

Chapter 8

A Family Quarrel Leads to War

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY

SINCE KINGS HAD granted charters to the American colonies, the Government of England expected the settlers to work for the prosperity of the mother country. The colonists, however, were more interested in securing trade for themselves than for their homeland across the sea. Rivalry in trade provoked the long quarrel which led to the American Revolution.

In 1694 Sir Josiah Child, chairman of the East India Company, published a book defining British colonial policy. His words expressed the views of British merchants who had been gaining power in Parliament since the days of Queen Elizabeth I, when the big trading companies were started. He stated "that all colonies or plantations do endanger their mother-kingdoms, if the trades of such plantations are not confined by severe laws," because "the greatness of this kingdom depends upon foreign trade." He then explained why "New England is the most prejudicial [harmful] plantation to this kingdom."

I am now to write of a people whose frugality, industry, temperance, and the happiness of whose laws and institutions, do promise to themselves

long life, with a wonderful increase of people, riches, and power. No man ought to envy that wisdom and virtue in others, – but rather to commend and admire it. Yet, I think it is the duty of every good man primarily to respect the welfare of his native country. Therefore, though I may offend some, – I cannot omit in the progress of this discourse to take notice of some particulars wherein Old England SUFFERS BY THE GROWTH OF THOSE COLONIES SETTLED IN NEW ENGLAND.

The southern colonies, being farming communities, sold their tobacco, rice, and timber in England. They bought their manufactured products from British merchants. This was what the British Government wanted. New England, with a rocky soil and long cold winters, was not a farming country. There, many people earned a living through fishing, trade, and shipbuilding. During the icy winter weather in New England, when fishing was not so profitable, both fishermen and boat owners turned to trading. The fishing sloops were loaded with salt, rum, molasses, bundles of cloth, hats, caps, stockings, iron kettles, wooden bowls, hooked rugs, and other items made in the homes and little shops of New England. The fishermen traded these wares for pork, corn, pitch, tar, leather, and other products

A New
DISCOURSE
OF
TRADE,

Wherein is Recommended several
weighty Points relating to Com-
panies of Merchants.

The Act of NAVIGATION,
NATURALIZATION of Strangers,
And our Woollen Manufactures.

The
BALANCE of TRADE.

And the Nature of Plantations, and their Consequen-
ces in Relation to the Kingdom, are seriously
Discussed.

And some Proposals for erecting a Court of Mer-
chants for determining Controversies, relating to
Maritime Affairs, and for a Law for Transfer-
rance of Bills of Debts, are humbly Offered.

By Sir Josiah Child.

The second Edition.

London Printed, and sold by Sam. Crouch,
Tho. Horn, & Jos. Hindmarsh in Cornhill. 1694.

A NEW DISCOURSE OF TRADE

This book written by Sir Josiah Child, Chair-
man of the East India Company, expressed the
views of British merchants of that time in England.
Their ideas on trade with the colonies became laws
in Parliament as Navigation Acts to regulate trade
with the colonists for the benefit of merchants in
England. The colonists objected to these laws,
claiming they gave the mother country an unfair
monopoly of their trade.

in the Carolinas. In 1726, a fisherman-
trader chartered a fishing boat for his cargo
of sixty sheep, sixteen bales of coarse
homespun, furniture, and billiard tables
from New England, which he sold at a
profit in Charleston, South Carolina. Massa-
chusetts made saddles and shoes for the
southern colonies. Connecticut exported

cheese and made woolens and linens, caps
and mittens.

British merchants complained that the
colonists were trading with one another in-
stead of with the mother country. The en-
terprising Yankees went out for business
and found it. They formed their own trad-
ing companies, built their own ships, and
sold their wares in foreign lands. As early as
1694, Sir Josiah Child wrote in his book on
trade:

Many of our American commodities, especially
tobacco and sugar, are transported directly in
NEW ENGLISH shipping to Spain and other
foreign countries without being landed in England,
or paying any duty to His Majesty. This is a loss to
the King, to the navigation of OLD ENGLAND,
and to the English merchant in those ports where
NEW ENGLISH vessels trade. Since no custom
dues are paid in NEW ENGLAND, and great cus-
tom paid in OLD ENGLAND, the NEW ENGLISH
merchant will be able to sell cheaper than the OLD
ENGLISH merchant. And those who sell cheaper
will get the whole trade sooner or later.

This paragraph tells the whole story in a
few words. Instead of working for the
prosperity of the mother country, the
merchants of New England went into busi-
ness for themselves. They became the com-
petitors of merchants in the homeland. The
mother country felt that laws had to be
passed to enforce the British colonial
policy.

NAVIGATION ACTS FORCE COLONISTS INTO MANUFACTURING

MOST OF THE TRADE laws dealt with
shipping and were known as Navigation
Acts. These laws were passed over a period
of nearly a hundred and fifty years. Their
purpose was to make the British merchants

rich at the expense of the colonies. No foreign vessels could bring goods directly to the colonies; colonists could not trade with foreign countries except under certain conditions; tobacco, cotton, indigo, and dye woods could be shipped only to England; European goods had to be shipped first to England, where a duty was paid, before going to the colonies; goods could be shipped only in British vessels manned by British subjects. Other restrictions of trade forbade the manufacture of goods in the colonies, that England made for export. These regulations, however, were not strictly enforced until the middle of the eighteenth century.

In 1731 a petition to the Board of Trade asked that the manufacture of woolens, hats, and shoes be stopped in the colonies. The importation of sheep was forbidden, but sheep were smuggled from Spain. Poor, indeed, was the farmer without his own fleece; and poor, indeed, was the farmer's wife without some yardage of hand-loomed woolen cloth. Furs were plentiful in America, and colonial hatters continued to do business. Colonial shoemakers were kept busy making footwear for their neighbors. As early as 1661 Virginia passed a law that any man found guilty of exporting a hide would be fined a thousand pounds of tobacco. Nearly all the colonies passed similar laws.

With timber near and plentiful, New Englanders went into the shipbuilding business. In the year of 1741 Massachusetts had about 400 vessels engaged in the fishing business. Nearly all these had been built in ports of New England. Cod fish was salted and dried for shipment to distant countries. Since there was no refrigeration, tons of fish spoiled in the process. The refuse was carried to the West Indies to be

used for fertilizer. It was exchanged for molasses, a waste product on the sugar plantations. In New England the molasses was distilled into rum. This molasses and rum traffic became part of a triangular trade route which included the Guinea Coast of Africa, the West Indies, and New England. The rum distilled in New England was shipped to Africa, and there it was exchanged for Negro slaves. The slaves were then taken to the Americas and sold.

To stop this profitable trade, Parliament passed the Molasses Act in 1733. Any vessel caught in this trade was confiscated. This law did not stop the daring young skippers of Salem, Boston, and other ports. For thirty years ships from the colonies carried on the molasses trade with the Dutch and French West Indies. It was exciting and adventurous to outrun a British patrol and escape capture. Now and then, however, notices like this one appeared in the papers in Salem:

On Friday night last were brought in here as prizes, a large snow and a brig, lately taken by His Majesty's ship, Glasgow, Captain Allen, for being concerned in a contraband trade.

The New Englanders openly disobeyed the Navigation Acts and traded where they pleased, because the British Government could not keep enough vessels on the high seas to catch many of them. As a joke the General Court of Massachusetts laid a duty on English goods and a tax on English-built ships. Such impudence, though amusing, caused the dignified Lord Justices of England "to express their great displeasure."

The Navigation Acts and other trade laws were supposed to hinder the growth of manufacturing as well as foreign trade. The colonists were expected to sell raw

A COLUMN FROM THE ESSEX GAZETTE
Published in Salem, Massachusetts
August, 1768

By Capt. Samuel Grant, who arrived here last Lord's Day, from Martinico, in 28 Days, are come to Hand, Copies of an Arrest of the French King's Council of State of April 1, 1768; and an Ordinance of the King, dated the 9th of July last, permitting foreign Vessels to import Timber of all Kinds, Dying Woods, Live Stock of all Kinds, green or tanned Hides, Furs, Pitch and Tar, Rice, Indian Corn, Beans, Pease, Coffee, Sugar, Cotton and Cocoa, into any Harbour or Road of the Island of St. Lucia. The particular Articles and Regulations will be published in our next.

CUSTOM-HOUSE, Port of SALEM & MARBLEHEAD, August 8.

INWARD ESTIES		
Saunders, Stanford,		Martinico.
Nabby, Dodge,		Guadaloupe.
Betsey, Boden,		Falmouth.
Union, Grant,		Martinico.
Alexander, Elsey,		Lisbon.
CLEARED OUT		For
Live Oak, Kidveal,		West-Indies.
Molly, Knights,		Newfoundlands.
Endeavour, Harris,		St. John's.
Hitty, Burnham,		Barbados.
Nancy, Bartlet,		West-Indies.
Friendship, Pearson,		Ditto.
OUTWARD BOUNDS		For
Patty, Archer,		West-Indies.
Polly, Bartlett,		Philadelphia.
Joseph, Elkins,		West-Indies.

Salem, August 23, 1768.

The Merchants and Traders of
this Town are desired (especially those concerned in importing Goods from Great-Britain) to meet at the King's-Arm Tavern this Evening, at seven o'Clock, to consider the present State of our Trade, &c.

WANTED, a half-decked Schooner, 2 or 3 Years old, between 60 and 80 Tons burthen. Any Person who has one to dispose of, may hear of a Purchaser by enquiring of the Printer hereof.

Custom-House, Boston, August 20.

Entered-In. *Meserve and Littlefield from Rhode-Island; Wermore, Griffing and Drake from New-London; Raywood from New-Haven; Smith from New-York; Joyce from Virginia; Cushing and Taylor from No. Carolina; Emory from So. Carolina; Ford from Halifax; Ball, Turner and Asworth from Newfoundland; L'over from Quebec; Saunders from Grenada; Crozier from Guadaloupe; Allen from St. Christopher; Hunter from St. Ubes; St. Barbe from Lisbon and Falmouth.*

materials to the mother country and to buy their manufactured products from the mother country. They were to make for themselves only those articles that they could not buy from Great Britain. This plan was generally accepted by nations as their colonial policy.

The main purpose of the trade laws was to keep the colonies dependent on the mother country. Since most of the colonists could not afford to buy many of the imported articles, they were forced to weave their own woollens and linens, make their own hats and shoes, and build their own furniture. Every house was a little factory, in so far as it produced these articles. In the end, these trade laws defeated their purpose and made the colonies more independent of the mother country.

HOME INDUSTRY PAVES
THE WAY TO INDEPENDENCE

IN THE SOUTH, where people lived in the country and towns were far apart, clothing and tools for the laborers were made on the big plantations. *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, published in 1649, mentioned a planter, Captain Mathews, one of the governing council of the colony:

He hath a fine house. He sows yeerly store of hemepe and flax and causes it to be spun. He keeps weavers, and hath a tan-house; causes leather to be dressed; hath eight shoemakers employed in this trade; hath forty Negro servants, and brings them up to trades in his house. He yeerly sows abundance of wheat, barley, etc. The wheat he selleth at four shillings the bushell; kills stores of beeves, and sells them to victual the ships when they come thither; hath abundance of kine, a brave dairy, swine, and

Colonial papers prove that the Navigation Acts were not strictly enforced.

The first news item in the column notifies ship owners that timber, livestock, rice, and many other products can be sold in St. Lucia, a French possession in the West Indies. Such trade was forbidden by the Navigation Acts except under certain conditions.

In the list of ships coming and going in the harbor of Salem on August 8, 1768, some are bound for ports in the West Indies, and the others are returning from the same islands.

Any effort to enforce the Navigation Acts caused merchants and traders to meet and discuss new ways to evade them. In this column is a notice calling such a meeting at the King's Tavern.

A merchant adventurer advertises to buy a schooner.

The custom house at Boston lists the vessels arriving on August 20, 1768. Out of 21 ships, 16 were from ports in the British colonies of North America. This coastal traffic aided home industries and helped to unite the thirteen colonies.

poltery. He married the daughter of Sir Thomas Hinton, lives bravely, and is a true lover of Virginia. He is worthy of much honour.

Each plantation had its own small factory that supplied daily needs. The produce that was left over was used to trade for china, silver, furniture, silks, and other luxuries imported from England. The southern planters were good customers of the British merchants.

Sixteen hundred and fifty yards of woolen, linen, and cotton cloth were made in Washington's weaving house at Mt. Vernon in the year 1767. Of this amount, about 450 yards were woven for neighbors who brought their own yarns to the weaving house. There were 1200 yards for use in Washington's household and for sale. To pay Washington for weaving fourteen yards of woolen cloth, one farmer gave him two turkeys and seven chickens. This system of trading farm products for manufactured articles was in common use in the South long after the Revolutionary War. In a Kentucky paper with a date line of September 12, 1829, a factory owner advertised that he would accept wool, wood, pork, lard, feathers, bacon, and any farm products in trade for carding, spinning, coloring, and weaving wool fleece brought to his factory. Not until the War Between the States destroyed the plantation system of home manufacturing did factory towns in the South begin to grow to any size.

Meanwhile, New England became a manufacturing country. During the winter months women and girls on New England farms carded, spun, wove, knitted, and sewed, making articles for use of the family and for sale to stores. The men and boys tanned leather, made shoes, built furniture,



A COLONIAL KITCHEN

In the early days, each member of the family worked to maintain the home for all. While the able-bodied men in the family were doing the heavy chores, women were toiling in the kitchen, the living room of the house. In this sketch, mother is cooking, grandmother is spinning, daughter is churning, grandfather is paring apples, and the "hired girl" is rolling the pie dough. Only the children have time to play.

tinkered with metals, and fashioned their own tools for field and workshop. Since the people could not make a living by farming, they needed to have industries to provide jobs. Towns had societies for raising funds to start factories. This notice was printed in a Boston paper on August 8, 1754:

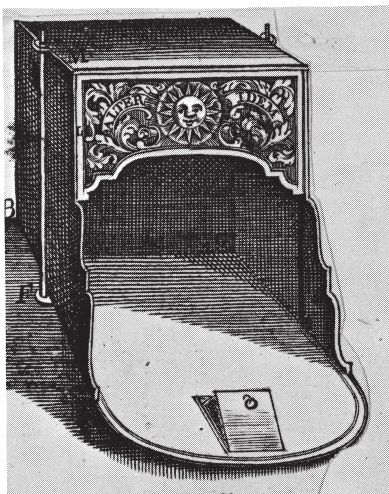
THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY for encouraging industry and employing the poor, give public notice, that the annual meeting will be on Wednesday, August 14, when a sermon will be preached at the OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE by the Reverend Mr. John Barnard of Marblehead, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. After the sermon, there will be a collection when such persons as do not belong to the society may have the opportunity of contributing what they think proper toward its encouragement. — All those who would be truly charitable are hereby invited to become members of the Society.

The bounty system encouraged business and industry. According to this system

merchants offered prizes for the best weaving of linen, cotton, and woolen cloth, and for the largest number of yards woven in a given time. The public was asked to donate prizes for crews who caught the most fish in a single season in order to get more men to go into the fishing business. A notice in a Boston paper in 1754 instructed the owners of fishing schooners to meet at

FRANKLIN STOVE INVENTED IN 1742

In 1744, Benjamin Franklin printed and sold a pamphlet describing his fireplace, and extolling its merits. Franklin, the diplomat, was also a shrewd business man. The smiling face of the sun and the motto, "Alter Idem," suggests to the buyer that Franklin's fireplace will warm a room as the sun warms the earth, and even better, according to the poem.



On the **DEVICE** of the **NEW FIRE-PLACE,**
A SUN; *with this Motto, ALTER IDEM.*
i.e. A second Self; or, Another, the same.
 By a Friend.

A **NOTHER** Sun! — 'tis true; — but not **THE SAME.**
 Alike, I own, in Warmth and genial Flame:
 But, more obliging than his elder Brother,
 This will not scorch in Summer, like *the other*;
 Nor, when sharp *Boreas* chills our shiv'ring Limbs,
 Will *this Sun* leave us for more Southern Climes;
 Or, in long Winter Nights, forsake us here,
 To cheer new Friends in t'other Hemisphere:
 But, faithful still to us, this *new Sun's* Fire,
 Warms when we please, and just as we desire.

Faneuil Hall, with proof of the quantity of fish caught by the crew of each vessel. It was an honor to win these prizes.

A town meeting in Salem issued this order to the two newly elected representatives, one of whom was the richest man in town, Richard Derby, merchant and ship owner:

We earnestly recommend you to promote the fishery, so material a branch of the business of this county, by every encouragement in your power.

On May 29, 1769 the town meeting of Marblehead, Massachusetts instructed the representatives, who had been elected on that day:

That you promote all you can every rational scheme for employing the poor in manufactures, in every part of this province.

The advertisements in Boston papers, a year before the French and Indian War broke out, listed many items for sale, some large and some small. Among these were the following: three copper kettles for soap-making; rice, sole leather, and deer-skins from South Carolina; 20,000 bricks; garden and flower seeds, fruit trees, herbs and garlic; looking glasses, pictures, spectacles, chinaware, tea, violins, flutes, toys, and silver; Connecticut pork by the barrel; choice Newcastle coal; window glass sold for cash or wheat; bar-iron and rod-iron; and a mill for twisting linens and woolens. One store advertised books sold cheaply for cash or traded for rum, pork, and grain. The list of books included the *Bible*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Arabian Nights*, *Aesop's Fables*, *Goody Two Shoes*, *World Turned Upside Down*, grammars, arithmetics, and spelling books. To a lesser extent the middle colonies had to develop

industry in order to support their population. Pennsylvania had more indentured servants than any other colony. William Penn encouraged poor, hard-working people to settle in his "woodlands." His advertisements were cleverly written. This one appeared in an English paper:

The richness of the air, the navigable rivers, the increase of corn, the flourishing conditions of the city of Philadelphia make Pennsylvania the most glorious place . . . Poor people, both men and women, can get three times the wages for their labor they can in England and Wales.

Many people who were skilled tradesmen came as indentured servants. It was necessary to provide shops and mills to give them employment, so that they could serve their time in labor to repay their passage to the New World. From its founding in 1682 Pennsylvania made rapid gains in manufacturing. In December of 1719, the first newspaper in the middle colonies began printing on paper made in the first mill of its kind, located on a creek near Germantown. It was the Rittenhouse mill, founded by a Dutch immigrant. Soon, paper from Pennsylvania mills was shipped to other colonies.

The waters of Wissahickon Creek, now in the city of Philadelphia, turned wheels for grinding corn into meal and wheat into flour. Bakers in nearby towns made ship's bread, called hardtack by the sailors, to supply the fishing fleets of New England and the vessels in the overseas trade. The industries of the colonies produced both goods and good will. This coastal trade helped to tie the colonies together.

The Navigation Acts had failed to yield the expected revenue because they were not generally enforced. Smuggling was

almost universal. Even some of the King's governors ignored the offenders because the prosperity of their colonies depended upon smuggling. The Navigation Acts made lawbreakers out of many good citizens. Aware of the growing prosperity of the colonies, the British Government attempted a stronger enforcement of the Navigation Acts. They also levied more taxes. This strict policy took effect in the years following the French and Indian War.

Parliament maintained the right to tax the colonies for purposes of revenue because, in the opinion of the time, colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country. The colonists in America did not all agree with this point of view. Many insisted upon the right to work independently for their own personal welfare at home and abroad. These opposing ideas led to conflict. No nation dares to defend itself, at the risk of war, unless it has natural resources and is able to use them. Through home industry, many colonists were ready to defend their point of view. Thus they used their economic independence to gain political liberty.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION

THE COLONISTS fought the threat of oppression as much as oppression itself. In fact they enjoyed more freedom than any other people of the civilized world of 1775. With grim determination, they opposed every attempt to rob them of any liberty they had gained. The privilege of the colonial assemblies to levy taxes for support of colonial governments was zealously guarded. This privilege meant that the colonial assemblies voted the tax

levy that paid the governor's salary in most of the colonies. If the King's executive opposed the will of the people, it was a simple matter to "forget" to vote the governor's pay. Thus, in some cases, the governor was little more than a figurehead.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the colonies had been taxed mainly by their chosen representatives in town meetings and colonial assemblies. They maintained that the British Parliament in London did not have the *right* to tax them because their own elected delegates were not seated in Parliament. The British Government's idea of representation was different. Both the King and Parliament declared the colonists were as much represented in the government as were the people of England. Among the members of Parliament were farmers, doctors, lawyers, merchants, and tradesmen. Therefore the British Government claimed that all farmers, all doctors, all lawyers, all merchants, and all tradesmen were represented whether they lived in England or the colonies.

The colonists refused to accept this class representation and demanded to be taxed *only* by men for whom they had personally voted and sent to their own assemblies. Since the taxes levied by Parliament were less for the colonists than for the Englishmen at home, the Government was amazed at the protest raised in the colonies. However, it was not so much the amount as the *principle* of taxation that the colonists opposed. They realized that the money obtained in taxes levied by the British Parliament could be used to support the governors and other royal officers in the colonies. These officers would then be free to enforce the will of the King.

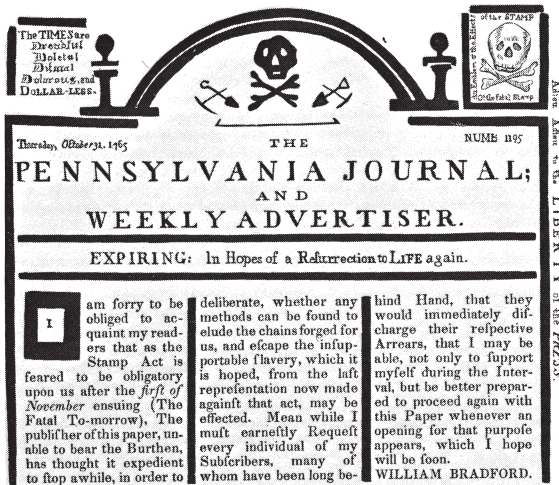
The American War for Independence was

not caused by the tyranny of England, but by a lack of understanding on the part of George III, Parliament, and the British people in general of the American point of view. Across an ocean three thousand miles away "something new" was growing. The colonists did not want these new freedoms to be taken away from them.

To enforce the Navigation Acts, Parliament made legal WRITS OF ASSISTANCE, which gave the King's officers authority to search a store or a home for smuggled goods. Those found with merchandise forbidden by any of the Navigation Acts were arrested and tried in an "admiralty court" by judges sent over from England. The defendants were denied a trial by jury. In a Boston court, on February 24, 1761 James Otis argued against these writs. Boldly, he stated that a law was void if it violated the human rights of man. Otis declared that the writs denied "the privilege of the house." He said:

A man who is quiet, is as secure in his house as a prince in his castle For flagrant crimes and in cases of great public necessity, the privilege may be infringed on.

The Stamp Act of 1765 fanned the flame of rebellion throughout the colonies. This law forced the colonists to buy stamps to put on legal papers, magazines, and newspapers. For example, a stamp costing about ten dollars was demanded for each college diploma. The colonists did not buy many of these stamps. In Boston, the boxes of stamps were seized and burned. In New York, an angry mob captured the governor's carriage and dragged it through the streets. In the carriage there was a dummy of the governor sitting with the devil. Then they burned the carriage in the open square



REACTION TO THE STAMP ACT

Copy from front page of a Philadelphia newspaper, October 31, 1765, the day before the Stamp Act was put into force.

Skull and crossbones mark the death of the paper printed by William Bradford, who refused to buy stamps. In mourning for the last edition, he wrote in one corner:

“The times are dreadful, doleful, dismal, dolorous, and dollarless.”

in front of the governor’s house. In the House of Burgesses in Virginia, Patrick Henry made a speech against the Stamp Act. He finished with:

“Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third — ”

“Treason!” interrupted the speaker of the house, seated on a high platform. “Treason! Treason!” echoed voices from the floor of the assembly.

“ — may profit by their example.” After completing the sentence, he waited until the hall was quiet, and added, defiantly:

“If THIS be treason, make the most of it.”

These fiery outbursts aroused the people. They organized to defeat the law by refusing to buy British goods. Many colonists wore homespun garments with

patriotic pride, scorning others who dressed in linens and woolens imported from England. The boycott caused unemployment and injured British trade. The merchants opposed the tax for another reason. They had to buy the revenue stamps to place on clearances of their ships from colonial ports. With so many complaints, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act after four and a half months. However, it was closely followed by the Declaratory Act, stating Parliament had the right to tax the colonies.

In 1767, the Townshend Acts levied a tax on glass, paper, paints and tea. Again the colonists resorted to boycott, refusing to buy, and signed non-importation agreements. Merchants who stocked British goods and raised their prices found their names printed in the papers. They were in disgrace and lost their customers. Public opinion had the force of actual law.

Nearly every edition of a colonial newspaper told of a gathering of spinners, usually at the home of a minister. The following news item is from *The Essex Gazette* of June 22, 1769. It is flattering praise:

It gives a noble prospect to see what a spirit of industry prevails at this day in the American young ladies, working willingly with their hands.

Yesterday morning, very early, the young ladies in the parish of the town called Chebacco to the number of 77, assembled at the house of the Reverend Mr. John Cleaveland with their spinning wheels. Though the weather that day was extremely hot, and many of the young ladies were about thirteen years of age, yet by six o’clock in the evening, they carded and spun 177 ten-knot skeins of yarn.

After the music of the wheels was over, Mr. Cleaveland entertained them with a sermon. He concluded by observing how the women might recover to the country the full and free enjoyment of all our rights, properties, and privileges, —



Unhappy Boston! see thy Sons deplore,
 Thy hallow'd Walks besmear'd with guiltless Gore:
 While faithless P—n and his savage Bands,
 With murderous Rancour stretch their bloody Hands;
 Like fierce Barbarians grinning o'er their Prey,
 Approve the Carnage and enjoy the Day.

If scalding drops from Rage from Anguish Wring,
 If speechless Sorrows lab'ring for a Tongue,
 Or if a weeping World can ought appease
 The plaintive Ghosts of Victims such as these:
 The Patriot's copious Tears for each are shed,
 A glorious Tribute which embalms the Dead.

But know, EXIT, summons to that awful Goal,
 Where JUSTICE strips the Murderer of his Soul,
 Should venal C—ts the scandal of the Land,
 Snatch the relentless Villain from her Hand,
 Keen Execrations on this Plate infer'd,
 Shall reach a JUDGE who never can be brib'd.

*The unhappy Sufferers were Messrs SAM^l GRAY SAM^l MAVERICK, JAM^s CALDWELL, CRISPUS ATTUCKS & PAT^l CARROLL
 Killed Six, wounded two of them (CHRIST^l MONK & JOHN CLARK) Mortally*

Henry E. Huntington Library

THE BOSTON MASSACRE

On the night of March 5, 1770 a fire bell sounded, and about fifty or sixty youths rushed into the streets of Boston. It was a false alarm. The youths then began throwing snowballs at a British sentry on duty at the Custom House. Captain James Preston sent a squad of soldiers to his aid, and they were greeted with snowballs and jeers. The soldiers fired into the crowd to scatter the youths.

In this drawing, "engraved, printed and sold by Paul Revere" are listed the names of five killed and two who died later of wounds. As news of the "massacre" spread, drums beat, bells rang, and angry Bostonians poured into the streets. The British soldiers were arrested and jailed to be held for trial.

which is more than the men have been able to do, namely: BY LIVING, AS FAR AS POSSIBLE, UPON THE PRODUCE OF THIS COUNTRY; AND TO BE SURE TO LAY ASIDE THE USE OF ALL FOREIGN TEAS; BY WEARING ONLY CLOTHING OF THIS COUNTRY'S MANUFACTURE.

Notices like this one from *The Essex Gazette* in Salem, Massachusetts appeared in the papers:

May 1, 1770

The selectmen have issued a warrant for calling a town meeting at 2 o'clock this afternoon, in order to determine upon proper measures to be pursued in the common cause, by preventing British goods being imported into this town, till the detested revenue acts are TOTALLY repealed. It is expected that every freeholder who regards the right of disposing of his own property as a blessing worth fighting for, will attend this meeting.

In November of 1772, Samuel Adams of Boston organized the Committees of Correspondence to send circular letters from town to town and colony to colony, keeping the people informed on happenings. The idea spread throughout the colonies. Groups of young men banded together as the Sons of Liberty. Riding their horses over country roads and woodland trails, they carried these messages from Boston to Williamsburg.

On December 16, 1773, three British tea ships were moored in Boston harbor with cargoes that could not be unloaded until the tax on tea was paid. Although the tea had been so priced, that, after paying the tax, it would cost less than the tea smuggled in Dutch ships, the merchants dared not accept it with the tax. Crowds gathered in the streets. After dark, with a war-whoop, about fifty young men dressed as "wild Indians" – John Hancock was one

of them – boarded the vessels and threw three hundred and forty-two chests of Bohea into the water.

In haste, Samuel Adams sent messengers dashing in all directions with news of the Boston Tea Party. After notifying the Committee of Correspondence in New York City, Paul Revere arrived in Philadelphia a few days before Christmas with the circular letter. A popular ditty celebrating the event ended with these lines:

We made a plaguey mess of tea
In one of the biggest dishes,
I mean we steeped it in the sea
And treated all the fishes.
Tol-le-lol-de-riddle, Tol-le-lol-de-ray,
And treated all the fishes.

On the tenth of May, 1774, news of the Port Bill reached Boston. The harbor of the city would be closed to all shipping on June first if the citizens did not pay for the tea destroyed by the "wild Indians." On that same day, the Committee of Correspondence sent letters to the neighboring towns of Boston inviting their Committees of Correspondence on the twelfth. Following their arrival, it was agreed to notify all the colonies and not to pay for the tea, which would be admitting that Parliament had the right to tax them. Samuel Adams wrote the circular letter and sent the riders in all directions. Again, Paul Revere carried the message as far as Philadelphia in six days.

Five days later, General Thomas Gage, the new military governor of Massachusetts arrived from London with orders to arrest the ringleaders of the "tea party." On the raw, rainy day, John Hancock, who was one of the leaders, boldly marched his cadets to the wharf to greet General Gage

and escort him to welcoming ceremonies in Faneuil Hall. Sensing the temper of the people, Gage made no arrests. Wisely, he waited for more British troops to arrive.

Soon, help and sympathy arrived from other colonies as far away as Georgia. That colony sent rice, money and supplies of various kinds. All rallied to the needs of Boston, realizing that if Massachusetts lost its freedom, others would suffer the same fate. In order to show sympathy, church bells tolled throughout the colonies, and flags flew at half-mast.

The Journal of the House of Burgesses records what happened in Williamsburg, Virginia, when a messenger delivered the circular letter written by Samuel Adams.

HOUSE OF BURGESSES May 24, 1774

This House, being deeply impressed with apprehension of the great dangers to be derived to British America from the hostile invasion of the City of Boston in our sister colony of Massachusetts Bay, whose commerce and harbor are, on the first day of June next, to be stopped by an armed force, deem it highly necessary that the said first day of June be set apart, by the members of this House as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, devoutly to implore the divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatens destruction to our civil rights, and the evils of civil war; to give us one heart and one mind firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights

Ordered, therefore, that the members of this House do attend in their places at the hour of ten in the forenoon, on the said first day of June next, in order to proceed with the Speaker, and the Mace, to the church in this city, for the purposes aforesaid; and that the Reverend Mr. Price be appointed to read prayers, and the Reverend Mr. Gwatkin to preach a sermon suitable to the occasion.

Members of this House of Burgesses included five future signers of the Declaration of Independence: Thomas Jefferson,

Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Francis Lightfoot Lee and Richard Henry Lee. Four future delegates chosen to attend the Constitutional Convention were members, also, including George Washington.

George Mason, who was in Williamsburg on this day, sent word by a friend to his home, Gunston Hall: "please to tell my dear little family that I charge them to pay a strict attention to it (day of prayer and fasting) and that I desire my three eldest sons and my two oldest daughters may attend church in mourning, if they have it, as I believe they have." (They were wearing mourning for their mother, whose death occurred the year before.)

Closing the Port of Boston was only one of the "Intolerable Acts." In Massachusetts, judges were to be appointed by the crown; British soldiers accused of crime were to be tried in England; and town meetings could be called only by the Governor. Added to these was the Quebec Act which extended Canada into territory claimed by Massachusetts and other colonies.

A COMMON CAUSE UNITES THE COLONIES

JOHN DICKINSON – farmer, lawyer, statesman – wrote a series of newspaper articles for the Pennsylvania Chronicle in 1767 and 1768, under the title LETTERS FROM A FARMER. These letters, later printed in book form, were widely read in the colonies and in England where many people sympathized with the colonists. In France they were also popular in translation. What did the farmer say?

Let these truths be indelibly impressed on your minds – that we cannot be happy without being



WASHINGTON, HENRY, AND PENDLETON ENROUTE TO THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

On the last day of August in 1774, Patrick Henry and Edmund Pendleton arrived at Mount Vernon in time for breakfast with Washington. All day long, the three men discussed the problems facing the colonists. Early the next morning, they left on horseback for Philadelphia. These delegates from Virginia to the First Continental Congress arrived the evening before the meeting opened, and were present when the first session began at ten o'clock on Monday morning, September 5, 1774.

free — that we cannot be free without being secure in our property — that we cannot be secure in our property, if, without our consent, others may as by right take it away.

In common with most colonial writers, the farmer agreed that “TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION IS TYRANNY,” which became a slogan of the Revolutionary War. Dickinson wrote:

Here then, let my countrymen ROUSE themselves, and behold the ruin hanging over their heads. If they ONCE admit, that Great Britain may lay duties upon her exportations to us, FOR THE PURPOSE OF LEVYING MONEY ON US ONLY, she then will have nothing to do, but

to lay those duties on the articles which she prohibits us to manufacture — and the tragedy of American liberty is finished.

The unity gained through a common problem led to calling the First Continental Congress, to meet in Philadelphia in September, 1774. Delegates were present from every colony except Georgia. The first to arrive were the South Carolinians, who came by boat. The men from New England traveled by stagecoach and on horseback. Their journey was a march of triumph. In towns along the way, church bells were rung, salutes were fired, and feasts were spread in their honor. Massachusetts chose Samuel Adams and his

cousin, John Adams, as two of the five delegates from the colony. One of the Pennsylvanians was John Dickinson, author of the well-known Farmer's Letters. George Washington, Edmund Pendleton, and Patrick Henry left Mt. Vernon and rode together on horseback to Philadelphia to join other delegates sent to the meeting from Virginia.

The fifty-five delegates to this congress sent resolutions to King George and Parliament, stating their rights as British subjects. One of the demands was the right to be taxed by their own elected assemblies. No mention was made of separation from the mother country, but the last few

An old print of St. John's Church in Richmond, Virginia in which Patrick Henry urged the colonists to fight for their rights in his famous speech, closing with these words:

"Give me liberty or give me death."



lines carried a veiled threat, a resolve not to buy or use goods made in England until the unjust laws were repealed. Probably the most important act of this First Continental Congress was a vote to meet again in May of the next year, 1775. By that time war had begun.

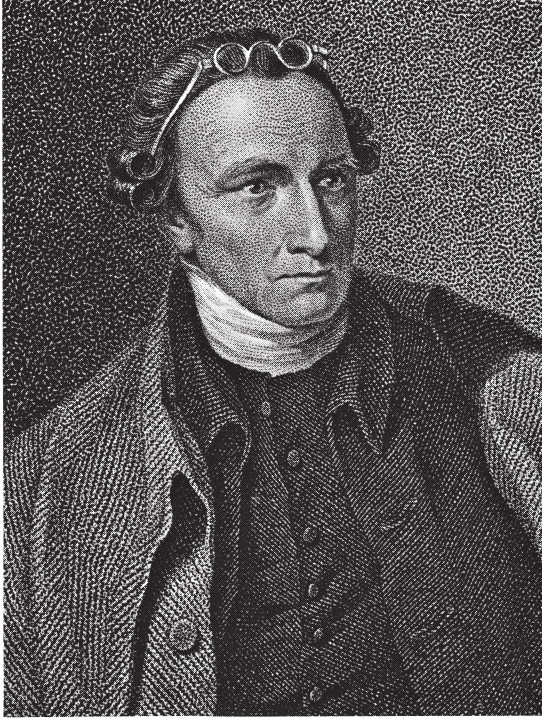
In St. John's Church of Richmond, Virginia, the second revolutionary convention of Virginia met to consider military plans for defense. At this meeting on March 23, 1775 a burgess made his famous "We-Must-Fight" speech.

The delegates filled the auditorium of the little church, leaving the end gallery for the anxious spectators. The day was warm and the windows were open. A tall thin man with shoulders slightly stooped arose from his seat in the third pew on the north side and walked awkwardly down the aisle. In the pulpit of St. John's Church, the sun-tanned face of this man of the woods seemed strangely out of place. He was Patrick Henry, fiddler, hunter, fisherman, farmer, lawyer, elected from a frontier county in Virginia. Among the delegates he faced were two Virginia planters, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. They knew his fighting spirit from other speeches he had made. What would he say?

Henry recited the wrongs suffered by the colonists under "taxation without representation," and declared there was no hope for peace. The closing lines of his speech are well known in American history:

Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? — I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death.

The words of the fiery orator stunned his listeners. Patrick Henry walked to his



PATRICK HENRY 1736-1799

seat in the third pew in tomb-like silence. Then from scattered spots in the church, men arose to agree with him. Most of the delegates were silent and solemn, but they voted for his resolutions to arm for defense.

Later, when Henry asked for volunteers to gather for drill on the grounds of the Culpepper Court House, three hundred and fifty minutemen came, armed with knives, tomahawks, and rifles. They carried a yellow flag with a coiled rattlesnake and the words, "Don't tread on me!" Throughout the war soldiers from Culpepper and several other counties in Virginia wore the motto, LIBERTY or DEATH, embroidered in white on their green homespun shirts.

British troops were quartered in the

city of Boston, the trouble center, and British warships were anchored in the bay. Samuel Adams and John Hancock, who had been elected to the Second Continental Congress, were hiding in Lexington until they were ready to leave for the meeting. The British commander, General Gage, learned of their hiding place and sent troops to capture the trouble makers who were to be sent to England for trial. The same scouting party had orders to capture the guns and powder which the colonists had stored at Concord. A watchman in the tower of North Church saw the troops crossing the Charles River in boats. With a lantern, he gave the signal which sent William Dawes and Paul Revere dashing through the countryside on horseback to awaken the people. Adams and Hancock were aroused by Paul Revere who was shouting, "The regulars are coming!" Before daylight the two delegates from Massachusetts were on their way to Philadelphia to serve in the Second Continental Congress. This Congress held together the thirteen separate colonies in the War for Independence.

The British colonies were largely settled by people who had revolted against their living conditions in other lands. They were rebels, in a sense, who had the courage to flee from want and persecution, and face the perils of a wilderness to seek a better form of life. When they found a better way, they fought to keep it. Their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren did not want any monarch to change their way of life. They had plowed their own land, built their own homes, and made their own clothes. They had hunted in the forests, fished in the streams, and slept under the stars. Who was their master?