd in front of the Custom House, I decided to form a squad of seven men to go and rescue him. The men were ordered not to shoot unless I so ordered them. When we started out for the Custom House, we were at fixed bayonets but the muskets were not loaded. When the squad reached the Custom House, I ordered Private White to fall in and go back to the barracks. The crowd would not allow the Squad through. I then ordered my men to load their muskets. I told several people in the crowd that I would not order the troops to fire. I even put myself in front of the Squad to prevent the soldiers from firing. When shots were fired, I tried to stop further shooting but I could not be heard amid all the noise. Finally when the colonists came back to pick up the dead and wounded, I was able to restore order and lead my troops back to the barracks.

My Squad consisted of Corporal William Wemms, Private John Carroll, Matthew Killroy, William Warren, Hugh Montgomery, James Hartegan and William McCauley.

RICHARD PALMES

I heard of a rumpus on King Street and went there. I saw a large crowd in front of a group of soldiers by the Custom House. I made my way through the crowd. I, with Theodore Bliss, stood next to Captain Preston and asked if he intended to fire on the crowd. Preston answered, "By no means, by no means!" Shortly after that I saw Private Montgomery getting up off the ground, swore and said, "Fire". Montgomery fired and I hit his arm with a stick. I then tried to hit Captain Preston in the head in order to prevent him from giving further orders to fire, but I slipped and only struck his arm. Suddenly more muskets went off and I

scrambled off to the side of the soldiers and to safety. As I spoke with Captain Preston before the shooting, I felt that I was in no danger of being shot. After the first shot, then I heard someone yell, "Fire". Maybe it was the Captain.

PRIVATE MONTGOMERY

I was ordered by Captain Preston to fall into a squad, march to the Custom House and save Private White. We kept our muskets unloaded until we were almost to the Custom House and then the whole squad loaded. After we got to Private White, the crowd would not let us leave. They were yelling and throwing things at us. I was angry and frightened. Suddenly a heavy club struck me in the shoulder and knocked me down. I got up and fired into the crowd missing everyone. At that point a man struck me on the arm with a club. A moment later, Private Killroy fired into the crowd and a man went down. I reloaded as I heard other shots being fired. If I had not fired, the crowd might have killed us. The crowd retreated after a moment but some came back to retrieve bodies. We then marched back into the barracks.

CORPORAL WILLIAM WEMMS

I knew that Private White was in trouble down near the Custom House and was anxious to go to his aid. I hoped that show of force would disperse the mob. I was given orders to fix bayonets by Captain Preston but not the load my weapon unless necessary. On the way to the Custom House, I pushed a man who was in the way but did not otherwise harm him. After struggling through the crowd in order to rescue Private White, I was pelted with ice, snow and sticks. My bayonet was struck by men with clubs but I held my fire until I heard Captain Preston yell, "Fire". When I heard two shots, I opened fire as well. I am a good soldier. I fired only because I was obeying orders.

CHRISTOPHER MONK

I was in the middle of the crowd of 300-400 people when two shots were fired. Then after a brief pause, several more were fired. I thought that I had been hit but discovered that it was only fright. I did not believe that the soldiers would fire and I heard no one give the order to fire. The crowd noise was very loud. From where I stood, I could barely see the soldiers, or for that matter, even move. I recall the moon being out and a few torches flickering. It was a picture of confusion.

ROBERT PATTERSON

No one in the crowd expected the soldiers to fire. The crowd was teasing them and throwing snowballs. There was, I believe, no reason to shoot. Then Captain Preston must have given the word to fire because the soldiers started to shoot and I was hit in the wrist. Over the past few months, many citizens teased soldiers and even fought with them with their fists or clubs, but never did we believe that British soldiers would fire on British subjects.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON

I have the right to call out British troops if I believe that government property is being threatened. I did not call out the soldiers on the evening of March 5th. I asked Captain Preston why he called out the guard without my permission. Preston told me that he was trying to save his sentry, Private White. Later that evening I pleaded with the crowd to go home, which they did after much persuasion and a promise that justice would be done. I knew the 29th Regiment to be an especially tough lot and feared the worst if they were pushed too far.

PRIVATE KILLROY

I was standing next to Private Montgomery in front of the Custom House when he was struck by a club thrown from the crowd. The next thing that I heard was the word “fire” and then a shot rang out. I assumed that the order had been given to fire so I aimed and fired. There was so much noise and confusion and it was so dark that I couldn’t see whether or not I hit anything. I then reloaded as other members of the squad fired. The crowd looked like they were going to attack again, but they were coming to pick up bodies. Captain Preston then ordered us to march back to the barracks.

JOHN COLE

I saw the Captain clearly. I was within four feet of him. He became angry with the crowd, swore at them, then ordered his men to fire. He was wearing a red coat with a rose on his shoulder. He wore no surtout. I saw people in the crowd moving their arms, but no sticks.

EDWARD LANGFORD

I was near the front of the crowd near the soldiers. After the first shot didn’t hit anyone, I saw a soldier, Private Killroy I believe, raise his weapon and aim it in my direction. I warned Killroy not to shoot but Killroy fired anyway. The bullet struck the man next to me in the head. That man’s name was Sam Gray. I didn’t expect the soldier to shoot since I had heard no order from Captain Preston to fire. I then heard a very loud explosion and saw a black man fall. I learned that the man’s name was Crispus Attucks. After that I ran with the rest of the crowd. I can’t believe that this terrible event could happen in a city like Boston!

PRIVATE JOHN CARROLL

By the time we got to Pvt. White, the crowd was very angry. They would not let us pass. Captain Preston told them to go home but they continued to curse at us and throw ice, snow and clubs. I heard the word “fire” and assumed that it came from Captain Preston so I fired as well. I believe that the mob would have killed us if we had not fired. Even Just of the Peace Murray, who had arrived earlier in the evening, was not allowed to read the Riot Act because the crowd pelted him with snowballs and drove him away.

EDWARD PAYNE

I was standing in my doorway across from the Custom House watching the wild scene. I heard some of the crowd daring the soldiers to shoot and I saw a muzzle flash when the first shot was fired. The crowd stepped back. I could not hear Captain Preston but I knew that the muskets did not all go off at once. While watching from the doorway, a musket ball struck me in the right arm. It is a careless thing when orders are given to fire into a crowd while all around innocent bystanders watch. I meant no harm to the soldiers but was wounded anyway.

CAPTAIN JAMES GIFFORD

I am a British officer currently posted in Boston and very aware of military procedures. From what I understand, the soldiers at the Custom House were at fixed bayonets. I have never known an officer to give the order to fire from charged bayonets. Besides, if the soldiers had been ordered to fire, they would all have fired at once. A soldier at charged bayonet stands with his rifle directed straight out from the height of his hip. This is not a firing position.

ROBERT GODDARD

The soldiers came up to the sentry and their officer told them to form a half moon in front of the sentry box. He then told the boys to go home or they might be shot. The boys stayed and threw snowballs at the soldiers. The Captain was behind the soldiers. One gun went off. Then the Captain was struck by one of the crowd. The Captain cursed and gave the order to fire. The soldiers all fired one after another. I was so near the officer when he gave the word to fire that I could have touched him. His face was towards me. He never moved from behind his men.

DIMAN MORTON

Between nine and ten o'clock I heard the cry of fire so I left my house and headed toward the noise coming from King Street. When I arrived I saw a crowd, mostly boys, throwing snowballs at a group of seven or eight soldiers. I recognized Captain Preston as we had met before. He was standing in front of the soldiers so that the guns reached beyond him. The Captain was not wearing a red uniform but had a Surtout on. I was standing on the opposite corner of Exchange Lane when I heard the Captain give the order for the soldiers to load their guns.

Wheeler and Becker, *Discovering the American Past - A Look at the Evidence. Vol. 1 to 1877*, Second Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1990), pp. 73-85.

Page Smith, *A New Age Now Begins, Vol. 1* (New York: McGraw-Hill Company), pp. 319-363.

Letters of Josiah Quincy and Josiah Quincy, Jr.

The exchange of letters below between Josiah Quincy, a friend of Sam Adams and a leading patriot activist, and his son Josiah Quincy, Jr., a respected Boston lawyer and patriot, illustrates both the emotion and the conflicting ideals that were generated by the colonial dispute and the Boston Massacre, in particular.

Braintree, March 22, 1770.

My Dear Son,

I am under great affliction at hearing the bitterest reproaches uttered against you, for having become an advocate for those criminals who are charged with the murder of their fellow-citizens. Good God! Is it possible? I will not believe it.

Just before I returned home from Boston, I knew, indeed, that on the day those criminals were committed to prison, a sergeant had inquired for you at your brother's house; but I had no apprehension that it was possible an application would be made to you to undertake their defense. Since then I have been told that you have actually engaged for Captain Preston; and I have heard the severest reflections made upon the occasion, by men who had just before manifested the highest esteem for you, as one destined to be a savior of your country.

I must own to you, it had filled the bosom of your aged and infirm parent with anxiety and distress, lest it should not only prove true, but destructive of your reputation and interest; and I repeat, I will not believe it, unless it be confirmed by your own mouth, or under your hand.

Your anxious and distressed parent,
Josiah Quincy

Boston, March 26, 1770

Honored Sir,

I have little leisure, and less inclination, either to know or to take notice of those ignorant slanderers who have dared to utter their 'bitter reproaches' in your hearing against me, for having become an advocate for criminals charged with murder. But the sting of reproach, when envenomed only by envy and falsehood, will never prove mortal. Before pouring their reproaches into the ear of the aged and infirm, if they had been friends, they would have surely spared a little reflection on the nature of an attorney's oath and duty;--some trifling scrutiny into the business and discharge of his office, and some small portion of patience in viewing my past and future conduct.

Let such be told, Sir, that these criminals, charged with murder, are not yet legally proved guilty, and therefore, however criminal, are entitled, by the laws of God and man, to all legal counsel and aid; that my duty as a man obliged me to undertake; that my duty as a lawyer strengthened the obligation; that from abundant caution, I at first declined being engaged; that after the best advice, and most mature deliberation had determined my judgment, I waited on Captain Preston, and told him that I would afford him my assistance; but, prior to this, in presence of two of his friends, I made the most explicit declaration to him of my real opinion on the contests (as I expressed it to him) of the times, and that my heart and hand were indissolubly attached to the cause of my country; and finally that I refused all engagement; until advised and urged to undertake it, by an Adams, a Hancock, a Molineux, a Cushing, a Henshaw, a Pemberton, a Warren, a Cooper, and a Phillips. This and much more might be told with great truth; and I dare affirm that you and this whole people will one day REJOICE that I became an advocate for the aforesaid 'criminals' charged with the murder of our fellow citizens.

I never harbored the expectation, nor any great desire, that all men should speak well of me. To inquire my duty, and to do it, is my aim. Being mortal, I am subject to error; and, conscious of this, I wish to be diffident. Being a rational creature, I judge for myself, according to the light afforded me. When a plan of conduct is formed with an honest deliberation, neither murmuring, slander, nor reproaches move. For my single self, I consider, judge, and with reason hope to be immutable.

There are honest men in all sects, --I wish their approbation;--there are wicked bigots in all parties, - I abhor them.

I am, truly and affectionately,

Your son,
Josiah Quincy, Jr.

Louis B. Wright, *The American Heritage History of the Thirteen Colonies* (New York: American Heritage, 1967), pp. 331-32.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What does the letter from Josiah Quincy, Sr. reveal about the prevailing attitude towards the British soldiers in Boston?
2. According to the letter from Josiah Quincy, Sr., how have popular attitudes changed towards his son?
3. In the response by Josiah Quincy, Jr., how does he defend his decision to represent Captain Preston in the trial?
4. According to Josiah Quincy, Jr., what is his duty?

ACTIVITIES

- Place students in the role of Josiah Quincy, Jr. As individuals or small groups, have them make one list of the reasons that they should not take this case and another list of the reasons that they should take the case. Examining these lists, the students write a paragraph explaining their decision about whether to defend Captain Preston.
- Prepare a letter to the editor of a Boston newspaper responding to one of the following accusations:

The Boston crowd and not the soldiers were responsible for the violence!
True American patriots would not defend murderers of Americans!

- What arguments would you use to either support or reject the accusation that the crowd was culpable for the Boston Massacre? That John Adams and Josiah Quincy were defending murderers?

Correspondence of General Thomas Gage

Thomas Gage commanded the British military forces in Boston at the time of the Boston Massacre. He would later play a crucial role in the outbreak of the American Revolution as British commander during the battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill. In the following letter addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough, a leading minister to King George III, he recounts the factors that precipitated the massacre and the events of the March 5, 1770. He indicts colonial leaders for irresponsibly inciting the mob while vividly describing the untenable situation of the British troops. Gage's account may be familiar since many current textbooks have adapted his general perspective on the events.

April 10, 1770

Your Lordship will have received by the way of Boston much earlier intelligence than it has been in my power to transmit, of an unhappy quarrel between the people of that town and the soldiers, in which several of the former were killed and wounded. But I take the first opportunity to send Your Lordship the best account I have been able to procure of this unfortunate accident, as well as to represent the critical situation of the troops, and the hatred of the people towards them.

The occasion which brought the regiments to Boston rendered them obnoxious to the people, and they may have increased the odium themselves, as the disorders of that place have mostly sprung from disputes with Great Britain. The officers and soldiers are Britons, and the people found no advocates amongst them. It was natural for them, without examining into the merits of a political dispute, to take the part of their country; which probably they have often done with more zeal than discretion, considering the circumstances of the place they were in; for in matters of dispute with the mother country, or relative thereto, government is at end in Boston, and in the hands of the people, who have only to assemble to execute any designs. No person dares to oppose them, or call them to account; the whole authority of government, the governor excepted, and magistracy supporting them. The people, prejudiced against the troops, laid every snare to entrap and distress them, and frequent complaints have been made that the soldiers were daily insulted, and the people encouraged to insult them even by magistrates; that no satisfaction could be obtained, by the soldier, if found in fault, punished with the rigor of the law. Such proceedings could not fail to irritate, but the troops were restrained by their discipline; and though accidental quarrels happened, matters were prevented going to extremities.

In my letter to Your Lordship . . . I mentioned a misunderstanding between the inhabitants and soldiers in this town, soon after which advice was transmitted from Boston that the people there had quarreled with

the troops, and lay in wait for them in the streets to knock them down; insomuch that it was unsafe for officers or soldiers to appear in the streets after dark. A particular quarrel happened at a rope walk with a few soldiers of the 29th Regiment; the provocation was given by the rope makers, though it may be imagined in the course of it that there were faults on both sides. This quarrel, it is supposed, excited the people to concert a general rising on the night of March 5. They began by falling upon a few soldiers in a lane, contiguous to a barrack of the 29th Regiment, which brought some officers of the said regiment out of their quarters; who found some of their men greatly hurt, but carried all the soldiers to their barrack. The mob followed, menacing and brandishing their clubs over the officers' heads, to the barrack door, the officers endeavoring to pacify them, and desiring them to retire. Part of the mob broke into a meeting house and rang the fire bell, which appears to have been the alarm concerted; for numerous bodies immediately assembled in the streets, armed, some with muskets, but most with clubs, bludgeons, and suchlike weapons.

Many people came out of their houses supposing a fire in the town, and several officers on the same supposition were repairing to their posts; but meeting with mobs were reviled, attacked, and those who could not escape, knocked down, and treated with great inhumanity. Different mobs paraded through the streets, passing the several barracks, and provoking the soldiers to come out. One body went to the main guard, where every provocation was given, without effect, for the guard remained quiet. From thence the mob proceeded to a sentinel posted upon the custom-house, at a small distance from the guard, and attacked him. He defended himself as well as he could, calling out for help; and people ran to the guard to give information of his danger. Captain Preston of the 29th Regiment, being Captain of the Day, his duty upon the alarm carried him to the main guard, and hearing the sentinel was in danger of being murdered, he detached a sergeant and twelve men to relieve him, and soon after followed himself, to prevent any rash act on the part of the troops. This party as well as the sentinel was immediately attacked, some throwing bricks, stones, pieces of ice and snowballs at them, whilst others advanced up to their bayonets, and endeavored to close with them, to use their bludgeons and clubs; calling out to them to fire if they dared, and provoking them to it by the most opprobrious language.

Captain Preston stood between the soldiers and the mob, parleying with the latter, and using every conciliating method to persuade them to retire peaceably. Some amongst them asked him if he intended to order the men to fire, he replied by no means, and observed he stood between the troops and them. All he could say had no effect, and one of the soldiers, receiving a violent blow, instantly fired. Captain Preston turned round to see who fired, and received a blow on his arm, which was aimed at his head; and the mob, at first seeing no execution done, and imaging the soldiers had only fired powder to frighten, grew more bold and attacked with greater violence, continually striking at the soldiers and pelting

them, and calling out to them to fire. The soldiers at length perceiving their lives in danger, and hearing the word fire all round them, three or four of them fired one after another, and again three more in the same hurry and confusion. Four or five persons were unfortunately killed, and more wounded. Captain Preston and the party were soon afterward delivered into the hands of the magistrates, who committed them to prison.

The misunderstanding between the people and the troops in this place was contrived by one party . . . to have a pretense to desire the removal of the troops. . . . But it appears, unfortunately, that their schemes were not to be brought about through peace and tranquillity, but by promoting disorders.

Some have sworn that Captain Preston gave orders to fire; others who were near, that the soldiers fired without orders from the provocation they received. None can deny the attack made upon the troops, but differ in the degree of violence in the attack.

I hope and believe that I have given Your Lordship in general a true relation of this unhappy affair; and sorry I am to say, there is too much reason to apprehend neither Captain Preston nor the soldiers, can have a fair and impartial trial for their lives. The utmost malice and malevolence had been shown already, in endeavors to bring on the trials whilst the people are heated by resentment, and the thirst of revenge. Attempts have been made to overawe the judges. . . .

The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State 1763-1775,
Clarence E. Carter, ed., 1933.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Where does General Gage lay responsibility for the "Boston Massacre"?
2. What circumstances conspired to place the troops in a vulnerable position?
3. According to General Gage, what role did the British Parliament play in contributing to the "Massacre"?
4. What role did some magistrates in Boston have in promoting the "Massacre"?
5. Does General Gage give a biased or unbiased account of the "Massacre"? Explain.

Commemoration of the Massacre

Dr. Joseph Warren (1772)

Joseph Warren's speech on the second anniversary of the "Massacre", March 5, 1772, provides an important transitional piece linking past events to future crisis. His address kept alive and formally expressed the sentiments of more than a few Bostonians. Dr. Warren's oration further suggests how the biased interpretations of the past distort historical events, and by so doing, contribute to an atmosphere conducive to future hostilities.

The fatal fifth of March, 1770, can never be forgotten--The horrors of that dreadful night are but too deeply impressed on our hearts--Language is too feeble to paint the emotion of our souls, when our streets were stained with the blood of our brethren--when our ears were wounded by the groans of the dying, and our eyes were tormented with the sight of the mangled bodies of the dead.--When our alarmed imagination presented to our view our houses wrapped in flames, our children subjected to the barbarous caprice of the raging soldiery,--our beauteous virgins exposed to all the insolence of unbridled passion, --our virtuous wives, endeared to us by every tender tie, falling a sacrifice to worse than brutal violence, and perhaps like the famed Lucretia, distracted with anguish and despair, ending their wretched lives by their own fair hands. When we beheld the authors of our distress parading in our streets, or drawn up in a regular battalia, as though in a hostile city, our hearts beat to arms; we snatched our weapons, almost resolved, by one decisive stroke, to avenge the death of our slaughtered brethren, and to secure from future danger, all that we held most dear: but, propitious heaven forbade the bloody carnage, and saved the threatened victims of our too keen resentment, not by their discipline, not by their regular array, --no, it was royal George's livery that proved their shield--it was that which turned the pointed engines of destruction from their breasts. The thoughts of vengeance were soon buried in our inbred affection to Great Britain, and calm reason dictated a method of removing the troops more mild than an immediate resource to the sword. With united efforts you urged the immediate departure of the troops from the town--you urged it, with a resolution which ensured success--you obtained your wishes, and the removal of the troops was effected, without one drop of their blood being shed by the inhabitants.

The immediate actors in the tragedy of that night, were surrendered to justice.--It is not mine to say how far they were guilty? They have been tried by the country and acquitted of murder! and they are not to be again arraigned at an earthly bar; but, surely the men who have promiscuously scattered death amidst the innocent inhabitants of a populous city, ought to see well to it, that they be prepared to stand at the bar of an omniscient judge! and all who contrived or encouraged the stationing

troops in this place have reasons of eternal importance, to reflect with deep contrition, on their base designs, and humbly to repent of their impious machinations.

The infatuation which has seemed, for a number of years, to prevail in the British councils, with regard to us, is truly astonishing! What can be proposed by the repeated attacks made upon our freedom, I really cannot surmise; even leaving justice and humanity out of question. I do not know one single advantage which can arise to the British nation, from our being enslaved:--I know not of any gains, which can be wrung from us by oppression, which they may not obtain from our consent, in the smooth channel of commerce: we wish the wealth and prosperity of Britain; we contribute largely to both. Does what we contribute lose all its value, because it is done voluntarily? The amazing increase of riches to Britain, the great rise of the value of her lands, the flourishing state of her navy, are striking proofs of the advantages derived to her from her commerce with the colonies; and it is our earnest desire that she may still continue to enjoy the same emoluments, until her streets are paved with American gold; only let us have the pleasure of calling it our own, whilst it is in our hands; but this it seems is too great a favor.--We are to be governed by the absolute command of others; our property is to be taken away without our consent--if we complain, our complaints are treated with contempt; if we assert our rights, that assertion is deemed insolence: if we humbly offer to submit the matter to the impartial decision of reason, the sword is judged the most proper argument to silence our murmurs! But this cannot long be the case--surely the British nation will not suffer the reputation of their justice and their honor, to be thus sported away by a capricious ministry; no, they will in a short time open their eyes to their true interest . . .

You have, my friends and countrymen, frustrated the designs of your enemies, by your unanimity and fortitude: it was your union and determined spirit which expelled those troops, who polluted your streets with innocent blood. You have appointed this anniversary as a standard memorial of the bloody consequences of placing an armed force in a populous city, and of your deliverance from the dangers which then seemed to hang over your heads; and I am confident that you never will betray the least want of spirit when called upon to guard your freedom.

Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America, Hezekiah Niles, ed., Baltimore: Niles, 1822.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Dr. Warren's opening paragraph is filled with inflammatory rhetoric and exaggeration. Cite three examples of these distortions.
2. According to Dr. Warren, who was ultimately responsible for the removal of troops from Boston?
3. Although the British troops involved in the "Massacre" were found innocent, how does Dr. Warren allude to their ultimate responsibility for what occurred?
4. According to Dr. Warren in what ways have the colonies contributed to the might of Great Britain? (list at least 3). Are these exaggerations?
5. What is Dr. Warren's hope for the restoration of good relations between the colonies and Great Britain?
6. To what does Dr. Warren attribute to expulsion of British troops?
7. Dr. Warren alludes to the prevailing attitude toward women in the opening paragraph. How are women perceived? Support your answer with examples.

A. LESSON OBJECTIVES

1. Students will examine and interpret primary documents in order to understand the events and emotional atmosphere that culminated in the American Revolution.
2. Students will engage primary documents from multiple perspectives in order to understand the complexity of historical events.
3. Students will understand the cause and effect relationships from the Boston Tea Party through the Intolerable Acts to the First Continental Congress.

B. LESSON ACTIVITIES

The primary documents included in this section reveal the heightened tensions and intensified emotions leading directly to the outbreak of the American Revolution. Each event prompted a predictable reaction from the opposing side further polarizing conflicting political positions. The documents evidence the widening chasm between two increasingly irreconcilable positions. Some documents such as the Plymouth Resolution and its rebuttal in the *Massachusetts Gazette* are relatively civil discourse on whether colonial resistance to the Tea Act was either proper or prudent. The Account of the Boston Tea Party and the Objections to the Intolerable Acts are, on the other hand, highly emotional reactions to historical events. The Declaration of Resolves of the First Continental Congress provides a formal summary of colonial legal rights and grievances marking a conclusion to this long process.

Each selection has a brief introduction and is followed by a series of analytical questions to prompt classroom discussion and suggested teaching activities designed to engage students in examining the basic arguments presented by the document. The documents are arranged in chronological order and, where appropriate, juxtaposed in order to more dramatically emphasize divergent perspectives. This section may be taught as an independent teaching unit, used in conjunction with other sections of this teaching unit, or documents can be used individually or in pairs to augment instruction. Care should be taken to insure that students can work with the vocabulary used in these documents. Depending on your class, you may wish to conduct a vocabulary building exercise prior to reading these eighteenth-century documents. In some cases, it will be necessary to establish a context for the document (e.g. students should be aware of the conflicts between Rome and Carthage discussed at the beginning of Document 18, The Intolerable Acts).

Plymouth Resolution

The Plymouth Resolution (December 7, 1773) enumerated colonial objections to the Tea Act, praised resistance to it in Boston and implied the possibility of violent opposition to parliamentary acts on a broader front. Although specific actions are not prescribed in this document, there is a definite sense of foreboding concerning imminent events. The Plymouth Resolution also makes reference to an October 1773 resolution from the citizens of Philadelphia in protest to British policy.

The inhabitants of this town ever attentive to the rights & Interest of their country, having been repeated alarmed with the measures of late years, adopted & pursued by the British Administration under various forms Evidently repugnant to Every principal of our Constitution, & after flattering ourselves from time to time with hopes that from a Change of men or some other happy Circumstance.

Such new measures might be adopted as would put an End to the unhappy contest between Britain and the colonies & leave us in the full employment of those rights, which no power on Earth can reasonably dispute; much less pretend to deprive us of, have yet the misfortune to find the British ministry so far from relaxing, that they are still pursuing with assiduity the Same destructive measures, a recent Instance of which we see in Their attempt by virtue of an Act of the last Session of Parliament, to Enable the east India company in London to Export their tea to America in Such Quantity as the Lords of the Treasury shall think proper subject to the same unconstitutional Tax or tribute, which we have upon other occasions & Under different appearances with firmness & resolution opposed as dangerous to that liberty which our fathers claimed & Enjoyed which we have a right to Enjoy & which our posterity may Expect we transmit to them Inviolable, do think it our duty on this as on Several other Similar occasions to Express our firm resolution not only to oppose this step as dangerous to the liberty & commerce of this country, but also to Aid & Support all our brethren in their opposition to this & Every Violation of our rights; and Therefore resolve.

Firstly that the dangerous nature & tendency of Importing teas here by any person or persons Especially the India company as proposed subject to a tax upon us without our consent, & the Steps Incumbent on Every one Concerned for the true Interest of America to take on the occasion, as well as the sentiments & conduct they should observe with regard to all aiders & abettors of that measure are Extremely well Expressed by the late Judicious resolves of the Worthy Citizens of Philadelphia.

Secondly that the persons to whom the India company have consigned the tea they propose to send to Boston, have by their wickedness & obstinacy in Endeavoring to accept of & Execute their Commission

contrary to the almost universal sense & desire of the whole province, & in still continuing to refuse to gratify the reasonable request of their countrymen forfeited that protection Every Good Citizen is Entitled to & Exposed themselves & their abettors to the Indignation & resentment of all Good men.

Thirdly that it is an affront to the common sense & understanding of mankind & to the Majesty of the people, who are under God the Source from whence is derived all powers & magistracy in Every community to assert that any meeting of the people to consult measures of their common Security & happiness on very Extraordinary & alarming occasions, is Either Unlawful or Irregular. Since no legislature could be supposed to Establish rules of conduct in such cases as no man could even Suppose would take place in a free & Good Government.

Fourthly that the late meetings of a very large & respectful body of the Inhabitants of Boston & the adjacent towns, & their conduct & determination . . . relative to the Importation & reshipping of any teas that have or may be sent here Subject to a Duty on Importation was necessary & laudable & highly deserving the Gratitude of all who are Interested in or with the prosperity of America; & that whoever have attempted (by any means whatever) to Interrupt their proceedings & prevent the full operation of their determinations have in that Instance shown themselves Inimical to the freedom & Interest of the Country.

Fifthly that we are in duty & Gratitude bound not only to acknowledge our obligations to the body who composed that meeting . . . but also to aid & support them in carrying their votes & resolves into Executing . . . the said Votes & resolves, but at the hazard of our lives & fortunes will Exert our whole force to defend them against the violence & wickedness of our Common Enemies.

Sixthly that the town clerk immediately record these votes & resolutions & deliver a fair copy of them to the Committee of Correspondence of this town to be by them Transmitted to the Committee of correspondence for the town of Boston.

Records of the Town of Plymouth, Vol. 3, 1743-1783 (Plymouth: Memorial Press, 1903).

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. The Plymouth Resolution was directed against what act of Parliament? Cite at least two examples from the Plymouth Resolution that indicate growing resistance to parliamentary control over the colonies.
2. Why does the Plymouth Resolution express gratitude to Boston?
3. Are there any indications that violence might result from this conflict over taxation?

Massachusetts Gazette (1773)

The Plymouth Resolution was regarded as a radical and inflammatory document by many colonists who feared reprisals by the Crown. Citizens of Plymouth who shared this view attempted to repeal the resolution on December 14, 1773. Failing in this effort, they endeavored to distance themselves from the impudent disloyalty of patriot activists by writing the following objection which was printed seven days after the Boston Tea Party.

That it is not only our right but our duty frankly and freely to express our sentiments on every matter which essentially concerns the safety and welfare of our country, is a trust which we apprehend cannot be denied. Therefore, We who are inhabitants of the town of Plymouth neither captivated by sounds and declamations, nor deceived by the cunning stratagems of men who under the specious masque of patriotism have attempted to delude an innocent and loyal people; But firmly and steadily fixed and determined to defend our rights and privileges, and to endeavor to hand to our posterity the blessings of peace and good government which were procured by our fathers and transmitted to Us, -Having taken into serious consideration the dangerous and fatal consequences which may arise from the late resolves passed at a meeting of this town on the seventh day of this instant December; Fearing that they may bring upon us the vengeance of affronted Majesty and has insulted authority; We cannot answer it to our God and our consciences unless we protest against the proceedings of said meetings, and publish to the world that we were not instrumental in procuring those mischief's which may naturally be expected from such conduct. -And we do by these presents solemnly protest against the whole of said resolves as being repugnant to our ideas of Liberty, law, and reason. With the first of said resolves we will not concern ourselves further than to observe that we cannot see the necessity of this town's adopting similar measures with the citizens of Philadelphia.

The second contains a censure upon a number of gentlemen (who are appointed cosignees by the East-India company) which we cannot think either decent or just. Nor can we suppose that they have forfeited that protection to which good citizens are entitled, or exposed themselves to the indignation of good men.

The third and fourth. We say that we think it an affront to the common sense of mankind and to the dignity of the laws, to assert that such a meeting as was held in the town of *Boston* on the first of this instant December, was either lawful or regular: And further that the said meeting and the conduct and determination therein do not appear to us to be either necessary or laudable, or in any degree meriting the gratitude of those who wish Well to America: But in our opinion those who by

constitutional and lawful means have endeavored to hinder their proceedings and to prevent the bad effects thereof, have in this instance shown themselves to be firm friends to the freedom and true interests of this Country.

To the fifth we must observe, That we do not think ourselves bound either in duty or gratitude to acknowledge any obligations to the body who composed that meeting, nor to aid and support them in carrying their votes and resolves into execution, nor do we intend to hazard our lives and fortunes in their defense: But on the contrary, we suppose it our indispensable duty (as the faithful and loyal subjects of his most gracious Majesty King GEORGE the third) to manifest our abhorrence and detestation of every measure which has a tendency to introduce anarchy, confusion, and disorder into the state, whether the same be proposed by Bodies of Men or by an individual.

Massachusetts Gazette, December 23, 1773

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. The response to the Plymouth Resolutions appeared seven days after the Boston Tea Party. Is there any reference to the tea party in the published response?
2. What was the motivation for the publication of their views?

ACTIVITIES

- Construct a chart comparing the five arguments made in the Plymouth Resolution with the five counter arguments in the *Massachusetts Gazette*.
- Examine the completed chart. Which of the two documents presents the most compelling arguments? Write a defense of your selection.
- Engage in a debate based on these two documents in particular but using the other documents in this unit to support your arguments.

The Boston Tea Party

British officials, reacting to the violence of the Boston Massacre and the colonial acrimony that resulted, were reluctant to initiate colonial taxes in the early 1770s. Yet, Parliament emphatically asserted its right to tax the colonies and sought a politically expedient method of accomplishing this without raising the anger of the colonists. Accordingly, in 1773 Parliament enacted the Tea Act which included trade duties on tea shipped to the colonies while lowering the final price of that tea by exempting the East India Company from most imperial trade regulations. Americans were angered by the new tax, disregarding the lower prices, and organized resistance prevented the company from unloading its cargoes in most colonial ports. In Boston, this situation prompted one of the most famous events in American History, the Boston Tea Party, described below in the recollections of one of the participants.

The tea destroyed was contained in three ships, lying near each other at what was called at the time Griffin's wharf, and were surrounded by armed ships of war, the commanders of which had publicly declared that if the rebels, as they were pleased to style the Bostonians, should not withdraw their opposition to the landing of the tea before a certain day, the 17th day of December, 1773, they should on that day force it on shore, under cover of their cannon's mouth. On the day preceding the seventeenth, there was a meeting of the citizens of the county of Suffolk, convened at one of the churches in Boston, for the purpose of consulting on what measures might be considered expedient to prevent the landing of the tea, or secure the people from the collection of the duty. At that meeting a committee was appointed to wait on Governor Hutchinson, and request him to inform them of whether he would take any measures to satisfy the people on the object of the meeting. To the first application of this committee, the Governor told them he would give them a definite answer by five o'clock in the afternoon. At the hour appointed, the committee again repaired to the Governor's house, and on inquiry found he had gone to his country seat at Milton, a distance of about six miles. When the committee returned and informed the meeting of the absence of the Governor, there was a confused murmur among the members, and the meeting was immediately dissolved, many of them crying out, "Let every man do his duty, and be true to his country"; and there was a general huzza for Griffin's wharf. . . .

When we arrived at the wharf, there were three of our number who assumed an authority to direct our operations to which we readily submitted. They divided us into three parties, for the purpose of boarding the three ships which contained the tea at the same time. The name of him who commanded the division to which I was assigned was Leonard Pitt. The names of the other commanders I never knew. We were immediately ordered by the respective commanders to board all the ships at the same time, which we promptly obeyed. The commander of

the division to which I belonged, as soon as we were on board the ship, appointed me boatswain, and ordered me to go to the captain and demanded of him the keys to the hatches and a dozen candles. I made the demand accordingly, and the captain promptly replied, and delivered the articles; but requested me at the same time to do no damage to the ship or rigging. We then were ordered by our commander to open the hatches and take out all the chests of tea and throw them overboard, and we immediately proceeded to execute his orders, first cutting and splitting the chests with our tomahawks, so as thoroughly to expose them to the effects of the water.

In about three hours from the time we went on board, we had thus broken and thrown overboard every tea chest to be found in the ship, while those in the other ships were disposing of the tea in the same way, at the same time. We were surrounded by British armed ships, but no attempt was made to resist us.

We then quietly retired to our several places of residence, without having any conversation with each other, or taking any measures to discover who were our associates; nor do I recollect of our having had the knowledge of the name of a single individual concerned in that affair, except that of Leonard Pitt, the commander of my division, whom I have mentioned. There appeared to be an understanding that each individual should volunteer his services, keep his own secret, and risk the consequence for himself. No disorder took place during that transaction, and it was observed at that time that the stillest night ensued that Boston had enjoyed for many months.

During the time we were throwing the tea overboard, there were several attempts made by some of the citizens of Boston and its vicinity to carry off small quantities of it for their family use. To effect that object, they watch their opportunity to snatch up a handful from the deck, where it became plentifully scattered, and put it into their pockets. One Captain O'Conner, whom I well knew, came on board for that purpose, and when he supposed he was not noticed, filled his pockets, and also the lining of his coat. But I had detected him and gave information to the captain of what he was doing. We were ordered to take him into custody, and just as he was stepping from the vessel, I seized him by the skirt of his coat, and in attempting to pull him back, I tore it off; but, springing forward, by a rapid effort he made his escape. He had, however, to run a gauntlet through the crowd upon the wharf, each one, as he passed, giving him a kick or a stroke.

Another attempt was made to save a little tea from the ruins of the cargo by a tall, aged man who wore a large cocked hat and white wig, which was fashionable at that time. He had sleightly slipped a little into his pocket, but being detected, they seized him and, taking his hat and wig from his head, threw them, together with the tea, of which they had emptied his pockets, into the water. In consideration of his advanced

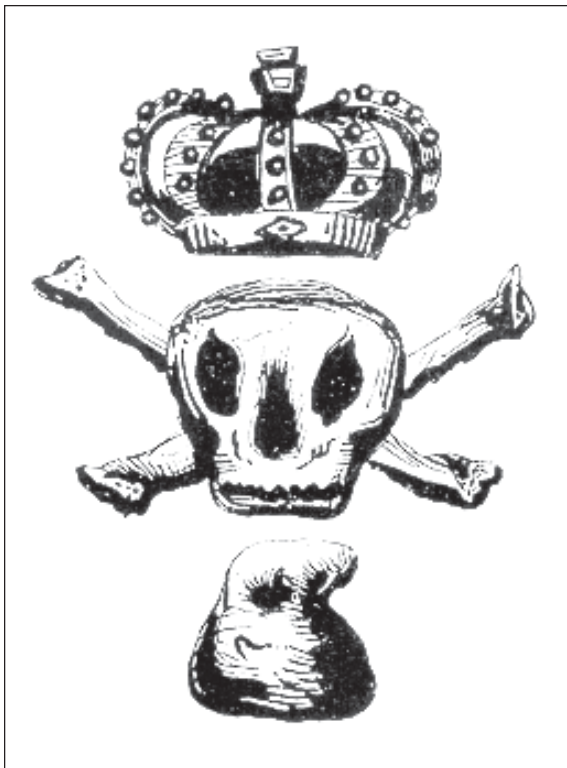
age, he was permitted to escape, with now and then a slight kick.

The next morning, after we had cleared the ships of the tea, it was discovered that very considerable quantities of it were floating upon the surface of the water; and to prevent the possibility of any of its being saved for use, a number of small boats were manned by sailors and citizens, who rowed them into those parts of the harbor wherever the tea was visible, and by beating it with oars and paddles so thoroughly drenched it as to render its entire destruction inevitable.

James Hawkes, *A Retrospect of the Boston Tea-Party, With a Memoir of George R. T. Hewes...* (New York: 1834), pp. 39-41.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Why did the colonists dump the tea into Boston harbor on December 16, 1773?
2. Does the letter suggest that the tea party could have been averted? Explain.
3. Why were the identities of most participants kept unknown?



An engraving of a skull and crossbones between the royal crown and a "Liberty Cap." The engraving, attributed to Paul Revere, was widely circulated during the furor over the Boston Port Bill of 1774.

John Grafton, *The American Revolution: A Picture Sourcebook*
New York: Dover Publications, 1975.

4. Why were the participants so harsh to anyone that tried to smuggle tea off the ships?
5. It is mentioned in the letter that British warships did not respond to the actions of the colonists. What possible explanation(s) might be given for this?
6. Although punishment for the Tea Party followed, why were no attempts made to prevent the dumping of tea on December 16?

ACTIVITIES:

- Write a newspaper article recording the Boston Tea Party from a neutral perspective or have different students write newspaper articles from differing colonial and British perspectives.
- Preceding the actual dumping of the tea, a meeting was held. Have the students prepare a stirring oration to this group with half the students urging the that the tea be destroyed while the other half attempts to persuade them not to take any rash actions. This could be structured as a formal debate or as extemporaneous role playing.

The Intolerable Acts

The British government responded to the Boston Tea Party with measures designed to discipline the unruly colonists. These measures, known to the colonists as the Intolerable Acts, included the closing of the port of Boston, the annulment of the Massachusetts colonial charter, the reorganization of the Massachusetts government to increase the power and authority of crown appointees, the re-establishment of admiralty courts and the issuing of arrest warrants for radical leaders. The statement below from the West-erly Committee of Correspondence on May 19, 1774 was typical of colonial reaction.

GENTLEMEN: With mingled concern and indignation, the Committee of Correspondence for this town have seen an Act for blocking up the harbor of Boston.

Rome designing to destroy the city of Carthage, barbarously required of the Carthaginians that they should forsake their city, and remove their habitations twelve miles from the sea. The consideration of the inveterate hatred occasioned by the long and bloody wars which had subsisted between Rome and Carthage; the remembrance of several hundred thousand Romans killed in those wars, and several hundred towns plundered by the Carthaginians, are some excuse for the Roman severity; but the cruel and unnatural treatment which the town of Boston has received from Great Britain, will admit of no palliation. The metropolis of a most affectionate and loyal Colony, which in all the wars of Great Britain has gloriously supported the British interest in America, and even by their wise and vigorous efforts made a conquest which gave peace to Europe, is now bravely determined not to become slaves.

We have long felt for the town of Boston; we heartily sympathize with our brethren upon this alarming occasion; we are much pleased with the noble firmness with which this cruel edict is receiving in Boston. We highly approve the measures taken by the town, and are entirely of opinion that the joint resolution of the Colonies to stop all importations from and exportations to Great Britain and the West Indies, until the Act is repealed, will infallibly produce the desired effect.

The country which we possess, blessed by God! affords every necessary of life. We are morally certain, that with the common blessings of Heaven upon our industry and frugality, we can live comfortably, without importing a single article from Britain or the West Indies; and we are equally certain, that neither England nor the West Indies, can subsist long without us; their own preservation therefore, will compel them to do us justice.

This horrid attack upon the town of Boston, we consider not as an attempt upon that town singly, but upon the whole Continent. We are therefore determined to use our whole influence for the support of the

town of Boston, in the same manner as if the attack had been made on the metropolis of this Colony; and we doubt not but the other Colonies will consider this arbitrary and tyrannical edict in the same light, and heartily unite with the friends of liberty in Boston in support of the common cause.

American Archives, Peter Force, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1836), Fourth Series, 1:336-337.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How does the author describe Boston's historic relationship with Great Britain?
2. Why does the author write confidently that the embargoes against Great Britain will bring repeal of the Intolerable Acts?
3. How have Great Britain's prior actions emboldened the colonies to resist?
4. According to this letter, what effect has Great Britain's actions had on other colonies?
5. What assumptions did Parliament make when it singled out Boston for punishment?
6. How has the author attempted to broaden the scope of colonial resistance?
7. Why does the author refer to Rome and Carthage when protesting British actions?
8. What roles did women play in resisting the various measures of the Intolerable Acts?

ACTIVITIES

- You are a member of a Committee of Correspondence in the colonies (assign different students different colonies). Write a letter to Parliament protesting the Intolerable Acts. Then write a similar letter to the King. How should the two letters be different or should they be different? Explain.
- Divide the class into groups of three students each and have each group compile a list of the political and economic effects of the Intolerable Acts on Boston. Conduct the class discussion based on the ideas generated by the small groups.

Declaration and Resolves
First Continental Congress
October 14, 1774

One American reaction to the Intolerable Acts was the convening of the first Continental Congress in Philadelphia in September, 1774. After five weeks of deliberation, the Declaration and Resolves was issued providing a summary of colonial rights and grievances. John Adams was the primary author of the Declaration which asserts arguments about both natural rights and constitutional rights while the Resolves were primarily the work of John Sullivan of New Hampshire.

Whereas, since the close of the last war, the British parliament, claiming a power of right to bind the people of America, by statute in all cases whatsoever, has, in some acts expressly imposed taxes on them, and in others, under various pretenses, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, has imposed rates and duties payable in these colonies, established a board of commissioners with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of courts of Admiralty, not only for collecting the said duties, but for the trial of causes merely arising within the body of a county.

And whereas, in consequence of other statutes, judges, who before held only estates at will in their offices, have been made dependent on the Crown alone for their salaries, and standing armies kept in times of peace. . . .

And whereas, in the last session of parliament, three statutes were made . . . [the Boston Port Act, the Massachusetts Government Act, the Administration of Justice Act] And another statute was then made [the Quebec Act] . . . All which statutes are impolitic, unjust, and cruel, as well as unconstitutional, and most dangerous and destructive of American rights.

And whereas, Assemblies have been frequently dissolved, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances; and their dutiful, humble, loyal, & reasonable petitions to the crown for redress, have been repeatedly treated with contempt, by his majesty's ministers of state:

The good people of the several Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhode-island and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South Carolina, justly alarmed at these arbitrary proceedings of parliament and administration, have severally elected, constituted, and appointed deputies to meet and sit in general congress, in the city of Philadelphia, in order to obtain such

establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties, may not be subverted:

Whereupon the deputies so appointed being now assembled, in a full and free representation of these Colonies, taking into their most serious consideration, the best means of attaining the ends aforesaid, do, in the first place, as Englishmen, their ancestors in like cases have usually done, for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, declare,

That the inhabitants of the English Colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following Rights:

Resolved, N. C. D.

1. That they are entitled to life, liberty, and property, & they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.
2. That our ancestors, who first settled these colonies, were at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects, within the realm of England.
3. That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights
4. That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council: and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved But, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are bona fide, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent.
5. That the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.
6. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization; and which they have, by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.
7. That these, his majesty's colonies, are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal

- charters, or secured by their several local of provincial laws.
8. That these have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the King; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same, are illegal.
 9. That the keeping a Standing army in these colonies, in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony, in which such army is kept, is against law.
 10. It is indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power in several colonies, by a council appointed, during pleasure, by the crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American Legislation.

All and each of which the aforesaid deputies, in behalf of themselves and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indubitable rights and liberties; which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislatures.

In the course of our inquiry, we find many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights, which, from an ardent desire that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such acts and measures as have been adopted since the last war, which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America.

Resolved, That the following acts of Parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary in order to restore harmony between Great-Britain and the American colonies . . . viz.:

The several Acts . . . which impose duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extend the powers of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judges' certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages that he might otherwise be liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, and are subversive of American rights.

. . . Also the three acts passed in the last session of parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbor of Boston, for altering the charter & government of the Massachusetts-bay, and that which is entitled "An Act for the better administration of Justice," &c.

Also the act passed the same session for establishing the Roman Catholic Religion in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger, from so total a dissimilarity of Religion, law, and government of the neighboring British colonies. . . .

Also the act passed the same session for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North-America.

Also, that the keeping a standing army in several of these colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which the army is kept, is against law.

To these grievous acts and measures Americans cannot submit, but in hopes that their fellow subjects in Great Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have for the present only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures . . . 1st. To enter into a nonimportation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association. 2nd. To prepare an address to the people of Great-Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America, & 3rd. To prepare a loyal address to his Majesty; agreeable to resolutions already entered into.

Great Issues in American History: From Settlement to Revolution, 1584-1776, edited by Clarence L. Ver Steeg and Richard Hofstadter (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 423-428.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What complaints have been made by this Congress against the British parliament?
2. What arguments are given for claiming the rights of Englishmen?
3. What rights does this document claim for the people of America?
4. What three measures is the Congress prepared to take in order to have their rights renewed?
5. What counter arguments might a member of the British Parliament offer against the claims of this document?
6. To what extent did events prior to the Intolerable Acts influence the authors of this document? Do any of the grievances stated allude to specific events prior to its writing?
7. How does this document reflect the diversity of American opinion and the range of American commitment to Britain?

ACTIVITIES

- Read the document then have students (individually or in small groups) generate a chart listing each grievance, the right claimed concerning that grievance and the actions to be taken to secure that particular right.
- Have the students write newspaper articles about the Continental Congress from different perspectives: colonial politics (radical, moderate, loyalist), colonial regions (New England, Middle Colonies, South), other British colonies (West Indies, Quebec, Nova Scotia), British economic interests (merchants, landed gentry) or Parliamentary factions.

- Bailyn, Bernard. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1967. This is a classic analysis of the role that ideas and ideology played in exacerbating the imperial crisis and inciting the rebellion.
- Bushman, Richard L. *King and People in Provincial Massachusetts*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1985. Using frequent quotes, this work examines the tensions in the colonial political system from 1691 to 1763 as well as a detailed analysis of the events from 1763 to 1776 that exacerbated those tensions into rebellion.
- Cook, Don. *The Long Fuse: How England Lost the American Colonies, 1760-1785*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1995. An excellent examination of the relevant political and economic issues/events incorporating the latest scholarship.
- Dudley, William T., ed., *The American Revolution: Opposing Viewpoints*. San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 1992. This book provides thirty heavily edited historical documents organized in pairs illustrating the opposing arguments concerning fifteen issues.
- Jensen, Merrill, ed. *Tracts of the American Revolution*, New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1967. A lengthy introduction provides excellent analysis and context for the seventeen documents selected dating from 1764 to 1776. The full text of the documents are provided with most ranging from fifteen to twenty-five pages and the longest being seventy-three pages.
- Jones, Michael Wynn. *The Cartoon History of the American Revolution*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975. This work conveys the history of the American Revolution utilizing political cartoons published from 1763 to 1783. The text provides the historical context for each group of related cartoons and each cartoon is accompanied by a brief analysis.
- Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1980. This comprehensive work addresses how women were impacted legally and socially by the imperial crisis, the wartime strife and the early national turmoil as well as how women prompted and influenced the events and circumstances of these periods.
- Stevens, Frederick George, and Edward Hawkins. *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Political and Personal Satires*. London: Cwiswich Press, 1883. This catalogue provides analysis and specific publication details for each plate in the microfilm collection English Cartoons and Satirical Prints, 1320-1832, in the British Museum.
- Thomas, Peter D. G. *The English Satirical Print, 1600-1832: The American Revolution*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986. This is an invaluable resource consisting primarily of 122 cartoons or caricatures spanning the period from June, 1755 to December, 1783, each with an accompanying paragraph explaining the author's political intent and use of symbolism. A twenty page introduction provides background on English political cartoons/caricatures and places the various cartoons in their historical context.

